

Ibn Khallikan's

Wafayat al-Ayan  
Wa Anba Abna al-Zaman  
A Biographical Dictionary

Vols – 1 through 7

ISBN 81-7151-170-8

Eng translation  
M. de Slane  
Edited by Dr S. Moinul Haq

Kitab Bhavan – New Delhi – 110002 (India)

***Ibn Khallikan's***

**WAFAYAT AL-A'YAN**

**WA ANBĀ' ABNA' AL-ZAMĀN**

**(A Biographical Dictionary)**

**Vol. 1**

**Eng. Translation**

**M. de Slane**

**Edited by**

**Dr. S. Moinul Haq**



## **BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE QUR'AN**

By *MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD*

Translated by *DR. SYED ABDUL LATIF*

Being a Resume of the views advanced by him in his Commentary  
of the *Surat-ul-Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an

The volume sets out on a brief canvas the ideology of the Qur'an as estimated by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and should serve as an illuminating Introduction to the Study of the Qur'an.

ISBN 81-7151-217-8 23x36/16 pp. 16+118 1996

Book Code No. B00075

**Rs 60/-**

## **AN ORIENTAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY**

*T. W. BEALE*

Thomas Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, revised and edited by H.G. Keene, is still the most comprehensive work of its kind. It provides detailed biographical information on all the main figures in the history of the East from the first century A.D. to the nineteenth century.

The Dictionary is an outstanding work of scholarship and has been highly acclaimed by Oriental scholars and historians all over the world. It is indispensable for scholars and students of the history of Muslim India, consisting as it does material gathered from Persian Arabic, Urdu and European sources. The history of the Maratha and Rajput States and Kingdoms is also covered in full detail. Students of Muslim India's art, music and literature will find much of great interest and use in the volume.

More than 4500 entries are listed according to the English variant of each individual's name together with their Persian form in the parenthesis.

ISBN 81-7151-214-3 20x26/8 pp. 8+432 1996

Book Code No. O00018

**Rs. 300/-**

# **KITAB BHAVAN**

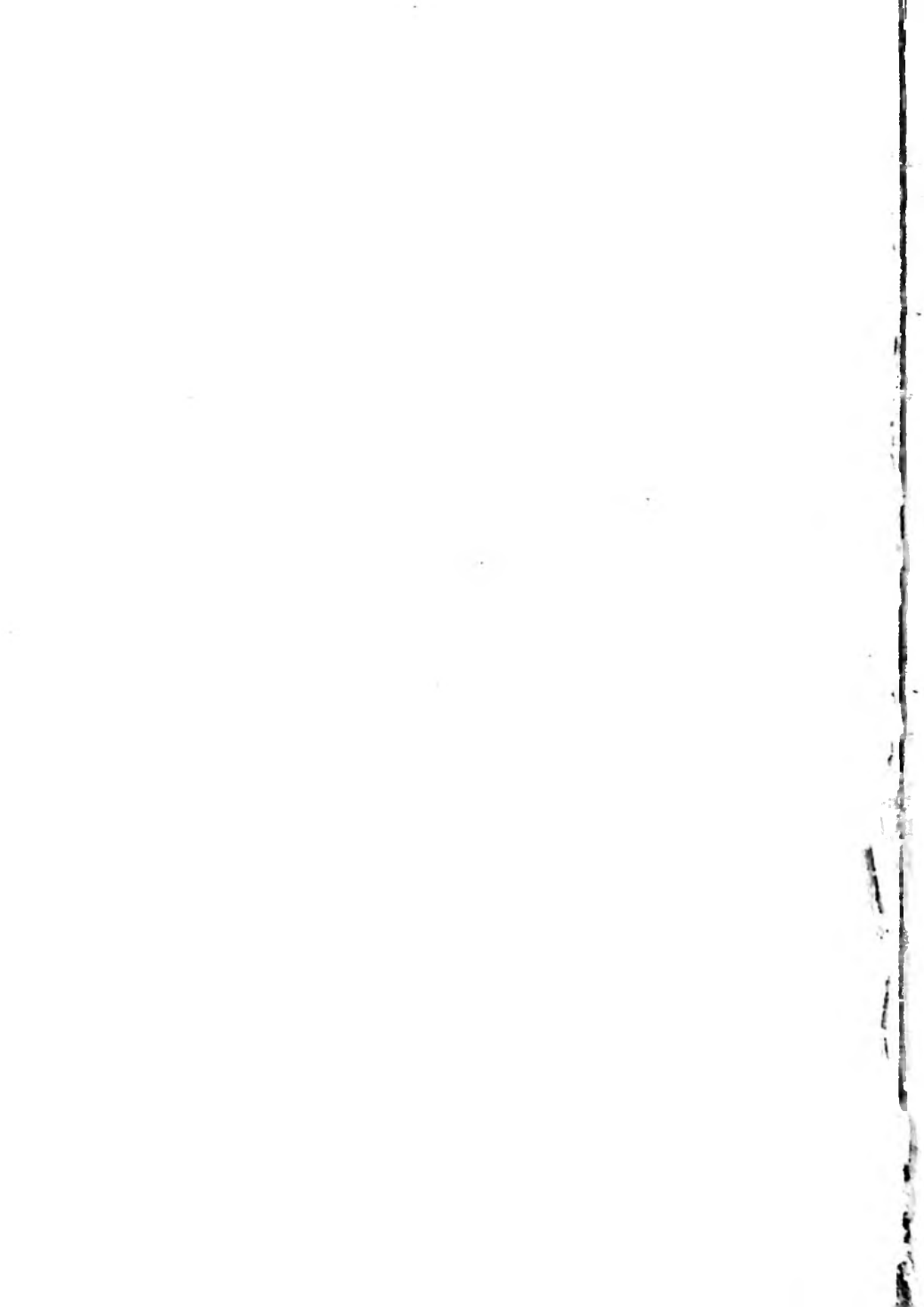
1784, Kalan Mahal, Darya Ganj

New Delhi-110002 (India)

Phones : 3274686, 3277392-93

Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN

Fax : 91-11-3263383



Ibn Khallikan's  
**Wafayat al-A'yan**  
wa

**Anbā' Abna' al-Zamān**  
(A Biographical Dictionary)

(M. de Slane's English Translation)

**VOLUME I**

*Edited by:*

**S. MOINUL HAQ**

**M.A., Ph.D.**

**KITAB BHAVAN**

**New Delhi - 110002 (India)**

**KITAB BHAVAN**

**Exporters & Importers**

**1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj**

**New Delhi-110002, [India]**

*Phones : 3274686, 3277392, 3277393*

*Fax : 91-11-3263383*

*Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN*

**ISBN 81-7151-170-8 Set**

**ISBN 81-7151-171-6 (Vol. I)**

**First Published in India**

**1996**

*Published by:*

**Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan**

**1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj**

**New Delhi-110002**

*Printed in India at:*

**Johar Offset Printers**

**Maujpur, Ghonda**

**Delhi-110053**

# CONTENTS

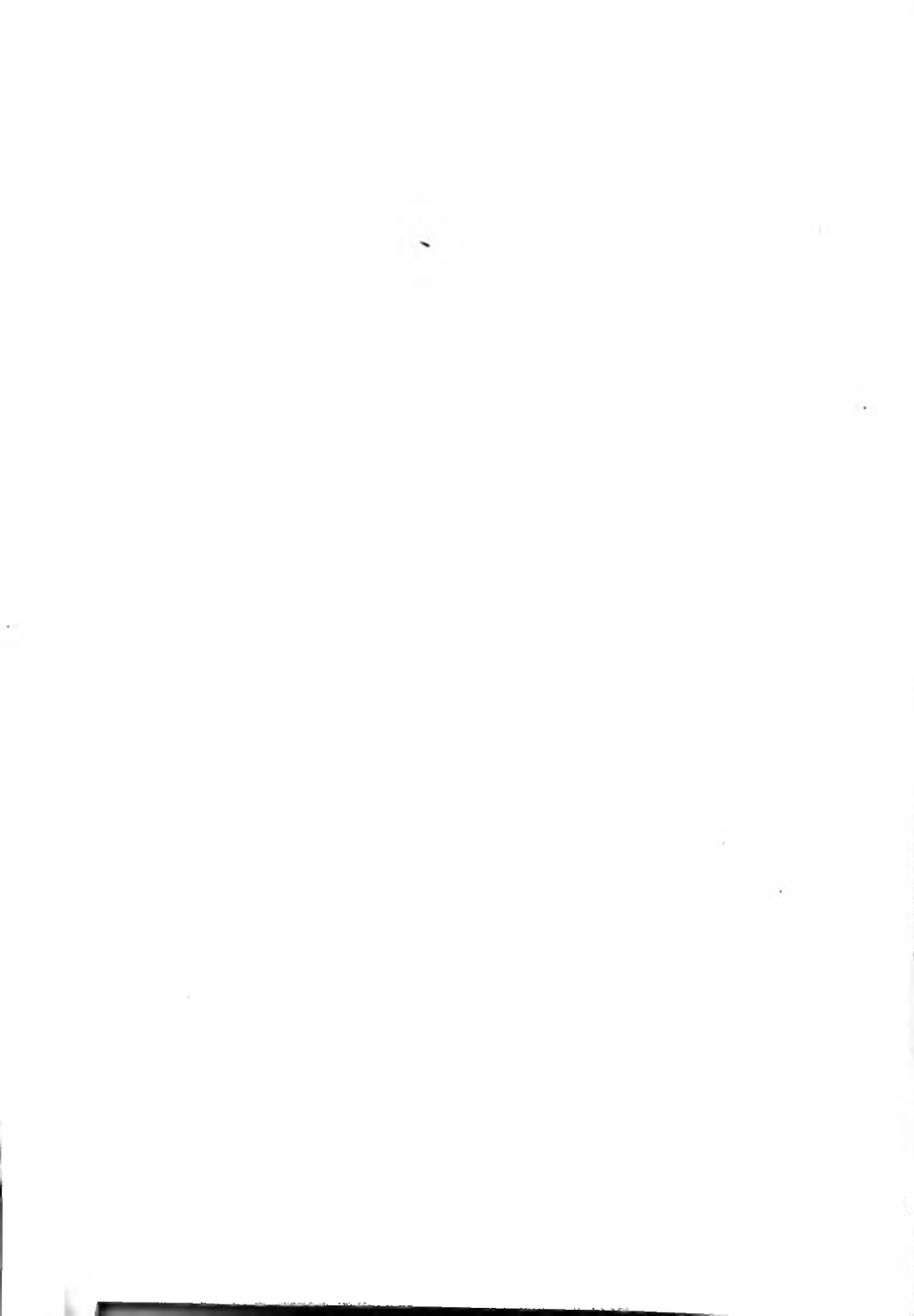
	PAGE
EDITOR'S PREFACE ... ..	V—IX
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION ... ..	X
INTRODUCTION BY M. DE SLANE ... ..	1
THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE ... ..	42
TEXT —	
1. Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i ... ..	46
2. Abū Thawr Ibrāhīm al-Kalbī ... ..	47
3. Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī ... ..	48
4. Abū Ishāq al-Isfara'īnī ... ..	49
5. Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī ... ..	51
6. The Khaṭīb Abū Ishāq al-'Irāqī ... ..	55
7. Abū Ishāq Zahir al-Dīn ... ..	59
8. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī ... ..	61
9. Ibrāhīm al-Nadīm al-Mawṣilī ... ..	67
10. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣulī ... ..	69
11. Niṣṭawayh ... ..	74
12. Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj ... ..	76
13. Al-Ifīlī ... ..	79
14. Abū Ishāq al-Ṣabī'i ... ..	80
15. Abū Ishāq al-Huṣrī ... ..	84
16. Abū Ishāq Ibn Khafajah al-Andalusī ... ..	87
17. Abū Ishāq al-Kalbī al-Ghazzī ... ..	90
18. Ibn Qurqul ... ..	96
19. The Imam Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal ... ..	97
20. Ibn Surayj ... ..	100
21. Ibn al-Qāṣṣ al-Ṭabarī ... ..	103
22. Abū Ḥamid al-Marwarrudhī ... ..	104
23. Ibn al-Qaṭṭān ... ..	106
24. Al-Ṭabāwī ... ..	107
25. Abū Ḥamid al-Isfara'īnī ... ..	110
26. Al-Maḥāmīlī ... ..	113
27. Al-Bayḥaqī ... ..	114
28. Al-Nasā'ī the Ḥafīẓ ... ..	116
29. Al-Qudūrī ... ..	117
30. Al-Tha'labī al-Naysapūrī ... ..	118
31. Ibn Abī Duwād ... ..	120



	PAGE
32. The Ḥafiz Abu Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī ...	135
33. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī ...	137
34. Abu 'l-Husayn al-Rawandī ...	139
35. Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Harawī ...	141
36. Al-Khawāṣṣī ...	142
37. Abu 'l-Futoḥ Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī ...	142
38. Ibn Barḥān al-'Uḡulī ...	144
39. Al-Naḥḥās, the Grammarian ...	145
40. Ibn Baqīyyah al-'Abdī, the Grammarian ...	146
41. Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Sahl, the kاتب ...	147
42. Tha'lab, the Grammarian ...	147
43. The Ḥafiz al-Silafī ...	152
44. Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Manā'ī al-Irbilī ...	157
45. Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh ...	159
46. Abu 'l-'Āla al-Ma'arrī ...	163
47. Abn 'Amir Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Ashja'ī al-Andalusī ...	168
48. Ibn Fāris al-Rāzī the Philologist ...	171
49. Abn Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī ...	173
50. Al-Nāmi ...	182
51. Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadānī ...	186
52. Abu 'l-Qasīm Ibn Ṭabaṭabā ...	188
53. Abu 'l-Raqa'maq ...	191
54. Jaḥḥāḥ al-Barmakī ...	194
55. Ibn Darraj al-Andalusī ...	196
56. Ibn Zaydun al-Andalusī ...	201
57. Ibn al-Abbār, the Poet ...	204
58. Al-Manāzī ...	206
59. Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, the Poet ...	207
60. Al-Maydānī ...	211
61. Ibn al-Khazin ...	212
62. Naṣīḥ al-Dīn al-Arrajānī ...	215
63. Ibn Munir al-Ṭarābulusī ...	221
64. Al-Qaḍī al-Rashīd Abn 'l-Husayn ...	227
65. Al-Nafīs al-Lakhmī ...	232
66. Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Sabtī ...	235
67. Ibn al-'Arif ...	236

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
68. Ibn al-Huṭay'ah al-Lakhmī ...	238
69. Ibn al-Rifa'ī ...	239
70. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulun ...	241
71. Mu'izz al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh ...	242
72. Naṣr al-Dawlat Ibn Marwān al-Kurdī ...	245
73. Al-Musta'li ...	247
74. Ibn al-Maṣḥṭab ...	251
75. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Irbilī ...	257
76. 'Azīz al-Dīn al-Mustawfī ...	260
77. Artuq Ibn Aksuk ...	262
78. Al-Basāsiri ...	264
79. Nor al-Dīn Arsilān Shāh ...	266
80. Azhar Ibn al-Sammān ...	267
81. 'Usāmah Ibn Murshid ...	269
82. Ibn Rāhawayh ...	274
83. Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī ...	276
84. Ishaq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī ...	277
85. Ishaq Ibn Hunayn ...	283
86. As'ad al-Mihani ...	285
87. Abū 'l-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī ...	287
88. Al-As'ad Ibn Mammāti ...	289
89. Bahā al-Dīn al-Sinjārī ...	294
90. Al-Muzani ...	298
91. Abū 'l-'Atāhiyah ...	301
92. Abū 'Alī al-Qālī ...	312
93. The Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād ...	314
94. Ibn Khālaf al-Saraqustī ...	320
95. Al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī ...	321
96. Al-Zāhir al-'Ubaydī ...	325
97. Aṣḥḥab al-Qaysī ...	327
98. Aṣbagh al-Mālikī ...	329
99. 'Āq Sunqur, the Ḥajib ...	330
100. 'Āq Sunqur al-Bursuqī ...	331
INDEX ...	335



## EDITOR'S PREFACE

AN eminent jurisconsult and a distinguished historian, Ibn Khallikān has been held in high esteem as a writer for more than seven centuries. His reputation rests mainly on his monumental work, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa anba' abna' al-Zamān*, which attracted the attention of the orientalisists in the early nineteenth century. The well-known scholar, M. G. de Slane, brought out its first edition in 1838; subsequently he published its English translation in four volumes. Since then the Arabic text has been published several times and in different countries. The latest edition is that of Muḥammad Muḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1948) who has given a life sketch of the author and added useful footnotes. The *Wafayāt* soon became a popular source-book in the world of Islam. This is indicated by the fact that other historians wrote supplements to it, and two well-known Muslim Princes had it translated into Persian. The first of these translations was undertaken by Yūsuf Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Uḡmān for Naṣīr al-Dunyā wal-Dīn Abū 'l-Faṭḥ-Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt (commonly known as Maḥmūd Bigarah) who reigned from A.H. 863 to 917/A.D. 1459 to 1512. The second rendering was made for Sulṭān Salīm of Turkey who reigned from A.H. 918 to 926/A.D. 1513 to 1521.

Both the translators appear to be frugal in their renderings; they have tried to be brief, and have often abridged portions of the text for this purpose. They have omitted most of the verses quoted by the author; those that have been retained are in the original language.

Yūsuf Ibn Aḥmad has entitled his work as *Manẓar al-Insān fī Tarjamah Wafayāt al-A'yān*; \* Kabīr Ibn Uways has not given any name to his translation.

In de Slane's English translation, which is generally known as Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary, a fairly detailed account of the author is given. We would, however, like to add a few words about de Slane's work. Baron Mac-Guckin

---

\* See Rieu, I, 334 a.

de Slane was born (circa 1800) in an Irish family. He migrated to France in his childhood and became a French citizen. He studied Arabic under the well-known orientalist, Sylvestre de Sacy. Then he went to Constantinople for further studies and research. On completing the course of his studies he got the post of an Interpreter in the army and was sent to Algiers. Later he was promoted to the post of principal Interpreter and got the rank of a Major. While he held these posts he devoted his spare time to learning local dialects and mastering classical Arabic. He edited and translated some Arabic works on North Africa; he was now recognized as an eminent scholar of Arabic and was made a member of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. In 1864, he was appointed Professor of Algerian dialects at the Ecole des Langues Orientales (School of Oriental Languages) in Paris. On de Perceval's death, he succeeded him as Professor of Classical Arabic, which position he occupied till his death in 1878.

M. de Slane started his literary career in 1837 with the editing of the *Dirwān of Imra' al-Qays*. In 1838-42 he published the Arabic text of the *Wafayāt* (only up to No. 678) from Paris. In 1843 he started publishing its English translation under the title, Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary; it was completed in 1871 and appeared in four volumes. During this period he also published (in 1852-56) the French translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (sections on the Berbers): its Arabic text had been edited by him in 1837-41. It was followed (in 1857) by the publication of the Arabic text of al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Mamālik wa 'l-Masālik* (sections on North Africa), and its French translation, in 1857-58. Then he prepared the catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Bibliotheque Nationale; his last important work was the French translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*.

"Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*," Brockelmann has rightly said, "is one of the most important aids to the study of biography and literary history." Its English translation by de Slane had been out of print for a considerable time, and was



therefore beyond the access of most of the students of Islamic History and Civilization. The Pakistan Historical Society, keeping in view the importance and utility of this work, as a source-book, decided to publish a reprint of de Slane's translation with necessary editing and notes in the light of the autograph MS. of Ibn Khallikān. We are grateful to the authorities of the British Museum not only for providing the photostat copy of this extremely rare manuscript but also for assisting the Society by sharing its cost. The comparison of the English translation with the autograph of Ibn Khallikān was necessary because de Slane obtained it when he had already translated a considerable portion of the book. A careful examination of the autograph has revealed the fact that there are substantial differences between its text and the one on which de Slane's translation has been based. These differences have been mentioned in the Editor's footnotes. As de Slane has not properly transliterated the oriental names, necessary corrections have been made in their orthography. In the footnotes I have also added the corresponding Christian dates of events on the basis of Eduard Mahter's calculations; de Slane has given the names of the months only.

Ibn Khallikān completed his book in 1256 A.D. and died in 1282. Subsequently new material was incorporated in the body of the book; some new notices were added, and in some cases additional information was given. Only a portion of the new material has been accepted by de Slane as the composition of Ibn Khallikān.

The printed text of the *Wafayāt* is about double the size of the autograph; de Slane is of the opinion that Ibn Khallikān continued improving his work and adding further details, but a more probable explanation may be found in the author's appeal to the readers to make corrections wherever necessary.<sup>1</sup> This is why we come across lengthy and

---

1 Vide Author's Preface.

rather frequent interpolations in this work. However, de Slane's suggestion also cannot be rejected outright. As an illustration we may mention the story related about the *wazīr*, al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh on the authority of the grammarian, Abu 'Alī al-Fārisī,<sup>1</sup> and repeated again about al-Māman<sup>2</sup>. In the autograph it is given only in the account of the latter, and not of the former. Obviously someone else has added it to the account of al-Fārisī.

It may be mentioned here that the Editor of the Teheran text, Mawlawī Muḥammad Bāqir Iṣbahānī says: "I saw in the library of Prince Mu'tamad al-Dawlah Fīrḥād Mirzā, son of 'Abbās Mirzā, son of Fath 'Alī Shāh Qajār, a manuscript of *Wafāyāt al-A'yān* by Aḥmad Ibn Khallikān. The Prince had collated his manuscript with several others and corrected it very carefully. Besides, he added notices of a few persons on the margin of his manuscript, which had been omitted by Ibn Khallikān, in order to make the work more comprehensive." Some additions in the later manuscripts have also been pointed out in the notes.

It is a well-known fact that oriental scholars frequently use invocatory phrases—such as 'Mercy of God be upon him', or 'May God be pleased with him', etc.—, and Ibn Khallikān is not an exception. M. de Slane has not translated these expressions; we have also not added them. In this connection it may be mentioned that our historians and biographers often conclude their accounts and narrations with the phrase 'God knows best'. This has been omitted; it does not however necessarily mean that the writer is not certain of the truth and veracity of his narration.

The Pakistan Historical Society is grateful to the Government of Pakistan for giving a special grant for this project. Without this aid it would have been difficult for the Society to undertake the publication of an edited text of de Slane's English

---

<sup>1</sup> Vide No. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Vide No. 12.

Translation of the *Wafayat*, and the English Translation of Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* which is under preparation.

I am thankful to Mr. H. K. Ghazanfar, for his valuable assistance in editing the translation, particularly in comparing it with the text of the autograph. I also thank Mufti Intizāmullāh Shihābī and other members of the Society's Research staff for their assistance.

KARACHI ;  
August, 1961.

S. MOINUL HAQ

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

ا	=	a	ط	=	t
ب	=	b	ظ	=	
ت	=	t	ع	=	'
ث	=	th	غ	=	gh
ج	=	j	ف	=	f
ح	=	h	ق	=	q
خ	=	kh	ك	=	k
د	=	d	ل	=	l
ذ	=	dh	م	=	m
ر	=	r	ن	=	n
ز	=	z	و	=	w
س	=	s	ه	=	h
ش	=	sh	اَو	=	aw
ي	=	i	ي	=	y ;
ف	=	f	اَي	=	ay

Long vowels: a, i, u.

Short vowels: a, i, u.

## INTRODUCTION

Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary has always been considered as a work of the highest importance for the civil and literary history of the Muslim people. From its first appearance till the present day, its reputation has continued undiminished, and the judgment of the author's countrymen has been confirmed by the unanimous voice of Oriental scholars. If the later Arabic historians filled their pages with extracts drawn from it as from a pure and abundant source,—if rhetoricians, grammarians and compilers of anecdotes have culled from it the choicest passages,—learned men essayed to complete it by supplements, or to condense it by abridgements with the design of rendering its utility more general,—we find, nearer home, and equally valid testimony borne to its merit by the suffrages of the illustrious Pococke, Schultens, Reiske, and De Sacy.

The variety of its subject might have alone sufficed to fix the attention of every person who took an interest in Muslim history and Arabic literature, but when that quality was combined with others which clearly indicated the intelligence, learning, and abilities of the author, the work had an undoubted right to general estimation. None felt this more deeply than Sir William Jones, and none expressed their opinion in stronger terms. When that accomplished scholar penned his *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentarium*, he traced these lines, in which, notwithstanding the heightened tone of his colouring, there is a degree of truth such as precludes me from adding any eulogy of my own: "Scriptoris politissimi Ebni Khallikan opus historicum non magis verborum elegantia et ubertate commendatur, quam illustriorum poetarum versibus quibus conspergitur. Ac nescio an hic omnibus vitarum scriptoribus (*non*) sit anteposendus. Est certe copiosior Nepote, elegantior Plutarcho, Laertio jucundior: et dignus est profecto liber, qui in omnes Europæ linguas conversus prodeat."

Were the work of Ibn Khallikān not before the reader, it might be necessary to point out the sources which he consulted and the plan which he adopted; but the author here speaks for himself, he names the writers whose works he has consulted, he or his translator gives their lives in nearly every case, and he



follows the natural system of noticing those persons only who held a conspicuous place in the Muslim world. It is true that when he treats of those men whose names figure in history, he prefers relating anecdotes illustrative of their personal character to the less amusing duty of fully sketching out their lives. For this, however, a reason subsists: the great historical work of his friend and professor, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, contained all the requisite information, and was then generally read; he did not think it necessary to repeat the tale more fully set forth in a book the well deserved popularity of which he could not suppose would ever be rivalled by the reputation of his own. We might even add that those very anecdotes with which he fills his articles are more precious to a European reader than the fullest narrative of the series of events which mark the life of any individual, since from them we acquire a clearer insight into the manners of the different classes, and collect more useful hints on the civil organization of the Muslim people, than any indications which a notice exclusively biographical could supply. It must also be observed that in judging a work of this kind, the European reader may find faults where the Muslim sees only beauties, and *vice versa*. The former will blame Ibn Khallikān's idea of giving the lives of those persons only, the date of whose death was known; of quoting poetry too frequently, and of showing bad taste in the selection; of giving too many notices on doctors of the law, and too few on historians, poets, and other literary men. Yet we find that a native of Aleppo, the *shaykh* Nūr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn Ḥabīb, who died A. H. 779 (A. D. 1377-8), extracted from Ibn Khallikān's work the lives of two hundred and thirty persons with the passages from their books, and this selection he published under the title of *Ma'āni Ahl al-Bayān min Wafayāt Ibn Khallikān*, or *Beauties of eminent writers extracted from Ibn Khallikān's biographical work*. It would appear from this that our author's taste in his quotations was not considered as bad in the country where his language was spoken and in which the writings of the poets were read and understood. Ibn Ḥabīb composed also a history of Egypt from A. H. 648 to A. H. 761. It is entitled *Durrat al-Aslāk fī Dawlat al-Atrāk*

there is a copy of it in the Leyden library and another in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*. We shall next allow Ḥajjī Khalīfah to speak: "Some historians", says he, meaning of course Muslim writers, "have blamed Ibn Khallikān for his concision in the lives of men eminent for their learning in the law; in some cases he confines his notice of them to a few lines, whilst he fills pages, nay sheets, with the life of a single poet or of a literary man. It happens also, in more than one case, that those to whom he has allotted the longest articles were persons accused of laxity in the religious belief, and yet he mentions them with praise and quotes passages from their poems. But it may perhaps be offered in extenuation of this, that the history of the man learned in the law was already well known, and that the lustre of his reputation, like the light of the sun, could not possibly be hidden from any, whilst the renown of the poet was by no means general." Be the imperfections of his work what they may, we must yet take into consideration that it was the first of its kind in the long series of Arabic literature. Before him, none ever thought of combining in one treatise and in alphabetical order, the lives of the most remarkable men of Islamism, no matter to what class they belonged. There existed, it is true, a great number of biographical dictionaries composed anteriorly to his, and some of them dating from a remote period, but they were works of a special cast and limited in their subject: some treated of eminent jurisconsults, to the exclusion of every other profession; others contained notices, on the learned men who inhabited a particular city; some again gave the lives of such persons as were mentioned in the *Sunan*, or Collections of Traditions. The only book which bore any resemblance to his by the generality of its contents was the *Fihrist*, composed in the fourth century of the Hijrah, but that curious biographical and bibliographical work is formed of six sections, each of which is devoted to one particular class of persons, to the total neglect of alphabetical or chronological arrangement.

During many years my attention was directed towards Ibn Khallikān's works, knowing that from it, above all others, the clearest and most correct ideas could be acquired of the rise and progress of Arabic literature, and that it furnished many

facts of the utmost importance for general history, and not to be found in any other writer. A natural transition led me from the work to the author, and in my endeavours to attain a fair appreciation of the one, I was led to inquire into the life and times of the other. In pursuing this task, I collected from different sources a great number of notices respecting him, his masters, his disciples, and his acquaintances; whilst the indications furnished by his own work, enabled me to fix with precision the dates of the principal occurrences which marked his life. But the circumstances which influenced his character in youth, the relations which subsisted at different periods between him and the masters of the empire, the great political events which occurred during his career in the world and always attracted his attention;—these were subjects which required long study and extensive researches. The results which I have already obtained encourage me to proceed yet farther, and for this reason I shall reserve my notice on *the Life and Times of Ibn Khallikān* till the last volume of this translation shall be given to the press. The materials collected by me will be then better digested, and form an article more complete than any which I could draw up at the present moment. But as the just curiosity of some readers may require a more immediate satisfaction, I shall give here the text and translation of a notice on Ibn Khallikān by the celebrated historian Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn. It is extracted from the first volume of his *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, a work on which some observations will be found in a subsequent page. Another life of the same writer by an anonymous author has been given in Arabic and in Latin by Tydeman, in his *Conspectus operis Ibn Chalikani*, and a note on the same subject has been inserted by M. Quatremère in his translation of al-Maqrīzī's History of the Mamlūk Sultāns, vol. I, part 2, p. 180.

أحمد بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن أبي بكر بن خلكان بن باوك بفتح الواو بن  
 شاكل بفتح الكاف بن الحسين بن مالك بن جعفر بن يحيى بن خالد  
 بن برمك الامام العلامة شمس الدين ابوالعباس البلخي الاصل  
 الاربلى المولد الدمشقى الدار والوفاة الشافعى قاضى قضاء دمشق  
 وعالمها ومورخها مولده باربلى فى يوم الخميس حادى عشر شهر

ربيع الآخر سنة ثمان وست مائة و امه من نسل خلف بن ايوب صاحب ابي حنيفة رضي الله عنه و نشأ باربل و تفقه بالموصل ثم قدم دمشق في عنفوان شببته فاقام بها مدة يسيرة و توجه الى ديار مصر و اشتغل بها ايضا و حصل من كل علم طرفا جيدا و برع في الفقه و الاصول و العربية و غير ذلك و افتى و درس و نظم و نثر و لي قضاء دمشق من القاهرة و خرج منها في السابع و العشرين من ذي الحجة سنة ست و ستين وست مائة و توجه الى دمشق فدخلها في ثالث المحرم سنة سبع و ستين فباشرها مدة عشر سنين و في اول ولايته للقضاء كان منفردا الى ان ورد عليه الخبر بان برز المرسوم الشريف الظاهري بان يكون بدمشق اربع ( اربعة 1 ) قضاة و وصل ثلثه تقاليد لشمس الدين عبدالله بن محمد بن عطا الحنفى و لزين الدين عبدالسلام الزاوى المالكي و لشمس الدين عبدالرحمان الحنبلى و كانوا قبل ذلك نوابا للشافعى قال الشيخ شهاب الدين ابوسامه و من العجيب اجتماع ثلثه القضاة بدمشق لقب كل واحد منهم شمس الدين في زمن واحد فقال بعض الادباء بدمشق ايه قد \* ظهرت للناس تماما كلما ازدادوا شموسا \* زادت الدنيا ظلاما وقال غيره -

اهل دمشق استرابوا \* من كثرة الاحكام

اذ هم جميعا شموس \* و حالهم في ظلام

ثم صرف قاضى القضاة شمس الدين بن خلكان هذا عن قضاء دمشق و قدم القاهرة و دام بها نحو من سبع سنين و تولى الحكم بها نيابة عن قاضى القضاة بدرالدين السنجارى و درس بالقاهرة و افتى و صنف الى ان اعيد الى دمشق قاضيا بعد القاضى عزالدين بن الصائغ و توجه الى دمشق فلما قرب منها خرج نائبها عزالدين ايدرس بجميع الموكب و الامراء و ارباب الوظائف لتلقيه و اما روءاء دمشق فانهم تلقوه من عدة مراحل و هناك الشعراء بعدة قصائد من ذلك ما انشده الشيخ رشيد الدين عمر بن اسمعيل الفارق -

انت في الشام مثل يوسف في مصر و عندى ان الكرام جناس

فلكل سبع شداد و بعد السبع عام فيه يغاث الناس

قلت هذا القول لمدة مفارقتة لدمشق الى ان عاد ثانيا اليها و  
قال فيه نور الدين بن مصعب -

رايت اهل الشام طرا \* ما فيهم قط غير راض  
اتا هم الخير بعد شر \* فالوقت بسط بلا انقبض  
وعوضوا فرجه بحزن \* قد انصف الدهر في التقاضى  
وسرهم بعد طول غم \* قدوم قاض وعزل قاض  
فكلهم شاكر و شاك \* بحال مستقبل و ماض

و دام في هذه الولاية بدمشق الى سنة ثمانين و ست مائة  
و صرف عن القضاء و لزم داره الى ان توفي يوم السبت سادس  
عشرين شهر رجب و قيل سادس عشرة سنة احدى و ثمانين  
و ست مائة بالمدرسة النجيبية بدمشق و دفن بقاسيون و كان اماما  
عالما بارعا متفنا كثيرا الفضائل اديبا شاعرا جامعا مورخا وتاريخه  
وفيات الاعيان مشهور وهو في غاية الحسن و كان جوادا ممد حامدحه  
شعراء عصره بغير القصائد و كان يجيزهم عليها الجوائز السنية  
وكان عنده عقل و احتمال و ستر عن العورات ولما كان معزولا  
بالديار المصرية حصل له ضائق قبل ان يبلغ الامير بدر الدين الخازندار  
ذلك فاستمر به بنفقة هائلة ومايه اردب قمح فامتنع عن قبولها  
و ذكر الحافظ قطب الدين في تاريخه وقال كان اماما اديبا بارعا  
حاكما عدلا مورخا جامعا و ذكره ايضا الحافظ ابو محمد البرزالي  
في معجمه وقال فيه احد علماء عصره المشهورين و سيد ادباء دهره  
المذكورين جمع بين علوم جمه فقه و عريه و تاريخ و  
لغة و غير ذلك و جمع تاريخا نفيسا اقتصر فيه على المشهورين  
من كل فن وولى قضاء الشافعية مدة و درس و اتمى و سمع الحديث  
من ابن الكرم الصوفي باريك و سمع منه البخاري عن ابي الوقت و  
سمع من التاوى و ابن الجمیزی و اجازه المويد الطوسي و ابو روح  
و ابن الصفار و الحسين بن احمد القشيري و اسمعيل بن محمد بن علي  
بن عبد الله السيد الحسيني و اخرون من نيسابور و ذكر مولده ثم  
قال له يد طولی في علم اللغة ولم يرفي وقته من يعرف ديوان  
المتنبى كمعرفته و كان مجلسه كثيرا الفوائد و التحقيق و البحث  
لا يوجد فيه غير ذلك انتهى وقال الشهاب محمود في تاريخه كنت



كثير الاجتماع به في مباشرته الثانية<sup>١</sup> للاقتباس من فوائده رحمه الله  
انتهى قلت واثنى عليه ايضا غير واحد وقد طال الشرح في ذلك  
ولا بد من ذكر شئ من شعره فمن ذلك -

تمثلتموا لى و البلاد بعيدة \* فخيلى لى ان الفواد لكم مغشى  
وناجاكمو قابى على البعد والنوى \* فانستموا لفظا وواحشتموا معنى  
وله ايضا -

يا جارة النحى هل من عودة فعسى \* يفى من مكرات الوجد مخمور  
اذا ظفرت من الدنيا بقربكى \* وفكل ذنب جناح الحب مغفور  
وله ايضا -

يارب ان العبد يخفى عيبه \* فاستر بحامك ما بدامن عيبه  
ولقد اتاك و ماله من شافع \* لذنوبه فاقبل شفاعة شبيه

“Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Khallikān Ibn Bāwak Ibn Shākal Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Malīk Ibn Ja‘far Ibn Yāhyā Ibn Khalīd Ibn Barmak<sup>1</sup> surnamed Shams al-Dīn (*sun of religion*), drew his descent from a family of Balkh. This very eminent scholar and follower of Shāfi‘ī’s doctrines was born at Arbela, but resided and died at Damascus, where he had filled the place of chief *qaḍī*. By his talents and his writings he merited the honourable title of the most learned man and the ablest historian of that city. He was born on Thursday, the 11th of the latter Rabī‘, A. H. 608 (22nd Sept. A. D. 1211). His mother descended from Khalaf Ibn Ayyūb, a disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah. He passed the first years of his life at Arbela and then proceeded to Mosul, where he studied Jurisprudence, and was still in the prime of youth when he went to Damascus. After a short residence in that city he travelled to Egypt, where he resumed his studies and acquired a competent knowledge of all the sciences, whilst he attained a great pre-eminence as a jurisconsult, a theologian, and grammarian. In that country he acted in the capacities of a *mufti* and a public teacher, but without neglecting to cultivate his talent

<sup>1</sup> This genealogy is incomplete; the descent of Ibn Khallikān from the Barmekide family is a point which I shall examine when treating of his life and times.

as a prose-writer and a poet. Having been appointed *qāḍī* of Damascus, he left Cairo on the 27th of Dhu'l-Hijjah, A. H. 666, and arrived at the former city on the third of Muḥarram, A. H. 667.<sup>1</sup> During a period of ten years he fulfilled in person the duties of his office; at first he exercised his authority without a colleague, but he then received information that a decree had been issued by order of the noble prince al-Malik al-Zāhir (*Bibars*), declaring that there should be four *qāḍīs* at Damascus. Three acts of investiture then arrived, drawn up in favour of Shams al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Aṭa the Hanafite, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Salām al-Zowāwī the Malekite, and Shams al-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān the Hanbalite. Before that time they were merely the deputies of the Shafite *qāḍī*. It was remarked as an extraordinary circumstance by the Shayḫ Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Sāmā that there should be at the same time three *qāḍīs* at Damascus, all surnamed Shams al-Dīn (*sun of religion*). It was on this occasion that the following lines were composed by one of the literary men in the city :

'The people of Damascus have witnessed a perfect miracle : the greater the number of suns, the more the world was in the dark.'

Another poet said on the same subject :

'The men of Damascus are bewildered with the multitude of legal decisions; their *qāḍīs* are all suns, and yet they are in the dark.'

"Ibn Khallikān was afterwards removed from the *qāḍī*ship of Damascus, and proceeded to Cairo, where he was nominated deputy to the chief *qāḍī* Badr al-Dīn al-Sinjārī. During his residence there he pursued his literary labours, and discharged the duties of a professor and *muftī* till his re-appointment to the place of *qāḍī* at Damascus, as successor to 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣāigh. He then set out for that city, and at his approach the governor 'Izz al-Dīn 'Aydmar went out in state to receive him with the *amīrs* and the persons in office; as for the principal inhabitants, they had already made a journey of some days to meet him on the road. Numerous *qaṣīdās* were composed by the

---

<sup>1</sup> These dates are wrong. Ibn Khallikān was appointed *qāḍī* of Damascus A. H. 659.

poets, in which they congratulated him on his reinstatement: and one of these pieces, which was recited to him by the *Shaykh* Rashīd al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn Ismā'il al-Fāriqi, contained the following passage:

'Like Joseph in Egypt, you have now completed your probation, and in my opinion all generous men form a race apart. They all have seven years of suffering to undergo, but then cometh a year which sheds joy and abundance upon mankind.'

"In this he alludes to the length of time Ibn *Khallikān* was away from them. The piece which follows was composed by Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Muṣ'ab:

'Among all the people of Damascus, I did not find one displeased. After evil, good has come unto them; it is the time for joy unrestrained. The pleasure which he had already inspired was succeeded by grief, but fortune acted justly in the end: after protracted sadness they were restored to joy by the arrival of one *qādī* and the dismissal of another. They are now all grateful for what is coming, and all complaining of what is past.'

"He continued to fill the post of *qādī* at Damascus till the year 680, when he was dismissed, and from that period till the day of his death, he never went out of doors. He died on Saturday the 26th of Rajab,—some say, the 16th,—A. H. 681 (29th October A. D. 1282), in the Najībiya College at Damascus, and was interred at Mount Qāsiyān. He was a man of the greatest reputation for learning, versed in various sciences, and highly accomplished; he was a scholar, a poet, a compiler, and an historian. His celebrated biographical work, the *Wafayāt*, is the acme of perfection. The contemporary poets were encouraged by his generous character to celebrate his praises in poems of great beauty, certain of obtaining an ample recompense from his liberality. His conduct was marked by prudence, moderation, and indulgence for the failings of others. When residing in Egypt, subsequently to his (*first*) removal from office, he was for a time much reduced in circumstances, and the lord-treasurer Badr al-Dīn, who happened to be informed of his situation, ordered him a large sum of money as a present, with one hundred *ardeb*s of wheat besides; this gift, however, he would never consent to accept. The *hāfiẓ* Quṭb al-Dīn mentions him

in his History, and styles him an *imām*, a learned scholar, a man of superior abilities, an equitable judge, an historian, and a compiler. He is also spoken of by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu Muḥammad al-Berzālī in his *Muʿjam*, as 'one of the most illustrious scholars of his time, the chief of the learned men of the age, even the most famous; master of a great variety of sciences, such as law, grammar, history, philology, etc. He compiled a valuable historical work, in which he gives the lives of those persons only who had attained celebrity in the class to which they belonged. He filled for a time the place of Shafite *qāḍī* and was also a professor and a *mufti*. He learned the Traditions at Arbela from Ibn al-Karm\* al-Ṣūfī, who also explained to him the *Ṣaḥiḥ* of al-Bukhārī, after having been taught it himself by Abu 'l-Waqt. He received also Traditions from al-Tawī and Ibn al-Jumayzī, and was licensed to teach Traditions by al-Muwayyad al-Ṭasī, Abu Rūh [and] Ibn al-Ṣalfār, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad al-Qushayrī, Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Sayyid al-Ḥusaynī, and others at Naysapur.' The historian then gives the date of his birth, and continues: 'He was profoundly learned in the pure Arabic language, and no person of that time was better acquainted with the poems of al-Mutanabbī than he. When he received company, the conversation was most instructive, being entirely devoted to learned investigations and the elucidation of obscure points.' Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd says in his history: 'The second time that he filled the place of *qāḍī*, I used to visit him very often, that I might profit by his instructive conversation.' Many other writers have spoken of him in equally favourable terms, but the details which have been given on that subject are already sufficiently copious. It is now absolutely necessary that we should give some passages of his poetry; such are the following:

'I had your image before my eyes, though you dwelt in a distant land; and it seemed to me that my heart was your place of abode. Though absent and far away, my heart held converse with you; you seemed to speak familiarly (*with your lover*), but in reality you were still afflicting him with your aversion.

'Maiden! thou who dwellest near our tribe, can I dare to hope for thy return? Then perhaps, may thy lover, who now

\*al Mukram, No. 376 in autograph.—*Ed.*

suffers from the intoxication of passion, recover his reason. There is but one thing in the world which I desire: let me meet there and all the cruelties of love shall be forgotten !

‘O Lord! thy humble creature strives to conceal his faults. in the kindness, cast a veil over his faults when they appear. He has come unto thee. but has no friend to intercede for him; receive then the intercession of his hairs hoary with age.’ ”

The well merited celebrity which Ibn Khallikān’s work rapidly acquired, and the esteem in which it was justly held for its exactness, induced many learned men to undertake the task of rendering it still more complete. I shall here enumerate those different essays as I find them indicated in the Bibliography of Hājji Khalifah and other sources.—“Tāj al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāqī Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Makḥḥamī, a member of the sect of Mālik, added to it about thirty articles. This writer, who died A. H. 745 (A. D. 1342-3), blames the poverty of Ibn Khallikān’s style, and gives the preference to that of Ibn al-Aṭṭār.”—He cannot mean Ibn al-Aṭṭār the historian, whose style is remarkably simple; but as there were three brothers who bore this name and who are all noticed by our author, Tāj al-Dīn may perhaps have had in view some work composed by one of the two others, and written in the full dignity of what the Arabs consider a fine style, and which is always the more admired the less it is intelligible to the ordinary reader. Indeed many of their authors explained their own works to students, who rendered the same service to others; but when this traditional exegesis was interrupted, a consummation which happened sooner or later, no person was tempted to take up a book which he could not hope to understand. and the masterpiece of style reposed undisturbed on the shelf and finally sunk into oblivion.

“A continuation of Ibn Khallikān’s work was written by Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Aibek who died in the year (no date given).” I suspect that Hājji Khalifah never saw the work and that he knew nothing of the author. There was an Ibn ‘Aibek who wrote a supplement to Ibn Khallikān, but of this more hereafter.—“To this supplement a continuation of thirty articles was added by Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-‘Irāqī, who died

A. H. 806 (A. D. 1403-4)".—"Another supplement, bearing the title of '*Uqūd al-Jinān (buds of the garden)*', and containing the lives of many persons mentioned incidentally in Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary, was drawn up by the Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī, who died A. H. 994 (A. D. 1586)." — Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Shākir composed a work called *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt (omissions of the Wafayāt)*". *Wafayāt al-A'yām*, or *deaths of eminent men*, is the Arabic title of Ibn Khallikān's book.—"Ibn Shākir died A. H. 764 (A. D. 1362-3)." —This is probably the work of which a volume is described by Casiri in his *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp. No. 1774*.—Another supplement, not noticed by Hājji Khalifah, is the *Tālt Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yām (continuation of Ibn Khallikān's biographical dictionary)*, by al-Muwaffaq Faḍl Allāh Ibn Abī Fakhr al-Ṣaqqā'ī الصقاعي. This is a short work arranged alphabetically and accompanied with a supplement, which is arranged chronologically and extends from A. H. 660 to A. H. 725. A copy of the *Tālt* is in the *Bib. du Roi*, under the No. 732.

It appears from an inscription on the first page of this MS. that it once belonged to Khalil Ibn 'Ayybak, the author of the following work: "*Wāfi 'l-Wafayāt (supplement to the Wafayāt)*", by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalil Ibn 'Ayybak al-Safadī. This author died A. H. 764 (1362-3). In it he has collected the lives of all the illustrious and eminent men who fixed his attention; thus he gives notices of the principal Companions of Muḥammad and the next class (*Tābi'is*) of the early Muslims; he mentions also princes, *amīrs*, *qāḍis*, governors, *Qur'ān*-readers, Traditionists, jurisconsults, *shaykhs*, holy men, saints, grammarians, literary men, poets, philosophers, physicians, followers of heretical sects, authors, etc."—Hājji Khalifah does not say expressly that this work was intended as a supplement to that of Ibn Khallikān, but the title is a sufficient proof that it was so. And what a supplement!—twenty-six large volumes! This enormous compilation had the usual fate of works too extensive; it was seldom copied, and remained almost unknown. Eleven detached volumes of it are preserved in the Bodleyan Library, another is in the possession of M. de Hammer, and one, as I have been informed, was lately acquired by M. Gayangos. This unwieldy

supplement was not however sufficiently complete in the opinion of a very learned Egyptian historian. "The Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghūrī Bardī" --or Tangri Verdi-- "who died A. H. 874 (A. D. 1469-70), composed"--as a supplement to this supplement-- "three volumes, which he entitled *al-Manḥal al-Ṣāfi wa 'l-Mustawfi ba'd al-Wāfi* (the pure source and the full complement, after the Wāfi). This work, forming three volumes, contains the lives of eminent men, drawn up in alphabetical order."--The copy in the *Bib. du Roi* is composed of five volumes, and yet the last two or three letters are wanting. The same writer drew up the history of Egypt in the form of annals, and entitled *al-Nujūm al-Zāhiraḥ*; which, though very voluminous (eight *folio* volumes), has survived; but his *al-Baḥr-'al-Zākhir*, or annals of Islamism, was not so fortunate; only one volume of it, the fifth, exists in the *Bib. du Roi*; it contains a part of the reign of the Khalif 'Uthmān, the reign of 'Alī, that of Mu'āwiyah, and the first years of Yazīd; a space of about thirty-nine years; and for this he has required a large *quarto* volume. If he brought the history down to his own time, the work must have formed twenty volumes at the lowest evaluation.

We now come to the abridgments: "*Al-Jinān* (the garden) by Ṣhams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Turkumānī; this writer died some time after the year A. H. 750 (A. D. 1349-50). Another abridgment of it was made by al-Malik al-Afḍal 'Abbās Ibn al-Malik al-Afḍal al-Mujāhid 'Alī, sovereign of Yeman; he died A. H. 778 (A. D. 1376-7)."--See Johansen's *Historia Yemane*.--"A third was made by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a member of the sect of al-Ṣhāfi'i and a native of Ghazza (*Gaza in Palestine*); he died A. H. 822 (A. D. 1419)." A fourth was made subsequently to the appearance of Ḥājji Khalīfah's bibliographical dictionary. In the MS. of that work, *Bib. du Roi*, *fonds Schulz*, the following additional article is found: "An abridgment of the original work was also made by Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣṭafā al-Farādī, who died A. H. 1126 (A. D. 1714). He entitled it *al-Tajrīd* (*superfluities stripped off*)."

We learn also from Ḥājji Khalīfah that the biographical dictionary was translated into Persian by Zāḥir al-Dīn al-Ardebilī, who died at Cairo, A. H. 930 (A. D. 1523-4). "I have read",

says he, "in a Persian epistle composed by *Qādī* Ibn Uways Ibn Muḥammad, but better known by the name of *Qādī* Zadal, who died A. H. 930, that the Sulṭān Selīm *Khān* the First"—the son of Bāyazīd; he came to the throne A. H. 918 (A. D. 1512-13) and died 926 (A. D. 1520)—"had been making searches for books on history, that he paid a particular degree of attention to the work of Ibn *Khallikān*. This induced al-Ardebilī to translate it into Persian for his use, but he had only executed the half of his task when the sulṭān died. This is probably the same person as the *Zahīr al-Dīn* above mentioned."

The facts and observations here presented refer directly to Ibn *Khallikān* or to his work, but some further remarks are requisite in order that a number of allusions peculiar to Arabic literature, and frequently occurring in the course of these volumes, may be clearly understood. The points intended to be elucidated are the manner in which learning was developed by the influence of Islamism, the distinction between the sciences positively encouraged by it and those which it merely tolerated, the difference between Muslim schools and Muslim colleges, the special cast of the sciences taught equally in each, the character of Arabic poetry and the nature of the *qaṣīdah*. Had a regular treatise on the history of Arabian literature existed in that language, these particularities could not have long escaped notice; but as they are only mentioned incidentally by native writers, they have been usually passed over without receiving that attention which they deserved. These points, however, are of such material importance for the literary history of the Arabs that I felt it my duty to investigate them; the extreme difficulty of discovering the scattered facts serving to establish them was amply repaid by occasional success, and the results to which I have been led shall be confided to the following pages, with other observations which, though familiar to Orientalists, are not on that account less requisite for most readers. And yet it must be acknowledged that much more remains to be done; the foundations are indeed laid out, but the edifice is yet to be reared; a task which no doubt will sooner or later be accomplished by the zeal and learning of European scholars.

The oldest monuments of Arabic literature which we still



possess were composed within the century which preceded the birth of Muḥammad<sup>1</sup> They consist in short pieces of verse uttered on the spur of the moment<sup>2</sup>, narrations of combats

M. de Sacy, in his *Mémoire sur les anciens monumens de la littérature arabe*, has fully established this point in refuting Albert Schulten's extravagant opinions on the antiquity of Arabic literature. The celebrated poem attributed to Abū Adina, or Udaina (see Schulten's *Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae*, p. 57), is one of the few pieces which M. de Sacy considers as of genuine antiquity, and according to him it was composed towards A. D. 450. I am by no means inclined to admit this opinion; the language and style of the piece are comparatively modern and such as denote an author who lived in the second century after the Hijrah, a period in which many literary forgeries of a similar kind were committed. The real author was perhaps Kḥalaf al-Aḥmar, whose character as a *fabricator of ancient poems* was notorious (no. 249). The poems of Amro 'l-Qays, or, as the name should be properly pronounced, 'Imra al-Qays, are the sole pieces extant of an undeniable antiquity they were composed at least fifty years before the birth of Muḥammad, as I have shown in my preface to his *Diwān*, and my deduction is fully confirmed by the following passage, which the learned author of the History of Aleppo, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar 'Ibn al-Adīm, has inserted in his biographical dictionary of the remarkable men who lived in or visited that city (*Bughyat al-Talab fi Tārīkh Ḥalab*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 726, fol. 194 verso) "The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'Amr 'Uṭmān Ibn Bakr estimated that Imra al-Qays was anterior to Muḥammad by one hundred and fifty or two hundred years; but al-Wazīr al-Maḡhribi observes that by estimation and approximation it has been established that the interval between the death of Imra al-Qays and the birth of the Prophet was really fifty or fifty-five years."

These pieces of verse are almost always of the measure called *rajaz*, one of the simplest and also the very earliest of the systems of versification employed in Arabic poetry. The old *rajaz* verses were considered by Arabic philologists and grammarians as of the highest importance of their favourite study, on account of the rare words, expressions, and constructions with which they abound. To a person familiar with the Arabic of the Muslim writers, these productions of the old Pagan Arabs seem to belong to another language, as it frequently happens that in a fragment of five or six lines he will not meet a single word with the meaning of which he is acquainted. They are the remains of the different dialects once spoken in the Arabian Peninsula and in the plains which separate Syria from Mesopotamia before the period in which the Qur'ān, that great monument of the Quraysh dialect had fixed the Arabic language.

between hostile tribes, passages in rhythmical prose<sup>1</sup> and *qaṣīdahs*, or elegies. The study of these remains reveals the existence of a language perfect in its form and application, admirably suited to express the various ideas which the aspect of nature could suggest to a pastoral people, and as equally adapted to portray the fiercer passions of the mind. The variety of its inflections, the regularity of its syntax, and the harmony of its prosody are not less striking, and they furnish in themselves a sufficient proof of the high degree of culture which the language of the Arabic nation had already attained<sup>2</sup>. The superior merit of this early literature was ever afterwards acknowledged by the Arabs themselves; it furnished them not only with models but ideas for their poetical production; and its influence has always continued perceptible in the *qaṣīdah*<sup>3</sup> which still contains the same thoughts, the same allusions as of old, and drags its slow length along in monotonous dignity.

A great change came over the spirit of Arabic literature on the appearance of the Qur'ān, an extraordinary compound of falsehood and truth,\* which moulded a people of shepherds and robbers into a nation and launched them forth to the conquest of the world. It is considered by Muslims as the word of God, —His eternal, uncreated word,—revealed to mankind in the

<sup>1</sup> When the Arabs of the desert wished to express themselves with elegance, they adopted a rhythmical arrangement of words and that parallelism of phrase which is the characteristic of good Arabic prose. This peculiarity is evident in all the pieces which have been handed down to us as specimens of the idiom spoken in the Desert, and is by no means an innovation of Muslim writers; the *Ḥamāsah*, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, and the 'Amālī of Abu 'Alī 'l-Qāli furnish a copious supply of examples which prove that the art of composing in rhythmical prose not only existed before Muḥammad's time, but was even then generally practised and had been brought to a high degree of perfection.

<sup>2</sup> This is in some degree attributable to the annual meetings of the poets at the fair of 'Ukāz, but the poems of Imra al-Qays are a proof that the language had acquired its regularity and flexibility from some other source, as he never attended these assemblies. His was the dialect of the Himyarite Arabs, and it was most probably at the court of his ancestors, the kings of the tribe of Kinda, that it received its polish.

See Introduction, page 35.

\* The author's prejudice is too evident to be refuted. Such expressions are to be condemned in the strongest terms.—*Ed.*

language of Paradise, to remain a standing miracle by its admirable style. This opinion deterred nearly every attempt at imitation<sup>1</sup>; the book stood apart in the majesty of its supposed\* excellence, but the study of its contents, combined with that of the Traditions relative to its authority, gave rise to almost all the branches of Arabian learning. The mode by which this was effected shall be here briefly explained, but it is requisite to make some previous observations on the Traditions.

The sayings of Muḥammad were considered by his followers as the result of divine inspiration, and they therefore treasured them up in their memory with the same care which they had taken in learning by heart the chapters of the *Qur'ān*. They recorded also his behaviour under particular circumstances, the acts of his daily life, even the most trifling, and they related them to the rising generation as examples of conduct for every Muslim.<sup>2</sup> It may be easily imagined that the mass of these Traditions increased rapidly: the different accounts of the same event, the same thoughts expressed in other terms, and even fabricated statements were received with equal avidity by the followers of Islamism, and soon became so numerous that no single man could recollect them all. It was, therefore, necessary to put them down in writing, and the first essay of this kind was made by Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī during the reign of the khalīf 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.<sup>3</sup> Other doctors in different cities of the Muslim empire, and between the years 140 and 150 of

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Muqaffa' al-Mutanabbi' Abu'l - 'Alā al-Ma'arri, and few others who like them did not hold very orthodox opinions, essayed in some of their writings to surpass the style of the *Qur'ān*, but their attempt was naturally considered as a failure. Were we to examine the *Qur'ān* by the rules of rhetoric and criticism as they are taught in Muslim schools, we should be obliged to acknowledge that it is the perfection of thought and expression; an inevitable result, as the Muslims drew their principles of rhetoric from that very book.

<sup>2</sup> The distinction between the *Ḥadīth* (sayings) and the *Sunan* (doings) is not attended to by doctors of the Muslim law; both are equally authoritative.

<sup>3</sup> The author of the *Muḥṭāṣar al-Awṭ'il* mentions this fact on the authority of al-Suyūṭī, most probably from the *Awṭ'il*, one of the numerous treatises by that writer.

\* See Editor's note, p. 16.

the Hijrah, classed the Traditions according to the subjects which they served to illustrate<sup>1</sup> and towards the beginning of the third century, al-Bukhārī undertook to reduce their number by selecting those only which were supported by the best authority. In discriminating between the true and the false, he was guided by the character of the persons through whom they had passed down, and he rejected those which could not be traced up through an unbroken series of Traditionists all men of unimpeached veracity and acknowledged piety. His example was followed by other doctors, and the united contents of the six *Ṣaḥīḥs*, or genuine collections, form to the presentday one of the four columns which support the edifice of Muslim law. These Traditions serve to explain points of doctrine not set forth with sufficient clearness in the *Qur'ān*, and they are therefore considered as the indispensable supplement to that book. Their style is concise and elliptic, but pure and elegant abounding with idiomatic expressions peculiar to the Arabs of the desert, and not to be perfectly understood without a commentary. The perusal of these documents is however most instructive, and the European scholar who makes it his task to study them will acquire not only a profound knowledge of pure Arabic, but a deep insight into the manners and character of every Muslim people.

The necessity of distinguishing the genuine Traditions from the false gave rise to new branches of literature. A just appreciation of the credit to which each Traditionist was entitled could only be formed from a knowledge of his moral character, and this could be best estimated from an examination of his life. Hence the numerous biographical works arranged in chronological order<sup>2</sup> and containing short accounts of the principal Traditionists and doctors of the law, with the indication of their tutors and their pupils, the places of their birth and residence, the race from which they sprung, and the year of their death. This again led Muslim critics to the study of genealogy and geography.

The use of writing existed in Arabia before the promulgation of Islamism, but grammar was not known as an art till the

---

<sup>1</sup> Of this further notice will be taken; see page 24.

difficulty of reciting the *Qur'an* correctly induced the khalif 'Al to make it an object of his attention. He imposed on Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duwalî the task of drawing up such instructions as would enable the Muslims to read their sacred book and speak their language without making gross faults.<sup>1</sup>

The sense of the *Qur'an* was felt to be obscure in many places, and this was justly attributed to two causes: indirect allusions to circumstances of which no further notice was taken and the use of many words and phrases borrowed from the tribes of the Desert. The allusions were explained by the companions of Muḥammad, and these explanations, handed down by tradition, are still preserved in the commentaries on the *Qur'an*; but the meaning of its obscure expressions could only be obtained from a comparison of the passages in which they are found with similar passages preserved in the early monuments of the Arabic language. It was this reason which induced Ibn 'Abbās, soon after the death of his cousin Muḥammad, to encourage the study of poetry, and from that time it became an indispensable branch of education. But the poems of the ancient Arabs were usually made on some particular occasion, and to understand them well it was necessary to know the motive which led the author to compose them; and as it generally happened that he was not only a poet, but a warrior, they often contained allusions to the battle-days wherein he himself had fought. This led the Muslim scholar to study the history of the old Arabic tribes, and here again he could not see his way without the help of genealogy.

The duty of pilgrimage contributed to turn their attention to geography. The believers who dwelt in distant lands required to know the towns and countries through which they had to pass before arriving at Mekka; lists and itineraries were drawn up for this purpose, and hence all their geographical works received the general title of *Musālik wa Mamālik* (*Roads and Realms*). Every mosque in the Muslim empire must be turned towards Mekka, and the founder had therefore to ascertain previously the latitude and longitude of the place where the edifice was to be erected. This required some knowledge of astronomy, a science of foreign

<sup>1</sup> See the life of Abu 'l-Aswad, No. 290.

growth, but which had been encouraged from the earliest period of Islamism, since some knowledge of its requisite to ascertain the hours of prayer, which could only be determined by means of the altitude of the sun. In the latitude of Mekka the daily variation of the hours, caused by the sun's movement in the ecliptic, was so light, that it produced very little change in the times of prayer throughout the year; but in higher latitudes the difference became perceptible, and it was only by tables or almanacs that the *muwadhhdhin* was enabled to know the precise moment at which he should call the faithful to public worship<sup>1</sup>. The Muslim Lent begins on the first appearance of the new moon in the month of Ramaḍān. The *Sunite* doctors require that the moon should be seen before the fast can commence; but in Egypt, under the Fatimides, and in the countries where the *Shiite* doctrines prevailed, the day of the new moon was fixed beforehand by calculations to which lunar tables served as a basis, and these tables were gradually improved by the assiduity of astronomers, encouraged in their labours by the patronage of government.

In their arithmetical calculations the Arabs employed certain letters of the alphabet with a numerical value, but they afterwards adopted the Indian ciphers.<sup>2</sup> The arithmetic of fractions was cultivated by them very early; the *Qur'ān*, in fixing the shares of inheritance to which the nearer and the more distant heirs are entitled, rendered it indispensable.<sup>3</sup> The first principles of algebra seem to have been known to them even in the lifetime of

---

1 The works serving to point out the precise hours of prayer were called *Mawaqit* مواقيت and their authors were entitled *Muwaqqit* موقت the *muwadhhdhins* of mosques were sometimes *Muwaqqits*.

2 In their astronomical works they employ both systems of notation, but in the tables they generally make use of letters, as by their means they can express all numbers below two thousand.

3 The art reckoning fractions was known to Zayd Ibn Thābit, one of Muḥammad's Companions and he applied it, with the approbation of his master, to the division of inheritances. The imām al-Shāfi'i improved on Zayd's principles, and his system was taken by the author of the *Sirajiyah* as the basis of his work.

Muhammad.<sup>1</sup>

General history was not at first considered by Muslims as a lawful science, and many doctors were by religious scruples to condemn its study. But the history of literary men, that is, of doctors of the law, poets, philologists and grammarians, received their approval, inasmuch as the writings of such persons were connected with those branches of learning, the germs of which had expanded under the influence of the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions. All the great cities had their literary history, into which the patriotism of the author, anxious to exalt the glory of his native place, sometime induced the lives of great princes, generals, vizirs, and other public officers.<sup>2</sup> It was only when pious Muslims had been led to believe that political history was instructive and edifying, since it marks the way of God towards man, that writings of this cast obtained at length a hesitating approval.

The documents relative to Muhammadan history were transmitted during the first centuries by oral tradition from one *hāfiẓ* to another, and these persons made it an object of their particular care not to alter, in the least degree, the narrations which they had received. The pieces thus preserved were generally furnished by eye-witnesses of the facts which are related in them, and are therefore of the highest importance not for the history of the Muslim people, but for that of the Arabic language. The *hāfiẓ* who communicated a narration of this kind to his scholar,

<sup>1</sup> Though the history of algebra was not the immediate object of my studies, I met in Arabic writers some particular circumstances relative to it which have fixed my attention and led me to the conclusion which I here announce; but more extensive researches must be made before I can furnish the complete proofs of my assertion.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these histories with their continuations formed collections of from eighty to one hundred large volumes, a few of which are yet to be found in European libraries. The *Bibliothèque de Roi* possesses a folio volume closely written and containing a very small part of Khafīf's History of Baghdad—a portion only of the letter 'ayn. Another large volume on the History of Aleppo contains only a small part of the first letter of the alphabet. The extent of some of these collections may be best appreciated from Hājī Khalīfah's account of them in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*; see the articles *Tārīkh Baghdad*. *Tārīkh Haleb*, *Tawārīkh Dimesch*, etc.

never neglected indicating beforehand the series of persons through whom it had successively passed before it came down to him, and this introduction, or *support*. *Isnād* as the Arabs call it, is the surest proof that what follows is authentic. The increasing number of these narrations became at length a burden to the best memory, and it was found necessary to write down the more ancient of them lest they should be forgotten. One of the first and most important of these collections was Ibn Islāq's History of the Muslim wars, a work of which we possess but a small portion, containing the life of Muḥammad, with notes and additions by a later editor, Ibn Hiṣḥām; this is a book of the highest authority and deservedly so, but it is unfortunately of great rareness. This History of Islamism by al-Ṭabarī was formed also in a similar manner; being merely a collection of individual narrations preceded by their *isnāds*: many of them relate to same event, and from their mutual comparison a very complete idea can be acquired of the history of that early period. These collections of original documents were consulted by later historians, such as Ibn-al-Jawzī, Ibn-al-Aṭhīr, and others, and it was from these sources that they drew the facts set forth in their respective works. It may be laid down as a general principle that Islamic history assumed at first the form of a collection of statements, each of them authenticated by an *isnād*; then came a writer who combined these accounts, but suppressed the *isnāds* and the repetitions; he was followed by the maker of abridgments, who condensed the work of his predecessor and furnished a less extensive book on the same subject. The greater work then lay buried in some public library; none were inclined to go to the expense of having it copied for their own use when an abridgment of it could be procured at a cheap rate; and there it remained till time, worms, and war accomplished its destruction. Abu 'l-Fidā and al-Suyūṭī did nearly as much harm to Ibn al-Aṭhīr and al-Ṭabarī as Justin and Florus did to Livy and Tacitus.

In all the Muslim cities, the sciences connected with Islamism were actively cultivated, but Baṣrah and Kūfah attained, at an early period, a high pre-eminence for learning. A great rivalry prevailed between the schools of these two cities, but the utmost difference which we can now discover in their systems of



doctrine not very material; they each transmitted with some variations, the works of the older poets, each had a particular manner of explaining the obscure passages contained in these pieces, and each solved certain grammatical difficulties in a way peculiar to itself. The study of grammar and philology reached a high degree of perfection in these schools, and through them the early literature of the Arabs was handed down by oral transmission, with the same exactness as others delivered the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions. The idiom spoken by the Arabs of the desert was the great object of their studies, and its copious phraseology was preserved from oblivion by their labours. The number of their compilations, consisting in passages of prose and verse which they had received from the different tribes, would be hardly credible, were the fact not supported by the united testimony of all the Arabian biographers. The articles contained in these philological collections were generally classed under different heads, each of which formed a separate treatise. Some were on camels, some on horses, others on plants, tents, arms, hunting, hospitality, etc. ; in a word, on every subject furnished by nomadic life. These documents served later as the ground work of dictionaries, and it was probably from them that al-Fairnzābādī drew the quantity of extracts which swelled out his first Arabic lexicon, the *Lāmi'*, to sixty volumes.<sup>1</sup>

During a considerable period all the knowledge of the Muslims was transmitted by tradition ; nay, doctors of the law composed works and taught them to their pupils, without having written them down, so great was the prejudice against learning acquired from books. Religious scruples long hindered them from putting them on paper ; they said also, and very justly when we consider the nature of their written character, that what was confided to paper could not be perfectly understood without a master and they observed besides that it was more exposed to alterations and destruction than when it was engraved on the mind. Information of all sorts continued to accumulate in this manner, till at length it obliged them to put it in some order and have recourse to the pen. "In the year of the Hijrah 143

---

<sup>1</sup> See his preface to the *Qāmūs*.

says al-Dhahabī<sup>1</sup> the learned men of Islamism began to draw up<sup>2</sup> the Traditions, jurisprudence, and the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*. Ibn Jurayj composed his books at Mekka; Sa'id Ibn Abi 'Uruba,<sup>3</sup> Hammād Ibn Maslamah, and others composed theirs at Baṣrah; Abū Ḥanīfah and Rabī'at al-Rā'i drew up their works on Jurisprudence at Kufah, and al-Auzā'i in Spain; Mālik composed his *Muwatta* at Medīnah; Ibn Ishāq then drew up his *Maghāzī* (*Wars of Islamism*); Ma'nar<sup>4</sup> composed in Yemen,

<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Abd 'Allah Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn Kuimāz al-Dhahabī, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and surnamed Shams al-Dīn (*the sun of religion*), was born in the month of Rajab, A. H. 673 (January, A. D. 1275) at Damascus; but his ancestors, who were of the Turcoman nation, inhabited Mayyafariqīn. He was the chief ḥāfiẓ and *Qur'ān*-reader of Syria. Having received the first principles of learning at the place of his birth, he visited successively Ba'labakk, Cairo, Nāblus, Aleppo, Mekkah, Medīnah, Jerusalem, and Tripolis, that he might complete his studies under the eminent teachers who then inhabited these cities. He died at Damascus, A. H. 748 (A. D. 1347-8). His works were very numerous and consisted in compilations, abridgments, and original treatises; the title of sixty-seven are given by Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn, who acknowledges however that he did not notice the whole of al-Dhahabī's productions. The most important of them are the *Annals of Islamism*, of which a broken set is preserved in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*; this work was composed of twenty-one volumes. An abridged history of eminent men, forming a number of volumes. An abridged history of the Muslim kingdoms. An examination into the credibility of Trāditionists. A chronological biography of those who bore the title of ḥāfiẓ (*Tabaqat al-ḥuffāz*) in two volumes. A biography of *Qur'ān*-readers (*Tabaqat al-Qurra*) a copy of which work is in the *Bib. du Roi*. An abridgment of the Khāṭib's History of Baghdad and of al-Sam'ānī's. *An abridgment in ten volumes* of the history of Damascus; another of the Hākīm's *History of Naishāpūr*. The history of al-Hallāj; an abridgment of Abū'l-Fida's Geography, etc.—(*Al-Manḥal al-Sāfi*, vol. V. fol. 86 verso).

In the original text, the word employed is *tadwīn* (تدوين).

<sup>3</sup> Abū'l-Naḍr Sa'id Ibn Abi 'Uruba Marwān, a native of Baṣrah and a *mawla* to the tribe of 'Alī, learned the Traditions from Naḍr Ibn Anas Ibn Mālik and Qutāda; Ibn Mubārak was one of his disciples. According to al-Bukhārī, he died A. H. 156 (A. D. 772-3) *Tabaqat al-Muḥaddithīn*, MS. No. 736.

<sup>4</sup> Abū 'Urwah Ma'nar Ibn Abi 'Urwah Raṣhīd was a *mawla* to the tribe of Azd and a native of Baṣrah but he settled in Yemen. He learned the Traditions from al-Zuhri, and among his own pupils he had al-Ḥawrī. Ibn 'Uyainah and Ibn Mubārak. He died in the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 153 (September, A. D. 770) or by another statement, in 158. —(*Tab. al-Muḥad*).

and Sufyan al-Thawrī wrote his book the *Jāmi'*. Very soon after, Ibn Hishām, Layth Ibn Sa'd, and Abd 'Allah Ibn Lahī'ah composed their works ; then followed Ibn al-Mubārak and the Qāḍī Abū Yūsuf, at which period the classification and registering of knowledge was carried to a great length. The treatises on grammar and on the language were then drawn up,<sup>1</sup> as also history and the adventures of the desert Arabs. Before this, all the learned spoke from memory, and the information which they communicated to their pupils was devoid of order, but from that time the acquisition of learning was rendered easy and its preservation by the memory became gradually less frequent."<sup>2</sup>

The task of tracing the progress of the Muslims in legal studies would be extremely difficult for a European pen, and the labour of many years would hardly suffice for its accomplishment. The observations which follow are therefore to be considered in no other light than as a very imperfect sketch. On the first establishment of Islamism, the text of the *Qur'ān* and the example given by Muḥammad sufficed to guide the first doctors of the law to the solution of the different questions to which the theocratical organisation of the Muslim empire gave rise ; but soon after the death of their lawgiver, the state of the Arab people underwent an immense alteration ; a great portion of the nomadic tribes having abandoned their former mode of life on settling in the countries which they had subdued.<sup>3</sup> The possession of power and riches gave rise to new feelings, new ideas, and new manners they had entered into a new sphere of existence and found themselves under the necessity of establishing a system of rules and regulations calculated to ensure the uniformity of their religious rites, and give a more comprehensive action to the principles

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān and the author of the *Fihrist* appear in a number of cases, to designate unwritten works by the term '*kutub*' (books), and written ones by the words '*kutub muṣannafah*' (composed books). This is, however, a point which requires further examination, for '*kutub*' may perhaps signify compilations and '*kutub muṣannafah*' original works.

<sup>2</sup> This citation is copied from Abu'l-Mahāsin's *Nujūm* under the year 143.

<sup>3</sup> In Ibn al-Jawzī's *Talqīḥ*, MS. No. 631, will be found the names of the principal *tabi'is* who settled in the following places: Ṭā'if, Yemen, Yamāmah, Baḥrayn, Kufah, Baṣrah, Madā'in, Khurāsān, Wāsiṭ, Baghdad, Syria, Mesopotamia, the frontiers of Syria, and Egypt.

of their civil law. Thus their general code, the main points of which had been previously fixed, received its development from the progress of the people in civilisation.

Muslim law flows from four sources : the *Qur'ān*, the *Sunnah* or Traditions, the general practice or common consent of the ancient imāms, and the principles deduced from the comparison of these three. The imperfection of the legal regulations contained in the *Qur'ān* obliged the first Muslims to consult Muḥammad on those difficulties which the text of that work was inadequate to solve ; his opinion was scrupulously followed, and the validity of his decisions was considered as incontrovertible. The ancient imāms, that is, the principal jurisconsults of the first, second, and third centuries after the Hijrah, founded their general practice on that of their predecessors, but some of them presumed to decide on cases hitherto unforeseen, by means of analogical deductions from the three first source of the law. These were called the *Mujtahid* imāms because they employed the utmost efforts of their mind to attain the right solution of such questions as were submitted to their judgment.<sup>1</sup> Among those imāms Abn Ḥanīfah, al-Shāfi'ī, Mālik, and Ibn Ḥanbal stood pre-eminent not only for their abilities but for the number of points which each settled of his own authority and formed into a body of supplementary doctrines. It naturally happened that these four held different opinions in some cases, but as all the dogmas and leading principles of the law had been already immutably fixed, their decisions related to questions of mere secondary importance, and their doctrine, in the main, was perfectly orthodox. At the present day, the difference which subsists between the practice of their respective followers lies in some particular modifications of the general form of prayer, and in the solution of some legal questions relating principally to property. Of these four sects, the Ḥanbalite and Mālekite may be considered as the most rigid, the Shāfite as the most conformable to the spirit of Islamism, and the Ḥanīfite as the mildest and most philosophical of them

<sup>1</sup> *Mujtahid* is derived from *jahd* (effort). This title has long ceased to be in use among the *Sunnites*, but it is still borne in Persia by the chief jurisconsult of each province. Some of the older travellers write this name *Muṣṭahid* and derive it from *shahad* (to bear witness to the truth). The derivation of the word *qa'id* (chief) from *qu'la* (to judge) is a mistake of a similar kind.

all.<sup>1</sup> Two other imāms, Abū Dawūd al-Zāhirī and Sufyān at-Thawrī, were also chiefs of orthodox sects, but their opinions had not many followers, and after some time were totally abandoned. Ibn Jarir al-Ṭabarī, whose reputation as an historian is so familiar to Europeans, founded also a particular sect, which disappeared soon after his death.

The heretical doctrines of the *Shiites*, who under the name of *Rāfiqites* or *Ismāʿīlians*, hold so prominent a place in Muslim history, had little influence on Arabic literature; but the science of scholastic theology, a Motazelite innovation, gave to the language a scientific precision which it had not hitherto possessed, and which was still more deeply impressed on its style by the translations of Aristotle's works and those of other Greek philosophers. The art of medicine was received from foreigners; the early physicians were natives of India, the next were tributary subjects, and al-Kindī was one of the first Muslims<sup>2</sup> by whom it was practised. The influence of medical writ-

---

<sup>1</sup> The following passage, extracted from Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena* to his Universal History, merits a place here: "The science of Jurisprudence forms two systems: that of the followers of private judgment and analogy (*ahl al-rāʾi wa'l-qiyās*) who were natives of 'Irāq, and that of the followers of Tradition who were natives of Hijāz. As the people of 'Irāq possessed but few Traditions, they had often recourse to analogical deductions and attained great proficiency therein, for which reason they were called the followers of private judgment: the imām Abū Ḥanīfah, who was their chief and had acquired a perfect knowledge of this system, taught it to his disciples. The people of Hijāz had for imām Mālik Ibn Anas and then al-Shāfi'ī. Some time after, a portion of the learned men disapproved of analogical deductions and rejected that mode of proceeding: these were the Zāhirites (followers of Abū Dawūd Sulaymān), and they laid down as a principle that all points of law should be taken from the *Nuṣūṣ* (text of the *Qur'ān* and Traditions) and the *Ijmā'* (universal accord of the ancient imāms)."

<sup>2</sup> It was once supposed that al-Kindī was a Jew, but this is now well known to be false. He belonged to one of the most noble Arabian tribes, that of Kinda, his father and grandfather were Muslims and his great-grandfather was one of Muhammad's companions. It might be said that he was a convert to the Jewish religion, but how then did he contrive to escape the punishment of death inflicted by the law of Muhammad upon apostates, and why should he have borne the title of the Philosopher of the Muslims? M. De Sacy has already remarked and refuted this error in his *Abdallatif*, p. 487.

ings on general literature was necessarily very slight. Alchemy, an art cultivated from the most ancient times, was always a favourite study with the Muslims, and in this pursuit they made many discoveries which served later to form the basis of chemistry. Astrology, like alchemy, was one of the oldest delusions of the human mind, and, although reproved by the *Sunnah*, it has always continued to flourish in every Muslim country, but what they considered as its parasitical branch, astronomy, has long since faded and shrunk away.

It is generally mentioned by Arabic historians that the first *madrasah* (place of study) was founded at Baghdad in the year 459 of the Hijrah (A. D. 1066), by the celebrated Nizām al-Mulk. This statement has led some European writers to assert that the first Arabian *Academy*, or *College*, was established by that vizir. The idea which they attach to these words is not, however, very clear; if they mean that an academy or college is an institution which students must frequent that they may obtain their degrees, then they are mistaken in supposing *madrasahs* to be the first establishments of the kind; and if they add that the academies were *civil* foundations endowed with real estates, and containing chambers or cells in which the students lodged, they are still wrong in the date, for, according to a very good authority, a *madrasah* was founded at Naysapūr for Abn Ishāq al-Isfārāinī, the celebrated Shāfite doctor and professor, who, we know, died A. H. 418<sup>1</sup>. A fact of this nature could not escape the attention of the celebrated annalist and biographer al-Dhahabī, and his observations on the subject are deserving of a place here. He says in his *Annals of Islamism*<sup>2</sup>: "Those who pretend that Nizām al-Mulk was the first founder of *madrasahs* are mistaken. Before his birth the *Bayhaqiān madrasah* existed at Naysapūr as also the *Saidian madrasah*; the latter was built by the amir Nasr Ibn Subuktikin, a brother of the sultān Maḥmūd, when governor of that city. The third was founded at the same place by the *Ṣūfī* preacher Abu Sa'd Isma'il Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Muthanna of Astarabād, one of the *Khaṭīb al-Baghdadi's*

<sup>1</sup> His life is given in No. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Cited by al-Suyūṭī in his *Ḥusn al-Muḥā'ara*, MS. No. 652. fol. 235.

masters. The fourth was in the same city, and had been erected for the master Abu Ishāq." Al-Suyūṭī, who cites the foregoing passage in his *Husn al-Muḥaḍḍarah*<sup>1</sup> then subjoins some extracts from other writers which also merit insertion: "The *Hākim*<sup>2</sup> says in his article on the master Abu Ishāq: *Before this madrasah there was no other like it in Naysāpūr*, from which it is manifest that others had been founded there previously. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī says in his work, entitled *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*<sup>3</sup>: 'Upon reflection I am strongly inclined to think that Niẓām al-Mulk was the first who established in them a fixed allowance for the support of students *المعالييم الطلبة* for I have not been

<sup>1</sup> Al-Suyūṭī died A. H. 911 (A. D. 1505). A full account of his life and a complete list of his writings will be found in the work entitled *Soluti liber de interpretibus Korani*, by Mcursinge, Leyden, 1839. \*

<sup>2</sup> This is the celebrated Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn al-Batī. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

<sup>3</sup> Abu Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahlhāb Ibn Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Dī'ā al-Dīn 'Abd al-Kāfī, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and chief *qāḍī* (*qāḍī 'l-quḍāt*) of Damascus, drew his descent from one of those members of the tribe of Khazraj who took up arms for Muḥammad. He bore the surnames of Tāj al-Dīn (crown of religion) and al-Subkī (native of Subk, a village in Egypt). This celebrated imām was equally illustrious as a juriconsult, a theologian, and a professor. One of his masters was the well-known historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī. He filled four times the place of *qāḍī* at Damascus, and officiated as a *Khaṭīb* or preacher in the great mosque founded by the Omayyides in that city. Among the numerous works which he composed, the most remarkable are—an abridgment of Ibn Hājjib's (*grammatical*) work (the *Kāfiyah*); the chronological history of the Shafite doctors, in three editions designated as the *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra* (the greater), *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Wuṣṭā* (the medium), and *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Suḡhwa* (the less). He left different pieces in prose and verse. Born at Cario, A. H. 728 (A. D. 1327-8); died of the plague at Damascus, A. H. 771 (A. D. 1369-70). (*Al-Manhal al-Ṣifī. Ṭab. al-Shafī*).—His father Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, surnamed Taqī al-Dīn, was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and eminent as a juriconsult, a *kāfz*, an interpreter, a reader of the *Qur'ān*, a theologian, a teacher of scholastic divinity, a grammarian, and a philologist. He was born at Subk in Shārqiyah, a province of Lower Egypt, A. H. 673 (A. D. 1274-5). In 731 he was appointed *qāḍī* of Damascus, where he acted also as a professor. He died A. H. 756 (A. D. 1355), leaving after him a high reputation for learning and virtue. He wrote some works, of which the principal is a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, entitled *al-Durr al-Naẓīm* in three volumes. For further details, see the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shūfiyyin*, MS. No. 861.

able to ascertain that such was previously the case." In corroboration of the preceding remarks other similar facts might be adduced and without specifying the existence of a *dār al-'ilm* or *house of science* opened at Baghdad under the patronage of the vizir Sāpur Ibn Ardašhīr, who died A. H. 416<sup>1</sup>, we might refer, as M. de Hammer has already done, to the *dār al-Ḥikmah*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See No. 241.

<sup>2</sup> The *Dār al-Ḥikmah* differed from every other school and *madrasah* by the sciences taught in it and by the peculiar object of its institution, which was to propagate the Batinite doctrines. See M. de Sacy, *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, vie de Hakem, p. cccxii. Al-Maqrīzī, in his *Khiṭaṭ*, gives the following account of this establishment:—The *Dār al-'Ilm* or *house of science*, called also the *Dār al-Ḥikmah* or *house of philosophy*, was opened by the khalif al-Ḥākim in the month of the latter Jumāda, A. H. 395. The public of all classes were admitted and had permission to read or copy, as they pleased the works which the khalif had sent to it from his own libraries. The quantity of books which it contained was immense, and consisted of treatises on all the sciences and on general literature; among these volumes were some written by the most celebrated penmen. The interior of the establishment was carpeted, gilt, and hung with curtains over the windows and the doors and a number of guardians, slaves, and *farrāshes* kept the whole in order. Lessons were given in it by jurisconsults, *Qur'ān*-readers, astronomers, grammarians, philologists, and physicians, who all received salaries for their services. Paper, pens, and ink were always ready for the public. In the year 403 al-Ḥākim sent for a number of arithmeticians, logicians jurisconsults, and physicians employed in the *Dār al-'ilm*; each class was introduced separately and discussed questions in his presence, after which he clothed them in robes of honour and made them rich presents. This establishment possessed an annual revenue of two thousand five hundred and seventy *dinārs* for its support, of which sum a part was employed in the following manner: for mats, 10 *dinārs*; salary of the *kātib* or copyist, 90 *dinārs*; salary of the librarian, 48 *dinārs*; for water 12 *dinārs*; for the *farrāsh*, 15 *dinārs*; for paper, ink and pens, 12 *dinārs*; for the mending of the curtains, 1 *dinār*; reparation of books and replacing lost leaves, 12 *dinārs*; a carpet for winter, 5 *dinārs*; for palmleaves, to strew floor the in winter, 8 *dinārs*.—When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn re-established the Sunnite doctrines in Egypt, he founded the college called after him *al-Madrasah al-Ṣalāḥiyyah*, and nominated the *shayḥ* Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khubūḥānī as its president, with a monthly salary of forty *dinārs* (about 20 pounds) as chief professor, and another of ten as administrator of the *waqfs*, or property granted to the establishment for its support. He allowed him besides sixty Egyptian *raṭls* (pounds weight) of bread daily and two skins of Nile water.—(*Ḥusn al-Muḥājarah*, fol. 235).



or *house of wisdom* established at Cairo by the Fatimide khalif al-Hākīm in the year 395 of the Hijrah, and to another college founded by the same prince for students of the sect of Mālik, A. H. 400.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, manifest that Nizām al-Mulk was not the first who founded a *madrasah* or college, and it is easy to prove that academies existed long before his time; that they were held in the mosques, as is still the case at Cairo, Ispahān, Bukhāra, Qayrawān, and Fez. The Egyptian historians remark that under the reign of al-'Azīz Nizār, public lectures on different branches of knowledge were opened in the mosque al-Azhar at Old Cairo and that the professors were paid by government. Still earlier Ibrāhīm Ibn Hishām al-Makḥzamī<sup>2</sup> caused regular lessons to be given in the great mosque of Damascus; in the time of Bilāl Ibn Abī Burdah, who died A. H. 126, grammar was taught publicly in the mosques, and Abn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, who died A. H. 74, taught the readings of the *Qur'ān* in the mosque of Kufah; it has been even handed down on good authority that the first who taught in a mosque and instructed a circle of pupils in the reading of the *Qur'ān* was Abu 'l-Dardā, and he died A. H. 32.<sup>3</sup> We know moreover that the first school for Arabic literature was established by Ibn 'Abbās, and that he himself gave regular lectures to an immense multitude who assembled in a valley near Mekkah. A great number of passages might also be adduced, if necessary, to prove that from the time of the *Tābi'in*<sup>4</sup> the regular academies or upper schools were held in the mosques; and that the sciences taught therein were such as related to the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions.<sup>5</sup> The names of all the great doctors who professed in the different cities of the Muslim empire are still known to us, and from the *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqaha* alone a chronological list of teachers might be drawn up,

<sup>1</sup> See M. de Sacy's *Druzes*, tom I, pages cccxii and cccxli.

<sup>2</sup> Ibrāhīm Ibn Hishām al-Makḥzamī was one of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's provincial governors: that khalif died in the year 125 of the Hijrah.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Yāfi'i *Mir'āt al-Janān*.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2 of author's preface.

<sup>5</sup> During the first centuries of Islamism, professors received no other remuneration from their scholars than the presents which it was customary for the latter to give on passing to a higher class.

commencing with the *Ṭābi'its* and descending to the latest times. Mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and metaphysics were excluded from the course of usual instruction, even in the *madrasahs*<sup>1</sup> and could only be learned from private masters, as was still the case till very lately. From the preceding observations it may be concluded that Nizām al-Mulk founded neither the first *madrasah* nor the first academy, and that the institution called after him the Nizāmiah was merely one of the earliest civil establishments for the propagation of learning; the talent of its professors' shed, it is true, a brilliant lustre upon its reputation, but the mosques continued nevertheless to be the only regular academies acknowledged by the law.<sup>2</sup>

It appears from a number of passages in the different *Ṭabaqāts* and in the work of Ibn K<sup>h</sup>allikān, that the young student commenced his labours by learning the *Qur'ān* by heart, and also as many of the Traditions as he was able to acquire at his native place; to this he joined a slight acquaintance with grammar and some knowledge of poetry; on attaining the age of from fourteen to sixteen, he began his travels and visited the great cities, where he learned Traditions and received certificates of licence<sup>3</sup> from eminent Traditionists. He then followed the different courses of lectures which were held in the mosques or in the *madrasahs*, and in some cases he attached himself to one of the professors and lived with him not only as a pupil, but as a menial servant. He there learned by heart the approved works on the dogmas of religion, and studied the commentaries on the same works under the tuition of his master; he acquired a correct

<sup>1</sup> The only exception I have hitherto remarked is offered by al-Hākim's *Dār al-Ḥikmah*.

<sup>2</sup> These observations will account for a singular statement made by al-Maqqari in his History of Spain, where he says, MS. No. 704, fol 60 recto: "Though learning was highly valued by the inhabitants of Spain's gentle and common, they had no *madrasahs* specially established for the propagation of learning; but all the sciences were taught in the mosques for payment." M. Gayangos has omitted this curious passage in his abridged translation of that work.

<sup>3</sup> See a note on the subject of *Ijāzahs*, or certificates of capacity, in M. Hamaker's *Specimen Catalogi MSS. Bib. Lugd. Bat.* See also M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 123.

knowledge of the different readings of the *Qur'ān* and of its orthodox interpretation whilst he pursued the study of ancient poetry and philology, grammar and rhetoric, in order to attain the faculty of appreciating perfectly the admirable style which characterises the *Qur'ān*. The secondary points of jurisprudence, forming the doctrines of the sect to which he belonged, then became the object of his particular study, and an acquaintance with logic and dialectics completed his education. Having obtained from his professors certificates of capacity and licence to teach the works which he had mastered, he found the career open to the places of *khāṭib* or preacher, *imām*, *qāḍī*, *muftī* and professor. Such was the usual course of education, and its beneficial influence on the mind and character cannot be doubted.<sup>1</sup>

It is much more difficult to mark out the line of study followed by those who were destined to fill places in the public administration. The *kātib* should be not only, as his name implies, a good penman, but also a master of the beauties of the Arabic language, well acquainted with grammar and the writings of the poets, a skilful accountant and gifted with a capacity for business.<sup>2</sup> Some *kātib*s were employed to draw up state papers; others to keep the public accounts and registers, or to receive the tithes and the revenues of the state: every governor of a province had his *kātib* whose duty was to keep the correspondence, and to receive the taxes of the district, the rents of the government farms, etc. Out of this money a fixed sum was yearly remitted to the sovereign; the governor reserving the rest for his own use and the payment of the troops, and persons entitled to salaries, such as the *qāḍīs*, the jurisconsults, the *imāms* of the great mosques, the clerks in the public offices, etc. Part of it was absorbed also by works of public utility, and in defraying the expenses of his court. He was obliged besides to maintain the post-horse establishment, but the post-master, who acted also as a spy over the governor, was nominated by the sovereign.

---

<sup>1</sup> It may be remarked that nearly all the Muslim authors with whose works we are acquainted, were either doctors of the law, or had followed the course of studies necessary to become one.

<sup>2</sup> The title of *Kātib* was sometimes given to copyists of the *Qur'ān*.

The great quantity of verses quoted by Ibn Khallikān, and of which it may with justice be said, *Sunt bona, sunt mediocria, sunt mala plura*, requires from the translator some observations. The decline of Arabic poetry can be easily traced down from the accession of the Abbasides to the time of the Ayyubites; for many centuries the patrons of the belles-lettres were of foreign extraction, and writers who sought their favour were obliged to conform their own judgment to that of persons who were in general unable to appreciate the true beauties of literary compositions. Works which had obtained the patronage of the prince could not fail to fix the attention of other poets who took them as models which they strove to imitate and to surpass. The opinion held in the schools that the ancient *qaṣīdahs* were master-pieces of art contributed also to the perversion of good taste; their plan and ideas were servilely copied, and it was by refinement of expression alone that writers could display their talent; verbal quibbles, far-fetched allusions, thoughts borrowed from the old writers and stained so as to be hardly recognisable, such were the means by which they strove to attain originality; sense was sacrificed to sound, the most discordant ideas were linked together for the futile advantage of obtaining a recurrence of words having a similar written form or a similar pronunciation; poets wrote for the ear and the eye, not for the mind, and yet the high estimation in which their productions were held may be judged from the readiness of Ibn Khallikān to quote them. His taste was that of the age in which he lived, and the extracts which he gives enable the reader to form an idea of the Arab mind at the period of the Crusades. The same feeling of impartiality which induces me to express so severe a censure on the generality of the islamic poets, obliges me also to make some exceptions. The *qaṣīdahs* of al-Mutanabbī are full of fire, daring originality, and depth of thought; he often reaches the sublime, and his style, though blemished by occasional faults, is very fine; al-Buḥārī is remarkable for grace and elegance; Abu'l-'Alā for dignity and beauty, but Ibn al-Fāriḍ seems superior to them all; his pieces teem with sentiment and poetry; in his mystic reveries he soars towards the confines of another world pervaded with spiritual beauty; and glides with the reader from one enchanting scene to another; the judgment is captivated by the genius of the poet,

and can hardly perceive the traits of false taste which disfigure, from time to time, his admirable style.

Having pointed out the influence of the *qaṣīdah* or elegy, it may not be amiss to sketch the plan generally followed in this species of composition. The poet, accompanied by two friends, approaches, after a long journey through the desert, to the place where he saw his mistress the year before and where he hopes to meet her again. At his request they direct the camels on which they are mounted towards the spot, but the ruins of the rustic dwellings, the withered moss, brushwood, and branches of trees with which were formed the frail abodes where the tribe has passed the summer, the hearth stones blackened by the fire, the solitary raven hovering around in search of a scanty nourishment—every object he perceives strikes him with the conviction that his beloved and her family have removed to some other region in the desert. Overcome with grief, heedless of the consolations of his friends who exhort him to be firm, he long remains plunged in silent affliction; at length he finds relief in a torrent of tears, and raising up his head, he extemporizes a mournful elegy. He commences by mentioning the places which he had already visited in hopes of finding her whom he loved, and calls to mind the dangers which he had encountered in the desert. He describes the camel which, though fatigued still full of ardour, had borne him into the depths of the wilderness; he vaunts his own courage and extols the glory of his tribe. An adventure which happened on the previous night then comes to his memory; a fire blazing on a lofty hill had attracted their attention and guided them to the tent of a generous Arab, where they found shelter and hospitality. He then praises the charms of his mistress, and complains of the pains of love and absence, whilst his companions hurry him away. He casts a parting look towards the place where she had resided, and lo! a dark cloud, fringed with rain and rent with lightnings, overhangs the spot. This sight fills his heart with joy; an abundant shower is about to shed new life upon the parched soil, and thus ensure a rich herbage for the flocks: the family of his beloved will then soon return and settle again in their former habitation.

Such may be considered as the outline of the pastoral *qaṣīdah*; in these productions, the same ideas almost constantly

recur, and the same words frequently serve to express them. The eulogistic *qaṣīdah*, or poem in praise of some great man, assumes also the same form, with the sole difference that, in place of a mistress, it is a generous patron whom the poet goes to visit, or else, after praising the object of his passion, he celebrates the noble qualities of the man who is always ready, with abundant gifts, to bestow consolation on the afflicted lover.

It results from this that a person familiar with the mode of composition followed in the *qaṣīdah* can often, from a single word in a verse, perceive the drift of the poet and discover, almost intuitively the thoughts which are to follow. He has thus a means of determining the true reading amidst the mass of errors with which copyists usually disfigure Arabic poetry; knowing what the poet intends to say, he feels no longer any difficulty in disengaging the author's words from the faults of a corrupted text. The same peculiarity is frequently perceptible in pieces of a few verses; these generally reproduce some of the ideas contained in the *qaṣīdah*, and for this reason they are justly styled fragmants by Arabic writers.

There exist also some compositions of an original form; such are the *dubayt* or *distich*, and the *mawālīa*, both borrowed from the Persians, and the *muwashshaha*, invented in Spain by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.<sup>1</sup> Pieces of this kind became general favourites by the novelty of their form and matter: the *mawālīa* was adopted by the *dervishes*, and the *muwashshaha* was cultivated with passion and attained its perfection in Andalusia, whence it was transported to the East. It cannot be denied that the Moorish poets, with all their extravagance of thought and expression, were far superior in their perception of the beauties of nature and the delicacies of sentiment to their brethren of the East, and the European reader will often discover in their poems, with

<sup>1</sup> Consult on the *Muwashshaha* Mr. de Hammer's *memoir* in the *Journal Asiatique* for August 1839; and Freytags *Arabische Verskunst*, page 417. In the printed edition of Abu 'l-Fida's *Geography*, preface page xii, will be found a *muwashshaha* by the author. The *distich* and *mawālīa* are spoken of also by Mr. de Hammer in the *memoir* just mentioned, pages 167 et 168. In page 166 of the same *memoir* the word *Haghriftis* is a mistake of the printer for 'Maḡhrībīns'.

some surprise, the same ideas, metaphors, and systems of versification which characterise the works of the troubadours and the early Italian poets.

An idea borrowed from the ante-Islamic poets and of frequent recurrence in the *qasīdahs* of later authors is the *ṭayf al-khiyāl* or *phantom*. The lover journeys with a caravan through the desert; for many nights his grief at being separated from his beloved prevents him from sleeping, but at length he yields to fatigue and closes his eyes. A phantom then approaches towards him, unseen by all but himself, and in it he recognizes the image of his mistress, come to visit and console him. It was sent to him by the beloved, or rather it is herself in spirit, who has crossed the dreary waste and fled towards his couch: she too had slept, but it was to go and see her lover in her dreams.<sup>1</sup> They thus meet in spite of the foes and spies who always surround the poet, ready to betray him if he obtain an interview with the beloved, and who are so jealous that they hinder him from sleeping, lest he should see her image in his dreams: it is only when they slumber that he dare close his eyes.

The figurative language of the Muslim poets is often difficult to be understood. The *narcissus* is the *eye*; the *feeble* stem of that plant bends *languidly* under its flower, and thus recalls to mind the *languor* of the eyes. *Pearls* signify both *tears* and *teeth*; the latter are sometimes called *hailstones*, from their whiteness and moisture; the *lips* are *cornelians* or *rubies*; the *gums*, a *pomegranate flower*; the *dark foliage* of the *myrtle* is synonymous with the *black hair* of the beloved, or with the first *down* which appears on the cheeks of youths at the period of puberty. The *down* itself is called the '*idhār*'\* or head-stall of the bridle, and the curve of the *idhār* is compared to the letters *lām* (ل) and *nūn* (ن).

<sup>1</sup> Fuller information on this subject will be found in a memoir inserted by me in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1838.

\*The '*idhār*' means the portion of beard growing just below the ears and then by metonymy the term is applied to the portion of cheeks where beard grows. It is generally used in the latter sense.—Ed.

†Curled locks are compared to the letter *lām* (ل) and *nūn* (ن) rather than the downs. In some verses quoted by Ibn Khāllikān (autograph) we have جمال and not عذار.—Ed.

*Ringlets* trace on the cheek or neck the letter 'waw' (واو) ; they are also called scorpions, either for their *dark* colour or their agitated movements<sup>1</sup> ; the *eye* is *sword* ; the *eyelids*, *scabbards* ; the *whiteness* of the complexion, *camphor* : and a *mole* or *beauty-spot*, *musk*, which term denotes also *dark hair*.<sup>2</sup> A *mole* is sometimes compared also to an *ant* creeping on the cheek towards the *honey* of the mouth : a *handsome face* is both a *full moon* and *day* ; *black hair* is *night* ; the *waist* is a *willow-branch* or a *lance* ; the *water of the face* is *self-respect* ; a poet *sells the water of his face* when he bestows mercenary praises on a rich patron devoid of every noble quality.

Some of the verses quoted by Ibn Khallikān are of a nature such as precludes translation. Had they been composed by a female on youth whom she loved, they would seldom offer any thing objectionable ; but as the case is not so, they are utterly repugnant to European readers. Propriety suggested their suppression, but as it was requisite to give an idea of what they are, a few of them have been arrayed, and rather awkwardly, in a Latin garb. It must not, however, be supposed that they are always the produce of a degraded passion ; in many cases they were the usual expressions of simple friendship and affection, or of those platonic attachments which the translated works of some Greek philosophers first taught the Muslims. Indeed, love and friendship are so closely confounded by them, that they designate both feelings by the same word, and it is not uncommon to meet epistles addressed by one aged doctor to another and containing sentiments of the strongest kind, but which are the expressions of friendship only. It often happens also that a poet describes his mistress under the attributes of the other sex, lest he should offend that excessive prudery of oriental feelings which, since the fourth century of Islamism, scarcely allows an allusion to women,

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Scholia on Thucydides*, A§, 6, remarks that the word "Scorpio"\* was employed to designate boys, curls.

<sup>2</sup> In a second memoir, which I have inserted in the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1839, will be found a number of observations relative to these metaphors, with examples.

\*In original the Greek form is given.—Ed.



and more particularly in poetry; and this rigidity is still carried so far, that at Cairo public singers dare not amuse their auditors with a song in which the beloved is indicated as a female. Some of those pieces have also a mystic import, as the commentators of Ḥafiz, Sa'di, and Shēbisteri have not failed to observe. In the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1839, will be found a note on this subject inserted by the writer, and Buckingham's *Travels in Assyria*, vol. I, p. 159 of the 8vo edition, offer some pages in accordance with the opinion there advanced. It cannot however be denied that the feelings which inspired poetry of this kind were not always pure, and that polygamy and jealousy have infected the morals of some eastern nations with the foulest corruption.

Ibn Khallikān drew up his work, A. H. 654 (A. D. 1256), but during the remainder of his life he continued to improve it by additions and corrections.\* These alternations are frequently perceptible, even in the translation their insertion in the text having been effected with so little attention, that in many places they interrupt the primitive narration: this, however, is not considered by Orientals as a defect, their custom being to place all notes and illustrations in the body of the work. The author published new editions of his *Biographical Dictionary* at different periods, and the latest was followed by the writer in preparing for the press the edition of the Arabic text from which the following translation is made.

The difficulty of rendering a work of this nature into a European language can be appreciated by those only who have made similar essays; the writer had at first the intention of giving it in a French translation, and a portion of his task was already executed when he offered his work to the Oriental Translation Committee; in compliance with their wishes he recommenced it in English, and endeavoured to make it as literal as he possibly could. It is true that the idiomatic expressions peculiar to the Arabic tongue, the scholastic terms and technicalities, the learned

---

\* Probably some other hands made addition in the name of Ibn-i-Khallikān. If all such pieces are separated as we have marked in this edition; it will be observed that the style is quite different from that of Ibn-i-Khallikān.

allusions and pieces of poetry do not always admit of a close translation; to render them fully, clearly, and exactly is incompatible with conciseness, and it was by paraphrases only that such a task could be accomplished. In some cases, where the text itself required elucidation, the translator has given the necessary information under the form of notes, and he made it his particular care to cope with every difficulty and clear up, if possible, every obscurity. He may not have been always fortunate in his efforts; in some cases he has acknowledged his inability, and perhaps in many more he may have been mistaken; but his constant endeavours to attain correctness will, he hopes, entitle him to the indulgence of orientalisists when they detect his errors.

A number of biographical notices, drawn from original and authentic sources, have been added in the notes, but there still remain in this volume the names of many persons whose lives are not given. For this, three reasons are to be assigned: the first, that in the text of the following volumes, these lives are to be found; the second, that the translator was unable to discover who they were; and the third, that the information which he had obtained respecting them was too slight to merit mention, and he preferred waiting some time longer, in hopes that further researches might be more successful and lead to results worthy of insertion in an ensuing volume.

The work itself is arranged in alphabetical order, but as a great majority of the persons whose lives it contains are usually designated by a particular surname, it was absolutely necessary that a general index of such appellations should be given; who but an oriental scholar could know that the life of the poet Abu Tammām is to be found under the name of Ḥabīb; that of al-Mutanabbī under Aḥmad; and that of al-Ṭabarī, the historian, under Muḥammad? It is hardly necessary to observe that the Arabic nomenclature of persons is composed—first, of the surname, as Abu Bakr (*the father of Bakr*); then, of the real name, as Aḥmad; next, of the patronymic, as Ibn Jarir (*the son of Garir*); and then the ethnic name, as al-Azdī (*belonging to the tribe of Azd*), al-Miṣri (*native of Misr, or Egypt*), etc., to which must be added nicknames derived from some particular circumstance.

The genealogies are sometimes extended to a great length, but it will be perceived, upon examination, that in this the author's design was to point out correctly the descent of the individual from an ancestor who was well known, and these lists, will be sometimes found useful for tracing the relationship and affiliation of the Arabic tribes. For the pronunciation of proper names the translator has followed the authority of the *Qamūs* and al-Dhahabī, and for the names of places the *Marāsid* of al-Suyūṭī and the *Taqwīm al-Bulḍān* of Abu 'l-Fidā. The autograph manuscript of Ibn Khallikān, in which every word of doubtful pronunciation is accompanied with the vowel points, was also of the greatest service to the translator, but a portion of this volume had been already printed before he was aware that a document so precious was in existence. On receiving it from the proprietor, Dr. Cureton, to whom he acknowledges himself deeply indebted for so great a favour, he reviewed his translation from the beginning and verified all the points respecting which some doubts were still remaining on his mind; the results have been inserted in the additional notes. Whilst the last part of the volume was in the course of translation, the autograph was constantly consulted and for the second volume it will be equally useful.

The transcription of Arabic proper names by means of the Roman alphabet offers great difficulties, and in this part of his task the translator aimed simply at representing the pronunciation of the word as it would strike a European ear: a system liable to many objections had the original text not been published. The *h* represents the *gh* as pronounced by the Scotch in *daughter*, the Spanish *j*, or the German *ch* pronounced with emphasis. The *gh* is an *r* deprived of its rattling sound; the *a* is to be pronounced as in *man*; the *ā* as in *father*; the *i* as in *pin*; the *ī* as the *ee* in *been*; the *u* as in *but*; and the *ū* as the *oo* in *soon*. The circumflex serving to mark the long vowels, has been sometimes omitted, either by inadvertence or because the name was so familiar that the presence of such a sign was needless. The names of some places are given according to the corrupt pronunciation current in Europe; thus Mawsil is written as Mosul; al Qāhirah, Cairo; Ḥalab, Aleppo, etc.

## THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement ! ! Thus saith the needy suppliant for the mercy of the Most High, Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī-Bakr Ibn Khallikān, follower of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī.

Praise be to God, to Whom alone belongeth the attribute of eternal existence ; Who hath passed on His creatures the doom of death, and prescribed to all living beings a certain term, beyond which they cannot pass when once it is expired ; Who, in this sentence, hath dealt equally between the noble and the lowly-born, the powerful and the weak : to Him do I give praise for His abundant favours and His gifts pure (*from ill*) ; such praise as a man can offer who avoweth his inability to reach even the lowest strain of (*fitting*) eulogy : I bear witness that there is no god but the only God, Who hath no partner (*in His power*) : such witness as a man can bear who showeth at all times a sincere heart, and who hopeth in the mercy of his Lord, morning and evening : I bear witness that Muḥammad, His servant and apostle, is the most excellent of the prophets, the most noble of the saints ; and that it is he who inviteth to walk in the white path (*of salvation*) : God grant to him and to his family of illustrious princes such blessings as may endure while heaven and earth do last ; God be gracious to his wives, and to his holy and pious *Companions*.

The motive which induced me to compose this work, forming an historical compendium, was this : I had always been intent on studying the history of those men of renown who lived

---

1 In translating this well-known expression, which the Muslims place at the beginning of all their books I have taken al-Zamakhsharī for my guide ; in his commentary on the *Qur'ān*, this writer makes the following remark : "The word *Raḥmān* denotes a more extensive idea than *Raḥīm* ; for this reason, people say (in speaking of God) "*the Merciful (al-Raḥmān) in this world and in the next ;*" and "*the Clement (al-Raḥīm) in this world !*"

before my time; I was desirous of knowing the dates of their birth and death, and of learning who among them lived within the limits of each separate century. The results which I obtained incited me to increase the stock which I had acquired, and to redouble my researches; I applied my mind therefore to the study of works written specially on the subject, and gathered, from the mouths of the masters versed in this science, that information which I could not find in books; I persevered in this pursuit till I had amassed a large quantity of documents roughly drawn up, which contained the events of a great number of years; I had also another portion of these facts impressed on my memory. It so happened, however, that when I had to recur to my notes, I could not find what I sought unless with some difficulty, because they were not regularly arranged; I was, therefore, obliged to class them, and I adopted the alphabetical order, judging it more convenient than the chronological. In this I made it a rule to give the first place to those names which begin with a *hamza*, and the next to those in which the second letter is a *hamza*, or the nearest to it in order; thus, I put the word *Ibrāhīm* before *Aḥmad*, because the letter *b* stands nearer to the *hamza* than the letter *h*. This plan I followed up to the last, so that my work might be more easily consulted; it led, however, to the necessity of placing (*in some instances, the life of*) a modern before that of an ancient, and of inserting the name of one person between those of two others who belong to a different class; but the convenience (*I aimed at*) rendered this unavoidable.

I have not assigned a place in this compendium to the *Companions* of Muḥammad, or to the *Tābi'is*,<sup>1</sup> a few only excepted, whose history many persons require to know; neither have I given the lives of the Khalifs, because the numerous works on the subject rendered it unnecessary for me to do so; but I have made mention of a great number of talented individuals with whom I was acquainted, and who supplied me with some of the information transmitted in this book; or else who lived in my

---

1 The word *Tābi'i* means a follower; it is employed especially to denote a Muslim who had met with some of the *Companions* of Muḥammad, but had never seen Muḥammad himself.

time, but whom I never saw: (*my object in this was*) to make known to the future generation the circumstances of their life.

I have not limited my work to the history of any one particular class of persons, as learned men, princes, amīrs, vizīrs, or poets; but I have spoken of all those whose names are familiar to the public, and about whom questions are frequently asked; I have, however, related the facts I could ascertain respecting them in a concise manner, lest my work should become too voluminous; I have fixed, with all possible exactness, the dates of their birth and death; I have traced up their genealogy as high as I could; I have marked down the orthography of those names which are liable to be written incorrectly; and I have cited the traits which may best serve to characterize each individual, such as noble actions, singular anecdotes, verses, and letters, so that the reader may derive amusement from my work, and find it not exclusively of such a uniform cast as would prove tiresome; for the most effectual inducement to reading a book arises from the variety of its style.

My work thus formed, it was incumbent on me to begin it with a short invocation, intended to conciliate Divine favour; this, joined to the rest, made up the present volume, which I designed as a help to my memory, and which I intitled: *Book of the Deaths of eminent Men, and History of the Sons of the epoch; drawn from written sources and oral traditions, or ascertained by personal observation*; by this I intended that the contents of the work should be denoted by the title alone. If any person possessing information on the subject I have treated, perceive faults in this book, he will do a meritorious action in correcting them after due verification<sup>1</sup>; for I myself have spared no pains in drawing from works of established repute for accuracy, and have never, through carelessness, cited extracts from doubtful authorities; on the contrary, I have done all in my power to attain correctness.

I put this work in order in the year 654 (A. D. 1256), at Cairo, though taken up by other avocations and living under

---

<sup>1</sup> This inconsiderate authorization of changing and correcting is the main cause of the numerous discrepancies between the manuscripts of Ibn Khallikān's work.

circumstances unfavourable to such a task. The reader ought therefore to excuse me, and consider that it was the motive I stated which induced me to undertake it, and that no vain fancy could ever have inspired my mind with the absurd idea of ranking among authors: a current proverb says, *There are men for each business*: and how could such an honour happen to me, who have but a limited share of information in this science? Besides, he who boasts of a talent with which he is not gifted, is like one who arrays himself in the garb<sup>1</sup> of falsehood. God preserve us from falling into the gulfs of error, and grant us, through His grace and bounty, that surest safeguard, the knowledge of our real abilities. *Amen.*

---

<sup>1</sup> The word ثوب , dual of ثوب (garment) is employed here and elsewhere, to signify a suit of clothes—See de Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 65, l. 15. As the clothing of the ancient Arabs consisted of an ازار (izār, tied round the waist), and a رداء (ridā, thrown over the shoulders), the dual number is very naturally made use of to denote the entire dress.

## IBN KHALLIKAN'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

### 1. IBRĀHĪM AL-NAKHA'Ī

Abū 'Imrān, surnamed also Abu 'Ammār, Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd Ibn al-Aswad Ibn 'Amr Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn Hārithah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Nakha' al-Nakha'ī, native of Kufah, and a celebrated imām and doctor, was one of the *Tābats*. Though he had seen and visited 'Ā'ishah (*widow of Muḥammad*), there exist no authentic traditions received by him from her: he died A. H. 95 or 96 (A. D. 713-4), aged 49, some say 58, but the first number is correct. When the death of al-Nakha'ī drew near, he was sorely troubled in spirit, and being spoken to about it, said: "What peril can be greater than mine? I must expect a messenger from my Lord, sent to announce to me either paradise or hell! I declare solemnly I would rather remain as I am now, with (my soul<sup>1</sup>) struggling in my throat, till the day of resurrection (*than undergo such a hazard*)". His mother, Mulayka, daughter of Yazīd Ibn Qays, was sister to al-Aswad Ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī<sup>2</sup>, who was therefore

---

<sup>1</sup> In the original Arabic, the word *نفسى*, *my soul*, is understood; two similar cases occur in the *Qur'ān*: see Flügel's edition; *Surat LVI*, verse 82; and s. LXXV, v. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Abu 'Amr al-Aswad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Qays al-Nakha'ī, one of the *Taba'is*; in his youth, he saw the Khalifs Abu Bakr and 'Umar, and learned the traditions from the Khalif Ali; Ibn Mas'ūd (see de Sacy's *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 38); Mu'ādh (de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arab.* t. III. p. 149); and 'Ā'ishah. His exactitude and authority as a traditionist were universally admitted; he died A. H. 75 (A. D. 694). Another celebrated *tābi'ī* of the same family, 'Alqama Ibn Qays al-Nakha'ī, native of Kufāh and uncle to al-Aswad, was one of the greatest doctors of his time; he learned the traditions from 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, Ibn Mas'ūd and 'Ā'ishah. His merit was held in such high estimation, that the *Companions* of Muḥammad themselves consulted him on questions touching the law. He died A. H. 63 (A. D. 682-3) ('*Uthmani's Tabaqāt al-Fuqaha*, manuscript of the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, No. 755).



maternal uncle to Ibrāhīm. *Nakh'a* means *belonging to al-Nakh'a* which is a great branch of the tribe of Madhij, in Yamen; al-Nakh'a's name was Jasn Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Ulla Ibn Jald\* Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Udad; he was surnamed al-Nakh'a, because he had removed far away, *intakh'a*, from his people: this tribe has produced a great number of remarkable men. Others have given a different genealogy of al-Nakh'a, but the one here given is correct; it is taken from Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat al-Nisab* (Universal Genealogist).

## 2. ABU THAWR IBRAHĪM ALKALBĪ

The doctor Abu Thawr Ibrāhīm Ibn Khālīd Ibn Abi 'l-Yamān al-Kalbī was a disciple of the imām al-Shāfi'ī who taught him those ancient sayings<sup>1</sup> which he has transmitted to posterity. This eminent doctor and trustworthy traditionist on religious affairs wrote some works on the *Ahkām*<sup>2</sup>, and he evinced in these treatises an equal knowledge of the tradition and jurispru-

<sup>1</sup> These ancient sayings were probably old proverbial expressions used by the Arabs of the Desert, who alone were supposed to know perfectly the pure Arabic. Al-Shāfi'ī had passed twenty years of his life in the desert, studying the language; he had, besides, a profound knowledge of the ancient history of the Arabs. (Uṭhmānī's *Tabaqāt*, f. 24, verso.)

<sup>2</sup> The *Ahkām*, or *Sentences*, are the articles which compose the code of Muslim law; they have been drawn from four sources: the *Qur'ān*; the *Sunna* or traditions; the general consent of the ancient imāms, and analogical deductions obtained from the comprison of these three. (D'Oohson's *Tableau de l'empire Oiheman*, t. I, p. 5 of the Introduction; Flügel's *Hājji Khālifah*, t. I, pp. 177, 332.)

\*The translator has read it Khālīd and the editor of Egyptian edition Mohi al-Din Abdul-Hameed has given in footnote variants.—*Ed.*

[For further reference, vide Ibn-i-Hajar 'Asqālānī's *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* published by Dā'i'rat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad, Deccan, A. H. 1325, Vol. I, p. 177 and Sam'ānī's *Ansāb* f. 557 a.

In genealogical table one difference deserves mention: Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd Ibn Qays Ibn al-Aswad. The name of Qays is omitted by Ibn Khallikān. *Ansāb*, f. 557 a.—*Ed.*]

dance. His first studies were taken up with the doctrines of the Rationalists<sup>1</sup>, but al-Shāfi'i, having come to 'Irāq, he went often to see him, became his follower, and renounced the opinions of his former sect. He persevered in his adhesion to al-Shāfi'i's principles, and died the 26th Safar,\* A. H. 246 (A.D. 860), at Baghdād, where he was buried in the cemetery by the gate of Kenās. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal said of him: "I look on him as a second Sufyān al-Thawri<sup>2</sup>; I have known him as a zealous "Sunite for the last fifty years;"

### 3. ABŪ IṢḤĀQ AL-MARWAZĪ

Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iṣḥāq-al-Marwazī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i was the greatest *mufti* and professor of his time. He learned the principles of jurisprudence from Abū 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj; and having attained great excellence in this science, he succeeded Ibn Surayj as chief of the Shafites in 'Irāq. He composed many works, and commented the *Mukhtaṣar*, or Abridgment of the Doctrine of al-Shāfi'i by al-Muzanī. He was for a long time professor and *mufti* at Baghdād, and a great number of his pupils attained eminence. It was after him that the street of Marwazī, in that quarter of Baghdād called the *Grant of al-Rabi*,<sup>3</sup> received its name. Towards the end of his life, he

---

[For further reference vide *Tahdhīb*, Vol. I, p. 118 and *Ansīb* f. 485 b.—*Ed.*]

1 The followers of Abū Ḥanifa's doctrines were called Rationalists, by the members of the other three orthodox sects, because they preferred, in certain cases, the guidance of reason to that of tradition, in deciding legal questions (*Shāhrastāni*; Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.*, p. 292).

2 Literally thus: "He is to me as if he were in the skin of Sufyān al-Thawri." This passage is to be found also in Uthmānī's *Tabaqāt* (fol. 49 r.) where the word rendered by skin is written *mislāk*: the vowel points having been added by the author himself: this circumstance leaves no doubt of the correctness of the reading given in the printed Arabic text.

3 Some particulars respecting the *Grant of Rabi* will be found in the life of al-Rabi 'Ibn Yunus.

22 May.—*Ed.*

set out for Egypt, where he finished his days the 9th Rajab, A. H. 340 (A. D. 951)\*, and was interred near the tomb of the imām al-Shāfi'i: some say he died a little before midnight, on Sunday 11th Rajab of the same year. *Marwazi* means *belonging to Marw al-Shāh-jān*, one of the four capitals of *Khurasān*, the others being *Nayshapur*, *Herāt*, and *Balkh*. This city was so named in order to distinguish it from *Marw al-Rūd*: *Shāh-jān* is a Persian word, which signifies *the soul of the king*; for *Shah* means *king*, and *jan*, *soul*; the custom of the Persians being to place the consequent before the antecedent, when in the relation of annexion.<sup>1</sup> This city was founded by Alexander *Dhu 'l-Qarnayn*,<sup>2</sup> and is the seat of the government of *Khurasān*. In forming the relative adjective from *Marw*, a *z* is added, as in *Rāzi*, derived from *Ray*, and *Iṣṭakhar-ī*, from *Iṣṭakhr* this is one way of its formation; but according to the opinion of those who have studied the subject, such relatives are only used when speaking of human beings; in all other cases, the *z* must not be added. Therefore one may say of a man *he is a Marwazi*; and of a garment or other thing, *it is Marwi*; some say, however, that the *x* may be added in all cases, and that the difference in the form of the relative makes no difference in its signification. The remainder of our observations concerning these two cities will be found in the life of the Qāḍi *Abu Ḥamid Aḥmad Ibn 'Āmir al-Marwarraḍhī*.

#### 4. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-ISFARĀ'INĪ

The master *Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Mihrān al-Isfara'ini*, surnamed *Rukn al-Dīn (column of religion)* doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i was an able divine in scholastic

<sup>1</sup> See de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*, vol. I, p. 47, for the explanation of these terms.

<sup>2</sup> *Marw al-Shāh-jān* is probably the ancient *Antiocha Margianae*, founded by Alexander the Great, and then called *Alexandria*; having been ruined afterwards it was rebuilt by Antiochus, son of Seleucus, who gave it his own name.

\*11 December.—Ed.

and dogmatic theology. The ḥākim Abu 'Abd Allāh<sup>1</sup> has spoken him in these terms: "The generality of the shaykhs of Nayshāpur took lessons from him in theology, and his learning was acknowledged by the people of 'Irāq and Khurasān; he is the author of some important works; among others that great one entitled: *Jāmi 'al-Jalt*, at treatise on the dogmas of religion, and a refutation of the impious, which I have seen in five volumes. The qāḍi Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, being at Isfarā'in, took lessons from him in the principles of jurisprudence, and it was for him that the celebrated college of Nayshāpur was founded.<sup>2</sup> \* [Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī cites his name in his continuation of the *History of Nayshāpur* and speaks of him thus: "He was one of those learned men who attained the rank of *mujtahid*<sup>3</sup> by reason of his profound knowledge in the sciences, and of his possessing all the necessary qualifications for being an *imām* (or chief of a sect). This doctor, the ornament of the East, used to say: 'I wish I may die at Nayshāpur, so that all its inhabitants may pray over me]' and it was there he died, on the 10th Muḥarram, A.H. 418 (A. D. 1027).† His body was afterwards removed to Isfarā'in, where it was buried in the chapel which bears his name." The Shaykh Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī frequented his lessons, and the ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, and other writers, quote frequently in their works traditions derived from him. He had heard the lectures of Abū Bakr al-Isma'īlī,<sup>4</sup> in Khurasān; those of Abū

---

1 The life of the ḥākim Abū 'Abd Allāh will be found amongst those of the *Muḥammads*.

2 This is an important fact for the literary history of the Muslims; it being generally supposed that their first college was founded at Baḡhdād, by Nizām al-Mulk, A. H. 459 (A. D. 1066).

3 Those doctors who followed the opinions of no other sect, but judged for themselves, were called '*mujtahid*'. (M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, t. I, p. 169).

4 Abu Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismā'il Ibn al-'Abbās al-Isma'īlī, one of the great doctors of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, was highly celebrated for his writings and his knowledge of the law and the traditions, a great quantity of which he picked up in his travels. He

(Contd. on page 51)

\* [ ] From "Abu 'l-Hasan" to "over me" not in the autograph.—Ed.  
 † 20 February.—Ed.

Muḥammad Du'luj\* Ibn Aḥmad al-Sajazī,<sup>1</sup> in *ʿIrāq*; and also those of their contemporaries. †[We shall speak of Isfarāʾin in the article on the *shaykh* Abū Ḥamid Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarāʾinī.]

(For further reference see) *Ansāb*, f. 33 b.—*Ed.*

## 5. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-SHĪRĀZĪ

The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Yūsuf al-Shīrāzī al-Fīrūzābādī surnamed Jamāl al-Dīn (*beauty of religion*), dwelt in Baghḍād, and studied jurisprudence under many eminent men; he was an assiduous pupil of Abū ʿl-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, and profited by his lessons, he then acted as his substitute, and was appointed by him director of repetitions (or *undertutor*) of the class; after which he became the first *imām* of his time in

(*Contd. from page 50*)

composed (1) A Commentary on the *Jāmiʿ Saḥīḥ*, or *Collection of authentic Traditions*: by Termedhī; (2) a *Muʿjam*, معجم, which treated probably of the *traditionists*, and the right orthography of their names; (3) a *Musnad*, or *Collection of Traditions* traced up to the Khalīf ʿUmar—عمر; a correct and excellent work, but voluminous. Ismāʿīlī had for pupils his son, Abū Saʿd, and all the doctors of Jurjān; he died in Rajab, A.H. 371 (A.D. 982), aged 94 years (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyin*. *Ṭab. al-Fuqaha*, *Abulfedae Annales*, t. II, p. 551).

1 The *imām* Abu Muḥammad Du'luj Ibn Aḥmad al-Sajazī (*of Sejestān*), celebrated *muftī* and first *traditionist* of his days. This doctor was also an extensive trader, and became the richest merchant of his time by his commercial expeditions. Part of his wealth was employed in founding annuities for deserving persons in Mekka, ʿIraq, and Sejestān: he was particularly liberal to men of learning. He died A.H. 351 (A.D. 962), aged 91. Dāraqu nī, a celebrated doctor, relates that Du'luj bought the house in Mekka which belonged to al-ʿAbbās, uncle of Muḥammad, for thirty thousand *dinars*. (*Yāfiʿis Mirʾāt al-janān*; Man., No. 637, fol. 264, verso.)

\*The translator read it 'Da'laj'.—*Ed.*

† [ ] From "We shall" to "al-Isfarāʾinī" not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

Baghdād,. Nizām al-Mulk, having founded the college (called *Nizāmiyah*) in that city, offered its direction to Abn Ishāq; and, on his refusal, appointed to that place Abn Naṣr Ibn al-Sabbāgh, author of the *Shāmil*; this doctor filled the situation for a short period; then Abn Ishāq consented to accept it, and held it till his death: I have given the details relating to this in the life of Ibn al-Sabbāgh to which I, therefore, refer the reader. Abn Ishāq wrote a number of instructive and useful books, such as the *Muḥadḍḥab*, a treatise on the doctrines of his sect; the *Tanbih*, or *Call*, a work on jurisprudence; the *Lum'a*, or *Glimpses*, with a commentary wherein the dogmas of religion are treated of, the *Nukat*, or *shrewd Devices* on controversial subjects; the *Tabṣīrah*, or *Monitor*; the *Ma'īnah*, or *Succour*; the *Talḥīṣ*,\* or *summary*, a treatise on dialectics, etc. The number of those who profited by his instruction was very great. He composed some good poetry, of which I shall give the following verses:

"I asked of Men : Where is a true friend to be found ?  
Their answer was : To such there is no way ; cling, if thou can'st, to the robe of the noble-minded ; for the man of noble mind is seldom met within the world."

It is related by the *shāikh* Abn Bakr Muhammad al-Ṭarṭāshī (whose life shall be given later), that a clever poet of Baghdad, called 'Āsim, made the following pretty verses in praise of Abn Ishāq (to whom God be merciful) :

"Thou seest his body worn away by his active mind ; it bears the marks of that ardour which fires his soul ; when the human mind is great with lofty thoughts, a body lean and worn is no disgrace."

Abn Ishāq was a man of the utmost devotion, and rigidly attentive to his religious duties : his merits were countless. He was born at Firāzābād, A. H. 393 (A. D. 1003), and died in Baghdad\* on the eve of Sunday,‡ 21st of the second

\* The title of his book is not mentioned in the autograph copy and Hājī Khalifah also has not mentioned it in the list of Shīrāzī's works. Also see Cairo edition, p. 10, footnote.—Ed.

†It should be 'love' according to the autograph in which there is ذیل for ود.—Ed.

‡Sunday, 5 November, 1083, appears to be more correct.—Ed.

Jumāda (according to al-Samʿānī in his *Dhayl*, but others say the 1st\* Jumāda), A. H. 476 (A. D. 1083), and was buried the next morning in the cemetery at the gate of Abrez.† The following elegy was made on his death by Ibn Nāqīyā, whose life will be found among those of the 'Abd Allāhs:

"A fatal event hath struck our eyes with consternation<sup>1</sup> and hath caused our tears to flow mingled with blood ! What hath happened to fortune ? She cannot collect her strength, since the loss of her favoured son, Abn Ishāq. Say : He is dead ! but his memory hath not died ; it will live and endure while Time doth run his course.

‡[Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn al-Najjār<sup>2</sup> mentions Abn Ishāq in his his-

1 The expression قام قيامته is very frequently used by later writers ; it signifies literally : *the day of resurrection is come* ; which means that his trouble and consternation are as great as if the day of judgment were already present. (See other examples in Maqrizī's *Histoire des Mamluks*, t. 1, p. 95). The Persians use the word رستخیز in a similar sense.

2 The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Muḥrisin, surnamed Ibn al-Najjār, was born at Baḡhdād A. H. 578 (A. D. 1183) ; at the age of ten he began to learn the traditions, and when he had reached his fifteenth year, he was able to continue his studies without assistance. طالب بنفسه. After having learned a great number of traditions and mastered the seven different manners of reading the Qur'ān

قرا بالسمع he undertook a long journey, and spent twenty-seven years in visiting Syria, Egypt, Hijāz, and the cities of Ispahān, Ḥarrān, Herāt and Nayḥapur ; during his travels he carefully noted down whatever information he could collect from the illustrious and the obscure, from the high and the low. كتب عن من دب و نزل و عرج

He was a man of deep and extensive knowledge, humble and pious, remarkable for his self-denial and holy life. He died A. H. 643 (A. D. 1245), at Baḡhdād and was interred in the cemetery of the Martyrs, مقابر الشهداء by the gate of Ḥarb. The best known of his works is the

(Contd. on page 54)

\*Friday, 6 October 1083, and so it seems to be wrong.—Ed.

†Arabic text has *Abzer* but the autograph does not support it.—Ed.

‡[ ] From "Muḥibb al-Dīn" to "in his stead" on page 55 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

tory of Baġhdād, and speaks of him in these terms : "He was the *imām* of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and one of those men of merit whose reputation spread abroad : in learning and self-denial he excelled every person of his time ; and most of the learned in the great cities were his pupils. Born and bred at the town of Firāzābād, in the province of Fāris, he went to Shīrāz, where he studied under Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī<sup>1</sup> and Ibn Rāmīn<sup>2</sup> ; from thence he proceeded to Baṣrah, where he had al-Jawzī<sup>3</sup> for master ; in the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 415, he entered Baġhdād to study under Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Ṭabari. He was born A. H. 393." "I asked him," said Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Humaydi, "the date of his birth, and he mentioned to me some circumstances which point out the year 396 (A. D. 1006), as he said that he set out to travel in search of learning in the year 410,<sup>4</sup> and went to Shīrāz :

(Contd. from page 53)

Supplement, in sixteen volumes, to the History of Baġhdād by the *Khaṭīb* Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Baġhdādī. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, who has furnished us with most of the above details, gives a list of sixteen other works by the same author (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*. See also Hamaker's *Specimen Catalogi*, etc., p. 247 and *Bibliothèque Orient*, Naggiar).

<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Bayḍāwī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i, was born at al-Bāyḍā, a large town in the district of Isṭakḥar, eight parasangs from Shīrāz. He studied jurisprudence in the city of 'Āmul, and then went to Baġhdād, where he received lessons from Abū Ḥāmid al-Isferā'īni and other celebrated doctors, and became himself professor and *mufti*. He was well learned in the doctrines of his sect, and skilled in controversy, logic, and dogmatic theology. He died suddenly at Baġhdād A. H. 424 (A. D. 1033). Among other celebrated men born at-Bayḍā, was the Qāḍī Naṣr al-Dīn Abū 'l-Khayr 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī, author of the well-known Commentary on the Qur'ān : he died at Shīrāz, A. H. 691 (A. D. 1292) (*Ṭab. al-Shāfi'īn*, *Ṭab. al-Fuqaha*).

<sup>2</sup> The *shaykh* Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Rāmīn, native of Baġhdād, and pupil of the celebrated al-Dārakī ; he was deeply learned in jurisprudence and dogmatic theology, on which latter subject he wrote some esteemed works. Died A. H. 430 (A. D. 1039).

<sup>3</sup> I have as yet met with no information respecting this doctor.

<sup>4</sup> It appears by this that students began to travel at the age of fourteen or fifteen: after having acquired whatever instruction their native place could afford, they went to different countries, studying successively in each, under doctors and professors of repute ; they sometimes continued this wandering life for many years.



others however place his birth in 395, but God knows it best." On his death, his pupils sat in solemn mourning in the *Nizāmiya* college, and after that ceremony, Muwyyad al-Mulk, son of Nizām al-Mulk, appointed Abū Sa'd al-Mutwallī to the vacant place, but when Nizām al-Mulk heard of it, he wrote to disapprove of that nomination, adding that the college should be shut up during a year, on account of Abū Ishāq's death; he then blamed the person who had undertaken to fill his place, and ordered the shaiḫ Ibn al-Sabbāgh to profess in his stead.] — "*Firūzabād* is a town in the province of Fāris, and it is believed by some to be the same city which is called Jūr;" so says Abu Sa'd al-Sam'anī in his work; the *Ansāb*: some persons pronounce the name of this town *Fayrūzābād*.

## 6. THE KHAṬĪB ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-'IRĀQĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Musallam, native of Egypt and doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i, known also by the name of al-'Irāqī (*native of Irāq*), was a preacher (*khaṭīb*) of the great mosque (*of 'Amr*) in Old Cairo, and a talented jurisconsult; he wrote a good commentary in ten volumes on the *Muḥadḍḥab* by Abū Ishāq Shīrāzī. Though not a native of 'Irāq, he was called so, because he had travelled to Bagḥdād, and studied there for some time: when in that city, he took lessons in jurisprudence from Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Urmāwī,<sup>1</sup> one of Abū Ishāq Shīrāzī's disciples, and from Abū 'I-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-Mubārak,\* surnamed Ibn al-Kall, native of Bagḥdād. In his own country he studied jurisprudence under the qāḍi Abū 'I-Ma'ālī al-Mujallī Ibn Jumay' (whose life shall be given later); when in Bagḥdād, he was called al-Misrī (the Egyptian), but he got the name of al-'Irāqī on his return to Egypt. He is said to have related that his master, Ibn

<sup>1</sup> The *imām* and jurisconsult Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-'Urmāwī (*native of Ormiya* in Adherbijān) was a pupil of the celebrated Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī. Died A. H. 537 (A. D. 1142) (*Tab. al-Fuqaha*).

\*M. de Slane writes "Ibn al-Mubārīk".—*Ed.*



al-Kīlāl recited to him, in Bagdad, the following verses, but without naming their author:

"Falschhood is rendered pleasing if clothed in gilded terms; and Truth may sometimes assume a repulsive form: in praising honey, you may say: This is the saliva of the bee: in blaming, call it: the ejection of the wasp. Describe it with such blame and praise as this, and you do not exaggerate: elegant language can make darkness *and* appear like light."

Al-'Irāqī was born at Old Cairo, A. H. 510 (A. D. 1116); he died in that city on Thursday, 21st of the first *Jumādā*, A. H. 596 (A. D. 1200)\*, and was buried at the foot of mount Muqattam. He had a son of great talent and merit, named Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥukm, who became preacher of the mosque on the death of his father, and composed some good sermons and pleasing poetry, of which the following verses may be cited: they were written 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Jibrīl, commonly called Ibn Akḥī 'ilm, chief of the treasury-office in Cairo, who had shattered his hand by a fall: ‡

"Imād Ibn Jibrīl has a hand which bears an evil mark: though given to thieving, it had as yet escaped a tardy amputation; but a fracture has happened to it now which will not be readily healed."

He wrote other verses in the same style of originality as the preceding which I have, however, since met with in the poetical works of Ja'far Ibn Shams al-Khilāfah (whose life shall be given later); so that I cannot decide to which author they belong. 'Abd al-Ḥukm composed the following verses on a man condemned to death (*for murder*), and who was shot dead by

† It may appear strange that such a word as this should be thought compatible with an elegant style: the fact is, however, that it is often employed by Arabic writers; and the Muslim poet, in describing the pleasures of love, never fails vaunting the intoxicating draughts imbibed from the honeyed lips of his mistress.

\*The date should be Friday, 9 March.—*Ed.*

the person authorized to take blood-revenge; the arrow striking him in the heart: †

"From the heart (*the middle*) of the bow you expelled its son (*the arrow*); and the bow sighed; for a mother will sigh when separated from her child: but the bow was not aware that the arrow you shot off would merely pass from one heart to another."

The idea expressed in the first of these verses was taken from the following lines, composed by a native of Maghreb:

"No doubt of my affliction when my friends depart; on that day of separation when I and sadness shall be (*inseparable*) brothers! The very bow, though formed of wood, utters a sigh when forced to send away its arrow."

The idea in 'Abd al-Ḥukm's second verse is taken from a poem rhyming in *m*, by 'Umārat al-Yamanī, and of which we shall speak hereafter in that person's life: al-Yamanī, having come from Mekka to Egypt, composed this poem in praise of the reigning prince, al-Fa'iz 'Isa Ibn Zāfir al-'Ubaydi, and of his vizir, Ṣalīḥ Ṭalā'ī: Ibn Ruzzik (whose lives will be found in this work); in the course of the poem, he lauds in these terms the camels which had borne him to Egypt:

"They went forth at eve from the Ka'ba of al-Baḥā and the Ḥarem<sup>2</sup> to visit the Ka'ba of generosity and nobleness. Did the temple know that, on leaving it I should only pass from one harem (*sanctuary*) to another?"

The following verses are also by 'Abd al-Ḥukm:

"When my beloved perceived my eyes pour forth their tears, she pressed me to restore the pearls which had adorned her neck: astonished (*then at her mistake*) she smiled; and I said to my friend: That which she though lost is in her mouth."

† Literally: *in the liver*. The Arabic word signifies also that part of the bow which is equally distant from the two extremities: there is a play upon this double meaning in the verses immediately following.

2 Al-Baḥā, *the gravelly*, is the name of the valley in which Mekka is built; the Ḥarem is the sacred territory of Mekka; the Ka'ba is the temple of that city towards which all the Muslims turn when saying their prayers; a *Ka'ba of generosity* means a noble and liberal patron, on whom all eyes are fixed with hope.



al-Kīlāl recited to him, in Baghdād, the following verses, but without naming their author:

"Falschhood is rendered pleasing if clothed in gilded terms; and Truth may sometimes assume a repulsive form: in praising honey, you may say: This is the saliva of the bee: in blaming, call it: the ejection of the wasp. Describe it with such blame and praise as this, and you do not exaggerate: elegant language can make darkness *and* appear like light."

Al-'Irāqī was born at Old Cairo, A. H. 510 (A. D. 1116); he died in that city on Thursday, 21st of the first *Jumādā*, A. H. 596 (A. D. 1200)\*, and was buried at the foot of mount Muqāṭṭam. He had a son of great talent and merit, named Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥukm, who became preacher of the mosque on the death of his father, and composed some good sermons and pleasing poetry, of which the following verses may be cited: they were written 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Jibrīl, commonly called Ibn Akḥī 'ilm, chief of the treasury-office in Cairo, who had shattered his hand by a fall: ‡

"Imād Ibn Jibrīl has a hand which bears an evil mark: though given to thieving, it had as yet escaped a tardy amputation; but a fracture has happened to it now which will not be readily healed."

He wrote other verses in the same style of originality as the preceding which I have, however, since met with in the poetical works of Ja'far Ibn Shams al-Khilāfah (whose life shall be given later); so that I cannot decide to which author they belong. 'Abd al-Ḥukm composed the following verses on a man condemned to death (*for murder*), and who was shot dead by

† It may appear strange that such a word as this should be thought compatible with an elegant style: the fact is, however, that it is often employed by Arabic writers; and the Muslim poet, in describing the pleasures of love, never fails vaunting the intoxicating draughts imbibed from the honeyed lips of his mistress.

\*The date should be Friday, 9 March.—*Ed.*

the person authorized to take blood-revenge; the arrow striking him in the heart: †

"From the heart (*the middle*) of the bow you expelled its son (*the arrow*); and the bow sighed; for a mother will sigh when separated from her child: but the bow was not aware that the arrow you shot off would merely pass from one heart to another."

The idea expressed in the first of these verses was taken from the following lines, composed by a native of Maghreb:

"No doubt of my affliction when my friends depart; on that day of separation when I and sadness shall be (*inseparable*) brothers! The very bow, though formed of wood, utters a sigh when forced to send away its arrow."

The idea in 'Abd al-Ḥukm's second verse is taken from a poem rhyming in *m*, by 'Umārat al-Yamanī, and of which we shall speak hereafter in that person's life: al-Yamanī, having come from Mekka to Egypt, composed this poem in praise of the reigning prince, al-Fa'iz 'Isa Ibn Zāfir al-'Ubaydi, and of his vizir, Ṣalīḥ Ṭalā'ī: Ibn Ruzzik (whose lives will be found in this work); in the course of the poem, he lauds in these terms the camels which had borne him to Egypt:

"They went forth at eve from the Ka'ba of al-Baḥā and the Ḥarem<sup>2</sup> to visit the Ka'ba of generosity and nobleness. Did the temple know that, on leaving it I should only pass from one harem (*sanctuary*) to another?"

The following verses are also by 'Abd al-Ḥukm:

"When my beloved perceived my eyes pour forth their tears, she pressed me to restore the pearls which had adorned her neck: astonished (*then at her mistake*) she smiled; and I said to my friend: That which she though lost is in her mouth."

† Literally: *in the liver*. The Arabic word signifies also that part of the bow which is equally distant from the two extremities: there is a play upon this double meaning in the verses immediately following.

2 Al-Baḥā, *the gravelly*, is the name of the valley in which Mekka is built; the Ḥarem is the sacred territory of Mekka; the Ka'ba is the temple of that city towards which all the Muslims turn when saying their prayers; a *Ka'ba of generosity* means a noble and liberal patron, on whom all eyes are fixed with hope.



This idea is taken from the following piece of verse, composed by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Aṭīya, better known as Ibn al-Zaqqāq, native of Valentia in Spain :

"A fawn (*-like nymph*) passed round the cups at dawn; the morning brightened up, and still she pushed them round; the flowery mead offered us its anemones, and the scented myrtles now began to breathe. 'Where,' said I, 'are the white blossoms of the anthemis?' My companion answered: 'I deposited them in the mouth of her who fills my cup.' 'She who poured out the wine denied the charge; but her smiles betrayed her, and she blushed with confusion.' "

Safī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī, commonly called Ibn Shukr vizīr of al-Malik al-'Ādil Ibn Ayyub, having taken from 'Abd al-Ḥukm the place of preacher in the mosque of Old Cairo, this poet wrote him the following lines :

"To what door shall I repair for refuge, if not to thine? from whom can I expect liberality, if not from thee? All paths and ways are closed up against me, except that which leads towards thee; direct me then how to act. It seems as if the (*hospitable*) doors of other men had become (*one single door*) thy door! It seems as if thou alone wert all the human race!"

The thought in this last verse is borrowed from the poet al-Salāmī, who says :

"I encouraged my hopes with the prospect of dominion, (*and*) all mankind (*my subjects*); the world was to be my palace; and eternity, one day of my reign!"

We shall speak of the poem from which this verse is taken, in the Life of Aḍad al-Dawlat (*Fennakhusrā*) Ibn Buwayh, under the letter F. The following verses were pronounced by 'Abd al-Ḥukm when he first unveiled his bride:

"When the charms of the bride were disclosed to my eyes, she hid her face with her hand, on which was graven a net-work tracery.<sup>1</sup> 'Your efforts to hide your countenance will not avail,' said I; 'when has a net hid the light of the sun?' "

---

<sup>1</sup> Among the 'Arab women it is still customary to tattoo the hands and arms.

By the same :

"At the feast, where we spent the night in pleasure, it seemed as if we were borne asleep upon the waters ; over us were the constellations : under us, the boat ; in those, stars : in this, full-moons."<sup>1</sup>

By the same :

"Proceed gently ! all affairs admit delay : do you, who are a lion, fear to be insulted ? If you dwelt in Egypt, you would be a Nile (*spreading abundance*) ! If you went to Syria you would be a fertilizing shower !"

This author was born on Sunday eve, 19<sup>th</sup> of the First Jumada, A. H. 563 (A. D. 1168)\* ; he died at Old Cairo, on the morning of the 28<sup>th</sup> Shā'aban, A. H. 613 (A. D. 1216), and was buried at the foot of mount Muqāṭṭam, A great deal of his poetry, and all of an agreeable cast, was recited to me by his son. The 'Imād al-Din, above-mentioned, bore the name of Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'I-Amāna Jibrīl Ibn al-Moghayra Ibn Sulṭān Ibn Ni'ma ; he was a worthy man, and celebrated for his great integrity in the fulfilment of his duty ; he had been employed most part of his life in different government-offices at Old Cairo and Alexandria. Born A. H. 558 (A. D. 1163); died at Cairo, the 5<sup>th</sup> of Sha'abān, A. H. 637 (A. D. 1240).†

## 7. ABŪ IṢḤĀQ ḌAHĪR AL-DĪN

Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Naṣr Ibn 'Askar, surnamed Ḍahīr al-Dīn (*support of religion*), doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'ī, qāḍī of Sallāmiya, and native of Mosul, is thus spoken of by Ibn al-Dubaythī in his History<sup>2</sup> : "Abū Iṣḥāq, native of Mosul, studied

1 In this verse, the poet plays upon the double meaning of the word *Aflāk* which signifies the *constellations of the zodiac* and *ships* ; by the *full moons*, he designates his fair companions, the partners in his pleasures.

2 This work of Ibn al-Dubaythī is a continuation of the History of Baḥḥad Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, which is itself a supplement to the celebrated work composed by Abū Bakr A'mad, surnamed al-Khaṭīb al-Baḥḥādī : the lives of these writers will be found in this work.

\*3 March.—Ed.

†11 December.—Ed.

‡1 March.—Ed.

jurisprudence in that city under the qādī Abn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain Ibn Naṣr Ibn Khamīs, native of the same place, from whom he learned the traditions : having then travelled to Baghḍād, he took lessons from a number of masters, and returned to his native place. He became qādī of Sallāmiya, a town in the dependency of Mosul, and he taught, when in Irbil (*Arbela*), a portion of the works of Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī, the grammarian, under whom he had studied at Baghḍād along with many natives of that city." This talented jurisconsult was originally from Sindiya, in 'Irāq ; he studied law at the Nizāmiya college in Baghḍād, he learned and taught the traditions, and filled, for a long time, the place of qādī in Sallāmiya. His reigning passion was poetry, and his verses, the following for instance, are very pleasing :

"Oh, my friends ! call me not a man of perfidy ; no perfidy is in my character. I swear by the days of my life which have passed away, and by those joys which have departed that I have been always constant in my promised friendship, and that the ties of my attachment have never yet been broken."

By the same :

"The bounty of a generous man, promised but long delayed, is never pure from alloy. Vain and useless are the lightnings from the cloud, if it withholds its promised showers. He who defers fulfilling his promise merits blame, though his hands should lavish riches after the long delay. Oh, tree of bounty ! the man must not be blamed who shakes thy branches when he needs thy fruit."

In a village called al-Bawāzīj, near Sallāmiya, was a convent inhabited by a fraternity of dervishes, under a shaykh named Mekkī, upon whom the following verses were made by Abn Ishāq :

"Go bear to Mekkī this word of good counsel ; for good counsel merits attention : when was it taught, as a point of religion, that the *pursuit* of riches is a precept inculcated by Muḥammad, and therefore to be followed ? (*When was it taught*) that a man should eat with the voracity of a camel, and leap about in the conventicle till he fall. Were he hungry, were his stomach empty, he would neither whirl round for joy nor listen

to musicians. They say : We are intoxicated with the love of the Divinity ! But that which intoxicates the fraternity is draughts (of the wine cup). The ass in a rich pasture acts as they ; when its thirst and hunger are satisfied, it skips about."

Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī\* mentions his name with eulogium in the History of Arbela, and cites numerous extracts from his works, and from the letters he received from him : the k̄atib 'Imād al-Dīn also speaks of him in the *Kharidah*<sup>1</sup>, as a young man of talent. The following verses are his :

"I said to her : Unite to me thee in the bonds of love ! but she turned away her head as if I had asked her to commit a crime. If she reject my love through fear of sinning (*she should reflect*) that it is a grievous sin to cause (*by a cruel refusal*) the death of a Muslim."

This writer died at Sallāmiya, on Thursday, the 3rd of the Second *Rabī* A. H. 610 (A. D. 1213) : he had a son whom I met at Aleppo, and who recited to me a great deal of his own and of his father's poetry : he wrote verses well, and hit upon fine ideas. Sallāmiya was a village on the east bank of the Tigris, a day's journey lower down than Mosul, which stands on the west bank : the town of Sallāmiya, in which Zahr al-Dīn was qādī, is now in ruins, and a new village of the same name has been founded in the neighbourhood.

## 8. IBRĀHĪM IBN AL-MAHDĪ

Abn Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī Ibn Abi Ja'far al-Mansūr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī (*descended from Hāshim, grandfather to Muḥammad*), brother to Hārūn al-Rashid.

---

<sup>1</sup> See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1414, fol. 191, *verso*.

\*M. de Slane writes it as "al-Mastawfī".—*Ed.*

†22 August.—*Ed.*

This prince had a great talent as a singer, and an able hand on musical instruments ; he was also an agreeable companion at parties of pleasure. Being of a dark complexion which he inherited from his mother Shikla or Shakla (*who was a Negress*) and of a large frame of body, he received the name of *al-Tinnīn* (*the dragon*). He was a man of great merit and a perfect scholar, possessed of an open heart and a generous hand ; his like had never before been seen among the sons of khalifs, none of whom spoke with more propriety and elegance or composed verses with greater ability. He was proclaimed khalif at Baghḍād some time after A. H. 200, during the absence of al-Māmūn (*the reigning khalif*) in Khurāsān ; (the history of that event is well known)<sup>1</sup> ; and he continued for two years khalif in that city : al-Ṭabari says, in his Annals, that the reign of Ibrāhīm lasted one year, eleven months, and twelve days. The cause which induced the people to renounce allegiance to al-Māmūn and proclaim Ibrāhīm khalif, was the conduct of the former, who, during his stay in Khurāsān, appointed for his successor Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā, whose life shall be given in the letter ع . This choice being highly displeasing to (*the members of the reigning family*) the Abbasides,<sup>2</sup> who were in Baghḍād, they proclaimed Ibrāhīm, uncle to al-Māmūn Khalif, under the title of al-Mubārak (*the Blessed*) ; this took place on Tuesday, 25th Dhu'l Hijja, A. H. 201 (June, A. D. 817).<sup>3</sup> The Abbasides of Baghḍād began first by making a secret promise to allegiance to Ibrāhīm, and the inhabitants of the city took a similar engagement the 1st Muḥarram 202 (July 20th, A. D. 817) pronouncing at the same time the deposition of al-Māmūn ; then, on Friday, 5th Muḥarram, they published their resolution, and Ibrāhīm mounted the pulpit.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Abulfedae Annales*, t. II, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> It must be recollected that the number of persons descended from al-Abbās amounted, in A. H. 200 to 33,000, according to a census made by al-Māmūn. (Ibn al-Atḥīr. Abu 'l-Fidā.)

<sup>3</sup> During more than three centuries it was customary for the khalifa to pronounce in person, the *khutba*, or declaration of faith, from the pulpit every Friday ; Ibrāhīm, in mounting the pulpit, had thus openly assumed the functions of khalif. The details of this revolt are to be found in the Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā ; see also, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, the article Mamoun.

\*14 July.—Ed.



Al-Māmun, on appointing 'Ali Ibn Mūsā for his successor, had ordered the public to cease wearing black, which was the distinctive colour of the Abbasides, and to put on green (*which colour was appropriated to the family of 'Ali and their partisans*): this gave also great dissatisfaction to the Abbasides, and was one of the motives which provoked their enmity towards al-Māmun: the wearing of black was re-established on Thursday, 29th Dhu'l-Qa'da 207 (May A. D. 823)\*; the reason which rendered this change necessary is given by al-Ṭabarī in his Annals.<sup>1</sup> On al-Māmun's setting out for Baghdād from Khurāsān, Ibrāhīm became apprehensive for his personal safety, and concealed himself; this was on Wednesday, 16th† Dhu'l-Hijja, 203 (June, A. D. 819)‡; before which took place many events long to relate, and

---

1 The entire original text of al-Ṭabarī is not to be found in the *Bib. du Roi*; but Ibn al-Aṭḥir, who has often copied him *verbatim* in his Annals, furnishes us with the following passage: "In the year 207 took place the revolt of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Tālib, in the country of the tribe of 'Akk, situated in the province of Yemen. He called on the people to adopt the *Riḍā* (*the accepted of God*) of the family of Muḥammad." (Indeed every Abbaside who revolted against the Omayyades, and every member of the family of 'Alī who revolted against the Abbasides, represented himself as a lieutenant of that mysterious person *the Riḍā*, who was of course unknown to the uninitiated, and in some cases was the very individual who headed the insurrection). "The cause of this revolt was the unjust conduct of the government agents in Yemen, which obliged the people to proclaim 'Abd al-Raḥmān. When news of this came to Al-Māmun, he sent against him Dinār Ibn 'Abd Allah, with a numerous army, and gave him also letters of pardon for the rebel. Dinār after visiting the great fair of Mekka, and performing the pilgrimage, marched towards Yemen, and set pardon to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who accepted it, and submitted to the authority of al-Māmun, by placing his hand in that of Dinār, who brought him to al-Māmun. On account of this (*revolt*) al-Māmun forbid the members of the family of 'Alī to enter into his presence, and ordered them to wear black: this took place the 28th Dhu 'l-Qa'da." (Ibn al-Aṭḥir's *Kāmil*, Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, under the year 207.)

\*16 April.—*Ed.*

†The date should be 17 which corresponds to 15 June.—*Ed.*

‡15 June.—*Ed.*

which I have no space to record in this abridgment.<sup>1</sup> Al-Māman made his entry into Baghdād on Sunday, 15th Safar, 204 (August, 819)\*. At the time when Ibrāhīm concealed himself, the poet Dī'bil al-Khuzā'i made the following verses on him :

"The son of Shakla and his gang raised tumults in 'Irāq ; then every fool and villain flew to join him ! Were Ibrāhīm fit to reign, the empire had devolved by right to Mukhāriq† to Zulzul, and to Māriq ! Must it be ? but no ! 'tis impossible ! Must the patrimony of the khalifs pass from one reprobate to another ?"

Mukhāriq, Zulzul, and Māriq, the persons mentioned in the foregoing verses, were public singers of that time. The history of Ibrāhīm's adventures is long (*to relate*) and well known<sup>2</sup> (*so we shall merely cite the following incident of his life, and give it in his own words*) ; "Al-Māman said to me, on my going to see him after having obtained pardon : 'Is it thou who art the Negro khalif ?' to which I replied : 'Commander of the Faithful ! I am he whom thou hast deigned to pardon ; and it has been said by the slave of Banu 'l-Ḥashās.<sup>3</sup>

"When men extol their worth, slave of the family of Ḥashās can supply, by his verses, the defect of birth and fortune.

Though I be a slave, my soul, through its noble nature, is free ; though my body be 'dark, my mind is fair'."

1 Those events are related by Abu 'l-Fidā in his Annals.

2 During the time of Ibrāhīm's concealment, he had a number of hair-breadth escapes, and the history of his disguises and adventures is very amusing ; but it has not as yet been translated into any European language : M. Humbert, of Geneva, has given however the Arabic text of it in his *Analecta Arabica* ; and M. Caussin de Perceval intends publishing a French translation of the *Kitāb al-Aḥnānī*, in which will be found many curious stories respecting Ibrāhīm.

3 According to the author of the *Masālik al-Absār* (Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancient fonds, no. 1371, fol. 78) ; this poet's name was Suḡaym سوغيم and the Banu 'l-Ḥashās were a branch of the tribe of Asad.

I suspect him to have lived before the introduction of Islamism ; Tabrizī cites a verse of his in the commentary on the *Ḥamīsa*, p. 492.

\*The date should be 16 Safar (12 August). Even then there is some discrepancy, Sunday fell on 14 August. The date is not clear in autograph.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it *Muḥāriq* but has corrected this error in No. 91.—*Ed.*

To this al-Māmūn replied : 'Uncle ! a jest of mine has put you in a serious mood.' He then spoke these verses :

"Blackness of skin cannot degrade an ingenious mind, or lessen the worth of the scholar and the wit. Let darkness claim the colour of your body ; I claim as mine your fair and candid soul."

A modern poet, Ibn Qalāqīs, whose life we shall give, has versified the same thought, with some additions of his own and expressed it most happily ; his word and are :

"There are females dark in skin, but in conduct clear and pure ; whose presence would induce the (*white*) camphor to envy the (*black*) musk : 'tis thus with the pupil of the eye ; men think it black, though merely (*concentrated*) light."

The khalif al-Mu'taṣim, successor of al-Māmūn, was one day seated on his throne, having on his right al-'Abbās, son to al-Māmūn, and on his left Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī, when the latter began playing with a ring he held in his hand ; "what ring is that ?" said al-'Abbās ; "it is a ring," replied Ibrāhīm, "which I pledged during the reign of your father,<sup>1</sup> but which I redeemed only in the reign of the Commander of the Faithful (*here present*)." "By Allah," answered al-'Abbās, "since you are ungrateful to my father, who spared your life notwithstanding the enormity of your crime, you will not be thankful to the Commander of the Faithful for having redeemed your ring." The other was silenced by this retort. Ibrāhīm's, adventures form a very long narrative which is related by historians. I, however, have abridged his history, and indicated the leading points only ; but al-Ṭabarī and others have given it in full. When al-Māmūn got Ibrāhīm in his power, he consulted the vizir Ahmed Ibn Abī Khālīd al-Aḥwal<sup>2</sup> as to what should be done

---

1 Al-Māmūn was reputed avaricious, and to this Ibrāhīm alluded for a khalif should not have suffered any of his family to remain in want.

2 The vizir Ahmad Ibn Abī Khālīd al-Aḥwal was a freed man, and had been employed as *kātib* or *scribe* in the government offices before his nomination to the place of vizir. He was a man of great intelligence, prudence, and foresight, and possessed, besides, the talent of expressing

with the prisoner, and received this answer : "Commander of the Faithful ! if you punish him with death, you will have your like (*among sovereigns*), but if you forgive him, you will be peerless." Ibrāhīm was born about the 1st of Dhu 'l-Qa'da, A. H. 162 (July, A. D. 779)\*; and died at Sarr-man-raa, on Friday, 7th Ramaḍān, 224 (July, A. D. 839)†; funeral prayers were read over him by his nephew al-Mu'taṣim. Al-Jawharī (*the lexicographer*) mentions in his *Ṣiḥāḥ*, under the word *raa*, six different manners of writing *Surra-man-ra'ā*, viz : *Surra-man-ra'ā*, *Sarra-min-ra'ā*, *Surra-min-rā'a*, *Sarra-man-rā'a*, *Sa'a-man-ra'ā*, and *Samarra* which last, with the final syllable lengthened, has been employed by al-Buḥārī, in this verse : "And you placed it as a leading mark at Samarra". I know not, however, if this pronunciation be in use, or if the poet only adopted it from necessity (*on account of the measure of the verse, which here requires a long final syllable*). This city, which is situated in 'Irāq, was built by al-Mu'taṣim in the year 220 (A. D. 835); in it is the cavern from which the Imamites expect the coming forth of the *twelfth* Imām<sup>1</sup> whose life shall be given in the letter *Al*.

---

(Continued from page 65)

his ideas in an elegant and correct style. He died A. H. 210 (A. D. 825) according to Fakḥr al-Dīn. (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 895, fol. 218.) D'Herbelot, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, article, Aḥmed, relates an anecdote tending to prove the ignorance of this vizir : in this he has committed a double mistake : the Arabic expression made use of by the khalif Mu'taṣim is incorrectly translated (compare the note given by Reiske in the second volume of Abu 'l-Fida's Annals, page 684, with M. de Sacy's observation in the *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 138); the second error of D'Herbelot consists in applying this anecdote to Aḥmad Ibn Abi Khālīd, and not to Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammār Ibn Shādhi (عمار بن شاذي) who was the ignorant vizir in question (compare Ibn Khallikān's Life of Muḥammad Ibn al-Zayyāt with Fakḥr al-Dīn, Nos. 655 and 667).

I See *Bib. Orient.*, Imām.

\*20 July.—Ed.

†The date should be Friday 9 Ramaḍān, 224 (25 July A. D. 859).—Ed.

## 9. IBRĀHĪM AL-NADĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Māhān (or *Maymūn*) Ibn Bahman Ibn Yask\* adopted member of the tribe of Tamīm, and descended from a family of Arrajān (*a city in the province of Khūzestān*): he is generally known by the title of al-Nadīm al-Mawṣilī (*the social companion or singer from Mosul*), though not born in that city; but having gone to live there for some time, he was called a Mosulite; (such is the observation made by Abū 'l-Faraj, of Ispahān, in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*): he came of a noble Persian house, but his father had emigrated and settled at Kufa. The first *khālif* in whose presence he sung was al-Mahdi, son of al-Manṣūr, he was unequalled as a singer, and he discovered several new musical modes; when Ibrāhīm sung, with his wife's brother, Manṣūr, called also Zulzul, to accompany him on the lute, the audience were transported with pleasure. His adventures and concerts are equally famous: it is related that the *khālif* Hārūn al-Rashīd was passionately fond of a fair slave named Marīda, but they quarrelled, and their mutual displeasure continued for some time. This induced Jāfar the Barmakide (*Hārūn's vizir*) to order (*the poet*) al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf to compose something applicable to the circumstance, and the following verses were written by him in consequence:

"Return to the friends you have abandoned; the bondsman of love but seldom shuns (*his mistress*): if your mutual estrangement long endure, indifference will glide (*into your hearts*) and (*lost affection*) will hardly be retrieved."

In pursuance to Jāfar's orders, Ibrāhīm sung these verses to al-Rashīd, who immediately hastened to Marīda, and got reconciled to her. She then asked him what brought about this event; and being informed of what had passed, ordered to Ibrāhīm and al-'Abbās a present of 10,000 dirhems each, and al-Rashīd, on her request, recompensed them with a reward of 40,000 dirhems.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The silver dirhems of al-Rashīd's coinage are nearly of the same weight as the French *franc*, but they are much broader and thinner.

\* M. de Slane gives Nusk and his reading is followed in Egyptian editions: however Teheran edition agrees with the autograph.—*Ed.*

Ibrāhīm had been put into the Muṣbiq or chief prison of Baghḍād by al-Rashīd, and Salm al-Khāsir<sup>1</sup> (*the poet*) related to Abu 'l-'Atāhiya what had happened : on which the latter pronounced these verses :

"Oh, Salm ! Salm ! without thee no joy remains : al-Mawṣili is in prison, and our life has become bitter ! Pleasures are no longer sweet, since their author--nobles of men ! is hidden by the prison (*from our sight*). Al-Mawṣili has been abandoned by all God's creatures ; but their life (*now*) feels harsh and irksome. Disport and joy are in prison, and nought remains on earth to disport and give joy."

Ibrāhīm was born at Kūfa. A. H. 125 (A. D. 742), and he died in Baghḍād of a disorder in the intestines.\* A. H. 188 (A. D. 804) ; others say 213 (A. D. 828), but the first is the right date : we shall speak again of this event in the Life of al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥmāf (*which see*). It is said that Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili, Abu 'l-'Atāhiya the poet, and Abu 'Amr al-Shaybānī the grammarian, died at Baghḍād, in the year 213, and on the same day ; it is also related that Ibrāhīm was yet a child when his father died, and that the tribe of Tamīm took charge of him, and brought him up ; for which reason he was styled *Tamīmī*. We shall make

---

<sup>1</sup> Abu 'Amr Salm Ibn 'Amr al-Khāsir (*the loser*) native of Basrah, a poet notorious for his profligate life, lived at Baghḍād, and was contemporary with the Khalīfs al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and al-Rashīd ; he made verses in praise of the Khalīfs and the Barmakides. The surname of *the loser* was given to him, because he sold a copy of the Qur'ān to buy a book of poetry with the money, or else, because he had squandered the riches he inherited from his father ; such are the explanations given in the *Kamūs* ; but the anonymous author of the remodelled edition of Ibn Khallikān's work (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 731) says that *Sālim*, for so he calls him erroneously, bought a lute with the money he got for his Qur'ān ; the same writer gives the year 186 as that of his death ; but it must be remarked that this author is very often mistaken, and shows great ignorance in many of the alterations made by him in Ibn Khallikān's work. The author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, mentions Salm in the Life of Abu 'l-'Atāhiya, but furnishes no information respecting him. Ibn al-'Abbār, in his *al-Ḥullat al-Siyarā* (Arabic MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Paris), states that the book of poetry bought by Salm was the *diwān* of 'Imra'u l-'Qays (fol. 141, recto). The analysis of this work is given by Casiri, in his *Bibliotheca Arabica* under the number 1649. (Vide no. 239.—*Ed.*)

\*Collic pain is a better word.—*Ed.*

mention of his son Ishāq. According to al-Jawhari<sup>1</sup> and al-Ḥāzimi, the word *Arrajān* is written with a double *r* : we shall speak again of this place in the Life of Aḥmad al-Araǧānī.

(For further reference, see *Ans* b, f. 544 b. — *Ed.*)

## 10. IBRĀHĪM AL-SŪLĪ

Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣul-Takīn al-Ṣulī was a poet of reputation and talent : his works have been collected and form a small volume of exquisite pieces; the following is a specimen of his tender style:

"Visits draw close the hearts which coolness had parted ; but my visit to (*the capricious*) Layla has changed her affection to dislike ! The maids that dwell in the (*distant*) valley of al-Liwā are nearer to me than Layla, though her dwelling be here at hand."<sup>2</sup>

The style of his prose writings is admirable ; as, for instance, in the following threatening letter written by him in the name of the *khālīf* to some rebels : "know that the Commander of the Faithful hath patience ; to which, if useless, threats succeed ; if they avail not, his resolutions shall. Adieu." This address is not only concise but also highly figurative in fact, it has given rise to the following verse :

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān has omitted the Life of al-Jawhari in his work, but some information may be obtained on this subject from Hamaker's *Specimen Catalogi Cod. MSS. Lugd. Bat.*, p. 48. This lexicographer died at Nayshāpur A.H. 392 (A. D. 1002). (Yāfi'i's *Kitāb al-Janan*, MS. No. 137.)

<sup>2</sup> The Arabic word which signifies to *draw near*, means also to be *reconciled*, and, by a similar analogy, the word which denotes *separation* or *distance* can be taken in the sense of *alienation* or *mutual coolness* ; such quibbles and conceits were highly in favour at the time when Ibn Khallikān wrote, though ancient authors were very sparing of them. The *valley of Liwa*, or the *retired spot on the edge of the desert*, is frequently mentioned by the ante-Islamic poets ; there it is that the mistress of the poet is supposed to reside. The Muslim poets make continual allusions to the works of their predecessors, the nomadic Arabs ; those works were for them whereas the Greek and Latin classics are for us.

"To useless delay threats succeed ; if they avail not, resolution shall."

This author used to say : "In composing my letters I relied merely on those ideas which my mind might inspire, and on those sentiments which might spring from my heart ; I except, however, these two passages : *'That which guarded them exposed them (to danger) ; and their asylum became their prison !'* and in another letter of mine : *'They hurled him from his fortress to a prison, and they caused him to exchange hope for death' !*<sup>1</sup> In the latter sentence I imitated the following verse by Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Anṣārī, surnamed *Sarī* - *'al-ḥawānī* (the vanquished by the fair)<sup>2</sup> :

(He appeared) standing on (mount) Muhaj, on the (fatal) day of *Dhu-Rahaj*<sup>3</sup> he seemed the speedy death of all my hopes.\*

"In the former sentence, I imitated an expression used by Abu Tammām in these verses :

'If he enter the desert, he shall meet with sword and lance instead of hospitality ; and he shall quench his thirst at the cistern of Death ! If he raise a wall around him, it shall not be

1 Here in the Arabic text, some words of nearly a similar sound, but of different significations, are joined together artfully enough ; but the beauty, if any, of these expressions is quite lost in the translation.

2 Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Anṣārī was one of the galaxy of poets who shone at the court of the Abbasside khalifs. In his verses he celebrated the praises of al-Māman al-Raṣhīd, the Barmakides, and other great men ; he was appointed *Redressor of Grievances* (see de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 132) in Jurjān, through the protection of the vizir al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl *Dhu* 'l-Ryāsātayn. He was surnamed *the vanquished by the fair* on account of his having composed the following verse :

*What then is life, if we spend not our evenings with (those we) love, and if we fall not, towards morning, vanquished by the wine-cup and by fair large eyes ?* (See Freytag's *Hamāsa*, p. 428).

The author of the *Kitāb al-Aḥḥānī* gives little information respecting this poet ; he merely says that Ibn Qunber *ابن قنبر وهو الحكم بن*

*محمد بن قنبر* (a poet of the time of al-Māman, and Muslim Ibn al-Walid composed virulent satires against each other, and that they sometimes came to blows. (*Aḥḥānī*, t. III, p. 252.)

3 Such, I believe, is the sense of the Arabic words, but I must acknowledge that I have still some doubts (vide editor's translation).

\*The sense appears to be : He controls the human souls on the day of battle as if he is the (angel of) death hastening (to disrupt) hopes.—Ed.



his fortress, but his prison ! If not, let him know that you are angry with him, and fear alone shall doubtless cause his death.' "

Ibrāhīm al-Ṣulī was sister's son to al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf, the famous poet : he was called al-Ṣulī, after his grandfather, Ṣul-Tekin, a prince of Jurjān, who made profession of Islāmism to Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi-Ṣufra (*the Muslim conqueror of Khurasān*). The *hāfiz* Abu 'l-Qāsim Ḥamza Ibn al-Yūsuf al-Sahmī<sup>1</sup> says, in his History of Jurjān : "Al-Ṣulī came of family, native of Jurjān ; (Ṣul, or as it is sometimes pronounced, Jūl, is the name of a demesne situated in Jurjān : he was paternal uncle to the father of Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Yalīya Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣulī, author of the Book of Vizīrs and other works ; so their genealogies meet in one common progenitor, al-'Abbās (*al-Ṣulī's father*)." \* [Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Daw'ūd Ibn al-Jarrāh<sup>2</sup> mentions him in his *Kitāb al-Waraqāt* in these terms : "Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣul, surnamed Abū Ishāq, native of Baghḍād, drew his origin from Khurāsān ; he was a better poet than the other *Kātib*s who were contemporary with him, and his style was more graceful than

1 Al-Sahmī died A. H. 427 (A. D. 1036) : (*Tab. al-Huff. z.*). Besides the history of his native place, Jurjān, he composed some other works, such as the *Arbain al-Buldaniya*, which is mentioned by Ḥājji Khalifa in his *Bibliographical Lexicon* : Flügel's edition, vol. I, page 233.

2 Muḥammad Ibn Daw'ūd Ibn al-Jarrāh, one of the most learned men of his time, had been brought up under the tuition of the ablest masters in eloquence, poetry, and the sciences. He followed the profession of copyist, and transcribed a great number of works, the copies of which he always read over after in order to correct whatever faults he might have made. When 'Abd Allāh, son to the *khalif* al-Mu'tazz, usurped the sovereign authority, A. H. 296 (A. D. 908), Ibn al-Jarrāh became his vizir, and filled that place till the fall of his master, who reigned only one day : he then sought concealment in the house of the eunuch Manis, whom he thought his friend, but Manis caused him to be murdered in order to gain the favour of the vizir Ibn al-Furāt, who had advised him to commit this treacherous action (*Kitāb al-Fehrist*, No. 874. fol. 174, verso.) See also the Life of Ibn al-Furāt in this work.

3 The *Kātib*s, or writers, were the persons employed in the public offices: the directors, clerks, and secretaries in government service were all called *Kātib*s.

\*From Abū ' 'Abd Allāh" to "abridgment as this" on page 72, is not in autograph.—*Ed.*

theirs ; his poems are short, containing from three to ten verses only ; but his descriptions of the vicissitudes of fortune have not been outdone. He belonged to a highly respectable Turkish family ; the two brothers, Şul and Fayruz were Turkish princes of Jurjān, who had adopted the Magian religion, and become quite like Persians. When Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab came to Jurjān, they obtained from him their amnesty, and Şul having made to him profession of Islamism, remained constantly with him till they both fell in the battle of al-'Aqr.<sup>1</sup> Abu 'Umara Muḥammad Ibn Şul was one of the principal (*Abbasid*) missionaries<sup>2</sup> ; he was killed along with Muqātil Ibn Ḥakīm al-'Akkī<sup>3</sup> and some others, by 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, uncle to the Khalīfs Saifāh and al-Manşūr, when he revolted against his nephew<sup>4</sup>. Ibrāhīm and his brother 'Abd Allāh became adherents to (*the vizir*) al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl, surnamed *Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn*.<sup>5</sup> Ibrāhīm was then

1 Some particulars about the battle of al-'Aqr will be found in the Life of Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab.

2 During the first four centuries of Islamism, every family which pretended to the throne employed agents or missionaries to second their views; those men were sent to different provinces of the empire, where they established secret clubs, or *lodges*, the members of which had to pass through different degrees of initiation; each club was under a president, who received his orders from the provincial missionary, who was himself under the orders of the grandmaster, Da'ūd-Durāt. The family of 'Alī, the Abbasides, the Edrisites, and the Fātimites always kept up their missionary establishments, even when in the height of their power. (See Ibn al-Aṭṭār and Ibn Khaldūn, *passim*.) M. de Sacy has given a most interesting account of the Qarāmīta missions, which were established for the purpose of overturning the Abbasides, and destroying all religions whatsoever. (See *Exposé de la Religion des Druses*, t. I. Introduction.)

3 Muqātil, one of the most active Abbaside missionaries, was then governor of Ḥarrān, which city was taken by 'Abd Allāh after a siege of forty days. His son Muḥammad Ibn Muqātil, was foster-brother to the Khalīf ar-Raṣṣīd, who appointed him governor of Ifriqiya in A.H. 181. (*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, MS. No. 736, fol. 137.—Ibn al-'Abbār's *al-Ḥullat al-Siyara*, f. 13 MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Paris.)

4 See *Abulfedae Annales*, t. II, p. 9.

5 *Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn*, the possessor of the two authorities, namely, the civil and the military. (جمع بين السيف والقلم) surnam: of honour given to the vizir al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl. (See his Life in this work.) This title became afterwards very common, particularly in Spain.

employed in the provinces, as agent for the Sultān, and filled successively different places in the government offices, till he died ; he was then director of the demesne and gratuity office<sup>1</sup> at-Sarra-man-ra'a: his death took place in the middle of Sha'bān, A. H. 243 (December, A. D. 857). The poet Di'bīl al-Khuḏā'ī said of him : "If Ibrāhīm had sought to make out his livelihood by his poetical talents, he would have (*gained all and*) left us nothing !" I read the collection of his poems and made the following extracts from it ; but I suspect the first not to be his, as I found it also in the poetical works of Muslim Ibn al-Walīd al-Anṣārī :

"Let not the longing of your soul for family and home prevent your enjoying an easy life in comfort : in every country where you choose to dwell, you will find a family and (*friendly*) neighbours in place of those you left behind."

The following verses are by al-Ṣulī ; and it is said that if they be frequently repeated by a person under sudden misfortune, God will deliver him from it :

"A man meets with a disaster he cannot avert, and from which God alone can deliver him. But often, when the evil is complete, with rings (*and iron meshes*) strongly riven,<sup>2</sup> it passes away while he thinks that nothing can dispel it."

By the same :

"The fittest sharer in your joy is he who has been partner<sup>3</sup> in your sorrow : when generous (*travellers*) repose in the plain,

1 The government was then in possession of a great number of demesnes, mostly in the conquered provinces, and which were usually farmed out (their Arabic name is *Ḍiā'a*, farms). From the passage of Ibn al-Jarrāh cited by Ibn al-Khalīkān, I am induced to believe that the income of these lands was divided, as a gratuitous donation among the persons employed by government. We find very often the *Jund*, or paid troops, receiving gratuities of free gifts from the *Ḳhalīfs* and the governors of provinces; it is probable that those farm rents were employed for the purpose.

2 This metaphor is taken from the large and wide coats of mail which were so highly prized and so loudly celebrated by the ante-Islamic poets: as a coat of mail cover the body of the warrior, so misfortunes surround the wretched on every side.

3 The verb *واسى* is employed here for *أسى*, which takes its signification from the word *أسوه* (*sharer*). (See al-Tabrizi's commentary on the *Ḥamāsa*, page 696.

they think of those who kept them company in the rugged stations (*left behind*). "

The next verses are said to have been written by him to Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, vizīr to al-Mu'taṣim :

"When Fortune treated me as a brother, you were also my brother ; but when she rejected me, you became my rancorous foe. I once blamed Fortune for her rigour towards you, but now I blame her (*for the treatment I experienced*) from you I counted you (*as a protector*) against misfortunes, and behold me now imploring your mercy ! "

By the same :

"Thou wast dear to me as the apple of my eye ; for thee (*alone*) my eyes shed their tears. Die now who may, since thou art gone ! Thou wast my only care."

Abū Tammām cites in his *Humāyah*<sup>1</sup>, in the chapter of amatory poetry, the following verses by al-Ṣulī :

"I am told that Layla has sent an intercessor to implore my favour ; why is not Layla herself that intercessor ? Does there then exist one whom I honour more than Layla ? (*find such and challenge glory* !)<sup>2</sup> or am I then a man that will not obey her ?"

This poet has written a great number of charming pieces (*which I cannot cite here, as*) brevity suits best such an abridgement as this.] We shall mention his nephew Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣulī among the Muḥammads. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣulī died the 15<sup>th</sup> *Shu'abān*, A. H. 243 (December, A. D. 857)\* at Sarra-man-rāa.

For further reference, see *Ansāb*, f. 357 b.—*Ed.*

## 11. NIFĀWAYH

Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Urfah Ibn Sulaymān Ibn al-Mughayrah Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah al-Azdī, surnamed Nifāwayh, the grammarian,

<sup>1</sup> See Freytag's *Hamāsa*, p. 540, with the Commentary of al-Tabrizī.

<sup>2</sup> This reminds us of Virgil's "Die quibus in terris, et eris mihi magnus Apollo."

\*7 December.—*Ed.*

native of Wāsiṭ, was a man of learning and talent and author of some esteemed works on general literature. He was born at Wāsiṭ, A. H. 244 A. D. 858), though some say A. H. 250; he dwelt at Baḡhdād where he died on Wednesday, 6th Ṣafar, about an hour after sunrise, A. H. 323 (A. D. 935)\*; others say, however, that he and Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqri<sup>1</sup> died at Baḡhdād in the year 324: he was buried the next day at the gate of Kūfah. Ibn Khālawayh remarks that Niṣṭawayh was the only man among the learned who was named Ibrāhīm and surnamed Abn 'Abd Allāh. The following specimen of his poetry is quoted by Abn 'Alī al-Qālī in his *Kitāb al-'Anālī*.

"My heart (*fixed*) on thee, is more tender than thy cheeks;<sup>2</sup> my strength less than the power of thine eyes!<sup>3</sup> Why wilt thou not pity him whose soul is unjustly tortured, and whom love inclineth towards thee with affection?"

1 Abu Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Musā Ibn al-'Abbas Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqri, teacher of the right reading of the *Qur'ān*, and first man in 'Irāq in that capacity was born in Baḡhdād A. H. 245 (A. D. 859). He read the whole *Qur'ān* over, *ختمه*, twenty times, under the tuition of 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Abdās; his other masters were Qunbul and 'Abd Allāh Ibn Salāmah. The celebrated grammarian Ṭha'lab says: "None in our time know the Book of God (*the Qur'ān*) better than Ibn Mujāhid." Ibn al-Aḥzam relates that, on going to Baḡhdād, he found Ibn Mujāhid's course of lectures followed by nearly three hundred eminent men *مصدر*; and 'Alī Ibn 'Umar al-Ghazzi states that Ibn Mujāhid had forty-four assistant teachers at his course *له في*

*حلقته أربعته وأربعون خليفته يأخذون على الناس*. He used to say, whoever reads the *Qur'ān* in the manner taught by Abu 'Amr and follows the doctrines of the sect of al-Shāfi'i is in the right way of salvation. Ibn Mujāhid was also an elegant and accomplished scholar, and taught from memory the poems of Ibn al-Mu'tazz; he died A. H. 324 (A. D. 936) (*Ṭabaqat al-Shāfi'i-in*).—The persons whose names are mentioned in the preceding passages are spoken of by Ibn Khālikān; so further observations are postponed.

2 The Arabic poets say of a fair lady, that the petal of a rose would hurt her cheek, and that a glance from her lover's eye makes it *bleed*; that is *blush*.

3 To please Arabian taste, adies' eyes should be languishing and tender but *langour* and *tenderness* are nearly synonymous with *feebleness*, the Arabic equivalent of which is generally made use of in this case. Some poets go farther and talk of their being vanquished by *sickly* eyes.

\*14 January.—Ed.

The following epigram was made on him by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Zayd Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn, native of Wasīṭ, a celebrated metaphysician, and author of the *Imāma* and a treatise on the unattainable excellence of the style in which the *Qur'ān* is written; etc.

"He that likes not the sight of a reprobate should avoid meeting Nifṭawayh! May God burn him with one-half of his name,<sup>1</sup> and cause him to be denounced with the other."

(*The author of this charade*) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad died A. H. 307 (A. D. 919) or 306. \*['Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Faḍl relates this anecdote: "Ibn Surayj Ibn Daw'ud al-Ẓāhirī, and Nifṭawayh went forth to a feast, whither they were invited: now the way lead them to a narrow passage and each of them wished his companions to pass before himself so Ibn Surayj said: 'A strait road begetteth evil manners.' ('Yea!') said Ibn Daw'ud, 'but it teacheth the true worth of men'; to this Nifṭawayh rejoined: 'When friendship is solid, ceremony is done away'."] *Nifṭawayh* is sometimes pronounced, but not so correctly, *Nafṭawayh*; Abū Maṣṣār al-Ḥa'ālībī says, towards the beginning of his work, the *Laṭā'if-al-Ma'ārif*, that he received this name for his ugliness and dark complexion, he being likened to the substance called *nift* (*naphtha* or *bitumen*): this name was given him in imitation of that of Sībawayh (*the famous grammarian*), whose son he was called on account of his grammatical knowledge, and of his following the system, and teaching the work of that writer.

We shall treat of *Nifṭawayh* and the other names of this form in our life of Sībawayh, whose name is 'Amr: consult that article.

## 12. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-ZAJJĀJ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Sarī Ibn Sahl al-Zajjāj, the grammarian, was a man of solid information on

<sup>1</sup> The first half of his name is *nift* (*naphtha* or *bitumen*): the other half is *wayh* (*woe*)!

\*[ ] From "'Abd al-'Aziz" to "done away" not in the autograph.—Ed.

philological and religious subjects; he published the following works: Treatise on the figurative expressions of the *Qur'an*; Book of Dictates;<sup>1</sup> Extracts from his complete Treatise on Logic, with a commentary by himself;<sup>2</sup> different treatises on etymology, prosody, versification, the Muslim sects, the nature of man, and of the horse; an abridgement of grammar; a work on the relation between the first and fourth forms of Arabic verbs; Treatise on nouns which are either of the first or second declension; explanation of the Arabic verses cited as examples by Sibawayh in his grammar; Book of Anecdotes; Treatise on the influence of the constellations upon the weather,<sup>3</sup> etc. Al-Mubarrad and Tha'ālab gave him lessons in philology: he was originally a glassgrinder, and was, therefore, named *al-Zajjāj* (the glassman), even after he had quitted his trade to study philology. The vizīr 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Wahb' honoured him with his intimacy, and al-Qāsim, son of 'Ubayd Allāh, had him for master in belles letters; and when al-Qāsim was appointed vizir, al-Zajjāj gained considerable sums through his influence. \* [The *shaykh* Abn 'Alī 'l-Fārisi, the grammarian, relates the following anecdote: "I and my master, al-Zajjāj, went to visit the vizīr al-Qāsim; we had just entered when a eunuch came up, and whispered to him some secret information, on which the

1 Dictates, *إمالي*; consult M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 137, and Flügel's *Hajji Khalifah*, t. 1, p. 427.

2 It must be observed that many professors taught from works written by themselves, and not published till later sometimes even not till after the death of the author. The extracts here mentioned were probably those portions of al-Zajjāj's treatise which he had explained to his scholars. This seems to be the work mentioned under the title of *جامع المنطق* in Hajji Khalifah's *Bibliographical Dictionary*.

3 See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 168. Hajji Khalifah remarks that a considerable number of works has been written on this subject.

4 'Ubayd Allāh, vizīr to the *khalīf* al-Mu'taḍid, and an able statesman, died A. H. 288 (A. D. 901). His son al-Qāsim was vizīr to the *khalīf* al-Mu'taḍid, and his successor al-Muktafi; he died in the reign of the latter. He was equally conspicuous for his talents and for his skill as a politician. (MS. No. 895, f. 236).

\* [ ] From "The *shaykh*" to "vizīr's case" on page 78 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

vizīr, who appeared highly pleased, rose and withdrew, but came back almost immediately, with marks of great dissatisfaction in his countenance. The *shaykh* who was on familiar terms with him, having asked what was the matter, received from him this answer: 'There came here occasionally a fair slave belonging to one of our (*public*) singing women, who had refused to sell her to me though I offered to purchase her: some person, however, advised the mistress to make me a present of the slave, in hopes of my giving in return double the value. Just as you came in, the eunuch informed me of the circumstance, and I went out immediately to converse with her, but found her unwell: such was the cause of the dissatisfaction you remarked in me.' On this, our *shaykh* took the inkstand placed before the vizīr, and wrote these lines:

1 "Eques impetuusus, cum hastā suā promptus ad confossionem in tenebris, praedam suam sanguine, inficere voluit; sed cum prohibuit illa, cum sanguine, a sanguine suo."<sup>2</sup>

We shall speak again of these two verses in the life of Barān, daughter to al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl; the story is there related in a different manner, as if this circumstance had happened to her with al-Māmūn: it is hard to say which relation is the true one, but that concerning al-Māmūn was perhaps the source whence al-Zajjāj took the verses which he applied to the vizīr's case.] This grammarian died at Baghdād, on Friday,† 19th of the Second Jumādā, A. H. 310 (October, A. D. 922);‡ according to others, his death took place in A. H. 311 or 316: having then passed his eightieth year. It was after him that Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-

---

1 There are certain passages in this work which cannot, for obvious reasons, be given in English: this for example.

<sup>2</sup>In English it means cavellier, going with his lancet, capable of striking its target in darkness, intended to bleed his prey but abstained seeing blood already flowing.—*Ed.*

†In the year 311 and 316 the day and date may tally. In 310 Friday was on 16 of Second Jumādā.

‡In the year 310 it was 14 October; in 311 it was 3 October 923 and in 316 it was 8 August, 928.—*Ed.*



Rahmān, author of the *Jumal fi 'l-Nahw*, was called *al-Zajjāi*, having been one of his pupils, as will be mentioned in his life; Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī was another of his pupils.

### 13. AL-IFLĪLĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyā Ibn Mufarrij\* Ibn Yahyā Ibn Ziyād Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khalid Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ al-Qurayshī (*descended from the tribe of Quraysh*) al-Zahrī,<sup>1</sup> 'generally known by the name of al-'Ifllī, was a native of Cordova and a first-rate grammarian and philologist; he possessed also a perfect acquaintance with the explanations which have been given of those (*obscure*) ideas which are met with in (*ancient*) poetry; he wrote a good and well-known commentary on the poetical works of al-Mutanabbī, and he taught from memory the Book of Dictates, by Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī, which work he had learned from Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī. As a teacher of belles letters he held an eminent rank in Spain, where he also became vizīr to al-Muktafi Billāh.<sup>2</sup> He knew by heart the poetry (*of the ancient Arabs*) and could relate their history and the traditional accounts of their combats; his memory was also furnished with a considerable stock of poetry composed by his own countrymen. He was most particularly exact in his choice of words; his tongue was veracious, his private conduct good, and his heart pure. Among a number of works which he studied

1 Zahrī means belonging to Zahrā, or Medinat al-Zahrā, a palace and town founded by the Moorish prince 'Abd al-Rahmān, in the year 324 (A. D. 936), at three leagues from Cordova. The Arabic historians speak in the highest terms of the magnificence of this new city, of which not a single trace now remains.

2 The MSS. of Ibn Khallikān's work agree in the orthography of the name *al-Muktafi-Billāh*; but Casiri, in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, t. II, p. 207 Conde and Ibn al-Abbār in his *al-Hullat al-Siyara* write it *al-Mustakfi-Billoh*, which title was assumed by Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān on his accession to the throne of Cordova A. H. 415 (A. D. 1024).

\* M. de Slane reads "Mufrij".-- Ed.

may be reckoned the *Ḥarīb al-Muṣannaf*, the *al-ʿAlfīz*,<sup>1</sup> etc. His birth took place in the month of *Shawwāl*, 352 (A. D. 963), and his death happened towards the end of the eleventh hour, on Saturday\* 13th *Dhu 'l-Qa'adah*, 441 (April, A. D. 1050)†: he was buried on Sunday, late in the afternoon, in the court of a ruined mosque near the gate of 'Āmir at Cordova. *al-ʿIfīlī* signifies a native of *al-ʿIfīl*, a village in Syria, from which his family originally came.

In the autograph the notice of *al-ʿIfīlī* is written on the margin and so a portion of it is not legible and it is hard to agree with this opinion.—*Ed.*

#### 14. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-ṢĀBĪʿ

Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Zahraun Ibn Ḥabbun al-Ḥarrānī<sup>2</sup> al-Ṣabīʿī,<sup>3</sup> author of the celebrated epistles<sup>4</sup> and of some charming poetry, was clerk of the Baghdād chancery office,<sup>5</sup>

1 Hājji *Khalifah* says, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*, that the former of these works is by 'Abu 'Amr al-Shaybānī, and that al-Aṣma'ī Ibn al-'Arabi, and *Tha'lab*, have each written a work called *al-ʿAlfāz* (vocabulary).

2 *Al-Ḥarrānī* means native of *Ḥarrān* in Mesopotamia, a city formerly inhabited by the Sabeans, and the chief seat of their religion; it was in ruins when Abu 'l-Fida wrote his *Geography*.

3 *Al-Ṣabīʿī* (the Sabeans); see the *Bibliothèque Orientale*. SABI; Sale's *Qur'ān* Introduction, sect. I; and Prideaux's *Connexion*, vol. I, p. 248; edition of 1820.

4 The author of the *Kitāb al-Fehrist* (Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 874, fol. 182) mentions two collections of epistles written by al-Ṣabīʿī, one entitled *Correspondence with the Sharīf ar-Raḍī*; the other: *Collection of Epistles*; neither of which works I have met with.

5 In the Chancery-office of the *khalīfs* were drawn up the diplomas, letters patent and of provision, political correspondence, etc.: as the style of those writings was, and has always been, elaborately elegant, the clerks of this office were necessarily chosen among men of talent and instruction.

\*M. de Slane has erroneously rendered سبت by Sunday.—*Ed.*

†7 April.—*Ed.*

in which he acted as secretary to the khalif<sup>1</sup> and to Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtyār, of the family of Buwayh, the Daylamite. In the year 349 (A. D. 960) he was appointed president of the board of correspondence,<sup>2</sup> and incurred the hatred of Āḍad al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, in consequence of having addressed to that prince some letters hurtful to his feelings. When Izz al-Dawlah was slain<sup>3</sup> Āḍad al-Dawlah took possession of Baghdād, and put Abū Ishāq in prison, this happened in the year 367 (April, A. D. 978). His intention was to have had Abū Ishāq trodden to death by elephants, but (*a respite was granted him*) through the intercession of his friends, and he finally recovered his liberty in 371 (A. D. 981); Āḍad al-Dawlah having previously required of him to write a history of the Daylamite dynasty. In consequence of this order Abū Ishāq composed his work entitled *al-Tāji (the Imperial)* but (*could not regain the favour of Āḍad al-Dawlah*), who had learned that a friend of Abū Ishāq's on going to see him, found him busily engaged in composing notes and making rough and fair copies (*of some work, and that this friend*) having asked him what he was doing, received this answer: "I am writing falsehoods and putting lies together." This story stirred up the then appeased anger of Āḍad al-Dawlah, and excited his hatred afresh: so that, during his life-time, Abū Ishāq continued in disgrace.

Abū Ishāq al-Sābi'i was very strict in the observance of his religion, and had refused to turn Muslim, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of Izz al-Dawlah; he kept the fast of Ramaḍān the same as the Muslims; he also knew the *Qur'ān* by

1 This khalif, whose name Ibn Khallikān seems unwilling to mention was al-Muṭi' Lillāh, the 23rd of the Abbāside dynasty. He was a weak prince completely governed by Mu'izz al-Dawlah, and 'Izz al-Dawlah, son of Mu'izz.

2 *President of the Board of Correspondence*, or Secretary of State, under the Abbāsides; his duty was to read over and correct official letters, after which he sealed them with a sort of red clay kneaded with water, on which he stamped the device of the khalif. See Von Hammer's work, entitled *Ueber die Länder-verwaltung unter dem Khalifat*; where will be found, in a small compass, much important information concerning the organisation of the Muslim empire.

3 See *Abulfedae Annales*, t. II, p. 535, and the life of Bakhtyār: in this work.

heart perfectly well, and quoted it in his epistles. He had a black slave called Yumn, to whom he was much attached, and on whom he made some verses remarkable for their originality of thought : the following, for instance, which are cited along with others of his by al-Tha'ālibī, in his *Kitāb al-Ġhilmān* :

"The dark-skinned Yumn said to one whose colour equalled the whiteness of the eye<sup>1</sup> : 'Why should your face boast its clear complexion ? Do you think that, by so clear a tint, it gains additional merit ? Were a mole of my colour on that face, it would adorn it<sup>2</sup>; but one of your colour on my cheek would disfigure me.' "

In this last verse is an allusion to the following lines, from a piece of verse written by Ibn al-Ramī on a black slave girl :

"One advantage of a dark complexion is (and truth can never be concealed)<sup>3</sup>—that a spot of deeper shade does not misbecome it ; though a white speck on a fair skin is considered as a blemish."

In these well-known verses, the poet has attained to perfection<sup>4</sup>

1 The expression خائنته العين , deceiving eyes, occurs in the *Qur'ān* sur. XL, verse 20 ; this induces me to suppose that the word الخائن, in the verse cited by Ibn Khallikān, is employed to denote the eye alone, without suggesting the idea of any quality whatsoever. Simple adjective, serving as nouns, are met with in many languages, but this is more particularly the case in Arabic. Though not completely sure of the meaning of this word I am nevertheless inclined to think that I have expressed the idea of the poet.

2 Black moles on the face were and are considered by the Muslims as real beauty spots.

3 This singularly-placed parenthesis signifies literally : *and Truth possesses a ladder and a hole* : a strange expression, imitated from the *Qur'ān*, sur. VI, v. 35, which Sale renders thus : "If their aversion (to thy admonitions) be grievous unto thee, if thou can'st, seek out a den (whereby thou mayest penetrate) into (the inmost parts) of the earth, or a ladder (by which thou mayest ascend) unto heaven," etc. From this the poet's meaning appears to be : *Truth must make its way ; it can mount to heaven and penetrate into the depths of the earth.*

4 These verses are, however, by no means remarkable for their style in the original Arabic ; their sense has been just given ; from which it will probably be inferred that our author did not possess a very correct taste or judgment ; though it must be recollected that his taste was precisely that of the epoch in which he lived.

Al-Tha'libi gives also the following verses composed by Abn Ishāq on his slave :

"Your face is so (*handsome*) that my hand seems to have sketched its outline,<sup>1</sup> but your words (*are false and*) have fatigued my hopes. In that (*countenance*) is seen an image of the full moon, over which night has, however, cast a tint of her darkness. Black misbecomes you not ; nay, by it you are increased in beauty ; black is the only colour princes wear. Were you not mine I should purchase you with all my wealth ! Did I not possess you, I should give my life to obtain you."

The prose and verse of Abn Ishāq contain every species of beauty : he died at Baghḍād on Monday (or Thursday according to others) 12 Shawwāl, A. H. 384 (November, A. D. 994),\* at the age of 71 years. Abu 'i-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq better known by the name of Ibn Abī Yāqūb al-Nadīm al-Baghḍādī, says, in his *Kitāb al-Fihrist*,<sup>2</sup> that Abn Ishāq al-Sabī'i was born some time after the year 320 (A. D. 932), and died before 380 ; he was buried in the cemetery of Baghḍād called Shuntzi, and a well-known elegy, the rhyme of which is in *D*, was written on his death by the Sharīf al-Raḍī ; it begins thus :

"Hast thou seen whom they bore aloft on the bier ? Hast thou seen how the light of our assemblies is extinguished ?"

The public blamed al-Raḍī for this poem, because he, who was a sharīf (*descendant from Muḥammad*) had lamented the death of a Sabean, but he replied : "It was his merit alone the loss of which I lamented." The word Sabī'i (*Sabean*) is written with a final *hamza* ; but many different derivations are given of it ; some say it comes from Ṣābi'i son of Maṭṭṣhalah (*Methuselah*), son of Idrīs (*Enoch*), who was of the ancient orthodox religion ;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This verse is quite sufficient to prove that its author was not a Muslim for representations of the human figure are expressly forbidden by Muḥammad ; see the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. II, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> See *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, MS. No. 874, fol. 182. This work was composed A. H. 337.

<sup>3</sup> The *ancient orthodoxy* according to the Muslim doctors, is the religion professed by all the patriarchs and prophets anterior to Muḥammad ; who himself taught that Islamism was only a continuation or revival of the old and true religion.

\*19 November was Monday, 12 Shawwāl.

others derive it from 'al-Sābi'i, son of Mārī, a contemporary of Abraham ; others again say that the word Sābi'i was used by the 'Arabs of the Desert to denote a person who abandoned the religion of his people, and for this reason it was that Muḥammad was called Sābi'i by the tribe of Quraysh : but God knows (*that*) best !

### 15. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-ḤUṢRĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Ibn Tamīm, surnamed al-Ḥuṣrī, native of Qayrawān and a celebrated poet, composed the following works : a *diwān*, or volume of poetry ; the *Zahr al-'Ādāb* (*Flower of Instruction and Fruit of Hearts*), in three volumes, filled with singularities of every sort ; the *kitāb al-Maṣūn* (*the Secret or Mystery of hidden Love*) in one volume, containing amusing and instructive anecdotes. Ibn Rashīq mentions him in his *Annūdhaj*, and gives, along with some particulars of his life a quantity of his poetry. "The youth of Qayrawān adds this writer, gathered to his house and took his lessons ; they looked on him as their chief, and felt for him deep respect ; his works got into circulation and gifts poured in upon him from all sides. He then cites as his these verses.

"I love you with a love which surpasses understanding, and which is far beyond the reach of my power of description. The utmost of my knowledge thereof is, that I feel my inability to acquire a just knowledge of it."

Ibn Bassām, author of the *Dha'irah* or Treasury ; containing beauties (*from the writings*) of the natives of the (*Spanish*) peninsula<sup>1</sup> relates a story in which he gives two verses of al-Ḥuṣrī's :

---

<sup>1</sup> By the word *Jazīrah* (*isle*) the Arabic writers designate both Mesopotamia and Spain : Hājji Khalifah, who gives the title of Ibn Bassām's work in his Biographical Dictionary, says positively that the *Jazīrah* here mentioned is Andalus, or Spain.

"The *lām* of that '*idhār*' has caused my heart to drink of death. It is dark as night, upon (a skin) clear as day."

Al-Ḥuṣrī was son of a maternal aunt to Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ḥuṣrī, the life of which poet we shall give in the letter 'Ayn.

Abu Ishāq died at Qayrawān, A. H. 413 (A. D. 1022); Ibn Bassām says, however, in the *Dhaḥḥirah*: "I learned that his death took place in 453" (A. D. 1061); but the first is the correct date, though the *Qaḍī* al-Rashīd Ibn Zubayr states in his *Kitāb al-Janān*, vol. I, in the life of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Fakīk,<sup>2</sup> that the above-mentioned al-Ḥuṣrī composed his work the *Zahr al-Ādāb*, A. H. 450, which indicates that Ibn Bassām was correct in what he said<sup>3</sup>; God, however, knows that best.—Al-Ḥuṣrī means a maker or seller of mats (*ḥuṣūr*). *Qayrawān* is a city in Ifriqiyah (*Africa propria*), and was founded by 'Uqbah Ibn 'Āmir al-Ṣaḥābī (*companion of Muḥammad*): *Ifriqiyah* was so

1 What is meant by the *lām* of the '*idhār*' is explained in the Introduction to this volume, to which the reader is referred; my reason for not translating this expression is there given. See also my article in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris for February 1839, page 174.

2 In the *Kharidah* of 'Imād al-Dīn (Arabic manuscript of the *Bib. du Roi, fonds Asselin*, No. 363, fol. 7, verso) are given some fragments of poetry by al-Fakīk, who is there said to have had great reputation as a satirist, and to have died A. H. 500 (1106-7).

3 It may be easily perceived that the passage containing the statement from the *Kitāb al-Janān* has been inserted later; indeed it is not to be found in some MSS.\*

4 Abu 'l-Fida in his *Annals*, Ibn Khāldūn in his *Universal History*, and other writers name the founder of Qayrawān 'Uqbah Ibn Nāfi; but 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qurayshī, historian of the conquest of Africa, calls him 'Uqbah Ibn 'Āmir (see Arabic MSS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 824, f. 2), and so also Ibn Khāllikān writes his name. The following passage from the *Hullat al-Siyara* (fol. 138), militates strongly however against Ibn Khāllikān: "'Uqbah Ibn Nāfi al-Fihri was sent on an expedition by Mu'āwīyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, A. H. 43 (A. D. 663), and entered Ifriqya at the head of ten thousand Muslims. He founded the city of Qayrawān, and left after him an honourable reputation; he was an excellent governor, and God granted all for which he prayed. He was deprived of his place, and reinstated, A. H. 62 (A. D. 681-2). In the year 93 (A. D. 711-2) he and some troops which accompanied him were slain by the Berbers at Tahāja, where his tomb is revered to this day." The author then enters into the details of his death.

\* The passage is written on the margin of the autograph.—*Ed.*

called after Ifriqūs or Ifriqīn Ibn Qays Ibn Sayfī, the Ḥimyarite, who subdued that country. Some say that Jarjir governed it at that time, and that it was then the Berbers got their name ; he having said to them : "How great is your gibberish (*berbera*)!" but God knows it best.<sup>1</sup> Al-Qayrawān, when a common noun, signifies a *caravan* ; it is a Persian word introduced into the Arabic language : it is related that a caravan had halted on the spot where the city was afterwards built, wherefore it was called Qayrawān. This word means also a *troop of soldiers* ; Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' the philologist, says, on some competent authority, that *Qayrawān* signifies a troop, and *qayrawān* a caravan.

1 Ibn Khaldūn, in his Universal History, gives a similar relation with some details too curious to be omitted here. He says : "To Abrahah Dhu 'l-Manār succeeded his son Ifriquṣh ; Ibn al-Kalbi says that Ifriquṣh was the son of Qays Ibn Ṣayfī and brother to al-Ḥārith al-Raysh, and that it was he who built, in the Gharb (or Maḡhreb), the city named after him Ifriqiyah, to which (city) he sent the Berbers from the land of Cana'an, on his passing close by them when Josua had defeated them in Syria and slain (a number of) them. (Ifriquṣh) then took charge of the few (who remained) and marched them before him to Ifriqiyah, where he settled them. It is said that Jirjis was king of that country, and it was he (Ifriquṣh) who gave "the Berbers this name ; for, on conquering Maḡhreb he heard their strange language, and said : "How great is your gibberish (*Berbera*) !" for which reason they were called Berbers ; this word, in the language of the desert Arabs, signifies *mingled and unintelligible noises* ; whence the roaring of the lion is called *berbera*. When (Ifriquṣh) returned from his expedition to Maḡhreb, he left there Ṣunhāja and Quṣāma (branches) of the tribe of Himyar, and these are still there, but they are not of the same stock as the Berbers.—Thus say al-Ṭabari, al-Jurjāni, al-Mas'adi, Ibn al-Kalbi, al-Bayhaqī, and all the genealogists."

This statement requires some observations : the Jirjis mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Khallikān seems to have been considered by them the same person as the prefect Gregorus, whose history is related in the 51st chapter of Gibbon's Decline and Fall ; for Ibn Khaldūn, in another part of his work, says positively that he commanded in Maḡhreb when 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Sarḥ conquered that country in the *khilāfat* of 'Uṭhmān. The dubitative expression, *it is said* made use of here by both authors, proves that they had great doubts of Jirjis being a contemporary with Ifriquṣh. But the most remarkable circumstance spoken of by Ibn Khaldūn is that of Josua's destroying the Berbers in the land of Can'an, which coincides singularly with what Procopius says in his history of the Vandal War, part II, 10, p. 449 ; edition of Bonn. We find there also the *Gergesaei*\* the Gergashites of the Bible, JOSHUA, XXIV, 11,

(Continued on page 87)

\* M. de Slane has given the Greek pronunciation also of the name.—Ed.



## 16. ABŪ ISHĀQ IBN KHAFĀJAH AL-ANDALUSĪ

Abn Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khafājah al-Andalusī (*native of Spain*); a poet praised by Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakhīrah*: "He lived," says this author, "in the east of Spain and never essayed to court the favour of the petty kings who ruled that country, notwithstanding the eagerness which they shewed to patronise literary men." He composed a volume of excellent poetry,<sup>1</sup> from which are taken the following original and pleasing verses on an evening party :

"Oft in social evenings has ebriety borne me to the ground and made my couch feel soft and even. The acacia clothed me with its shade, whilst the branches waved and the doves held (*mutual*) converse. The sun sunk feebly towards west, the thunder rose (*from the horizon*) and the clouds breathed (*coolness*)."

The following fine thought is by the same author :

"What means that '*idhār*'<sup>2</sup> which seems to have traced

---

(Continued from page 86)

which word has a most suspicious likeness to the *Girgis* of our Arabic writers. Could Ibn al-Kalbī, whose authority is cited by Ibn Khaldūn in this passage, have read an incorrect Arabic translation of Procopius ?

The preceding citation from Ibn Khaldūn is taken from the Arabic text of his *History of the 'Arabs*, p. 48; this work, which is now (1839) in a forward state of publication at Paris, has been critically studied and translated by the learned editor, the Abate Arri of Turin, to whose friendship I am indebted for the communication of the foregoing passage.

For further particulars I refer the reader to the note 3, page 99 of that gentleman's Italian translation.

1 The poetical works of Ibn Khafājah al-Andalusī are still extant: see No. 418, fonds Asselin in the *Bib. du Roi*.

2 The meaning of the word '*idhār*' is given in the Introduction.

with the shades of night a *miḥrāb* on the *qiblah* of thy face ?<sup>1</sup>  
 Therein I see thy youth (which before was not submissive),  
 sink prostrate, lowly bent and turning (*from its former state*).<sup>2</sup>  
 I well knew by the lightning-flash of thy (*brilliant*) teeth, that a  
 cloud would soon be cast upon thy cheeks."<sup>3</sup>

By the same :

"Thy youth hath deserted the mansion in which it dwelt,  
 and I stopped to weep over the time-worn vestiges of its  
 former abode. In that face the '*idhār*' shows like the trench  
 which surrounds (*the Arab's tent*), and the moles on thy face  
 represent the (*blackened*) stones of the rustic hearth."<sup>4</sup>

A poet of later times, named al-'Imād\* Abū Ālī Ibn 'Abd  
 al-Nūr<sup>5</sup> al-Laznī, who inhabited Mosul and who shall be mentioned

1 In this piece the poet fancies a resemblance between the face of the person whom he addresses and a mosque in which a true believer worships. The *Qiblah* is that part of the horizon, or of a mosque, which is in the direction of the temple of Mekkah towards which the Muslims turn when they say their prayers. The *Miḥrāb* is a niche or recess in the wall of the mosque, and serves to point out the *Qiblah*. Far fetched ideas like his are frequently met within the writings of the Moorish poets.

2 This verse is a mere play upon words; in place of saying simply, *thy youth is gone*, this *fine* writer represents it as prostrated to the ground like a man who prays; so it is now *humbled*, though before full of *haughtiness*; and it has quitted its former state, like a repenting sinner who abandons his former ways.

3 By all the poets of the later school, handsome teeth are said to flash lightning; but lightning is accompanied by clouds, so here the cheeks are shaded or clouded by the growth of the '*idhār*'.

4 All those ideas, with the exception of the '*idhār*' are borrowed from the ancient *Arabic classics*; that is to say, from the works of the ante-Islamite poets, which every well educated Arab learned by heart. Later Arabic poetry is often an intentional imitation of these old authors: the thoughts are generally the same, though expressed in a different manner. Such was the taste of Arab critics, who looked on the poems of the ancient Arabs as perfect models in style and ideas: whence the key to all the obscure allusions met with in the Muslim poets must be looked for in the Mu'allaqahs, the poems of 'Imra 'l-Qays, Nābiḡah, etc.

5 'Abd al-Nūr means the *Servant of Light*; Light is one of the ninety-nine names by which God had designated himself in the *Qur'ān*; see *surat xxiv*, verse 35, where it said: "God is the Light of the heavens and the earth."

\* M. de Slane gives 'Imad-al-Dīn and al-Lazzi, see also No. 718.—Ed.

again in the life of Kamāl al-Dīn Mnsa Ibn Yūnus, has taken hold of this idea and said :

\*"I took the 'idhar on the darkened cheeks of that youth for the trench (*which surrounds the tent*), and the moles on his face for the blackened stones of the hearth in the midst of the ruined dwelling. So I stopped to lament (*his youth now passed away* ; *I wept as*) with the eyes of 'Urwa, and sighed as if I were Ghaylān."<sup>1</sup>

This Abū Ishāq was born A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058), in the isle of Shuqr (*Xucar*), a dependency of Balansiya (*Valencia*), a city of Spain ; he died on Sunday, 25 Shawwal A. H. 533 (June, A. D. 1139).<sup>†</sup> Shuqr is a village lying between Shāṭiba (*Xativa*) and Valencia ; it is called an isle from its being surrounded by the waters (*of the river which bears the same name*). Andalus is an island<sup>2</sup> joined to the long land (*or continent*) which reaches to Constantinople the great ; it is called an island because the sea encompasses it on all sides except the northern ; its shape is triangular, the eastern angle being contiguous to the mountain

---

1 The Arabic poet generally begins his piece by describing the sorrow and regret he feels on arriving, after a long absence and a fatiguing journey at the station where the tribe of his mistress was last encamped, and at which he expected to find her again ; but where nothing now remains except the nearly obliterated ruins of the rustic dwellings. The poet 'Urwa died of a broken heart on hearing that his mistress had married another Ghaylān or Dhu 'l-Rumma excelled in painting the pains of love. His life is given in this work.

2 There is no word in the Arabic language for *peninsula* ; they make use of *jazīrah*, (isle), in its stead.

\*According to the original it should be rendered : I took the cheek of the youth with scorpion-like locks falling on the two temples for the trench . . . —Ed.

†That should be 26 Shawwal because the author says "four days remained from the month". It means that full month of 30 days should be reckoned.—Ed.

(*range*) through which the way leads to Ifranja (*France*); did this mountain not exist, the two seas had been united. It is related that the first person who dwelt in that country after the deluge was Andalus, son of Japhet, son of Noah, from whom it took its name.

## 17. ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-KALBĪ AL-GHAZZĪ

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Yahyā Ibn Uthmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī (*belonging to the tribe of Kulb*) al-Ashhabī; or according to Ibn al-Najjār in his History of Baḥdād: Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn 'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Abd Allāh al-Ashhabī al-Kalbī al-Ghazzī (*native of Gaza*); this celebrated and talented poet is spoken of in these terms by Ibn 'Asākir in his history of Damascus: "He came to Damascus in the year 481 (A. D. 1088) and attended the lectures of Naṣr al-Maqdisī<sup>2</sup> the jurisconsult; he then set out for Baḥdād and fixed his dwelling in the Niẓāmiya College for many years; there he composed elegies and panegyrics on more than one professor and also on other persons; from thence he travelled to Khurāsān and made eulogiums on a number of its princes, and his poetry got into circulation there." Ibn 'Asākir then gives a number of his pieces and finishes by speaking

---

1 Al-Ashhabī means descended from al-Ashhab, who was probably one of al-Ghazzī's ancestors.

2 The shaykh Naṣr Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Naṣr al-Maqdisī (*native of Bayt al-Maqdis or Jerusalem*), an imām of great authority and a pillar of Islamism, was equally learned and pious; he composed the following works: the *Tahdhīb*, التمهيد, the *Maqṣad*, المقصد, the *Kifī*, الكافي and a commentary on the Ishāra (see Hājji Khālifah, t. I, no. 765) of Salīm al-Rāzī, etc. He studied Jurisprudence at Sūr (Tyre) under Salīm al-Rāzī for four years, and then settled at Damascus, A. H. 480, where he spent his life in the practice of great austerities and mortifications; died in the month of Maḥarram, 490 (January, A. D. 1097), and was buried at Damascus, where his tomb continued to be highly venerated (*Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*, *Tab-al-Fuqahī*).

highly of him\*: the volume of his poetical works, selected by himself, contains one thousand verses, according to what he says in his preface. The Kātib 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Kharīdah*, and, after praising him says: "He travelled over the provinces and journeyed abroad; he was repeatedly departing and removing; he penetrated far into the regions of *Khurasān* and *Kermān*, and met with the remarkable men (*of the time*)."<sup>†</sup> Nāṣirī al-Dīn Mukram Ibn al-'Alā, vizīr of *Kermān*,<sup>1</sup> was celebrated by him in a poem rhyming in *b*, which contains this original idea:

"Of (*civil*) fortune we have borne a load above our strength;  
'tis thus the fractured limb bears its bandages."

The same poem contains this pretty thought on a short night:

"It was night over whose face we hoped the *'idhār*<sup>2</sup> would slowly glide, but no sooner had it traced its (*dark*) outline than it turned grey from the presence of morning."

The poem (*from which these verses are taken*) is a long one. The following is a good and well-known piece of his composition:

"'How'! said they, 'you have abandoned poetry?' 'Yes'; through compulsion, I replied; 'the source of my inducements and of my motives (*to it*) is sealed up'.<sup>3</sup> The dwellings (*of hospitality*) are deserted; no generous man now lives whose bounty may be hoped for; no fair beauty now exists deserving of love. 'Tis strange that poetry should find no purchaser, and yet be adulterated and stolen though it clog the market."

The following verses, by the same author, are remarkable for the pleasing artifice with which they are worded<sup>4</sup>:

1 The province of *Kermān* was at that time an independent state governed by Seljūq prince.

2 See note on *lām*, No. 15.

3 Literally: *The door of inducements and motives is locked*.

4 This artifice consists in bringing together words of different significations, but all written and pronounced nearly in the same manner: it is obvious that sense must, in such cases, be frequently sacrificed to sound.

\*This is the end of the quotation from *Ḥaṣṣī*.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Naṣr.—*Ed.*

"Biting sarcasms and base submission to a worthless (*guardian*) are two things which render prohibition bitter (*to the soul*). Reason (*says*): Rather choose wounds from the points of pliant (*lances*), than court (*a mistress*) and with those two bitter (*humiliations*)."

By the same :

"The only privilege granted to this vizīr in the council-chamber is the right of wagging his beard as a sign of consent. Such a pillar of the state (*wazīr*) and supporting nothing is like the waterless sea of prosody."<sup>1</sup>

By the same :

"(*The hearts of*) men are so dried up, that if they wept, a tear would hardly flow to wet their eyes.\* The hand of (*the patron*) whom we praise no longer sheds the dew (*of liberality*), and the forehead of him whom we satirize no longer grows moist (*with shame*)."

This author composed a number of long poems full of original ideas : and the following extract is considered by literary men as a beautiful passage and elegantly turned :

"A mark (*of recognition*) from you will suffice me ; the best answer to a salutation, on the morning lovers separate, is made by a rosy finger !<sup>2</sup>—(*When we met again*) her mantle flew off in her confusion, and the knot which secured her collar of pearls was broken during the darkness : she then smiled so as to illuminate the night, and she gathered up her scattered pearls by the light of her well ranged (*teeth*)."

In this last verse he alludes to the following thought, expressed by the Sharif al-Raḍī in one of his poems :

1 In the Arabic system of prosody, the different metres are called seas.

2 The word *عنم*, 'Anam, here translated by *rosy finger*, is the name of a long and reddish fruit which grows in Hījāz; the poets compare their mistress's taper fingers, when dyed with *hanna*, to this fruit. (See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. II, p. 416; and Freytag's *Hamāsah*, p. 288.

\* Arabic جفون is the plural of جفن which means eyelid.—Ed.

† M. de Slane reads it *al-Rīla* : for his life, see Ibn Khallikān, No. 639.—Ed.

"During that night, the lustre of her (*smiling*) teeth lighted up, amidst the gloom of darkness, the spot on which to impress my kisses."

A poet of Baghḍād has come near the above idea in a *Mawālyā*,<sup>1</sup> composed according to their usual system of either omitting the final vowels or placing them at random :

"I held Layla in my arms with a wild embrace, and said : A propitious star has risen upon my fortune. She smiled, and the hidden pearls shone forth ; the night seemed day ; and the jealous spics awoke."<sup>2</sup>

The original source of this idea is in one of the following verses composed by Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān al-Qaynī :

"I spring from a race of which alone the men are men ! when one of its princes dies, another like him arises. So shift the stars of heaven ; when one sets, another appears, followed by others. *\*(The brightness of)* their glory and their faces lighted up the night, so that the artisan could string the pearls he drilled."

This last verse is said to be the most laudatory of any made in the Times of Ignorance;<sup>3</sup> it is also said to be the most lying. (*The next verse after it is*) :

"Wherever they were, they always had a noble chief ; wherever his squadrons went, there also went Death."

The author of these verses, Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān Ḥanzalah† Ibn as-Sharqī<sup>4</sup> was one of the poets who lived in the Times of Ignorance—Ghazzāl was born A. H. 441 (A. D. 1049) in the town of

1 In the *Arabische Verskunst* by Professor Freytag, some notice is taken of the songs called *Mawālyā*; the derivation of this name is given by the Baron von Hammer in the *Journal Asiatique* for August, 1835.

2 The mistress of the Arabic poet is generally represented as closely guarded, so that lovers' meetings could only take place by stealth.

3 *The Times of Ignorance*: a term used by the Muslims to denote all that period of Arabic history anterior to the preaching of Muḥammad.

4 A fragment of a poem by Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān will be found, along with his genealogy, in the *Ḥamasa*, p. 558.

\* The translation of one verse, which repeats as the third of these verses, is omitted.—*Ed.*

† The name of Abu 'l-Ṭamaḥān is given differently. Al-Āmidī in his book *al-Mutalaf wa'l Mu'htalaf الموتراف والمختلاف*, gives another name Rabi'ah b. Kinānah b. al-Qayn b. Jasr.—*Ed.*

Ghazzah (*Gaza*) (where Hāshim, grandfather to Muḥammad, was buried); and died A. H. 524 (A. D. 1130), in Khurāsān (*on the road*) between Marw and Balkh; to which latter place he was carried, and there he was interred. It is related of him that he said on the approach of death: "I hope God will pardon me for three reasons: I am from the same town as al-Shāfiʿī; I am an old man, and am far from my family." May God be merciful to him and justify his hope! As it is possible this book may fall into the hands of some person living far off from our country, and who, not knowing where Gaza is situated, may desire information on that subject; I shall state that Gaza is a town\* in the dependencies of Palestine and situated on the Syrian Sea (*or Mediterranean*) near Askalan (*Ascalon*); it is the first Syrian town met with on passing the frontier of Egypt, and is one of those caravan stations which the *Qurʾān* makes mention of in these terms: *the caravan station of winter and of summer* (sur. CVI, verse 2) where all the commentators agree in explaining the winter† station by the country of Yemen, and the summer station by Syria; for the Qurayshites, in their commercial expeditions, went to Syria in summer on account of the healthiness of the country in that season; and they travelled to Yemen in winter because it is a hot country to which it is impossible to go in summer. Ibn Hāshim says towards the beginning of his *Sirat al-Rasūl*:<sup>1</sup> "The first who established for the Quraysh the caravan stations of winter and summer was Hāshim, grandfather to the blessed Prophet;" a little farther on he writes: "Ibn Ishāq says: 'Then Hāshim, son of 'Abd Munāf, died at Gaza in the land of Palestine on a commercial expedition':"

---

1 The *Sirat al-Rasūl*, or History of the Prophet Muḥammad, was drawn up by 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hāshim from documents collected by Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq: lives of both these writers are given by Ibn Khallikān. The passages here cited are to be found in the MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 629. f. 20, 21.

\* Small town or village.—*Ed.*

† According to the autograph order should be changed: summer station precedes winter station.—*Ed.*



and a little farther on : "Maṭrūd Ibn Ka'ab al-Khuzā'i said in an elegy on the descendants of 'Abd Munāf"—he then gives a poem in which is this verse :

"And Hāshim (*is*) in a grave over which the winds sweep (*the sand*), in the midst of the desert between the Gazas."

On which he makes this observation : "Those skilled in etymology say that *the Gazas* mean here Gaza alone ; it would seem that the poet had given to each part of the town the name of the whole town, from his putting Gaza in the plural number."<sup>1</sup> This place was known from that time by the name of the Gaza of Hāshim, for his grave is there, though not apparent or known : and on passing through the town, I could obtain no information from the inhabitants respecting it. When the celebrated poet Abu Nuwās went from Baḥdād to Old Cairo with the intention of reciting to al-Khaṣīb Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid,<sup>2</sup> president of the land-tax office at Old Cairo, a poem made by him in his praise, he inserted in it the names of the different places he stopped at on the way ; one of the verses is :

"These (*women*) went with the caravan towards the Gaza of Hāshim and serious business (*shakār*) awaited them at al-Faramā."

There are two words here which require explanation : al-Faramā (*Farma*) is the name of the great city which was capital of Egypt in the time of the patriarch Abraham ; and Hājir (*Hagar*), mother of Ismā'īl, was from *Umm al-Arab* (*mother of the Arabs*), a village in its dependencies : al-Faramā is that well-known station on the right-hand\* of the traveller going from Egypt to Syria by

---

1 The Arabian commentators always endeavour to give grammatical explanations for every irregularity; we have here an example of it; the true reason of this poet's writing—*Ghazzat* for *Ghazza* was the necessity he was under of making all the verses of his poem rhyme in *انت*.

2 Ibn Khallikān, in different parts of his work, furnishes information about al-Khaṣīb.

\* يسار means left hand.—Ed.

the shore way ; it is situated on the edge of the desert lying between Sāih<sup>1</sup> and Quṣayr (*on the Red Sea*) : when I saw it, it was in ruins, nothing remaining but its vestiges ; it was situated on a high hill. The Arabs are unanimous in considering Ismā'il to be their progenitor, and in believing that his mother was a native of Umm al-'Arab, the village above mentioned. The second word to be explained is *shukūr*, it signifies *things taken to heart and causing serious reflections* ; the singular is *shaqr*.

### 18. IBN QURQŪL

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bādīs Ibn al-Qa'id al-Ḥamzī, generally known by the name of Ibn Qurqūl, author of the work called *Maṭālī' 'l-Anwār* (*Rising of the Lights*), which he composed on the plan of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* by the Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ ; he was a man of talent and had studied in Spain under a number of learned professors : such is the only information I have been able to procure respecting him. He was born in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 505 (A. D. 1111) at al-Mariya (*Almeria*), a town in Spain, and died at Fez early on Friday evening, 6 Shawwāl 569 (May, A. D. 1174)\* after having been to public prayers in the mosque. When his death drew near, he began repeating frequently and quickly the *surat* of the *Qur'ān* entitled *Ikh-lāṣ*<sup>2</sup> ; he then made the profession of faith thrice, and falling prostrate in adoration, was dead on touching the ground.—*Al-Mariya* is a large seaport city in Spain. *Fez* is a great city in Maghreb, near Ceuta : *al-Ḥamzī* means belonging to *Ḥamzat*

1 The canton named al-Sāih is situated near 'Abbāsa ; which city, according to Abu 'l-Fida in his Geography, lay at a day's journey to the north of Bilbais. In the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* by Maqrizi, and the *Masālik al-Absār*, we find this name written *sāniḥ* سَانِح in place of *Sāih* سَائِح.

2 The *surat* entitled *Ikh-lāṣ* (*sincere resignation*) is also called the Tawḥīd, or Declaration of God's Unity ; it is the one hundred and twelfth chapter of the *Qur'ān*, and contains only four short verses ; a tradition of Muḥammad has declared its recitation three times to be equivalent to that of the entire *Qur'ān*.

\* 10 May.—Ed.

*Āshīr*, a village in North Africa lying between Bijāyah (*Bugia*) and Qal'ah Banī Ḥammād; so I have been informed by a number of natives of that country: 'Āshīr shall be again spoken of in the life of Zīrī Ibn Manād.<sup>1</sup>

## 19. THE IMĀM AḤMAD IBN ḤANBAL

The imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad al-Shaybānī al-Marwazī (*descended from the tribe of Shaybān and native of Marw*) was the son of Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal Ibn Hilāl Ibn Asad Ibn Idrīs Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥayyān Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ans Ibn 'Auf Ibn Qisīṭ Ibn Māzin Ibn Shaybān Ibn Dhuhl Ibn Tha'labah Ibn 'Ukabah Ibn Ṣa'b Ibn 'Alī Ibn Bakr Ibn Wā'il Ibn Qāsīṭ Ibn Hīnab Ibn Afṣā<sup>2</sup> Ibn Du'ma Ibn Jadīlāh Ibn Asad Ibn Rabīah Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān; this is his correct genealogy, though some make him descend from Māzin Ibn Dhuhl Ibn Shaybān Ibn Tha'labah Ibn 'Ukabah, which however is a mistake, for it must be observed that he came from Shaybān Ibn Dhuhl and not from Dhuhl Ibn Shaybān, whose paternal uncle was the Dhuhl Ibn Tha'labah above mentioned. His mother left the city of Marw during her pregnancy, and brought him forth at Baghḍād in the month of the First Rabī' A. H. 164 (A. D. 780); but some say he was born at Marw and was a child at the breast when brought to Baghḍād. Ibn Ḥanbal was a traditionist of the first class, and composed a *Musnad*\* or collection of authenticated traditions more copious than those any other person had till then been able to form; it is said that he knew by heart one million† of these traditions. He had been a pupil and a favourite of al-Shāfi'ī, and continued constantly with him until that imām set out for Egypt: al-Shāfi'ī in speaking of him said: "I went forth from Baghḍād

<sup>1</sup> In the life of Zīrī, the author merely refers back to what he says here; Abū 'l-Fida, in his Geographical work (see Arabic text, p. 124), mentions Āsir as a fort in the province of Bugia.

<sup>2</sup> In the manuscripts of Ibn Khallikān this name is written *Aqsa* but it appears from the *Ansīb al-'Arab* and Utḥmānī's *Ṭabaqāt* (No. 755, f. 46) that the right orthography is *Afṣa*.‡

\* M. de Slane's pronunciation is *Musnad*.—Ed.

† *Musnad* contains 30,000 traditions.

‡ In the autograph and in all printed editions it is *Afṣa*.—Ed.

and left not behind me a more pious man or a better jurisconsult than Ibn Hanbal." In the year 220 (A. D. 835), sometime between the 20 and 30 Ramaḡān, he was required to declare that the *Qur'ān* was created,<sup>1</sup> but would not, and although beaten and imprisoned, persisted in his refusal. He was a handsome man of middle size, having his hair dyed of a light red colour with *hinna*,<sup>2</sup> and a few black hairs appearing in his (*white*) beard. He taught traditions to a number of eminent doctors, among whom were Muḡammad al-Bukḡarī and Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysapūrī; and in the latter part of his life he had not his equal for learning and piety<sup>3</sup>: he died at Bagḡdād, A. H. 241 (A. D. 855), on Friday\* morning at sunrise, the 12 of the First Rabi'; others say the 17, and some place his death in the Second Rabi'; he was buried in the cemetery without the Gate of Ḥarb, which is so called after Ḥarb Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a companion of the *Khalif* Abū Ja'far al-Manṡūr's, from whom also the street called al-Ḥarbiyah took its name. The tomb of Aḡmad Ibn Hanbal is a well-known object in that burying-ground, and is visited (*by pious persons*). It was estimated that the number of men present at his funeral was eight hundred thousand, and of women sixty thousand; and it is said that twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians became Muslims on the day of his death. Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī writes in the 46th chapter of the work in which he treats of the history of Biṡhr al-Ḥafī: 'Ibrahim al-

1 The eternity of the *Qur'ān*, considered as the word of God, is the orthodox Muslim doctrine.

2 The ancient Arabs dyed their hair and beard red with the leaves of the plant called *hinna* (*lawsonia inermis*); Muḡammad recommended his followers to adopt this custom, so that they might not be mistaken for Christians or Jews, who, as he says, never colour their hair. (See *Mishkāt-al-Maṡ bih*, t. II, p. 359 *et seq.*)

3 The author betrays here his partiality towards the founder of his sect, al-Ṣḡafī'i who died about forty years before Ibn Hanbal.

\* Friday 30 August corresponded to 12 of Second Rabi' while the 12 of First Rabi' fell on Wednesday 31 July and the 17 fell on Monday 5 August. — *Ed.*

Ḥarbī<sup>1</sup> relates as follows: I saw in a dream Bishr al-Ḥafī, who seemed to come out of the Mosque of Ruṣāfa<sup>2</sup> bearing something in his sleeve which swung about, and I said: 'What hath God done with thee?' he replied: 'He hath pardoned me and honoured me.' And I said: 'What is that in thy sleeve?' he replied: 'Yesterday the soul of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal came unto us and pearls and rubies were scattered over it, and these are some I picked up.' I said: 'What were Yahya Ibn Mu'in and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal doing?' He answered: 'They were gone to visit the Lord of all created things, and the table was laid out for them'. I said: 'Why didst thou not eat with them?' He replied: 'He (*the Lord*) knew that I had to abstain from eating, so he allowed me to look on his sacred face.'"<sup>3</sup> In the genealogy of Ibn Ḥanbal, Ḥayān is written with a double Ya; the names of his other ancestors are sufficiently known and common, for which reason I need not fix their orthography, which I should do however, did I not apprehend being prolix.<sup>4</sup>

1 Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Baḥīr al-Ḥarbī was *hāfiẓ* of great reputation, a learned traditionist and had studied jurisprudence under Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal; he wrote a number of works, and was equally holy in practice and precept. Died at Bagdad, A. H. 285 (A. D. 898), aged 87 years. (*Yūfi'ī Muḥtasar Tarikh al-Khaṭīb*, MS. belonging to the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 634, fol. 62.

2 Ruṣāfa is the name of a quarter of Baḥdād situated, according to Abu 'l-Fida in his Geography, on the east bank of the Tigris.

3 The Muslims are taught to believe that those dreams are true in which a holy man, a prophet, or the Divinity himself is seen; they are authorised there to by the *Sunnah*. See *Mishkat-al-Masābiḥ*. t. II, p. 338; Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, and a note on the life of Ibn Nubāta in the *Journal Asiatique* for January 1839.

4 The imperfections of the Arabic alphabet are well known; a single point omitted, added, or displaced may cause one letter to be taken for another and there are no less than sixteen of the Arabic letters which are pointed; the vowels are also omitted in the MSS.; this increases the difficulties of the reader; and authors are obliged to write out in full the spelling of the word or name which they wish to preserve from being altered by copyists.

I have seen some differences in the statement of his genealogy, but the series I give is the most exact of any I have met with. He had two sons, both men of learning; their names were Saliḥ and 'Abd Allāh; Saliḥ was *qādi* of Ispahān and died there at an early age in the month of Ramaḍān 266 (A. D. 880). He was born in 203 (A. D. 818); his brother 'Abd Allāh lived till the year 290 (A. D. 903), and died at the age of seventy-seven years, on Sunday 22 of the First Jumāda,\* some say the Second; he was surnamed Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and it was after him that the imām Aḥmad was called Abū 'Abd Allāh (*Father of 'Abd Allāh*).

## 20. IBN SURAYJ

Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Surayj, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i is spoken of in these terms by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī in his *Ṭabaqāt*<sup>1</sup>: "He was one of the great Shafite doctors and Muslim imāms, and was surnamed *The Bright Fire*†; he filled the post of *qādi* at Shīrāz and surpassed in talent all al-Shāfi'i pupils even at Muzan'i himself: the catalogue of his works contains four hundred articles. He was an active defender of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and refuted its adversaries; he wrote also observations on the works of Muḥammad Ibn

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibn qādi Shuhba and Hājjī Khalīfah call this work, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqaha* (*classes of jurisconsults*): that is, Biographical notices of celebrated jurisconsults, classified in a particular order. It would appear from an observation made by al-'Uḥmīnī in his *Ṭabaqāt* (*fol.* 111, *verso*), when speaking of Abū Sa'id Muḥammad al-Naysāpuri, that in the work of Abū Ishāq of al-Shīrāzī, the lives of the doctors are arranged according to the degree of merit and learning of each individual.

\*24 April.—*Ed.*

†In the original **الباز** meaning hawk, M. de Slane has read it probably **النار** with dot above and so rendered it as *fire*.—*Ed.*

‡The word in original is **فرع** which means deduced problems from the fundamental principles, profounded in the books of Muḥammad.—*Ed.*

al-Ḥasan al-Ḥanafī. The shāikh Abū Ḥamid al-Isfarā'īnī said of him : "In our knowledge of the plain points of jurisprudence we keep pace with Abū 'l-Abbās, but he surpasses us in the niceties of that science. He studied the law under Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Anmā'ī, and some of his pupils became the first doctors among the Muslims : through his medium al-Shāfi'ī's doctrines were spread into many countries." He had frequent discussions with Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Dā'ud al-Zāhirī, who is related to have said to him once (*in the course of an argument*) : "Give me time to swallow my saliva (*and I will answer you*) ;" to which the other replied : " You might swallow the river Tigris (*before you answer me*)!" Another time Abū Bakr said to him : "Give me a moment (*to answer*) ;" and his adversary retorted : "I will give you to the end of time! (*before you do it*)." Another day Abū Bakr made him this remark : "I speak to you concerning the foot, and you answer me concerning the head ;" to which Ibn Surayj retorted ; "It is so with the ox, when its hoof is sore, they grease its horns."<sup>2</sup> It was said to him in speaking of the age in which he lived : "God raised up 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz at the beginning of the first century after the Hijrah, that he might manifest orthodoxy and destroy innovation ; then God in his bounty placed at the opening of the next century the imam al-Shāfi'ī, that he might manifest orthodoxy and force innovation to lie hid ; and God graciously conferred thee on the beginning of the following century, that thou mightest strengthen orthodoxy and weaken innovation." Along with his other talents, Ibn Surayj possessed that of composing

---

1 Literally: till the hour (of Final Judgement) comes.

2 This answer of Ibn Surayj means in other terms: "Though what I said to you appears quite irrelevant to your question, it is notwithstanding precise and well applied, but you have not the sense to perceive it: you are like the ox who knows not that the greasing of its horns will cure the soreness of its hoofs, which is nevertheless the fact." In comparing his adversary to an ox, he treats him as a heavy and stupid fellow: the 'Arabs call such a person *baqr* (ox)—See M. Humbert's *Anthologie Arabe*, page 183.

good poetry; he died at Baghḍād the 25 of the First Jumāda 306 (A. D. 918)\*; others say Monday† 25 of the First Rabi'; he was buried in the court of his house at the *Suwajjat Ghālib* (*Ghālib's Small Bazaar*) which is on the west bank of the Tigris, near the suburb of al-Karkh; he was aged 57 years and six months. His tomb is still conspicuous in that spot and is visited by devotees: no other edifice or tomb near it has remained, and there it stands alone. His grandfather Surayj was celebrated for the extreme sanctity of his life‡: I have read in some book that he was a Persian without any knowledge of Arabic, and that he had a vision,<sup>1</sup> in which he saw and conversed with the Creator, who, in ending, said to him: "*Ya Surayj! ʔalab kun,*" to which he answered: "*Ya Khuda! ser bi-ser.*" these words, which were repeated three times, are Persian, and mean: O Surayj! seek. O Lord! head with head, which is as much as if he had said: I am contented to attain salvation head with head.<sup>2</sup> I have since found in the History of Baghḍād that he who had this vision was called Surayj Ibn Yunus Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥarith al-Marwazī; he was a devout and self-denying man, possessing supernatural gifts: died at Baghḍād in the month of the First Rabi' 235 (A. D. 849).<sup>3</sup> I also saw in a dream a book containing traditions traced up to Surayj through an unbroken series of

---

1 See note on dreams, No. 19.

2 Head with head; that is: without obtaining pre-eminence over others. This metaphor is taken from horse-racing. See also Reiske's note in Abu 'l-Fida's Annals, t. I, p. 330.

3 Ibn Khalikān appears here to have some doubts respecting the identity of this Surayj with Surayj, grandfather to Abu 'l-'Abbās; Yaḥyā'i, however says, in his Annals, that he was so. (See *Mira'āt al-Janān*, No. 637, f. 187.

\*5 November.—Ed.

†Monday fell on 7 September which date corresponds to 27 of First Rabi' according to Fatmī calendar.—Ed.

‡This story is also given in Sam'ānī's *Ansāb*.—Ed.



sound authorities.<sup>1</sup> As for the first anecdote, I heard it from one of our holy shaykhs.

## 21. IBN AL-QĀSS AL-ṬABARĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Abī Aḥmad, better known by the name of Ibn al-Qāss al-Ṭabarī, was a doctor of the sect of al-Sahābī and a native of Ṭabarestān, where he was esteemed the highest authority of the time in religious matters. After learning jurisprudence from Ibn Surayj (whose life has been just given), he composed a great number of works, among others: the Ṭalkhīs (Abridgement)<sup>2</sup> the Guide for Qālis, the Mawāqit, the Miftāh.<sup>3</sup> etc. The Ṭalkhīs has been commented by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khātān and the shaykh Abū 'Alī al-Sinjī<sup>4</sup>; it is a little book, and is cited by the Imām (al-) Ḥaramayn in different parts of his *Nihāyah* and also by al-Ḥazzālī: all the works of Ibn al-Qāss are short but very instructive. He often addressed pious exhortations to the people, and having come, in one of his journeys, to Ṭarsūs (where it is said he acted as *qāṭi*), an assembly met to hear him preach, and he was there seized with such compunction and terror at the thoughts of God's majesty, that he swooned away and died A. H. 335 or 336 (A. D. 946-7). His father was called al-Qāss (the Narrator), because he used to relate (*qisṣā*) histories

1 It has been already said that dreams in which holy men appear are considered by the Muslims as true, see No. 19, note on *dreams*; here then is a proof that Surayj was a traditionist of unquestioned authority, since the series spoken of goes no farther than him. He was therefore an *imām of traditions*; a holy character in the eyes of the Muslims; he must also have obtained eternal happiness, or Ibn Khallikān would not have seen him with so sacred a book in his hand as a Collection of Traditions; for such is the conclusion which our author wishes to be drawn from his dream.

2 This work is a treatise on the secondary points of jurisprudence; see Flügel's *Hājji Khālifah*, No. 3543.

3 Hājji Khālifah mentions the Mawāqit (the prescribed time) without giving any information as to its contents; the Miftāh, or key to the legal doctrines of the Shāfiite sect is also mentioned by him.

4 In the Arabic text this name is incorrectly printed *al-Shinjī*.

and anecdotes.<sup>1</sup>—*Ṭāberestān* is an extensive province in Persia adjacent to *Khurāsān*; it has two capitals, *Saria*<sup>2</sup> and 'Āmul, and is well defended by fortresses and defiles. *Ṭarsūs* is a city on the frontiers of *Rūmīyah* (*Asia Minor*) near the towns of al-Maṣṣiṣa (*the ancient Mopsuestia*) and Adhana; al-Mamān, son of Hārān al-Raṣhīd, was interred there: this place is spoken of in the *Muḥadḍhab* and the *Wasit*<sup>3</sup> in the chapter of waqfs.<sup>4</sup>

## 22. ABŪ ḤĀMID AL-MARWARRŪDHĪ

Al-Qidī Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Bishr Ibn Ḥāmid al-Marwarrūdī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, studied jurisprudence under Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī; he composed the work called the *Jāmi*, a collection of doctrines special to his sect; a commentary on the *Muḥtaṣar* by al-Muzānī, and a treatise on the principles of jurisprudence. This doctor, who was an *imām* of surpassing

---

1 In the early ages of Islamism, the narrator of histories was a person highly respected; at time few historical works had been composed, and it was from these persons alone that information could be obtained; they always began each of their relation by a statement of the persons through whom it was successively handed down, and they were particularly careful not to change or suppress a single word in those ancient traditions; it was with such document that al-Ṭabari composed his celebrated history. merely arranging them in chronological order.

2 This appears to be the same city which is now called Serī; Abū 'I-Fida places it in Mazenderan.

3 The *Muḥadḍhab* was written by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī; and the *Wasit* by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī.

4 The term *waqf*, in the Muhammadan law, designates any sort of property conceded in perpetuity to religious establishment; many pious Muslims willed their estates to the support of strong places on the enemy's borders, war with infidels being religious duty; Tarsūs must therefore have possessed much property of this kind, on account of its importance as a frontier city, and it is probably for this reason that it is spoken of in the treatise of *Waqfs*.

merit,<sup>1</sup> settled at Baṣrah, where he gave public lessons and had among his auditors the jurists of that city. Abu 'l-Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī<sup>2</sup> said of him. "I heard Abū Ḥamid al-Marwarrudī say: 'No man should be flattered on account of his extraction, neither should he be blamed: for the tall man is not praised for his stature, nor the ugly man blamed for his ill-favouredness.'" Died A. H. 362 (A. D. 972-3). *Marawarrudī* means *native of Marwarrud*, a well-known city in Khurāsān, built on a river, in Persian *ar-Rud*, and situated at forty parasangs from Marw al-Shāhjan; these are the *two Marws* so frequently mentioned by poets: the word *Shāhjan* is added to the name of the larger one, from which also is derived the relative adjective *Marwazi*; the word *rūd* (*river*) is joined to that of the other city in order to distinguish between them: Marwarrud has for relative adjective *Marwarrudī*, and *Marwazi* also according to al-Sam'ānī: it was one of the cities taken by al-Aḥnāf Ibn Qays, and mention shall be made of it in his life<sup>3</sup>; he had been sent against it at the head of the vanguard

1 Literally, *whose dust was not split or entered into*; a strange expression but frequently made use of by writers who affect elegance of style; the poet Nābiḡha al-Ḍhubānī seems to have been the first who imagined it, and it is still found in one of his poems: Yusuf al-Shantmarī, author of an excellent commentary on the *six poets* (see the *Divān d' Amro 'l-Kuīs*, introduction), gives the following explanation of its meaning: "Thou hast not split my dust, that is: I have surpassed thee, and the distance between us is so wide. that thou hast not come up with me or *split my dust*; this expression originated in speaking of a good race-horse which passed the others and got clear of them, so that they could not enter into the dust he raised."

2 Abu 'l-Ḥayyān 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās al-Tawhīdī, native of Baḥdād, was *ḥay'ah* or superior of the Sāfīs, whose doctrines he treated of in the *Treasures* (*Dhakhḥir*), and other works. In the life of Ibn al-Umayd Muḥammad by Ibn Khallikān, will be found more particulars respecting him; see also *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*, fol. 21, *verso*.

3 In the life of al-Aḥnāf the author says little or nothing about these cities, and scarcely any information on the subject is to be found in al-Mākin or Abu 'l-Fida; the following details may not therefore be uninteresting. In the thirtieth year of the Hijra (A. D. 650-1), Tabarestān was conquered by the Muslims under the orders of Sa'īd Ibn al-'Ās, and 'Abd Allāh

(Continued on page 106)

by 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Āmir, general of the army. *Shihjān* means the *king's soul*: my reason for making these long observations is to prevent these places from being taken one for the other.

### 23. IBN AL-QATTĀN

Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad, generally known by the name of *Ibn al-Qaṭṭān*, was a native of Bagḥdād and a leading doctor in the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. He learned jurisprudence under Ibn Surayj and, after him, under Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī: he then professed at Bagḥdād, and men of learning gained information at his lectures; he wrote besides a great

---

(Continued from page 105)

Ibn Āmir Ibn Kariz (کریز) subdued Faras, Sejestan and Khurāsān. The people of Herāt offered some resistance, but were defeated; the cities of Naysāpur and Sarakhs (سرخس) surrendered peaceably, and Marw also obtained peace on condition of paying two million of dirhems every year. Al-Aḥnāf Ibn Qays was then sent by 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Āmir into Tukhārestān at the head of four thousand horses, and defeated the forces of that country, though seconded by those of Jawzajān and other districts; he then, with four hundred thousand (?) men, laid siege to the city of Bal'ḥ, and endeavoured to penetrate into Kluwarezm, but without success. 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Āmir then set out from Naysāpur to perform the pilgrimage to Mekkah, leaving as his lieutenant in Khurāsān al-Aḥnāf, who defeated the united forces of that country. 'Abd Allāh, on his return from Mekkah, went to Baṣrah, where he fixed his residence, while his lieutenants governed Khurāsān, Sejistān, and Persian Irāq (الجزال). The quantity of tribute received by the Khalīf 'Uṭmān was so great that it became necessary to form a number of large treasuries at Medinah on purpose to contain it. It is said that the treasures of Khusroes taken by the Muslims amounted to one hundred thousand *badrahs* of gold; each *badrah* (بدره) containing four thousand pieces. (*Tārīkh al-Khāmīs*, Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Rol*, No. 635, fol. 345.

number of works, and the students of that time all travelled to 'Irāq that they might be instructed by him or by Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Dāraki; when al-Dāraki died, Ibn al-Qaṭṭān became chief of the Shafite sect (*in that country*). Abu Ishāq al-Shīrāzī mentions him in his *Ṭabaqāt* and says that he died A. H. 359 (A. D. 970), to which the Kḥaṭīb (*Abu Bakr Aḥmad al-Baḡhdādī*) adds: "In the month of the First Jumada": he was one of the chief Shafite doctors, and composed works on the principles of Jurisprudence and its secondary points.\* ( *Ibn al-Jawzī*) author of the *Shudhūr al-uqūd* says that Baḡhdād (*the native place of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān*) was built in the year 146 (A. D. 763).

## 24 AL-ṬAḤĀWĪ

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Salāma Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al Azdi al-Ṭaḥāwī was a doctor of the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah and became head of the Hanīfites in Egypt. He had been a follower of al-Shāfi'i's sect, and taken lessons from al-Muzani, who said to him one day: "By God! no good will ever come of you." Provoked by this remark, al-Ṭaḥāwī passed over to Abū Ja'far Ibn Abī 'Imrān the Hanafite<sup>1</sup> and studied under him: he said afterwards, on composing his *Muḥṭaṣar* or Compendium of Jurisprudence: "God be merciful to Abū Ibrāhīm!" (meaning al-Muzani),

---

1 The ḥāfiẓ Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Abī 'Imrān, native of Baḡhdād, was an *imām* of high authority in the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah. He was a man of solid learning and composed a work, entitled *al-Ḥijaj* (الحجج); he filled the place of *qaṣī* in Egypt, and lost his sight in that country. Died A. H. 280 (A. D. 893) (*Ṭab. al-Hanafīn*, fol. 110, *verso*.)

\* فروع literally means branches; in jurisprudence it means deductions.—*Ed.*

"were he living, he should have to expiate his oath."<sup>1</sup> Abū Ya'la al-Khalīlī says, in his *Irshād*<sup>2</sup>, in the life of al-Muzanī : Al-Tahawī was sister's son to al-Muzanī ; and Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Shurūṭī relates having asked him why he differed in opinion from his uncle, and preferred Abū Ḥanīfa's doctrine? to which al-Ṭahāwī replied : 'Because I saw my uncle pore over the works of Abū Ḥanīfa.' This doctor wrote a number of instructive books, such as the *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*,<sup>3</sup> *Iḥtilāf al-'Ulama* (*Points of doctrine on which the learned differ*), *Ma'ānī 'l-Āthār* (*The obscure ideas and allusions in the Traditions*), the *Shurūṭ* (*Treatise on drawing up bonds*), a great historical work, etc. Al-Quḍa'ī in his *Khīṭab* speaks of him in these terms : "In his youth he met with al-Muzanī and most of the doctors contemporary with him, and became remarkably skilled in drawing up bonds." The qāḍī Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abda'

1 Al-Muzanī had sworn by God, but his oath proved false, he should therefore have explained his perjury had he lived. This expiation consists in granting freedom to a slave, or in once feeding or clothing ten paupers; if the person guilty of this crime have not the means of fulfilling either of the above conditions, he is only obliged to fast for three days.—(D'Ohsson's *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, t. IV, p. 286.)

2 This work is spoken of by Ḥājjī Khalīfa; see Flügel's edition, No. 520. The author, Abū Ya'la Khalīl Ibn 'Abd Allāh, was a native of Qazwin. He died A.H. 446 (A.D. 1054), and was considered a traditionist of the first authority. (Yāfi's *Annals*.)

3 See note on *مكالمات*, No. 2.

4 In Arabic *Shurūṭ* (*conditions*), the name given to that branch of jurisprudence which treats of drawing up legal acts and bonds in proper form. (See Ḥājjī Khalīfa.)

5 Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abda al-'Abbādānī, doctor of the Hanafite sect, born at Baṣrah, A.H. 218 (A.D. 833); he studied under a number of celebrated masters, and then went to Egypt, where he was appointed *Inspector of Wrongs* (see de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 132), and was afterwards nominated *qāḍī*, in the year 278, by Khumarawayh, son of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭaulun. He was a generous patron of men of learning, and always ready to oblige those who applied to him. During the troubles which ensued in Egypt on the death of Jā'ish, son of Khumarawayh, Ibn 'Abda was obliged to lie concealed for a considerable period; he was restored to the place of *qāḍī*, A.H. 292, but he quitted it soon after and retired to 'Irāq, where he died, A.H. 312 (A.D. 924), aged 95 years. (Al-Asqalānī's *History of the Qādis of Egypt*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 691.)

took him for secretary; he was then in a destitute condition, but was enriched by the kindness of Abū 'Ubayd, who was a very generous man. Then the qādī Abū 'Ubayd 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ḥarb<sup>1</sup> appointed him scrivener<sup>2</sup> after the circumstance which occurred between Maṣṣār the doctor and himself<sup>3</sup>; this was in the year 306 (A. D. 918). The public notaries were averse through jealousy to his being nominated scrivener, as they did not wish the same person to be both chief jurisconsult<sup>4</sup> and receiver of attestations; but a number of them having gone that year to Mekkah to sojourn there some time from religious motives, Abū 'Ubayd took advantage of their absence and nominated Abū Ja'far on the attestations of Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Māmān and Abū Bakr Ibn Saqlāb.<sup>5</sup> Al-Ṭahāwī was born in 238 (A. D. 852), or 229 (A. D. 843), according to Abū Sa'd al-Samānī, who is here right; another author adds that his birth was on Sunday\* eve, 11 of the First Rabi'; he died at Old Cairo on Thursday 1st of Dhu 'l-Qa'ada 321 (A. D. 933),† and was buried in the

1 'Alī Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ḥarb, surnamed Ibn Harbawayh, was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and native of Baḡhdād. In A. H. 293 he went to Egypt and replaced Ibn 'Abda as qādī; he was afterwards deposed in the year 311, and died at Baḡhdād in 319 (A. D. 931). (Al-Asqalānī, Al-'Uṭhmānī.)

2 In Arabic, *Adl*; see what Ibn Khaldūn says of the duties of this public officer, in de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 40; consult also Von Hammer's *Landerverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, p. 103.

3 This occurrence is again spoken of in the life of Maṣṣār; it was a quarrel between the two doctors.

4 The jurisconsults called the law *the science*, to indicate its high importance; for the same reason, the chief jurisconsult is called the *chief of the science*, which is the name given him here.

5 Those persons were probably notaries also.

\*Sunday 29 August was 8 Rabi' and in 239 Sunday fell on 11 Rabi' corresponding to 20 August.—*Ed.*

†23 October.—*Ed.*

Qarāfa<sup>1</sup> where his tomb is still remarked. In the life of the doctor Maṣṣār Ibn Ismā'il al-Darīr, mention is again made of him, so the reader is referred to it. His father died A. H. 264 (A. D. 877-8). *Ṭahāwī* means *native of Ṭahā*, which is a town in Upper Egypt (*Ṣa'id*) *Azdi*: signifies *sprung from Azd*, a great and renowned tribe in Yemen.

## 25. ABŪ ḤĀMID AL-ISFARĀ'INĪ

The *shaykh* Abn Ḥāmid Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Isfār'īnī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, became Imām and professor,<sup>2</sup> at Baghdād, where his lectures were attended by more than three hundred students in jurisprudence: (*the subject of his lessons was*) the *Mu'htaşar* by al-Muzanī, which he explained with additional observations of his own; and (*by his successful*

1 There were two-cemeteries at Old Cairo, called the Greater and the Lesser Qarāfa: al-Maqriẓī, in his *Khīṭaṭ*, describes them both and gives copious information respecting the tombs, chapels, mosques, and Muslim convents with which they were filled. See also M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 238.

2 The expression *رياسته الدنيا والدين* *chieftainship of the world and of the religion* is so obscure, that its signification can only be found by comparing the different passages in which it occurs. Its real meaning, deduced from an examination of six passages, appears to be that given here; namely *the places of imām and chief professor*: for it is to be observed that all the persons, to whom this title is applied, were great *imāms* and famous professors, and nothing more. In 'al-Ūthmānī's *Ṭabaqāt* we find that Muḥammad al-Salūkī became the *imām of the world* in jurisprudence, exegesis, polite literature, philology, grammar, poetry, and scholastic divinity; the same author says of Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī, that he succeeded to the place of *رياسته العلم*, *chieftainship of science*, or head-professorship, and that he filled the land with his pupils. These two passages, selected from many others, appear decisive as to the sense of *رياسته الدنيا*, *chieftainship of the world*. The *chieftainship of the religion* indicates, most probably, the place of the chief *imām*.



*instruction*) he filled the earth with partisans (*of al-Shāfi'i's opinions*). He explained the doctrines of his sect in two works, the Great and the Small *Ta'liqat*<sup>1</sup>; another short work of his, the *Bustān* or Garden, consists of singular anecdotes. He learned jurisprudence from Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Marzubān and then from Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Dīraki; contemporaries all acknowledged his superior merit and discriminating judgment; and the *Khaṭīb* (*Abū Bakr Aḥmad*) speaks of him, in his History of Baḡhdād, in these terms: "Abu Ḥāmid taught a small portion of traditions, which he himself had learned from Abn Allāh Ibn 'Adī, Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdal al-Isfara'īnī and others; (*as a traditionist*) he is a sure authority. I saw him more than once and was present at his lectures in the mosque of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak which lies at the upper end of the *Grant of al-Rabi'*<sup>2</sup> and I heard some persons mention that seven hundred students of jurisprudence went to his lectures, and (*for that reason*) people used to say: 'If al-Shāfi'i saw him, he would be delighted'." The *shaykh* Abn Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, in his *Tabaqāt* relates as follows: "Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Kudārī, the Hanefite used to praise and extol Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfara'īnī above all others; and it was told to the vizīr Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn<sup>3</sup> that he had said: 'I consider Abū Ḥāmid an abler doctor and divine than al-Shāfi'i.' On this, I remarked to the vizīr that it was al-Qudārī's confidence in Abū Ḥāmid's talents, and his zeal for the Hanefite sect, which led him to undervalue al-Shāfi'i, so no attention should be paid to what he had said; for Abū Ḥāmid, and even more ancient and learned doctors than he, were far from

---

1 *Ta'lika* signifies an *appendix* or *supplement*; the Moslem schoolmen give this title to collections of notes and observations on the system of doctrine followed by the sect; these notes were generally taken by the scholars during the lectures of their professors. Hajji Khalifa mentions a number of works bearing this title, and he remarks that al-Isfara'īnī's *Ta'liqch* treats of the Shafite doctrines. (See Flügel's edition, t. II, No. 3120.)

2 See No. 2, note on "ancient sayings." The *khaṭīb* could not then have been more than eleven or twelve years of age.

3 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn, surnamed *Rais ar-Ruasa* (*chief of the chiefs*) was vizīr to the Khalīf al-Qā'im Bi-amr Illāh; he was put to death by al-Baṣāṣiri, A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058). (See Abū 'l-Fida's *Annals*.)

the rank of al-Shāfiʿī ; to whom and to whose successors we might apply this verse of the poet's :

'They sojourned at Mekkah among the tribes of Naufal, but thou hast settled at al-Bayda, the most distant station.' "

It is related of Abū Ḥāmid that he said : "I never, in quitting the meetings for discussing points of law,<sup>1</sup> had to regret omitting a necessary observation." It is also related that, in one of those meetings, a doctor addressed him in an improper manner, and then went to him that night to ask his pardon : on which Abū Ḥāmid repeated these verses :

"A deliberate insult is offered before the public ; then comes a private excuse which only confirms the fault. He who thinks that a private excuse can efface a public insult is in a great mistake."

This doctor was born in A. H. 344 (A. D. 955), and went to Baghdād in 363 (A. D. 973-4), or 364 according to the Khaṭīb : he there taught jurisprudence from the year 370 till his death, which happened Friday evening, 18th Shawwāl. A. H. 406 (March, A. D. 1016),\* at Baghdād ; the next morning he was buried in (*the court of*) his house. His body was afterwards transported to the (*cemetery at the*) Gate of Ḥarb in the year 410. The Khaṭīb says : "I prayed over his bier in the plain" (Ṣahrā) beyond the Bridge of Abu 'l-Dann ; and the *imām* who lead the prayer was Abū 'Abd Allāh, son to (*the Khalif*) al-Muhtadi, and preacher of the Mosque of Al-Manṣūr, it was day witnessed by crowds of people and filled with deep sorrow and grievous lamentation."—*Iṣfarā'īn* means *native of Iṣfarā'īn*, a town of Khurasān in the territory of Naysāpur, half way between it and Jurjān.—

---

<sup>1</sup> These debating societies were held by students under the presidency of their professor, or by doctors of the different sects between themselves.

\*30 March.—*Ed.*

The verse applied to al-Shāfi'i by the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq has another belonging to it which runs thus :

"For thou didst fear on her account<sup>1</sup> the evil talk of hidden foes with sharpened tongue ; who say, but never perform."

## 26. AL-MAHĀMILĪ

Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Abān al-Ḍubbī al-Mahāmili, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i. He learned jurisprudence from Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfārā'ini, and put down in writing a *Ta'liqah*<sup>2</sup> which was taught him by Abū Ḥāmid, and whose name it bears. The penetration and intelligence with which he was gifted enabled him to eclipse all his contemporaries ; in jurisprudence he became remarkably eminent, and professed it both in the lifetime of his master Abū Ḥāmid and after his decease. He learned the Traditions from Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar<sup>3</sup> and other traditionists of the same period, having been taken by his father on a journey to Kūfa, in order that he might hear them from the lips of that teacher. He composed on the doctrines of his sect a large book, entitled the *Majmūah* (*Collection*) ; another in one volume, called *Muqni'* (*sufficient*) ; a little work entitled the *Lubāb* (*Morrow*), and a fourth called

---

1 The mistress of the Arabic poet is generally of a different tribe from his, and she is supposed to be always guarded by a number of jealous relations, ready to wreak vengeance on any lover who should dare to make known the object of his passion.

2 See No. 26, note on *Ta'liqah*.

3 Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar was born at Baḡhād, A. H. 286 (A. D. 899). He became the first traditionist of his time in Irāq, and had among his auditors the celebrated al-Dāraquṇi. Died A. H. 379 (A. D. 989). It appears that he was a partisan of the Shi'ite doctrines, (*Tab. al-Huffāz*).

the *Awsaṭ* (Medium), besides a great number of treatises on controversial subjects. He professed at Baḡḡad, and his name is mentioned in the Chronicle of that city compiled by the *Khaṭīb*. Died on Wednesday, 20 of the Second Rabī', 415 (A. D. 1024)\*; born A. H. 368 (A. D. 978-9). *Ḍubbi* means *belonging to Ḍubb*, which is a great and well-known tribe; *Mahāmilt* is derived from *Mahāmīl*, which is the name of the litters in which travellers are carried,

## 27. AL-BAYHAQĪ

Abu Bakr Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mūsā al-Bayhaqī al-Khosrjerdī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi', the great and illustrious ḥāfiẓ,<sup>1</sup> who in his age stood alone without a rival for the variety of his attainments, was one of the principal disciples of the ḥakīm Abu 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Bayyī' by whom he was taught the traditions, but whom he soon surpassed in all the different parts of knowledge. He learned jurisprudence from Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Nāṣir Ibn Muḥammad al-'Umari al-Marwazī,<sup>2</sup> but the traditions were his favourite study, and it was as a traditionist that he attained reputation. In this pursuit he travelled to 'Irāq, Jibāl (*Persian Irāq*), Hijāz and Khurāsān, in which

---

1 The persons who know the *Qur'ān* by heart are called *Ḥāfiẓ*; but this title is given more especially to those doctors who have learned by heart the contents of the six great collections of Traditions (see the *Miṣḥḥat al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. I, p. 3), who can cite the names of the persons by whom each tradition has been successively handed down, and who can point out those traditionists whose authority cannot be admitted without limitation and those who merit full confidence. The word *ḥāfiẓ* is sometimes made use of to designate a narrator of historical traditions.

2 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-'Umari was one of the most noted doctors who studied under al-Qaffāl and Abu 'l-Tayyib al-Salaki; he died A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052).—(Al-'Uḥmānī's *Tabaqāt*, fol. 85 verso.)

\*1 July 21 Rabī', i.e. nine days remaining to the end of the month.—*Ed.*

country, as well as in all the others visited by him, he received the traditions from the lips of the learned of that time; he then began to write on the subject, and composed a great number of works, which, it is said, amount to one thousand volumes.\* It was he who first collected the sentences<sup>1</sup> of al-Shāfi'i with which he formed ten volumes: the best known of his works are—the Great and the Small Collections of Traditions: Proofs of the prophetic Mission; Acts and Traditions (*of Muḥammad*); Path of Faith; Merits of al-Shāfi'i descendant of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; Merits of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, etc. Al-Bayhaqi was a man little solicitous about worldly goods, and the Imam al-Ḥaramayn said of him: "There was no follower of the Shafite sect who was not under some obligation to al-Shāfi'i, al-Bayhaqi excepted; for al-Shāfi'i was under obligations to him." Al-Bayhaqi was a most active defender of the doctrine instituted by al-Shāfi'i, and was invited to Naysāpur, in order to propagate the knowledge (*of that doctrine*); he went there in consequence, and led a (*simple and holy*) life such as that of the primitive Muslims; he taught traditions to a great number of eminent doctors, among others, Zāhir al-Shāhāmī<sup>2</sup>, Muḥammad al-Furāwī and 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Qushayrī<sup>3</sup>; he was born in the month of Shā'bān, 384 (A. D. 994); died the 10 of the First Jumada, 458 (A. D. 1066)†, at Naysāpur, whence his body was transported to *Bayhaq* (*his native place*), which is a collection of villages in the dependency of Naysāpur, at twenty parasangs from that city; *Khusrājerd* is the name of one of those villages.

---

1 *Sentences*; that is, *legal opinions* received as positive precepts by the followers of his sect. Al-'Uṭhmānī remarks (*Ṭabaqāt* fol. 22 verso), that among the numerous authors who wrote on the life and virtues of al-Shāfi'i the ablest and most exact was al-Bayhaqi, who, in two thick volumes, treated fully of his merits, the circumstances of his life, etc., all on the best authority.

2 Abu 'l-Qāsim Zāhir Ibn Ṭāhir al Shāhāmī and his brother Abu Bakr Wajīh were two celebrated traditionists of that time.

3 Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Qushayrī was son to 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin, whose life is given in this work.

\*Original جزو; lit. means part.—Ed.

†9 April.—Ed.

## 28. AL-NASĀ'Ī THE ḤĀFIZ

The ḥāfiz Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Shu'ayb Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sinān Ibn Baḥr al-Nasā'ī, chief traditionist of his age and author of a *Sunan*, or collection of traditions, was an inhabitant of Old Cairo, in which city his works got into circulation, and where he had also many pupils. Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Isfahānī gives the following account of his death: "I heard our elders in Old Cairo relate that Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān left Miṣr towards the end of his life and went to Damascus, where he was asked what he thought of Mu'āwīya and what tradition he knew respecting the merits of that prince; to which he made this reply: 'It is not then enough for Mu'āwīya to enter (*into salvation*) on an equal footing with others, but he must even surpass them by exclusive merits.'<sup>1</sup> But some relate that his answer was: 'I know not any tradition respecting his special merit but this: *May God never satiate thy belly!*'<sup>2</sup> Now this doctor was an advocate for the rights of the *khalīf* 'Alī; so the people began to strike him on the sides, nor did they discontinue till they thrust him out of the mosque. (In another account it is said that they struck him on the testicles and trod him under foot.) He was then borne to Ramla, where he expired." The ḥāfiz Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Dāraquṭnī relates as follows: "Al-Nasā'ī, after the illtreatment he underwent at Damascus, asked to be borne to Mecca, where he died on his arrival, and was buried between al-Ṣafa and al-Marwa; his death happened in the month of *Shahbān*, A. H. 303" (February, A. D. 916). The ḥāfiz Abū Nu'aym al-Isfahānī adds the following particulars: "The people having trampled on al-Nasā'ī at Damascus, he died

---

<sup>1</sup> The expression راسا براسا has been already explained, No. 20, note 5 on *Head with Head*.

<sup>2</sup> Mu'āwīya was so voracious that his greediness became proverbial. (See Freytag's *Proverbia Meidanii*, t. I, p. 135). The imprecation cited by al-Nasā'ī was probably uttered by one of Mu'āwīya's enemies, and party spirit prevented it from being forgotten.

from the effects of that ill usage whilst he was bearing (*to Mekkah*). He composed a work called *al-Khaṣā'is* (*Particularities*), treating of the merits of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and those of his family; the greater part of the traditions contained therein are alleged on the authority of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal. Having been asked why he did not write a work on the merits of Muḥammad's companions, he answered: 'On entering Damascus, I found a great number of persons holding 'Alī in aversion, for which reason I intended that God should direct them by means of this book. 'He used to abstain from food every second day,\* and was remarked for being of an ardent† temperament. The ḥāfiẓ Ibn 'Aṣākir of Damascus relates that he had four wives, to each of whom he paid equal attentions and that he possessed concubines besides. Al-Dāraqutni declares him a martyr, on account of the trials he underwent at Damascus, and says that he died on Monday, 13 Ṣafar, 303 (August, A. D. 915)‡, at Mekkah; other state that he died at Ramlah in Palestine. Abn Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Yūnus, author of the Annals of Egypt, writes in that work: "Al-Nasā'i came to Miṣr a long time ago, he was traditionist of the first order; his word was held a sure authority, his information was exact, and his memory retentive. He left Miṣr in the month of Dhu'lqa'ada, 302." I find in my handwriting, in the rough copy of this work, that al-Nasā'i was born at Nasa, A. H. 214 or 215 (A. D. 829, 830). *Nasā'i* means *native of Nasa*, a city in *Khurāsān*, which has produced a number of eminent men.

## 29. AL-QUDŪRI.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'afar Ibn Ḥamdān, surnamed al-Qudūri, was a doctor of

---

\*According to printed text it should be translated: He used to fast on alternate days or literally: He used to fast one day and to break it on the other.—*Ed.*

†Oversexed is proper word.—*Ed.*

‡28 August.—*Ed.*

the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah, and became president of the Ḥanefites in 'Irāq. In treating speculative points he had the talent of expressing his ideas with great precision; he was also versed in the traditions; and the khāṭib Abū Bakr, author of the History of Baḡhdād who had learned them from him, alleged his authority in citing them. He wrote several treatises on the doctrines of his sect; among others, that celebrated work, the *Muṭṭahhaṣar* (Abridgement). He was accustomed to discuss controversial subjects with Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfara'īnī, the Shafite doctor; in whose life has already been given the high opinion which he expressed of Abū Ḥāmid's merits.<sup>1</sup> Al-Qudrī was born A. H. 362 (A. D. 972-3); he died on Sunday, 5 of Rajab, 428 (April, A. D. 1037),\* at Baḡhdād, and was buried the same day in (*the court of*) his dwelling, in the street of Abū Khalf; but his body was afterwards transported to a tomb in the great street of al-Manṣur, where it was placed by the side of Abū Bakr al-Khwarezmī, the Hanafite doctor.<sup>2</sup>—*Qudrī* is derived from *quḍūr*, plural of *qidr* (*caldron*): I know not for what reason he was so-called; but such is the derivation of that appellation as given by al-Sam'ānī, in his work called *al-Anṣāb*.

### 30. AL-THA'LABĪ AL-NAYSĀPŪRĪ

Abū Ishāq Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Th'alabī, native of Naysāpur, and a well-known commentator on the *Qur'an*, was the most skilful man of his time in explaining the difficulties of that book; and his work, entitled *the Great*

<sup>1</sup> See No. 25. page 112.

<sup>2</sup> The shaykh and imām Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn Muḥammad al-Khwarezmī, a celebrated professor, and mufti of the Hanefite sect; for intelligence, learning, and integrity, he possessed a high reputation; and his society was courted by persons of every rank. Died A. H. 403 (A. D. 1012-3). (*Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyīn*; MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, founts St. Germain, No. 132, fol. 142 verso.)

\*24 April.—Ed.



*Commentary*, surpassed all others on the subject. He is also author of the *Kitāb al-'Arā'is* (*Book of Brides*), containing the history of the prophets, and of other treatises. Al-Sam'āni makes mention of him and adds: "Some of the learned say that the name of Tha'labī, or Tha'libī was given to him not as a patronymic, but a surname." Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī relates the following circumstance concerning him: "I saw in a dream the Lord of Glory,<sup>1</sup> who was speaking to me and I to him; during this it happened that the Lord (may his name be exalted), said: 'The holy man draweth near.' I turned, and lo! Aḥmad al-Tha'labī was drawing near." 'Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Ismā'il al-Fārisī, in his *Siyāq* or continuation of the history of Naysāpur, speaks of him and praises him: "He was," says he, "an exact and trustworthy transmitter of traditions; he gave them on the authority of Abū Ṭāhir Ibn Khuzayma and the imām Abū Bakr Ibn Mihrān, teacher of the art of reading the *Qur'ān* correctly. He taught a great number of traditions which he had learned from many masters. He died in 427 (A. D. 1035-6)." Another writer states that his death took place in the month of Muḥarram, 427; and a third that it happened Wednesday,\* 23 Muḥarram, 437 (A. D. 1045).—*Nayspāuri* means *belonging to Naysāpur*, which is one of the fairest and greatest cities in *Khurāsān*, abounding above others, in all the conveniencies of life; it was so called because Sībīr Zu 'l-Aktāf, a Persian king of the last race, having come to the site of the place, which was then overgrown with reeds, was pleased with it and said: "It were well a city were here;" he then ordered the reeds to be cut down and the city to be built; and it was named Naisābar, because *Nai* in Persian means *reed*. This is what al-Sam'āni says in his *Ansāb*.

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 19, note on *dreams*, and Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol I, p. 271, 338.

\*Wednesday fell on 23 Muḥarram 427 corresponding to 26 November, 1035, while 3 Muḥarram 437 corresponding to 10 August was Saturday.—*Ed.*

## 31. IBN ABI DUWĀD

The qādī Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād Farāḥ Ibn Jarīr Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbād Ibn Salām Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Abd Hind Ibn Laḥm<sup>1</sup> Ibn Mālik Ibn Qanaṣ Ibn Ma'na Ibn Barjān Ibn Daws Ibn al-Dīl Ibn Omayya Ibn Hudḥāfah \*Ibn Zuhrt Ibn Iyad Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'ad Ibn 'Adnān al-Iyādi : this qādī was celebrated for his manly character and his zeal in serving his friends ; and many anecdotes of his humane interference with the Khalīf al-Mu'tasim are still preserved. Abū 'Abd Allāh<sup>2</sup> al-Marzubāni makes the following mention of him in the *Murshid* where he treats of the Motazelite divines: † 'It is said that Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād's family drew its origin from a village near Qinnisrin<sup>3</sup> but he himself, when yet a boy, was taken to Damascus<sup>1</sup> by his father, who went there on a commercial undertaking. Aḥmad passed his youth in the pursuit of learning (more particularly jurisprudence and scholastic theology), till he

---

1 This name and the preceding are uncertain. the MSS. all differ.

2 In the Arabic text, this name is erroneously printed 'Ubayd Allāh.

3 The town of Qinnisrin no longer exists, having been gradually abandoned by its inhabitants for the city of Aleppo, from which it lay at the distance of ten miles in a southern direction. It was, however, one of the most important places of Syria during the first centuries of Islamism, having been one of the military colonies of settlements (جند) established by the Arabs, when they conquered that country.

\*M. de Slane reads it Hudaka (Hudḥāqah) which is wrong.—Ed.

†M. de Slane reads it Zahr.—Ed.

‡*Mutakallimin* is the group of theologians who advance rational arguments for dogmatic beliefs. M. de Slane has rendered the term as scholastic theologians at other places.—Ed.

obtained that eminence he afterwards held. He studied under Hayyāj Ibn al-'Alā al-Sulmī, and had been a pupil of Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā<sup>2</sup>; this rendered him partial to the doctrines of the Motazelites." "Never", says Abu 'l-Aynā, "did I meet a person invested with authority who spoke with more correctness and precision than Ibn Abī Duwād." Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mauṣilī relates the following anecdote respecting him: "I heard Ibn Abī Duwād say at the court of al-Mu'taṣim: 'I never speak first to a khalīf about business in the presence of the vizir Muḥammad Ibn al-Zayyāt, lest he should learn (*from my example*) how to begin a conversation with the prince and how business is done.'<sup>3</sup> He was the first who ever opened a conversation with a khalīf, for till that time none spoke to the prince till he spoke first to them." Abu 'l-Aynā says that Ibn Abī Duwād was a good poet and that he expressed his thoughts with elegance and precision. Al-Marzubānī relates that his name is mentioned by Dībil Ibn 'Alī al-Khuzāi, in his book containing the list of poets, and that some fine verses of his are quoted there. Ibn Abī Duwād used to say: "There are three classes of men who must be tread with honour and esteem: the learned, the magistrates, and our friends\*; whoever slights the learned, loses his religion; whoever slights the magistrates, loses his property; and whoever slights his friends, loses his manliness."—Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Iḥāsan relates as follows: "We were assembled in the presence of al-Māmun, and the names of the people of Medina who engaged their fidelity to Muḥammad on the night [of al-'Aqaba,<sup>4</sup> were enumerated; there was some disagreement however on the subject, when Ibn Abī Duwād came in

---

1 Damascus; in the Arabic: *al-Shām*.

2 Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā was the founder of the Motazelite sect. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

3 The printed Arabic text and most of the MS. have here **الثاني لها** but **الثاني** is the right reading.

4 *Abulfedae Annales*, t. I, p. 59.

\* Brothers or literally relatives.—*Ed.*

and counted them up one by one, names, sur names, and genealogies; on which al-Māman said: 'When men want a man of talent for companion, let them take a person like Aḥmad!' 'Nay,' said Aḥmad, 'but when a man of learning keeps company with a khalif, let him find one like the Commander of the Faithful, from whom he may gain information, and whose conversation is more learned than his own. "One of Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād's maxims was: "A man is not perfect unless he have abilities sufficient for elevating to the pulpit his friend, though a simple soldier of police and for sending to the gibbet his enemy, though a vizir."<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-'Aynā relates of him the following anecdote: "Al-Afshīn<sup>2</sup> bore envy towards Abū Dulāf al-Oāsim Ibn 'Īsa al-'Ijlī for his knowledge of the pure Arabic language and for his bravery; he therefore plotted against him, and caused witness to be borne that he had committed treason\* and murder; he then had him arrested on a pretext he imagined, and having held a sitting to try him, he ordered him to be brought forth along with the headsman that was to put him to death. When news of this reached Ibn Abī Duwād, he instantly mounted his horse,<sup>3</sup> set off with the notaries who happened to be present (*at his tribunal*)<sup>4</sup>, and came in on al-Afshīn, before whom Abū Dulāf had just been led for execution. He then stopped and said: 'I am a messenger to thee from the

1 The pulpit or *minbar* was in those times specially reserved for the khalif or his deputy, who alone had the right of pronouncing the *khutbah*. (Seed Ohsson, t. I, p. 204.) The gibbet was merely the trunk of a palm-tree to which the bodies of executed persons were tied and exposed to public views. It sometimes happened that living criminals were tied up in the same manner.

2 See *Elmakin*, p. 141 *et seq.* To what d'Herbelot says of this general, under the heads *Afshin* and *Babek*, I shall only add here, that Ibn Ṣhākīr, in his '*Oyūn al-Tuw̄rīḥ*' (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 638, fol. 232 v.), says that al-Afshīn was descended from the ancient kings of Persia; and Sib: Ibn al-Jawzi states in his *Mir'āṭ al-Zamān* (MS. No. 640, fol. 117 v.) that the real name of al-Afshīn was Ḥaydar Ibn Kaus; and that the governors of Osrushana, *اسروشانه*, a province in Transoxiana, bore the title of Afshīn, in the same way as each king of Persia was called Chosroes, and of Greece, Caesar.

3 In the East, respectable persons never stir out but on horseback.

4 See No. 24, note on *Adl*.

\* *جناية* is a only crime.—*Ed.*

Commander of the Faithful ; he commands thee to do no ill to al-Qāsim Ibn 'Īsā, and moreover to give him up to me.' Turning then to the notaries, he said : 'Bear witness that I have delivered him the message sent by the Commander of the Faithful and that al-Qāsim is alive and in health. The notaries answered : 'We are witnesses thereof.' So al-Afshīn could not do al-Qāsim harm and Ibn Abī Duwād went instantly to the khalif al-Mu'taṣim and said : "Commander of the Faithful ! I have fulfilled in thy name a message which thou didst not give me, yet count it for one of my best deeds, and through it I hope for Paradise.\* He then told him what had passed, and the khalif approved his conduct, and having sent for al-Qāsim, set him at liberty and gave him a present ; he then reprimanded severely al-Afshīn for having dared to act so. Al-Mu'taṣim, being moved by violent anger against Muḥammad Ibn al-Jāḥim the Barmakide, ordered his head to be struck off ; the prisoner was already placed blindfolded on the executioner's leather carpet,<sup>1</sup> and the sword was just brandishing to strike him when Ibn Abī Duwād, conscious that no petty shift could save him, said to the Khalif : 'How canst thou take his wealth, if thou killest him ?'—'Who is to hinder me ?' replied the khalif. 'God' answered the other, 'doth not permit it, neither is it allowed by the Apostle of God, nor by the justice of the Commander of the Faithful ! for his wealth belongeth to his heirs if thou slayest him, unless thou givest legal proof of his guilt. It is much easier for thee to order him, while he yet liveth, to refund what he hath embezzled.' 'Keep him in custody,' said al-Mu'taṣim, 'till an inquest be held.' Then, after some delay, the affair ended by Muḥammad's paying a sum of money and being set at liberty."—The following anecdote is told by al-Jāḥiẓ : "Al-Mu'taṣim was moved with wrath against an inhabitant of Mesopotamia, and had the sword and executioner's carpet brought in ; he then said to the prisoner : 'Thou hast done so, and acted

<sup>1</sup> As executions often took place in the audience-hall of the Khalif, a skin was then spread under the condemned person to catch the blood.

\* 'to you' should be subjoined.—Ed.

so<sup>1</sup>; strike off his head!' 'Commander of the Faithful,' said Ibn Abī Duwād, 'the sword is going here before justice; make some delay in this business, for the man is wrongly accused. The ḫalīf kept silence for a short time—here we shall finish the narration in Ibn Abī Duwād's own words: 'I had then so pressing a call to make water, that I could no longer retain, yet I knew that if I went out, he should surely die; so I gathered my garment under me and yielded to it, but I succeeded in saving the man. When I stood up, al-Mu'taṣim saw that my garments were wet, and said: 'O Abī 'Abd Allāh, was there any water under you?' 'No, Commander of the Faithful,' I replied, 'but it happened so and so.' On hearing the circumstance, the ḫalīf laughed, and preyed for me; saying: 'Well done! may God bless thee!' Al-Mu'taṣim then clothed him in a robe of honour and ordered him a present of one hundred thousand dirhems."—Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kalbī says that Ibn Abī Duwād was all soul from his head to his foot, and Lāzān Ibn Ismā'il makes this remark: "I never saw one man more submissive to another than al-Mu'taṣim was to Ibn Abī Duwād; when a trifle was asked of him, he would refuse, but Ibn Abī Duwād would then come in and speak to him in favour of his (*the ḫalīf's*) family, of the people in the frontier garrisons, of the inhabitants of Makkah and Medina and of those who dwelt far off in the countries of the East and West, and al-Mu'taṣim would grant all he desired. One day he spoke to the ḫalīf to obtain a sum of one million of dirhems digging a canal in the most distant part of Khurāsān, and received this answer: 'What have I to do with this canal?' 'Commander of the Faithful,' said Ibn Abī Duwād, 'God will call you to an equal account of your superintendence over the affairs of the most distant, and over those of the nearest of your subjects.' He then continued to manage adroitly the humour of the ḫalīf till the money was granted."

1 The verbs فعل and صنع have both a peculiar signification in certain cases and mean to do *something wrong or disagreeable*:—فعلت ومنعت thou hast done (*wrong*) and committed (*evil*) لا أفعلن ولا أصنع I shall do and act, i. e. I shall punish—فعلانة a female who acts (*wrong*) a prostitute.

Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Daḥḥāk, the celebrated poet, said to one of the metaphysicians\* of that time: "In the opinion of us (*poets*) Ibn Abī Duwād does not know the (*pure Arabic*) language; you look on him as not being a good metaphysician\*; the jurists think him unskilled in the law; but al-Mu'taṣim considers him learned in all those sciences." Ibn Abī Duwād narrates in the terms the origin of his connection with the Khalīfah al-Māmūn: "I used to go with the other doctors to Yaḥyā Ibn al-Akṭham's assemblies,<sup>1</sup> and I was there one day when a messenger came from al-Māmūn to state that the Commander of the Faithful desired Ibn al-Akṭham to go to him with all his company. Ibn al-Akṭham was unwilling to take me with him, but he had no means of leaving me behind; so I went with the others, and we held a conversation in the presence of al-Māmūn, who turned to look at me when I began to speak, and listened to my words with attention and approbation. He then asked me who I was, and I told him my pedigree. 'What,' said he, 'has delayed you so long from coming to see us?' Not wishing to do an ill office to Yaḥyā, I replied: 'Destiny detained me, and it was necessary that the term of God's written decree should arrive'. 'Let it be known to you,'<sup>2</sup> said he, 'that in future we shall hold no assembly unless you come to it.' I answered: 'Yes, Commander of the Faithful (*I shall obey your order*). After that, our connection was gradually formed." Others relate this affair in a different manner: Yaḥyā Ibn al-Aṭḥam, they say, went to Baṣra from Khurāsān to act as qāḍī in the name of al-Māmūn; this was towards the end of the year 202 (about June, A. D. 818).

---

1 The vizīrs and qāḍis held assemblies at their houses on stated days.

2 In the Arabic text لا اعلمن is printed for لا اعلن which is the right reading, though the MSS. gives the other; a similar error exists in good MSS. of the *Qur'ān*, where لا اذبحنه is written for لا ذبحن in the 21st verse of the 27th surat.

\*Vide note on *Mutakallimn* p. 120. Since *Kalam* is scholastic philosophy, not metaphysics.—*Ed.*

Yahyā was then a young man, somewhat more than twenty years of age. He there chose for companions a number of men remarkable for their learning and honourable character, among whom was Ibn Abī Duwād. When al-Māman came to Baghdād in 204, he told Yahyā to choose some from among his companions to be admitted into the society of the Khalif and to be his frequent visitors. In consequence of this, Yahyā selected twenty, and among them Ibn Abī Duwād, but the khalif, on finding the number too great, ordered Yahyā to make a selection out of them, and ten persons were chosen, amongst whom was Ibn Abī Duwād; but the khalif desired a fresh reduction to be made, and Yahyā chose five, one of whom was Ibn Abī Duwād: such was the origin of his connection with the khalif. When al-Māman was on his death-bed, he addressed to his brother al-Mu'taṣim his testament, which contained this recommendation: "As for Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād, let him never cease to be the associated of your councils on every subject, for he is most worthy of having such confidence placed in him<sup>1</sup>; and I recommend you not to take a vizīr when I die." Al-Mu'taṣim, on his accession to the Khalifate, appointed Ibn Abī Duwād chief qāḍī (*qāḍī 'l-quḍāt*), and deposed Yahyā Ibn al-Akṭham; and Ibn Abī Duwād became so great a favourite with the khalif, that neither his public nor private business was done without his advice. In the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 220 (September, A. D. 835), Ibn Abī Duwād cruelly persecuted Aḥmad Ibn Haubal and tried to force him to admit that the *Qur'ān* was created.<sup>2</sup> Al-Mu'taṣim in dying was succeeded by his son al-Wāṭḥiq Billāh, under whom Ibn Abī Duwād continued to enjoy high favour; when he died, his brother al-Mutawakkil succeeded to the khalifate, and in the beginning of his reign Ibn Abī Duwād lost the use of his right side from a paralytic stroke,

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: *He is the place for that.*

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Abī Duwād followed the Metazelite doctrine, and of course believed the *Qur'ān* to have been created; orthodox Muslims are bound to believe that it existed from all eternity. (See Pocock's *Specimen*, 2nd edition, p. 222; and d'Ohsson's *Tableau de l'Empire Othoman*, t. I, l. 83 *et seq.*)



in consequence of which al-Mutawakkil conferred the place of *qāḍī* on Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād, who was afterwards, in 236 (A. D. 850), replaced as *Inspector of Grievances*<sup>1</sup> by Yaḥyā Ibn al-Akṭham. Al-Aṭhiq had ordered that every person should arise on seeing the vizir Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, and Ibn Abī Duwād would stand up on seeing the vizir, but then turn towards the *qibla* in order to say his prayers; for which reason Ibn al-Zayyāt pronounced the following verses:

"He says his prayer since he had the advantage of bearing hatred against me; I see that from that time, he fulfils his pious duties and his fasts. May his heart be never free from such envenomed hatred as may leave him no repose."<sup>2</sup>

The praises of Ibn Abī Duwād were celebrated by a number of contemporary poets, and 'Alī al-Razī relates this anecdote on the subject: "I saw the poet Abū Tammām with Ibn Abī Duwād, to whom he was making a man recite for him a poem in which were these words:

"The generosity of Aḥmad Ibn Duwād has caused all the afflictions of evil Fortune to be forgotten! Never did I travel to distant regions without owing to his bounty my conveyance and my subsistence."

Ibn Abī Duwād here asked him if that thought was his own, or if he had borrowed it? To which Abū Tammām replied that it was his own, but that he made in it an allusion to the following verse, composed by Abū Nawās:

"If our words seem to convey the praises of any other, it is thou alone on whom our thoughts are turned."<sup>3</sup>

1 The Inspector of Grievances was a judge like the *qāḍī*, but he possessed moreover executive power.

2 Literally: *As may leave him sitting down and standing up.* (See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 89, and t. III, p. 270.) The vizir had in view the double signification of this expression.

3 Ibn Khallikān has certainly made a mistake here and given a wrong verse.

\*In the rendering of this line there is some error, the original means: He offered midday prayers since he had the advantage of bearing hatred against me, and I notice him after that offering sacrifice and keeping fast.

Abū Tammām had passed a great number of days at the door of Ibn Abī Dūwād without being admitted to see him, for which reason he complained bitterly of his conduct to one of his friends. Some time after, he was introduced, and Ibn Abī Dūwād said to him: "O Abū Tammām, have you reproached enough?" To which he answered: "Reproaches are made to individuals only, but thou art all mankind<sup>1</sup>; and how can reproaches be made to them?" "Where did you come by that idea?" said the qāḍī. Abū Tammām replied: "I borrowed it from the knowing one" (meaning Abū Nuwās), who said of al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī':

"God is not to be blamed if he unite (*the noble qualities of*) all mankind in a sole 'individual.'"

On the appointment of Ibn Abī Dūwād as Inspector of Grievances, Abū Tammām addressed his complaints to him in a poem, which contained the following passage:

"Since your neglect causes the ruin of poetry and poets, we need not wonder if they perish through the neglect of foreigners!<sup>2</sup> Yet poetry (*like the laden camel*) stirs from side to side, and strives to rise with the burden you put on it since you became redresser of wrongs.<sup>3</sup> Did poetry not give to facts a permanent form, men ambitious of glory would never learn whence you obtained your honours."

The same poet made his eulogium in a poem beginning thus:

"Didst thou see the (*fair*) faces which appeared to us between al-Liwa' and Zarnd?"

And which contains, this elegant thought:

"When God wishes to reveal (*to the knowledge of the world*) that excellence which remains (*modestly*) folded up, he allows an envious tongue to attack it. Did fire not

---

1 *Thou art all mankind*, because thou possessest all their good qualities.

2 This appears to be an allusion to the Turkish officers in al-Mutaṣṣim's service.

3 *The burden you put on it* is the obligation of celebrating you justice.

4 See note on *Liwa'*, No. 10.

inflammé whatever it approaches, the sweet odour of aloes wood had remained unknown."<sup>1</sup>

The praises of Ibn Abī Duwād were celebrated also by Marwān Ibn Abī 'l-Jannab in the following verses :

"The tribe of Nizār<sup>2</sup> possesses all glory and honour despite its foes! Tell those who pretend to surpass that Nizār from whom spring the tribes of Khindif<sup>3</sup> and Iyād.—Tell them that the Apostle of God and the Khalifs belong to that family which is ours and that Aḥmad Ibn Duwād comes from it also. Until the Day of Judgment,<sup>4</sup> no such persons will ever be found in any family but ours (*To it alone belong*) a prophet sent by God, the successors in his covenant, and he who is directed and who directs to good."

When Abu Hiffān \*al-Muhazzami<sup>5</sup> heard these verses, he pronounced the following:

"Tell those who pretend to surpass the tribe of Nizār, princes in the earth ruling over slaves! Tell them that the Apostle of God and the Khalifs belong to that family which is ours, but that we totally disclaim the pretended descendant of Iyād. Iyād itself shall not be one of our tribes if it admits the pretensions of Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād."

When Ibn Abī Duwād heard these verses, he said : "No one ever gave me so severe a wound as that boy al-Muhazzami\* has done : were I not unwilling to show that I pay attention to him, I would inflict on him a punishment such as none ever suffered before! He has gone up to one of my proudest honours

1 Aloes-wood does not emit its perfume till burned.

2 We have seen, by Ibn Abī Duwād's genealogy, that he descended from Nizār.

3 Khindif is the true orthography of the word, not *khindik*, as given in the Arabic text on the authority of the MSS.

4 Literally: *The day when men shall call unto one another.* (See *Qur'ān*, surāt 40, verse 34.)

5 Abu Hiffān 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥarb is supposed by the Khatib to have been born at Baṣrah. He dwelt at Baḡhdād, and was considered as possessing great literary acquirements: the celebrated al-Asma'i was one of his masters. (*History of Baḡdad* by the Khatib, Arabic MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Asselin, No. 541.) The date of his death is not given.

\*According to Arabic text it is *al-Mahzani*.—*Ed.*

and utterly destroyed it."<sup>1</sup> Ibn Abī Duwād used to recite frequently the following verses, but did not say whether they were his own or another's :

"Thou (*O Lord!*) art no feeble aid;—and success in all affairs is ensured by powerful aid. To-day we stand in need of thy succour; the physician is only called in when the disease is violent."

Al-Marzubānī has furnished us with some of the preceding anecdotes, but another historian gives the following on the authority of Abu 'l-Aynā: "The khalif al-Mu'taṣim was displeased with Khalid Ibn Yazīd Ibn Miṣyad\* al-Shaybānī (whom we shall speak of again in the life of his father Yazīd), and recalled him from his government,<sup>2</sup> that he might appear before him to answer for his inability to make up a sum of money which he was called upon to pay; he had besides to answer other accusations. Al-Mu'taṣim held therefore a sitting in order to condemn him to punishment, and would not listen to the intercession of Ibn Abī Duwād, on whose generosity Khalid had thrown himself. The khalif having taken his seat, the qāḍi Ahmad (*Ibn Abī Duwād*) went to a place inferior to his own, on which al-Mu'taṣim said: 'Abu 'Abd. Allāh,<sup>3</sup> you are sitting out of your place.' To this the qāḍi replied: 'It is meet I should not sit in my place, but in a lower.' 'Why so?' said the khalif. The qāḍi answered: 'Because the public say that my place is not the place of one who can intercede and whose intercession will be heard.' 'Go back to your place,' said al-Mu'taṣim. 'Shall I go,' said the qāḍi, 'as one whose<sup>o</sup> intercession has been heard or as one whose intercession has been rejected?' 'Nay,' replied the khalif, 'go as one whose intercession has been heard.'

1 Literally: *Undid it button by button.* عروة means a loop or button hole.

2 Khalid had obtained from al-Mamūn the government of Moṣul. (See the life of Yazīd.)

3 The khalif here addresses him by his surname, which was a mark of great friendship.

\*M. de Slane gives *Muṣyad*.—Ed.

*Ibn Abi Duwād* went up therefore to his place, and, when seated, said: 'The public will not be aware that the Commander of the Faithful has pardoned him, unless he receive a robe of honour.' The *ḵhalif* ordered him to be clothed in a robe of honour. *Abū Duwād* continued: 'There is due to him and his people six months' salary, which must be paid them, so if thou givest orders that they receive it now, it will serve instead of the (customary) present.' The *ḵhalif* said: 'I shall order it to be done.'—(*The historian continues to relate*) that when *Ḵhālīd* went forth in his robe of honour with the money borne before him, the people were waiting in the streets to witness his punishment, and one of them called out to him: "Praise be to God for thy escape, O prince of Arabs!" to which *Ḵhālīd* replied: "Silence! by God! the prince of Arabs is truly *Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād*!"—Great jealousy and mutual dislike existed between the *qāḍī Aḥmad* and the vizīr *Ibn al-Zayyāt*; so much so, that the latter refused to receive the visits of a friend of the *qāḍī*'s specially commissioned by him to direct his affairs: the *qāḍī* on hearing of this went to the vizīr, and said: "I assure you that I do not come to you (*as others do*), to obtain from you either augmentation of slender means or exaltation from lowly rank: but the Commander of the Faithful has placed you in a post which obliges me to visit you: when I do so, it is on his account; and when I remain absent, it is on yours." He then rose up and retired. He was indeed possessed of such noble and honourable qualities as surpassed description. \* [A poet composed a satire of seventy verses against the vizīr *Ibn al-Sayyāt*; when the *qāḍī Aḥmad* heard of it, he pronounced these verses:

"Better than a satire of seventy verses, is their purport condensed into a single verse. *How much the state requires a shower of rain, to wash away that filthy stain of oil!*"<sup>1</sup>

When *Ibn al-Zayyāt* heard of this epigram, he composed the following, in which he alluded to the profession of one of

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ibn al-Zayyāt* means son of the oilman.

\* [ ] From "A poet" to "our oil" on page 132 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

the qāḍī Aḥmad's ancestors, who was reported to have been a seller of pitch:

"O thou who vainly thinkest to stirize us, thou exposest thyself to death in attacking me. Our honour cannot be diminished by the mention of oil; the reputation of our family is too well known. 'Tis you who defiled the state with your pitch, and nothing could clean it till we washed it with our oil."]

Ibn Abī Duwād lost the use of his side the 6\* of the Second Jumada, 233 (January, A. D. 848)†, a hundred and some days after the death of his enemy the vizīr, some say forty-nine‡ or fifty days only: the date of the vizīr's death shall be given in the letter M.<sup>1</sup> When the qāḍī received his paralytic stroke, he was replaced by his son Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, who did not however fulfil the duties of his place to general satisfaction, having incurred the blame of many and merited the praise of a few only; so much so, that Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣālī, whose life has been already given, composed against him these lines:

"The faults which appear in you so plainly have effaced (*the memory of*) the virtues which your father left you as a legacy. By him you surpassed the sons of honourable men, as by yourself you have surpassed the sons of the vile."§

In which verses, I must say that the poet has gone to the extremes of eulogium and blame: the idea is quite novel.—Muḥammad continued to fill the places of qāḍī and inspector of wrongs for the army till the year 237 (A. D. 851), when al-Mutawakkil, being displeased with him and his father Aḥmad, ¶[ordered his lands to be sequestered; this happened on the 24 Ṣafar of the above year; he then deprived him of his place as inspector of wrongs, and afterwards, on Thursday, 5 of the First Rabi', he dismissed him from his place of qāḍī] and took from him a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Zayyāt died A. H. 233.

\*M. de Slane gives 7.—*Ed.*

†17.—*Ed.*

‡According to Arabic text it should be "forty-seven".—*Ed.*

§ The last hemistich should be rendered: "as by you he has surpassed the fathers of the vile".—*Ed.*

¶[ From "ordered" to "qāḍī" is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

dīnārs,<sup>1</sup> with precious stones to the value of forty thousand dīnārs, after which he sent him away \*from Baghḍād to Sarr-man-ra'a. The place of qāḍī was then entrusted to Yaḥya Ibn Akṭham al-Ṣayfī (whose life shall be given in the letter Y).—At the time when Ibn Abi Duwād incurred the displeasure of the khalīf so far as to be deprived of his landed property, witnesses had been examined to prove the crime he was accused of, and a great number of them and other persons were present in court; there was one of those witnesses in whom the qāḍī, during his administration, had placed little confidence, and who now stood up and said: "Call on us to witness in your behalf<sup>2</sup> according to what is written in this instrument; on which the qāḍī answered: "No! no! no! that is not your place;" and turning round to the other witnesses, he said: "Bear ye witness for me;" on which the man sat down abashed, and the public were filled with admiration for the firmness of the qāḍī and his strength of mind.<sup>3</sup>—The qāḍī Aḥmad Ibn Duwād died of his palsy in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 240 (June, A. D. 854), and it is stated on his own authority that he was born at Baṣrah in 160 (A. D. 776-7): he was, it is said, about twenty years older than the qāḍī Yaḥya Ibn al-Akṭham, but this is in contradiction with what is mentioned by me in the life of Yaḥya; I have, however, written it down here as I found it given, and God knows best whether it be correct or not.—Muḥammad, son of Ibn Abi Duwād, died in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijja, twenty days before his father. †[Al-Marzubānī, in his book above-mentioned (*the Murshid*), notices great variations in the dates of Ibn Abi Duwād's and his

1 The *dinar* of that time would now have an intrinsic value of about eleven shillings British.

2 The verb *شهد على* signifies : *bear witness against or for a person*. It is used with the latter signification in the *Qur'an*, surat 5, verse 48. As a legal term, it means : *bear witness in respect to a person or thing*.

3 Ibn Abi Duwād had so unfavourable an opinion of this person, that he would not allow him to give evidence even in favour of himself.

\*According to Arabic text it means : sent him to Baghḍād from Surr manra'a.—Ed.

†[ ] From "Al-Marzubānī" to "sonumerous" on page 135 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

son's death; so I prefer giving here all he says on the subject: "Al-Mutawakkil appointed Muḥammad, son of Ibn Abī Duwād, to act in the place of his father as qādī and inspector of wrongs for the army; he then dismissed him from these places on Wednesday, the \*19 Šafar, 240 and sequestered the landed property of the father and son, but this business was settled by a fine of one million of dinars. Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, died at Bagḥdād in Dhu 'l-Qa'da, 240, and his father died twenty days after. Al-Šūlī states, however, that the anger of al-Mutawakkil against Ibn Abī Duwād took place in 237." Al-Marzubānī says farther on: "The qādī Aḥmad died in Muḥarram, 240, and his son died twenty days before; some say that the death of the son occurred towards the end of year 239, and that they both died at Bagḥdād; some again state that the son died in Dhu 'l-Hijja, 239, and the father on Saturday, 23 Muḥarram of the year 240, at about a month's distance. God alone knows the truth in all that."—Abn Bakr Ibn Durayd says that Ibn Abī Duwād was full of affability towards men of education, no matter to what country they belonged, and that he had taken a great number of them under his care, treating them as members of his family and defraying their expenses. On his death a crowd of those clients went to the door of his house and cried out: "He is to be buried, that man who was the pillar of generosity and the ornament<sup>1</sup> of literature! of whom it was never said: '*Here he has committed a fault; there his talent has failed him*.'" When his bier was borne up, three of them went forward to it, and the first recited these verses:

"To-day is dead the support of the state and of the language; he is dead, the protector whose succour was ever implored in misfortune! The paths of learning are dark since the sun of generosity is hidden by the mist of the winding-sheet."

The second then advanced and said:

"Through humble modesty he sought not the pulpit or the (vizir's) seat; yet, had he wished, the pulpit and the (vizir's) seat

<sup>1</sup> Literally: *The date*.

\*20. Our note about reckoning date has been written elsewhere.—Ed.



were his. Taxes are gathered for another, but for him is gathered a harvest of praises and (*heavenly*) rewards."

Then the third came forward and said :

"It is not the powder of musk which has been used to perfume his corpse, but rather the praises which he left behind. The noise you hear is not the creaking of the bier; it is the sound of hearts which are breaking."

Abn Bakr al-Jurjāni relates having heard Abu 'l-'Ayna al-Darīr (*the blind*) say : "I never met in the world with a man more polite than Ibn Abi Duwād; he would never say, on my leaving him : *Page, take his hand*<sup>1</sup>; but, *Page, go out with him*. I look on this expression as free from alloy, and (*though he uttered it*), he will not be the poorer<sup>2</sup>; and I never heard it from any other."—We may now conclude, for this article has become rather long, but the honourable actions of Ibn Abi Duwād were so numerous!—*Iyādi* means *belonging to the tribe of Iyād*, who was son to Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān.

## 32. THE ḤĀFIẒ ABŪ NU'AYM AL-ISBAHĀNĪ

The celebrated ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Māsā Ibn Mihrān al-Isbahānī (*native of Ispahan*), author of the *Hilyat al-Awliyā*<sup>3</sup>, and one of the principal

1 That is: *Take his hand and lead him out.*

2 The Arabian critics compare the pure and genuine idiomatic expressions of their language to good coin; indeed the word *قد* which means *to separate good coin from bad*, is often used to signify criticism.

3 The *Hilyat al-Awliya*, or *Ornament of the Holy Men*, contains the lives of the principal Muslim saints, the relation of their miraculous gifts and actions, etc.

traditionists, was a hafiz of the highest authority<sup>1</sup>: he had studied under men of the first merit, who\* themselves received from him useful information. His *Hilyat* is a very fine book, and his History of Ispahān has furnished me with the life of his father 'Abd Allāh and the genealogy here given. In this life he says that his ancestor Mihrān became Muslim, which indicates that he was the first of them who followed that religion; he also adds that Mihrān was freedman to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mu'āwiya Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abī Ṭālib, of whom we shall again make mention.<sup>2</sup> In the same article, he states that his father 'Abd Allāh died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 365 (A. D. 976). and was buried beside his maternal grandfather. Abn Nu'aym was born in Rajab, 336 (beginning of A. D. 948), or 334 according to some, and died at Ispahān in the month of Ṣafar, 430 (November, A. D. 1038); others placed his death on Monday, 21 Muharram† of that year.—“*Isbahan*, pronounced *Asbahān* and *Isfahān*,<sup>3</sup> is one of the most famous cities in the province of al-Jibāl (or Persian 'Irāq), and was so called from its Persian name *Sibāhān*, which means *collection of troops*. It was denominated thus because the kings of Persia, the Khosroes, used to assemble their troops in that place as in the encampments ('*askar*) of Faris, Kermān, al-Ahwāz. etc. on the occurrence of any serious event. *Sibāhān*, in Arabic *Isbahān*, was built by Alexander *Dhu 'l-Qarnayn*. Such are the observations made by al-Sam'āni.

---

1 The meaning of the word *hafiz* has already been explained: No. 27, note on *hafiz*.

2 See d'Herbelot, *Scaps fils de Mouyle*.

3 The Arabs, not having in their alphabet an equivalent for the letter *p* are obliged to write Ispāhān with a *b* or an *f*.

\*The pronoun in اخذوا عنه is not necessarily for his teachers; it most likely means and (many people) studied under him and were profited by him.—Ed.

†30 October.—Ed.

## 33. AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Thābit Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Maḥdī Ibn Thābit, better known by the name of al-Khaṭīb (*the preacher*), native of Baḡhdād, composed \*a history of that city, and other useful works. He was a ḥāfiẓ<sup>1</sup> of exact knowledge and a scholar of profound learning; had he written nothing but his History, that production would be sufficient for his reputation, as it shows him to have possessed vast information; and yet he is author of nearly one hundred works, and his merit is too well known to require description. He learned jurisprudence from Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Maḥāmili, the qāḍi Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī and other masters, but though a doctor of law, he made the Traditions and history his principal study. His birth took place on †Thursday, 23rd of the latter Jumādā, 392 (May, A. D. 1002), and his death occurred at Baḡhdād on Monday, 7th Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 463 (September, A. D. 1071)‡: al-Sam'ānī says that he died in the month of Ṣḥawwāl. I am informed that Abū Ishāq al-Ṣhīrāzī was one of those who carried his bier, through gratitude for the great service rendered him by the Khaṭīb, whom he had been accustomed to consult on the difficulties in his works. It is a singular coincidence that the death of the Khaṭīb, who was the ḥāfiẓ of the East, took place on the same day as that of Abū 'Umar Yasuf Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, author of the *Kitāb al-Ist'āb*, who was at that period the ḥāfiẓ

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 27, note on ḥāfiẓ.

\*According to the autograph it should be rendered: "He composed many useful books, e. g., History of Baḡhdād and others.--Ed.

†Thursday fell on 21 Second Jumādā corresponding to 7 May according to Edward Mahler's calculation. It should be borne in mind that the day and date are later additions.--Ed.

‡6 September.--Ed.

§In the same year according to the autograph and printed Arabic text. Besides there is distinctly given another date of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's death which is the last day of Second Rabi' 463 A. H., and Khaṭīb's 7th Dhu 'l-Hijjah 463. Vide No. 808.

of the West<sup>1</sup>: (see the life of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in the letter Y). Ibn al-Najjār says in his History of Baghḍād that Abu 'l-Barakat Isma'il Ibn Sa'd the Sufi<sup>2</sup> related the following circumstance: "The shaykh Abū Bakr Ibn Zahra the Sufi had a tomb made for himself by the side of Bishr al-Iḥāfi's, and went once a week to sleep in it and read the *Qur'ān* through; but the Khaṭīb, in dying, had desired to be buried beside the grave of Bishr, for which reason the students of the Traditions\* of Ibn Zahra had requested him to give the Khaṭīb the preference, and allow him to be interred in that tomb which he had got made for himself, but Ibn Zahra gave a most determined refusal, and said: 'Must the place I prepared for myself since so many years be taken from me?' On seeing him so resolute, they went to my father Abu Sa'd and told him what had passed, on which he sent for Ibn Zahra and addressed him in these terms: 'I will not ask you to give them up the tomb, but I will propose to you this question: Were Bishr al-Iḥāfi among the living and you seated by his side, and if the Khaṭīb were then to enter and take a place lower than yours, would it be becoming in you to remain seated above him?' 'Certainly not,' replied Ibn Zahra, 'I should rise and give him up my place.' 'So you should do at the present moment,' said my father; and on this the heart of the shaykh Ibn Zahra relented, and he gave them permission to bury the Khaṭīb in his tomb, which was done.—The Khaṭīb was interred by the gate of Iḥarb<sup>3</sup>; during his illness he gave in alms all his riches, which amounted to two hundred dinars, and which he distributed to the traditionists, jurisconsults,

---

1 Northern Africa, Sicily, and Spain are the countries which the Muslims designated by the appellation of *the West* (*al-Maghrib*).

2 Lower down the father of the Sufi is named Abu Sa'd, instead of Sa'd as here given: but one of the MSS. has Abu Sa'd in both places, and this is probably the true reading.

3 In the original text this word is incorrectly printed جرب.

اصحاب الحديث means traditionists.—*Ed.*

and faqirs; he also ordered that the clothes he wore should be 'given in charity and that all his books should be appropriated as a *waqf*<sup>1</sup> to the use of Muslims. He left no posterity. The number of his works is upwards of sixty. The shaykh Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī was one of those who carried his bier. Some say he was born in \*391 (A. D. 1001), but God knows best. There exist relations of holy dreams<sup>2</sup> in which he appeared after his death. He had become chief professor and ḥāfiz of Traditions in that epoch." End of the extract from the work of Ibn al-Najjār.

#### 34. ABU 'L-HUSAYN AL-RĀWANDĪ

Abu 'l-Husayn Aḥmad Ibn Yahyā Ibn Ishāq al-Rāwandī, a celebrated scholar and author of a discourse on †metaphysics, was one of the most talented men of his time: the works he composed amount to about one hundred and fourteen: among them are the Ignominy of the Motazelites, the Crown, the Emerald, the Jewel (*al-Qaḥab*), etc.; ‡he wrote also an account of his sittings and conversations with a number of learned metaphysicians.§ The doctrines he professed were peculiarly his own, and are to be found stated in the writings of the schoolmen. He died A. H. 245 (A. D. 859), at the place called the Raḥabah of Mālik Ibn Ṭawq \*\*al-Taghlibī<sup>3</sup>; some say at Baghḍād; he was then about forty years of age. In the work called the *Bustān*<sup>4</sup> his death is placed in 250, but God knows

1 See No. 22, note on *waqf*.

2 See note on *dreams*, No. 19.

3 See Abu 'l-Fidā's Geography. Arabic text, page 280.

4 Ḥājji Khālifah. in his Bibliographical Dictionary, notices sixteen works bearing the title of *Bustān*; the one cited here by Ibn Khallikān is perhaps that composed by Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'īni.

\* This year seems to be correct because it was in this year that Thursday fell on 24 of Second Jumādā.—*Ed.*

† علم الکلام is scholastic philosophy or theology.—*Ed.*

‡ It should be rendered: "He had sittings and discussions with a number of scholastic theologians.—*Ed.*

§ Scholastic theologians.—*Ed.*

\*\*M. de Slane gives "al-Ṭha'labī".—*Ed.*

best!—*Rāwand* means *native of Rāwand*, a village in the dependencies of Qāsān near Ispahān; there is another place called Rāwand outside Naysāpur; this Qāsān must not be confounded with Qāshān, situated in the neighbourhood of Qumm. \*[This Rāwand is mentioned by Abū Tammām al-Ḥā'ī in his *Ḥamāsah*, chapter of Elegies<sup>1</sup>; he says: "They relate that two men of the tribe of Asad went forth to Ispahān, and took there into fellowship as brother a *dihqān*,<sup>2</sup> who lived in a place called both Rāwand and Khuzāq; they made him their cup-companion, and one of them having died, the *dihqān* and the other survivor took his tomb for cup-companion, inasmuch as they drank two cups and poured out one upon the tomb; then the *dihqān* died, and the man of the tribe of Asad who remained drank to the graves of both, and sung these words:

'O my two friends! awake; how long do you repose! Is it then true that your sleep shall have no end? Is it by reason of your lengthened slumber that you answer not him who calleth unto you?—(*It would seem*) as if a cup-bearer had steeped your senses in wine! Know ye not that in all Rāwand and Khuzāq I have no other friends but you? I shall remain by your tombs, and never quit them during the long course of nights, unless a voice<sup>3</sup> answer from your graves. I will weep over you till the hour of death, but what will give answer to the moans of the afflicted if he weeps your loss? Could one life be given to preserve another, I had offered mine as a ransom for yours. I now pour out wine upon your graves; if it reach

---

1 See Freytag's *Hamāsah*, page 398.

2 *Dihqān* is a Persian word, signifying both *farmer* and *historian*; it is generally used to designate a person of ancient Persian family, possessing hereditary landed property. See Dr. Mohl's translation of the *Shāh Nāmāh*, t. I, page 8 of the Introduction.

3 See a curious note on this superstition in M. de Sacy's *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 211.

\*[ ] From "This Rāwand" to end is not in the autograph.—Ed.

you not, it will at least moisten the earth by which you are covered.' "

*Khuzāq* is the name of another village in the neighbourhood of Rāwand.]

### 35. AHMAD IBN MUHAMMAD AL-HARAWĪ

Abū 'Ubayd Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abī 'Ubayd al-'Abdī al-Muwaddib (*the schoolmaster*) al-Harawī al-Fāshānī : such is the genealogy usually given of the author of the *Kitāb al-Ḥaribayn*. I have however found it stated thus on the title-page of a copy of his work\*: Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān.† He was ranked among the men of profound learning, and his book shows him to have possessed no inferior talent; but I have no knowledge of any circumstances of his life deserving mention, excepting the fact of his having been pupil to Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azhārī, the philologist (whose life I intend to give); it was under him that al-Harawī studied and acquired his information. The work which I have mentioned contains the explanation of the uncommon expressions peculiar to the *Qur'ān* and the traditions of the Prophet: it is a useful book, and copies of it have spread to every country. It is said that the author was fond of loose‡ conversation, that he took (*wine*) in private, and kept company with men of wit in their parties of pleasure and debauch; God pardon him (*for doing so*) and us (*for mentioning it*)! To something of this kind also al-Bākhārzi appears to allude in his biographical notice on some learned men of *Khurāsān*.§ Al-Harawī died in the month of Rajab A. H. 401 (A. D. 1011): this patronymic is derived

---

\*Refers to كتاب الغريبين.—Ed.

†"God knows best" is omitted.—Ed.

‡It is erroneous translation: "البذله" means changing clothes daily. Probably de Slane trusted its variant reading التبدله.—Ed.

§ "God knows best" is omitted.—Ed.

from Herāt, the name of one of the great cities in Khurasān which capitulated to Al-Aḥnāf Ibn Qays (*general*) under the orders of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Āmir (*in the thirtieth year of Hijrah*).<sup>1</sup> Fāshān is derived from Fāshān, name of a village in the dependencies of Herāt; it is also called Bāshān according to al-Samānī; mention has already been made of Qāshān and Qāsān.<sup>2</sup> These four names are sometimes confounded one with another, but written as they are here, no mistake can occur.

### 6.3 AL-KHAWĀFĪ

Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī was the most able polemic divine of his time; he had studied jurisprudence under the Imām al-Haramayn,\* and was one of his most distinguished pupils. He was qādī of Ṭūs and its environs, and obtained great reputation among the learned by his skill in argument and his ability in silencing an adversary. He was a fellow-student of Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī, and both were equally gifted with great talents, which the former showed in argument, the latter in his writings. Al-Khawāfī died at Ṭūs, A. H. 500 (A. D. 1106). Khawāfī is derived from Khawāf, a canton of Naysāpur, containing many villages.

### 37. ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ AḤMAD AL-GHAZZĀLĪ

Abu 'l-Futūḥ Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭāsī al-Ghazzālī, surnamed Majd al-Dīn (*glory of religion*), was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, and brother to

---

1 See note on *al-Aḥnāf* No. 22. Al-Aḥnāf. had already invaded Khurasān, A. H. 22. See Major Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*.

2 See No. 34.

\*M. de Slane has omitted "al-Juwaynī".—Ed.



the imām Abu Ḥāmid al-Ḡhazzālī. He was good preacher, handsome in person, and endowed with the gift of miracles and other signs of divine favour. His ruling passion was making public exhortations, and for this he neglected the law of which he was a doctor; but he gave lectures on this science in the *Niẓāmiyah* College, when acting as substitute for his brother Abu Ḥāmid, who had ceased to profess from religious scruples. The work written by his brother, and entitled *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (*Revival of Religious Sciences*) was abridged by him into one volume with the title of *Lubāb al-Iḥyāʾ* (*Pith of the Iḥyāʾ*); he was also author of another treatise, named *al-Dhāt al-ḥirāt fī ʿilm al-Baṣīrat* (*the Treasure, treating of the science of vision*).<sup>1</sup> He had travelled over many countries, acting as a servant to the Sāfis, and was disposed to solitude and retirement from the world. Ibn al-Najjār relates this anecdote in his History of Baghdad: A person in the presence of Aḥmad al-Ḡhazzālī read out of the *Qurʾān* this verse: O, my servants! who have transgressed against yourselves, etc.<sup>2</sup> on which al-Ḡhazzālī remarked that God had ennobled them by calling them *His* servants (which had not been the case, were the possessive pronoun omitted); and he then cited the following verses (in support of his observation):

‘The blame which I incur for loving Laylā<sup>3</sup> bears lightly on me; it pains me little, that my enemies say: “He is an outcast.” When called by my name, I am deaf; but I hear (and answer) when people say; “O slave of Layla!”’

---

1 It is difficult to say what the *science of vision* may be, but judging from the character of the author, I am inclined to think that this work contains some mystic doctrine.

2 *Qurʾān*, surat 39, verse 54.

3 I have substituted here the proper name *Laylā* for the pronoun *her*, so as to be enabled to render into English the idea which comes in the next verse; as the words. *O slave of her* would be unintelligible, though a literal translation of the Arabic.

It is thus another poet has said :

"Call me by no other name than *slave of Layla*, for that is the noblest of my names."

Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī died at Qazwīn, A. H. 520 (A. D. 1126). The patronymic Tāstī is derived from Tās, the name of a place in Khūrāsān composed of two towns, *Tāberm* and *Nawqān*, to which appertain more than one thousand villages. Ghazzālī is a derivative from Ghazzāl (*cotton spinner*), formed after the system generally followed by the people of Khūwarezm and Jurjān, who from *Qaṣṣār* (*a fuller*) form *Qaṣṣārī*, and from *'Attār* (*a druggist*), *'Attārī*.<sup>1</sup> Some pronounce Ghazzālī with a single z, deriving it from Ghazzālāh, the name of a village in the dependencies of Tās, but this pronunciation differs from the one in general use, though al-Sam'ānī has adopted it in his *Ansīb*.—*Qazwīn*, a large city in Persian 'Irāq, situated near the castles of the Ismā'ilites.<sup>2</sup>

### 38. IBN BARHĀN AL-'UṢŪLĪ

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Wakīl, generally known by the name of Ibn Barhān, was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī and profoundly learned in the dogmas ('uṣūl) of faith and the minor principles of doctrine, as also in those points wherein the four orthodox sects agree or differ. He studied jurisprudence under Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī, Abū Bakr al-Shīrī and Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī; having become master of the subject; he composed the *Wajiz*, or *Brief Exposition* of the Principles of Jurisprudence, and professed during

1 The people of Khūwarezm, in so doing, committed a great barbarism, for *qassārī* and *'attārī*, if they had any meaning, would signify a *fullerman*, a *druggistman*.

2 The fullest account of the Ismā'ilites is given by M. de Sacy in his *History of the Druzes*, t. I, Introduction.

less than a month<sup>1</sup> in the Nizamiya College at Baghḍād, where he died A. H. 520 (A. D. 1126).

### 39. AL-NAHHĀS THE GRAMMARIAN

Abu Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Yūnus al-Murādī, surnamed al-Naḥḥās, was an eminent grammarian and native of Egypt. Among the instructive works written by him may be reckoned his Commentary on the *Qur'ān*; a Treatise on the grammatical analysis of the *Qur'ān*; another on the verses of the *Qur'ān* which have been abrogated and those which abrogated them; a work on grammar, entitled *al-Tuffāha* (the Apple); one of Etymology; and Explanation of the verses given as example by Sībawayh in his grammar, being the first work on the subject; the Secretary's Guide; the *Kāfi* (Sufficient), a treatise on grammar; a treatise\* on the ideas usually met with in poetry; the works of ten poets edited and commented by himself; a greater and a less treatise on the Pause and the Commencement of Phrases; a Commentary on the seven† Moallaqas; Lives of the Poets (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara*): etc. His traditionary learning was obtained from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān

---

1 In the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shaṣṣiyyin*: شهرًا واحدًا which fixes the sense of *دون السحر* an expression of very doubtful import. The author of this *Ṭabaqāt* says: Ibn Barhān was born at Baḥḍād, A. H. 479; he composed the *Basīṭ* or Detailed treatise on the Law, the *Wasīṭ* or treatise of Medium extent, and the *Wajiz*, or Brief Exposition, as also other works. His talent for resolving legal difficulties became proverbial; and though Ibn Khalikān states that he died in 520; it is well known that 518 was the year of his death.

\* *العاني* is that branch of grammar which treats of lucid expressions of one's ideas.—Ed.

† According to the autograph it is nine, probably in addition to the seven famous poems; the commentary included of poems of Nabi' ḥah Dhubyāni and A'shā. Some people reckon it to be 10 and include one by 'Abid also.—Ed.

al-Nasā'ī, whom he gave as his authority when communicating that species of information to others; the grammar he learned from Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Aḥḡaṣḡ, Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj, Ibn al-Anbārī, Niṣṡawayh, and the first literary men of 'Irāq, having travelled from Egypt to that country for the purpose of studying under them. He was a man of sordid habits, parsimonious and niggardly towards himself; on being given a turban-cloth he would cut it into three out of avarice; what he required for his sustenance, he would buy himself, or else live upon his acquaintances, to whom he became a burden; notwithstanding which he was ardently sought after by numbers, for the profit and instruction which were to be obtained from his lessons. Died at Old Cairo, on Sunday, 5th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijja, 338 (May,\* A. D. 950); some say 337. He came by his death in the following manner: he had seated himself on the staircase of the Nilometer, by the side of the river, which was then on the increase, and began to scan some verses according to the rules of prosody, when a common fellow, who heard him, said: "This man is pronouncing a charm to prevent the overflow of the Nile, so as to raise the price of provisions;" he then thrust him with his foot into the river, and nothing more was heard of him.—*Nahḡās* means a *worker in copper*; in Egypt this name is given to him who makes vessels in brass.

#### 40. IBN BAQIYYAH AL-'ABDĪ, THE GRAMMARIAN

Abū Ṭalīb Aḡmad Ibn Bakr Ibn Baqiyya al-'Abdī, an able and talented grammarian; he wrote a good commentary on the grammatical treatise compose, by Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī, and entitled the '*Īdāh*. The only circumstance of his life which has come to my knowledge is the fact of his having studied grammar under Abū Sa'īd al-Sirāfī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Rummānī and Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī. Died on Thursday, 20th Ramadān, A. H. 406

(A. D. 1016). 'Abdi means descended from *Abd Qays*, who was the son of Afsa' Ibn Du'ma and ancestor of a great and famous tribe.

#### 41. ABU 'L-ABBĀS IBN SAHL THE KĀTIB

The kاتب Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Sahl, author of the *Kitāb al-Kharāj*.<sup>2</sup> He died A. H. 270 (A. D. 883). Being totally ignorant of the circumstances of his life, I must pass it over in silence; my only reason for mentioning him is on account of his celebrated work, as its readers might wish to know at what time the author lived.

#### 42. THA'LAB THE GRAMMARIAN

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Zayd Ibn Sayyār the grammarian, generally known by the name of Tha'lab, was an adopted member of the tribe of *shaybān*, wherein he had for patron Ma'an Ibn Zā'idā, whose life we shall give in the letter *M*. Tha'lab was chief grammarian and philologist among the learned men of Kufa<sup>3</sup>; he had taken lessons from Ibn al-A'rabī and al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkar, and his authority was cited by his pupils al-A'ḥfāṣh al-Aṣghar, Abu Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī, Abu Umar al-Zāhid, and others. Complete confidence was placed in the exactness of his traditional information; his opinion was

---

<sup>1</sup> See note on *Aksa*, No. 19.

<sup>2</sup> This work appears to be a treatise on the revenue arising from the land tax; the author's having been a *kātib* or writer in one of the government offices appears to confirm this conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> In the early ages of Islamism, the grammarians and philologists who studied at Kufah differed on certain questions from those of Basrah. These two schools are often spoken of.

decisive in doubtful questions; he was a man of virtue noted for his retentive memory, his veracity, his knowledge of the genius of the Arabic language, and his correctness in reciting ancient poetry: even while a youth, he held a high place among the masters in learning. When Ibn al-A'rābī had doubts on any point, he would say to Tha'lab; "Abu 'l-'Abbās! what is your opinion on the subject?" such was the confidence he placed in his extensive information. Tha'lab used to say: I began my travels for the purpose of studying Arabic and philology in the year 216; at the age of eighteen I had read the *Hudud* by the grammarian al-Farrā, and on completing my twenty-fifth year, I knew by heart (*and mastered*) every question without exception which al-Farrā had treated. Abū Bakr Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqri relates as follows: "Tha'lab said to me: 'O 'Abū Bakr! the *Qurānists* were taken up with the *Qur'ān* and obtained a happy reward; the traditionists were taken up with the Traditions and obtained a happy reward; the doctors were taken up with the law and obtained a happy reward: I have been taken up with *Zayd* and *Amr*<sup>1</sup>; O, that I knew what my state will be in the next world! 'After quitting him, I had a vision in my sleep that very night, and I saw the blessed Prophet, who said to me: Give my greeting to Abū 'Abbās and say: *Thou art master of the superior science*.<sup>2</sup> On this expression the holy servant Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Radbārī<sup>3</sup> observes that the Prophet's meaning was: *By this*

1 That is: *I have been taken up with the study of Arabic grammar*, in which one of the most common examples is ضرب زيد عمرا *dreams Zayd beat 'Amr*.

2 We have here a proof that the study of grammar is not only lawful جائز but praiseworthy محمود. See note on No. 19.

3 Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn 'Ata عطا al-Radbārī was an inhabitant of Tyre and chief of the Ṣūfīs in Syria: he died A. H. 369 (A. D. 979). (*Al-Yāfi'i's Annals*).—Another celebrated *shaykh* and Ṣūfī, bearing the same surname as the preceding, Abū 'Alī Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim al-Radbārī, a native of Baḡdhād, but who settled in Egypt, where he became chief of the Ṣūfīs شيخ مصري زمانه. He had studied under al-Junayd and others; and was versed in a great variety of sciences. He is related to have said: My master in Sufism was al-Junayd, in the Traditions Ibrāhīm al-Harbī, in Jurisprudence Ibn Surayj, and in literature Tha'lab. Died A. H. 322 or 323 (A. H. 934-5) (*Yāfi'i's Annals*, *Al-Uthmānīs Ṭabaqāt*.)

(science) *spoken language is made perfect and discourse becomes connected*; all other sciences also stand in need of it. Abū Umar al-Zāhid, surnamed al-Muṭarriz, relates the following anecdote: "I was once at one of Abu 'l-Abbās Tha'lab's literary parties, when a person asked him a question, to which he answered; 'I do not know.' 'How! said the other, you say *I do not know*, and yet it is to reach you that the camels pant\* (*in thier hurried march*) and towards you that travellers advance from every city.<sup>1</sup> To this Abu 'l-Abbās replied: 'Did your mother possess a daie<sup>2</sup> for everything I do not know, she would be a rich woman.'" Tha'lab is author of the *Faṣīḥ* (*the Pure*), a (*philological*) work, small in size, but of great utility; †[he composed also some poetry: Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī says, in one of his dictated lessons<sup>3</sup>: "Tha'lab recited to me the following verses, but I know not whether they are his or another's:

'Since thou, who art the food of my life, hast abandoned me; how long then will that life endure of which thou wast the food? It will last as long as the desert-lizard<sup>4</sup> can live in water; as long as the fish can live in a verdant plain.'

---

1 This figurative phrase, which means simply that persons came from all parts to consult him, is very frequently employed by Arabic writers.

2 To avoid the coarseness of the original Arabic, the word *بعر* is here rendered by *date*; its true signification is a *pellet of sheep's or goat's dung*. The same anecdote is given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 123; but he there translates *بعر* by *camels*; in this he does not appear to be right.

3 See No 12, note on *امالى*.

4 The *desert-lizard*, or *dubb*; this animal always avoids water. (See *Jackson's Morocco*, 2nd edition, page 102.) It is about eighteen inches long, and burrows in the sands of the desert; its flesh is eaten by the wild Arabs. Leo Africanus says, in speaking of this animal: *Aquam non potat, et si quis aquam in os infundat, Evestigio moritur*.

\*M. de Slane has read it *كبد* and the same is given in printed copies. The autograph has *كبد* which means *back of a camel*.—Ed.

† [ ] From "he composed" to "for the sake" on page 150, is not in the autograph.—Ed.

On this, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Barā' recited us these additional verses;

" 'Wast thou then deceived in me, because I assumed affected patience, thoug that 'soul of mine had received from thee a mortal wound ? If what I suffer were inflicted 'on the solid rocks, it would overthrow them; if on the wind, the wind would cease to blow, and would remain in a lengthened slumber ! But patience? God may cause us 'to meet again; and then I shall complain to thee of the woes which were caused by 'thee and which I encountered for the sake.' "

Tha'lab was born in the third month of the year 200 (October A. D. 815), according to \*Ibn al-Qarāb<sup>2</sup> in his History; but others place his birth in 201 or 204: a circumstance, however, which points out the year 200 is furnished by the following relation given by Tha'lab himself: "I saw the ḵhalīf al-Māman on his return from Ḵhurasān in the year 204; he had just gone forth from the *Bab al-Ḥadīd* (*Iron Gate*) on his way to al-Ruṣāfa; the people were drawn up in a double line, and my father bore

1 The qāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Barā' al-'Abdī was native of Baḡhdād and a reader of the *Qur'an*. Died in *Shawwāl*, A. H. 291 (A. D. 904) *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā*, MS. No. 742. fol. 72).

2 No mention is made of this historian by Ḥājji Ḵhalīfa or the other works I have consulted. Even the true pronunciation of the name is uncertain.—The true reading is perhaps Ibn al-Furāt *ابن الفرات*; in al-Yaḥyā's Annals, year 384 (A. D. 994) is found the following note: In this year died Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Furāt, native of Baḡhdād. He learned the Traditions from al-Mahāmīlī and many other doctors of that period. The *Ḵḥaṭīb* says (see his life, No. 33): "I have been told that he possessed one hundred quires (*of notes*) furnished to him by 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Miṣrī; that he wrote one hundred commentaries *تفسير*, and the like number of histories: he was an author of authority and veracity.

\*Ibn al-Qarrāb because in the autograph it is very clear.—*Ed.*

†It cannot be *ابن الفرات* as suggested here because in the autograph it is clearly *ابن القراب* with *تشديد* on.—*Ed.*



me up in his arms and said: 'That is al-Māman, and this is the year four;' which words I have kept in mind up to the present moment; I was at the time four years of age." He died on Saturday, 17\* (some say 10†) of the First Jumādā, A. H. 291 (April, A. D. 904) at Baḥdād, and was buried in the cemetery at the Gate of Syria. The accident which caused his death happened in the following manner: he had left the mosque on Friday, when the after noon prayer was over; and some time before he had got a deafness, which prevented him from hearing unless with great difficulty; he was holding a book in his hand and reading it in the street, when a horse knocked against and threw him into a deep pit, out of which he was taken nearly senseless. He was immediately borne to his house, complaining of his head, and he died the next day. *Shaybānī* means *belonging to Shaybān*, which is a tribe sprung from Bakr Ibn Wā'il; there were two chiefs of this name: Shaybān, son of Tha'labah, son of 'Ukābah, and Shaybān, son of Dhuhl, son of Tha'labah, son of Ukābah, so the former was uncle to the latter.—Tha'lab composed the following works: the *Maṣnūn* (*Precious, a treatise on grammar*); points on which grammarians disagree; on the Idiomatic Expressions peculiar to the *Qur'ān*; on the faulty Expressions made use of by the vulgar; the differences which exist between the seven readings or editions of the *Qur'ān*; on the usual Ideas found in the poems of the ancient Arabs; on Diminutive Nouns on Nouns of the first and second declension‡; on those parts of Speech which can, or cannot assume the functions of others; on abnormal Words and Expressions; a Collection of Proverbs; on the Confidence (*to be placed in the ancients*<sup>1</sup>), on the final Pause and the commencement of Phrases; a Vocabulary; on the Alphabet; a Collection of *Sitting*, or Discourses; the *Awsal*, or Grammar of Medium Extent; on the Parsing of the *Qur'ān*; Question discussed; *Iḥadd al-Nahw* (*the limits of Grammar*).§

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic title is *Kitāb al-Īmān* (*Liber Fidei*); the subject of this work is doubtful.

\*7 April.—*Ed.*

†31 March.—*Ed.*

‡Mutable and Immutable nouns.—*Ed.*

§M. de Slane has omitted etc."

## 43. THE ḤĀFIẒ AL-SILAFĪ

Abu 'l-Tāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Silafā, native of Ispahān, and surnamed Ṣadr al-Dīn (*centre of religion*), was ḥāfiẓ of great information, and a follower of the sect of al-Shāfi'i. He travelled to different countries for the purpose of gathering traditions respecting Muḥammad from the great masters in that branch of knowledge, and went to Bagḥdād where he studied jurisprudence under al-Kiyā al-Harrasī, and Arabic under the *khaṭīb* Abu Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Tabrīzī the philologist. He taught the Traditions on the authority of Abū Muḥammad Ja'far Ibn al-Sarrāj and other principal doctors; and having passed through many regions and journeyed over many lands, he went by sea from the city of Ṣār (*Tyre*) to Alexandria, where he arrived in the month of Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 511 (March. A. D. 1118). Having fixed his dwelling in that city, he was visited by persons from the farthest countries, who came to attend his lessons and profit by his tuition. Towards the end of his life, he remained without a rival, and, in the year 546 (A. D. 1151), al-'Adil Ibn al-Sallār, vizīr to al-Zāfir al-'Ubaydī, prince of Egypt, founded a college at Alexandria and appointed him its president, which establishment is still called, after him the Silafī College. In my youth, I met, in Syria and Egypt, a number of persons who had been his pupil, and from whom I learned traditions which they authorised me, by a written certificate, to teach on their authority, al-Silafī wrote a great deal, and I extracted from his papers a mass of useful information: among other particulars. I picked out the following verses by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Abbār, a native of Spain:

"Were my mind not wholly taken up with the Emīr and with praise worthy his deserts, I should have sung the charms of my fair Gazelle in a more lengthened strain; but engaged in the description of Majesty, I was forced to lay aside my description of Beauty."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> In the original Arabic, these two verses are remarkable for the verbal artifice of their construction.

I found also in his handwriting these two verses, composed by Buthaina on the death of her lover Jamīl:

"Never for a single instant have I felt consolation for the loss of Jamīl; that time has not yet come. Whilst thou art absent, O Jamīl, son of Ma'mar! the pains of life and its pleasures are to me equally indifferent."

Al-Silafī used often to recite this verse :

" 'Tis said that the inhabitants of a dwelling are its souls; but you I look on as the soul of souls."

His dictates<sup>1</sup> and notes are in great quantity, but, as concision is to be preferred in such an abridged work as this (*I am precluded from extracts*).—He was born at Ispahān about the year 472 (A. D. 1079), and died in the frontier city of Alexandria on the morning, or, as some say, on the eve of Friday, 5th of the Second Rabi, 576 (August,\* A. D. 1189). He was interred at Wa'la, which burial-place lies within the city walls near the Green Gate (*al-Bab al-Akhdar*), and contains the tombs of many holy men, such as al-Ṭurṭuṣhī and others. It is said that this cemetery takes its name from 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Wa'la al-Sabā'ī (*native of Saba in Yemen*), who inhabited Egypt and had studied under Ibn 'Abbās<sup>2</sup>; other derivations

---

1 See No. 12, note on ابالى.

2 Abu 'l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās (sons to Abbās, uncle of Muḥammad), was born at Mekkah, A.D. 619, three years before the Hijrah. Immediately on his birth he was presented to Muḥammad, who begged of God to instruct him in the knowledge of the divine law and the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*. The deep learning and piety which Ibn 'Abbās displayed in after-life were attributed by the Muslims to the efficacy of their Prophet's prayers; and when yet a youth, his merit was so generally recognized that the *khalifs* Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān always yielded him the place of honour in the assemblies. He was considered as the ablest interpreter of the *Qur'ān* then in existence, and it was said of him that none knew better the traditions the legal decisions of the three first *khalifs*, the law, the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*, and the sciences of poetry and arithmetic.

have also been given. \* [The date here assigned to his birth is the one I found given by the learned traditionists of Egypt, and among the rest, the ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-'Aẓīm al-Mundhir,<sup>1</sup> the

(Continued from page 153)

Crowds flocked to him from all parts to hear his lectures, and it is related on good authority that he gave regularly public lessons, one day on the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*; the next, on the law; the third, on grammar; the fourth, on the history of the Arabs أيام العرب; and the fifth on poetry. It was to his efforts that the study of the poems composed before the introduction of Islamism, became of such importance to the Muslims; for the frequently quoted verses of the ancient poets in proof of the explanations he gave of different passages of the *Qur'ān*, and he used to say; "When you meet with a difficulty in the *Qur'ān*, look for its solution in the poems of the Arabs, for these are the registers of the Arabic nation." On being asked how he had acquired his extensive knowledge he replied: "By means of an enquiring tongue and an intelligent heart." He was appointed governor of Basrah by the Khalīf 'Alī, and remained there for some time; he then returned to Hijjāz, and died at Taif, A. H. 68 (A. D. 687), aged 70 years. The celebrated Muḥammad Ibn al-Hanafiyyā pronounced funeral prayers over him and said: "To-day is dead the doctor رباي of this people and the sea of learning." He was tall in stature, large bodied, of a clear complexion and remarkable for the beauty of his countenance and his dignified appearance; his hair was dyed with *hinna*. Towards the end of his life, he lost the use of his sight.—(Tab. al-Fuqahd. Tab. al-Qurra Siyar al-Salaf. MSS. of the Bib. du Roi.)

1 The ḥāfiẓ Zākī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Salāmī al-Mundhirī was descended from a family which dwelt in Syria, but he himself was born in Egypt, in the month of Sha'ban, 581 (November, A. D. 1185). Having attained a profound knowledge of the *Qur'ān*, Arabic literature, jurisprudence, and composed a *Mu'jam* and other important works, he became *shaykh* of the college for the study of the traditions (*Dar al-Ḥadith al-Kamiliyya*); this college was founded at Cairo, A. H. 622 (A. D. 1225), by al-Malik al-Kāmil Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of al-Malik al-'Ādil. This was one of the only two colleges specially designed for teaching the Traditions; the other was founded at Damascus by al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zinkī. During the twenty years of his administration he led a most abstemious, pure, and holy life, and instructed numerous pupils who became

(Continued on page 155)

\* [ ] From "The date" to "his life" on page 156 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

first traditionist of his age, but I have since found a different statement in the *Zahr al-Ribāʿ*, etc. (Meadow Flowers, or Elucidator of the purport and scope (of figurative Expression and Allusions) by Jamāl al-dīn \*al-Safrāwī,<sup>1</sup> who says: "My master, the ḥāfiẓ Abn ʿIṣṣah al-Silafī has told me from conjecture, and not from certain assurance, that he was born in 478; this obliges me to conclude that he lived to the age of 98 years." I read also in the History of Baghdād, Muḥibb al-Dīn ʿIbn al-Najjār, § the following passage in confirmation of al-Safrāwī's statement:

(Continued from page 154)

later illustrious for their learning. Ibn Kḥallikan was one of the number. He wrote also an abridgement of the imām Muslim's Traditions; a summary of the traditions published by Abn Dawūd; a collection of useful notes on the same work; a valuable treatise entitled *Al-Tarḥīb wa 'l-Tarḥīb* (Incitement and Determent), the first volume of this work, which contains a collection of Traditions, is in the *Bib. du Roi*, fond St. Germain, No. 86). etc. He died in Egypt in A. H. 656 (A. H. 1258.—(See *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyin*.) It is worthy of remark that the *Bib. du Roi* is in possession of volume containing a portion of the work of Abn Dawūd (No. 354, *ancien fonds*), in which is found a number of notes in the handwriting of 'Abd al-Azīm al-Mundird.

I The imām Jamāl al-Dīn Abn 'I-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abn 'I-Faḍl 'Abd al-Majid Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ḥafs al-Safrāwī, doctor of the sect of Malik, was born at Alexandria about the commencement of the year 544 (May, A. D. 1149), and died in 636 (A. D. 1238-9). Besides the *Zahr ar-Riyad*, he wrote a treatise on the seven editions of the *Qur'ān*, the title of which is; *al-I'tān fi 'l-Qar'at al-Sab'e*. (*Ṭabaqāt al-Qorru* MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, *ancien fonds*, No. 742, *fol.* 191.)

\*Full genealogy is not given here which is as follows: al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Abn 'Ibn Qāsim Abdur Raḥman Ibn Abn 'I-Faḍl Abd al-Majid Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ḥafs al-Safrāwī al-Iskandari.—*Ed.*

†In the opening line he has given correct *kunya* which is different, i.e., there is definite article expressed there but the same is omitted here. It may be due to the faulty copy at his disposal.—*Ed.*

‡The name "Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd known as" is omitted in it.—*Ed.*

§"al-Bahgdādī" is omitted.—*Ed.*

“ ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Maḡdīsī<sup>1</sup> relates having asked the ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī the date of his birth, and that he received this answer from him: ‘I remember the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk<sup>2</sup> in the year 485’, and I was then under ten years of age!’ Now, if his birth was in 472, as the people of Egypt state, al-Silafī would not have said: *I remember the assassination of Niẓām al-Mulk in the year 485*; for it must be concluded from what they say that al-Silafī was then thirteen or fourteen years of age; but it is not the custom for a person (*mentioning a circumstance which happened*) when he was of that age, to say; *I remember such and such an event*; it could only be said by one who was then four or five or six year of age. Whence it appears that al-Ṣafrāwī’s statement comes nearer to truth than the other; he was, besides, a pupil of al-Silafī’s and had heard him say: *My birth was in 478*. Al-Ṣafrāwī is also an author whose word cannot be called into question, and on whose exactness no doubts can be thrown; to which I may add that I have not heard of any person within the last three hundred years, who lived for a century, much less of one who lived for more, the qāḍī Abu ‘l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabari excepted; for he lived to the age of 102 years. as we shall again mention in his life.]—*Al-Silafī* was so named after his grandfather Ibrāhīm Silafa. *Silafa* is a Persian word, *meaning three lips (seh leb)*; he received this appellation because of his lips was split and appeared bouble, without counting the other, which remained in its natural state. This word was originally *Silaba*, but the *b* has been replaced by *f*.

1 The ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ghanī Ibn ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Maḡdīsī, doctor of the sect of Ibn Ḥanbal, learned the Traditions at Damascus, Alexandria, Baḡhdād, and Ispahān, and became the highest authority on the subject. He composed a number of works, and was remarkable for his piety, his strict observation of the precepts contained in the *Sunnah*, and the exhortations which he made to induce his hearers to do what was right, and avoid what was forbidden. Died A. H. 600 (A. D. 1203). His life has been written in two volumes by the ḥāfiẓ Dīā al-Dīn (*light of religion*). Al-Yāfi’s Annals.—The ḥāfiẓ Dīā al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Maḡdīsī, doctor of the sect of Ibn Hambal, was a traditionist of great authority in Syria. The ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī was one of his masters. Died A. H. 643 (A. D. 1245.) (*Tab. al-Ḥuffāz.*)

2 This event is related in the Annals of Abu ‘l-Fida.

## 44. SHARAF AL-DĪN IBN MAN'Ā\* 'L-IRBILI

Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad, son to the learned shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḥḥ Mūsā Ibn †Radi al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍl Yūnus Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Man'ā Ibn Mālīk Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'ad Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Āsim Ibn 'Āid Ibn Ka'ab Ibn Qays Ibn Ibrāhīm, doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and surnamed Sharaf al-Dīn (*nobleness of religion*), came of an eminent and powerful family, which was one of the first in Arbela. This imām was possessed of great talent and judgment, and to an exemplary conduct he joined a handsome person. He is author of a good commentary on the *Tinbīh*, a treatise on Muslim Law (*composed by Abu Ishāq al-Shīrāzi*): two Abridgements of the *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by the imām al-Ḡhazzālī, one of them concise, the other more detailed. In the course of his lectures<sup>1</sup> he explained portions of the *Iḥyā*, which he cited from memory; his mind being richly stored with traditional knowledge and extensive information. His family was noted for its learning, as may be seen hereafter in the lives of his paternal uncle and grandfather; as also of his father, whose plan of study he followed in acquiring his varied information in the science. A great number of pupils finished their education under him and the professorship of the college founded at Arbela by the prince of the city, al-Mālīk al-Mua'zzam Muẓaffar al-Dīn Ibn Zayn al-Dīn, was confided to him after the death of my father. It was towards the beginning of the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 610, that he arrived at Arbela from Mawṣil; my father having died on the eve of Monday, 122nd Shā'bān of the same year. When a boy, I followed his lessons, and never yet heard any one who lectured so well; he did not cease to fill that place until he made his pilgrimage to Mekkah; when he returned, he made a

1 The expression التي الدروس which, though of frequent occurrence, is not to be found in our Lexicons, means *to make a course of lectures*.

\*M. de Slane has unwarrantedly advanced the genealogy by four generations. Man'ā is the name of his great-great-grandfather. —Ed.

†M. de Slane reads it *Rida*. —Ed.

‡6 January, 1214. —Ed.

short stay, and then went to Mawṣil, A. H. 617 (A. D. 1220), where he was appointed president of the *Qāhiriya* College; he remained in this studying and teaching till his death, which took place on Monday 24th of the Second Rabi', 622 (May,\* A. D. 1225): born at Mawṣil, in the year 575 (A. H. 1179). He was the best of men, and when I think of him, the world is of little value in my eyes.—On reflecting, I observe that the life of Sharaf al-Dīn began and ended with the reign of al-Nāṣir lidīn Allāh Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, for this khalif was invested with authority A. H. 575, the year in which Sharaf al-Dīn was born, and they both died at one and the same period. It was at Arabela that Sharaf al-Dīn began to comment the *Tanbih*, having borrowed a copy of it from me, which contained useful notes written in the margin by a man of considerable talent, and all which I afterwards perceived to have been inserted by him in his commentary. The author of these notes was the shayḥ †Raḍi al-Dīn Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn Ghanim Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī (*native of Jilān*), follower of the sect of al-Shafi', and muftī of the Nizāmiya College of Baghdād. He was one of the most distinguished and talented men of his age and composed a work on jurisprudence, forming fifteen volumes; he was very religious and had refused to fill every honourable place which was offered for his acceptance.<sup>1</sup> His death took place on Wednesday, 3rd of the First Rabi', A. H. 631 (A. D. 1233),‡ and he was interred in the Shuniziya (*a cemetery of Baghdād*), having lived upwards of sixty years: it was some time after the year 580 that he left his country to study in Baghdād.—Let us return to Sharaf al-Dīn: this doctor did not quit his native place in furtherance of his studies,

---

<sup>1</sup> He was offered the place of qāḍi at Baghdād, and that of superior of the great monastery (*al-Rib'at al-Kabir*); his work was entitled the *Ikmāl* (*completion*).—(*Tab. al-Shāfi'īn*.)

\*3rd.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it Riḍa.—*Ed.*

‡7 December.—*Ed.*



but made them at Mawṣil under his father's tuition, and for this reason the jurisconsults used to express their astonishment at his being able to study at his native place and in the midst of his family, holding, as he did, a high rank and being taken up with temporal affairs. He produced, however, what we see; and were I to undertake the description of his excellent qualities, I should be long in finishing; so what has been already said must suffice.

#### 45. IBN 'ABD RABBIH

Abu 'Umar Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Rabbih<sup>1</sup> (*son to the slave of his lord*) Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn Ḥudayr Ibn Salīm al-Qurṭudī (*native of Cordova*), was descended from an enfranchised slave of the Spanish Omayyide khalif Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mu'āwīya Ibn Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam. This writer was deeply learned in traditional knowledge and possessed great historical information; his '*Iqd*, or Necklace, is a work of much merit and contains something on every subject, and the *Diwān*, or Collection of his poetical compositions, is very good; the following are specimens of his poetry:

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibn 'Abd Rabbih is now pronounced, according to the vulgar idiom, Ibn 'Abd Rubbuh. In the *المتمم بقية* (Arabic MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Paris; consult on this work Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, No. 1671), the author states that 'Abd Rabbih was grandfather of our poet and that his father's name was Muḥammad. Besides the '*Iqd* or Collar, a work containing much important information on the manners of the ancient Arabs, and of which some extracts have been given by M. Fresnel in his letters, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih composed a great deal of poetry, which he collected into a work entitled *al-Maḥasīn*; in which every erotic piece was followed by another on morality and devotion; his intention in this was to purify *محض* (*Maḥaṣṣ*) the profane ideas of the one by the religious sentiments of the other.

"O thou, on whose face the \**idhār*<sup>1</sup> hath traced two lines which excite (*my mind to*) sadness and anguish! I was not convinced that thy looks were a cutting sword, till thou placed on thy cheeks (*the izar as*) a baldrick."

He has repeated the same idea in the following lines (which have been attributed, however, to Abū Ṭāhir the *kātib*,<sup>2</sup> and to Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Abd al-Wahid al-Baḡhdādī):

"There was a youth on whose cheeks the \**idhār* had traced its outline with (dark musk, whilst they were dyed with the blood of hearts (*wounded by his beauty*)). On feeling convinced that the (*languishing*) narcissus of his eyes was a cutting sword, he took the violet (*—Like Izar*) for a baldrick."

This idea has been borrowed by Baha al-Din al-Sinjārī,† who says, in one of his poems :

"O sword of his eye, thou art now complete in beauty! Before his *izar* appeared, thou was without a baldrick."

1 See No. 15, note on '*idhār*'.

2 Perhaps Ibn Abī Ṭāhir is the true reading. His life is given in the abridgement of the *Khaṭīb's* History of Baḡhdād: it runs as follows: The *kātib* Abū 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfur طيفور came of a family which dwelt at Marw; he was an eloquent man, a poet and a narrator of historical traditions; he possessed also great intelligence, and was celebrated for his learning. He composed a history of the *khalifs* and their adventures, giving his facts after, Umar Ibn Shabba and others. His son states that he died in 280 (A. D. 893); he was buried in the cemetery near the Gate of Syria (*at Baḡhdad*). Born at Baḡhdad, A. H. 204 the year of al-Māmūn's entry (*to that city*; see page 18) (MS. No. 634, fol. 50 verso).

\*In the autograph copy the word is "al-Jamāl" meaning beauty; so it should be rendered: O thou, on whose face the beauty hath drawn two lines which . . ."

†In the autograph there is again العذار الجمال for العذار.—*Ed.*

‡al-Baha As'ad al-Sinjārī is the correct name.—*Ed.*

By Ibn 'Abd Rabbih :

"She bid me adieu with sighs and embraces, and then asked when we were to meet again: she appeared to me unveiled, and the dawn was lighted up (*by that beautiful neck*) which tunicks and collars encircled. 'O thou whose looks languish (but not from sickness) whatever place is before thy eyes become the deathbed of lovers. The day of separation is indeed a dreadful day! O ! that I had died before the day of separation.' "

By the same:

"If the fair see that the garment of thy youth is folded up (*by approaching age*), they will fold up from thee their favours; and when they call thee *uncle*<sup>1</sup> that name serves only to increase thy disappointment."

The next verses are taken from a long *qaṣīdah* addressed to al-Mundhir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mu'āwiya Ibn Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān al-Ḥakami the Omayyide king of Spain:

"Spain is covered with glory through al-Mundhir Ibn Muḥammad. Its birds have become tame, and its wild beasts accustomed to man."

On which the vizir Ibn al-Maghribī makes the following observation in his work entitled *Adab al-Khawāṣṣ* : 'It is related that this poem, on getting into circulation, gave great pain to Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, and that he felt much mortified by the falsehoods and misrepresentations which it contained, till an answer was composed to it by his own poet Abu 'l-Ḥasan Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Iyādi of Tunis who wrote, with that intention, a *qaṣīdah*, in the same rhyme and measure, beginning thus:

---

<sup>1</sup> *Uncle* and *Aunt* were the terms made use of in addressing elderly persons; *son of my uncle* and *daughter of my uncle* were the titles used between persons of the same age, though strangers to each other.

'The rustic hut where Zaynab passed the spring is in ruins; that dwelling, which before had a voice, is now become silent.'

By Ibn 'Abd Rabbih:

"The raven croaked and I said : That is the greatest liar among birds unless his forebodings be confirmed by the cry of the camel."<sup>1</sup>

In which verse is an allusion to these words of another poet:

"The feet of our camels were worn and wounded by their journey; they could no longer assist (*their rider and bear him*) towards (*the object of his*) love: among camels will always be found some lame and some broken-winded. The evil omen consists not in the croaking and foreboding of the raven, the only evil omen is the camel, the male and the female."

There is every abundance of fine ideas, besides the foregoing in the poems of this author. He was born the 10 Ramaḍān, A. H. 246 (November,\* A. D. 860); died on Sunday, 18 of the First Jumada, 328 (March,† A. D. 940), and was buried the next day in the cemetery of the Banu 'l-'Abbās at Cordova. Some years before his death, he lost the use of his side from palsy.—*Qurṭubi* means *native of Cordova*, which is a great city in Spain and capital of the empire.

---

1 The nomadic poet imagined that the raven foresaw the epoch in which a tribe was to change its quarters; and that it then hastened, with ill-omened cry, towards the spot which was soon to be abandoned, and in which he hoped to have found his mistress still remaining. The *'ṭhurāb al-Bayn*, or *raven of separation*, is often spoken of by poets. Some camels utter loud cries when loading for a journey.

\*28.—Ed.

†1st—Ed.

## 46. ABU 'L-'ĀLA AL-MA'ARRĪ

Abu 'l-'Āla<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Da'ūd Ibn al-Muṭahhar Ibn Ziyād Ibn Rabī'a Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Rabī'a Ibn Anwar Ibn Aṣḥam Ibn Arqam Ibn al-Nu'mān Ibn 'Adi Ibn Ghafafān Ibn 'Amr Ibn Barīḥ Ibn \*Judḥaymah<sup>2</sup> Ibn Taym Allāh Ibn As'ad Ibn Wabarah Ibn †Taghlib Ibn Ḥulwān Ibn 'Imrān Ibn Ilḥāf Ibn Quḍa'a al-Tanūkhī al-Ma'arri (*native of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*) was a celebrated philologist and poet, profoundly learned in all the various branches of polite literature. He studied grammar and philology under his father at Ma'arra, and Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'ad, the grammarian at Aleppo; his numerous works are well known, and his epistles have been carefully preserved; the *Luzūm*, or poetical pieces, composed by him on a more strict principle than is required by the usual rules of prosody,<sup>3</sup> are numerous and fill nearly five books; he composed also the *Siqṭ al-Zand* (*Falling Spark of Tinder*), with a commentary by himself, and entitled by him, *Daw al-Siqṭ* (*Light of the Spark which falls*). I have been told that he is also author of a book on belles-letters, called *al-Ayk wal-Ghuṣūn* (*the Forest and the Branches*), and generally known by the title

---

1 The orientalists of the old school pronounced this name Abu 'l-'Ola, but the true pronunciation is Abu 'l-'Āla; M. de Sacy has published some of his poems in the *Chrestomathie*. This text and Latin translation of two other poems by the same author will be found in M. Vuller's edition of Tarafa's *Moallaka*.

2 This is the true reading; see *Qamūs* under ب ر ح.

3 There are some poems in which the final foot of each verse is doubly or even triply rhymed. This is what the Arabic prosodians call *Lūẓam ma lu Yalzūm*, *Ilṭizām* or *lṭnāt*.—See De Sacy's *Commentary on Hariri*, page 419.

\*M. de Slane reads it Khozaima which is supported by *Qamūs*, but it is doubtful if the reference is to the same Barīḥ.—Ed.

†M. de Slane gives *Tḥalab*.—Ed.

of *al-hamza wal-Ridf*,<sup>1</sup> in about one hundred parts; and I have been informed by a person who happened to read the one hundred and first, that he did not know what could be wanting on the subject after the volume he had read. Abu 'l-Āla was the acromestnd man of the age, and had, among other pupils, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Tanukhī and the khatib Abū Zakaryya al-Tabrizī. He was born at Ma'arra about sunset on Friday the 27 of the First Rabi', A. H. 363 (December, A. D. 973)\*; about the beginning of the year 367; he lost his sight from the smallpox, a white film having covered his right eye, while the left had disappeared completely. (*Relative to this*) the hāfiz al-Silafī relates the following anecdote: "I was informed by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Walīd Ibn 'Azīb al-'Iyādī that he went with his uncle to visit Abu 'l-Āla, whom he found sitting on a felt rug, and that he was an old man. 'He prayed a blessing on me,' said he, 'and stroked my head, for I was then a boy. At this moment I think that I still see him and his two eyes, one of which was startling out of his head<sup>2</sup> and the other deeply sunk in its orbit; his face was marked with the smallpox; his body lean.' " When Abū 'l-Āla had finished his *al-ūni'* *al-'Azizī*, which is a commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbī, one of the company happened to read to him some of the descriptive passages composed by that poet, on which Abū 'l-Āla said: "One would think that al-Mutanabbī had looked into futurity and seen me when he pronounced this verse:

'I am he whose Learning is seen by the blind, and whose word causeth the deaf to hear.' "

---

1 This title induces me to think that at least a portion of the work was in verse, having for rhyme a *hamza* (ء) with a letter of prolongation, which, in that case, is called the *ridf* by Arabic prosodians.

2 M. de Sacy, in his *Chrestomothie*, tom. III, page 89, reads in this place نادره for نادره but all the MSS., without exception, and the context of Ibn Khallikān's article are against his opinion.

\*25 January, 974.—Ed.

He made a commented abridgement of Abū Tammām's poetical works, and entitled it *Zikra Habib* (*Recollections of a Beloved*)<sup>1</sup> another, of the poems of al-Buḥturī, which he name '*Abṭḥ al-Walid* (*Sport for Children*);<sup>2</sup> and a third of al-Mutanabbī's, to which he gave the title of *Mu'jiz Aḥmad* (*Miracle of \*Muḥammad*).<sup>3</sup> In these three works he explained the obscure words and allusions found in their poems, and indicated the ideas which they had borrowed from others, or later poets from them; he also declared himself their champion, in criticizing, however, some passages of their writings, and occasionally, pointing out their faults. He went to Bagdad in the year 398 (A. D. 1007-8) and a second time in 399, when he remained there a year and seven months; after which, he returned to Ma'arra and confining himself to his house, began to compose his works. Numbers then frequented his lessons; pupils came to him from every region; and learned men, vizīrs, and persons of rank became his correspondents. He called himself the *doubly imprisoned captive*<sup>4</sup> in allusion to his voluntary confinement, and the loss of his sight. During forty-five years he abstained from flesh through a religious motive, as he followed the opinion of those ancient philosophers who refused to eat flesh, so as to avoid causing the death of any animal; for in killing it, pain is inflicted; and they held it as a positive principle, that no hurt should be

---

1 Or *Recollections of Habib*; Abū Tammām's names was *Habib*.

2 Or *Amusement afforded by Walid*; the poet al-Buḥturī was so called.

3 Or *Miraculous Excellence of Aḥmad*, which was the real name of al-Mutanabbī.

4 Literally: *The pledge of the two prisons*, M. de Sacy has completely misunderstood this expression.—See *Chrestomathie*, t. III, p. 90.

\*Should be rendered: miracles of Aḥmad.—Ed.

done to any living creature.<sup>1</sup> At the age of eleven years he made verses, and we select following from his *Luzūm*:

"Seek not to attain superior rank by thy own efforts unless Fortune favour the elegant writer, his pen is as inefficient as a spindle. Two *Simāks*<sup>2</sup> have their dwelling in the sky; and though one bears a lance, the other is unarmed."

Abu 'l-'Āla died on Friday, 3 of the First Rabi,\* some say the 13, A. H. 449 (May, A. D. 1057), and I have been told that, in his will, he ordered the following verse to be written on his tomb:

"I owe this to the fault of my father; none owe the like to mine."

This is also in accordance with the belief of those ancient philosophers who taught that the engendering of a child and the bringing of it into the world is a wrong done to it, for it is then exposed to accidents and injuries. His illness lasted three days, and on the fourth he died, having none near him but his nephews: on the third day, he told them to write down what he was going to say, and they took paper and pens for that

1 The author of a marginal note in the MS. of Ibn Khallikān, No. 93, fonds St. Germain, says: It might be concluded from the words of Ibn Khallikān, that Abu 'l-'Āla continued in these heterodox opinion till his death; but, says he, more than one historian state that he returned to the principles of Islamism.—In the essay on the life and poetry of al-Mutanabbī (quoted page 110, note), it is stated that Abu 'l-'Āla composed a *Qur'ān* which, as he imagined, was to surpass Muḥammad's influence as it did in style. A short extract of it is then given.

2 The star Acturus is called by the Arabs the *Simāk bearing a lance* (*al-Simāk al-R mih*); and *spica Virginis* bears the name of *al-Simāk al-A'azal* (*the unarmed Simāk*). The signification of the word *Simāk* is doubtful; the Arabic commentator on Ulug Bek says that these stars were so called on account of their altitude (the Arabic verb *Samaka* means to rise, to be exalted). M. Ideler, in his *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, page 51 et seq; has treated this question without obtaining, however, a satisfactory solution.

\*2nd seems more probable which is given as an alternative date in the autograph but be it 2nd or 3rd it corresponds to Friday, 9 May.—Ed.

†Cousins is appropriate word.—Ed.



purpose, but he dictated to them observations which were quite incorrect; on which the qāḍī Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Tannūkhī said: "May God lighten your grief! the *shaykh* is already dead!" The next day, Abu 'l-'Āla expired, and his disciple Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Hammām deplored his death in these lines:

"Though, from religious feelings, you never caused tears\* to flow, you now oblige our eyes to shed tears of blood! You have sent abroad a (*glorious*) reputation (*spreading around*) like (*the odour of*) musk, and perfuming the listener and the mouth (*of him who speaks your praises*).<sup>1</sup> When pilgrims wish to pass the night conversing on your merit, I see the wearer of the *iḥram* pay (*before-hand*) a fine to expiate (*the sin of being perfumed*)."<sup>2</sup>

In the first of these verses the poet makes allusion to Abu 'l-'Āla's religious belief, which forbade the slaying of animals; of this we have already spoken. His tomb is in the court of a house belonging to his family; this court is entered by a little old door; the whole is in extremely bad order from neglect and want of care, for the family do not pay the least attention to it.—*Tanukhi* means *belonging to Tanu'ī*, which name was given to a number of tribes that had assembled together, in former

---

1 In interpreting this difficult verse, I have followed *al-Yafi*, who explains it in his *Annals* (Arabic MS. No. 644, year 449). This writer quotes the *Qur'ān*, surat 37, verse 147 to prove that *أل* takes sometimes the signification of *وأل*. *Al-Yafi* attributes to Abu 'l-'Āla some eloquent epistles.

2 The *iḥram*, or dress worn by pilgrims on entering the sacred territory of Mekkah, consists in two pieces of clean, white, woollen cloth, without seams. When wearing the *iḥram* pilgrims are not allowed to make use of perfumes.—See D'Ohssons *Tableau de 'l-Empire Othoman*, tom. III, pp. 64, 68.

\*"Blood" according to the autograph and printed text.—*Ed.*

times, in the province of Bahrain, where they fixed their dwelling, after binding themselves by oath to afford each other mutual assistance. The word *\*tanukh* means *to dwell*. This was one of the three Arabian tribes which professed Christianity; the two others were Bahra and Taghlib. — *Al-Ma'arrat* means *belonging to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*, a village of Syria near Ḥamāh and Shayzar; it was called after al-Nu'mān, son of Bashīr al-Anṣārī,<sup>1</sup> who took up his dwelling there. Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān was taken by the Franks from the Muslims in the month of Muḥarram, 492 (December, A. D. 1098), and continued in their possession till the year 529 (A. D. 1134-5), when it was taken by 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī Ibn Āq Sunqur, who generously restored to the (*Muslim*) inhabitants the property (*which the Franks had taken from them*).

#### 47. ABŪ 'ĀMIR IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK AL-ASHJA'Ī AL-ANDALŪSĪ

Abu 'Āmir Aḥmad Ibn Abī Marwān 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān Ibn Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn<sup>2</sup> al-Ā'la Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsa Ibn Shuhayd al-Ashja'ī, native of Cordova in Spain, was descended from al-Waddāḥ Ibn Razāḥ, who was a partisan of al-Daḥḥāk Ibn Qays

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Mishkāt al-Maṣābih*, vol. I, page 228, note. To what is there said of al-Nu'mān Ibn Bashīr may be added that his death took place A. H. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Dhu 'l-Wizarat (possessing the double vizirat); a title given to those ministers who were at the same time invested, with civil and military authority: see Mr. Weyyer's work, entitled "*Specimen criticum exhibens locos Ibnī Khacanis de Ibn Zeidouno*" (page 60, note).

\*Transliteration differs, see *Tanukh* overleaf.—Ed.

al-Fihri at the battle of Marj Rāhiḡ<sup>1</sup> Ibn Bassām mentions al-Ashja'ī in the *Kitāb al-Dha'irā*, and praises him in the highest terms ; he gives also copious extracts from his epistles and poetical writings, with an account of the principal events of his life. He was one of most learned in Spain, versed in a variety of sciences, and eminent in all the branches of literature ; a written correspondence in a playful style was carried on between him and Ibn Ḥazm the Zahirite, and a number of works of singular merit and originality were composed by him, amongst which the following may be specified : *Kashf al-Dakk wa 'Iyḍāh al-Shakk* ; *al-Tewābi' wa'l-Zawābi'* ; *Hānūt 'Aṭṭār*.<sup>2</sup> To his talents he joined a most noble character, and many anecdotes are related of his generosity. As a specimen of his poetry we give the following beautiful passage from one of his *qasidas* :

“The vultures know that his warriors are lions when they meet with a warrior's prey ! pinched with hunger, they hover above his head ; but the points of his lances send them to their nests, glutted with food. ”

Though this is a beaten thought, and one in which he was anticipated by a number of poets both before and after the establishment of Islamism, yet he has expressed it most happily and turned it with much elegance. The following verses are specimen of his light and graceful style :

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Marj Rāhiḡ took place in the 64th year of Hijra between the partisans of the K̲h̲alīf Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam and 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr.

Al-Daqqāq fought for Ibn al-Zubayr, and was slain with a great number of his people. In the *Ḥamasa* are some fragments of poetry relating to the event. Al-Waddāh was made prisoner in that battle by the K̲h̲alīf Marwān, who spared his life. It was from him that the family of the Banu Waḍḍāh in Murcia were descended. (*Al-Rushḡti* : quoted by the author of the *Bugh̲hiyat al-Multamis*.)

<sup>2</sup> According to Ḥājji K̲h̲alīfah, the first of these three works is a treatise on legerdemain : the title of the second is rendered *Genii et Daemones* by Mr. Flügel (see *Lex Biblog.*, No. 3711) and that of the third signifies the *Perfumers or Druggists' Shop* ; according to the author of the *Bugh̲hiyat*, this work treats of grammar.

"(*My mistress*), oppressed with inebriation, yielded to sleep, and the eyes of the (*jealous*) keepers who guarded her at night were closed in slumber. Though (*her dwelling*) was remote, I went towards it and drew near gently, as one in quest of an object which he well knows where to find. I glided towards her as slumber glides towards (*weary eyes*) and I went up to her chamber, as a sigh mounts up (*from the bosom*): And I passed my night with her in delight, till the mouth of morning smiled: And I embraced the fairness of her neck and sipped kisses from her dark red lips."

How prettily has the same idea been expressed in the following verses composed by Abu 'l-Manṣar Ṣarrdarr:

\*[ "How often, during the shades of night, have we arrived, without previous notice, at (*the encampment of an Arab*) tribe; but found not, by their fire, a person who could direct us to our way.<sup>1</sup> And yet their scouts were not remiss: but we fell in among (*gently*) as falls the dew."

A number of poets have employed the foregoing thought, but it takes its sources in this verse by Imra'ut 'l-Qays<sup>2</sup>:

"And I mounted up (*gently*) towards her, after her family had fallen asleep; so mount bubbles in water, one after another."

Most of Abū 'Āmir's poetry is of surpassing beauty: he

---

<sup>1</sup> In the *Qur'ān*, surat 27, verse 7, is found the following passage: "Remember when Moses said to his family: I see fire from which I will bring you tidings (*of your way*)."

The Arab tribes used to light fires by night on high places, so that travellers in the desert might be directed towards their hospitable dwellings, and receive information to guide them on their way.

<sup>2</sup> See my edition of *Le Diwān d'Amru 'l-Kais*, page 34.

\*[ ] From "How often" to "one after another" is not in the autograph.—Ed.

was born A. H. 382 (A. D. 992), and died at Cordova, on Friday morning, 30 of the First Jumādā, 426 (April\* A. D. 1035): on the next day he was interred in the cemetery of Umm Salma.<sup>1</sup> Mention is made of his father 'Abd al-Malik in the *Kitāb al-Silat* (by Ibn Bashkuwal). *Al-Ashji'i* means *belonging to Ashja* which is great tribe descended from Ashja, son of Raith, son of Ghatafan.

## 48. IBN FĀRIS AL-RĀZĪ THE PHILOLOGER

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Fāris Ibn Zakariā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb al-Rāzī was a deeply learned man in various sciences and in philology especially, having acquired a most exact knowledge of that subject ; his work the *Murjmiḥ fi 'l-Lughat*, or Collection of Philological Observations, contains, notwithstanding its concision, a great mass of information.<sup>2</sup> He composed also the *Hilyat al-Fuḡala* (*Ornament of Doctors*); some beautiful epistles and a treatise on philological questions, which work juriconsults studied with great attention, and from which al-Ḥarīrī took the idea of his *Maqāma*, entitled *al-Ṭaybiya*,<sup>3</sup> in which he proposes legal questions to the number of one hundred. Ibn Fāris dwelt at Hamadān and had for pupil Badī al-Zamān al-Hamadāni, the author of the *Maqāmas* (and whose life shall be given). He composed some good poetry, of which we may give the following passages :

1 Abu 'Āmir, in his latter days, was the standard bearer of poetry and eloquence in his country ; he left none like him, and died childless. He was a man of generous character, and a gay disposition ; he had considerable knowledge in medicine. (*Buḥārī at al-Mulāml.*)

2 The *style* of the *Mujmil* is concise, no doubt; but the work itself, which is an Arabic lexicon, forms two respectable folio volumes. A copy of it is in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, fonds. St. Germain, Nos. 194, 195.

3 *Tabiya* is derived from *Tayba*, one of the names given to the city of Medinah. The thirty-second *Maqāma* was so called because towards the beginning of it, mention is made to *Tayba*. In M. de Sacy's edition, this *Maqāma* is entitled *al-Harbiya*.

\*Ibn-Khalkān gives Friday, the last day of the month, to which de Slane makes 30. In fact it was 29 corresponding to 11 April.—*Ed.*



"A (*nymph*) graceful and slender passed near us, she was a Turk by nature and by name.<sup>1</sup> She looked with a tender, a tempting glance (*a glance*) as languishing as a grammarian's proofs are slight."<sup>2</sup>

By the same :

"Hearken to the words of a true adviser : a man of good counsel and a friend : Take care ; beware that you pass a single night with your confidence placed in those whose word alone is an authority."<sup>3</sup>

By the same :

"When you have to send a person on business which has engaged your mind, send an agent who requires no prompting, and let that agent be—money."

By the same :

"Though the burnig fire (*of indigence*) parches my entrails, I will still say : May a shower (*of abundance*) fall upon Hamadān ! Why should I not offer a sincere prayer for the city where

<sup>1</sup> The Turkoman tribes have always had the reputation 'of being great robbers; this lady was of that race, and sustained the character of her nation by stealing hearts.

<sup>2</sup> Literally (*Weaker than the proof a grammarian*): It has been already observed, No. 11, note on *Arabian taste for ladies' eyes*, that in Arabic *languishing* and *weakly* are expressed by the same word. (*The grammarian's proofs*) are those passages, cited by him in confirmation of some general rule.—It would seem that Ibn Fāris, the *philologist*, had not a very profound respect for grammarians.

<sup>3</sup> This is manifestly directed against those relators of religious and historical traditions, who for their well-known veracity, were dispensed, by public opinion, from naming the persons through whom their formation came. The Arabic name is *Thiqat*, which means *confidence*, and is used to signify a man worthy of confidence. The verse literally translated would run thus: *Beware that you pass a night with confidence in confidences*; but this gives quite a different idea from that intended to be expressed by the author.

I had the advantage of forgetting all that I learned.<sup>1</sup> I have forgotten what I best knew except (*the art of getting into debt*) for I am now in debt and have not a *dirhem* in my house."

Ibn Fāris has written a great deal of good poetry ; he died at Ray in the year 390 (A. D. 1000), and was buried opposite to the chapel in which are deposed the remains of the qāḍī 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī ; some say however that he died in the month of Šafar, A. H. 375 (June, A. D. 985), at Muḥammadiya, but the first is the more received opinion. *Rāzī* means *belonging to Ray*, a well-known city in the province of Daylam : the derivative takes *z*, in the same manner as Marwāzā derived from Marw.—<sup>2</sup>Ibn Fāris is also author of these verses :

"They asked me how I was ; I answered : 'Well ; some things succeed and some fail : when my heart is filled with cares, I say : One day, perhaps, they may be dispelled. A cat is my companion ; books, the friends of my heart ; and a lamp, my beloved consort'."

#### 49. ABŪ ṬAYYIB AL-MUTANABBĪ

Abū Ṭayyib Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd al-Šamad al-Ju'fī al-Kindī, surnamed al-Mutanabbī, was a native of Kafā ; a different genealogy of this celebrated poet has been given as follows : Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Murra Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār ; but God alone knows which is exact. Al-Mutanabbī came of a family which inhabited Kafāh but he went to Syria in his youth, and travelling over its provinces, studied and attained proficiency in various branches of literature.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The people of Hamadān were proverbial for their ignorance, and Ibn Fāris pretends that their company was contagious; he does not regret, however, the loss of his learning, which he probably prized as little as the science of the grammarians and the veracity of the *Thiqat*. (See the two preceding notes.)

<sup>2</sup> See No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> As it has already been observed, students, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, went to travel for the purpose of taking lessons from professors in different countries.



"A (*nymph*) graceful and slender passed near us, she was a Turk by nature and by name.<sup>1</sup> She looked with a tender, a tempting glance (*a glance*) as languishing as a grammarian's proofs are slight."<sup>2</sup>

By the same :

"Hearken to the words of a true adviser : a man of good counsel and a friend : Take care ; beware that you pass a single night with your confidence placed in those whose word alone is an authority."<sup>3</sup>

By the same :

"When you have to send a person on business which has engaged your mind, send an agent who requires no prompting, and let that agent be—money."

By the same :

"Though the burnig fire (*of indigence*) parches my entrails, I will still say : May a shower (*of abundance*) fall upon Hamadān ! Why should I not offer a sincere prayer for the city where

<sup>1</sup> The Turkoman tribes have always had the reputation of being great robbers; this lady was of that race, and sustained the character of her nation by stealing hearts.

<sup>2</sup> Literally (*Weaker than the proof a grammarian*): It has been already observed, No. 11, note on *Arabian taste for ladies' eyes*, that in Arabic *languishing* and *weakly* are expressed by the same word. (*The grammarian's proofs*) are those passages, cited by him in confirmation of some general rule.—It would seem that Ibn Fāris, the *philologist*, had not a very profound respect for grammarians.

<sup>3</sup> This is manifestly directed against those relators of religious and historical traditions, who for their well-known veracity, were dispensed, by public opinion, from naming the persons through whom their formation came. The Arabic name is *Thiqat*, which means *confidence*, and is used to signify a man worthy of confidence. The verse literally translated would run thus: *Beware that you pass a night with confidence in confidences*; but this gives quite a different idea from that intended to be expressed by the author.

I had the advantage of forgetting all that I learned.<sup>1</sup> I have forgotten what I best knew except (*the art of getting into debt*) for I am now in debt and have not a *dirhem* in my house."

Ibn Fāris has written a great deal of good poetry ; he died at Ray in the year 390 (A. D. 1000), and was buried opposite to the chapel in which are deposed the remains of the qāḍī 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī ; some say however that he died in the month of Šafar, A. H. 375 (June, A. D. 985), at Muḥammadiya, but the first is the more received opinion. *Rāzī* means *belonging to Ray*, a well-known city in the province of Daylam : the derivative takes *z*, in the same manner as *Marwazā* derived from *Marw*.—<sup>2</sup>Ibn Fāris is also author of these verses :

"They asked me how I was ; I answered : 'Well ; some things succeed and some fail : when my heart is filled with cares, I say : One day, perhaps, they may be dispelled. A cat is my companion ; books, the friends of my heart ; and a lamp, my beloved consort'."

#### 49. ABŪ ṬAYYIB AL-MUTANABBĪ

Abū Ṭayyib Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd al-Šamad al-Ju'fī al-Kindī, surnamed al-Mutanabbī, was a native of Kafā ; a different genealogy of this celebrated poet has been given as follows : Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Murra Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār ; but God alone knows which is exact. Al-Mutanabbī came of a family which inhabited Kafāh but he went to Syria in his youth, and travelling over its provinces, studied and attained proficiency in various branches of literature.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The people of Hamadān were proverbial for their ignorance, and Ibn Fāris pretends that their company was contagious; he does not regret, however, the loss of his learning, which he probably prized as little as the science of the grammarians and the veracity of the *Thiqat*. (See the two preceding notes.)

<sup>2</sup> See No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> As it has already been observed, students, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, went to travel for the purpose of taking lessons from professors in different countries.



He had acquired an extensive knowledge of pure Arabic, drawn from the best sources and which he has handed down (*in his poetical compositions*)<sup>1</sup>; and he possessed so great information on the subject of its idiomatic and obsolete expressions<sup>2</sup> that, when a question was proposed to him, he never failed proving his opinion by citing analogous examples in prose and verse composed by the Arabs of the desert.<sup>3</sup> It is related that the learned Abū 'Alī al-Farīsī, author of the *Īyāh* and the *Takmilah*, once asked him how many plural nouns there were of the form *fi la*, and received immediately for answer *Ḥiyla* and *Ziraba*; and Abū 'Alī says that he passed three nights in consulting philological works to find a third plural noun of a similar form, but without success. Such a remark, coming from Abū 'Alī, is quite sufficient to establish al-Mutanabbī's proficiency (*in philology*). *Ḥizla* is the plural of *Ḥazal* (a cock-partridge), and *Zirba* is the plural of *Zaribān*, a word pronounced with the same vowels as *qaṣīrān*, and which serves to designate a small quadruped (emitting a fetid smell). As to his poetry, it is the height of perfection, and it is needless to give specimens here, since it is so well known; I shall merely notice two verses which the *shaykh* Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī has attributed to him, and are not to be found in his works; the *shaykh* gives them on the best traditional authority

1 I have here paraphrased the original passage, so as to give a clearer idea of its import.

2 In the *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, translated from the Arabic of al-Maqrizi by M. Quatremere, that learned oriental scholar renders the word خوشی by *bas, rustique* (see Preface, page 9, note); this, however, does not appear correct; it would have been no recommendation of al-Mutanabbī's instruction, to say that he had great information in the *low* or *vulgar* expressions of the Arabic language. The word خوشی signifies *obsolete, gone into disuse*, and is used in opposition to مستعمل, in general use; see an example in the Arabic text of Ibn Khallikān, page 137, line 1.

3 The inhabitants of the desert spoke the purest Arabic.

4 Some information on the subject of al-Mutanabbī's poetry will be found in M. de Sacy's *Chrestomatie*, tom. III, page 27 of the second edition.

remounting to the author, so I insert them here on account of their rarity:

"Was it because you saw me (*look up to you*) with the eye of one who needs your favour, that you treated me with contempt and hurled me down the precipice? But 'tis I who am to blame, not you; for I had fixed my hopes upon another than the Creator."

When al-Mutanabbī was in Egypt, he fell sick and was visited, during his illness, by a friend; who after his recovery, abstained from going to see him; our poet, in consequence, wrote him this note: "You were a kind companion to me (may God be kind to thee!) when I was unwell, and you have abandoned me on my convalescence; it now depends upon you (with God's assistance), to prevent me from loving sickness, and preserve my health from suffering."<sup>1</sup>—The critics of al-Mutanabbī's poetry may be divided into different classes: some consider him superior to Abū Tammām and his successors: whilst others pronounce Abū Tammām superior to him; and the poet al-Nāmi (whose life comes immediately after) has said: "One single corner of poetry remained unoccupied, but al-Mutanabbī took it up; and I often wished that I had anticipated him in two ideas which he has versified, and which never occurred to any poet before him; the one is contained in these verses:

"Misfortune shot at me with the arrows of calamity, till my heart was covered with them, so that the darts which struck it broke against those which were fixed in it already!"

The other is in the following:

"(He marched) at the head of an army raising a cloud of dust which obscured the sight; and (it seemed) as if the soldiers saw with their ears."<sup>2</sup>

1 In the original, this note has a terseness and concision of which the translation can offer no idea.

2 That is: The dust prevented them from seeing their way, and they were directed only by the commands of their chief; so their ear guided them on their march not their eye.



He had acquired an extensive knowledge of pure Arabic, drawn from the best sources and which he has handed down (*in his poetical compositions*)<sup>1</sup>; and he possessed so great information on the subject of its idiomatic and obsolete expressions<sup>2</sup> that, when a question was proposed to him, he never failed proving his opinion by citing analogous examples in prose and verse composed by the Arabs of the desert.<sup>3</sup> It is related that the learned Abū 'Alī al-Farīsī, author of the *Īyāṭ* and the *Takmilah*, once asked him how many plural nouns there were of the form *fi la*, and received immediately for answer *Ḥiyla* and *Ziraba*; and Abū 'Alī says that he passed three nights in consulting philological works to find a third plural noun of a similar form, but without success. Such a remark, coming from Abū 'Alī, is quite sufficient to establish al-Mutanabbī's proficiency (*in philology*). *Ḥizla* is the plural of *Ḥazal* (a cock-partridge), and *Zirba* is the plural of *Zaribān*, a word pronounced with the same vowels as *qaṣīrān*, and which serves to designate a small quadruped (emitting a fetid smell). As to his poetry, it is the height of perfection, and it is needless to give specimens here, since it is so well known; I shall merely notice two verses which the *shaykh* Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī has attributed to him, and are not to be found in his works; the *shaykh* gives them on the best traditional authority

<sup>1</sup> I have here paraphrased the original passage, so as to give a clearer idea of its import.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, translated from the Arabic of al-Maqrizī by M. Quatremère, that learned oriental scholar renders the word خوشی by *bas, rustique* (see Preface, page 9, note); this, however, does not appear correct; it would have been no recommendation of al-Mutanabbī's instruction, to say that he had great information in the *low* or *vulgar* expressions of the Arabic language. The word خوشی signifies *obsolete, gone into disuse*, and is used in opposition to مستعمل, *in general use*; see an example in the Arabic text of Ibn Khallikān, page 137, line 1.

<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of the desert spoke the purest Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> Some information on the subject of al-Mutanabbī's poetry will be found in M. de Sacy's *Chrestomatie*, tom. III, page 27 of the second edition.

remounting to the author, so I insert them here on account of their rarity:

"Was it because you saw me (*look up to you*) with the eye of one who needs your favour, that you treated me with contempt and hurled me down the precipice? But 'tis I who am to blame, not you; for I had fixed my hopes upon another than the Creator."

When al-Mutanabbī was in Egypt, he fell sick and was visited, during his illness, by a friend; who after his recovery, abstained from going to see him; our poet, in consequence, wrote him this note: "You were a kind companion to me (may God be kind to thee!) when I was unwell, and you have abandoned me on my convalescence; it now depends upon you (with God's assistance), to prevent me from loving sickness, and preserve my health from suffering."<sup>1</sup>—The critics of al-Mutanabbī's poetry may be divided into different classes: some consider him superior to Abū Tammām and his successors: whilst others pronounce Abū Tammām superior to him; and the poet al-Nāmi (whose life comes immediately after) has said: "One single corner of poetry remained unoccupied, but al-Mutanabbī took it up; and I often wished that I had anticipated him in two ideas which he has versified, and which never occurred to any poet before him; the one is contained in these verses:

"Misfortune shot at me with the arrows of calamity, till my heart was covered with them, so that the darts which struck it broke against those which were fixed in it already!"

The other is in the following:

"(He marched) at the head of an army raising a cloud of dust which obscured the sight; and (it seemed) as if the soldiers saw with their ears."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the original, this note has a terseness and concision of which the translation can offer no idea.

<sup>2</sup> That is: The dust prevented them from seeing their way, and they were directed only by the commands of their chief; so their ear guided them on their march not their eye.



The learned have taken much pains in explaining and commenting the poetical works of al-Mutanabbī, and I have been informed by one of the masters under whom I studied, that he met with upwards of forty commentaries, both great and small, on these poems: a mark of popularity such as never was obtained by the works of any other poet. He was without doubt, a highly-gifted man, favoured with the happy talent of expressing perfectly his ideas in verse. The surname of al-Mutanabbī (*the pretended prophet*) was given him because he had set up for a prophet in the flat country near Samāwa,<sup>1</sup> where he was followed by a great multitude of the Bann Kalb and other tribes; but Lulu, governor of Hims (*Emessa*) and lieutenant to the Ikhshīd family, having marched against him, took him prisoner and dispersed his partisans; he kept al-Mutanabbī in confinement for a long period and having at length brought him back to the Muslim faith, he set him at liberty: other accounts have been given (*of the origin of this surname*) but this is the most correct.\* Al-Mutanabbī then became follower of the emir Sayf Al-Dawlat Ibn Hamdan; this was in the year 337 (A. D. 948-9); he afterwards left him and entered Egypt in 346 (A. D. 957), where he celebrated the praises of Kāfur al-Ikhshībī and Anājir Ibn al-Ikhshīd<sup>2</sup> and was permitted to stand in the presence of the (*minister*) Kāfur, with boots on his feet and the loins girded with a sword; when he rode out he was accompanied with two ushers, mamluks of the prince wearing swords and belts. Being afterwards dissatisfied with Kāfur, he composed a satire against him and left him on the eve of the Feast of Sacrifice (9, Dhu 'l-Hijja), A. H. 350 (†January, A. D. 962). On this, Kāfur dispatched camel-riders to different quarters in pursuit of him, but without success. That minister had promised him a government, but on seeing the liberties he took in his poems and his haughty spirit, he became apprehensive of him (*and refused to keep his*

1 Samāwa is situated on the west bank of the Euphrates, in about the latitude 31°20'.

2 Some details respecting the life of Anājir will be found in the life of Kāfur.

\*M. de Slane has omitted to translate: "It is said that he (al-Mutanabbī) said 'I am the first man to divine by poetry'."—*Ed.*

†19.—*Ed.*

word). On being reproached with his conduct towards the poet, he said: "My (*good*) people! would he who claimed the gift of prophecy after Muḥammad's (*having fulfilled his mission*), not be capable of claiming (*a share in*) the empire with Kāfir? This reflection should suffice you."—Ibn Jinnī, the grammarian, relates that he studied the poems of Mutanabbī under the author himself, and that he once read to him the *qaṣīdah* in praise of Kāfir, which begins thus:

"I combat my love for you, but love will vanquish and I wonder at your aversion but your affection would be more worthy of wonder."

On coming to these lines:

"O! that I knew if I shall ever pronounce a poem in which I shall have no complaint to make and no reproach. I suffer from (*afflictions*), the least of which had driven poetry away; but know, daughter of a (*noble*) race! that my heart preserves its vigour!"

Ibn Jinnī said to him: "It is painful for me to think that such a poem could have been made in praise of any other than Sayf al-Dawlat;" to which al-Mutanabbī answered: "I cautioned him however and warned him (*against neglecting me*), but it would not avail; did I not say: 'Brother of Generosity! bestow what you possess; but bestow not on others that which I pronounce.'"<sup>1</sup> "Yet he gave me to Kāfir through his bad management and defective judgment."—Sayf al-Dawlat held an assembly every night to which the men of learning came, and where they conversed together in his presence: (*in one of these meetings*) a discussion took place between al-Mutanabbī and Ibn Khālawayh, the grammarian, who (*at last*) sprung upon al-Mutanabbī and, striking him on the face with a key he had about him, inflicted a wound, from which the blood flowed on al-Mutanabbī's garments: the poet, moved with

<sup>1</sup> That is: Let not other prince obtain from me those praises which are yours by right.—In the Arabic text انت has been put by mistake for لى which is the reading of the best MSS., and confirmed by all the copies in the Diwān of al-Mutanabbī which have been consulted.

anger, departed for Egypt, where he composed poems in praise of Kāfur: he then travelled to Persia and composed panegyrics on 'Adad al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh al-Daylami, by whom he was generously rewarded<sup>1</sup>; on leaving him, he went to Baghdād, and thence to Kūfah, where he arrived on the 8th Shā'ban (A. H. 354, August,\* A. D. 965); he was then attacked by a chief of the tribe of Asad, named Fātik Ibn Abi 'l-Jahl at the head of a troop of partisans: al-Mutanabbī also had with him a number of companions, so a combat took place, in which he was killed along with his son al-Muḥassad and his slave Muflih; this occurred near al-Nu'māniya, at a place called al-Ṣāfiya, or the Mountains of al-Ṣāfiya, in the western part of the Sawad (or province) of Baghdād, at two miles distance from Dayr al-'Āqūl.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ushḥīq mentions in that chapter of his *Umda*, which treats of the good and harm done by poetry, that Abū Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī, on seeing himself vanquished, was taking to flight, when his slave addressed him in these terms: "Let it never be said that you fled from combat; you, who are the author of this verse:

‘The horse and the night, and the desert know me (well); the sword also, and the lance, and paper and the pen !’”

Upon this, al-Mutanabbī turned back and fought till he was slain; so it was this verse which caused his death. This event happened in the month of Ramaḍān, 354 (September, A. D. 965): some say, on Wednesday 24 or 27 or 28 of the month; others on Monday 22 or the 25†. He was born at Kūfah in the year 303 (A. D. 915-6), in

---

1 To form an idea of the great sums this poet must have gained, we need only state that 'Adad al-Dawlat is said to have given him thirty thousand dinars, and the vizir Ibn al-'Umayd a like sum. (Yāfi, MS. No. 637, fol. 266 verso). This however appears to be an exaggeration.

2 Dayr al-'Āqūl was situated on the Tigris, about 30 miles below Baghdād.

\*9.—Ed.

†According to modern calculation Monday fell on 26 of Rāmaḍān and if the moon was sighted on 30 Shā'abān then it could be 25 corresponding to 25 September. Likewise other dates may be reckoned but it should be borne in mind that Wednesday fell on 27 or 28 corresponding to 27 September.—Ed.

the quarter called Kinda; for which reason only he was surnamed (*al-Kindi*), as he did not belong to the tribe of Kinda, but to that which sprung from *Jufi* Ibn Sa'ad al-'Ashīra Ibn Madhhij Mālik Ibn 'Udad Ibn Zayd Ibn Yashjub\* Ibn 'Aribī Ibn Zayd Ibn Kahlān.<sup>1</sup> The Sa'ad mentioned in the foregoing genealogy, was named *Sa'ad al-'Ashira* (*happiness of relations*), because he rode abroad accompanied with, it is said, three hundred sons and grandsons; and when asked who they were, answered: "My relations" (*Ashirati*); as he dreaded the influence of the evil eye (*had he said: They are my children*).<sup>2</sup>—Some persons say that al-Mutanabbī's father was a water-carrier at Kafah, and that he afterwards emigrated to Syria with his son, who was brought up there: allusion is made to this circumstance in the following verse, by a poet who lampooned al-Mutanabbī:

"What merit (*faql*) is there in a poet who from morn to night seeks for reward (*faql*)? At one time he lived by selling water in Kafah; at another, by selling his prostituted talent."<sup>3</sup>

[In the life of Abū Tammām Ḥabīb, the celebrated poet, will be found some verses (*directed against him*), by Ibn al-Mu'addal, which contain a similar thought.] The poet Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Muẓaffar Ibn 'Alī at-Ṭabasī<sup>4</sup> composed the following elegy on the death of al-Mutanabbī:

1 This celebrated genealogy is certainly corrupt as here given. Ibn Khaldūn, in his *History of the Ancient Arabs*, now publishing by Dr. Arri, has treated the subject with his usual learning and judgment.

2 To have had so many male descendants must have excited jealousy, and a glance of a jealous eye might have had a fatal effect upon them. The superstition of the eastern nations on that subject is well known since the publication of Mr. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

3 Literally: *By selling the water of the face*. The ingenuous blush of a modest and honourable man is called by the Arabs *the water of the face*, ماء الوجه or ماء المحيا, the poet who has lost all sense of shame, and sells his praises to the most unworthy, has exchanged his honourable character, his modest dignity, for money.

4 This poet lived to be a contemporary of at-Ṭha'ālībī, who in his *atimah* gives some verses of Abu 'l-Nayf al-Harṭhīmī on his authority.

\*M. de Slane reads it *Yashjub*.—Ed.

M. de Slane reads it *Ghāsib*.—Ed.

"Cursed be that fortune which has deprived us unawares of so eloquent a tongue.<sup>1</sup> Never will a second al-Mutanabbī be seen; what second can be found to match that faultless pearl.<sup>2</sup> His lofty mind was to him an army, and placed him in the pride of power. In his poetry he was a prophet, and the ideas he has expressed show forth his miraculous powers."

*Ṭabasi* means *native of Ṭabas*, which is a city in the desert lying between Naysāpur, Ispahān and Kermān.—It is related that al-Mutamīd Ibn 'Abbād al-Lakhmī, prince of Cordova and Seville, recited one day the following verse from a celebrated (*qaṣīdah*) of al-Mutanabbī's :

"Our camels, broken with fatigue, receive fresh strength when their eyes obtain a sight of thee."

In his admiration, the prince continued repeating this verse, when Ibn Wahbān,<sup>3</sup> who was one of the company improvised the two following:

'If the son of al-Husayn was skilled in poetry, you also are skilled in making generous gifts! 'tis gifts which open the lips (*of grateful poets*). Proud of his poetic talent, al-Mutanabbī declared himself a prophet; had he known that you would recite his poems, he had thought himself a god.'

Al-Ifṭīlī relates that al-Mutanabbī, being in the hippodrome (*Maydan*) with Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān, recited to the prince his (*qaṣīdah*) which begins thus: *Fortune grants to each man that to which he has been accustomed*. When Sayf al-Dawlat returned to his palace, he desired the poet to repeat the poem, which he did without rising from his seat; one of the persons present, wishing to beprive al-Mutanabbī, by stratagem (*of the honour conferred on*

1 Literally : *Haud amplius ad pastum ducat Deus agmen temporis quod nobis incidit, lingue tali (silentium imponens)*.

2 Literally : The undrilled pearl of the age.

3 Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Jalīl Ibn Wahbān, a celebrated poet and man of learning was born at Murcia in Spain. In the year 480 (A. D. 1087) he was killed by a troop of Christians as he was travelling from Lorca لورقه to his native place (*Baṣṣāyat al-Mulāmanis*).

him in being allowed to remain seated) addressed him and said: "Abu 'l-Ṭayyib! if you repeat your poem standing, I will be able to hear it, for most of those present do not." To this Abu 'l-Ṭayyib replied: "Have you not heard the beginning of it: *Fortune grants to each man that to which he has been accustomed?*" which was an excellent repartee.—To sum up his character, we may only say that he was a man of high soul and lofty thought; and that his history is long and his adventures numerous; for which reason we have preferred being concise on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

I Al-Ḥusayn, the father of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbi was generally known by the name of *'Ayd in al-Saqq*, or *'Ayd n*, the water-carrier, for which reason this poet is sometimes called *Ibn 'Aydān* or *Ibn al-Saqq*. When yet a school-boy, al-Mutanabbi composed verses, which are still extant and these essays of his youth announce already that superior talent which shines forth so brightly in the productions of his maturer age. The early part of his life was spent in Syria and among the Bedwin tribes which inhabited the desert to the west of the Euphrates. One of his contemporaries, Abu 'l-Hasan Muḥammad Ibn Ya'ya al-'Alawī, relates that al-Mutanabbi, when a boy, lived in his neighbourhood at Kufah; that he was fond of learning and literature, and that after living for some years with the Arabs of the desert, he came back a complete Bedwin. He picked up the greater part of his learning at 'booksellers' shops, his memory being so tenacious, that he had only to read a book once, in order to learn it by heart. His intercourse with the nomadic Arabs had a powerful influence on the character; from them he acquired that intrepidity which pervaded his future conduct, and that lofty spirit which breathes in his poem; he imbibed also, at the same source, that knowledge of the pure Arabic tongue which excited the admiration of his countrymen and gained the greatest publicity for his verses. It was some time after the three hundred and twentieth year of the Hijrah, that Abu 'l-Ṭayyib asserted his apostolic mission; and persuaded some of the inhabitants of al-Lātaqiyah that he was a prophet sent by God. "I come," said he, "to this generation which erreth and leadeth into error; I come to fill the word with justice as it is now filled with wickedness; I shall reward those who obey God's commands, and strike off the heads of the disbelievers!" He pretended also to possess the gift of miracles, and one of the signs which he gave to confirm his veracity was, that when the rain fell around him in torrents, it did not touch a certain hill on which he stood. This manifestation of his power (which the orthodox Muslim historian attributes to magic art) had the effect of seducing great numbers. Unfortunately for the prophet, the governor of Emessa caused him to be arrested and impris-

(Continued on page 182)

## 50. AL-NĀMĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Dārimī al-Miṣṣīṣī surnamed al-Nāmī, was one of the ablest and most talented poets

(Continued from page 181)

soned ; and al-Mutanabbī in his cell, with his head and arms confined in a sort of pillory, and his feet in the stocks, had time to reflect on his situation, and renounce the dangerous gift of prophecy. In one of his poetical supplications to the governor, he reminds him the minors should not be punished for schism or heresy, because by law they are not obliged to fulfil the duty of prayer. Having at length obtained his liberty, he remained for some time neglected and in poverty ; but a poem which he addressed to Abu 'l-'Aṣḥā'ir أبو العشائر (an officer of Sayf al-Dawlat's who commanded at Antioch), revealed his superior talent. About that time, Sayf al-Dawlat himself came to Antioch, and was visited by al-Mutanabbī, who recited to him a poem composed in his honour ; and the piece was of such remarkable beauty, that the prince conceived the highest esteem for the author, and offered him his protection. The poet, in accepting this favour, would not, however, sacrifice the feelings of honourable pride by which he was always actuated : he required and obtained the authorisation of being seated in the presence of Sayf al-Dawlat, when reciting to him the poems which he was to compose in his praise ; and he insisted on being dispensed from saluting the prince in the usual manner, which was by kissing the ground in his presence. At the court of Sayf al-Dawlat he met the principal poets of the day, but he surpassed them all by his vigorous and original talent. The celebrated Abu 'l-'Alā used to say: "Abu Nawas expresses himself thus ; al-Buhturī, thus ; Abū Tammām thus ; and *the poet* (meaning al-Mutanabbī), thus." Avarice was the only fault with which al-Mutanabbī was reproached ; his moral conduct was the more exemplary, as most of his associates were men of pleasure and debauch : and a rigid Muslim remarked, that though he never fasted, nor prayed, nor read the *Qur'ān*, yet he never told a lie, nor committed fornication. When Sayf al-Dawlat went forth on his military expeditions, he was accompanied by al-Mutanabbī, and on one occasion the prince and the poet had to cut their way through the ranks of the Greeks to avoid being taken prisoners. The fortune of Abu 'l-Tayyib was now too great not to excite jealousy ; his rivals, and al-Nānī among others, succeeded in alienating, Sayf al-Dawlat from his favourite poet. A number of learned men were one day conversing in the prince's presence and the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh was giving his opinion on some question relating to the Arabic language, when al-Mutanabbī said to him : "Silence, fellow ! what hast thou to do with Arabic, thou who art a Persian from Khuzestān ?" This rebuke was answered by a wound in the face, inflicted with a key which Ibn Khālawayh carried in his sleeve. During this scene, Sayf al-Dawlat did not interfere either by word or deed.

(Continued on page 183)



of his time. As an encomiast of Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān, he enjoyed the special favour of that prince, who considered him as second in talent and rank to al-Mutanabbī only. He was a man of great merit and instruction; possessing superior abilities and well informed in philology and literature. There exists

*(Continued from page 182)*

Al-Mutanabbī continued to perceived other symptoms of his patron's indifference towards him; he remonstrated with him in a noble poem, asserting his right to be respected, and vindicating his character from the attacks of his enemies; but his complaints were of no avail, his expostulations useless; disgusted at length with a treatment he so little deserved, he abandoned the court of Aleppo and retired to Damascus. This city was then in the possession of the *Ikhshid* family; and its governor, Ibn Mālik, a Jew and a native of Ṭadmūr (Palmyra), was under the immediate orders of Kāfur, the ruler of Egypt. The Jew wished al-Mutanabbī to compose a poem in his honour, but met with a prompt refusal, and the poet, finding his situation most unpleasant, withdrew to Ramlah. The emir of that city, Ibn Ṭuḡḥj, طبع, received him with great honour made him abundant presents, among which were a horse whose trappings were heavy with gold, and a sword richly ornamented. He then passed into Egypt on the written invitation of Kāfur. This able statesman was originally a slave, employed in the most menial duties and treated with the greatest contumely; but the poor negro eunuch, whose prominent belly, splay feet, and perforated lower lip had furnished such subjects for laughter to his fellow-slaves, had now become master of an empire. Such was the person who claimed the praises of al-Mutanabbī; and by means of rich presents, rather than intimidation, he wrung from the poet those measured, and sometimes ambiguous eulogiums which fill the *qasīdahs* called the Kāfuriyāt. Another person whom al-Mutanabbī saw in Egypt was the celebrated Fātik al-Majnnān, and the noble character of this emir obtained the ready and heart-felt encomiums of Abu 'l-Ṭayyib. In return for the glory which the verses of al-Mutanabbī conferred on Kāfur, demanded the government of Ṣayda (*Sidon*) but met with a refusal: this with the obligation of praising a negro, excited the indignation of the poet, and though surrounded by spies, who informed Kāfur of all his actions, he succeeded, at length, in escaping from Old Cairo, and after a variety of adventures he arrived at Kūfah, he then visited Bāḡhdād, where al-Muhalab, vizir to Mu'izz al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh, received him with eager joy, in hopes of obtaining the praises of so illustrious a poet, but al-Mutanabbī refused to gratify his wishes, on the pretext that he was accustomed to celebrate princes only. This so provoked the vizir that he encouraged all the poetasters of 'Irāq to attack al Muttanabbī, who set out for Arrajān, where he found a protector in Abu 'l-Fadī Ibn al-'Umayd. After spending some time with this vizir he passed to the court of 'Aḍad al-Dawlat at Ṣhīrāz

*(Continued o. page 184)*

a collection of observations dictated by him (*to his pupils*) at Aleppo, and in which he cites as authorities (*his masters*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Akḥḡash, Ibn Durustuwayh Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kermānī,<sup>1</sup> Abu Bakr al-Ṣulī, Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Urūdī and his own father Muḥammad al-Miṣṣīṣī. He himself is cited as authority by (*his disciples*) Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī 'Usāmah al-Ḥalabī Abu 'l-Ḥusain Aḥmad, brother to the preceding, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Babbaghā, Abu 'l-Kiattāb Ibn 'Awn al-Ḥarīrī, Abu Bakr al-Kiālīdī, and the qādī Abū Ṭāhir Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ja'far al-Hāshimī. The following verses taken from one of his *qasīdahs*, addressed to Sayf al-Dawlat, are among the finest which he composed :

(Continued from page 183)

and was treated most generously by that prince, who gave him upwards of two hundred thousand dirhems (about 8,000 pounds sterling) as a testimony of the satisfaction he received from the praises of the poet. It was on leaving Ṣhirāz to return to Kūfah that he was assassinated. The details of this event are preserved in a letter addressed by a contemporary to the two *Khallidites*, who were poets at the court of Sayf al-Dawlat. The length of this note prevents me from giving a translation of this letter; I shall only observe that Fātik al-Asadī, by whom he was slain, had a motive for this deed; al-Mutanabbi had satirized his family and particularly his cousin Ḍebbā and Ḍabbā's mother. Fātik had declared his intention beforehand to the writer of the letter, who informed al-Mutanabbi of his danger, and recommended him to take an escort with him; but this advice was rejected by the poet, who replied: "It shall never be said that I sought any other safeguard than my sword!" Persuasion and entreaty were employed to change his determination, but he would not hearken to any advice: the result of his temerity and obstinacy was his death.

The above note is the summary of a number of passages contained in an interesting work, entitled *الصبح المنبئ عن حيشته المتنبئ* (MS. of the *Bib. du Rol*, fonds Asselin, No. 705.—See M. de Sacy's opinion of this work in the *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 476.)

1 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Musā al-Kermānī (*native of Kermān*), had a profound knowledge of philology and grammar; he wrote a beautiful hand and was a correct copier, which caused his writings to be in great request. He was a professional copyist, working for hire: he composed also some books the titles of which are given in the *Fihrest*, from which this notice is taken; the years of his birth and death are not mentioned, but we may conclude from what Ibn Khallikān says, that he was still living at the beginning of the fourth [fifth?] century.

"Illustrious prince ! thy lances gain thee glory in this world and in paradise hereafter. Every year which passes finds thee with the sword in the necks of enemies, and thy steed harnessed with bit and saddle. Time rolleth on and still thy deeds are all for glory; thy words for piety, and thy hands for bestowing gifts."

By the same:

"Is it then true that (*the cruel*) Zura is the author of my death? The promises which she made me, are they then come to this? I stopped (*near her former abode*), unable to restrain my grief, and fixed to the spot, I seemed like one bereft of life. Seeing me thus, my censorious foes were perplexed with doubt, and they said to the ruined mansion: which of these two is the pillar (*that sustained the rustic hut*)?"

Al-Nāmī had some encounters with al-Mutanabbī and sustained contests with him in reciting extemporary verses. It is related by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn 'Awn al-Ḥarīrī, the poet and grammarian, that he went one day to visit al-Nāmī, and found him seated; his head was white like the *thaghāma*<sup>1</sup> when in flower, but one single black hair still remained. "Sir!" said Ibn 'Awn, "there is a black hair in your head." "Yes," replied al-Nāmī, "it is the sole remnant of my youth, and I am pleased with it; I have even written verses on it." Then, at the request of Ibn 'Awn, he recited these lines:

"In that head a single hair still appeared preserving its blackness; 'twas a sight which rejoiced the eyes (*of my friends*). I said to my white hairs which had put it in fear: 'I implore you! respect it as a stranger. A dark African spouse will not long remain in the house where the second wife is white of skin'."

He then said: "O Abn Kḥaṭṭāb! a single white hair spreads terror among a thousand black; what then must be the case with one black among a thousand white?" He is also author

---

<sup>1</sup> The *thaghāma* is in all probability a species of *Artemisia*: it must not be confounded with *toogama*, mentioned by Rauwolf, after Kamfer, as the Arabic name of the palma Christi.

of the following verses, which have been erroneously attributed to the vizir Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī :

"An enemy whom I called my beloved hastened towards me, arrayed in a red summer dress. The wine sported in her eyes and made her cheeks like a brilliant flame. How, said I, 'hast thou obtained such beauty? Thou comest here in a strange attire. Is it with the redness of your cheeks that thou art clothed, or is your garment dyed with the hearts-blood (*of lovers*)?'—'It is the wine,' said she, 'which (*by its reflexion*) makes my tunic seem like the sky at sunset; it cometh near the colour of the wine, which itself approaches to that of my cheeks'."

Al-Nāmī died at Aleppo, A. H. 399 (A. D. 1008-9); others say 370 or 371; aged 90 years.—*Dārīmī* means *descend from Dārīm Ibn Mīlik*, a great branch of the tribe of Tamīm.—*Miṣṣiṣī* signifies *native of al-Miṣṣiṣah* (*the ancient Mopsuestia*), a city on the coast of the sea of Rūm (*the Levant*), near Tarsūs, Sis and other places in the same region. It was built in the year 140 (A. D. 757), by Ṣālih Ibn 'Alī in pursuance of orders given by his nephew, the ḫalīf al-Manṣūr.

## 51. BADI' AL-ZAMĀN AL-HAMADĀNĪ

The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusain Ibn Yahya Ibn Sa'īd al-Hamadānī, surnamed Badi' al-Zamān (*prodigy of the Age*), is author of some beautiful epistles and excellent *Maqāmāhs*,<sup>2</sup> which al-Ḥarīrī took as a model in the composition of his; framing them on the same plan, and imitating the manner of their author, in whose footsteps he walked. In his preface,

1 Literally : And thus my dress, the wine, and the colour of my cheeks are a neighbour to a neighbour of a neighbour.

2 M. de Sacy has given six of these *Maqāmāhs* in his *Chrestomathie*, and in the notes he has inserted a very full notice on al-Hamadānī and his writings.

al-Ḥarīrī acknowledges the merit of his predecessor, and admits that he was guided by his example in the path he followed. Al-Hamadānī was eminent for his knowledge of pure and correct Arabic, in which he cited as his masters Ibn Fāris, author of the *Mujmil*, and others: his epistles are admirable and his poetry full of beauty. He dwelt at Herāt, a city in the province of *Khurāsān*. The following is a specimen of his epistolary style: "When water has long remained at rest, its noxious qualities appear; and when its surface has continued tranquil, its foulness gets into motion: thus it is with a guest: his presence is displeasing when his stay has been protracted; and his shadow is oppressive when the time for which he should sojourn is at an end. Adieu." Another of his letters runs thus: "(To him whose honourable) presence is a point of union for the needy, not to say the *Ka'bah* of pilgrims; the station of honour, not to say the station of sanctity (*at Mekkah*), the desire of guests not to say (*the valley of*) *Minā* near (*the hill of*) *Khayf*; the source of gifts, not to say the *Qiblah* of prayer,<sup>1</sup> :— \*to him let this be a consolation: death is awful till (*it comes, and then*) it is found light; its touch seems grating till (*felt, and then*) it is smooth; the world is so hostile and its injustice so great that death is the lightest of its inflictions, the least of its wrongs. Look then to the right; do you see ought but affliction? Look to the left; do you see ought but woe?"—The verses which follow are taken from a long poem of his composition:

"The gush of the (*fertilizing*) shower were like thee (*in thy liberality*), did it, in smiling, pour forth gold. Fortune were like thee, did it not deceive; the sun, did he speak; the lion, were he not hunted; the sea, were its waters fresh."<sup>†</sup>

The following satirical verses on the city of Hamadān are also attributed to him, but I have since found that they

---

<sup>1</sup> All this, in the original Arabic, is a mere play upon words, and has as little real meaning as the translation here given. The valley of *Mina* is in the neighbourhood of *Mekkah*.

\* M. de Slane has omitted the words: "This is another letter which is in condolence."—*Ed.*

<sup>†</sup> "sweet not saline" should be substituted for "fresh".—*Ed.*

the eve of Tuesday, 24 *Ṣha'bān*\*: he was interred in the burying-ground reserved for the descendants of 'Alī, and which lies behind the New Muṣallāh<sup>1</sup> at Old Cairo: he was aged 64 years.—His great-grandfather was surnamed Ṭabāṭabā from the circumstance of his pronouncing the guttural *q* like *ṭ*: desiring one day his clothes to be brought to him, he was asked by his slave if it was *durra*, or coat, which he wanted? "No," said he, "a waistcoat, a waistcoat (*ṭabā*, *ṭabā*);" wishing to say *qabā*; and these words became a nickname by which he was afterwards known. *Al-Rass* is, according to al-Sam'ānī, the name borne by one of the branches of 'Alī's family.

### 53. ABU 'L-RAQA'MAQ

Abu Ḥāmid Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Anṭākī, surnamed Abu 'l-Raqā'maq, was a poet of repute; al-Ṭha'ālībī, in his *Yatimah*, speaks of him in these terms: "He was the pearl of his age, the union of excellencies; one of those who managed poetry in its gay and its serious moods, and who gained the prize of excellence; he was a skilful eulogist, an able poet; and was for Syria what Ibn Ḥajjāj<sup>2</sup> was for 'Irāq." Among the most

---

1 The New Muṣllā was built in the Sahra *الصحرَاء* or Little Qarāfah, by 'Anbasah, *عَنْبَسَه*, governor of Egypt. The Old Muṣallā, founded by 'Amr Ibn al-Āsī, not being sufficiently large, notwithstanding additions made to it, the New Muṣallā was constructed during the reign of Al-Mutawakkil, A. H. 240 (A. D. 855).—*Khīṭaṭ*—The use of the Muṣallāh is explained in de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 191.—The 'Anbasah here mentioned was the last Egyptian governor of Arabic descent: his successors were Turks, chosen among the slaves of the *khalīfs*. 'Anbasah was appointed to that situation, 238 A. H. (A. D. 852), and filled it till A. H. 242 (A. D. 856). His names were Abu Ja'far 'Anbasah Ibn Isḥāq Ibn 'Amr.—(Maqrizi's *Khīṭaṭ*).

2 The life of Ibn Ḥajjāj will be found in this work: his name was al-Ḥusayn.

\*Tuesday 2 December, 956, corresponds to 25 *Ṣha'bān*.—*Ed.*

brilliant of his productions are the following verses, in which he extols Ya'qub Ibn Killis, vizir to the Fatimite khalif al-'Aziz Ibn al-Mo'izz al-'Ubaydi, prince of Egypt (the lives of both shall be given) :

"We have heard the excuse (*of our beloved*), and we have pardoned her fault and her error.—The thoughts (*which I here express*) are (*intended*) for the person whom I mean (*to praise*) ; but I make allusion to thee, fair maid, that dwellest near ; so hearken to my words. Him whom thy smiles seduce thou shalt always see (*absorbed in thought and*) unmindful of his attire<sup>1</sup> ; He knows that such (*love as his*) is the punishment which God has destined for those whose eyes contemplate (*beauty*). God had sent the veil (*which concealed thy lover's feelings*) ; it is thine to tear off the veil from every dissembler.—The looks of her (*I speak of*) have fascinated my heart ; 'tis so with every beauty, their looks have a magic power. Would it harm the (*cruel fair*) who has chosen to show aversion and dislike, did she at length consent to be pleased and to receive (*my*) visits ? But I must avow my submission to her will, though she has inflicted torment when she avoided (*my sight*). I have never ceased to hope for her love, and suffer from her dislike ; yet may I never be deprived of such a mistress !"

The verses which follow are taken from that portion of the same poem which contains the panegyric :

"This vizir hath not left on earth an enemy to al-'Aziz, whose ardour he hath not quelled. He wages daily war against the vicissitudes of Fortune and the attacks of adversity, by bestowing abundant gifts. His hand would be covered with dishonour did avarice force it to withdraw ; it is a hand accustomed to renew the charge in the combat of liberality. By its munificence, the number of foes to al-'Aziz has been diminished,

---

<sup>1</sup> Such I believe to be the meaning of the verse, which would be altered by rendering more closely the final words : Shakspeare has expressed the same idea, and give *nearly* a literal translation of the words to which I allude, where he says : "Lord Hamlet, with *his doublet* all unbraced."

and of friends, increased. It is thus that the hand of the superior man worketh, day and night, good (*to friends*) and evil (*to foes*).<sup>1</sup> Choose then him for patron; none are safe who seek not his benignant shade—his generous protection. When you see him reflect with downcast eyes, and thoughts directed towards some (*lofty*) purpose; (*know that*) his quick and discerning judgment will leave nought in the bosom of futurity unscanned<sup>2</sup>! not a single place upon the earth, of which his mind will not embrace the confines. May God increase the extent of his (*power*); may he preserve him from even the apprehension of misfortune, and exempt him from the necessity of all precaution.”

His poetry is in general good, and of the same cast as that composed by Ṣarī‘ al-Dīlā.\* He was a long time resident in Egypt, and much of his poetry consists in panegyric on the princes and great men of that country. He composed poems in praise of the Fatimite *khalif* al-Mu‘izz Abn Tamīm† Ma‘add,‡ of his son al-‘Azīz, and his grandson al-Ḥākim; he celebrated also the praises of al-Qā‘id Jawhar, the vizīr Ibn Killis,§ and other men of rank. (The lives of the persons here named will be found in his work.) The emīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbihī makes mention of this poet in his history of Egypt, and assigns the year 399 (A. D. 1008-9) as that of his death; another writer adds that he expired on Friday, 22 Ramadān of that year\*\*; while a third

---

1 Such is the characteristic of a perfect man in the opinion of the Arabs, both before and since the establishment of Islamism.

2 Literally: will leave nought unturned in the interior of futurity.

\*“al-Qaṣṣār al-Baṣrī” is omitted in translation.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane read it Tammām.—*Ed.*

‡M. de Slane has omitted the genealogy: “Ibn al-Manṣar al-Qā‘im Ibn al-Mahdī ‘Ubaydullāh.—*Ed.*

§“Abu ‘l-Faraj” the *Knyāh* of the vizīr is omitted.—*Ed.*

\*\*20 May, 1009.—*Ed.*



says that it was in the Second Rabī'. I suppose that he died at Miṣr (*Old Cairo*). *Anṭāki* means *native of Anṭākiya (Antioch)*, a city near Aleppo.—*Raq'maq* is a nickname.<sup>1</sup>

#### 54. JAḤẒAH AL-BARMAKĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Musā Ibn Yahyā Ibn Khalid Ibn Barmak, surnamed Jaḥẓah the cup-companion, was a man of talent and master of various accomplishments; he possessed a knowledge of history and astrology; he abounded in repartees, and was an amusing guest at social parties. Abu Naṣr Ibn al-Marzubān has composed the life and collected the poetry of this member of the Barmakide family, who was also one of the wittiest men of his time. The following are specimens of his poetry, which is very fine:

"I am son to those men whose beneficence enriched mankind, and who have become the talk (*of the world*) for their signal liberality. There was no historian but spoke of their generous action; no book but contained their praise."

"I said to her (*I loved*). 'Thou art sparing (*of thy favours*) towards me when (*I am*) awake; be then kind to thy afflicted lover (*and let him see thee*) in (*his*) dreams; She answered: 'Thou also canst sleep, and yet wishest me to visit thee in the dreams!'<sup>2</sup>

"I am among a race who fly from (*committing an act of*) liberality and who have (*therein*) inherited the character of their fathers. Fellows who would feel indignant<sup>3</sup> if I tried to obtain

---

1 *Raq'maq* is not an Arabic word, neither is it, I believe, Persian or Turkish; and I am, therefore, in ignorance of its meaning.

2 That is: since thou canst sleep, why not send thy image to visit me, rather than require mine to visit thee?—(See note on *Tayf-al-Khayal*, No. 53).

3 Literally: It were as if I wanted to pluck a hair from their noses.

from them a present.—Come, my girl, fill me up an ample (*cup*) and sing (*this air*) : *The protectors are gone under whose shelter one could live.*"

"O thou troop,<sup>1</sup> whose departure is an affliction! the lover left behind confides to thee the surest pledge—his heart."

"When she said to me : How wert thou during my absence ? Didst thou wear the raiment of the rich or of the poor ?" I answered : 'Ask me not ! I lived morning and evening in the destitute state of one deprived of all' (*not having thee*)."

The poetical works of Jahḡzah have been collected and form a *Diwān*, of which the greater part is good: his adventures are well known. One of his verses currently quoted is the following :

"The sky was so clear that people said : There is a contest between Jahḡzah and the weather."<sup>2</sup>

Jahḡzah was an ugly man, and Ibn al-Rumī (*alluding to the circumstance*) said :

"I am told that Jahḡzah borrowed his goggle eyes (*Juḡḡḡ*) from the elephant on the chess-board,<sup>3</sup> or from the crab. O, how his audience are to be pitied ! To please their ears, they must afflict their eyes."

He died at Wāsiṭ, A. H. 326 (A. D. 937-8) ; or 324, according to some ; and it is said that his bier<sup>4</sup> was borne to

1 This is supposed to be addressed by a lover to the tribe of his mistress, on their setting out from their last habitation to some new station in the desert.

2 Such is the literal translation of the Arabic verse ; but it must be observed that the verb رَق which signifies *to be clear*, means also *to be of good humour*. By a similar analogy, they saw in German : *hellere wetter* (clear weather), and *ein heiteres Gemuth* (a serene of gay mind).

3 In the Chinese, Hindu, and Persian game of chess, that piece bears the name of the elephant, which in the English game is called the bishop.

4 When the bodies of the dead are transported to the cemetery, they are placed on a bier, off of which they are removed on reaching the grave. See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II, page 302.

Baḡḡdād.—*Jaḥḥāh* was a nickname given to him by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'azz; the *Khatīb*<sup>1</sup> says that he was born in the month of *Shābān*, A. H. 224 (A. D. 839). The history of Baḡḡdād and the *Kitāb al-Aghḡnī* make mention of him.<sup>2</sup>

## 55. IBN DARRĀJ AL-ANDALŪSĪ

Abū 'Umar Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-'Āsī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn 'Īsā Ibn Darrāj al-'Qasṭallī al-Andalusī (*native of Spain*), kاتب and poet to al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir,<sup>3</sup> is counted in Spain among the good poets and the men eminent for their learning. Al-l'ha'alībī makes mention of him in the *Yatimah*

1 See his life, No. 33.

2 The manuscript of the *Aghḡnī* belonging to the *Bib. du Roi*, makes only incidental mention of Jaḥḥāh but there is reason to believe that this MS. is incomplete. The author of the *Fihrest* (fol. 196) informs us that Jaḥḥāh had studied under many learned men and *rāwīs*, or narrators of historical traditions, and that he played on the guitar; he was a man of dissolute life and of little or no religious principle. He composed a book on cookery, a history of celebrated players on the guitar, الطنبورين treatise on the excellence of the ragout called *Sikbāj* سكباج; Recollections of the *khalīf* al-Mu'tasim; Recollections of his own time; on Astrologers whose predictions were accomplished. It appears from the same work that he acquired great reputation by his wit, and prompt repartees; in the abridgement of the *Khatīb's* History of Baḡḡdād (MS. of *Bib. du Roi*, No. 634, fol. 42, verso; it is stated that he was the first singer of his time. Both authors abstain from speaking of his adventures, on account, it would seem, of their notoriety.

3 Abu 'Āmir Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Āmir surnamed al-Manṣūr (*the victorious*), was created *ḥājib* or prime minister of the kingdom of Cordova, A. H. 366 (A. D. 976), on the accession of Hiṣḥām al-Muwayyad Billāh. After achieving successfully more than fifty campaigns against the Christians, he was defeated by Sancho, king of Navarre, in the year 392 (A. D. 1001), and died of grief soon after. Though he made regularly two expeditions every year against the enemy, he found sufficient leisure to patronize men of learning. (*Bughyat*.—Conde—Abu 'l-Fidā.)

and speaks of him in these terms : "He was for the country of Andalus, that which al-Mutanabbī was for Syria, a poet of the highest order, and equal elegant in what he said and wrote." He then gives some fine passages from his compositions. Ibn Bassām also, in his *Dhakhirah*, speaks of Ibn Darraj and gives specimens of his epistles and poems. I learn from his collected poetical works, which form two volumes, that al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir ordered him to compose a poem in imitation of the *qaṣidah* made by Abū Nawās al-Ḥakam in praise of al-Khaṣīb Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, chief of the land-tax office in Egypt<sup>1</sup> the poem by Abū Nawās begins thus :

"O maid that dwellest near our double tent<sup>2</sup> ; thou hast a jealous father ; and the least (*favour*) one can hope, can hardly be obtained from thee."

In consequence of this order, Ibn Darraj recited to him an elegant *qaṣidah*, which contains, among others, the following passage :

"Women ! knowest thou not to remain (*here*) is to die and that the dwellings of the indigent are tombs ? Thou strivest to appal me with the terrors of a lengthened journey, but (*know*) that (*journey*) will be the means of (*my*) kissing Ibn 'Āmir's hand. Let me then drink of the deserts waters, though stagnant : so that I arrive where the waters of Generosity are pure. Though the perils of desert wasot be reserved for him who rides therein, the reward (*of his toil will be*) great."

In the same poem is this description of his parting from his wife and child.

---

<sup>1</sup> Al-Khaṣīb was appointed to this place by the *khalif* Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, A. H. 190 (A. D. 805-6), and removed A. H. 191.--(Al-Makin, page 119.)

<sup>2</sup> The dual is here employed for probably the same reason as in the case already noticed, No. 25, note on *dual number*.

"When she approached to say adieu and already her sighs and lamentations had shaken my fortitude—she conjured me to remember our mutual love ; and there, in the cradle, lay an infant lisping a feeble cry : it was unable to reply when spoken to, but its looks knew well how to touch the tender soul<sup>1</sup>: lodged in the safe dwelling of our hearts, soft arms and bosoms were its bed. She that gave it the breast was one for whose neck and bosom a man would sacrifice his life its nurse was one for the preservation of whose charms prayers would be offered to God: I disobeyed (*the smile which was*) its intercessor with my soul, and evening and morning led me on, till accustomed to my nightly journeys. The wing of separation bore me away ; and her fluttering heart<sup>2</sup> dismayed at my departure, bore away her (*senses in a swoon*). If she bade adieu to a jealous husband, he was only jealous of his fortitude (*which nearly yielded*) to her grief. —Had she then seen me when the ardours of noon were shed upon me, and the trembling mirage waved around; when I bared my face to the meridian fires, and submitted to their force (the evening too were warm); when I inhaled that life-giving breeze which flew across my path as I trod over the burning sands: (and Death wears many shapes in the coward's eye, but Danger is a vain sound to the ears of the brave!)—(*Had she seen me then*) she had clearly learned that I yield not to the injustice (*of Fortune*), and that I can bear with firmness the biting of adversity. He that is emir (*master*) over the terrors of the desert needs only his sword for vizīr, when threatened with danger. Had she seen me with my soul intent on speeding the nightly journey, when my sounding steps held converse with the demons of the waste—when I wandered over the desert during the shades of night, while the roar of the lion was heard from his haunt among the reeds—when the brilliant Pleiades circled (*through the heavens*), like dark-eyed maids (*dancing*) in the green woods : and the polar stars were borne round like the wine cups filled by a fair gazelle and circulated by an assiduous attendant;—when the milky way seemed like the gray hairs of age upon the head of

---

1 Literally: The spot where affection touches, or lights on souls.

2 Literally: ribs.

the gloomy night—when the ardour of my resolution and the piercer of the darkness<sup>1</sup> were equally terrible—when languor closed the eyelids of the stars ;—ah! then she had known that Fate itself obeyed my will, and that I was worthy the favour of Ibn ‘Āmir.”

This poem is of considerable length, but the extract we have given is sufficient. Since we have spoken of this *qaṣīdah*, we must cite also a portion of the one composed by Abū Nawās, and imitated, in its rhyme and measure, by Abū ‘Umar. \*Abū Nuwās having set out from Baḡhdād for Egypt, with the intention of eulogizing Abū Naṣr al-Khaṣīb, recited to him the poem we are now speaking of, and in which he named the different places where he stopped on the way : one verse of it has already been given in the life of Abū Ishāq al-Ghazzī<sup>2</sup> and there is no necessity for inserting the whole of it here; it is besides of considerable length; we shall merely quote some select passages:

“When my active camel bore me from her tent, she said: ‘It is grievous for us to see thee going away! Is there not some place nearer than Egypt where riches may be found? There are surely many means of gaining riches.’ I answered, whilst her fair companions were hastening after, and complaining of her speed; and, as they ran, perfumes dropped (*from their hair*): ‘Let me go, so that the number of those who envy thee may be increased by (*the success of*) my journey to the city in which al-Khaṣīb is emir. If our camels visit not the country of al-Khaṣīb, to what other generous man can they go? Beneficence went not beyond him, neither did it stop before it reached him; no! wherever he is, Beneficence is there. (*He is*) the man of noble soul! he buyeth with his wealth a glorious reputation, for he knoweth how the vicissitudes of Fortune revolve.’ ”

“Though others may remain in ignorance of my words, the Commander of the Faithful<sup>3</sup> knoweth them well. Thou

---

1 *The piercer of the darkness*; the planet Saturn.

2 See No. 17.

3 The poet means the *khalīf* Harun al-Raṣīd.

\*[ ] From “Abū Nuwās” to “are turned” on page 200 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

(O! *Khaṣīb*) hast not ceased to serve him with good counsel, from the time of (*thy*) youth till the grey hairs appeared on (*thy*) cheeks. When an unforeseen event occurred, your prudence released the *khalif* from all anxiety,<sup>1</sup> or your advice guided him in the choice for a minister."

The poet then enters into the description of the places where he stopped to rest, and he finishes thus:

"In the tumult of battle, al-*Khaṣīb* shed glory on the sword and the lance; in peace, he gave lustre to the pulpit and the throne.<sup>2</sup> Profuse in his bounty when the hands of others are contracted (*by avarice*); jealously respectful of female honour! O, *khaṣīb*! if my (*description*) attain the height of thy (*glory*), I shall merit wealth, and thou, that I place my hopes in thy bounty. If thou grantest me thy favour (*let it be because*) I deserve it; if you withhold (*thy approbation*), I shall ask (*thy*) excuse (*for my presumption* and be grateful)."

Abū Nuwās then celebrated the praises of al-*Khaṣīb* in a number of other poems, and on his return to Baghḍād he made an eulogium on the *khalif*<sup>3</sup> who said to him: "What can you say of us, after having said of our lieutenant: "*If our camels visit not the country of al-Khaṣīb?*" (the *khalif* here repeated this and the next verse). Abū Nuwās remained for some time with his eyes cast towards the ground, and then held up his head and recited these lines:

"When we praise you with sincerity, you are what we describe and even more; if our words seem to convey the praises of any other, it is thou alone towards whom our thoughts are turned."]

1 Literally: You spared him the trouble of it.

2 As governor, he had the right of pronouncing the *khutbah* from the pulpit, and of giving public audience from the throne as representative of the *khalif*. It would appear from al-Makīn, page 114, and Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 659, that in the time of al-Raṣhīd the governor of Egypt was sometimes authorized to collect the revenue. It is necessary to observe, however, that al-*Khaṣīb* could not have presided at public prayers in Egypt, as he never acted as governor of that province.

3 Probably the *Khalif* al-Raṣhīd.

From another piece of Abn 'Umar's, we extract the following verse:

"If the valley where thou dwellest be inaccessible (*to thy lover*), let the place of our meeting be the valley of sleep; there I may chance to find thee."<sup>1</sup>

In this verse, he comes near the following thought of another poet's:

"Is there means of meeting thee in the lonely valley for the grounds reserved by thy tribe are full of spies?"<sup>2</sup>

Abn 'Umar was born in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 347 (A. D. 958), and died on the eve of \*Sunday, 15 of the Second Jumādā, 421 (A. D. 1030).—*Darrāj* is the name of one of his ancestors.—*Qaṣṭallī* means *native of Qastallah*,<sup>3</sup> a city in Spain, called also Qaṣṭallah Darrāj (*Qastollah of Darrāj*): but I know not if it be after the ancestor of Abn 'Umar or some other person that it was so called.

## 56. IBN ZAYDŪN AL-ANDALŪSĪ

Abu 'l-Walīd Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḡhalīb Ibn Zaydūn al-Maḥẓamī al-Andalusī al-Qurṭubī (*descended from the tribe of Maḥẓūn and native of Cordova in Spain*): this celebrated poet is spoken of in the following terms by Ibn Bassām in the *Dhahīrah*: "Abu 'l-Walīd attained the height of

---

1 That is: let us dream of each other.

2 Among the ancient Arabs, the *shaykhs* reserved for their own use a certain portion of ground near the camp; this was called the *Ḥimṛ*, or *forbidden spot*, and no other dare feed his flocks or hunt in it. Later poets designate by this word the spot where the beloved is supposed to reside; and mystic writers call Heaven the *Ḥimṛ*, because God, the object of love, dwells there.—(See *Chrestomathie*, tom. III, page 153.)

3 Al-Idrisī places Qas allāh on the sea-coast, fourteen miles east of Tavira; Conde says that it is now called Castellar.

\*Sunday 16 is correct reckoning corresponding to 21 June.—*Ed.*



perfection in prose and poetry, and closed the series of poets sprung from Makhzūm ; he had received from Fortune the best of her favours ; he surpassed (*in abilities*) every person (*of his time*), and wielded his authority (*as vizir*) to the welfare (*of friends*) and the detriment (*of foes*) : he was endowed with a great talent for aptly expressing his thoughts in prose and verse, joined to such information in literature as surpassed the ocean by its overflow, and the moon by its lustre ; his poetry had a power which no magic ever possessed, and (*an elevation*) which the stars could not rival ; and he had received in portion<sup>1</sup> a prose style of a singular and original construction, quite poetic in its terms and ideas. He was the son of one of the first jurisconsults in Cordova and when his learning had attained its height, when his poetic talent had acquired its excellence, when his position (*in the world*) became eminent and when his tongue was free (*to give its mandates uncontrolled*), he left his native place and went, in the year 441 (A. D. 1049-50), to al-Mu'taḍid 'Abbād, prince of Seville, who adopted him as one of his privileged friends, admitted him into his intimate society, hearkened to his counsels, and treated him on the footing of a vizir." This author then gives a great number of epistles and pieces of poetry composed by Ibn Zaydān, among others, the following :

"Between me and thee subsists a feeling which, if pleasing to thee, shall never expire—a secret which has remained undivulged, whilst other secrets were revealed. He who would buy the share I hold in thy affections might offer me life itself ; I would not sell my share in thy affections. Let it suffice thee that, although thou hast placed on my heart a burden which the hearts of men could not sustain, my heart sustains it. Be scornful, I shall suffer patiently ; be proud, I shall endure it ; be haughty, I shall be humble ; return, I shall approach ; speak, I shall hear ; order, I shall obey."

---

I In the Arabic text, the word here translated by *he had received in portion*, is printed\* **ḥā** conformably to the MSS., but it is evident that the true reading is **ḥā**, and as such it is here adopted.

\* in Egyptian edition it is **ḥā** ; likewise it is **ḥā** in the autograph.—Ed.

By the same :

"He has bid adieu to fortitude, the lover who bade adieu to thee : it is now betrayed, the secret (*of his love which he had*) confided to thee (*alone*). He gnashes his teeth (*with regret*) that he went not onward some steps more, when he followed thee to say farewell. Sister to the moon in exaltation and in lustre ! may God reserve a time when I shall see thee reappear ! If my nights are long during thy absence, 'tis thou who art the cause ; I pass them in lamenting the shortness of the nights I spent with thee."

He is author also of some high-sounding poems, a portion of which I should give, were I not afraid of being prolix. One of his most brilliant gems<sup>1</sup> is the *qasidah* which contains these verses :

"Whilst our inmost thoughts conversed with thee (*when memory recalled thy image*), grief had nearly killed us, did we not assume fortitude. Since thou art gone, our days are become dark, though with thee our nights were bright. Yesterday our separation was not apprehended ; to-day, our meeting again cannot be hoped for."

The poem (*from which this passage is taken*) is of considerable length, and each of its verses might be selected (*for its beauty*), but it would divert us from our plan were we to enter into long details. Ibn Zaydun died and was buried at Seville on the 1st Rajab, A. H. 463 (A. D. 1071)\*: mention is made of his father by Ibn Baskhuwāl, who speaks highly of him in his *Ṣilat*, and says : "He was surnamed Abū Bakr ; he died in the year 405 (A. D. 1014-5), at al-Bīrah (*Elvira*),<sup>2</sup> whence his body was taken to Cordova, where it was interred on Monday, †7th of the Second Rabi' of that year ; his birth was in A. H. 354 (A. D. 965) : he used to dye his hair black."<sup>3</sup>

1 Literally : One of his admirable necklaces.

2 See Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, t. II, page 247 *et seq.*, and *Biographie, Universelle*, ZAIDOUN.

3 It was more usual to dye it red ; see No. 19, note on *hair dye*.

\* 4 April.—*Ed.*

† Monday 6 corresponding to 4 October. The author says "six days of the month passed" but it never means the day following.—*Ed.*

Ibn Zaydūn had a son named Abū Bakr, who acted as vizir to al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, and was slain on the day in which Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn took Cordova from Ibn 'Abbād and deprived him of his kingdom ; the particulars of which event we shall give in the lives of these princes. Cordova was taken on Wednesday, Second Šafar, 484 (March,\* A. D. 1091), and Abū Bakr was killed there. We have already given the true pronunciation of *Qurṭubah* (Cordova); it is, therefore, unnecessary to repeat it here : it will be found in the life of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, author of the '*Iqd'* ; the Franks took this city from the Muslims in the month of *Šhawwāl*, 633 (about the 1st of July, 1236).<sup>2</sup>

## 57. IBN AL-ABBĀR THE POET

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Khawḷānī, native of Seville in Spain, and surnamed Ibn al-Abbār, was a poet of reputation, and in the different branches of his art, one of the ablest among the poets patronised by the prince of Seville al-Mu'taḍid 'Abbād Ibn Muḥammad al-Lakhmī. He was also a man of learning, having made compilations and composed (*some original treatises*) ; but he possessed an acknowledged talent, and showed unbounded abilities in his poetical works, from which we extract the following beautiful passage :

"She knew not the lasting passion with which her eyes inspired my soul, nor the anguish which was borne by my

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 45.

<sup>2</sup> For further information respecting Ibn Zaydūn, see M. de Sacy's article in the *Biographie Universelle*, ZAIDOUN ; the date of the taking of Cordova, A. H. 434 (1042), as there given, is incorrect ; consult also the work of M. Weyers, entitled *Specimen criticum*, etc. This gentleman informs me that he still intends to publish the celebrated epistle of Ibn Zaydūn, with the commentary of Ibn Nubātah.

\* 26 March.—*Ed.*

heart.<sup>1</sup>— I should lay down my life for that (*fair*) visitor who sought, but could not approach the (*lover*) drowned in tears and consumed (*with love*). Apprehensive of spies she came to me with hurried steps, her neck adorned with no other jewels but its grace and beauty. I handed her the cup, and the wine which it contained blushed (*with jealousy*) at the fragrance of her lips and the radiance of her teeth.<sup>2</sup> (*We drank*) till her eyelids yielded to the blandishments of slumber, and the strength of the purple (*liquor*) subdued her to my will. I wished to give her my cheek for a pillow,<sup>3</sup> but it was too small, and she said : Your arms are for me the best of pillows. She passed the night in a safe, retreat where no fear assailed her ; and I passed the night thirsting (*to taste her lips*), but I abstained.<sup>4</sup> When this (*maid, beauteous as the*) moon, approached, the full moon was effaced (*by her beauty*), and all the horizon became dark with jealousy; the night was perplexed to know where the moon would rise, but the night knew not that I held the moon in my arms."

He has composed a number of pretty little pieces\* in the same style, and his *Diwān*, or collected poetical works are spoken of by Ibn Bassām in the *Dhahīrah*. Ibn al-Abbār died A. H. 433 (A. D. 1041-2).—*Khawlān* means *descended from Khawlān*, son of 'Amr, father of a great tribe, which settled in Syria.—*Ishbiliyah* (*Seville*) is one of the largest cities of Spain.

---

1 See No. 52, note on *heart*.

2 Literally : *The honeyed row of teeth and the hailstones* to which white teeth are often compared by Arabic poets.

3 The softness of the cheeks, their tenderness and delicacy are common topics with the poets.

4 Literally : *Without either returning from the source or going to it*. This expression was originally used by the nomadic Arabs in speaking of the power which their camels possessed of enduring thirst.

\* For مقاطع "fragments" is an appropriate word.—Ed.

## 58. AL-MANĀZĪ

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf al-Salīkī\* al-Manāzī, a man of superior talent and distinguished as a poet, was vizīr to Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Marwān al-Kurdī, prince of Mayyāfāriqīn and Diyār Bakr, whose life shall be given later. To his eminent learning and his abilities as a poet, was joined great skill in the management of affairs, and he went a number of times as ambassador to Constantinople. He had collected a great quantity of books, which he made over as a *wagf*<sup>1</sup> to the mosque of Mayyāfāriqīn and the mosque of 'Amīd, in the libraries of which they are still to be found, and where they are known by the designation of *al-Manāzī's Books*. He had one time an interview, at Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, with the poet Abū 'l-'Alā, who complained to him of his position, isolated as he was from mankind and badly treated by them; to which al-Manāzī replied: "What can they have to say to you, since you have resigned to them both this world and the next?"<sup>2</sup> "Ah!" replied Abū 'l-'Alā, "and the next also?" repeating the words several times and much offended; he then hung down his head and did not utter another word till (*his visitor*) went away. In one of his journeys, al-Manāzī passed through the valley of Buzā'a,<sup>3</sup> and, charmed by the beauty of the spot and the feelings it inspired, he made on it these verses:

"A valley sheltered us from the heat of the burning sands, and a dense foliage gave to it a double shelter. We took repose under a tree which soothed us with its sound, as a nurse soothes her child just weaned. Fired with thirst, we drank of a pure spring whose waters were sweeter (*to us*) than wine to a boon companion. This valley wards off the sun on every point from which he can look towards it; him it excludes, but allows the zephyr to enter. Its (*brilliant*) pebbles cause the maids adorned with jewels to tremble, and they feel if the knot of their necklaces (*be unbroken*)."

---

1 *Wagf*, a concession in perpetuity for pious purposes.

2 This is a sarcastic allusion to Abū 'l-'Alā's heterodox principles; see his life, No. 46.

3 See Abū 'l-Fidā's Geography, page 267 of the Arabic text.

\*M. de Slane reads it Sulaykī—*Ed.*

These verses are quite unique in their class, and have been cited, with others by the same author, in the *Zinat al-Dahr*, a work composed by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Ḥazīrī among those given by him are the following :

"The boy I have is tall and slender; he is like Euclid's line: without breadth! the sense he possesses is extremely little: it is like the point—having no parts."

A number of his lesser pieces\* are to be found in the hands of the public, but the collection of his poetical works is very rare: I have been told that the qāḍī al-Fāḍil commissioned a man of learning, who was on his travels, to procure him a copy; this person, in consequence, made inquiries in every country to which he went, but could gain no information about the book, and he then wrote a letter to the qāḍī, informing him of his want of success; this letter contained some verses, one of which had for second hemistich these words: *And the dwellings are not inhabited by the poems of al-Manāzil*<sup>1</sup> Died A. H. 437 (A. D. 1045-6). *Manāzil* means *native of Manāzjird*, a city near *Khartabirt*<sup>2</sup> it must not be confounded with *Manāzkird*, a castle in the dependencies of *ḫalāt*,<sup>3</sup> of which mention will be made in the life of Ṭaqī al-Dīn 'Umar, prince of Ḥamāh. *Khartabirt* is the well-known *Hisn Ziyād*.<sup>4</sup> *Burzā'a* is a considerable town halfway between Aleppo and Manbij.

## 59. IBN AL-KHAYYĀṬ THE POET

Abu 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ṣadaqah, al-Ṭaḥlibī (*member of tribe of Tāḡhlib*), sur-

1 This hemistich is remarkable only for having the word *al-Manāzil* preceded by another of nearly the same sound *al-Manāzil* (*the dwellings*).

2 In Lapie's map of the Ottoman Empire, the name of this place is written *Charpud*; it lies about 16 miles east of the Euphrates is 38° 25' latitude north.—See St. Martin's *Memoires Sur l'Armenie*, t. I, p. 95.

3 *Ḫalāt*, a city of Armenia, is situated towards the northern extremity of lake Van.—*Idem*, t. I, p. 103.

4 See Abu 'l-Fida's *Geography*: Arabic text, page 52.

\*For مَقَاتِيع "fragments" is an appropriate word.—*Ed.*

named Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (*son of the tailor*), native of Damascus, was a *kātib*<sup>1</sup> and poet of considerable merit. Having gone to travel, he composed poems in praise of the (*eminent*) men (*whom he saw*) in different countries ; and went to Persia, where he also made verses in honour (*of its princes*). At Aleppo he met with the celebrated poet Abu 'l-Fityān Ibn Ḥayyūs, and presented him with his poetical works, on which Ibn Ḥayyūs said : "This boy has announced to me my death, for it seldom happens in any profession, that a person of superior skill springs up, without its being an indication that the death of the oldest master in that profession is at hand." On coming to Aleppo in very low circumstances and utterly unable to support himself, he appealed to the generosity of Ibn Ḥayyūs in the following lines :

"What remains in my possession would not sell for a \*nut, and my aspect may dispense thee from inquiring into my real state. But I have still some honour left<sup>2</sup> ; that I have kept unsold ; and where, where would a purchaser be found ?"

On reading these verses, Ibn Ḥayyūs exclaimed : "Had he said : *And thou art surely the purchaser !* it would have been better."—These collection of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ's poems is so common, that it is useless to quote any of them ; most of his *qaṣīdāt* are of remarkable beauty, and had he composed no other than the one which rhymes in *b*, that poem alone had sufficed for reputation ; it begins thus :

"Obtain from the zephyrs of Najd,<sup>3</sup> that they grant respite to his heart ; for their perfume has nearly borne his senses away. †[Beware of that zephyr, when it breathes ; the

1 See note on *kātib*, No. 10; and No. 11.

2 Literally : Some water of the face which I have kept from selling. That is; I have still a feeling of honour which prevents me from prostituting my talent for money, and praising unworthy persons in hopes of being rewarded.—See note on *ما الوجه*, No. 49

3 The highland of Najd in Arabia is frequently celebrated for its flowers and their perfume; it is the Arcadia of the Arabic poets.

\* "Grain" is a better word.—Ed.

† [ ] From "Beware of" to "of beauty" on page 210 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

lightest evil it produces is the pains of love. O, my friends!<sup>1</sup> if you have ever loved, you must know what hold that passion takes of him whose heart is smitten and enamoured : he reflects, and reflection augments desire ; the lover longs, and love deprives of reason the victim to whom it clings. An anxious pain with passionate despair and hope—intense desire, though for the place of rendezvous, or near. In our caravan there is one who encloses in his breast a wasting fire ; and who says to the challenge of love : ‘Here (*is thy victim*)!’ When a breath (*of the zephyr*) comes tremblingly from the desert (*where his mistress dwells*), it bears with it pain to (*afflict*) him, but (*does*) not (*bear*) its cure.<sup>2</sup> (*In the caravan*) is one whom protecting spears surround ; whose heart is turned away (*from me*), while in mine (*I feel*), from her aversion, (*pains*) like those which her guardian (*spears*) would cause. If I hear in our encampment a plaintive sigh, I am jealous from apprehension, fearing that it may proceed from love of her.”

The poem from which these lines are taken is of considerable length, but we shall limit our extract to the foregoing citation. Another of his pieces is the following :

“Ask the drawn sword of her glances if there still remains in my heart a drop of blood to supply the sources of my tears. Ah ! there is no protector, none to excuse or sooth (*the lover*) on the day desire torments (*him*). She has drawn against us the sharp (*sword*) of her looks, that nymph with the slender waist. She is a Turk by nation,<sup>3</sup> and the arrow she shoots of commits less ravage than the glances of her eyes. And (*let me not forget*) the night in which I went to meet her ; when I held converse with sleeplessness and care was the companion of my couch. The dread of her cruelty drove me for protection to her, yet how often do the most forward retreat (*before serious danger*). The wine-cup had then subdued her native rigour,

1 Literally : O my two friends. See note on *two friends*, No. 52.

2 Literally : Its companion; the companion of pain or sickness , داء  
is the cure دواء.

3 Compare this with the verses at No. 48.



and slowly born down her capriciousness ; an embrace was lawfully due, and I then kissed a charming mouth and neck ! Throughout the night my thoughts were at work ; was it a false image which I had met,—the phantom of a nocturnal dream ? How then had her aversion ceased ? how did we meet in love ? My (soul so) proud and (so) humble is the slave of love ; her (body so) full and (so) slight is (the throne) of beauty.”]

In the following, he reproaches his family and friends :

“(O) you (who dwell) at the junction of the two streams, if I have treated you with rigour,<sup>1</sup> my excuse has been already given ; mistake not my (reason for) quitting the place which you inhabit ; the men of noble mind is impatient under injustice.”

By the same :

“Didst thou suppose that I could ever turn my love away from thee ? (Be it known to him) who thinks it should be done, that a thousand reasons are against it.”<sup>2</sup>

\*I am much pleased with the two following verses from one of his *qaṣīdahs*, they are extremely sentimental :

“When I called to recollection the tribe which dwells in the valley, love kills that heart of mine and gives it life. When I was at Raqmatayn,<sup>3</sup> I longed after them, but their tents were in the valley of *Ghaḍāya*;<sup>4</sup> O, how distant were the objects of my desire !”<sup>5</sup>

1 Literally : *If my storm has borne you away.*

2 In the Arabic, the relative pronoun in *أنا* can be referred to two antecedents; the word *أنا* signifies flight, and joined to the negative particle, necessity; the sense of the verse is consequently very difficult to determine, and the studied obscurity of its construction induces me to apprehend that I have missed the author's real meaning.

3 Ar-Raqmatayn, a valley near Madinah, mentioned by ancient poets; a number of other places in Arabia bear this name.

4 The valley of al-Ghaḍāya is not noticed in the biographical dictionaries of al-Suyūṭī, al-Zamakḥsharī and Yāqut.

5 The meaning of the expression *بعد ما* is given by al-Zawzānī in his commentary on the 70th verse of Imrau 'l-Qays's *Mu'allaqah*.

\* According to Arabic text it should follow the *qaṣīdah* and before, “In the following he reproaches,”—Ed.

Ibn al-Khayyāṭ was born at Damascus, A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058) ; he died there on the 11 Ramaḍān, 517 (A. D. 1123)\*; another statement, which, however, is not exact, places his death on the 17† Ramaḍān.

## 60. AL-MAYDĀNĪ

Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Maydānī, native of Naysāpūr, was an eminent literary man and a learned philologist. He was the favourite pupil of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāhidī, author of the commentary on the *Qur'ān*; he then studied under other masters and acquired a solid knowledge of the Arabic language, particularly philology and (*the history of*) the proverbs current among the Arabs of the desert. He composed on the subject a number of instructive works, amongst others the *Book of Proverbs*<sup>1</sup> which bears his name and to which no other similar work can be compared. He wrote also the *Kitāb al-Sāmī fi 'l-Asāmī* (*Book of him who aspires after the signification of proper Names*), a good treatise of its kind. He had learned by heart and taught (*a portion of*) the Traditions; and the following verses, which I believe are his own, were often recited by him:

“A hoary dawn broke upon the night of my cheeks, and I said: ‘It may perhaps be satisfied with (*turning white*) my beard.’ But as it still spread, I reproached it and it answered: ‘Hast thou ever seen a dawn which was not followed by day?’ ”

He died at Naysāpūr, on Wednesday, 25 Ramaḍān, A. H. 518 (A. D. 1124), and was buried at the Gate of Maydān Ziyād (*Hippodrome of Ziyād*). This Maydān was named after Ziyād Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, and is one of the quarters of Naysāpūr: from it is derived the surname Maydānī.—Al-Maydānī had a son called

<sup>1</sup> Professor Freytag, of Bonn, has just published a Latin translation of this useful work.

\* 2 November.—*Ed.*

† 8 November.—*Ed.*

Abu Sa'd Sa'id, who was distinguished for his talents and piety; he wrote a work, entitled *al-'Ism fī'l-'Asm* (*Attainment of the signification of proper Names*), and died A. H. 539 (A. D. 1144-5).

## 61. IBN AL-KHĀZIN

Abu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn 'Abd al-Khāliq, surnamed Ibn al-Khāzin (*son of the treasurer*), came of a family which inhabited Daynaur, but he himself was born and died at Baḡhdād. This kاتب<sup>1</sup> and poet was a man of merit, and wrote the fairest hand of any in his time; he was father<sup>2</sup> to the celebrated kاتب Abu 'l-Faḥ Naṣr Allāh, who transcribed repeatedly the *Maqāmas* (of *Ḥariri*), which copies are still extant, and who collected his father's poems into *Diwān*: those poems are good, the verses being well turned and the thoughts fine; as, for instance, the following, which contain a very original idea:

"He who acts uprightly is disappointed in his wishes, and he who acts crookedly is successful<sup>3</sup> and attains his end. See the letter *alif* (ا), it held itself up straight, and missed gaining the diacritical point, which the *nūn* (ن) obtained by its crookedness."

\*[By the same:

"Who will bring me that brunette whom (*her jealous relations*) have surrounded with (*lances*) like to her in colour<sup>4</sup> slenderness, and flexibility. Her lover should put on a double breastplate of patience, so as to face the point of the spear and watch when the eyes (*of her guardians*) yield to slumber. The

1 See No. 10, note on *kātib*.

2 In the printed Arabic text, the conjunction و is misplaced; it should precede the هو not follow it.†

3 Read بالاسعاف in the printed text.†

4 The spears of the ancient Arabs were made of a sort of yellow cane with knots at intervals (*bamboo?*), and are frequently named the yellow or brown (*sumr*) in the metaphorical language of the poets.

\* [ ] From "By the same" to "pains of love" on page 213 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

† In printed edition this error has been corrected.—*Ed.*

wine of youth causes her to falter (*in her gait*); it is not the breath of the zephyr *which bends that flower*); she is drunk (*with youth*), and I am doubly drunk with love. My eyes are as a headstrong, spirited courser; when I slack their bridle, they bear me into trouble."

By the same:

"O! thou who knowest all secrets; thou knowest what feeble resistance I can offer to the deceitful blandishment of her beauty! Let then my love for her (*lose its force and*) languish as her eyes! Let my consolation for her (*loss*) be as perfect as her beauty. The weight of mountains is less than what I bear on my heart afflicted by the pains of love."]

The following verses were written by him to Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ahwāzī, a physician who had hurt him in letting blood\*:

"God pity the overthrown! Those whom your hands wound are mangled by a lancet.<sup>1</sup> You come upon your bands (*of patients*) with bandages, which you spread out and fold on one arm and another.<sup>2</sup> You bleed them? by Allah! you mangle them; stabbing with the point of your well-aimed weapons. Is that a lancet case or a quiver of arrows? or is it (*the sword*) *Dhu 'l-Faqār* borne by the corpulent bald-head ('*Ali*!)?<sup>3</sup> Woe be to me! if I meet thee after this, thou stern-faced 'Antar, unless I wear a cuirass."<sup>4</sup>

Another day, this physician, having Abu 'l-Faḍl for guest, treated him with great attention and had him conducted to the

1 This verse and the following contain some meanings and puns which no translation can preserve.

2 This verse has also the following meaning: You come upon the bands with bands which spread out and surround (*the enemy, attacking him*) hand to hand.

3 See the description of the *ḫalīf* 'Alī's appearance in Abu 'l-Fidā's *Annals*, t. I, p. 339. Muḥammad gave him the celebrated sword *Dhu 'l-Faqār*.

4 This physician, it would appear, shed as much blood as the famous warrior 'Antarah of the tribe of 'Abs ('*Absī*; which word seems also to mean here stern-looking). In these burlesque verses is found the vulgar pronunciation 'Antar for 'Antarah.

\*To be more faithful to the text, the words "by slitting vein" should be added.—*Ed.*

garden and bath belonging to the house; on this occasion, the poet composed these verses:

"I visited a dwelling where I met no door-keeper but received me with smiles. The pleasure which appeared in the countenance of the servant was a harbinger of the kindest reception from the master.<sup>1</sup> I entered his garden and I visited his bath; and gave grateful thanks to the kindness of their owner."<sup>2</sup>

I have since found that the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn in his *Khariḍah*, attributes the preceding verses to a physician of Ispahān, named Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Aḥāzī, who, he says, died some years later than A. H. 550 (A. D. 1155): he gives the same lines also in the life of Ibn al-Khāzin, so it is difficult to decide which is the author.—We extract also the following passage from the poetry of Ibn al-Khāzin:

"(I loved) a slender-waisted (*nymph*), whose language showed that she was an Arab, but whose seducing looks were Indian.<sup>3</sup> I sipped the cup of patience till I stole from her guardians an hour of interview, sweeter than honey. I softened her paternal and maternal uncles, a jealous one excepted, that was on her cheek,<sup>4</sup> and resembled a drop of (*black*) musk deposited on (*red*) flower of the pomegranate; it seemed to me as if a violet were growing in a rose."

\*[By the same:

"The image came to visit me, and my eyes stole an instant of hurried slumber unperceived by the spies who watched me.<sup>5</sup>

1 Literally: *The advances of politeness on the face of the master.*

2 This verse is designed to bear a double meaning and may signify: I entered his paradise, and I visited his hell; and thanked *Riḍwān* (*the angel who guards Heaven*) and the kindness of *Mālik* (*the angel who guards Hell*).

3 That is: They wounded like swords made of Indian steel.

4 The same word which in Arabic means *maternal uncle* signifies also *mole*, *beauty-spot*; this offered too fair an opportunity for quibbling to be neglected by the later Arabic poets.

5 See note on *Tayf 'l-ḥay'āl*, No. 52; it has been said that the lovers met in their dreams, and of course jealous spies would endeavour to prevent the lover from sleeping, when they had him in their power.—What is here translated by hurried slumber, signifies literally *the slumber of the fearful*.

\* [ ] From "By the same" to "appeared" on page 215 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

My lips had not as yet finished kissing the yielding (*beauty*); my hands had scarcely pressed the (*charms*) confided (*to them*), when I fancied that (*my enemies*) perceived (*me*) and that they all said: He had not slept were he not visited by her image.<sup>1</sup>—Then (*the pleasing phantom*) fled away and vanished; and (*when present, the light of its beauty*) made me think the morning risen, though it had not yet appeared.”]

The greater portion of his poetry contains fine thoughts.<sup>2</sup> He died in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 518 (A. D. 1124), at the age of 47 years; the ḥāfiẓ Ibn al-Jawzī says, however, in his *Muntazim*, that his death took place in 512. His son, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh was still alive in the year 575 (A. D. 1179), but I have not been able to learn the date of his death.

## 62. NĀṢIḤ AL-DĪN AL-ARRAJĀNĪ

Abn Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Arrajānī, surnamed Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn (*friend of religion*), was qāḍī of Tustar and 'Askar Mukram, and composed some extremely beautiful and charming poetry. Mention is made of him by the kātib 'Imād al-Dīn\* in his *Kharīdah*: “In the prime of life,” says he, “al-Arrajānī was in the Nizāmiyah College at Ispahān (*the flow of*) his poetry commenced some years later than A. H. 480 (A. D. 1087), about the period of Nizām al-Mulk's death, and continued till the end of his life, in the years 544 (A. D. 1149): he did not cease acting as deputy to the qāḍī of 'Askar Mukram, and was highly honoured and respected. His poetry is great in quantity, and the collected portion is not the tenth part of what he composed. Having gone to 'Askar Mukram in the year 549

---

1 A true lover should never sleep but to dream of his beloved.

2 We may judge from the verse just translated what were considered as fine thoughts by Ibn Kḥallikān and his contemporaries.

\*To be faithful to the original “al-Dīn” should be replaced by al-Ispahānī (a native of Ispahān).—*Ed.*

(A. D. 1154), I met there his son, Muhammad Rā'is al-Dīn, who read over\* with me several times a large quire full of his father's verses. Arrajān was the native soil of his family tree, and Askar Mukram in Khuzestan the dwelling place of his kindred: though a Persian by birth, he drew his origin from the Arabs; the ancient stock from which he sprung were the Ansārs<sup>1</sup> (*a noble extraction*) the like of which was never offered by past ages: and he was descended from the tribe of Aws† and the branch of Khazraj; in speech he was a Quss‡<sup>2</sup> and an Iyād<sup>3</sup>; in writing, a Persian and (*first*) horseman in its hippodrome; in judgment, he was a Solomon and one of those sons of Persia who reached the highest point of knowledge<sup>4</sup>; he united beauty, in external form, to swætness in the perfume (*of good character*).” I learn from his collected poetical works that he was qāḍī's deputy in Khuzestān; acting sometimes at Tustar, other times at 'Askar Mukram, the qāḍī of which, Naṣr al-Dīn Abū

---

1 *Ansārs (aiders)*; name given to the people of Madinah, who lent assistance to Muḥammad when expelled from Makkah.

2 Quss§ was a bishop of Najrān in Arabia Felix; he lived some years before the introduction of Islamism, and was celebrated for his eloquence.—See de Sacy's *Ḥariri*, page 276.

3 Iyād was the third in descent from 'Adnān, whose eloquence was proverbial; his talent was inherited by his descendants, of whom Quss was one.

4 Literally: *Who attained the knowledge suspended to the Pleiades.*

\*According to the Arabic text it should be rendered: he loaned me. The some reading is in the autograph.—*Ed.*

†The sense of this sentence appears to be that 'Arrājani had combined in him the traits of all the four tribes, i. e. Aws, Khazraj, 'Iyād and Qays, and it should be rendered that 'his being one of the tribe of Khazraj based on his being one of the tribe of 'Aws; and (his eloquence) as one of the tribes of 'Iyād had (the pronunciation) of Qays.—*Ed.*

‡Misreading for Qaysī which means belonging to the tribe of Qays 'Ilān a tribe noted for its nomadic spirit in the days of Ignorance.

After the death of the Prophet they joined the apostatic forces, then they rejoined the fold of Islam and sided with 'Alī in the battles of Jamal and Siffin. Iyād is another tribe, some people of which had been converted to Christianity.—*Ed.*

§ قيسى is a misreading for قيسى.—*Ed.*

Muḥammad 'Abd al Qāhir Ibn Muḥammad, he replaced at one period, and at another later, 'Imād al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Alā Rajā; upon this he composed these lines:

"That I should act as deputy in such a profession is one of the turns of fortune. It is a wonder that I can have patience to endure such wondrous changes."

Being both jurisconsult and poet, he alluded to this in the following verses:

"I am without contradiction the most poetic doctor of the age, or (*at least*) the most learned doctor among poets. When I utter verses, people inscribe them (*in their memory*) with natural facility, without the trouble of repetition.<sup>1</sup> Like a voice in the shade of mountains, when (*my poetry*) strikes the ear, it awakens the answer of the echo."

By the same:

"Though you be a man of good counsel, ask advice from others on the day in which evil fortune befalls you. With the eye, you can distinguish far and near, but it you cannot see without a mirror."

By the same :

"I never roamed through distant region without making you (*my generous patron*!) the special object of my search. My efforts to meet you were earnest, but the only favour you procured me was the persecutions of misfortune. I still draw towards you, through I turn my face away, and my motions are as those of the stars.<sup>2</sup> I go towards the far East that I may find you, though my apparent direction is towards the West."

The following verses were written by him to a man in authority, reproaching him for not asking for him after a period of separation:

---

1 Such appears to be the meaning of the word **اللقاء** in this verse. The expression **التي الدروس** (*to lecture*) has been already noticed, No. 44 : note on **التي الدروس**.

2 He alludes to the retrograde motion of the planets.



"O my friend, I offer my life in ransom for thine! O thou whom it is my duty to love! why hast thou not reproached me for my neglect? To-day I complain of thy neglect and reproach thee. A proof that thou art tired of me is that I have been absent for some days and none came to inquire for me. When thou seest the slave run away unpursued (*know*) that it is the master who runs away from him."

By the same, containing a singularly original thought:

"When none had pity on my sufferings, my fleeting image which visited the slumbers of my mistress,<sup>1</sup> and which I in my thinness resembled, had compassion on me. It yielded me secretly its place and I went that night to visit my beloved, who thought she saw me in a dream (*not in reality*). So we passed a night together unperceived; I being awake under her eyelids, and she, asleep."

In one of his *qasīdahs* is found the following verse:

"Look at that (*charming*) mole<sup>2</sup> below her neck and learn how treasures are hid in secret corners."

By the same:

\*Canesco et amicus pubescit; reliqui illum et ille me reliquit; quod in me niger erat (scil. *barba*) album factum est, et quod in illo album (scil. *gena*) erat, nigrum.

By the same:

"(*The lover*) asked the groves where was his beloved; he hearkened to obtain an answer from the echo, but it only repeated

---

1 That the reader may understand this little piece, it is necessary to repeat here one of the observations already made on the whimsical idea held by Arabic poets respecting dreams. (See note on *Tayf al-Khayāl*, No. 52.) They fancy that the lover sees the image of his mistress in a dream, because he is really visited by a phantom which she herself sends to him. The lover too sends his image to glide under the eyelids of his beloved, who then dreams of him. Here the lover was so extenuated, that he took the place of his own image, which very complacently gave it up to him.

2 See note on *black moles*, No. 14.

\*Its English version is as follows:

I have been separated from my friend (for such a long time) that I grew old and he grew beard and (thus) blackness (of my beard) turned grey and whiteness (of his cheek) became black.—*Ed.*

his words. "Where," said he, "does she now sojourn?" It answered: "Where does she now sojourn?"<sup>1</sup>

By the same;

"If I knew not what I now know my ignorance would give me as much happiness as my knowledge gives me grief. Thus the sparrow ranges unconfined and feeds in the gardens, whilst the nightingale is imprisoned for its talent of song."

Another poet has thus expressed the same idea:

"The woes and evils of the world visit men of talent alone; so the only birds deprived of freedom are those which possess a tuneful voice."

The idea is similar to that which is contained in the following verse, taken from a long poem of Abn Ishāq al-Ghazzī, whose life has been already given (see No. 17):

"My talents, no doubt, have done me harm; the aloes-wood is burned for its sweet perfume."

We shall confine ourselves to the foregoing extracts, as the fear of being prolix hinders us from giving one of his long *qaṣīdahs*.—By the same.<sup>2</sup>

"I love the man whose face is fair towards his friend and whose heart is free from guile: despite all dangers, his friendship will endure; and tell me, does every man's friendship endure?"

As this second verse, which can be read backwards (*in the original Arabic*), is to be found in the poetical works of al-Ghazzī, we are unable to decide which of these two poets composed it.—Al-Arrajāni's verses abound in pretty thoughts, and have been collected in a separate volume. He was born A. H. 460 (A. D.

1 Literally: *Where is the place in which she has taken the baggage off her camel*.—The echo shows, by its answer, that it was as equally desirous as the lover of knowing where the beloved then resided, and consequently could give him no information.

2 It is evident that this has been inserted later, and in the wrong place also. Many examples of similar inattention will be pointed out in the course of the work.

1067-8); died in the month of the First Rabi' A. H. 544\* (A. D. 1149), at the city of Tustar, or at 'Askar Mukram according to another relation.—*Arrajān* means *belonging* to *Arrajān*, which is one of the districts of al-Ahwāz in *Khuzestān*; most persons say that the name of this place is written with a single *r*, and it is thus that al-Mutanabbī gives it in the following verse:

“To Arjān, my rapid steeds! Such is my firm resolution,  
which leaves the hostile spears broken behind it.”

Al-Jawharī, however, in his dictionary the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, and al-Hāzimī in his *Synonymes*, state that this name takes a double *r*.—*Tustar*, called vulgarly *Shushter*, is a well-known city in *Khuzestān*. ‘*Askar Mukram* (the camp of *Mukram*); people differ respecting this *Mukram*, but most of the well informed say that he was brother to Muṭraf Ibn Sīdān Ibn ‘Aqīlah Ibn Zikwān Ibn Ḥayyān† Ibn al-Kharzaq Ibn Ghaylān‡ Ibn Ḥāwah Ibn Ma‘an Ibn Mālik Ibn A‘sur§ Ibn Sa‘d Ibn Qays Ibn Ghaylan\*\* Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma‘ad Ibn ‘Adnān: such is the genealogy which I have extracted from Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat*; the name of Bāhilah is not, however, in this list,<sup>1</sup> though the *Mukram* above-mentioned is said to be descended from Bāhilah and from Ḥāwah; God knows best the truth! Others say that this *Mukram* was descended from Ja‘wanah al-‘Āmirī; and some again state that he was freed-man to al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, who posted him in that

---

1 In the life of Qu‘aybah Ibn-Muslim, the author states for what reason the name of Bāhilah is suppressed in the genealogical list remounting from Ma‘an to ‘Adnān.

\*Sam‘āni gives A. H. 540 (f. 24 a).—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it *Hobbān*.—*Ed.*

‡Egyptian edition has ‘Īlān.—*Ed.*

§M. de Slane reads it ‘Aṣar.—*Ed.*

\*\*Egyptian edition has ‘Ilān.—*Ed.*

place for the purpose of waging war against Khurrazād\* Ibn Bāris,<sup>1</sup> and for this reason it was called after him.—Khuzestan is an extensive region between Baṣrah and (*the province of*) Fāris.

(For further reference, see Sam'āni, *Ansāb* f. 24 a.—*Ed.*)

### 63. IBN MUNĪR AL-ṬARĀBULUSĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Munīr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muflīḥ al-Ṭarābulusī (*native of Tripoli in Syria*), surnamed Muhaddhib al-Dīn (*embellisher of religion*), 'Ayn al-Zamān (*eye of time*), was a poet of considerable celebrity, and his collected poetical works are still extant: his father recited poetry and sung in the market-places of Tripoli. The son, as he grew up, learned the *Qur'ān* by heart, and, after studying philology and literature, commenced reciting verses of his own; he then went to Damascus and settled there; (*in religion*) he was a *Rāfidi*.<sup>2</sup> The number of his satires and the causticity of his language were so excessive, that Buri, son to the atābek Ṭuḡhtikīn and prince of Damascus, imprisoned him for some time and intended to have his tongue cut out, but being interceded with, he consented to banish him. Ibn Munīr held a correspondence with Ibn al-Qaysarānī, in which these two poets attacked each other; for they were both residents

---

1 Such also is the account given by Abu 'l-Fidā in his *Geography*, page 316 of the Arabic text; the adversary with whom Mukram had to contend is there called *Kharidah* but Ibn Khallikān writes the name in the same manner as the excellent historian, al-Ṭabari. This campaign was made in A. H. 93, and an account of it is given in Major Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*, vol. I, page 472.

2 The word *Rāfi'i* (*heretic*) is generally made use of by the Sunnites to designate a follower of Shi'ite doctrines. The kātib 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Kharidah* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1414, fol. 1), that Ibn Munīr professed the most exaggerated Shi'ite principles whilst his rival, Ibn al-Qaysarānī, was a devout Sunnite.—For the origin of the *Rafidis*, see De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, tom. I, p. 48, *Introd.*

\*M. de Slane reads it *Khurzād*.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads it *Muhaddib*.—*Ed.*

of Baghdād, and each jealous of the other, as generally happens with persons who follow the same profession. In one of Ibn Munīr's *qaṣīdahs* are found these verses:

"When a man of noble mind perceives that he is neglected<sup>1</sup> his resolution should be, to depart for another land. Thus the moon, when waned away, strives to attain to its full, and succeeds by changing its place. Shame on your wisdom!<sup>2</sup> if you consent to drink of a troubled source<sup>3</sup> when the bounty of God fills the very deserts. During the course of your life, you sat (*in listless idleness*) and rivalled your camels in indolence; why not take them, and pry into the secrets of the desert? Depart and you shall gain lustre, like the sword which, when drawn, shows on each side of its blade the ornaments which were hidden by the scabbard. When life forsakes the body, count it not death; the only death is to live in humiliation. Devote your life to the deserts, not to poverty! As long as God permits you to live, let it suffice you to deserve his favour. Despise the vileness of fortune's gifts, when they draw near to you; (*remain not in inglorious ease*) but be as the phantom of a vision which appears and departs. Fly, even during the noontide fires,<sup>4</sup> from those on whom you rained honey, and who reaped for you colocynth. Fly the deceitful wretch in whose (*heart*) the plantations of friendship are badly rooted, and who, if you show him sincerity, will misinterpret (*your conduct*). Ah, how well I know the world and its people! with them it is a crime for merit to be perfect. They are formed in Nature's basest mould; the best of them, if I\* say a word,

---

1 Literally: *Perceives that obscureness is become the guest of his dwelling.*

2 Literally: *Folly to your wisdom!*

3 To drink of a troubled source; that is, to live dependent on a mean patron, who troubles the pleasure his gifts might create, by saying how ill they are deserved.

4 These verses contain a number of verble quibbles to which the author in some cases has sacrificed good taste; here, for instance, he has adopted a gross and ridiculous metaphor, *pediculos venari (fala) in juba deserti (fala)*.

5 Literally: *Join to the ardent noon flight from those, etc.*

\*According to the autograph and printed Arabic text in should be rendered in second person thus: if thou sayest a word they will repeat it; and if thou keepest silence, they will report to others what thou never said.—*Ed.*

will repeat it; and if I keep silence, will report to others what I never said. When Fortune thinks to cast me down, my haughty spirit bears me up even to the stars.\* I impress upon my mind the discourse of grave events, though it be darkly uttered; I tend my camels, but I fatigue them also on the failure of herbage.<sup>1</sup> (*The*) declaration (*which I make is plain and clear*) as the light of morning; then follows a firm resolution which executes (*my will*), as the edge of the sword slays the victim which it encounters."

†[One of his best pieces is the *qaṣīdah* which begins with these verses:

"Who has placed the moon on the point of that spear? Who has imbued with subtle magic the edge of that (*sword*) of Yemen?<sup>2</sup> Who has sent down the highest luminary to a sphere circumscribed by the folds of a tunic from *Khusrowān*<sup>3</sup>? Is that a glancing eye or a scabbard from which a sharp sword comes forth? Is that a young beauty whose waist, as she walks, bends gracefully from side to side? Or is it rather the elastic motion of a pliant lance? She has subdued me, I who before was so proud; love makes the lion slave of the covert-seeking gazelle."

From the same poem:

Is it not liquid musk which drops from her locks upon the summit of that pliant reed (*her body*)? What intoxicating draughts of love, what pearl-like teeth are in the covert formed by those lips of coral! Were the moon, when shining in full lustre, asked

---

1 The meaning of the poet appears to be, that when his camels can no longer find nourishment, he removes them to some distant and more fertile spot. This, however, seems to be only a metaphor, by which he wishes to imply that if his talents are neglected in one country, he travels to another.

2 This verse signifies in plainer language: Who has united that beautiful countenance to a graceful body pliant as a lance? Who has imbued with subtle magic the glances of the native of Yemen?

3 The poet is so dazzled by the beauty of his mistress that he takes her for the sun.

\* *السمك الاعزل* is a star in the Zodiac sign of Virgo and it is the 14th mansion of the Moon.—*Ed.*

† [ ] From "One of his" to "Companions of Muhammad", on page 225 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

whom she envied, she would reply: Such a one's daughter.<sup>1</sup> she has vanquished me by the variety of her perfections (*charms*) which consist in the sound of her voice and the aspect of her form, the haughty port of the Persian,<sup>2</sup> the voluptuousness of Syria, glances like those of the maids of 'Irāq, and language (*sweet as that*) spoken in Hijāj. Wine is not more dangerous for the reason that in the pure eloquence of the desert, uttered with a Turkish pronunciation."

By the same:

"Her eyes denied having shed my (*heart's*) blood; but she held up her head,<sup>3</sup> and then they acknowledged their guilt. Do not suppose that the mole upon her cheek is a tear of blood, shed by my eyes; it was a burning coal of the fire which consumed my heart; and on being plunged into (*the yielding substance of*) her cheek, it was extinguished, and then rose to surface."

In one of his *qaṣīdahs* are found these lines:

"Speak not harshly to me, for the marks of your displeasure are already sufficiently manifest. O, my mistress; where are those smiles which are now replaced by frowns?"

I found the anecdote which follows in the handwriting of the *Shaykh* \*'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhīrī': "I was told by Abu 'l-Majd, qāḍī of Suwaydā,<sup>5</sup> that there were in Syria two poets, Ibn Munīr and Ibn al-Qaysarānī, the former of whom used to taunt the latter (*with being so unlucky*) that he never accompanied any one without that person's meeting with ill fortune; it happened, however, that a musician sung these verses to the atābek 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, prince of Syria, who was then besieging the castle of Jabar (*Qal'ah Jabar*)<sup>6</sup>:

1 Daughter ابنة; the reason for so translating the Arabic word may be learned from the observations made in the Introduction.

2 The ancient poets sometimes allude to the proud and stately gait of the Persians; see *Diwan d'Amro 'l-Kais*, page 46, line 5 of the Arabic text.

3 Literally: *Her cheek*.

4 See note on *dreams*, No. 19.

5 Suwaydā is situated at the mouth of the Orontes.

6 See the life of 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī.

\*Full name *Shaykh* Ḥāfiẓ Traditionist Zakī al-Dīn 'Abdul 'Azīm Ibn 'Abdul Qawī al-Mundhīrī of Egypt.—*Ed.*

"What woe I suffer from that coy and froward nymph, when vile informers repeat to her tales completely false. I salute her, and she turns away; curving her arched eyebrows (*into a frown*), as if I were a wine-cup, and she still suffering from its effects."

"Zinkī applauded the verses and asked who was the author; and on learning that they were composed by Ibn Munīr, who was then at Aleppo, he wrote to the governor of that place with orders to send him the poet with all speed. The very night Ibn Munīr arrived (*at the camp*), the atābek Zinkī was murdered"—(we shall give the details of this event in his life). "On his death, Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, prince of Emessa, took Nar al-Dīn Maḥmad, son to Zinkī, and, putting himself at the head of the Syrian troops, returned to Aleppo, while Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī, father<sup>1</sup> to Muḥaffar al-Dīn, prince of Arbela, took the command of the troops belonging to the provinces east (*of Syria*), and went back with them to Mosul, where he joined Sayf al-Dīn Ḡi.āzi, (*another*) son to Zinkī, and made him master of Mosul. Ibn Munīr went back to Aleppo along with the army, and was accosted in these terms by Ibn al-Qaysarānī: Take that for all with which you flouted me.'"—This same Ibn al-Qaysarānī composed the following lines on Ibn Munīr, who had reviled him in a satire:

"Ibn Munīr! in reviling me, you have insulted a man of learning, who, by the rectitude of his judgment, was beneficial to mankind. But my heart is not oppressed for that; I have before me the model offered to the Companions of Muḥammad.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Munīr's poetry is eminently refined; he was born at Tripoli, A. H. 473 (A. D. 1080-1); and died in the month of the latter Jumādā, 548 (September, A. D. 1153), and was buried near the chapel at mount Jawshān.<sup>3</sup> I visited his tomb and found these verses inscribed on it:

1 In the Arabic text the word والد is incorrectly printed ولد.

2 This alludes to the following passage of the *Qur'ān*: "You have in the Apostle of God an excellent example, unto him who hopeth in God and the last day, remembereth God frequently." See *sūrat* 33, verse 21.

3 According to that author of the *Marāʾiṣid al-Itṭilāʾ*, Jawshān is a hill near Aleppo.



"Let him who visits my tomb be assured that he shall meet with what I have met with. May God have mercy on him who visits me (*here*) and says to me: 'May God have mercy on thee!'"

His life is given by the ḥafīẓ Ibn 'Asākir in his History of Damascus, who there says: "Al-Kḥaṭīb al-Sadīd (*the able preacher*) Abn Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qāhir Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓīz, preacher at Ḥamāh, relates as follows: 'After the death of Ibn Munīr the poet, I saw him in a dream<sup>1</sup>; I was on a lofty hill in a garden and I asked him how he was and told him to come up to me'; and he replied: 'I cannot, by reason of my breath; on which I said: 'Hast thou drunk wine?' 'Something worse than wine, O Kḥaṭīb!' he replied. 'What is it?' said: 'Dost thou know?' said he, 'what befel me on account of those poems in which I reviled people?' 'What befel thee?' 'My tongue,' he replied, 'swelled and lengthened out as far as sight could reach, and each poem recited with it became a dog which clung to it.' I saw that he was barefooted and that his clothes were completely worn out, and I heard a voice over him repeat these words: *Over them, shall be coverings of fire, and under them shall be floors of fire.*<sup>2</sup> I then awoke in terror."—I have since found in the Diwān of Abu 'l-Ḥakam 'Ubayd Allāh (*whose life I intend to give*), that Ibn Munīr died at Damascus, A. H. 547 (A. D. 1152); Abu 'l-Ḥakam having composed some elegiac verses on his death, which show that he died in that city. From among those verses we shall quote the following, which are written in the usual ludicrous style of the author:

"They bore him along upon the bier, and washed his corpse on the bank\* of the river Qallāt; they warmed the water in a well-tinned cauldron, under which they lit sticks of oak."

In admitting the exactness of the fact (mentioned in these verses), we shall be obliged to combine it with the statement already given, and suppose that he died at Damascus and was then

1 See note on *dreams*, No. 19.

2 See *Qur'ān*, sūrat 39, verse 18.

\*The word شاطئ in the autograph means two banks.—*Ed.*

carried to Aleppo for burial.<sup>1</sup> — Tripoli is a city of Syria, situated on the sea-coast and lying near Ba'lbek. In the year 503 (A. D. 1109), it was taken by the Franks from its possessor, Abū 'Alī 'Ammār Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ammār, after a siege of seven years: the history of this event is too long to relate.

#### 64. AL-QĀDĪ AL-RASHĪD ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN

Al-Qādī al-Rashīd (*the well-guided qāḍī*) Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad, son of al-Qādī al-Rashīd Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, son of al-Qādī al-Rashīd Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Zubayr al-Ḥaṣṣānī (*of the tribe of Ghassān*) al-Aswānī (*native of Syene*): this qādī belonged to an honourable and influential family; he is author of a work called *Kitāb al-Jinān*, etc., containing notices on a number of eminent men of talent;<sup>2</sup> his poetical works form a volume, and those of his brother the qādī al-Muḥadḍhib Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan have also been collected into a volume: they were both good writers in prose and verse. The following lines, from a beautiful *qaṣīdah* by al-Muḥadḍhib, contain an elegant and original idea:

“See the milky way among the stars; it resembles a swollen stream watering meadows. Were it not a river, the constellations of the Fish and the Crab had never swum in it.”

From another *qaṣīdah* by the same author:

---

1 The author has already stated that Ibn Munīr was buried at Jawṣḥān a hill near Aleppo, but he concludes from the verses just cited that he died at Damascus, since the funeral ablutions were performed on the body near the river Qallāḥ: This river must then be close to Damascus, yet none of the Arabic geographers have mentioned it, nor is it noticed by any of the European travellers whose works I have consulted.

2 The full title of this work is *Jin in al-Jan'in wa riyād al-Adh'in*; that is, *Gardens of the heart and Meadows of the mind*: it contains notices on the poets of Egypt, and is intended as a supplement to the *Yatimah* of al-Tha'alibī.

"I have no thirst for any other water but the Nile's—not even—God pardon me! for that of Zamzam."<sup>1</sup>

The writings of this poet abound in fine thoughts; he commenced making verses A. H. 526, and mention is made of him by the ḵatib 'Imād al-Dīn in his Sayl wa 'l-Dhayl. He possessed a greater talent for poetry than his brother al-Raṣḥīd, but was his inferior in all other sciences. He died at Cairo in the month of Rajab, 561 (May, A. D. 1166). As for the qādī al-Raṣḥīd, he is spoken of in these terms by Abu 'l-Tāhir al-Silafī in one of his *ta'liqahs*<sup>2</sup>: "In the year 559 (A. D. 1163-4) he was named, against his will, inspector of the government offices at Alexandria; and in the month of Muḥarram, 563 (October, 1167), he was put to death unjustly through the malice of his enemies." The ḵatib 'Imād al-Dīn speaks of him also in the Sayl wa 'l-Dhayl or supplement to his *Khariḍah* "This overflowing ocean, says he, "this swollen sea has been noticed by me in the *Khariḍah*, where I have also made mention of his brother al-Muḥadḥḍhib; in the year 563 he was put to death unjustly by Shāwir for leaning towards the party of Asād al-Dīn Shīrkāh. He was black in skin, and lord of the town<sup>3</sup>; he was the pearl of the age for his knowledge of geometry, of the exact sciences, and of those which are connected with the study of the law and of poetry. The emīr 'Aḍad al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Murḥaf Ibn 'Usāmah Ibn Munqidh' recited to me some poems by this author, and among others, the following, which he says he heard from his own mouth:

---

1 *Zamzam*: the well in the precincts of the temple of Makkah; its waters are supposed, by the Muslims, to possess extraordinary virtues.

2 See note on *Ta'liqah*, No. 25.

3 It is difficult to guess at 'Imād al-Dīn's meaning from these words; in his rhythmical prose he has brought in the word *balada* (town) to rhyme with *jalada* (skin), from which I am induced to think that here, as in many other passages, he has sacrificed sense to sound. Perhaps he wishes to say that the qādī al-Raṣḥīd was governor or proprietor of his native town Syene.

4 This emīr was probably son to the Osāma whose life is given in this work; the ḵatib 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Khariḍah* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 117), that he met him at Damascus, A. H. 571 (A. D. 1175-6). He is there called Aḍad al-Dawlat, not Aḍad al-Dīn, as in the MSS. of Ibn Khallikān.

"The woes which afflict me are great, but my courage also is great; and what harm can polishing cause to the cutting steel? (*what harm can the rubs of adversity do me?*) The vicissitudes of fortune, the changes it brings about may alter the noble character of others, but cannot alter mine. Did fire consume the ruby, the ruby then were as a common stone. Let not the worthless rags which cover me deceive you; they are the shell which encloses a pearl. Think not, when the stars are hidden, that their smallness prevents them from being seen; the fault must be laid upon (*the weakness of*) your sight."

\*[The idea in this last verse is taken from a long and well-known *qaṣīdah*, composed by Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, in which that poet says:

"The eye sees the stars and thinks them small, but that smallness is the fault of the eye, not of the star."

The kاتب Imād al-Dīn gives as this poet's<sup>1</sup> the following verses, composed on al-Kāmil, son of (*the vizīr*) Shāwīr:

"If a man of honourable feelings does not quit the beloved spot in which he is no longer welcome<sup>2</sup> that man has no resolution. Even did he love it to excess, he should know that death will tear him from it in spite of his reluctance."

'Imād al-Dīn relates also that he learned the following verses, at Baḡhdād, in the year 551 from Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsā al-Yamānī,<sup>3</sup>

1 In the Arabic text, a letter has been misplaced; the true reading is **وأورد له**.

2 Literally: which repels him.

3 The kاتب 'Imād al-Dīn states, in his *Khariḍah* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 250 verso), that the poet Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsā al-Yamānī (or al-Yamānī as there written), came to Baḡhdād, A. H. 550, and lodged at the house of a Christian physician belonging to the family called Banū Tūma (*the sons of Thomas*); he was a man of great talent and an able mathematician, and professed to understand the *Almagest* and the sciences of astronomy and logic. 'Imād al-Dīn was at that time studying Euclid, and he profited by the opportunity to have the difficulties of that author explained to him by al-Yamānī, but was soon disgusted by the self-sufficiency and arrogance of his master. In the year 580, al-Yamānī returned to Baḡhdād, after having been absent for some time; 'Imād al-Dīn had then some scientific discussions with him, after which he lost sight of him and never saw him more.

\*[ ] From "The idea" to "on earth" on page 230 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

who said that they had been recited to him by al-Qāḍī al-Raṣḥīd, and that they were composed by him on a person (*who had deceived his expectations*):

"Though the hopes which I placed in thee were disappointed, when I thought to have found in thee a just man; thou hast, however, conferred on me a service, which deserves my gratitude wherever I may dwell; for thou hast put me on my guard against all my companions, and taught me that no sincere friend exists on earth."]

\*The lines which follow were written to Al-qāḍī Al-Raṣḥīd by al-Jalīs Ibn al-Ḥabāb<sup>1</sup>:

"By your absence, our rich store of noble deeds has been impoverished, and the dwelling place of glory is abandoned. When you sojourned with us, the dark clouds (*of sorrow*) were dispelled, and prosperity followed wherever you passed. In your departure, fortune has committed a crime, which cannot be pardoned but by your return."

†[Al-Qāḍī al-Raṣḥīd was black in colour, and to this allusion is made by the poet and kاتب Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Ibn Qāḍis in these satirical verses:

"O thou who resemblest Luqmān, but not in wisdom<sup>2</sup>; thou who hast lost thy learning, not preserved it; thou hast stolen everyon'e verses, and mayest be called the black thief".<sup>3</sup>

1 The qāḍī Abu 'l-Mā'ālī 'Abd al-Azīz Ibn al-Ḥasayn Ibn al-Ḥabāb al-Aḡḥlābī (*descendant of the Aghlabites*) al-Su'ādī, was surnamed al-Jalīs (*the companion*) because he was admitted into the intimate society of the prince of Egypt; he was a man of talent and a poet. Died A. H. 561 (A. D. 1165-6). Al-Suyutī's *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍira*, MS. No. 652, fol. 150).

2 Luqmān, so celebrated by the Arabs for his wisdom, was a black.

3 The *black thief* (in Arabic, *al-Aswad al-Salīkh*) is the name of a species of venomous serpent.

\*In Arabic text this passage comes after the passage which begins with the word "These" on page 231 and ends on "mentioned".—Ed.

†[ ] From "Al-Qāḍī" to "property" on page 231 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

I am induced to think that the following lines were composed on al-Qāḍi al-Raṣḥīd also:

"If thou sayest: I was formed out of fire, and therefore surpass all men in intelligence, we answer: Thou speakest truth; but what has wasted thee away to a cinder?"

Al-Raṣḥīd, having travelled to Yemen on an embassy, pronounced verses in honour of some of the princes in that country, and amongst others, Alī Ibn Ḥatīm al-Hamdānī, of whom he said:

"Though Upper Egypt be sterile and its people suffer dearth, I shall not feel dearth in the country of Qaḥṭān. Since the land of Ma'rib supplies my wants, I have no regret for Syene. If the vile sons of Kḥindif know not my worth, my merit is appreciated by the princes sprung from Hamdān.

These verses excited the hatred of the missionary residing at Aden, by whom they were transmitted in writing to the prince of Egypt, who was so highly irritated by them, that he caused the author to be arrested and delivered over to them bound and naked, after seizing all his property.]<sup>1</sup> Al-Raṣḥīd remained some time in Yemen, and then returned to Egypt, where he was put to death by Shāwir as we have already mentioned.\*--*Ghassānī* means

---

<sup>1</sup> This adventure is not very intelligibly related, and indeed it cannot be perfectly understood without taking into consideration the following circumstances: 1st, The sulṭān Alī 'Ibn Ḥatīm, prince of Ṣana'a (see *Iohannisens Historia Jemenae*, p. 145), was descended from Hamdān, one of the posterity of Kahlān, brother to Hīmyār; he was therefore of the purest Arabic race; 2ndly, Kḥindif was a descendant from Ismā'il, and consequently not of true Arabic blood; his sons were Tābikḥah, Qama'a, and Mudrikah, from which last sprung Quraysh and Muḥammad, from whom were descended (according to their own account) the Fātimite princes of Egypt; they were consequently sons of Kḥindif, and it is against them that the poet here aims his satire. 3dly. The missionary here mentioned was the secret agent of the Fātimite government (see note on *Muqāṭil*, No. 10). The persons to whom al-Raṣḥīd was given up were probably some enemies he had in Yemen.

\*Ibn Ḥābab's passage comes here.—*Ed.*

*belonging to Ghassān* a great branch of the tribe of al-Azd, whose watering-place was at a fountain in Yemen called Ghassān, and from which they took their name. 'Uṣwān means native of 'Uṣwān (*Syene*), a town in Upper Egypt: al-Samʿanī pronounces this name *Aswān*, but the former is the correct pronunciation, according to what I have been told by the ḥafīẓ of Egypt 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundḥiri.

## 65. AL-NAFĪS AL-LAKHMĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Ghānī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khalf Ibn Mūsallam\* al-Lakḥmī al-Malikī (*follower of the sect of Mālik*) al-Qutrusī, surnamed al-Nafīs, was a man of considerable literary attainments. He is author of some good poetical pieces, which have been collected into a separate volume, from which I extract the poem composed by him in praise of the emir Shujā al-Dīn (*hero of religion*) Jaldak† al-Taḳawī (*client of Taḳ al-Dīn*), and known by the title of Wālī of Damietta; the commencement of this *qaṣīdah* is as follows:

"Say to my beloved: Thou hast prolonged thy aversion for me, and in that thou hadst in view my death. If thou desirest that I cease to love, restore me my heart which is in thy possession. Thou hast broken thy promises, and hast not even kept that of sending thy image to visit me in my dreams.<sup>1</sup> Yet I still act towards thee according to my compact, though thou hast transgressed that which thou madest to me. O mouth of the beloved! thou didst consume my heart when I tasted of thy cool source: thou didst declare me a transgressor when I wished to obtain from thee thy honey. Dost thou think that I can

<sup>1</sup> See note on *dreams*, No. 62.

\*M. de Slane reads Muslim. — *Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads Jildak. In the last line quoted by the author is clearly written as Jaldak with very clear diacritical marks; likewise in this place the author has given *zabar* to the first letter. — *Ed.*

admire the (*pliant*) branch of the willow after having seen thy (*slender*) waist? or that apples can charm my eyes after the sight of thy cheeks? Dost thou think that thy fragrant locks can protect thee from the kisses of thy lover.<sup>1</sup> It shall not be! I swear it by Him who has made love my master, so that I have become thy slave! O, heart of her whose movements are full of (*grace and*) softness, how hard thou art towards me! Dost thou think me insensible to love, or that I possess such inflexible sternness as thou?"

It is a beautiful poem from which this is taken, but we shall confine ourselves to the foregoing quotation, lest this article should become too long. Al-Nafis travelled to many countries, visiting remarkable men and employing his poetic talent as a means of obtaining donations from their liberality. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Khariḍah*, and says that he was a doctor of the sect of Mālik, and had some acquaintance with the science of ancients<sup>2</sup> and general literature: he is author of these verses:

"The wealthy may rejoice on a day of festival, but the poor cannot. Can a festival rejoice me whose garments are (*as*) the people of Saba? Can it give pleasure to me while (*the covering*) of my head is that of Ibn Jala's."

He means the people of Saba whom we tore asunder and totally disunited (*Qur'ān, surat 34, verse 18*); Ibn Jala had no turban, and it is to this the poet Suhaym<sup>3</sup> alludes in the following verse:

1 Or more literally: Dost thou think that the myrtle of thy fragrant *idhār* can protect thee against the approach of him who comes to quench his thirst. See Introduction.

2 *The sciences of the ancients*; the sciences of logic, philosophy, mathematics, etc., borrowed from the ancient Greeks.

3 The poet Suhaym Ibn Waṭṭīl ar-Riyāḥi was born forty years before the introduction of Islamism; he died A. H. 60 (A. D. 680).—(*Ibn Durayd*; quoted by al-Suyūṭī in the *Sharḥ al-Shawāhid al-Muṭṭalīn*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1238, fol. 105 verso.) This is perhaps the poet who was surmised the slave of the *Banu 'l-Ḥāṣṣ*; see note on *Suhaym*, No. 8.



I am Ibn Jalā; I am the surmounter of obstacles when I take off my turban, you may know me".<sup>1</sup>

The kاتب 'Imād al-Dīn speaks of al-Nafīs in his *Sayl* and says: "He was one of the jurisconsults at Miṣr, and I heard his eulogium made by al-Qādī al-Fāḍil, to whom he wrote a *qaṣīdah* from Miṣr."—I extract also the following verses from the volume containing his poetical works:

"O, fair traveller who settest out, bearing away with thee all my fortitude! is there any means of meeting thee again? My eyes, though tinged with tears of blood, have not done justice to thy merits; and my heart, though consumed (*by its passion*), hath not borne thee sufficient love."

His grandfather was (*also*) called Quṭrus.—Al-Nafīs died at Qūs (*in Upper Egypt*) on the 24th of the First Rabī; A. H. 603 (A. D. 1206)\*; he was at that time upwards of seventy years of age. Lakḥmī signifies descended from Lakḥm, son of 'Adī; the real name of Lakḥm was Mālīk, and 'Amr was that of his brother, who was surnamed Judḥām: these two having quarrelled, 'Amr gave Mālīk a box on the ear (*lakḥm*), and Mālīk struck 'Amr with a knife and cut off (*jadḥam*) his hand, whence the origin of their surnames.—I made frequent resarches to find the origin of the word Quṭrusī, but could discover nothing certain, except that he was a native of Miṣr; but I have been since informed by Bahā al-Dīn Zuhayr, the poet (*whose life we shall give*), that this word was derived from Qutayris†, the name of al-Nafīs' grandfather: Bahā al-Dīn had been his pupil and could repeat some of his poetry.—Abu 'l-Muzaffar Jaldak was freedman to Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar, prince of Ḥamah (*whose life shall be given later*): he was a man of piety and talent. Died at Cario the 28th Sha'bān, 628 (A. D. 1231),‡ aged upwards of eighty. He had composed some poetry, and related traditions of the authority of al-Silafī the ḥāfiẓ and others. Among the verses quoted as his by Bahā al-Dīn

<sup>1</sup> This verse is quoted by Maydānī in his *Proverbs*; see Freytag's edition, i. I, p. 46.

\*29 October.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane reads Quṭrus.—*Ed.*

‡1 July.—*Ed.*

Zuhayr were the following on a boy who studied geometry and astronomy:

\*Ille pure mathematicus, facie venusta praeditus, mihi vitam quotidie rapit et reddit. Facies ejus genera varia pulchritudinis comprehendit, et diceret Euclidem deo disseruisse; nam maxilla ejus est equator,<sup>1</sup> naevus ejus punctum refert, et gena triangulum.

These lines have also been attributed to Abū Ja'far al-Alawī,<sup>2</sup> a native of Egypt.

## 66. ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AL-SABTĪ

Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Hārām al-Rashīd Ibn al-Mahdī Ibn al-Mansūr al-Hāshimī, generally known by the name of al-Sabtī, was a devout and holy ascetic. Though he had the means of attaining a high rank in the world, he renounced it while his father was yet alive; he detached his mind from all worldly affairs and made choice of solitude and retirement, though his father was then a powerful *khalīf*. He was surnamed al-Sabtī because he gained every Sunday† (*Sabt*) by the labour of his hands, a sum sufficient for his weekly expenses, and during the rest of the time he was exclusively occupied with the practice of devotion: he persevered in this mode of life till he expired, A. H. 184 (A. D. 800), some time before the death of his father.

His history is so well known that it is needless to say more on

---

1 The Arabs call the equinoctial line *the line of equality*; it here means the dark line which the beard, on its first appearance, forms round the face.

2 This is probably the same person who is called Abu Ja'far Muslim al-Husaynī in the life of Ibn Hinzāba.

\*English version: (*In love of*) him of beautiful features with geometrical face I suffer death every day and come to life again. His face is encircled with figures as if Euclid is talking. His cheek is the equator and his mole is the centre and his temples from a triangle.

*In these verses the poet has employed the terms of geometry.—Ed.*

†Sabt in Saturday.—Ed.

the subject; besides, he is spoken of by Ibn al-Jawzī in the *Shudhūr al-Uqūd* and the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwat*; his name is mentioned also in the *Kitāb al-Tawwābin* (history of those who renounced the world), and the *Muntazim*.<sup>1</sup>

## 67. IBN AL-ʿARĪF

Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn 'Atā Allāh al-Ṣunhājī (*belonging to the tribe of Ṣunhāj*) al-Marri (*native of Almeria*) in Spain, and surnamed Ibn al-ʿArif, was a Ṣūfī eminent for his sanctity and piety, and illustrious by his spiritual gifts. He is author of the work entitled *al-Majālis* (*conferences*), and other treatise connected with Sufite doctrines; he composed also some good verses on the same subject, among them the following :

"They saddled their camels after accomplishing their wishes at Mina,<sup>2</sup> and they all disclosed the tormenting passion (*of their souls which longed after Muḥammad, the object of their love*). Their caravan journeyed forth, shedding a perfume around; for in that band were holy men (*who diffused an odour of sanctity*). The zephyr which fanned the grave of the selected Prophet (*Muḥammad*) brought joy to their hearts, as often as they drank intoxication from the recital of his virtues.—O, you who arrive at (*the tomb of*) the Chosen from (*the tribe of*) Muḍar! you visit (*him*) in body, but we visit (*him*) in soul. We remained (*where we were*) but we had an excuse for force obliged us; and *he who remains from a good excuse is as he who makes the journey.*"<sup>3</sup>

1 The *Muntazim* is the title of a great historical work by Ibn al-Jawzī; the *Shudhūr al-Uqūd* and the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwat* are by the same; the *Kitāb al-Tawwāqin* was composed by the *Shaykh* Muwaffiq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh the Hanbalite, native of Jerusalem. This author died A. H. 620 (A. D. 1223) (*H̄ẓji Khalifah*).

2 It is in the valley of Mina, near Makkah that the Muslims terminate the rites of their pilgrimage.

3 By the Muḥammadan law, the pilgrimage is of general obligation; but it is dispensed with in some particular cases, of which this is one.

His correspondence with the qāḍī 'Iyāt Ibn Māsā is elegantly written. He had a general knowledge of the sciences, and had studied the different systems of reading the *Qur'ān*<sup>1</sup>; he formed also a collection of those traditions which are related differently, and made a particular study of the channels through which each of them was handed down, and of the points in which they agree. The society of Ibn al-'Ārif was much liked by men of holy life and persons who had renounced the world; and an eminent *shaykh* relates that he saw in his handwriting a notice on Ibn Ḥazm al-Zahirī, in which he said: "The tongue of Ibn Ḥazm and the sword of Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf were \*brothers." His reason for making that remark was that Ibn Ḥazm frequently attacked the ancient and modern imāms, scarcely sparing a single one.<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-'Ārif was born A. H. 481 (A. D. 1088), on Sunday morning the 2nd of the First Jumādā,† some time after daybreak, and he died at Morocco in 536 (A. D. 1144), on the evening of Thursday, 22 Ṣafar‡; he was buried the next day. He had been summoned to that city by the reigning prince, in order to answer some accusations and it was on his arrival there that he died; crowds flocked to his funeral, and some miraculous signs appeared, indicative of his great holiness: this caused the ruler of Morocco to repent of having cited so respectable a man before him. The name of this prince was 'Alī and he shall be again spoken of in the life of his father, Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn.—Al-Mariyya (Almeria) is a great city in Spain.

---

1 See note on *Qur'an*, No. 68.

2 A great number of Muslim doctors were put to death by al-Ḥajjāj.

\* "Brothers" does not convey full sense of Arabic. There are three distinct terms شقيقين, *shāqiqayn*, of the same father and mother, i. e. real brothers, etc.

بنو العلات, *Banu 'l-'Allat*, children of the same father but of different mothers, i. e. step-brothers, etc.

أخياقي, *akhyāfi*, children of the same mother but different fathers, i. e. uterine brothers, etc. Here it refers to the first group.—*Ed.*

† 23 July.—*Ed.*

‡ 25 September.—*Ed.*

## 68. IBN AL-ḤUṬAY'AH AL-LAKHMĪ

Abu 'i-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Hishām Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'ah al-Lakhmī (*belonging to the tribe of Lakhm*) al-Fāsī (*native of Fez*), a great and famous saint; and not only full of holiness, but gifted with eminent talents and acquainted with general literature. He was consummate master of the seven different systems followed in reading the *Qur'ān*,<sup>1</sup> and copied with his own hand numerous works on literary and other subjects: his writing was elegant, and his orthography good; and copies written by him are in high request, for the blessings which they draw down on their owner and for their correctness. He was born at Fez on the eighth hour (*after sunrise*) of Friday, 17th of the latter Jumādā, 478 (A. H. 1085).<sup>\*</sup> Having made the pilgrimage to Makkah and visited Syria, he went to Egypt, where he obtained great credit among the people by the holiness of his life. He dwelt outside the city of Old Cairo, at the Mosque of Rāshidah,<sup>2</sup> and would neither receive presents, nor take payment for the lessons he gave in the art of reading the *Qur'ān*. A great famine happening in Egypt, the principal inhabitants of Old Cairo went to him on foot, and asked him to accept some relief, but he refused; they then decided unanimously that one of their number, al-Faḍl Ibn Yahyā al-Ṭāwīl (*the tall*), who was a notary<sup>3</sup> and draper of Cairo, should ask his daughter in marriage; the marriage having taken place, the husband asked permission for

---

1 As the *Qur'ān* was originally written without points to mark the vowels or distinguish certain consonants one from the other, it happened that a considerable number of words could be pronounced in different manners; the absence of punctuation and the different manners of separating the verses contributed also to render the meaning of the text uncertain. From these causes, combined with the use of peculiar intonations and accents founded on tradition, arose seven distinct systems of reading the text of the *Qur'ān*, all of which are considered as legitimate. Those *seven readings*, as the Arabs call them, may be looked on in the light of seven different editions. The best commentators, such as al-Bayḍāwī and al-Zamakhsharī are always attentive to point out the words of doubtful pronunciation and mark how they are read in each system.

2 M. de Sacy gives an account of this mosque in his life of al-Ḥakīm Bi'amr Illāh; see *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, t. I, p. 301.

3 See *Clwestomathie*, t. I, p. 40.

<sup>\*</sup>10 October.—*Ed.*

the mother of his wife to come and live with her, which was granted: their object in this was to lighten Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'a's family expenses. After this, he dwelt alone and gained his livelihood by copying books. He died at Old Cairo towards the end of Muḥarram, 560 (December, A. D. 1164) and was buried in the cemetery called the lesser Qarāfah,<sup>1</sup> where his tomb is still visited by the pious; on the night I went to it, I found there a great number of persons. He used to say that the good fortune of Islamism has been shrouded in the grave-clothes of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: meaning that during the lifetime of that khalif, Islamism had not ceased to flourish and increase, but that it began, on his death, to fall into trouble and confusion. In the *Kitāb al-Du'al al-Munqati'ah*,<sup>2</sup> in the life of (*al-Ḥāfiẓ lidīn Allāh*) Abū Maymun 'Abd al-Majīd, prince of Egypt, it is stated that, in the year 533, the people remained three months without a qādī; then Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'ah was chosen in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'adah*, but he would only accept on condition of not judging according to the religious law of the Fātimite dynasty<sup>3</sup>; and as this could not be granted, another person was appointed.—*Fāsī* means native of *Fāz* (or *Fez*), a great city in Maḡhrib near Ceuta, which has produced a number of learned men.

## 69. IBN AL-RIFĀ'Ī

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Rifā'ī, was a holy man and a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. He descended from an Arabian family and inhabited the Baṭā'il, in a village called Omm 'Abīdah: he was there joined by an immense number

1 See No. 24, note on *Qarāfah*.

2 The work called *al-Du'al al-Munqati'ah* (*History of Independent Dynasties*) forms four volumes, according to Ḥājji Kḥalifah, and possesses great merit. It was written by the vizir Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abi Manṣūr Ṭāhir 'Azdi, who died A. H. 623 (A. D. 1126).

3 The Fatimites were Shi'ites, and Ibn al-Ḥuṭay'ah appears from what he says of 'Umar, to have been a Sunnite.

of *saqirs*, who place the greatest faith in his words and became his disciples. The order of dervishes called the Rifā'ī, or the Baṭā'ihī, had him for founder; his followers perform extraordinary actions, such as eating living serpents and going into burning furnaces, of which they extinguish the fire.<sup>1</sup> It is said that in their own country (*the Baṭā'ih*), they will ride on lions and do other similar feats; they have fixed periods of general meeting, when innumerable faqīrs flock to them, and are then all sustained at their expense. Al-Rifā'ī died without issue, but his brother left posterity who have continued to inherit, till this day; the presidency of the order and the government of that country; but it is needless to expatiate on their history, as it is universally known. The shaykh Aḥmad Ibn al-Rifā'ī, though taken up with his devotional exercises, composed some poetry, from which the following verses are said to be taken:

"When my night is dark, my heart is troubled by the recollection of you; I utter a plaintive cry like that of the ring-dove. Over me are clouds which rain down care and grief, and under me are seas which that grief swells to overflowing. Ask Omm 'Amr how her captive (*lover*) has passed the night; she frees other captives, but him she leaves in bonds! He does not meet with death, yet in death he would find repose; nor does he meet with pardon, and so obtain his freedom."

Ibn al-Rifā'ī persevered till the last in his holy mode of life: he died on Thursday, 22 of the First Jumādā, 578 (September,\* A. D. 1182), at Omm 'Abīdah, aged upwards of seventy years.—I found in the hadwriting of a member of his family that *Rifā'ī* means *descended from Rifā'ah*, who was an Arab by nation. *Al-Baṭā'ih* is the name given to a collection of villages situated in the midst of the waters between Wāsiṭ and Baṣrah: this region is well known in 'Irāq.<sup>2</sup>

---

1 For an account of the extraordinary performances of these dervishes, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

2 Al-Baṭā'ih (*the low grounds or marshes*) is the name of an extensive country at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris.

\*23.—*Ed.*

## 70. AḤMAD IBN ṬULŪN

The emīr Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn, lord of Egypt, Syria, and the frontier provinces of Asia Minor, was appointed governor of Egypt by the Khalif al-Mu'tazz Billāh (A. H. 254, A. D. 868) and afterwards took possession of Damascus, Antioch, the whole of Syria and the provinces on its northern frontier, during the time that al-Muwaffiq Abū Aḥmad Ṭalḥah, son of al-Mutawakkil (and brother of the Khalif) al-Mu'tamid, for whom he acted as lieutenant, was engaged in war with the (*insurgent*) chief of the Zanj. Aḥmad was a generous prince, just, brave and pious and able ruler, an unerring physiognomist : he directed in person all public affairs, repopled the provinces, and inquired diligently into the condition of his subjects. He liked men of learning, and kept every day on open table for his friends and the public; a monthly sum of one thousand dinars<sup>1</sup> was employed by him in alms, and having been consulted one day by his intendant, on the propriety of giving anything to a woman who had come to solicit his charity, though she was respectably dressed<sup>2</sup> and had a gold ring on her finger, he returned this answer: "Give to every one who holds out his hand to you." But with all these qualities, he was too hasty in using the sword, and al-Qudā'i relates that he counted the number of those whom Ibn Ṭulūn put to death or who died in his prisons, and that they amounted to eighteen thousand persons. He knew the *Qur'ān* by heart and was gifted with a fine voice: no one read that book more assiduously than he. "In the year 259 (A. D. 872-3), he built the mosque which bears his name, and is situated between Old and New Cairo." (This additional note is taken from a statement made by al-Farghānī<sup>3</sup> in his History; but al-Qudā'i says in his *khiṭat* that its construction was commenced in the year 264 and finished in 266 : (God alone knows which is right !)) The building of this edifice cost Ibn Ṭulūn one hundred and twenty thousand dinars, accord-

1 Abu 'l-Mahāsīn says, *ten thousand*.

2 Literally: Wearing a veil (*iz ir*). See Lane's translation of the *Arabian Nights*, vol. I, page 52.

3 Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Farghānī is author of a supplement to the Chronicle of al-Ṭabari.—(Hajji Khalifah).



ing to Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf, who wrote the history of his life<sup>1</sup> Ṭulun, the father of Aḥmad, was a slave who had been sent with a number of others, by Naḥ Ibn As'ad al-Sāmānī, governor of Buḫārā, as a present to the K̲halīf al-Māman in the year 200.—Ṭulun died A. H. 240 (A. D. 854-5); his son Aḥmad was born at Sāmarrāh, the 23 Ramaḍān A. H. 220, (September\*, A. D. 835). Some say that he was only Ṭulun's adopted son: he entered Misr on the 21 or 23 Ramaḍān, 254 (September,† A. D. 868) others say on Monday,‡ 25th of the month; he died of diarrhœa<sup>2</sup> in that city, on Sunday§ eve, the 20, or, according to al-Farghānī, the 10 of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 270 (May A. D. 884). I have visited his tomb, which is in an ancient mausoleum, situated near the gate by the castle of Cairo, and on the road leading to the lesser Qarāfah, at the foot of Mount Muqaṭṭam.—Ṭulun is a Turkish name.<sup>3</sup>—*Sāmānī* means *descended for Sāmān*, ancestor of the Samanite kings who ruled Transoxiana and Khurāsān. The city of Sāmarrāh was built by al-Mu'taṣim in year 220 (A. D. 835); it is situated in the province of 'Irāq above Baḡhdād. In the lexicon called the *Sāḥāḥ* under the word *rai*, al-Jawharī indicates six different manners of pronouncing (*and writing*) the name of this place, and the above is one of them; but this is not the place for giving all these names; and besides, we have already mentioned them in the life of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī.<sup>4</sup>

## 71. MU'IZZ AL-DAWLAT IBN BUWAYH

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Abī Shujā' Buwayh Ibn Fan-nāḫkhusrā Ibn Tamām Idn Kūhī Ibn Shīrẓīl al-Aṣghar (*the less*) Ibn

1 Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Dāyah, الدایه, author of the History of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulun, died, according to Hājjī K̲halīfah, in 334 (A. D. 945-6).

2 Literally: of looseness in the bowels.

3 This name is sometimes written Ṭaylan, طیلون.

4 See No. 8.

\*20.—*Ed.*

†13 or 15.—*Ed.*

‡Monday fell on 21 Ramaḍān.—*Ed.*

§Friday fell on 10 May and 20 was Wednesday.—*Ed.*

Shirkah Ibn Shīrzil al-Akbar (*the greater*) Ibn Shīrān Shān Ibn Shīrfannah Ibn Shīstān Shān Ibn Sasan Faru Ibn Sharwazī\* Ibn Sasnādī Ibn Bahrām Gār al-Malik (*the king*) Ibn Yazdegird Ibn Hurmuz Kermān Shān Ibn Sīpār al-Malik Ibn Sīpār Dhu 'l-Aktār<sup>1</sup>; the rest of this genealogical series is known, as it ascends through the Sasanid kings; so there is no necessity for farther details.—Abu 'l-Husayn, surnamed Mu'izz al-Dawlat (*the exalter of the empire*), was lord of 'Irāq and al-Ahwāz; he had two brothers, whose lives shall be given later, and an uncle called 'Aḍad al-Dawlat, sovereign of Daylam. The name of al-Aḡṭā' (*the maimed*) was also given to him from his having lost his left hand and some of the fingers of his right under the following circumstances: While he was in the prime of life, he followed the party of his brother 'Imād al-Dawlat, and had gone to Kermān by his direction and that of Rukn al-Dawlat, his other brother. The prince who governed that country, on learning the approach of Mu'izz al-Dawlat, retired to Sijistan without offering any resistance, and left him master of the province. A tribe of Kurds was then in possession of some districts in Kermān, and paid an annual tribute to the ruler of that country, on condition that they should not be obliged to do homage.<sup>2</sup> When Mu'izz al-Dawlat arrived, these people sent him their chief, who obtained from him the promise and firm assurance that he would allow them to act according to their accustomed habits: but Mu'izz al-Dawlat having been advised by his secretary to surprise them in a nocturnal expedition and seize on their flocks and their treasures, acted according to this counsel, and marched towards them during the night by a rugged mountain-path: but the Kurds, being aware of his approach, lay in wait for him at a defile, and when he came up

1 The autograph MS. of Abu 'l-Fada's annals the *Turikh Guzdah*, and the MSS. of Ibn Khallikan have furnished me with seventeen copies of this genealogy: but they all disagree, either omitting some links of the chain or writing the names differently: the list as here drawn up is probably erroneous, and it may not correspond with that really given by Ibn Khallikan; but this is a matter of trifling importance as the descent of the Buwayh family from the Sasanides appears very contestable.†

2 Literally: To tread his carpet.

\*M. de Slane reads it "Sharazil" Ibid Sinsad.—*Ed.*

†The genealogy given above conforms to Ibn Khallikan's autograph.—*Ed.*

with his troops, they attacked him on all sides, killing and making prisoners; a few only escaped, and Mu'izz al-Dawlat had his left hand and some fingers of the right struck off, and received so many wounds in the head, and body that he fell stunned among the slain: he got off however with his life, but this adventure is too long to be related here. In the year 334 of the Hijrah, during the khalifat of al-Mustakfi, Mu'izz al-Dawlat set out from al-Ahwāz and entered Bagh̄dād on Saturday, 11th of the First Jumādā, 334 A. H. (December,\* A. D. 945), taking possession of that city without resistance.—Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī states in his Shuḥḥur al-'Uqūd, that Mu'izz al-Dawlat began his life by selling firewood, which he carried about upon his head; then he and his brothers became masters of extensive province and their prosperity attained its height. Mu'izz al-Dawlat was the youngest of the three; he governed 'Irāq twenty-one years and eleven months, and died at Bagh̄dād on Mondy, 17th of the later Rabi', A. H. 356 (April,† A. D. 967); he was interred in his place, but his body was afterwards transported to a mausoleum built for its reception in the cemetery of the Quarysh (near Bagh̄dād): he was born in the year 303 (A. D. 915). When on the point of death, he granted liberty to his *mamlūks*, gave the greater part of his property in alms, and corrected many abuses. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad al-'Alawī (*a descendant of the Ḥalīf Ali*) relates as follows: "I was one night in my house, situated on the bank of the Tigris, at the passage called Maṣḥ̄ra'at al-Qaṣab, which leads down to the river; the sky was cloudy, and there was thunder and lightning, and I heard a voice pronounce these words:

'When thou, O Abū Ḥusayn; hadst attained the height of thy desires; when thou wast in safety from the strokes of fortune and hadst warded off its vicissitudes—then the hand of death was stretched forth towards thee, and thou didst take gold from thy treasury (*to fill that hand which seemed to thee to solicit thy generosity.*)'

"And it was on that very night that Mu'izz al-Dawlat died." He was succeeded by his son 'Izz al-Dawlat Bakhtiyār whose life

---

\* 20.—Ed.

† 2.—Ed.

we shall give. The orthography of the names Buwayh, Fannākhusn and Tamām is that which we have here indicated, and were we not unwilling to lengthen this notice, we should mark the manner in which the names of his other ancestors should be pronounced; but, as they are here written correctly, those who quote me have only to follow my orthography.<sup>1</sup>—We shall notice his brothers 'Imād al-Dawlat 'Alī and Rukn al-Dawlat al-Ḥasan.

## 72. NAṢR AL-DAWLAT IBN MARWĀN AL-KURDĪ

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Marwān Ibn Dastak al-Kurdī (*the Kurd of*) al-Ḥumaydi (*of the tribe of Ḥumayd*), surnamed Naṣr-al-Dawlat (*aid of empire*), became possessor of Mayyāfāriqīn and Diyār Bakr on the death of his brother Abū Sa'īd Maṣṣūr Ibn Marwān, who was assassinated in the fortress of al-Hattākḥ,<sup>2</sup> on the night of Wednesday\*, 5 of the First Jumādā, A. H. 401 (December, A. D. 1010). Naṣr al-Dawlat was a man highly favoured by fortune, and gifted with a lofty spirit; his government was just and his character resolute; the prosperity to which he attained, and the pleasures in which he indulged are beyond the powers of description. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī (*native of Mayyāfāriqīn*) says, in his History (*of that city*), that there is no instance of Naṣr-al-Dawlat's having exacted money from any person excepting one; he then gives an account of the circumstance, but there is no necessity for repeating it here. He relates also that this prince never missed the hour of morning prayer, notwithstanding his addiction to sensual enjoyments; that he had three hundred and sixty concubines, with each of whom he passed a night every

---

<sup>1</sup> See note on "imperfection of Arabic alphabet", No. 19.—Ibn Khallikān could never have suspected the strange alterations made in this very genealogy by the copyists of his work.

<sup>2</sup> According to Abu 'l-Fidā, in his Geography, this place is situated in the province of Diyār Bakr.—The rise of the Banū Marwān and the death of Maṣṣūr, surnamed Mumahhid al-Dawlat (*regulator of the empire*) are related in the Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā, vol. 2, page 569.

\*Thursday night according to autograph which fell on 14 December.—*Ed.*

year, and that it was only on the same night of the following year it fell to the turn of the same person to meet him again. This writer relates also that Naṣr al-Dawlat allotted a fixed time every day to the examination of state affairs, to pleasure, and to the society of his family and friends: he left a numerous posterity. The poets of that time went to see him and celebrate his praises, and they immortalised his glory in their poems. It may be remarked, as an example of the good fortune which attended him, that he had for vizirs two persons who had served khalifs in the same capacity; the one was Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn, surnamed Ibn al-Maghribi, author of the *Diwān* containing poetical writings and prose epistles,<sup>1</sup> and of other celebrated works; he had acted as vizir to the khalif of Egypt, and on leaving him, went to the emir Naṣr al-Dawlat, and was vizir to him twice: the other was Abū Naṣr Ibn Jahūr, who on quitting his service, became vizir at Baḡḡdad. (The lives of these two persons shall be given.) Naṣr al-Dawlat continued in the enjoyment of good fortune and every pleasure till his death, which occurred on the 29th Shawwāl, 453 (November,\* A. D. 1061): he was interred in the Mosque of al-Muḥdathah; or, according to another account, in the castle of al-Sidilli, whence his body was afterwards removed to the vault of the Banu Marwān adjoining the Mosque of al-Muḥdathah. He had lived 77 years, fifty-two of which (or by another statement, forty-two) he passed as sovereign. *Mayyāfariqin* is so well known that it is unnecessary to fix the orthograghy of its name: *Al-Muḥdathah* is a *ribāt*<sup>2</sup> outside the city of Moyyāfariqin; *al-Sidilli* is the name of a dome situated in the castle (*of the same city*), and built upon

1 Such is the meaning of the expression الديوان الشعر والنشر.

2 The *ribāts* were fortified barracks situated along the frontiers of the Muslim empire. At an early period, there were not less than ten thousand in the province of Transoxiana alone. Travellers, on arriving at a *ribāt*, found every accommodation gratis. These establishments were supported by government, and their revenues were increased by the gifts of private individuals, and by *waqfs* (see No. 21 note on *waqf*) established in their favour by pious Muslims. Military service in a *ribāt* was considered as an act of religion.—(For further particulars on the subject, see the extracts from Ibn Ḥawqal, in the Geography of Abu 'l-Fadā, pages 235 and 487 of the Arabic text.)

three pillars; *Sidilli* is a Persian word signifying *three props*.<sup>1</sup>—Naṣr al-Dawlat was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Qāsim Naṣr, surnamed Niẓām al-Dīn.

### 73. AL-MUSTA'LĪ

Abu- 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad, surnamed al-Musta'li (*the aspiring*), was son of al-Mustaṣṣir Ibn al-Zāhir Ibn al-Ḥākim Ibn al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī Ubayd Allāh: we shall give the rest of his genealogy and state the nature of the disagreement respecting it when we relate the life of al-Mahdī, in the letter *ayn*. Al-Musta'li succeeded his father al-Mustaṣṣir in the government of Egypt and Syria: during his reign, the power of that dynasty<sup>2</sup> was impaired and its authority weakened, their political influence<sup>3</sup> having ceased in most of the Syrian cities, and the provinces of that country having fallen into the possession of the Turkomans on one hand, and the Franks on the other; (may God frustrate their projects!) This people entered Syria and encamped before Antioch in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A. H. 490 (November, A. D. 1097); they obtained possession of it the 16 Rajab, 491 (20 of June, A. D. 1098); in the following year they took Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, and in the month of *Shā'ban* of the same year (July, A. D. 1099), they became masters of Jerusalem, after a siege of more than forty days. This city was taken on a Friday morning; during the ensuing week, a great multitude of Muslims perished, and upwards of seventy thousand were slain in the Masjid al-Aqṣā (or Mosque of 'Umar). An immense quantity of gold and

1 In Persian سه دلیله.

2 Ibn Khallikan means here the *Fatimite* dynasty; but as he does not admit their descent from Fā'imah, daughter of Muḥammad, he refuses them that title.

3 *Their political influence*, or more exactly, *their mission*. See note on missinaries, No. 10, and M. de Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes* tom. I.

silver vases were taken from the *Ṣaḥḥar*<sup>1</sup> (by the invaders). The fall of this city caused an extreme commotion throughout all the land of the Islamism. We shall again touch on this circumstance in the life of al-Afdal *Shāhanshāh* (see in the letter *shin*.) This al-Afdal, surnamed (like his father<sup>2</sup>) Amir al-Juyush (commander of the troops) had taken Jerusalem from Sukman Ibn 'Urtuq<sup>3</sup> on Friday, 25 Ramaḍān, A. H. 491,\* or (as it stated by some) in the month of *Shābān*,† 489; he then appointed a governor to rule it in his name, but this person, being unable to resist the Franks yielded the city up to them: had it been in the possession of the 'Urtuq family, it would have been better for the Muslim people! During the administration of al-Afdal, the Franks became masters of many towns on the Syrian coast; they took Caifa<sup>4</sup> in the month of *Shawwāl*, A. H. 493,‡ and Qaisāriyah (*Caesaria*) in 494. Al-Musta'li did not possess the least authority during the vizirat of al-Afdal. It was in his reign that Nizār, his elder brother, fled to Alexandria: this Nizār was the ancestor of the Ismailites: possessors of al-Alamūt and other castles; his adventures are well known,

---

1 *Al-Ṣaḥḥrā* (the stone): the chapel situated near the mosque founded at Jerusalem by 'Umar on the site of the ancient temple, is so called from its being built over what the Muslims suppose to be the identical stone which served the patriarch Jacob as a pillow, when he had the vision of the Ladder.

2 "He bore the same titles as his father." نعت بنوعوت أبيه (*al-Nuwayri*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 702 A).

3 Jerusalem then belonged to Tāj al-Dawlat Tutush al-Salḡiqi, who had granted it in fee *اقتبيل* to the emir Ṣukmān. Al-Afdal empowered *Iftikḥar* al-Dawlat to govern the city, as lieutenant to al-Musta'li.—(*Al-Nuwayri*.)

4 *Caifa* is the European pronunciation of the name; in Arabic it is written and pronounced *Ḥayfah*.

\*27 August, 1098.—*Ed.*

†July-August.—1096.—*Ed.*

‡August 1100.—*Ed.*

but too long to be related here.<sup>1</sup> Al-Musta'li was born at Cairo on the 20th of Muḥarram, A. H. 469 (August, A. D. 1076\*); he was proclaimed khalif in the year 487 A. H. (A. D. 1094†), on the

1 Al-Nuwayrī gives the history of Nizār in these terms:

"Al-Musta'li was proclaimed khalif on Thursday morning, 18 of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 487: it was al-Afḍal Amīr al-Juyūsh who brought this about; for, on the death of al-Mustanṣir Billāh he entered the Castle (of Cairo) in all haste and seated him (al-Musta'li) on the throne of the empire, and sent to his brothers Nizār, 'Abd Allāh, and Imā'il, to inform them of their father's death and desiring them to come quickly. On arriving, they saw their youngest brother seated on the throne of the khalifat, at which they were filled with indignation, when al-Afḍal said to them: "Go forward and kiss the earth in the presence of God and of our lord al-Musta'li Billāh! Do him homage, for it is he whom the imām al-Mustanṣir Billāh hath positively declared as his successor to the khalifat." To this Nizār answered: "I would rather be cut to pieces than do homage to one younger than myself, and moreover I possess a document in the handwriting of my father, by which he names me his successor, and I shall go and bring it. He then withdrew in haste to get the paper, and went to Alexandria: al-Afḍal sent after him to bring him back, but no one knew whither he was gone or how he went. So al-Afḍal was in great trouble. Some relate, however, that when al-Mustanṣir Billāh died, his son Nizār, who was the *Wali 'l-'Ahd* (or khalif-elect), took his seat on the throne and desired homage to be done to himself; but al-Afḍal refused (*to permit this*), through dislike to Nizār, and he had a meeting with a number of emirs and men of rank, to whom he said, that Nizār was come to the age of manhood, and they could not hope to escape his severity; so the best thing to be done was to do homage to his youngest brother Abu 'l-Qāsim Aḥmad. This plan was approved of by all except Maḥmūd (Muḥammad?) Ibn Maṣṣāl مصال al-Mālikī, who had received from Nizār the promise of being named vizir and general-in-chief in place of al-Afḍal; in consequence, he informed Nizār of what he was doing; but al-Afḍal hastened to proclaim Aḥmad khalif under the name of al-Musta'li Billāh, and having placed him on the throne of the empire, he himself sat down in the vizir's seat, and having introduced the imām 'Alī Ibn al-Kaḥḥāl chief qāḍi of Miṣr, with the *shuhūd* (*legal witnesses*), he caused all the leading men of the empire to take the oath of allegiance to al-Musta'li: he then went to Ismā'il and 'Abd Allāh, who were under arrest in the mosque at the Castle, and informed them that the oath of allegiance had been taken to the ord al-Musta'li, and that he had sent his salutations to them, and given them the choice of swearing allegiance to him or not; to which they replied that they acknowledged his authority, since God had preferred him to themselves. They therefore took the oath, and a certificate to that effect having been drawn

(Continued on page 250)

\*24 August.—Ed.

†29 December.—Ed.



festival of Ghādīr Khumm<sup>1</sup> which is celebrated on the 18 of

(Continued from page 249)

up, was read in the presence of the emirs by the sharīf Ṭhanā al-Mulk Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who was a writer in the Chancery Office (see note on Chancery, No. 14.) Nizār and his brother 'Abd Allāh then fled to Alexandria with Maḥmūd Ibn Maṣṣāl; the governor of that city was Nāṣir al-Dawlat Istikīn al-Turkī (*the Turk*), one of the Mamluks of 'Amir al-Juyūsh (*whose life will be found in Ibn Khallikān's work*): having been informed by them of the circumstances, and obtaining the promise of the vizirat for himself, he took the oath of allegiance to him (Nizār), and the people of the city did the same; Nizār then received the surname of al-Muṣṭafā li-Dīn illāh (*the chosen for God's religion*). Then, in the month of Muḥarram, 'A. H. 488, al-Afḍal went forth with troops to attack Nizār, Iftikin, and Ibn Maṣṣāl, who met him as he approached Alexandria, and after a smart contest, put him and his men to flight. He then returned to Miṣr, and Nizār, assisted by a party of (*Bedwin*) Arabs, laid waste most of the country to the north of Miṣr. Al-Afḍal marched again to Alexandria, and continued to besiege it till the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah. When this unfavourable state of affairs was at its height, Ibn al-Maṣṣāl had a dream, on which he consulted a foreign (*astrologer*) the next morning: "Methought," said he, "I was on horseback, and al-Afḍal walking in my train;" on which the foreigner remarked, that he who walked on the earth was to possess it. On hearing this, Ibn Maṣṣāl collected his wealth and fled to Lukk, لوك, a village near Barqā, and from that time the power of Nizār and Iftikin declined, and they were obliged to ask al-Afḍal to spare their lives. On his making a promise to that effect, the gates of Alexandria were opened to al-Afḍal who entered it, and having seized on Nizār and Iftikin, he sent them to Miṣr, and Nizār was never seen after: it is even said that al-Afḍal had him shut up between two walls till he died. Nizār was born on the 10 of the First Rabi', A. H. 437.\* As for Iftikin, it was afterwards declared to the public that he had been put to death. Ibn al-Maṣṣāl received a letter from Al-Afḍal, inviting him to return to Miṣr, which he did, and was honourably received by him." (*Al-Nuwayri* MS. of the *Bib. du Rol*, No. 702 A.)

Compare this passage with the extract of Mirkhond given by M. de Sacy in his *Memoire sur les Assassins*. Ibn Khallikān says that Nizār was the ancestor of grandfather of the Ismailites or master of the mission; this also accounted for by Mirkhond (see the same *Memoire*), who states that a chief of the Ismailite dynasty, called Ḥassan, son of Muḥammad Ibn Buzurk-Umid pretended to be descended from Nizār, son of al-Mustansir. M. de Sacy's *Memoire sur les Assassins* and *expose de 'l-Histoire de Druzes* furnish every information respecting the Ismailites. These two works cannot be too highly praised.

1 The only Muslim sect which celebrates the festival of Ghādīr Khumm

\*25 September, 1045.—*Eā*.

(Continued on page 251)

Dhu 'l-Hijjah, and he died at Miṣr on the 16 ṣāfar. 495 (December A. D. 1101\*).

#### 74. IBN AL-MASHṬUB

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad. son of the emir Sayf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥayjā' Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi 'l-Khalil Ibn Marzubān al-Hakkārī, surnamed, 'Imād al-Dīn (*support of religion*), was generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Mashṭab (*son of the scarred*): his father being called al-Mashṭab from having a scar on his face. Ibn al-Mashṭab was a powerful emir, greatly respected by (*contemporary*) princes. and considered as their equal<sup>1</sup>; he was a high-minded man, extremely generous and noble in his conduct, brave. and possessing a lofty spirit, so that those princes stood in awe of him. His enterprises against them are so well known that it is not necessary to give a relation of them here.<sup>2</sup> He was an emir of the empire founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. who had conceded to him the revenue of Naplus, after allotting one-third of it to the support of Jerusalem: this happened on the death of Maḥṭab, who held Naplus in fief. Abu 'l-Hayjā', his grandfather. was lord of al-'Imādiyah (*Amadia*) and a number of (*other*) castles in the country of the Hakkāis<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Mashṭab continued in

(Continued from page 250)

(the pond of Khum), is that of the Sh'ites. They relate that 'Alī and Muḥammad being at a place of this name, lying half way between Makkah and Medinah, the Prophet, by a solemn declaration, appointed 'Alī his successor. (See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*. t. I. p. 193.—Abu 'l-Fidā. in his *Geography*. Arabic text, p. 84, fixes the pronunciation of the word Khum.)

1 Syria was at that time in the hands of many feudatory and nearly independent princes.

2 For the indication of the principal events of his life. I shall refer the reader to M. Hamaker's work. entitled: *Expeditionum a Graecis Francisque adversus Dimyatham narratio*. pp. 95 and 99. in the notes.

3 The Turkoman tribe of Hakkār possessed the country to the north-east of Mosul.

\*11 December.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Ḥalil.—*Ed.*

high power and honour till the year in which the Franks arrived at Damietta<sup>1</sup> when he acted in the manner which is publicly known, and which I shall give an account of in the life of al-Malik al-Kāmil.<sup>2</sup> He then quitted Egypt, and was reduced to such a strait, that in the month of the Second Rabi', he was besieged in the castle of Tall Ya'fur,<sup>3</sup> situated between Moṣal\* and Sinjār: the history of this circumstance is well known.<sup>4</sup> Then the emīr Badr al-Dīn Lālū, Atābek and lord of Moṣal, entered into correspondence with him, and having succeeded in allaying his apprehensions by deceitful promises, prevailed on him to surrender, and swore to observe the conditions which he had offered. In consequence of this, Ibn al-Maṣḥṭab went to Moṣal, but was not there long when Badr al-Dīn arrested him; this was in the year 617 (A. D. 1220); he then sent him to al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn hoping to gain his favour by this action, as in the last case, it was against him that Ibn al-Maṣḥṭab had revolted. Al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf sent his prisoner to the castle of Ḥarrān where he was put into close confinement in a narrow dungeon, and chained with heavy fetters and handcuffs: it is reported that (*in this wretched state*) his beard and clothes swarmed with vermin; so I was told when a boy, and he yet alive. I have been informed that a person who had been in the service of Ibn Maṣḥṭab, wrote in his behalf the following distich and sent it to al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf:

"O thou, whom the revolving spheres favour with continued happiness; thou art not a king (*malik*), but an angel (*malak*). Thy mamlūk Ibn al-Maṣḥṭab is dying in prison; set him free, for thou alone canst do it, or God."

1 Literally: *The year of Damiettea*, which was the 615th of the Hījah (A. D. 1218).

2 Ibn al-Maṣḥṭab wished to depose al-Malik al-Kāmil, suṭṭān of Egypt, and place a brother of that prince, al-Malik al-Fā'iz, on the throne.—(See the Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā.)

3 The name of this castle is also written *Tall Ya'far*, يعفر, *Tall A'afar*, اعفر, and *al-Tall al-A'far*. It lies between Moṣal and Sinjār; is built on an isolated hill, and possesses a spring of unwholesome water. (*Marāṣid al-Iṭṭā'il*.)

4 See Abu 'l-Fidā's Annals, year 617.

\*M. de Slane gives *Muṣul*.—Ed.

Ibn al-Maṣḥṭub continued in bondage till his death, which took place in the month of the Second Rabi', A. H. 619 (April, A. D. 1222). His daughter built him a mausoleum at the gate of Rās 'Ayn, to which city his corpse was transported from Harrān, and there buried: this tomb I have myself seen.—During his confinement, the following distich was addressed to him by a literary man:

"O Aḥmad; thou hast never ceased to be 'Imād al-Dīn (*the support of religion*). O bravest of those who ever wielded lance! despair not! though thou liest in their prison; (*the patriarch*) Joseph remained in prison for years."

This thought is taken from the following verses, which form part of a poem composed by al-Buḥturī:

"Is not the example of God's Prophet, Joseph, a sufficient consolation for him who, like thee, is imprisoned on an unjust and false accusation? He long remained in bondage with patient resignation, and patient resignation made him master of an empire."

The emīr 'Imād al-Dīn was born about the year 575 (A. D. 1179); and I read in a letter written by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, that al-Maṣḥṭub wrote to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, informing him of the birth of this son, and that another of his wives was pregnant. The answer to this letter was drawn up by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, who wrote as follows: "The Emīr's letter, announcing two children, has been received; up to the present moment circumstances have been aided by divine favour, and as for the (*child*) which cometh, may God write that it speed its way in safety! We are rejoiced by the star which hath risen from behind its veil; and we hope for joy from the fruit still remaining in the bud."<sup>1</sup> As for Sayf al-Dīn al-Maṣḥṭub, father of 'Imād al-Dīn, he and Bahā al-Dīn Qarāqush (whose life shall be given later) were stationed in Acre by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, when the enterprises of the Franks excited his apprehensions for the safety of that city. Al-Maṣḥṭub remained there till the Franks laid siege to it and took it. Having escaped,<sup>2</sup> he joined Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at Jerusalem, on Thursday, 1st of the latter Jumādā, A. H.

<sup>1</sup> Literally: *In its spathe*; a metaphor taken from the date-tree.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Maṣḥṭub and the troops which defended Acre had been made prisoners of war; Richard Cœur-de-Lion caused the garrison to be put to death.

(Continued on page 254)

588.\* Ibn Shaddād says (*in his history*)<sup>1</sup>: "The sultān was with his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil when al-Mashḥūb entered unexpectedly; he rose up and embraced him with extreme joy, and, having caused the others to withdraw, he continued in conversation with him for a long period." Al-Mashḥūb died at Naplus on Thursday, 26 Shawwāl, A. H. 588 (November, A. D. 1192†); such is the date given by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ispahānī in his work entitled al-Barq as-Shāmī; but Ibn Shaddād says, in his history of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, that his death took place at Jerusalem, on Sunday, 23rd Shawwāl‡ of that year‡. He was interred in (*the court of*) his house, after funeral prayers had been said over him in the Great Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*). None of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's emīrs were on an equality with him, nor even approached him, in rank and influence. They used to call him the grand emīr, this being the title by which he was known, and which was borne by no other. I found the following note in the handwriting of al-qāḍī al-Faḍīl: "News has been received of the death of Sayf al-Dīn al-Mashḥūb, emīr and prince of the Kurds: he died on Sunday, 22 Shawwāl§ of this year, at Jerusalem. His pay,<sup>3</sup> which was furnished out of the revenues of Naplus and other places, amounted to three hun-

(Continued from page 253)

but spared some of the chiefs in expectation of obtaining from them a rich ransom.

1 This is the history of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn published by Schultens, in Arabic and Latin under the title of *Saladini Vita et res Gestae*; the passage cited here is to be found on page 223.

2 See *Saladini Vita et res Gestae*, page 268.

3 Literally: *His bread*. The meaning of this word is perfectly certain. M. de Sacy has noticed it in the *Memoires d'l-Institut*, tom. 7, pp. 79, 104.

\*According to the calendar prepared by Eduard Mahler (a German Scholar) it was Sunday, 14 June, 1192. The name of the day is not clear in the autograph.—*Ed.*

†5 November.—*Ed.*

‡1st November. The date is not clear in the autograph but it is probably 22 Shawwāl, otherwise the former date should be advanced by one day and the same is legible in the autograph.—*Ed.*

§Vide above remarks.—*Ed.*

dred thousand dinars<sup>1</sup> at the epoch of his death; less than one hundred days elapsed between his escape from captivity and the term of his existence. Glory to Him who liveth and dieth not; who overthroweth the edifices of man! Time is a judge exempt from blame!" I may observe that the expression, *who overthroweth the edifices of man*, is analogous to one which occurs in a verse given in the *Ḥamāsah*<sup>2</sup> :

"The death of Qays is not the death of a single man; it is the edifice of a people which has been overthrown."

This verse forms part of an elegy composed by 'Abadah Ibn al-Ṭabīb on the death of Qays Ibn 'Āṣim al-Tamīmī; the same who came from the desert to the blessed Prophet with the embassy of the Banū Tamīm, in the ninth year of the Hijrah, when he became a Muslim. The Prophet then said of him: "This is the chief of those who dwell in tents."<sup>3</sup> He was a man of intelligence, and celebrated for his prudence and authority (*among the tribes*). The manner of parsing the preceding verse is a subject of discussion for the learned in the Arabic language, but this is not the proper place for entering into that subject.<sup>4</sup> Abū Tamīm gives this verse along with two others in his (*Ḥamāsah*) chapter of elegies; they run thus:

"On thee be the blessing of God, O Qyas, son of 'Āṣim! On thee may his mercy alight, as long as he may deign to show mercy; such is the salutation of one who is the target of adversity; of one who, coming from afar to visit thy country, salutes thee still. The death of Qays is not the death of a single man; it is the edifice of a people which has been overthrown."

Qays Ibn 'Āṣim was the first person, who anterior to the introduction of Islamism, buried alive his female children (*he was*

1 The Ayyubite dinār would now have an intrinsic value of from 13 to 14 shillings sterling.

2 See Freytags *Ḥamāsah*, page 367.

3 Literally: *Of the camels'-hair people*. The Bedwins still cover their tents with a sort of black cloth made of camels' hair.

4 Al-Ṭabrizī, in his commentary on the *Ḥamāsah*, notices this point of discussion; it is simply this: the word *هلك* (*death*), is in the nominative or accusative case?

*induced to do so*) through jealousy (*for their honour*), and because pride would not allow him to give them in marriage.<sup>1</sup> This (*in human practice*) was followed by the rest of the nation, till abolished by the Muslim religion. The emir Badr al-Dīn Lālā died on Friday, 3rd Shā'bān, A. H. 657 (July, A. D. 1259\*), in the citadel of Moṣāl, and was buried there in a chapel; he was then about eighty years of age.

1 "Cais fils d'Acem issu de Mancar issu de Sa'd fils de Zeidmenat fils de Temim, poète et guerrier illustre, vécu du temps de l'idolatrie et de l'islamisme. Il était un de ceux qui enterraient leurs filles vivantes. Il se fit musulman, et survécut a Mahomet. Son prénom était Abou Ali. Moucharmradj المشرح, de la tribu de Yechkor. dans une incursion contre les banou Sa'd, enleva une femme nommée Ramim رميم بنت أحمد qui était niece, par sa mère, de Cais ben Acem. Celui-ci alla la redemander a Moucharmradj en lui proposant une rançon. Moucharmradj dit a Ramim de choisir si elle voulait rester auprès de lui ou retourner dans sa famille. Elle préféra rester. Cais, indigné contre les femmes, revint a sa tribu, et en arrivant il enterra vivantes ses filles, et s'imposa la loi de traiter le même toute fille qu'il aurait a l'avenir. Les Arabes imitèrent cet exemple; les principaux et les plus nobles d'entre eux enterraient leur filles, de peur qu'elles ne fussent faites prisonnières et que leurs familles ne furent deshonorées a cause d'elles."—*Aghāni*, t. III, pp. 235—6—Une autre version de ce fait se trouve dans Meidani, au proverbe اضل بن مودة.

"Cais fils d'Acem a pu propager par son exemple et rendre plus commun parmi les Arabes l'usage d'enterrer les filles vivantes, mais cet usage existait déjà avant lui, ou du moins on *tuait* d'une manière quelconque des filles au moment de leur naissance. Car on lit dans la vie du poète Amrou fils de Colthoum (*Aghāni*, II, 361), que Mohalhīl, frère de Colaib, ordonna a sa femme Hind, lorsque'elle accoucha de Leila, de tuer cette fille. Hind, au lieu d'exécuter cet ordre, cacha Leila, qui depuis fut mère d'Amrou ben Colthoum. Mohalhīl est antérieur de 40 ou 50 ans a Cais ben Acem. Après avoir embrassé l'islamisme, Cais entrant un jour chez Mahomet le trouva tenant entre ses bras une petite fille qu'il baisait. Il lui dit: Qu'est-ce que cette petite brebis que tu flaires?—C'est ma fille, répondit Mahomet.—Par Dieu! poursuivit Cais, j'en ai eu beaucoup comme cela, et je les ai toutes enterrées, sans en flaire aucune.—Il faut que Dieu, répliqua Mahomet, ait privé ton cœur de tout sentiment d'humilité." (*Aghāni*, III, 236.)

"Cais renia l'islamisme après la mort de Mahomet, et crut a la prophétesse Sedjah et a Mossailama. Khalīd fils de Wālid, dans son expédition du Yemāma, où Mossailama fut tué, fit prisonnier Cais ben Acem, qui n'échappa a la mort qu'en jurant qu'il n'était venu auprès de Mossailama que pour lui redemander un de ses fils qu'il lui avait enlevé." (*Aghāni*, III, 239.)

\*25 July.—Ed.

## 75. ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN AL-IRBILĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Sayyid Ibn Shā'bān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Jābir Ibn Qaḥṭān al-Irbilī (*native of Arbela*), surnamed Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*welfare of religion*), belonged to a great family of Arbela, and was *ḥājib*<sup>1</sup> to Muzaffar al-Dīn Ibn Zayn al-Dīn, lord of that city. Having incurred the displeasure of his master, he was imprisoned for some time; and on his liberation, in the year 603 (A. D. 1206-7), he left Arbela and proceeded to Syria in company with al-Malik al-Qāhir Bahā al-Dīn Ayyūb, son of al-Malik al-'Ādil. He then entered into the service of al-Malik al-Mughīth (*another*), son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, who had known him at Arbela, and now treated him with great kindness. On the death of Mughīth, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn passed into Egypt and was attached to the service of al-Malik al-Kāmil; the esteem in which he was held by this prince became so great, that he entered into higher favour with him than any other had hitherto been able to effect; he was specially chosen as the companion of his private moments, and raised to the rank of emīr. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was a man of superior merit and possessed considerable information in different sciences; I have been informed that he knew by heart (*Abū Ḥamid*) al-Ghazzālī's treatise on jurisprudence, entitled *Al-Khulāṣah*; he wrote also some good poetry and composed elegant distichs, by which talent he gained the favour of these princes. In the month of Muḥarram 618 (March, A. D. 1221), when al-Malik al-Kāmil was at al-Manṣurah to oppose the progress of the Franks, his favourable dispositions towards Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were altered, and having caused him to be arrested, he sent him to the castle of Cairo, where he remained in close confinement till the month of the

(Continued from page 256)

"Abda, ou Obda fils d'Attabib, dont le véritable nom était Yezid fils d'Amrou issu d'*Abd Taim* (designation) qui s'appliquait aux banou Temim parce qu'ils adoraient une idole nommée *Taim* تيم, poète du temps de l'ignorance et de l'islamisme. Il était dans l'armée de Noman ben Moucrin النعمان بن مقرن qui combattit les Persans à Medain. Asmai disait que le plus beau vers élégiaque ازئي بيت qu'il connaissait, était celui qui faisait partie de l'élégie d'Obda sur la mort de Cais ben Acem."

For this note, I am indebted to the kindness of M. Caussin de Perceval.

1 See *Bibliothèque Orientale*, HAGEB.



Second Rabī', 623; having then composed a *distich*\* and taught it to a musician, by whom it was sung in the presence of al-Malik al-Kāmil, the prince found it so beautiful, that he asked who was the author; and on learning that it was written by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, he ordered him to be set at liberty. The distich is as follows:

"Thy wanton cruelty towards him who loves thee cannot remain hidden; thou hast caused my life to pass away in sorrow and in suffering. Thy anger is not proportioned to my fault; thou hast been too severe, and thy sole intention was to cause my death."

Some state however that the distich which was the cause of his liberation ran thus:

"Do as thou wilt; thou, thou art my beloved; I have not committed a fault, but, as thou hast said, many faults. Wilt thou ever grant that we pass our nights together, so shall my heart be freed from its rust; thou shalt pardon and I return (*to my love*)."

On coming out of confinement, he got into higher favour than before.—Al-Malik al-Kāmil, having been displeased at one of his brothers, whose name was al-Malik al-Fā'iz Sābiq al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the latter went to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and asked him to effect a reconciliation; Ṣalāḥ in consequence wrote these lines to al-Kāmil:

"It is an essential rule for him who is lord of Egypt, that he imitate Joseph in kindness towards his brethren. They acted wrongly, and he met them with pardon; when they departed,† he was bounteous towards them, and restored them his affection."

When the emperor (*Frederic the Second*), lord of Sicily, landed in Syria, A. H. 626 (A. D. 1229)<sup>1</sup>, al-Malik al-Kāmil sent him Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his ambassador; and the articles of a treaty having been adopted and confirmed by the oath of the emperor, Ṣalāḥ wrote the following lines to al-Kāmil:

---

<sup>1</sup> See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. LIX, and M. Reinaud's *Extraits des Historiens arabes relatifs aux Croisades*, page 428; a very correct and useful work.

\*For *dubayt*, *qurain* is a proper term.—*Ed.*

†*وَفَقَّرُوا* means *were in need*.—*Ed.*

"The emperor has taken an engagement any given his word that we shall have a lasting peace. He was obliged to confirm it by oath, and if he attempt to break it, may he devour the flesh of his left hand."<sup>1</sup>

The following verses are by the same:

"When you look on your children, know that when they came to you, they were merely forerunners of death.<sup>2</sup> Children arrive to the stations of their fathers, and the fathers make preparations for departure."

One of my friends recited me these verses, and attributed them to the same author:

"The day of resurrection shall be full of terrors, as you have been told; be therefore in dread of it. Let it suffice you to know that you cannot conceive its terrors, till you taste of death in your (*earthly*) journey."

The poet Ibn 'Unayn wrote a letter from Damascus to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Egypt: (I have been informed by my master 'Afīf al-Dīn Abu 'i-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Adlān, the grammarian and interpreter, native of Moṣul, that this letter was in the handwriting of Ibn 'Unayn himself and contained his dying injunctions); it began thus:

"I reveal to you the treatment which I received from Fortune, whose vicissitudes have already cut my wings; how can a sick man, who is oppressed by afflictions, recover, as long as he does not see the face of health (*or the face of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*)?"

---

1 This silly stuff could only be tolerated in the original language, as its quibbles and double meanings are lost in the translation. The first verse may signify: *The vaunting emperor has pretended, etc., or, The emperor prince has said.* The second verse signifies literally: *He has drunk the oath (or drunk his right hand), and if he attempt to break it, may he eat the flesh of his left (through disappointment and rage).* The expression to drink an oath has its equivalent in English, and might be rendered by *to swallow an oath*, that is, to take it by compulsion. A verse of the *Qur'ān*, the 87th of the second *sūrah*, has given rise to this expression; it is there said that *they* (the children of Israel) *were made to drink down the calf into their hearts*: an allusion to Exodus, XXXII. 20. See also al-Ḥarīrī, page 99.

2 That is: Children and death come to man, but children arrive first, having outrun, or *cut the way of* death; as the original expresses it.

The poetical pieces of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his distichs have been collected into separate volumes.—He continued in the enjoyment of high dignity and honour under al-Malik al-Kāmil and the other princes (*of the family*); but having accompanied al-Kāmil in an official capacity on his expedition to Asia Minor, he fell sick at the army, near the town of Suwaydā,<sup>1</sup> and was therefore transported to al-Ruhā (*Edessa*), but died before his arrival; this took place on Saturday 20, or on the 25 of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, 631 (September, A. D. 1234\*); he was buried without the walls of Edessa, in the cemetery at the Ḥarrān Gate. His son had his body removed later to Egypt and interred in a mausoleum at the lesser Qarāfah; this was towards the end of the month of *Shahbān*, A. H. 637 (March, A. D. 1240); I was then at Cairo.—Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was about sixty years old when he died. Since (*writing the above*), I discovered the date of his birth; it took place in the month of the Second Rabi', 572 (October, A. D. 1176), at Arbela.—*Irbil* (*Arbela*) is a large city near Moṣul, and lying to the east of it.

## 76. 'AZĪZ AL-DĪN AL-MUSTAWFĪ

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Ḥamid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn Habat Allāh Ibn Aluh al-Ispahānī, surnamed 'Azīz al-Dīn (*great in religion*), al-Mustawfī<sup>2</sup> was uncle to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ispahānī, whose life shall be given in this work. 'Azīz al-Dīn filled several elevated and influential situations at the court of the Seljuq princes, and was always in high favour:

---

<sup>1</sup> Suwaydā is situated at the mouth of the Orontes.

<sup>2</sup> At the court of Arbela, under the government of Zayn al-Dīn and his son Abū 'l-Muẓaffar Kukuburi the Mustawfī, or secretary of state, took rank immediately after the vizir.

\* 16 or 21 September.—*Ed.*

the needy flocked to him for assistance and poets came to praise him and were richly recompensed. The celebrated poet Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Jakīnā of Baghdād, makes the following allusion to him in one of his *qaṣīdahs*.<sup>1</sup>

“Let us then rein our camels towards Irāq and a rich meed shall be measured to us from the wealth of al-‘Azīz.”

His praises were celebrated also by the qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Arrajānī, whose life has been already given; among other eulogiums on him, he composed the long *qaṣīdah* from which are extracted the verses there mentioned, and which rhyme in *B*.<sup>2</sup> His nephew ‘Imād al-Dīn often expressed his pride in possessing such an uncle, and he makes frequent mention of him in his works. Towards the end of his life, ‘Azīz al-Dīn was treasurer to Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Malikshāh Ibn Alp Arslān al-Saljuqī; this Sultān had married the daughter of his uncle, the sultān Sinjar Ibn Malikshāh; on her death, his uncle required him to deliver up the marriage gift which she had received from her family, consisting of a variety of precious and rare articles, such as were not to be found even in the treasuries of kings: Maḥmūd refused acceding to this demand, and being apprehensive that ‘Azīz al-Dīn would give his testimony respecting the property she had brought with her (and which was well known to him in his capacity of treasurer), he caused him to be arrested and sent him to be confined in the castle of Takrīt, which was at that time one of his possessions.<sup>3</sup>

---

1 It appears from this, and from a passage in the life of al-Ḥarirī, that Ibn Jakīnā was living at the close of the fifth century of the Hijrah. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ispahānī gives some specimens of his poetry in the *Kharidah*, and praises the author most highly, but does not furnish the least information respecting him. (See *Kharidah*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds No. 1447, fol. 30 verso).

2 See No. 62. The extract commences thus: I never roamed through distant regions, etc.

3 The principal cities of Syria, Mesopotamia and the neighbouring states, were at that time held as fiefs by a great number of nearly independent emīrs, who were almost always embroiled in war with each other; so that many of these cities, and Takrīt among the rest, were frequently changing masters.

he afterwards put him to death, towards the beginning of the year 525 (A. D. 1130-1). His nephew 'Imād al-Dīn states in the *Khariḍah*, that he was born at Isphāhān, A. H. 472 (A. D. 1079-80), and was put to death at Takrīt in 526 (A. D. 1131); it was at Baghḍād that he was arrested. The same writer says that when his uncle was slain, the emīrs Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, father of the sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn, and his brother Asad al-Dīn Shīrkāh were both in the castle, of which they were then governors; and that they endeavoured to save 'Azīz al-Dīn, but without success—*Aluh* is a Persian word, the Arabic equivalent of which is '*Uqāb* (eagle).—*Isphāhān* has been already explained.<sup>1</sup>

## 7. ARTUQ IBN AKSUK\*

Artuq Ibn Aksuk, ancestor of the Artuqide princes, was a Turkomān who had got possession of Hulwān and al-Jabal (*Persian* 'Irāq); he afterwards went to Syria, having left the service of Fakhr al-Dawlat Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Jahīr †[through fear of the sultān Malikshāh<sup>2</sup> this was in the year 478 or 479.<sup>3</sup> He

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 32.

<sup>2</sup> The printed text, in conformity with the MSS., names this sultān Muḥammad son of Mālikshāh. This extraordinary mistake I have suffered to remain the duty of an editor being to respect even the errors of his author.\*

<sup>3</sup> §Such is the correct date; it is singular that Ibn Khalikān should assign this event to the year 448 or 449, which incredible error I have allowed to subsist in the Arabic text through respect for the unanimity of my manuscripts. Ibn al-Aṭhīr places this event in the year 479. It was in A. H. 477 that Fakhr al-Dawlat, general of Malikshāh, having under his orders Artuq Ibn Aksab, marched against Sharaf al-Dawlat Muslim Ibn Quraish, and besieged him in 'Amid, Sharaf al-Dawlat escaped however from the city, having bribed Artuq to let him pass. It was therefore, for a good reason that Artuq apprehended the anger of Malikshāh, and fled to Syria.

\*M. de Slane reads it Ortuk Ibn Aksab.—Ed.

† [ ] From "through fear" to "479" not in the autograph.—Ed.

\*This passage is not in the autograph.—Ed.

§This passage is not in the autograph.—Ed..

then governed Jerusalem in the name of Tutush,<sup>1</sup> a prince of the Seljuq family, whose life shall be given. Artuq having died there in the year which we shall mention further on, his two sons, Sukmān and 'Īl-Ghāzī, became governors of the city, and continued in the exercise of power till the month of Shawwāl, 491 (September, A. D. 1098); when al-Afdāl Shahanshāh Amīr al-Juyush marched from Egypt with an army and took Jerusalem from these two princes. They then retired to Mesopotamia and obtained the government of Diyār Bakr, and the present lord of the castle of Māridīn is one of their descendants. In the year 501, Najm al-Dīn, 'Īl-Ghāzī became lord of Māridīn; the sultān Muḥammad had before that appointed him as his resident agent<sup>2</sup> at Baghdād. Artuq's other son, Sukmān, died of a quinzey in the year 498 (towards the end of A. D. 1104), at a place between Tripoli and Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Artuq possessed a penetrating mind; he was a man

1 In the Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā, Reiske writes this name Tanush, but Ibn Khallikān gives its true pronounciation.

2 Resident agent, شحنة, which is a Persian word; the charge itself was called شحنه when the Seljuq dynasty flourished, the khalifs of Baḡhdād exercised only a spiritual authority over the provinces of the Muslim empire; even in that city, which was under their immediate government, they were frequently obliged to submit to the influence of the sultān, who usually resided at Ispahān or Hamadān. Those princes kept a resident agent at the court of Baḡhdād, and were thus enabled to control the khalifs in the very seat of their dominion. When the Moḡhuls overran Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, they abstained from placing garrisons in the cities which had surrendered, being averse to enfeebling the active force of their army: they merely left resident agents in the places which had acknowledged their authority, after making all the inhabitants responsible for their safety. (See Abu 'l-Fidā's Annals, year 651; see also M. Reinauds *Extraits d'Auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades*, page 126.)

3 Abu 'l-Fidā says, after Ibn al-Aṭṭār, that he died at Qaryatayn on his way to Damascus, to which city he was travelling in all haste, that he might defend it against the Franks. This induces me to think that the word الغزاة in the printed Arabic text is a fault, though it is so written in the manuscripts; the true reading is probably الغزاة, and the passage will then signify that he died between Tripoli and Jerusalem as he was journeying to war against the infidels.

\*In printed text it is الفرات, *al-furāt*.—Ed.

of resolution and activity, and was highly fortunate in all his enterprises: died A. H. 484 (A. D. 1091). The word "Aksuk" is sometimes written "Aksab."

## 78. AL-BASĀSĪRĪ

Abu 'l-Hārith Arsilān Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Basāsīrī al-Turki (*the Turk*), general of the Turkish troops at Baghḍād,<sup>1</sup> is said to have been a *mamlūk* belonging to Bahā al-Dawlat Ibn 'Aḍad al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh. It was he who revolted at Baghḍād against the *khalīf* al-Qāim bi'amr illāh, who had placed him at the head of all the Turkish troops, invested him with sovereign authority, and ordered his name to be mentioned in the *khutbah*<sup>2</sup> from all the pulpits of 'Irāq and *Khuzistān*. His power had thus become very great, and all the (*neighbouring*) princes stood in awe of him; but he then revolted against the imām al-Qā'im, and having expelled him from Baghḍād, caused *khutbah* to be said in the name of the (*Fatimite khalīf*) al-Musta'ṣir al-'Ubaydī, lord of Egypt. Al-Qā'im then fled for refuge to the emīr of the Arabs,<sup>3</sup> Muḥī al-Dīn (*reviver of religion*) Abu 'l-Hārith Muḥārish

---

1 It appears from al-Mas'adi's *Murūj al-Dhahab*, that al-Murtaṣim was the first *khalīf* who had body of Turks in his service: their number was at first four thousand, and they were distinguished from the other troops by their rich dress and accoutrements, which were of silk and gold.

2 *Khutbah* is the name given to the sermon pronounced on Fridays from the pulpits of the great mosques in all Muslim countries: it begins by a declaration of God's attributes and unity, and an invocation of his benedictions upon the Prophet, his family, and successors: then follows a prayer for the reigning *khalīf* and for the prince who exercises civil power in the state. The right of being named in the *khutbah* and that of coining money are two of the principal privileges possessed by the temporal sovereign, and the special marks of his legitimacy. (See D'Ohsson *Empire Ottoman*, tom. II, page. 204 et seq.; and d'Herbelots *Bibliothèque orientale*).

3 The emīr of the Arabs under the *khalīfs* appears to have filled the same functions as the Ghassanide princes did under the Greeks of the Lower Empire, and the princes of Ḥirah under the Persians: they were phylarchs or controllers of the nomadic tribes.

Ibn al Mujallī al-Uqaylī, lord of al-Ḥadīthah and 'Ā'nah,<sup>1</sup> from whom he obtained everything necessary for his maintenance during an entire year, when Tuḡhrulbek the Seljūqide came to his assistance, and having attacked and slain al-Basāsīrī, reinstated al-Qa'im in Baghḍād. The khalif made his entry to that city precisely one year after leaving it, and by a remarkable coincidence, on the anniversary of the day in which he had quitted it: the history of this circumstance is well known.<sup>2</sup> Al-Basāsīrī was killed at Baghḍad by the soldiers of the sulṭān Toghrulbek, on Thursday, 15th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, or, according to Ibn al-'Aẓīmī,<sup>3</sup> in his history, on Tuesday, 11 Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 451 (January, A. D. 1060\*). His head was borne in parade through the city, and his body attached to a gibbet opposite to the gate of Nabā.—*Basāsīrī* means native of Basā, a town in the province of Fārs; this name is pronounced in Arabic Fasā, and, in that case, the relative adjective derived from it is *Fasawī*. The grammarian Abn 'Alī al-Fārisī, author of the *'Iqdāh*, was a native of this place; he was also surnamed al-Fasawī; but the Persians employ Basārīr, a word of irregular formation. Arsilān's master was a native of Basā, for which reason it was that he himself was named al-Basāsīrī. The preceding observation is made by al-Sam'ānī, on the authority of the learned Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Babah al-Qābisī. This word contains additional letters to those which form the root form which it is derived.—The emīr Muḥārīsh died in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 499 (October, A. D. 1105),

---

1 These are the names of two cities in the Mesopotamia.

2 See 'Abu 'l-Fidā's Annals, year 450.

3 Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-'Aẓīmī is author of a chronicle and a history of Aleppo, his native place. (Ḥājjī Khalīfah, Nos. 2258. 2205.)

\*Tuesday 11 corresponding to 18 appears to be more correct. Since on Thursday it was 13 and it was 15 on Saturday, i. e. the date and day do not tally.—*Ed.*



aged upwards of eighty. His genealogy is as follows: Muhārish Ibn al-Mujallī Ibn 'Akīth Ibn Qabbān Ibn Shā'b Ibn al-Muqallad Ibn Ja'far Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Muhannā; the rest of the series will be found in the life of al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab.

(For further reference, see Sam'ānī, *Ansōb*, f. 80 a.—Ed.)

## 79. NŪR AL-DĪN ARSILĀN SHĀH

Abu 'l-Hārith Arsilān Shāh Ibn 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ibn Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd Ibn 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī Ibn 'Āq Sunqūr, lord of Moṣul, and generally known by the appellation of Atābek,<sup>1</sup> bore the title of al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn (*the just prince, light of religion*): (the lives of a number of persons belonging to the same family shall be given under their respective letters). Nūr al-Dīn obtained the government of Moṣul on the death of his father, in whose life is mentioned the date of that event.<sup>2</sup> This prince was a man of acute mind and skilled in the management of state affairs: he passed over the sect of al-Shāfi'ī and was the first of his family who professed the doctrines of that imām<sup>3</sup>: a college of extraordinary beauty was founded by him at Moṣul for the Shafites. He died on Sunday evening, 29 Rajab, 607 (January, A. D. 1211\*), (*as he was making an excursion*) on the Tigris<sup>4</sup> in a *shabbārah* or *barge*<sup>5</sup> outside of Moṣul. (The species of boat which the people of that country call *shabbārah* bears in Egypt the name

1 See d'Herbelots *Bib. Orient.* Atābek.

2 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd died A. H. 589 (A. D. 1193).

3 I believe that his family were Hanīfites. It is certain that the celebrated Nūr al-Dīn Ma'mūd, his grandfather's brother, was of that sect. See M. Reinauds *Extraits, etc.*, page 156.

4 In the neighbourhood of Moṣul, the Tigris bears the name of *al-Shātī* (*the river*); it is a word of frequent occurrence with this signification.

5 M. de Sacy, in his translation of 'Abd al-Latif, page 309, hesitates respecting the right orthography of this word; but al-Yāfi'ī, in his *Annals*, year 607, fixes it as it is here given.

\*16 January, but M. de Slane gives 28 Rajab.—Ed.

of *ḥarrāqah*.)<sup>1</sup> His death was kept secret till he was borne to the palace at Moṣul: he was buried in a mausoleum erected in the college just mentioned. He left two sons, al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd and al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī; for information respecting these princes, the reader is referred to the life of their grandfather Mas'ūd. As we have there stated, it was his son al-Malik al-Qāhir by whom he was succeeded. Al-Malik al-Qāhir was master of (*the mamlūk*) Badr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Lulū, who gained possession of Moṣul towards the end of Ramaḍān, A. H. 630 (July, A. D. 1233). He had been lieutenant-governor of that city and then declared himself independent. Mention has been already made of him in the life of Ibn al-Maṣḥūb.<sup>2</sup>

## 80. AZHAR IBN AL-SAMMĀN

Abū Bakr Azhar Ibn Sa'd al-Sammān was a native of Baṣrah (*al-Baṣrī*) and adopted member of the tribe of Bāhilah; he taught the Traditions on the authority of Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl,<sup>3</sup> and the people of Irāq, who had received them from him, transmitted them on his authority. He was a companion of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr before that prince obtained the *kh*alifat, but having gone

---

1 The word *ḥarrāqah* signifies a boat or barge. See M. Reinuad's *Extraits, etc.*, page 415, note.

2 See No. 74.

Here again for I am seldom sick on this Azhar went away, but returned.

3 Abū 'Ubayda Ḥumaydh Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Baṣrī, a Ṭābi'i of the highest authority, was a client of the celebrated Ṭaḥat al-Qudā'i. He was surnamed *al-Ṭawīl* (*the long or the tall*), because one of his neighbours, who also bore the name of Ḥumayd, was of a low stature and was called Ḥumayd the short (*al-Qaṣīr*). Some say that he received the appellation of *the long*, on account of the length of his arms; as with one hand he could reach to the edge of the pulpit whilst he touched the ground with the other. He expired suddenly as he was saying his prayers. His death took place towards A. H. 143 (A. D. 760). (Al-Yāfi'i, *Ṭab. al-Fuqaha*.)

afterwards to congratulate him on his accession, was refused admittance by al-Manṣūr's orders; he, therefore, waited for a day of public audience, and then made him his salutation, on which the khalif said to him, "What has brought you here?" He replied: "I come to congratulate you on your accession to the supreme authority." On this, al-Manṣūr said: "Give him one thousand dīnārs and say to him: 'You have now fulfilled the duty of congratulation, so come not to me any more'." Azhar then retired, but returned the ensuing year, and admittance having been denied to him, he entered on a day of public audience as before, and saluted the khalif, who said: "What brings you here?" The other answered: "I was told that you were sick, and therefore came to visit you." "Give him a thousand dīnārs," said al-Manṣūr, "and tell him that he has fulfilled the duty of visiting the sick, so he must not return here again for I am seldom sick," on this Azhar went away, but returned the following year at a similar audience. "What brings you?" said the khalif. "I heard you utter an invocation," replied Azhar "and am come to know what you desire." "Know, fellow!" retorted al-Manṣūr, "that my invocation has not been heard: every year I pray God to keep you away from me, and yet you still come." The adventures of Azhar and the stories told of him are well known<sup>1</sup>: he was born A. H. 111 (A. D. 729), and died in 203 (A. D. 818-9) or, some say, 207.—Azhar is (*here*) a proper name (*not a surname*) *sammān* means one who sells or carries *butter* (*samn*).—*Al-Baṣrī* or *al-Biṣrī* signifies native of Baṣrah, which is one of the most famous cities of 'Irāq; it was founded after the promulgation of Islamism; (*the khalif*) 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb having caused it to be built in the fourteenth year of the Hijrah by 'Utbah Ibn 'Ghazwān.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Qutaybah says, in that

---

1 None of the historians whom I have consulted relate any anecdotes respecting Azhar except the one just given. Al-Yāfi'i, who places his death in the year 203 says that al-Māmun's liberality in this case was very singular and his patience the more extraordinary, as he was of a violent character; and that if the same thing had happened to al-Ḥajjāj, he would have put the author of it to death or inflicted on him a severe punishment.

2 See Ibn Qutaybah's account of the founding of Baṣrah in Abu 'l-Fadl's Annals, vol. I, note 91.

chapter of the *Secretary's Guide*, where he treats of the alterations which have taken place in the name of countries, that *baṣrat* (*as the name of this city is written in Arabic*) means one soft stone, and on suppressing the final letter, it must be pronounced *biṣra*, and for this sole reason it is that the word *biṣrī*, is allowed to be employed (*with the signification of native of Baṣrah.*) The word *biṣr* also means *a soft stone* according to (*al-Jawhār*) in his lexicon, the *Shihāh*.

(For further reference, see *Tahdhib*, vol. I, p. 202.—*Ed.*)

### 81. 'USĀMAH IBN MURSHID

Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Usāmah Ibn Murshid Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Muqallad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Munqidh<sup>1</sup> al-Kinānī al-Kalbī al-Shayzarī (*member of the tribe of Kinānah which descends from that of Kalb, native of Shayzar*), and surnamed Muwayyad al-Dawlat Majd al-Dīn (*strengthened in empire, glory of religion*), was one of the most powerful learned, and intrepid members of the Munqidh family, lords of the castle of Shayzar. He composed a number of works of different branches of general literature, and is highly spoken of by Ibn al-Mustawfī\* in his history of Arbela, who mentions his name in the list of the remarkable men who visited that city; he gives also some extracts from his poetry. The kاتب 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Kharidah*, and, after making his eulogium, says: "He dwelt at Damascus,† but that city became repulsive to him, as the house (*in which merit is not acknowledged*)‡ becomes repulsive to a man of a generous mind; he therefore passed into Egypt and remained there with the rank of emīr and

<sup>1</sup> This name is generally written in the MSS. thus, مُنْقِد, but the correct orthography is مُنْقِذ with a point on the letter *dal*.§

\*M. de Slane reads it "Mastawfī."—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Baḡhdād.—*Ed.*

‡To me it appears that it is repulsive not because merit is not acknowledged but because in one's straitened circumstances one cannot do justice to one's magnanimity.—*Ed.*

§In the autograph and printed text it is the latter.—*Ed.*

honoured with public respect, till the period of Ibn Ruzzik's administration, when he returned to Svria\* and sojourned at Damascus. The fortune cast him into Ḥiṣn Kayā, where he remained till Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, on gaining possession of Damascus (in A. H. 570), called him (*to his court*): he was then upwards of eighty years." Another writer says that 'Usāmah went to Egypt in the reign of al-Zāfir, who had then for vizīr al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār: this vizīr treated him generously, but he was assassinated through his machinations, as shall be related in the history of his life. Since (*transcribing the foregoing passages*) I found a note in the handwriting of 'Usāmah addressed to al-Rashīd Ibn al-Zubayr, that he might insert it in his *Kitāb al-Jinān*; that note is dated Miṣr, in the year 541.† This is a proof that he came to Egypt during the administration of Ibn al-Sallār<sup>1</sup>; and he remained there till the assassination of that vizīr, for no one contests that he was in Egypt when the murder was committed. His collected poetical works form two volumes and are in every person's hands; I have seen a copy of them in his own handwriting and extracted from it the following passages:

"Assume not a borrowed insensibility when abandoned by those you love; for your force will fail under their protracted aversion. Know that thy heart will return to them either of its own accord or despite its reluctance."

On Ibn Ṭulayb‡ of Miṣr, whose house was burnt down:

"See how the progress of time constrains us to acknowledge that there is a destiny; Ibn Ṭulayb never lit a fire in the house (*through avarice*), yet by fire it was destroyed."

A similar circumstance to this befell al-Wajih Ibn Ṣarah, a bookseller<sup>2</sup> at Cairo: he had in that city a house noted for its

1 It is rather a proof that he came before the appointment of that vizīr, whose nomination only took place A. H. 543 or 544. The Arabic text says: In the days of Ibn al-Sallār.

2 Or rather a book-broker; his employment being to find purchasers for other people's books.

\* "He returned to Syria" supports the above reading.—*Ed.*

† In the autograph there is an addition: 'And Ḥāfiẓ died in the year 44.'—*Ed.*

‡ M. de Slane reads it *Ṭalib*.—*Ed.*

elegance, and which was burned down; this gave rise to the following lines, composed by *Nashw al-Mulk* (*rise of the empire*) *Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Mufarrij*,\* surnamed *Ibn al-Munajjim* (*son of the astrologer*), who was a native of *Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*, but lived and died in Egypt:

"On looking at *Ibn Ṣarah*'s house, in which the fire burned with a clear and ardent flame, I said: 'Thus it is with wealth gained by iniquity; in a little time it is hurled to ruin. This man was in fact a long-lived infidel; but *Gehennam* came upon him whilst he imagined that it would yet be tardy in its progress towards him'."

The second of these verses is taken from an expression of the blessed Prophet, who said: "If a man gain wealth by iniquity (*mahawish*), God will send it to ruin (*nahābir*)."<sup>1</sup> The word *mahāwīsh* means whatever is forbidden, and *nahābir* signifies precipices. As for *al-Wajih* (*Wajih al-Dīn, respectable for religion*), generally known by the name of *Ibn Ṣarah*, the following was his real name; *Abu 'l-Futaḥ Nāṣir Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Kḥalaf al-Anṣārī*; he was a book-agent of extensive business in *Miṣr*, and used to sit in the vestibule of his house for the purpose of exercising his profession, and offering books for sale to men of rank and learning; as they were accustomed to assemble there every Sunday and Wednesday, and remain till the hours of sale were over. On the death of *al-Silafī*, he travelled down to *Alexandria* for the purpose of buying his books. He died at *Miṣr* on the 16 of the latter *Rābi'*, 607 (October, A. D. 1210)†, and was buried in the *Qarāfah*<sup>1</sup> near that city. A piece of *Ibn Munqidh*'s contains the following verse, in which he describes his enfeebled state:

"Strange, that my hand should be too weak to hold a pen!  
that hand which used to break lances in the breasts of lions."

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 24, note on *Qarāfah*.

\*M. de Slane reads it *Mufrij*.—Ed.

†7 October.—Ed.

I extract also from his collected poetical works the following lines, which he wrote in answer to some verses addressed to him by his father:

"I complain not of the faithlessness of those whom I loved; yet, had complaints availed, I should have given them utterance. I was fatigued with reproaching them, and, in despair, I left them; never shall they be of those in whom I will place my hopes. When their sarcasms cut me to the heart, I stifled my anguish and concealed the pain they caused; and I went to meet them with smiles, as if I had nothing heard nor seen. They accused me of crimes which my hands did not commit; which I had neither commanded nor forbidden. No, by Allah! I have never harboured nor meant such perfidy as they openly manifest. On the Day of Judgment we shall meet again; and the volume (*in which are inscribed the actions of mankind*) shall then reveal what crimes are theirs; what, mine."

The two verses which follow in the same rhyme and measure as the preceding, and were inserted by him in a letter to one of his relations; they are the height of tenderness;\*

"Men before me have complained of the pains of separation; the living and the dead (*when in this world*) have felt the affliction caused by the absence of friends; but (*grief*) such as fills my bosom, I never heard of nor witnessed."

One thing brings on another<sup>1</sup>: Abu 'l-Hasan Yahyā Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Miṣrī, surnamed al-Jazzār<sup>2</sup> recited to

1 This anecdote is not in its place; it should follow that which relates to the burning of Ibn Ṣurat's house, see page 270; the author must have written it in the margin of his own copy, and the transcriber of that copy inserted it in the text, but in a wrong place.†

2 Al-Jazzār was in great reputation at that time as poet and a man of society. Ibn Khallikān was one of his protectors. Born A. H. 601 (A. D. 1204). —(From the *Supplement to Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary* by al-Ṣaḡā'ī الصقاعي MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 732.)

\* "*And elegance*" should be added according to the autograph and printed text.—Ed.

†In the autograph it is the part of the text and it does not appear to be out of place. Ed.

me the following verses, which he had composed on another literary man at Cairo, far advanced in age, who being attacked by a cutaneous eruption, anointed himself with sulphur:

"O, learned master (*hearken to*) the demand of a friend devoid of sarcasm: Thou art old, and of course art near to the fire (*of hell*); why then anoint yourself with sulphur?"

I found the following verses in the handwriting of 'Usāmah Ibn Munqidh; they were composed by himself on having a tooth drawn, being then, as he relates, under the walls of \**Khalāt*<sup>1</sup>; the idea of the verses is original, and they might pass as a riddle on the word *tooth*:

"I had a companion of whom I was never tired, who suffered in my service and laboured with assiduity; whilst we were together I never saw him; and when he appeared before my eyes, we had parted for ever."

The kاتب 'Imād al-Dīn said: "I was always longing to meet him, and I watched from afar the lightning which foreboded the rain (*of his liberality*); at last I saw him in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 751, when I asked him the date of his birth; to which he replied 'Sunday, 27 of the latter Jumādā, 488 (July, A. D. 1095†)." He was born at the castle of Shayzar, and died at Damascus on Tuesday† night, the 23 of Ramadān, 584 (November, A.D. 1188\*\*), and was interred the next day at the east side of Mount Qāsiyān; I entered his mausoleum, which lies on the

---

1 This was probably during Ṣalāh al-Dīn's expedition there, A. H. 518. (See Schulten's *Vita et res gesta Saladini*, p. 61.)

\*M. de Slane reads it *Khalat*.—Ed.

†4 July, but according to Edward Mahtar it was Wednesday which, if correct, leads to conclude that either he forgot the day or the date else the year because in 489 A. H. day and date tally.—Ed.

‡M. de Slane gives Monday.—Ed.

\*\*15 July.—Ed.



northern bank of the river Yazīd, and read a portion of the Qur'ān over his grave, and prayed God to have mercy on him.—His father, Abn' Usamah Murshid, died A. H. 531 (A. D. 1136).—*Shayzar* is the name of a castle near Ḥamah (*Epialhamia*); it is also called *the castle of the Munqidh family*: mention shall be again made of it in the life of his grandfather, 'Alī Ibn al-Muqallad.

(For further reference, see Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, f. 346a.—Ed.)

## 82. IBN RĀHAWAYH

Abu Ya'qub Iṣḥāq, native of Marw al-Shāhjan, and surnamed Ibn Rāhawayh, was descended from Ḥanzalah by the following line: his father Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm was son of Maḥlad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maṭar Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ghālib Ibn 'Abd al-Wārith Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Aṭīyyah Ibn Murrah Ibn Ka'b Ibn Hammām Ibn Asad Ibn Murrah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ḥanzalah Ibn Mālik Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn Murrah. Ibn Rāhawayh was one of the great doctors of Islamism; he was equally as learned in the Traditions and the law as distinguished for his piety: al-Dāraquṭnī mentions him among those who related tradition on the authority of al-Shāfi'i, and al-Bayhaqī counts him among al-Shāfi'i's disciples. He had once an argument with al-Shāfi'i concerning the legality of the sale of such houses as are situated in Makkah,<sup>1</sup> and this discussion has been fully stated by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, in his work entitled *Merits of the imām al-Shāfi'i*. When the superior talent of Ibn Rāhawayh

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalebī's *Multaqal 'l-Abḥur*, a celebrated treatise on Muslim Law, contains the following article in the chapter on sale: "The sale or lease of ground situated in the Sacred Territory of Makkah is blamable." On which the commentator makes the following observations: "Unless in a case of absolute necessity. As for the buildings, they may be alienated without scruple, as is done with buildings on lands conceded in perpetuity to pious uses (*waqf*)."(See D'Ohsson's *Tab. gen. de l'Empire Othoman*, t. vi. p. 82) A precisely similar doctrine is held by Quṭb al-Dīn in his history of Makkah.

became generally known in Egypt, his works were (*frequently*) transcribed and his treatises collected (*with care*); the imām Ibn Ḥanbal said of him: "We consider Ishāq as an imām among the Muslims; an abler jurisconsult than Ishāq never passed the bridge.<sup>1</sup>" "I know by heart," said Ishāq "seventy thousand Traditions; I have read one hundred thousand, and can recollect in what work each is to be found.<sup>2</sup> I never heard anything once without learning it by heart, nor learned anything by heart which I afterwards forgot." He composed a well-known Musnad<sup>3</sup> after travelling to Ḥijāz 'Irāq Yemen, and Syria, and learning Traditions from Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah and others of the same period; Al-Bukhārī, Muslim and al-Tirmidhī were among his disciples. Ibn Rāhawayh was born A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8); some say 163 or 166: in his latter days he inhabited Naysāpur, where he died on the eve of the 15 of Sha'bān (which was a Thursday, or according to others a Sunday or a Saturday), A. H. 238, (January, A. D. 853\*), or 237.—*Rāhawayh* was a surname given to his father Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm because he was born on the road to Makkah (*rāh* in the Persian means *road*, and *waiḥ*, *found*; as it might be said that he was found on the road). This word is also pronounced Rahayah. Ishāq himself relates that 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, emīr of Khurāsān, asked him why he was called Ibn Rāhawayh, what was the meaning of the word, and if he did not dislike such an appellation? To which he answered: "Know, O emīr! that my father was born on the road, and the people of

1 Probably the bridge which united the suburb of Karkh to Baḡhlād.

2 Such is the signification of the verb ذاکر joined to the preposition ب. Al-Dhahabī, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuḡfāz*, life of Ibn Rāhawayh, relates the same saying in clearer terms, as in place of *إذا کر بمایه* "الف حدیث کالی انظر إليها" he has *اعرف مکان مایه* "الف حدیث کالی

3 *Musnad* means a collection of authenticated Traditions, each of them preceded by the names of those Traditionists who had transmitted it successively one to another, and the last of whom taught it to the author of the work.

\*Sunday 29. In 237 it was Thursday, 11 February, 852.—*Ed.*

Marw named him Rāhawayh for that reason; my father disliked, being so called, but I do not." Ḥanzalah, son of Mālik, gave his name to a great branch of the tribe of Tamīm.

(For further reference, vide *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, vol. 1, p. 216, No. 408.—*Ed.*)

### 83. ABŪ 'AMR AL-SHAYBĀNĪ

Abū 'Amr Ishāq Ibn Mirār al-Shaybānī, the grammarian and philologist, was a native of Ramādāt al-Kufah<sup>1</sup> but inhabited Baghdād. He was a *mawlā*,<sup>2</sup> and had lived under the protection of the tribe of Shaybān, for the purpose of acquiring a correct knowledge of the Arabic language, and it was for this reason that he was surnamed al-Shaybānī. Philology and (*Arabic*) poetry were the special objects of his studies, and in these two branches of science, his authority is of the highest order. He learned and transmitted a great number of traditions; the utmost confidence was placed in his veracity; and his merit is extolled by the higher class of learned men and narrators of traditional information, though it is depreciated by the generality of them because he used to drink wine (*nabīdh*\*) openly. A number of eminent men got from him (*a portion of their knowledge*); among them were the imān Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām, and Ibn al-Sikkīt, the author of the *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*, who states that Abū 'Amr lived one hundred and eighteen years, and wrote with his own hand up to his death. "Sometimes," says this author, "he would borrow my book from me when I was a boy studying under him and copying

---

1 In the Marāṣid al-It̤ ilā' and the Muḥtarik, a number of places are noticed which bear the name of Ramādah, but the Ramādah of Kufah is not mentioned by them; it is manifest, however, that this place was near the city of Kufah.

2 The word *mawlā* has different signification; among others, those of enfranchised slave and client; the latter is probably the meaning it bears here.

\*For *nabīdh* "beverage" is the correct word.—*Ed.*

his works." Ibn Kāmil<sup>1</sup> relates that Ishāq Ibn Mirār died at Baghdād, A. H. 213 (A. D. 821-2), aged one hundred and ten years; and the latter is certainly correct. Abū 'Amr composed a number of works, amongst others a treatise on the Horse, one on the Dialects, generally known by the title of *Kitāb al-Jim* or *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*; the Great Collection of Anecdotes, a work of which he made three editions; Explanation of obscure words occurring in the Traditions; a treatise on Bees; another on Camels; and a work on the Nature of Man. He read the *diwāns*, or collected works of the (*ancient*) poets, under the direction of al-Mufaḍḍal; but the principal object of his studies were the anecdotes, rare expressions, and extemporary poetry of the nomadic Arabs. His son 'Amr relates of him, that he collected and classed the poems of more than eighty Arabic tribes, and on finishing with each tribe, he published the result, and made a copy of it, which he deposited in the mosque of Kūfah: he thus wrote with his own hand upwards of eighty volumes.—The meaning of the word *Shaybāwī*<sup>2</sup> has been already explained.—Some say that he died on Palm-Sunday,\* A. H. 210 (*the beginning of which year corresponds to the 24 April, A. D. 825*).

#### 84. ISHĀQ IBN IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ

Abū Muḥammad Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Māhān Ibn Bahman Ibn Nusk, a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Tamīm, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Kāmil learned Traditions from al-Ṭabari, the celebrated historian (*Hamakers Specimenecatal*, etc., page 26, line 3); he wrote a history of those *q'is* who were also poets, and died A. H. 350 (A. D. 961). Flügel's Ḥājjī Khalifah, No. 216.)

<sup>2</sup> Palm Sunday, الشَّعَانِين (*al-Sha'ānīn*)\*. See M. Reinaud's *Extraits*, etc. p. 402.

\*In the autograph it is السَّعَانِين; both the words mean the same thing, i.e. *Sunday before passover*.—Ed.

born at Arrajān, is generally known by the name of Ibn al-Nadīm al-Mawṣilī (*son of the social companion from Moṣul*). As his father's life has been already given (*see* No. 9), with an account of his family and the origin of his surname *Tamīmī*, it is unnecessary to repeat what has been there said. Ibrāhīm was a constant companion of the *khalifs* in their parties of pleasure, and bore a high reputation for refined taste; his festive humour and talent as a singer were peculiarly his own. He was well acquainted with pure Arabic (*ancient*) poetry, the history of the poets, and the adventures of the desert tribes. As a traditionist, his authority is cited by Muṣ'ab Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī<sup>1</sup> Ibn Bakkār, and others; he was (*indeed*) deeply learned in the Traditions, the law, and dogmatical theology. \*[(*Relative to this*) the following anecdote is narrated by the poet Muḥammad Ibn 'Aṭīyah al-'Aṭawī<sup>2</sup>: "I was present at one of the qāḍī Yahyā Ibn Akṭham's assemblies,<sup>3</sup> when Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī entered and commenced, with the theologians who were present, a discussion in which he was completely successful; he then treated with ability a point of jurisprudence, maintaining it by direct proofs and analogical cases; after which, he discoursed on poetry and the Arabic language and excelled all the company: he then turned to the qāḍī Yahyā and said: May God exalt the qāḍī! have I committed any faults in

1 Abu 'Abd Allāh Muṣ'ab Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muṣ'ab Ibn Ṭhābit Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwām al-Asadī al-Zubayrī (*descended from the celebrated 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr*) and uncle to al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkār, was the genealogist of the tribe of Quraysh; he was also a *ḥāfiẓ*, a jurisconsult, and a historian; these talents, with his noble birth and manly character, obtained for him the highest esteem and respect; his only fault was hatred to the memory of the *khalif* 'Alī. Born at Medinah, A. H. 156 (A. D. 773); died A. H. 236 (A. D. 850-1).—(*See* Ibn al-Aṭḥir and al-Yāfi'i, in the year last mentioned.)

2 Abu 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Aṭīyah an enfranchised slave of the tribe of Layṭh Ibn Bakr Ibn 'Abd Manāt, grew into eminence as a *kātib* and poet under the Abbasides. He was born and brought up at Baṣrah, and had for protector the qāḍī Ibn Abī Duwād (*see* his life, No. 31), whose death he lamented in a number of elegies.—*Aghāni*, tom. IV, fol. 319-321).—Communicated by M. Caussin de Perceval.)

3 *See* No. 31, note on *vizirs' assemblies*.

\* [ ] From "(Relative to this)" to "As a singer he was without a rival" on page 281 is not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

the discussion which I have maintained and the passages which I have quoted, or can any objection be made to them?" "No," replied Yahyā. "How then," said he "does it happen that I, who treat all those sciences with as much ability as the persons who profess them, should be only known as a master of one single art?" meaning music. On this the qādī turned towards me and said: "It is for you to answer that."—(Al-'Aṭawī was an able dialectician.) "Yes, qādī," I replied, "may God exalt you ! it is for me to answer." I then addressed Ishāq and said: "O, Abū Muḥammad, as a grammarian are you equal to al-Farrā and al-Akhfash?"—"No."—"In philology and acquaintance with poetry are you equal to al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubaydah?"—"No."—"In dogmatical theology are you equal to Abū 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf and al-Nazzām al-Balkhī?"—"No."—"In jurisprudence are

---

1 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Sayyār سيار (not *Baschar*, as D'Herbelot has it in the *Bib. Orient.*, article NADDHAM' nor yet *Yesār*, as M. de Sacy writes it in the *Histoire des Druzes*, introduction, page 42); Ibn Hānī, native of Baṣrah and sister's son to Abū 'l-Hudhayl, was a celebrated scholastic theologian and author of a number of works and pieces of poetry on that subject. He received the surname of al-Nazzām (*the stringer of pearls*) because he strung and sold pearls in the bazar at Baṣrah, or, as some say, because he strung brilliant ideas on the thread of his discourse. In his youth, he was suspected of partiality towards the doctrine of dualism, and at a later period he was known to have adopted the principles of the Greek philosophy. His speculations on religious subjects were pushed so far, that pious Muslims looking on him as an infidel. An offset of the Mutazelite sect, was named Nazzamiyah after its founder al-Nazzām. Many learned men of that time asserted that this doctor denied the divine mission of the prophets, and that dread of the sword was the only motive which prevented him from openly professing his subversive opinions. The great majority of the Mutazelites accused him of infidelity, and as a proof of his corrupt morals, they mention his passion for wine. He died A. H. 231 (A. D. 845-6). (Ibn Shākir's *'Uyūn al-Tawṛīkh*. Al-Shahrestānī. Al-Maqrizī's *Khitāt*. The Khāṭib's *History of Baghdād*, fol. 648.)—It may be observed that Ibn Khallikān has mentioned the name al-Nazzām al-Balkhī (*native of Balkh*), who might therefore be thought a different person from him who is here spoken of; but in another part of his work (see page 540 of the Arabic text) may be found the following passage, which decides the question:—"Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Sayyār al-Balkhī, surnamed al-Nazzām, the celebrated theologian." His family was probably from Balkh, and he himself born at Baṣrah, which may account for the two patronymics. The life of Abū 'l-Hudhayl is given by Ibn Khallikān. Al-Shahrestānī states the principal points of al-Nazzām's doctrine.

you equal to this qāḍī?" (pointing to Yaḥyā.)—"No."—"In poetry are you equal to Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah and Abū Nuwās?"—"No."—"It is for these reasons, therefore, that you are known as a master of an art in which you stand without a rival, for in the other sciences you are inferior to those who hold the first rank in them." Ishāq laughed on hearing this, and rising from his place, withdrew. The qāḍī then said to al-'Aṭawī: "You have proved your point perfectly well, and yet done little wrong to Ishāq who is a man almost without a rival."—My master, Ibn Baṭīsh<sup>1</sup>, says, in his work entitled *al-Tamyiz wa 'l-Faṣl*,<sup>2</sup> that Ishāq al-Mawṣilī's conversation was elegant and full of originality, his taste refined, and his talents of superior order. He wrote the traditions under the dictation of Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah, Mālik Ibn Ans. Huṣḥayn

1 Abū al-Majd Isma'īl Ibn Hibāt Allāh Ibn Sa'id Ibn Bāṭish, surnamed 'Imād al-Dīn (*column of religion*), was a native of Moṣul, and one of the most learned Shāfites of that city. He was born in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 475; and in his youth travelled to Syria, that he might acquire information in the Traditions and jurisprudence from the celebrated professors who taught at Baḡhdād, Damascus and Aleppo. He then became professor and mufti in his turn, and composed a number of works, the most important of which are said to be the following: *Ṭabaqāt*, etc. or list of Shāfite doctors, *Muṣṭabih al-Nisab* (*doubtful patronymics*), *al-Mughni*, etc., or Explanation of the difficulties found in the *Muḥadḍḥab* (*of Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī*). It is stated that in this last work he is frequently mistaken in his explanations. He died at Aleppo, A. H. 655 (A. D. 1257) aged eighty,—(*Ṭab. al-Shaf.*—*Ṭab. al-Fuqahā.*—*Buḡiyyat al-Ṭalab.*)—This was one of Ibn Khallikān's professors.

2 The *Tamyiz wa 'l-Faṣl*, or *al-Fayṣal* (*Distinction and Discrimination*), is cited as a geographical work by Abū 'l-Fidā in his Geography, page 2 of the Arabic text. The same author mentions another work of Abū al-Majd, entitled *Muzil al-Irtiyāb al-Muṣṭabih al-Intisāb* (*the dispeller of the uncertainties concerning doubtful patronymics*). This is probably the same as the *Muṣṭabih al-Nisab* (see note 1 above.) Those two works treated probably of Traditionists, their patronymics, and the countries to which they belonged.

Ibn Buṣḥayr,<sup>1</sup> and Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍarīr<sup>2</sup>; he studied philology under al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubaydah, and attained the highest eminence as a musician. It was to this art that he devoted his principal attention, and by it he acquired his reputation. The khalifs treated him with honour and admitted him into their intimacy, and al-Māman used to say: "Were Ishāq not so publicly known and spoken of as a singer, I should have appointed him to the place of qāḍī; he is more deserving of it than the qāḍīs we now have, and he surpasses them all in virtuous conduct, veracity, piety, and honesty; but people know him only as a singer, and that talent, though the least of those which he possesses, has eclipsed the rest." As a singer he was without a rival], and as a poet he possessed considerable abilities; his poems have been collected, and form a *diwān*, from which we extract the following verses addressed to Harnn al-Raṣḥīd:

"When she told me to be thrifty, I replied: 'Cease your counsels, thy command is impossible; I see that all are friends to the generous man, but the miser has not a friend in the world; I see that avarice is discreditable, and I respect myself too much to deserve the name of miser. Know, that the greatest pleasure a noble mind can feel, is to give with liberality. From honourable pride, the presents which I made are such as the rich bestow, though my means, as thou knowest, are but small. Yet why should I apprehend poverty or remain deprived of wealth, when the Commander of the Faithful looks on me with favour?'"

---

1 Abu Mu'āwiyah Huṣḥaym Ibn Abū Khazim Buṣḥayr, native of Wasit, but descended from a family of Bal'ḥ, was a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Sulmah. He had studied the Traditions under many eminent masters, and acquired a high reputation at Ba 'ḥdād by his knowledge of the subject. He knew by heart twenty thousand of them. Died A. H. 183 (A. D. 799), aged 79 years. *Tab. al-Muḥaddithin*, MS. No. 736. Al-Yāfi'ij.

2 Abu Mu'āwiyah Muḥammad Ibn Khazim (خازم) al-Ḍarīr (*the blind*), adopted member of the tribe of Minqar (المنقرى بالولا), which descends from that of Tamīm through the tribe of Sa'd, was born at Kufah, A. H. 113 (A. D. 731); he studied the Traditions under Hishām Ibn 'Urwah and al-A'maṣh. Died A. H. 195 (A. D. 811). *Tab. al-Muḥaddithin*. He was probably nephew to the Huṣḥaym mentioned in the preceding note.



Ishāq wrote a great deal; Tha'lab relates that he saw upwards of one thousand quires in his handwriting, and containing expressions, all of which he had heard from the Arabs of the desert. "I never saw," said he, "in the house of any person more philological works than in the house of Ishāq and, after his, in Ibn al-A'rābi's." From among the anecdotes which Ishāq used to relate, I shall select the following: "We had a neighbour called Abū Ḥafṣ and nicknamed al-Laṭī; one of his neighbours having fallen sick, he went to see him and said: 'How are you? do you not know me?' To which the sick man answered with a feeble voice: 'Yes, I do; you are Abū Ḥafṣ al-Laṭī!' 'O' said the other, 'you pass the bounds of civility; may God never raise you from your bed!'"<sup>1</sup>—(*The khalif*) al-Mu'taṣim said of him: "Ishāq never yet sung to me without my feeling as if my possessions were increased."—The anecdotes related of him are numerous; he lost his sight two years before his death. Born A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), the same year as the imām al-Shāfi'ī; died of diarrhoea in the month of Ramaḍān, 235 (beginning of April, A. D. 850); but some say in the month of Shawwāl, 236; the first is, however, the more general opinion. According to another statement, his death took place on the afternoon of Thursday, 5 Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 236\* One of his friends composed the following elegy on that event:

"It is now covered with the dust of the earth, that pleasure which had taken its residence in the dwelling of our (*departed*) friends!—(*it is in mourning*) since al-Mawṣilī is gone; since social joy is ruined and the meetings of gaiety suppressed. The instruments of music weep in sorrow for his loss; love also weeps and the clear liquor (*of the wine-cup*). All the apparatus<sup>2</sup> of our pleasant parties is in grief, and the lute sympathizes with the dulcimer."

1 Literally: *Thou hast passed the limit of acquaintance, may God never raise your side.* The point in this anecdote depends on a certain double meaning contained in the last word, but which it is impossible to explain. It can be only observed that the expression Abū Ḥafṣ made use of proved sufficiently that he deserved the nickname of al-Laṭī (*pathicus*).

2 The apparatus of social parties: cushions, perfumes, flowers, musical instruments, and wine.

\*11 June A. D. 851.—Ed.

It has been stated, but erroneously, that this elegy was composed on the death of his father Ibrāhīm.

### 85. ISHĀQ IBN HUNAYN

Abū Yaqūb Ishāq Ibn Hunayn Ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī, a celebrated physician, was the most eminent man of his time in the science of medicine. \* [As a translator, he attained the same superiority as his father, and equalled him in the knowledge of different languages, and the faculty of expressing his thoughts in them with precision. He translated into Arabic (*a number of*) the philosophical works written in the language of the Greeks; his father also had done the same, but there exist more translations by him<sup>1</sup> of philosophical writings (such as the treatises of Aristotle and others),<sup>2</sup> than of medical works. He was patronised by the same *khalifs*, and great men who had his father in their service, but he afterwards attached himself exclusively to al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>3</sup> (vizir to the *khalif* al-Mutaḍid Billāh, and became so intimate with him that this vizir made him his confidant and communicated to him the secrets which he concealed from all others. Ibn Buṭlān<sup>4</sup> relates in his *Da'wat al-Aṭibb* (*requisite qualities for a physician?*) that the vizir al-Qāsim, having heard that Ishāq had taken a laxative medicine, wrote him the following verses to rally him on the subject :

---

1 By him; that is, I believe by the son. The same equivocalness exists in the original.

2 Consult on this subject Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, tom. I, page 304, et. seq.

3 Ibn *Khalikān* mentions a number of particulars respecting this vizir in the life of Ibn al-Rūmī.

4 Al-Muḥtār Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abdūn, surnamed Ibn Buṭlān, was celebrated Christian physician of Baḡh Jād. He died in a convent at Antioch in A. H. 444 (A. D. 1052.) Some information will be found respecting him in the *Historia Dynastarum*. His life is given also in the *Tārīkh al-Hukamā*.

\* [ ] From "As a translator" to "your letter to the closet" on page 284 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

"Tell me how you passed the night, and in what state you were and how often your camel bore you towards the solitary mansion."<sup>1</sup>

On which Ishāq wrote him in answer :

"I passed a good and pleasant night, my body and my mind at ease; but as for journeys, camels, and solitary mansions, my respect for you, who are the object of my hope, has caused me to forget them all."

I met with the same anecdote in the *Kitāb al-Kināyāt*,<sup>2</sup> but according to that work, Ishāq's answer was as follows:

"I write you this to avoid wearing out my shoes by a fatiguing walk. If you intend to answer me, direct your letter to the closet.]"

Ishāq and his father Ḥunayn (whose life shall be given later) composed a number of useful treatises on medicine; towards the end of his life he lost the use of his side from palsy: he died in the month of the Second Rabī', A. H. 298 (December, A. D. 910) or 299.—'Ibādī means, related to the 'Ibād' of Ḥīrah, who were a number of Christian families from different (*Arabic*) tribes which had settled there; the surname of 'Ibādī was borne by many persons, amongst others 'Adī Ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī, the celebrated poet.<sup>3</sup> Al-

1 The vizir's meaning is sufficiently obvious, but it may be observed that in the last lines he has given a burlesque application to a very common poetical idea.—In the beginning of most *qasīdahs*, the poet represented as arriving, after a long journey, at the mansion of his mistress, which he finds desolate solitary.

2 This is apparently a treatise on metonymical expressions.

3 Among the works composed by Ishāq may be reckoned a treatise on *Simples A Kunūnāsh*, or *Pandects*, and a *History of Physicians*. (*Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, Supplement, No. 105.)

4 The primitive signification of the word 'Ibād is servant; but in some cases this word is employed to denote the Nestorian Christians.

5 'Adī Ibn Zayd lived before the promulgation of Islamism. His life, translated from the Arabic of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* has been given in the *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1838.

Tha'labi<sup>1</sup> says in his commentary on the *Qur'ān*, when explaining the following passage in the *Sūrat al-Mumintn*:<sup>2</sup> *Shall we believe in the two men like to ourselves, and whose people are servants (‘ābidān) to us?* “The word ‘*ābidūn*, signifies *obedient, subjected*; and the Arabs of the desert call him who serves a king *‘ābid* (*subject*); for this reason it was that the people of *Ḥirah* were called ‘*Ibād*, because “they were *obedient* to the king of Persia.”—*Ḥirah* is the name of an ancient city which belonged to the *Mundhir* family, and the other Arab princes, their predecessors; ‘*Amr Ibn ‘Adl al-Lakhmi* for instance, the ancestor of the *Mundhirs*, who was succeeded by his sons<sup>3</sup>; before him *Ḥirah* was possessed by his maternal uncle *Jadhīmat al-Abrash al-Azdi*, him who had the adventure with *al-Zabbā*.<sup>4</sup> *Ḥirah* having gone to ruin, the city of *Kāfah* was founded outside of it after the promulgation of Islamism; seventeenth year of the *Hijrah* (A. D. 638), by order of ‘*Umar Ibn al-Khattāb*.

### 86. AS‘AD AL-MĪHANĪ

Abu ‘*I-Faṭḥ As‘ad Ibn Abi Naṣr Ibn Abi ‘I-Faḍl al-Mihani*, surnamed *Majd al-Dīn* (*glory of religion*), was a follower of the sect of *al-Shāfi‘ī*, and a doctor of high eminence in the science of jurisprudence and controversy, on which subject he composed a well-known *Ta‘liqah*.<sup>5</sup> After studying the law in the city of *Marw*, he went to *Ghaznah*, where he acquired an extensive reputation by his superior talents, and obtained the praises of *al-Ghazzālī* (*see his*

<sup>1</sup> See his life, No. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur‘ān*, surat 23, verse 49.

<sup>3</sup> See Pocock’s *Specimen Hist. Ar.* 2nd edn., page 68.

<sup>4</sup> The details of this adventure are to be found in *Schultens’s Meidanī Proverb. Arab. Pars*, page 83; and *Freytag’s* edition of the same work, t. 1, p. 424.

<sup>5</sup> See note on ‘*al-Muzani*, No. 24.

*life, No. 17).* From that he travelled to Baghḍād, and was twice appointed professor at the Nizāmiyah College in that city: he was nominated, the first time, in the year 507 (A. D. 1113-4), and was removed from his place on 18 Shābān, 513\*; he was afterwards reinstated in Sha'bān, 517†, and in the month of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah in the same year he set out to join the army,<sup>1</sup> leaving his place to another. A great number of pupils studied under him and profited by his lessons and the knowledge which they acquired of his system of controversial reasoning. The ḥāfiẓ Abn Sa'd al-Sam'ānī speaks of him in the *Dhayl*‡ and says: "When we were at Marw, he came there as ambassador from the Seljuq Sultān, Maḥmūd; he afterwards went in the same capacity from Baghḍād to Hamadān,<sup>2</sup> and died there A. H. 527 (A. D. 1132-3). I was told by Abn Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Umar al-Khaṭīb that a jurisconsult of Qazwīn (who took care of As'ad at Hamadān, when he was drawing towards the end of his life) related to him the following circumstance: 'We were together in a room about the time in which his ecstatic fit<sup>3</sup> usually took him, and he ordered us to retire, on which we withdrew; but I stopped at the door to listen, and I heard him strike his face with his hand and say: O what grief is mine for my negligence in the service of God!'—He then wept and struck his face again, and continued repeating these

1 This was probably the army sent by the khalif al-Mustarshid against Dubays Ibn Ṣadaqah.

2 The first embassy was probably in A. H. 513 (A. D. 1119-20) when the Sulṭān Sinjar was on ill terms with his nephew the Sulṭān Maḥmūd. At the epoch of the second, Ma'ad was Sulṭān at Baḥḍād, and his brother Tuḡhril at Hamadān.

3 In Arabic حال, *state*, which word is employed by the Sufis; in their technical language, to signify a periodical fit of excitaton or of mental abstraction, to which their devotees are subject, and which is produced by a long continuance of their religious exercises. During its continuance, their souls are supposed to be absorbed in the Divinity.—(See M. de Sacy's *Memoir on Sufism* in the *Notices et Extraits*, etc., tom. 12.)

5 Qur'ān; surat 39, verse 57.

\*24 November, 1119.—*Ed.*

†October-November, 1123.—*Ed.*

‡According to the autograph it should be *Muadhhyal*.—*Ed.*

words till he expired.'-Abū Bakr told me the above, or the substance of it, as I have written it down from memory (*and not from his dictation*)! *Mihanī* means belonging to *Mīhanah*, a village in the dependencies of *Khābarān*, which place is near the towns of *Sarakhs* and *Abīward* in *Khurāsān*.

## 87. ABU 'L-FUTŪḤ AL-'IJLĪ

Abu 'l-Futūḥ As'ad Ibn Abi 'l-Faḍā'il Maḥmad Ibn *Khalf* Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-'Ijlī, surnamed *Muntakhib al-Dīn* (*selected for religion*), was a native of *Ispahān* and a follower of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. This preacher and eminent jurisconsult was in high reputation for his learning, self-denial, piety, devotion, and frugality; eating of nothing but what he had gained by the labour of his hands and supporting himself by copying and selling (*books*). He learned the Traditions in his native city from Umm Ibrāhīm Fātimah al-Juzdānīyah,<sup>1</sup> daughter of 'Abd Allāh, the ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl, Abu 'l-Wafā *Ghānim* Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Jalādī, Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Rahīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghḍādī, Abu 'l-Muṭahhir al-Qāsim Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn 'Abd al-Wahīd al-Ṣaydalānī, and others. He then went to *Baghdād* in the year 557 (A.D. 1162), and learned also Traditions from Abu 'l-Faḥḥ Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī, surnamed Ibn al-Baṭṭī, and others; he received

---

<sup>1</sup> *Juzdān* according to the author of the *Marāṣid*, is a large village near *Ispahān*; the people of that city call it *Luzadān*.

<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl, one of the first traditionists of his time, was born at *Ispahān*, A. H. 457 (A. D. 1065); died A. H. 535 (A. D. 1141). He composed, among other works, a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, and an explanation of the Traditions of *Bukhārī* and those of *Muslim*. The people of *Baghdād* said of him that since the time of *Aḥmad* Ibn *Ḥanbal*, he was the most talented man and the most learned traditionist that ever entered their city.—His life (*in Arabic*) is given in *Meursinge's Soyūti Liber de Interpretibus Korani*, Lugd. Bat. 1849.

also certificates from Zāhir al-Shahāmī<sup>1</sup>\* Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ismā'īl Ibn al-Faḍl al-Ikhshīdī,<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-Mubārak 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī, and others, authorizing him to teach in their name the Traditions which he had learned from them. He then returned to his native city, and, after studying deeply, he acquired surpassing information and attained celebrity. A number of works were composed by him, among others, an explanation of the obscurities met with in the *Wasiṭ* and *Wajiz* of (Abū Ḥamid) al-Ghazzālī, containing, besides, extracts from the books in which the doctrines stated in these two works are more fully stated. He wrote also a supplement to the supplement<sup>3</sup> composed by Abu Sa'd al-Mutawallī. His legal decisions as a muftī were considered of the first authority at Ispahān. He was born in that city in one of the months of Rabī', A. H. 514 or 515 (A. D. 1121); he died in the same city on Wednesday† night, 22 Safar, A. H. 600 (October, A. D. 1203§). 'Ijlī means belonging to 'Ijl Ibn Lujayn, a famous branch of the tribe of Rabī'at al-Faras. ††['Ijl was son of Lujaym Ibn Sa'b Ibn 'Alī Ibn Wā'il. Abu 'Ubaydah' says that this 'Ijl was counted by the Arabs among their celebrated idiots; he had an excellent horse, and someone said to him: "Every courser has a name; what is the name of yours?" "I have not named him yet" replied 'Ijl. "You should give him a name,"

1 According to Ibn al-Aṭḥir, in his Kāmil, Zāhir al-Shahāmī was born A. H. 446 (A. D. 1054), and died 533 (A. D. 1138-9).

2 Ikhshīdī, I believe to be the true reading, not Ikhshīd, as is printed in the Arabic text. It is singular that not one of the above-named traditionists should be noticed in the *Tabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*; but Ibn Khallikān here supplies the most requisite information respecting them, namely, the time and the place in which they lived.

3 *Tatimmat al-Tatimmat* (Completion of the Completion) see Flugels, Hājji Khulifāh, ABANAT, No. 3.

4 The life of the celebrated grammarian and philologist, Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar Ibn al-Muḥannā, is given by Ibn Khallikān.

\*Abu 'l-Qāsim Zāhir Ibn Tāhir al-Shahāmī according to the autograph and new Egyptian edition.—Ed.

†This word is not in the autograph. The full sentence from **وله إجازة** to **وغيرهم** is omitted.—Ed.

‡According to the autograph and new Egyptian edition it should be *Thursday*.—Ed.

§30 October.—Ed.

††[ ] From "Ijl was son" to end is not in the autograph.—Ed.

observed the other; on which 'Ijl put out one of his horse's eyes, and said: "I name him al-A'war",<sup>1</sup> on this a poet of the Desert composed the following verses:

"The sons of 'Ijl reproached me with a defect which is, however, the very defect of their father. Does there exist among men a person more foolish than 'Ijl? Did not their father put out the eye of his courser, and become thus proverbial for his stupidity?"]

## 88. AL-AS'AD IBN MAMMĀTĪ

Al-Qāḍi 'l-As'ad (*the most fortunate qāḍi*) Abu 'l-Makārim As'ad Ibn al-Khaṭīr Abī Sa'īd Muḥadhdhib Ibn Mīnā Ibn Zakariyā Ibn Abī Malīḥ Mammātī al-Miṣrī (*native of Egypt*): this poet, who was also a *kātib*<sup>2</sup> and inspector of the government offices in Egypt, was a man of merit and author of a number of works. He versified the History of the ṣultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn and the book called *Kalilah and Dimnah*. His poetical compositions have been collected and form a *diwān*, a copy of which I have seen in the handwriting of his son, and from which I extracted a number of pieces; the following, among other:

"You reproach me (*my friendly monitor*!) and you tell me to avoid the very objects which people caution you to fly; do you know that these objects are as (*dear to me as*) my eyes? Nay, I assure you, my eyes have been more fatal to me than they."<sup>3</sup>

1 *Al-A'war* (*blind of an eye*); among the Arabs, surnames such as this, derived from a corporeal defect, are still common.

2 See note on *kētib*s, No. 10.

3 Such I suppose to be the meaning of these very obscure verses; the objects which he is cautioned to avoid are the cruel beauties who inflame his heart with love; and yet, says he, my eyes, in contemplating their charms, have been more fatal to me than their cruelty.



He composed the following verses on a heavy fellow whom he saw at Damascus:

"He is like two rivers which none on earth ever resembled; in body he is like *Ṭhawrā*, and in mind like *Baradā*."<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Mammātī has taken the idea expressed in the foregoing verses from these lines composed by another poet.

"Ibn Bishrān resembles the city of Jilliq<sup>2</sup>; when their qualities are set forth, both are without a rival. His words are (*foul like*) *Baradā*, his body (*slow like*) *Ṭhawrā*, and his feeble intelligence (*languid like*) Yazīd."<sup>3</sup>

In one of Ibn Mammātī's long *qasīdahs* are found the following verses:

"How brightly his fires burn at night to attract the tardy guest! He who draweth to the light of his fire will not have reason to complain, provided he never received hospitality from the family of Muḥallab."<sup>4</sup>

By the same, on a young grammarian:

"The gait of the slender youth raises my admiration announces the elegance of his mind. His pronunciation is soft as a female's and his eyes are full of languor."<sup>5</sup>

1 See note 3 *infra*.

2 The *Marāṣid* says: "*Jilliq*, with a double *L* and two *i*'s, is a name given to the *Ghāḥ* (or *valley of Damascus*), or else to a village therein; some say it is Damascus itself, and others that it is a statue of a female spouting water from its mouth in one of the villages near Damascus."

3 Or else: The feebleness of his intellect is on the increase.—In translating these verses I have supposed that *Baradā*, *Ṭhawrā*, and *Yazīd* (*three of the streams by which Damascus is watered*), possessed certain qualities to which allusion is made. It may be, however, that the poet only meant to put upon the words, as *Barīl* signifies *cold*; *Ṭhawr*, a *bull*; and *Yazīd*, *increases*.

4 See No. 48, note on *Qur'ān*, surat 27, verse 7.

5 All the members of the Muḥallab family were celebrated for their generosity and hospitality.

6 Such is the real meaning of these verses; but persons conversant with Arabic grammar will perceive that the author has expressed his thoughts in words which the grammarians employ as technical terms. They are all to be found in M. De Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*.

Three other verses of his will be found in the life of Yahya Ibn Nizar al-Manbijī: there are some good thoughts in his poetry. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn makes mention of him in the *Kharidah* and quotes a number of passages composed by him: he then gives the life of al-Khaṭīr, Ibn Mammātī's father, with abundant extracts from his poems: the following excellent lines, among others, on keeping a secret:

"I conceal the secret with which I am entrusted, and do not repeat it even to him who confided it to me; but yet I forget it not. For my ear never teaches my tongue the secret of him who has conversed with me in private."

"I met him at Cario," says the *kātib*; "he was chief of al-Malik al-Nāṣir's army-office; he and his people<sup>1</sup> had been Christians, but they embraced Islamism towards the beginning of Ṣalāh al-Dīn's reign." Muḥaddhib al-Dīn Ibn al-Lakḥmī composed the following satirical verses on Ibn al-Mammātī:

"The new converted Muslim is but a weak proselyte; his smiles betray his fell intent. Had (*the grammarian*) Sībawayh seen some of his verses, he would have counted him among the signs of the feminine gender."<sup>2</sup>

When the ḥafīẓ Ibn Dihyāh *Dhu 'l-Nisbayn*<sup>3</sup> arrived at Arbela, and saw how sedulously the sultan of that city, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, was occupied in celebrating, with great pomp, the anniversary of the Prophet's birth as shall be related in his life under the letter *K*<sup>4</sup>; he composed a work entitled *al-Tanwīr*, etc. (*illumination, in praise of the bright Flambeau*), and finishing with a long *qaṣidah* in praise of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, which commenced thus:

1 Or: *His hand*.

2 This is perhaps intended as an attack on Ibn Mammātī's moral character: but the verses themselves are so full of quibbling, that it is not easy to guess the author's real meaning. The first hemistich signifies literally: a new (or a tradition) of Islam is a new (or a tradition) weak (in authority).

3 His life will be found among the *ʿUmars*.

4 The real name of Muẓaffar al-Dīn was Kakubari.

"Were it not for our enemies, those base informer (*our friends*) would never have suspected us (*of ill*)."

This book and poem were read to the prince, and I myself (*afterwards*) heard the work read in his presence in the month of *Sha'abān*, A. H. 626 (A. D. 1229) and (*I remarked that*) the *qaṣīdah* was in it; some time after, however, I found this very poem in a collection of pieces, and there attributed to Ibn Mammātī, on which I said to myself that the editor was probably mistaken. Then, still later, I saw the entire poem in the *Divān* of Ibn Mammātī's poetical works, and found there stated that it had been composed by him in honour of the *ṣulṭān al-Malik al-Kāmil*. This confirmed my suspicions, and I then met with the following passage in Ibn al Mustawfī's History of Arbela, where he speaks of Ibn Dīḥyah; "I asked him the meaning which he wished to convey by the following verse (*of his poem*):"

"We should give our lives for a present offered by one whose hand is *Jumādā* and *Muḥarram*."

"As he gave me no reply,<sup>1</sup> I said: 'It is perhaps like the idea which a poet has thus expressed':"

"He is called by the names of the months; thus his hand is *Jumādā* and its contents *Muḥarram*."<sup>2</sup>

"On this, Ibn Dīḥyah smiled and said: 'That is what I meant.'" On reading this passage, I became strongly inclined to think that al-As'ad was the author of the poem; for if Ibn Dīḥyah had composed it, he would not have hesitated in returning an answer (*to Ibn al-Mustawfī's question*); it must, however, be observed that this *qaṣīdah* was recited (*for the first time*) to the prince of Arbela, A. H. 606, and that al-As'ad died in that year;

1 It is some consolation to a European student, to find Arabic poets unable to understand verses in their own language.

2 *Muḥarram*, that is, *sacred*, none being allowed to touch them. *Jumādā* means *dry month*, which name was given to it when the Arabs used the solar year. It is well known that in the metaphorical language of the Arabs, a *moist hand* means *generosity*, and of course a *dry* one must denote avarice.

and moreover, he was then dwelling at Aleppo, and had no connexion whatever with the 'Ādilite dynasty.<sup>1</sup> So, on the whole, God alone knows with certainty which of the two is the real author. Al-As'ad had fled from Egypt secretly through fear of the vizīr\* Ibn Shukr,<sup>2</sup> and retired to Aleppo, where he took refuge under the protection of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir; he remained in that city till he died, on Sunday the 30 of the First Jumādā, A. H. 606 (November, A. D. 1209†), aged 62 years. He was interred in the cemetery named al-Maqām,<sup>3</sup> by the road side, near the mausoleum of the Shaykh 'Alī al-Harawī.<sup>4</sup> His father al-Khaṭīr died on Wednesday, 6 Ramaḍān, 577 (A. D. 1182‡). His ancestor, Abn Malīḥ, who was a Christian, received the surname of *Mammālī* from the following circumstance: during a great dearth which happened in Egypt, he distributed alms and provisions in abundance, and especially to the Muslim children; and they, on seeing him, used to cry out *Mammālī*,<sup>5</sup> so that he came to be known by this appellation. Such is the explanation which I received from 'Abd al-Azīm al-Mundḥarī,<sup>6</sup> (May God preserve him for our advantage !) who then recited to me the following elegiac verses on Abn Malīḥ's death with the remark that they

1 Al-Malik al-Kāmil was son to al-Malik al-'Ādil, the Ayyabite, brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

2 Ṣafī al-Dīn Ibn Shuqr al-Dammirī الاميرى acted as vizīr to al-Malik al-'Ādil till A. H. 609; he was again appointed vizīr by al-Malik al-Kāmil. (Al-Suyūṭī's *Isṣn al-Muḥaṣṣarah*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 652, folio 225, verso).

3 This cemetery lies probably outside the Damascus gate, called by the natives Bab al-Maqām.

4 Ibn Khallikān gives an account of this mausoleum in the life of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Harawī.

5 *Mammālī* was probably the children's word for *mother*.

6 'Abd al-'Azīm was one of Ibn Khallikān's professors. See his life, No. 43, note on *Abd al-'Azīm*.

\*Ṣafī al-Dīn the name of the vizīr is omitted.—*Ed.*

†29 November.—*Ed.*

‡13 January.—*Ed.*

were composed, as he believed by Ibn Miknasah al-Maghribī<sup>1</sup>:

"The sky of generous actions and the sun of praise have both disappeared. Where shall my hopes and expectations be placed, after the death of Abu 'l-Maliḥ?"

I then looked out for these verses, and found that they were really his, and that other elegies by the same poet on Ibn Maliḥ were still extant.<sup>2</sup>

### 89. BAḤĀ AL-DĪN AS-SINJĀRĪ

Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt As'ad Ibn Yahyā Ibn Mūsā Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Wahb Ibn Habbān Ibn Sawār Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rafī' Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn Habbān al-Sulamī al-Sinjārī (*of the tribe of Sulaym and native of Sinjār*), surnamed Bahā al-Dīn (*splendour of religion*), was a poet and a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. As a jurisconsult, he had treated controverted points: but poetry was his ruling passion, and he was indebted for his celebrity to the ability which he displayed in that art. He devoted his poetical talent to his service of princes and obtained recompenses from them; he (*therefore*) travelled over many countries for purpose of celebrating the praises of the great. His poetical productions, both *qasīdahs* and short pieces, are in the hands of the public; but I have never met with a complete collection of his works, nor do I know if his poems have been gathered into a *diwān* or not. Since (*writing the above*), I have found a large volume

<sup>1</sup> Al-Qa'id Abū Ṭahir Isma'īl Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Ibn Miknasah, bore in Egypt the reputation of an eminent poet. 'Imād al-Dīn has inserted in his *Kharidah* (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 1374, fol. 186 *et seq.*) a number of pieces composed by Ibn Miknasah but does not furnish much information respecting the author. It only appears that his attachment to Abū Maliḥ, and the elegies which he composed on his death, subjected him to the displeasure of the vizir of Egypt, Badr al-Jamālī.—Now this vizir was nominated A. H. 467: consequently Ibn Miknasah must have lived till some time later.

<sup>2</sup> They are not to be found in the *Kharidah* (see the preceding note); and this was probably the work which Ibn Khallikān consulted.

containing his complete works in the library at the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Ashraf<sup>1</sup> in Damascus, and I extracted from it the following verses of a long *qaṣīdah* in praise of the qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣhahrazarī<sup>2</sup>:

‘I swear by the love I bear thee that indifference has never entered the heart of thy lover, and well thou knowest the state of lover in which he is. If a delator tell thee that thy lover has forgot thee, know that this delator is the very person who blamed him for loving thee. The state of thy afflicted lover does it not bear witness for itself? Does it not suffice to dispense with thy asking how he feels? Thou hast renewed the garment of his malady; thou hast rent the veil which concealed his passion, and thou hast broken the tie which bound thee to him. Has a fault escaped him by inadvertence? or (*hast thou rejected him for*) the levity and presumption<sup>3</sup> to which thou hadst accustomed him? It is strange that a prisoner should lay down life and fortune for one who is free (*from love*). I should give my parents in ransom for that archer who shoots with his eyes, and the point of whose arrows no armour can withstand! He is filled with the sap of youth; his cheeks are saturated from the same pure source. (*Admiring*) eyes embark in (*the contemplation of*) his charms, and risk being drowned in the ocean of his beauty. Nothing is wanting to his perfection, and that extreme perfection screens Kamāl al-Dīn from the evil eye.<sup>4</sup> The ‘*idhār* traces the letter nun (ن)

1 Al-Malik al-Ashraf died at Damascus, A. H. 635. His life will be found in this work.

2 It was at first my intention to modify the ideas contained in the singular extract which follows, but on further consideration, I preferred given the real sense of the verse, and referring the reader to what I have said on the subject in my Introduction.

3 *Presumption*, دلال : This, although the ordinary signification of the word, is not given in the lexicons.—See the *Diwān* d. ‘Amro ‘l-qais, p. 11, note.

4 عين الكمال ; Oculus ejusdam Arabis *Kemal* dicti, qui homines aspectu necabat. (Meninski’s Lex.) This expression is generally employed to denote the influence of the evil eye, which affects more particularly those favoured by fortune or beauty,—The verse itself is a specimen of the taste for quibbling which has pervaded Arabic poetry from the third century of the Hijrah.

upon his face, and the mole on his cheek forms the diacritical point. The darkness of his tresses is like (*gloomy*) night of his aversion; and the brightness of his forehead resembles the (*clear*) day of his friendship."

Were it not my desire to avoid prolixity, I should give the entire poem, but what is here inserted is the portion more generally remarked. Two verses more are sometimes joined to the preceding, but I have omitted them from my inability to establish their authenticity. \*[The following extract is taken from one of his *qaṣīdahs*:

"And that nymph with the slender waist, so sweet in character and whose glances are so tempting; who sometimes consents, sometimes refuses! Wine mantles on her lips,<sup>1</sup> and is transuded by her (*rosy*) cheeks. Her charms have closed on lovers the path of consolation; for them to consolation there is no approach."

From another *qaṣīdah* by the same:

"The zephyrs awoke at dawn and perfumes<sup>2</sup> spread around them; and I said: 'when they passed through the valley of *G̃haḍā*: 'Whose sweet breath is that?'"

When I was at my native place in the year 623 (A. D. 1226), we were visited by Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad, a native of Wāsiṭ, and generally known by the name of Ibn al-Sunaynirah; he took up his abode at the Muẓaffariyah college<sup>3</sup> with us. This *shaykh*, who was one of the first poets of the age, had travelled over many countries, reciting to princes his eulogistic poems, and receiving from them gifts of great value. When he received company<sup>4</sup> he was visited by all those who were occupied in literary pursuits, and an agreeable conversation and discussion took place. He was then advanced

1 See not on *honeyed lips*, No. 6.

2 *Perfumes*; literally, *grey ambergirs*.

3 This college was founded by the prince of Arbela, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kākubārī. His life is given in this work.

4 In Arabic *qāḍ* means *to sit, to hold a sitting, and to receive company*.

\* [ ] From "The following" to "are wonderful" on page 298 is not in the autograph.—Ed.

in years, and he related one day the following anecdote: "I once had Bahā al-Dīn al-Sinjārī for companion in a journey which I made from Sinjār to Rās 'Ayn," (or else "from Rās 'Ayn to Sinjār,") and we halted at a spot on the way; Bahā al-Dīn had with him a boy named Ibrāhīm, whom he treated with affection, and who then happened to be at a distance from us; so his master rose up to look for him, and called out repeatedly, 'Ibrāhīm! Ibrāhīm!' but the boy was too far off to hear him. Now there was an echo in that place, and as often as he shouted out 'Ibrāhīm,' it answered by repeating the word; on which he sat down for a moment and then recited to me these verses:

"My life for a friend who is cruel, although attached to me! who is far from my sight, though near (*to my heart*)! The very rock which forms the echo of the valley answers when I call him, but he answers not (*although my friend*)."

Bahā al-Dīn al-Sinjārī had an acquaintance to whom he was greatly attached, and whom he met frequently; but a dispute having one day occurred between them, his friend discontinued seeing him. On this Bahā al-Dīn sent to complain of his absence, and the other wrote him in reply the two following lines of al-Harīrī's, which he has inserted in his fifteenth *Maqāmah*:<sup>1</sup>

"Visit him whom you love but once each month, not oftener. It is only for one day in the month that the moon is looked at,<sup>2</sup> and then eyes are no more turned towards her."

To this Bahā al-Dīn answered by these verses in the same measure as the foregoing:

"When thou art sure of thy friend's affection, visit him and fear not to be tiresome. Act as the sun which appears daily; not as the new moon which visits us only once each month."

The following verses of his are frequently quoted:

<sup>1</sup> See M. de Sacy's edition of al-Harīrī, page 154.

<sup>2</sup> This happens at the beginning of Ramaḍān,\* as the Muslim fast commences when the new moon of that month makes its appearance.

\*The sighting of crescent marks the beginning of each month, and if any particular crescent is in mind it must be *Shawwāl*'s.—*Ed.*



"How happy the days I spent at Rāmah! how sweet the hours I passed at Ḥājir.<sup>1</sup> They fled so quickly, that the first moments seemed to touch the last."

In one of his *qaṣīdahs*, containing the description of wine, is found the following pretty thought:

"We nearly flew with gaiety, and the wine also had flown, were it not detained by the net which the bubbles formed on its surface."

The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn makes mention of him in the *kitāb al-Sayl 'wa l-Dhayl*, and says, "He recited me these verses of his own:

" 'Tis wonderful that I should sail on the ocean of wealth, and yet die of thirst; but the ways of the ocean are wonderful." ]

He composed many fine pieces. His birth was in the year 533 (A. D. 1138-9); his death occurred at Sinjār about the beginning of the year 622 (A. D. 1225).

## 90. AL-MUZANĪ

Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl Ibn Yahyā Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn 'Amr Ibn Muslim\* al-Muzanī, disciple of the imām al-Shāfi'ī and a native of Egypt, was a man of austere life and great learning, a *mujtahid*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rāmah* is situated, according to the *Marāṣid*, on the road from Makkah to Baṣrah, and *Ḥājir* is a village in Hijaz (see Ibn Khallikan, Arabic text, page 557); these two spots have been celebrated by some of the Arabian poets. Bahā al-Dīn, in choosing these names, wished to show that he made good *classical* studies.

<sup>2</sup> The term *mujtahid* is employed in Muslim divinity to denote a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question. This title was very frequent in the first ages of Islamism, but the principal points of law having been fixed by the doctors, and more particularly by the founders of the four orthodox sects, the exercise of private judgment in legal questions ceased soon after to be recognized. Some later doctors, al-Syūṭī for instance, claimed the title and the right, but both were refused to them by public opinion.—For further information, see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 169, and the works there mentioned.

\*M. de Slane gives Ishāq; a name which is struck off in the autograph.

Ed.

an able reasoner, and a profound thinker.<sup>1</sup> He was the *imām* of the Shafites, and the first among them by his acquaintance with the legal system and juridical decisions of their founder, and by his knowledge of the Traditions, which he transmitted on the authority of his master. He composed a great number of works, among others, a great and a small collection (*al-Jāmi'*) of Traditions, the Abridgment abridged,<sup>2</sup> *al-Manṭḥūr*, or loose notes, *al-Rasā'il al-Mu'tabarāh* (the *esteemed Treatises*), the Incitation to Learning, and the *Kitāb al-Waḥ'id*.<sup>3</sup> Al-Shāfi'ī said, in speaking of al-Muzanī, "He is the champion of my doctrine. As often as al-Muzanī decided a question and inserted the result in his Abridgment,<sup>4</sup> he would rise, and turning towards the *Mihrāb*<sup>5</sup> say a prayer composed of two *rak'ahs*<sup>6</sup> in thanksgiving to Divinity. It was said by Ibn Surayj that the Abridgment would go out of the world unblemished.<sup>7</sup> This work is the basis of all the treatises composed on al-Shāfi'ī's system of legal doctrine, the authors either imitating its arrangement, or explaining and developing its text. When Bakkār Ibn Qutaybah, the Hanafite doctor (whose life shall be given later) went from Baghdād to Egypt, where he had been appointed qāḍī he hoped to meet al-Muzanī and continued for some time in fruitless expectations; one day, however, they were both present at a funeral service, and Bakkār said to one of his disciples: "Ask al-Muzanī some question, that I may hear him speak." This person said in consequence to al-Muzanī: "O, Abn Ibrāhīm! some of the Traditions contain a prohibition of

1 Literally: A diver for subtle ideas.

2 This is one of the most celebrated treatises on the legal doctrines of the Shafite sect: Hajji Khalifah says that al-Muzanī was the first who wrote on the subject, in which case it is difficult to explain the title of his work.

3 This is perhaps a treatise on bonds.

4 In the Arabic text, for *مختصرة* read *مختصره*.

5 See No. 16. note on *mihrāb*.

6 The word *rak'ah* is written incorrectly *rika* by European authors, designates a certain number of prostrations and prayers; the *ṣalat*, or legal prayer, is composed of two, four, six, or more *rak'ahs*.\* See D' Ohsson's Empire Othom. t. II, p. 82; Hamilton's *Hedayah*, preliminary discourse, p. 53.

7 Literally: An unblemished virgin.

\* The five daily obligatory (*farḥ*) prayers are composed of two, four, four, three and four *rak'ahs*.—*Ed.*

the liquor (*nabidh*),<sup>1</sup> and others permit its use; why therefore have you (*doctors*) preferred the prohibition to the permission?" To this al-Muzanī replied: "None of the learned have ever maintained that *nabidh* was forbidden before the promulgation of Islamism, and authorised after; and the unanimous opinion is, that it was lawful (*in the former time*); this therefore confirms the authenticity of the Tradition which forbids its use."<sup>2</sup> Ibn Bakkār approved his reasoning, and it is, certainly, a decisive argument, Al-Muzanī was extremely careful in avoiding the least infringement of the law, and his precaution went so far that, in every season of the year, he drank out of a brass vessel,<sup>3</sup> and he replied when spoken to on the subject: "I am told that they make use of dung in the fabrication of pitchers, and fire does not purify it."<sup>4</sup> It is related that when he missed being present at public service in the mosque, he repeated his prayers alone twenty-five times, in order to regain the merits attached to those which are said with the congregation: in this, he founded his opinion on the authority of the following declaration made by Muḥammad: "Prayers made with the congregation are five and twenty times better than prayers said by one of you when alone."<sup>5</sup> \* [He lived in the practice of severe and rigid self-mortification (*his*

---

1 *Nabidh*, a sweet and slightly fermented liquor made with dates or raisins.—See the authorities cited by M. de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. 1, p. 403; and *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. 2, p. 339.

2 The point of al-Muzanī's argument is this: it is unanimously allowed that *nabidh* was lawful before Islamism, so an order of Muḥammad to authorise its use would have been unnecessary and unmotivated; the tradition which contains such an order is therefore to be rejected, more especially as it is in contradiction with another to which a similar objection cannot be made.

3 Water contained in a brass vessel does not cool in summer, for which reason they prefer putting it into a porous earthen decanter, in which it speedily acquires a lower temperature by evaporation.

4 In the Muslim law, there is a section which treats specially of purification. See D'Ossons *Emp. Othom.*, tom. 1, and Hamilton's *Hedāyah*, preliminary discourse, p. 53.

5 See Matthew's *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. I, p. 224, where the meaning of this tradition is, however, totally misunderstood.

\* [ ] From "He lived" to "God's creation" on next page, not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

*sanctity was so great that*) he obtained the fulfilment of his prayers, and not one of al-Shāfi'i's disciples ever hoped to surpass him in any point. It was he who washed the corpse of al-Shāfi'i (*previous to its internment*); some say, however, that he was aided in that office by al-Rabī' (*al-Murādī*). Ibn Yānus makes mention of him in his *History (of Egypt)*, and gives his names in full, but his ancestor Iṣḥāq is there called Muslim; he then says, "the disciple of al-Shāfi'i" and mentions the date of his death, which accords with what is stated above<sup>1</sup>; he says also: "He had the talent of explaining the Traditions; and he<sup>2</sup> was eminently trustworthy in their transmission, as the most acute doctors unanimously allow; he led an austere life, and was one of the best of God's creation:] his merits were abundant." He died at Miṣr on the 24 Ramaḍān, 264 (A. D. 887\*), and was buried near the mausoleum of the imām al-Shāfi'i, in the Lesser Qarāfah<sup>2</sup> at the foot of Mount Muqaṭṭam, where I visited his tomb. Ibn Zulaq says, in his *Lesser History*, that he was aged 89 years, and that funeral prayers were said over him by al-Rabī' al-Murādī.—*Muzani* means *belonging to Muzaynah*, a great and well-known tribe, which was so named after Muzaynah, daughter of Kalb.

(For further reference, see *Ansāb*, f. 527 a.—*Ed.*)

## 91. ABU 'L-'ATĀHIYAH

Abū Iṣḥāq Ismā'il Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Suwayd Ibn Kaysān al-'Aynī, member by adoption of the tribe of 'Anazah, and surnamed Abū 'l-'Atāhiyah, a celebrated poet, was born at 'Ayn al-Tamr, a village situated in the province of Hijāz, near Madīnah, or, according to some, in the regions which are irrigated by the Euphrates; Yāqut al-Ḥamawī says, however, in his *Muṣhtarik*, that it lies near Anbār; but God knows best. He was brought up

<sup>1</sup> It may easily be perceived that this passage has been added in the margin later, and afterwards inserted in the wrong place; it should have been placed lower down.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 24, note on *Qarāfah*.

\* 30 May.—*Ed.*

at Kafah, and then settled at Baghdād; the surname of *al-Jarrār* was given to him because he sold earthen jars.<sup>1</sup> His passion for 'Utbah, a slave belonging to the *khalif* al-Mahdī, is well known, and it was to celebrate her charms that he composed the greater part of his amatory pieces, such as the following :

"I informed 'Utbah that for her sake I was on the brink of perdition: bathed in tears, I complained of the woes I underwent (*from affection*) towards her. Fatigued at length by my lamentations, doleful as those of a wretch reduced to penury, she said: 'Is any one aware of what you tell me?' And I answered: 'Every person knows it'."<sup>2</sup>

He wrote also to al-Mahdī these lines, in which he intimated his wish to obtain her from him:

"There is one thing on earth to which my soul is attached, and the fulfilment of my wishes depends upon God, and al-Mahdī the maintainer (*of his order*). I despair of success, and then your contempt for the world and worldly goods revives my hopes."

It is related by al-Mubarrad, in his *Kāmil*, that Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah, having obtained permission to offer a present to the *khalif* on the festivals of the new year and the autumnal equinox, brought him, on one of these anniversaries, an ample porcelain vase containing a perfumed garment of delicate texture, on the border of which he had inscribed the verses just given. On this, the *khalif* had some intention of bestowing 'Utbah upon him, but she recoiled with dislike, and exclaimed: "Commander of the Faithful! treat me as becomes a female and a member of your household.<sup>3</sup> Will you give me up to a nasty man who sells jars and gains his livelihood by verses?" By this appeal, the *khalif* was

1 Earthen jars, in Arabic *jirār*, sing. *jarrīh*; the French *jarre* is manifestly derived from the same source.

2 The poet thus confesses his indiscretion in divulging the name of his mistress.

3 Or more literally: Respect my rights as a member of your harem and a person in your service. In this phrase, the word *ارع*, imperative of the verb *ورعى* to have consideration for, to respect, is understood.

induced to spare her such an affliction, and he ordered the vase to be filled with money and given to the poet. Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah then said to the accountants charged to pay him: "It was gold pieces which he ordered me;" but they replied: "So much we shall not give you; but if you choose, you may have it filled with silver pieces." They then waited till he declared his choice, and he balanced (*between the two conditions*) during a year (*before coming to a decision*). 'Utbah, on learning this, said: "Were he in love, as he pretends, he would not have spent his time in balancing the difference between pieces of gold and pieces of silver; he has totally ceased to think of me."—The following is one of his eulogistic passages:

\*["O, emīr ! I am sheltered from the vicissitudes of Fortune, when moored under thy protection.<sup>1</sup> Were it possible for men to pay thee fitting honour, they had given the tender skin of their cheeks to make thee sandals.] Our camels complain of thy cruelty: they cross desert wastes and sands to reach thee; and when they bear us to thee, they are lightly laden:—but when they depart with us, their burden is heavy."<sup>2</sup>

†[These verses were addressed by him to 'Umar Ibn al-'Alā,<sup>3</sup> who rewarded him with 70,000 (*dirhims*), and clothed him with so many robes of honour, that he was unable to rise. This liberality having excited the jealousy of the other poets, 'Umar assembled them and said: "It is strange that you poets should be so jealous of each other. When one of you comes to us with a *qaṣīdah* composed in our praise; he employs fifty verses to celebrate the charms of his mistress, and he does not begin to mention us till the sweetness of his praises is exhausted, and the brilliancy of his verses faded: but Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah celebrates his beloved

<sup>1</sup> Literally: When I have attached cords to the emīr.

<sup>2</sup> By the presents you have made us.

<sup>3</sup> 'Umar Ibn al-'Alā was governor of Ṭāberistan in A. H. 167 (A. D. 783-4).—(Ibn al-Aṭḥir.)

\*[ ] From "O Emīr!" to "thee sandals" not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

†[ ] From: "These verses" to "with a recompense" on page 305. not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

in a few verses and then says: *O, emīr! I am sheltered from the vicissitudes of Fortune.*"—('Umar here repeated the lines which have been just given.)—"Why, then, are you jealous?"—This emīr having waited for a short time before giving to Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah mark of his generosity in recompense for this eulogium, the poet wrote to him these lines complaining of the delay:

"An evil eye has disappointed our hopes, O 'Umar! by shedding its influence on thy generosity; and we require amulets and charms to annul its effects. We shall exorcise thee with verses till they weary out (*and expel*) thy illness; and if thou dost not recover, we shall exorcise thee with *surats* (*of the Qur'ān*).<sup>1</sup>

The celebrated poet *Ashja'* al-Sulamī<sup>2</sup> relates the following anecdote: "The *khalif* al-Mahdī having given permission to the public to enter into his presence, we went in, and he told us to sit down, and it happened that *Bashshār* Ibn Burd sat down beside me. The *khalif* then kept silence, and the public also kept silence. Then *Bashshār* heard the sound of a voice, and he said to me: 'Who is that?' I replied: 'Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah.' 'Do you think,' said he, 'he will dare to recite in this assembly?' 'I think he will,' said I. Then al-Mahdī ordered him to recite, and he commenced thus:

'What is the matter with my mistress? what is the matter? she is haughty, and I support her disdain.'

"Here *Bashshār* pushed me with his elbow and said: 'Did you ever see a more audacious fellow, to dare to pronounce such a verse in such a place?' The poet then came to these lines:

---

<sup>1</sup> See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.

<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-Walid *Ashja'* Ibn 'Amr al-Sulamī was born at Raqqah الرقة in Mesopotamia. Having terminated his studies in belles-letters, he went to *Baḡhdād* and gained admittance into the society of the Barmakides, one of whom, Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā, favoured him with his peculiar patronage and introduced him to Hārūn al-Rashīd. The year of his death is not given in the *Khaṭīb's* abridged *History of Baḡhdād*, from which the above particulars are taken. (See MS. No. 634, fol. 74) Some verses of *Ashja'*'s are to be found in the *Ḥamāsah*, and his life, with copious extracts from his poetry, given in the *Buṭūḥ al-Talab*; MS. No. 726, fol. 143.

"The khalifah advanced to him in pomp<sup>1</sup> and submitted to his will. It alone was fitted for him, and he alone for it. If any other aspired after it, the earth had shook (*with horror*). If our inmost thoughts disobey him, our good deeds will not be accepted by God."<sup>2</sup>

"Here Bashshār said: 'Look, Ashja'! and see if the khalif do not spring (*with delight*) from his cushion?' The fact was that Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah was the only man who retired from the assembly with a recompense." ] Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah composed many verses on ascetic subjects; he was one of the principal among those poets who flourished in the first ages of islamism,<sup>3</sup> and he ranked in the same class with Bashshār, Abn Nuwās, and that party. He composed a great deal of poetry; he was born A. H. 130 (A. D. 747-8), and died at Baghdād on Monday, 3 or 8 of the latter Jumādā, 211 (September, A. D. 826\*), or 213 according to some. His tomb is on the bank of the river 'Īsā,<sup>4</sup> opposite the bridge of the Oilmen (*Qanṣarat al-Zayyātin*). When on the point of death, he expressed the desire that Mukhāriq<sup>5</sup> the singer should come and sing, close by him, the following verses, which belong to a poem composed by himself:

"When the term of my existence expires, the grief of the females who mourn me will be short. My friend will cease to think of me; he will forget my love, and find a new friend after losing me."

1 Or more literally: Sweeping the ground with its train.

2 Allusion to the maxim, that the act is to be judged after the intention.

3 Arabian critics divide poets into several classes: the *Jāhālī* was one who lived before the promulgation of Islamism; the *Mukhaṣṣam* (مختصم) lived both before and after that epoch, and the *Muwallad* (مولد) came next in order, his birth having taken place after Muḥammad had announced his mission.

4 The river or canal of 'Īsā branched off the Euphrates, and flowed into the Tigris at Baghdād.

5 This Mukhāriq, whose name has been already given, but incorrectly, in the life of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī (see No. 8), was one of the first singers of his time. He once sung in the presence of the khalif al-Rashīd, who was so delighted that he caused the curtains usually placed between himself and the musicians to be removed, and ordered him to draw near and sit on the throne by his side. Mukhāriq was afterwards attached to the service of al-Māmūn and accompanied him to Damascus. He died A. H. 230 (A. D. 844-5) at Sarra-man-ra'a. He was surnamed Abu 'l-Hinā الحنا. — (Abu 'l-Mahāsīn's Nujūm al-Zāhirah MS. No. 659, fol. 191.)

\*On 3 Jumādā 211, corresponding to 10 September, 826, it was Monday, and on 8/15 it was Saturday and in 213 on 3 Jumādā/19 August it was Wednesday and on 8 it was Monday, 24 August, 828.—*Ed.*



By his last will, he ordered this verse to be inscribed on his tomb:

"Life which ends in death is a life soon embittered."

It is related that he once met Abū Nuwās, and asked him how many verses he composed in a day, to which the other answered. One or two. "But I," said Abū 'l-'Atāhiyah, "can make one or two hundred in a day". "Yes," replied Abū Nuwās, "because you make verses such as this:

"O, 'Utbaḥ! What is the matter with thee and me? O, that I had never seen thee!"

"Now if I chose, I could make one or two thousand such. But I compose verses like this:

*'A manu mulieris in vestimento hominis, cui duo sunt amotores, paedico et scortator\*.*<sup>1</sup>

"If you tried to make a verse such as that time would fail you."—The following verses of his are elegantly expressed:

"I loved thee, and my passion was so excessive, that my companions, when they approached, smelled off my clothes the fire which consumed me."

‡[Among the verses which he composed on 'Utbaḥ, the slave of al-Mahdī, are the following:

"Brothers ! love is causing my death: announce to the tomb<sup>2</sup> the approach of a hastening traveller. Blame me not for submitting to love; know that my occupation is most serious."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He probably cites this abominable verse on account of its extreme energy, which is here purposely softened, even in the Latin translation. Its import I judge to be satirical.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: To the shrouds.

<sup>3</sup> That is: I am preparing for death, which is rendered inevitable by the cruelty of my mistress.

\*Its English version:

In male attire she is intimate with sodomite and adulterer.—*Ed.*

‡[ ] From "Among the verses" to 'Fortune had long continued" on page 311, not in the autograph.—*Ed.*

This piece also was written by him on 'Utbah:

"For 'Utbah my eyes shed floods of tears; who has ever seen, before, a victim weep like me from excessive love for his assassin. I have held forth my hand to implore your favour, what give you then to him who solicits? If you refuse him, grant him a kind word instead. If you this year withhold from him (*your love*) encourage him to expect it the next.

The philologist Sa'id relates, in his *Kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ*, that Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiyah visited one day Baṣṣhār Ibn Burd, and said to him: "I admire these verses of yours, in which you give an excuse for shedding tears:

"How often has shame induced me to conceal my tears from a friend, who would perceive them, however, and blame my weakness, and then my answer was: 'I am not weeping, but I struck my eye with my cloak as I was going to put it on'."

To which Baṣṣhār replied: "It was from your sea, O ṣhaykh! that I drew that idea, and from your quarry<sup>1</sup> that I shaped it out; did you not anticipate me when you composed these lines:

"They said 'Thou weepst,' and I answered, 'No; the man of firm never weeps under affliction; but a sharp splinter of wood has struck the pupil of my eye!' 'Why then do both eyes shed tears? did a splinter wound them both?'"

On this, Sa'id observes that they had been anticipated in this idea by al-Ḥuṭay'ah<sup>2</sup>, who says:

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: your undressed, or unfinished arrow.

<sup>2</sup> Le nom de Hotaya, sous lequel ce poète est devenu célèbre, est un sobriquet qui lui fut donné à cause de l'exiguïté de sa taille. Son véritable nom était Djarwal (جرول) et son prénom Abou Moulaica (أبو مليكة). Sa naissance était illégitime et sa généalogie incertaine. Il passait pour être le fils d'un certain Aus, de la tribu d'Abs. Au reste, quand il était fâché contre les banou Abs, il se disait issu des banou Dhol ben Chaibar, et quand il se brouillait avec les banou Dhol, il rapportait son origine aux banou Abs.

"When a tear flows from my eye, I say: 'It is a mote which makes it weep.'"

(Continued from page 307)

Hotaya a vecu dans le paganisme et l'islamisme. Il se fit musulman, ensuite il abjura, puis il embrassa de nouveau la foi mahometane. C'est un poete du premier merite; mais il etait avare, laid, mechant, impie, treshards a demander, et tres-ardent a satiriser ceux qui ne lui donnaient rien; ce qui le faisait beaucoup redouter. Plusieurs connaisseurs disaient: De tous les poetes, Hotaya est celui dont les vers offrent le moins de prise a la critique. On cite avec estime, comme renfermant une pensee vraie et bien exprimee, ce vers de Hotaya:

من يفعل الخير لم يعدم جوايزة لا يذهب العرف بين الله والناس

"Celui qui fait le bien est sur d'en trouver la recompense; entre Dieu et les hommes le bienfait n'est jamais perdu."

Hotaya etant devenu ennemi de Zibrican fils de Badr, par suite d'une aventure qu'il serait trop long de raconter, fit une satire contre ce personnage. Zibrican alla se plaindre au calife Omar, qui, pour punir Hotaya, le fit jeter dans une fosse-fosse. Hotaya resta plusieurs jours; ensuite il adressa au calife une piece de vers touchante qui flechit sa colere. Omar le fit tirer de la fosse et amener en sa presence; puis il lui dit: "Garde-toi désormais de satiriser qui que ce soit.—C'est pourtant la satire qui m'a fait vavre jusqu'a ce jour" dit Hotaya.—Garde—toi, ajouta Omar, de dire: Un tel vaut mieux qu'un tel, cette famille est meilleure que cette autre.—Cette defense, repliqua le poete, est une satire des hommes en general plus piquante que je n'en pourrais faire (car la consequence qui en resulte est que tous les hommes sont egalement mauvais).—Si je ne craignais d'etablir un usage funeste, dit Omar, irrite de ces reponses, je te couperais la langue, Va, te appartiens maintenant a celui que tu as insulte. Zibrican! prends-le et fais-en ce que tu voudras." Zibrican! passa son truban autour du col de Hotaya et l'emmena. Des personnage de la tribu de Bakr-wail le rencontrerent trainant son captif et lui demanderent sa grace. Zibrican la leur accorda, et remit Hotaya entre leurs mains.

Hotaya vivait encore sous le calife Moawia; il a compose des vers a la louange de Said ben Nassi, gouverneur de Medine du tems de Moawia. Dans la suite, Ayar fils de Hotaya rencontrant un jour Khalid fils de Said, lui dit: "Mon pere est mort apres avoir reçu du tien 20 mille pieces d'argent, en recompense de ci'q poemes qu'il avait faits en l'honneur de Said. Ce que vous nous avez donne est dissipe aujourd'hui, et ce que mon pere vous a donne reste entier.—C'est vrai, 'repondit Khalid, c'est nous qui vous devons de la reconnaissance."—(Aghani, I. f. 9499. IV. f. 13.)

For this curious note, I am indebted to the friendship of M. Caussin de Perceval.—Reiske, in his edition of Abu 'l-Fida's Annals

(Continued on page 309)

Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah once renounced poetry,<sup>1</sup> and he related the following circumstance (*resulting from that determination*): "As I persisted in my refusal to compose verses, the khalif al-Mahdī ordered me to be put into prison.<sup>2</sup> "On entering, I shuddered at the sight of an object which appalled me and I looked about for a place of refuge, when I found the cause of my terror to be an elderly man of respectable appearance, with goodness marked on his countenance. I therefore went over to him and sat down without saluting, for I was troubled in mind, and confused and absorbed in thought. I remained thus for some time, when the man pronounced these verses:

'I accustomed myself to the touch of misfortune till it became familiar to me, and my resignation under grief conducted me to patience. My despair in mankind has made me confident that the bounty of God will come from some quarter which I know not.'

"I admired these verses, and was consoled by them; my reason also returned to me, and I said: 'May God exalt you! have the kindness to repeat them.' To this he aswered: 'Unfortunate Isma'īl! how little politeness you possess; how weak your mind! how faint your courage? On entering, you did not salute me as one Muslim should do to another, neither did you ask me the question which one just arrived addresses to him who has sojourned for some time; but when you heard two verses of poetry (which is the sole good, and accomplishment, and means of livelihood granted thee by God), you begin by asking me to recite, as if we were acquaintances, and

(Continued from page 308)

(tom. I, page, 78 *adnot.*), gives some other anecdotes respecting the poet al-Ḥuṭayyah.

1 In the Arabic text, for الشاعر \* read الشعر. It would seem, from the khatib's History of Baḡhdād, that he renounced poetry from religious motives.

2 In the Arabic: To be put into the prison for crimes سجن الجرائم. This place of confinement was probably so called to distinguish it from the Maṭbaq,† or state prison of Baḡhdād.

\*Cairo edition (1948) has the correct word.--Ed.

†Correct pronunciation is Muṭbiq.--Ed.

united by friendship sufficiently old to render reserve unnecessary; neither did you mention what has happened to yourself, nor make an excuse for your unpoliteness at first.' To this I replied: 'Have the kindness to excuse me, for less than what I undergo would suffice to disorder the senses.' 'And for what reason,' said he, 'have you renounced poetry, which was the cause of the high honour in which those people<sup>1</sup> held you, and the means by which you acquired their favour? You must continue to make verses, if you wish to obtain your liberty. As for me, I shall be soon called forth and questioned respecting 'Īsā Ibn Zayd, son of the blessed Prophet<sup>2</sup>; and if I discover to them where he is, I shall have to answer for his blood before God, and the Prophet will be my accuser; and if I refuse, I shall be put to death; so it is I, rather than you, who should be dejected, and yet you see my firmness, resignation, and self-command.' These reproaches put me to shame, and I said to him: 'May God deliver you?' He replied: 'I shall not join a refusal to my reprimand: listen to the verses.' He then recited them to me several times till I got them

---

1 *Those people*, a disrespectful manner of alluding to the Abbaside family: the speaker was a partisan of the descendants of 'Alī.

2 This is certainly a mistake, no such person as 'Īsā, son of Zayd, son of Muḥammad\* is noticed by historians, as having lived under the reign of al-Mahdī; and Zayd Ibn Hārithah, the adopted son of Muḥammad, could he have had a son living at the time of al-Mahdī's accession (A. H. 158), since he was slain at the battle of Mutaḥ, in A. H. 8. It is true that among the descendants of 'Alī and Fā'imah, daughter of Muḥammad, there was a Zayd, son of al-Ḥasan, son of 'Alī' who had two sons, Yaḥyā and al-Ḥasan, the latter of whom was governor of Madinah for al-Manṣūr, and died A. H. 168. It is not, however, possible to suppose that the author was mistaken in the name, and meant to say al-Ḥasan Ibn Zayd; for Abu 'l-Maḥasin states, in his History of Egypt, that al-Ḥasan Ibn Zayd, who was noted for his piety, had been deprived of his place by al-Manṣūr, and was then imprisoned by his orders and deprived of his property; but that al-Mahdī, on his accession to the Khalifat, set him at liberty, restored him his wealth, reinstated him in his place, and continued invariably to treat him with the greatest favour. Al-Ḥasan Ibn Zayd died A. H. 168 (A. D. 784-5). The author of the Genealogy of the descendants of 'Alī, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 853, says that the death of al-Ḥasan took place at Ḥajir (حاجر), a place situated between Makkah and Madinah.

\*The descendants of 'Alī by Fā'imah were attributed to the Prophet.—*Ed.*

by heart and he and I having been then called forth, I said to him: 'May God exalt you! who are you?' He answered: 'I am Ḥaḍīr, the friend of 'Īsā Ibn Zayd.' We were then conducted into the presence of al-Mahdī, and as we stood before him, he said to the man: 'Where is 'Īsā Ibn Zayd?' The other answered: 'How should I know where is 'Īsā Ibn Zayd?' You pursued him, and he fled from you into some country, and you put me in prison; how then could I hear of him?' 'Where' said al-Mahdī, 'was he concealed? where did you last see him? in whose house did you meet him?' 'I did not meet him,' answered Ḥaḍīr, 'since his concealment, and I know nothing of him.' 'I swear by Allāh,' said al-Mahdī, 'if you do not direct us where to find him, I shall strike off your head on the spot.' 'Do as you please,' replied the prisoner; 'I shall not direct you where to discover the son of the Apostle of God; as I should then have to answer for his blood in the presence of God and his apostle: were he even between my clothes and my skin, I should not discover him to you.' 'Strike off his head!' said al-Mahdī; and it was done.<sup>1</sup> He then called me forward and said: 'Choose either to make verses or to be sent after him.' 'I shall make verses,' I replied. 'Let him go,' said he; and I went forth free."—The qāḍī Abū 'Alī al-Tannūkhī mentions a third verse, besides the two given in the preceding narration: it is as follows:

"Were I not resigned to bear with the afflictions which Fortune forces me to undergo, my complaints against Fortune had long continued."]

The anecdotes related of Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah are very numerous. —'Anazī means *descended from* 'Anazāl, who was son of Asad Ibn Rabi'ah 'Aynī means *belonging to* 'Ayn al-Tamr, the village before mentioned.

(For further reference, vide *Ansīb*, f. 404b.—*Ed.*)

---

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic text runs thus: "He said: Strike off his head! and he gave orders concerning him, and his head was struck off." This tautology must be attributed to the inattention of the author.

## 92. ABŪ 'ĀLĪ AL-QĀLĪ

The philologist Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl al-Qālī was son of al-Qāsim Ibn 'Aydūn Ibn Hārūn Ibn 'Īsā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Salmān; his ancestor Sa'mān was an enfranchised slave of the Omayyide khalīf 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. Abū 'Alī surpassed all his contemporaries by his extensive acquaintance with philology, poetry, and the grammatical doctrines established by the learned of Baṣrah. He received his philological information from Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd, al-Azdī,\* Abū Bakr Ibn Al-Anbārī, Niṣṭawayh, Ibn Darastawayh† and other masters, and he had for pupil in that science Abū Bakr al-Zuhaydī al-Andalusī, author of the Abridgment of (*al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad's Arabic dictionary, entitled*) the 'Ayn. Al-Qālī is author of a number of fine works, such as the *kitāb al-Amālī* (*book of dictation*)<sup>1</sup>; the *kitāb al-Bārī*, which is a treatise on philology, arranged in alphabetical order, and filling five thousand leaves; a treatise on the short and the long *Alif*; another on camels and their propagation; a treatise on the external characteristics of man; one on the horse and his different colours; a comparative essay on the first and fourth forms of the Arabic

---

1 A copy of the *Amālī* is in the *Bib. du Roi, fonds Asselin, No. 493*. It contains a number of Traditions relative to Muḥammad; an immense quantity of notes respecting the ancient Arabs, their proverbs, language, and poetry; anecdotes of the poets who lived under the early khalīfs; pieces in prose and verse preserved by tradition, and which the author learned from the lips of his master, etc. He says in his preface, that he had long treasured up this precious information and concealed it from the profane; that he had sought a person worthy of receiving it and capable of appreciating its value; and having heard of the glorious reign of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad, he faced the dangers of land and sea and went to Spain, where he received the greatest encouragement from that khalīf, and was induced to publish his work by dictating it from memory at Cardova, and in the great mosque of al-Zahrā.—It is a curious book and furnishes much information on *Arabism* (عربية), or the philology of the ancient Arabic language; it fills 338 folio pages very closely written.

\*Al-Azdī is omitted by de Slane—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Durustuya.—*Ed.*

verb; a history of the combats in which the (*most celebrated ancient Arab*) cavaliers met their death; and an explanation of the *Mu'allaqāhs*. In his travels through various countries, he visited Baghḍād in the year 303 (A. D. 915-16), and stopped at Moṣul, to learn the Traditions delivered by Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī; in 305 he returned to Baghḍād, and remained there till 328; when in that city he wrote down the Traditions. On leaving Baghḍād, he went to Spain, and entered Cordova on the 26 *Sha'bān*, 330.\* He continued to dwell in that capital till his death, and it was there that he taught by dictation his *kitāb al-Amālī*, and most of his other works. Yūsuf Ibn Hārūn al-Ramādī, whose life shall be given in the letter Y, composed an elegant *qaṣīdah* in praise of Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, a portion of which the reader will there find inserted. Al-Qālī died at Cordova on Friday† evening, 6 of the Second Rabī' (some say the First Jumādā), A. H. 356 (March, A. D. 967); he was buried in the cemetery of Mat'ah, outside Cordova, and funeral prayers were said over him by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Jubayrī. He was born in the Second Jumādā, A. H. 288 (June, A. D. 901), at Manāzjird in Diyār Bakr, of which place mention has already been made in the life of al-Manāzī.<sup>2</sup> The reason of his being surnamed Qālī was, that in going to Baghḍād, he travelled with people from Qālī Qalā, in consequence of which he was called Qālī (or *native of Qālī Qalā*) ever after. Al-Sam'ānī says that the place is in the territory of Diyār Bakr, but I read in the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn's History of the Seljuqs that Qālī Qalā is

1 The ḥāfiẓ Abū Ya'la Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Muḥannā al-Tamīmī is the author of a well known *Musnad*, or collection of authenticated Traditions, which he received from a great number of persons of the highest credibility: he composed also some works on ascetic devotion and other subjects. He was remarkable for his humility, mildness of temper, amenity of manners and veracity. Born at Moṣul. A. H. 210 (A. D. 326); died A. H. 307 (A. D. 919-10).—(Al-Dḥahabī's *Tarīkh al-Islām* MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 646).

2 See No. 62.

\*It should be 27 corresponding to 17 May, 941.—*Ed.*

†Saturday, not Friday, is correct. In the month of First Jumādā Saturday fell on 6 Jumādā/20 April.—*Ed.*



the same town as Erzerum.\* Al-Balādhurī<sup>1</sup> says, in his *kitāb al-Buldān*, or *History of the Victories of Islamism*, in treating of the conquest of Armenia: "At one time the Greek empire was broken up, and several princes governed the provinces with nearly absolute authority; one of them was called Arminiacos and was succeeded on his death by his wife Qālī; it was she who built this city, and gave it the name of Qālī Qālah which means *the goodness of Qālī*; this word has been altered by the Arabs to suit the genius of their language, and they said Qālī Qalā. The image of this princess is engraved on one of the gates of the city."<sup>2</sup>

### 93. THE ṢĀḤIB IBN 'ABBĀD

The Ṣāḥib Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Abbād Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abbād Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs al-Ṭālaqānī, was the pearl of his time, and the wonder of his age for his talents, his virtues, and his generosity. He acquired his knowledge of pure Arabic from Ibn Fāris, author of the *Mujmil*, Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Umayd and others. Al-Ṭha'ālibī, in his *Yatīmah*, speaks of him in these terms: "I am unable to find expressions sufficiently strong to satisfy my wishes, so that I may declare to what a height he attained in learning and philological knowledge; how exalted a rank he held by his liberality and generosity; now far he was placed apart by the excellence of his qualities, and how completely he united in himself all the various endowments which are a source of just pride to their possessor<sup>3</sup>; for my words aspire in vain to attain a height which may accord with even the lowest degree of his merit and his glory, and my powers of description

---

<sup>1</sup> The life of Aḥmad Ibn Yahyā al-Balādhurī has been given by M. Hamaker in his *Specimen Catalogi cod.*, page 11.

<sup>2</sup> Or: "Is over one of its gates."

<sup>3</sup> I have been here obliged to paraphrase the original, in order to render its full sense.

\*Arzan al-Rum.—Ed.

are unequal to the task of portraying the least of his noble deeds, the lowest of his exalted purposes." He then cites examples characteristic of his noble mind, and gives some account of his life.—Abn Bakr al-Khuwārezmī<sup>1</sup> makes mention of the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād in the following terms: "He was brought up in the bosom of the vizīrat; that was the nest in which he crept and from which he sprung,—the nurse with whose milk he was suckled even to the last drop; he received the vizīrat as an inheritance from his father." Such also has Abn Sa'īd al-Rustamī<sup>2</sup> said of him in these verses:

"The vizīrat passed as an inheritance from one ancestor to another, and was successively sustained by able pillars of the state.<sup>3</sup> 'Abbād received the vizīrat from 'Abbās, (as a tradition is received), and Ismā'īl then received it from 'Abbād."

This was the first vizīr who bore the title of Ṣāhib (*companion*); he was so denominated because he had been the companion of Ibn al-'Umayd, and was then known by that designation, which got into such general use, that on his accession to the vizīrat, it continued to be employed as his real name. Al-Ṣābī says, in his *kitāb al-Tājī*,<sup>4</sup> that Ibn 'Abbād was entitled *al-Ṣāhib* because he had been the companion of Muwaiyad al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh from his early youth, and as this prince gave him that epithet, it continued to be the name by which he was known, and

1 The life of Abn Bakr Muhammad al-Khuwārezmī is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 Abn Sa'īd Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Rustam al-Rustamī, a native of Ispahān, was originally a mason, *صنّاء*, but he displayed such talent in the composition of the verses, that he came to be ranked among the first poets of the time, and gained the favour of the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, who acted towards him as a generous benefactor, and used to say, "al-Rustamī is the ablest poet of the day." At the approach of old age, al-Rustamī renounced poetry from conscientious motives. The date of his death is not given in the *Yatimah*, but some of his poems are preserved in the work, with a notice on their author, the summary of which is here given.—(See the *Yatimah*, fol. 312.)

3 In this verse the author had a double meaning in view: It signifies also that the vizīrat was successively transmitted (*like a tradition*) from one good authority to another. The same idea is continued in the next verse.

4 See No. 14.

became the title of succeeding vizīrs. Ibn 'Abbād was at first vizīr to Muwaiyad al-Dawlat Ibn Rukn al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh, having replaced Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Umayd, of whom mention shall be made in the life of his father Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup> On the death of Muwaiyad al-Dawlat at Jurjān, in the month of Shā'bān, A. H. 373 (January, A. D. 984), his brother Fakhr al-Dawlat Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī got possession of the empire, and confirmed Ibn 'Abbād as vizīr. Under this prince, he enjoyed high favour, honour, and authority.—Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Za'farānī<sup>2</sup> recited to him one day a piece of verses rhyming in *n*, and containing the following passage:

“O, thou whose gifts enrich the hands of him who is far away and him who is near! You have clothed those who dwell by you and those who come to visit you, with raiment which we thought unequalled; and all the slaves of thy palace go about in silks except myself.”

On this, the Ṣāhib said: “I have read in the life of Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah al-Shaybānī, that a man came to him and said: ‘Give me whereon to ride, O-Emīr!, on which he ordered him a camel, a horse, a mule, and an ass<sup>3</sup> and then said: ‘If I knew that God had created any other animal fit for riding, I had given it to you. Now I order you silk enough for a coat, a shirt, turban, a waistcoat, trousers, a handkerchief, a vest, a cloak, a robe, leggings, and a purse; and if I knew of any other garment which could be made of silk, I should give it to you.’”—The number of poets who flocked to him and celebrated his praises in splendid *qaṣīdahs*, surpassed that which assembled at the court of any other. His repartees were very good; the coiners of the mint presented to him a memorial in which they complained of some injustice done them, and which was headed by the words *al-Ḍarrābān*; he wrote

1 Muḥammad was Ibn al-'Umayd's real name.

2 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Za'farānī was a native of 'Irāq, and one of those literary men who were admitted into the society of the Ṣāhib; he was also a favourite of 'Aḍad al-Dawlat.—(*Yatīmah*, fol. 327.) Some of his poems are to be found in that work.

3 One article [i.e. female slave] in the list I have omitted; decency requiring its suppression.

underneath in form of decision, *On cold iron*.<sup>1</sup> A person once addressed him a memorial in which he inserted some passages and expressions stolen from epistles composed by himself, on which he wrote underneath in answer to the demand: *This our property hath been returned unto us*.<sup>2</sup> He accused one of his revenue collectors to be imprisoned in a narrow yard near his dwelling, and having one day gone up to the (*flat*) roof of the house, his prisoner saw him and called upon him with a loud voice, on which he looked down and perceiving him suffering tortures like those of hell, he said: *Back to hell ! speak not unto me*!<sup>3</sup> Numerous anecdotes of the kind are related of him.—He wrote a philological work in seven volumes, entitled the *Muhtāṣ* (*comprehensive*), which he arranged in alphabetical order, giving (*the explanation of*) a great number of words, but citing very few examples; it contains a considerable portion of the (*words composing the*) language; he is also author of the *Kāfi* (*sufficient*), treating of epistolary writing, the *kitāb al-A'yād* (*book of Festivals*), a treatise on the excellence of new year's day; another on the rank of imām, in which he states the merits of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and maintains that the (*three khalifs*) who preceded him were legitimate imāms<sup>4</sup>; the *Book of Vizirs*; a work entitled: Exposure of the faults in al-Mutanabbī's poetry, and a treatise on the names and attributes of God. He composed also some elegant epistles and good poetry, of which we shall give the following extracts:

"My description cannot paint that nyph who is a very gazelle in beauty. She wished to kiss my hand. and I said: 'Kiss my lips.' "

---

1 The word *al-Ḍarrabūn* signifies literally *the beaters*, and is used to designate the *money-beaters* or coiners by the addition which the vizir made, he gave them to understand that it was useless for them to complain; that they, *the beaters*, struck *on cold iron*, which is labour in vain. This is a common Arabic proverb, somewhat analogous to the English one: Strike when the iron is hot.

2 This is a passage of the *Qur'ān*, taken from surat 12, verse 65.

3 This is also a passage of the *Qur'ān*: see surat 23, verse 110.—Al-Ṭha'ālībī did not probably know this trait, when he made his pompous eulogium of the Ṣāhib.

4 Here the word *imām* means the possessor of spiritual and temporal authority.

On clear-coloured wine:

"The glass is clear, and the wine is clear; one is so like the other, that they can hardly be distinguished. One you would think wine, not glass,—the other glass, not wine."

He composed these elegiac verses on the death of the vizīr Abū 'Alī Kathīr Ibn Aḥmad<sup>1</sup>:

"They told me of Kathīr's death; it was a heavy loss for me, and I said: "Let me and Glory weep together, for the like of Kathīr (*abundant*) is *rare* among mankind."

It is related by the grammarian Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī<sup>2</sup> that Nuḥ Ibn Maṣṣūr, one of the Samanide princes, wrote privately to the Ṣāḥib, inviting him to become his vizīr and direct the administration of his kingdom; but he refused the offer, and one of the reasons which he gave in excuse was, that it would require four hundred camels to transport his books only; think then of the furniture which he must have possessed in the same proportion! We shall limit the account of his life to the foregoing particulars, which may suffice. He was born on the 16 of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 326 (September, A. D. 938\*) at Iṣṭakḥar, or, according to another account, at Ṭālaqān, and died on Friday night 24 of Ṣafar, 385 (March, A. D. 995†), at Ray, from which city his body was transported to Ispahān, and interred in a vault situated in the quarter of Bāb Dazih‡: his tomb is still kept in good order, and his daughter's descendants have it whitewashed

1 It would appear from Khaundenir's *Tarikh al-wuzarā*, that Kathīr was vizīr to one of the Daylamite princes.—(De Hammer's *Handschriften*, No. 238.)

2 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī, a grammarian of considerable reputation and sister's son to the celebrated Abu 'Alī 'l-Fārisī, under whom he studied, was one of those literary men whom the Ṣāḥib admitted into his intimacy. He possessed a talent for poetry, and some of his pieces are preserved in the *Yutimah*; the author of which work, al-Ṭinā'libī, says that at the time he was writing, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn was still alive and dwelling at Jurjān.—( *Yatimah*, No. 1370, fol. 488.)

\*14 September.—*Ed.*

†29 March: M. de Slane has given Thursday evening.—*Ed.*

‡Mr. Muḥī al-Dīn, editor of the Egyptian edition, observes that it should be *Darih*.—*Ed.*

regularly. The poet Ibn Abi 'l-'Alā\*<sup>1</sup> narrates as follows: "I had a dream in which I heard a voice say: 'Why did not you, who possess such a talent for poetry, compose an elegy on his death?' To which I replied: 'The number of his good qualities forced me to refrain, for I did not know with which to begin; and I was apprehensive of my inability to treat the subject suitably, although people supposed me capable of doing it full justice!'"

The voice here said: 'Add a second hemistich to those I pronounce' 'Speak!' and the voice said:

'Generosity and the best of patrons repose together in the same grave.'

And I rejoined:

'So that each of these brothers may keep the other company!'

The voice:

'They were inseparable when alive, and now they embrace—

I:

'On a funeral couch near Bāb Dazih!'

The voice:

'Whilst other inhabitants shall quit their dwellings—'

I:

'They shall remain in theirs till the day of resurrection.' "

This piece is given by al-Bayyāsī<sup>2</sup> in his *Ḥamāsah*.—I have read the following observation in the History of the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād: "None ever enjoyed the same popular favour after their death as during their life,"<sup>3</sup> the Ṣāḥib excepted; for on his decease, the gates of the city of Ray were closed (*in sign of mourning*), and the people assembled at the door of his palace, where they waited

---

1 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ghānim Ibn Abi 'l-'Alā, a native of Isphān, was another of the Ṣāḥib's favourite poets. Some of his pieces are to be found in the *Yatimah*, fol. 319.

2 Abu 'l-Hajjāj Yūsuf Ibn Maḥammad was a native of Bayāsah in Spain, whence his surname of *Bayyāsī*. His life is given by Ibn Kullikān. —There are seven works in Arabic which bear the title of *Ḥamās*: 5.

3 Literally: No one was ever favoured after his death as he had been during life.

\*"al-Isbahāni" is omitted.—Ed.

all his bier was brought out; and Faḥr al-Dawlat, the prince whom he served," (and whose name has been mentioned in the beginning of this notice), "was present with all the officers of high rank in mourning dresses<sup>1</sup>: when the bier appeared, the people raised one simultaneous cry and prostrated themselves on the ground; Faḥr al-Dawlat, and the rest marched in procession before the corpse, and for some days after, he held public sittings to receive visits of condolence.<sup>2</sup> His death was lamented in these terms by Abn Sa'īd al-Rustamī:

"Now, that Ibn 'Abbād is departed, shall ever the expectant traveller hasten to undertake the nightly journey? shall ever liberality be solicited? God hath willed that the hopes of the needy and the gifts of the generous should perish by the death of Ibn 'Abbād, and that they should never meet again till the day of resurrection."

His father, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abbād died A. H. 334 or 335 (A. D. 946); he had been vizīr to Rukn al-Dawlat, father of Faḥr al-Dawlat and 'Aḍad al-Dawlat Fannākhusrū, whom al-Mutanabbī has celebrated in his poem.—Faḥr al-Dawlat died in the month of Shābān, A. H. 387 (August, 997); he was born in 341 (A. D. 952).—*Tālaqānī* means *native of Tālaqān*: there are two cities of this name, one in Khurāsān, and the other in the dependencies of Qazwīn: the latter was the native place of the Sāhib.

#### 94. IBN KHALAF AL-SARAQUSĪ

Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismā'īl Ibn Khalaf Ibn Sa'īd Ibn 'Imrān al-Anṣārī<sup>3</sup> al-Andalusī al-Saraqusī (*native of Saragossa in Spain*) was a grammarian and teacher of the reading of the *Qur'ān*.

1 Literally: Having changed their dress.

2 The Arabic says simply, that he sat for consolation.

3 Al-Anṣārī is the title given to descendants from the *Anṣār*. See No. 62. note on *Anṣār*.

He was master of the branches of general literature and versed in the sciences connected with the *Qur'ān*.<sup>1</sup> He is author of the '*Unwān fi 'l-Qar'āt*'<sup>2</sup> (*Outlines of the different readings of the Qur'ān*), which work is considered of the very first authority by those who cultivate that branch of knowledge; he composed also an Abridgment of the *Kitāb al-Ḥujjah*<sup>3</sup> by Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī, Ibn Baṣṭikāwāl praises him highly in the *Ṣilat*, and makes an enumeration of his merits. He continued to pursue his studies and communicate his information to the public up to the day of his death: he expired on Sunday, the first of Muḥarram. A. H. 455 (January, A. D. 1063.)\* *Saraqusṭī* means *native of Saraqusṭah*<sup>4</sup>, a very fine city in the eastern part of Spain, which has produced a number of learned men. It was taken from the Muslims by the Franks (*under the orders of Alphonso, king of Arragon*), in the year 512 (A. D. 1118).

## 95. AL-MANṢŪR IBN AL-QĀ'IM IBN AL-MAHDĪ

Abū 'l-Ṭāhir Ismā'īl, surnamed *al-Manṣūr* (*the victorious*), was son of al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī, prince of Ifrīqiyah (*Africa Propria*): the remainder of his genealogy will be found in the life of his grandfather al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh: the life of al-Mus'a'li, one of his descendants has been already given.<sup>5</sup> Al-Manṣūr received the oath of fidelity from his subjects on the day wherein his father

1 Ḥājjī Khalifah gives a list of these sciences in the introduction to his bibliographical dictionary.—See page 37 of Flügel's edition.

2 In the Arabic text, this word is incorrectly printed القرآن.

3 This work treats of the different readings or editions of the *Qur'ān*.

4 *Saraqusṭah* is an alteration of Caesar Augusta, the ancient name of the city of Saragossa.

5 See No. 73.

\* 5 January.—Ed.



al-Qa'im died; (we shall speak of this event under the letter *M*). He possessed the talent of expressing his ideas with precision and elegance, and he pronounced his *ḥuḥbahs* without previous preparation. Abū Ja'far al-Marwarradī narrates the following anecdote (*of his ready genius*): "I went forth with al-Manṣūr on the day he defeated Abū Yazīd<sup>1</sup>, as I accompanied him, he dropped from time to time one of the two lances which he bore in his hand; so I (*picked it up and*) wiped it, and gave it to him, pronouncing it to be a good omen, and quoting to him the following verse:

'She threw away her staff, and a distant land became the place of her abode. (*yet, she felt*) as the traveller on his return, when his eyes are delighted (*by the sight of home*).'<sup>2</sup>

On which he replied: 'Why did you not quote what is better and truer than that: *And we spake by revelation to Moses, saying, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it swallowed up that which they had caused falsely to appear. Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought vanished. And they were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible.*'<sup>3</sup> To this I said: 'O, my lord! you, who are the son of God's Apostle, utter knowledge of which you are the (*sole*) possessor.'—\*[One of the best anecdotes of this kind is that which al-Taymī<sup>4</sup> thus relates in his life of al-Ḥajjāj: "Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān ordered the construction of a gate at Jerusalem, on which his name was to be inscribed, and al-

<sup>1</sup> The author relates this event farther on.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *لأعين* signifies to refresh or delight the eye, to rejoice.—This verse is frequently met with in Arabic writers, and Abū 'l-Fidā says, in his *Historia Antisemita*, page 187, that mention is made of its author; Muqir Ibn Himar al-Bāriqī, in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*; this name is not, however, to be found in the manuscript of that work preserved at the *Bib. du Roi*.—The expression to throw away one's staff is quite proverbial in Arabic; it means to give up travelling.

<sup>3</sup> This is a passage from the *Qur'an*, sura 7, verses 114, 115, and 116.

<sup>4</sup> The historian al-Taymī is better known as Abū 'Ubaydah Ibn al-Muthannā.

[ ] From "One of the best" to "this letter" on page 323, not in the autograph.—Ed.

Ḥajjāj obtained from him permission to erect another; and it so happened that 'Abd al-Malik's was struck by lightning and burned, while that of al-Ḥajjāj remained uninjured. 'Abd al-Malik was much troubled in consequence, but al-Ḥajjāj wrote him this letter: 'I am informed that fire has come down from heaven and burned the gate of the Commander of the Faithful, without burning that of al-Ḥajjāj; in this we resemble perfectly the two sons of Adam, when they each made an offering, and it was accepted from one and not from the other.'<sup>1</sup> 'Abd al-Malik's uneasiness was dispelled by the perusal of this letter.'] Al-Manṣūr was charged by his father (*al-Qā'im*) to wage war against Abū Yazīd, who had revolted against his authority. Abū Yazīd Maḥlād Ibn Kaydād belonged to the sect of Ibādites<sup>2</sup>; he made an outward show of rigid devotion, but was in reality an enemy to God; he never rode but on an ass, nor wore any dress but woollen. He had already fought al-Manṣūr's father in many engagements, and got into his possession all the towns in the dependencies of Qayrawān; al-Mahdiyyah was the only city which remained in the hands of al-Qā'im. Abū Yazīd then took up his position against al-Mahdiyyah and blockaded it; and al-Qā'im died during the siege. Al-Manṣūr then assumed the direction of affairs, and con-

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, sur. 5, v. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-Fida, in his *Annals*, year 333, gives some account of Abū Yazīd's revolt, defeat, and death. The MS. of that work in the *Bib. du Roi*, which has been corrected by the author himself, writes كندااد (*Kndaād*), with the vowel points, as the name of that rebel's father. Abū Yazīd was surnamed the master of the ass, *Ṣāhib al-Ḥimār*, because he never rode anything else.—(Ibn al-Abbār.) The sect of the 'Ibādites (*Ibādiyyah*) had for author 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Ibād al-Tamīmī, who revolted at Tabalah in Yemen during the reign of Marawān Ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Omayyides who reigned in the East. It appears from al-Nuwayrī, that this sect existed in Ifriqiyah at an early period, and gave some trouble to the Aghlabite princes.—Al-Jurjānī, in his *Ta'arīfāt* (*Notices et extraits des man. de la Bib. du Roi*, tom. 10, page 19), says: These sectarians considered as infidels all those who did not believe as they; they taught that the Muslim who commits a grievous sin is a *unitarian*, but not of the faithful, because works are a part of faith; and they declared 'Alī and a great number of Muḥammad's companions to be infidels. A fuller account of their doctrines is given by al-Shahraṣṭānī.

tinued to maintain the contest, but concealed the death of his father; he persevered in his resistance till Abū Yazīd retired, and went to blockade Snsah. Then al-Manṣūr left al-Mahdiyyah, and having given Abū Yazīd battle at Snsah, put him to flight; he then defeated him in a number of successive combats, and at length took him prisoner on Sunday, 25 Muḥarram, 336 (August, A. D. 947\*). Abū Yazīd died of his wounds after a captivity of forty days: his body was skinned by al-Manṣūr's orders; the skin was then stuffed with cotton, and exposed on a cross. It was on the spot in which this battle was fought, that al-Manṣūr built the city which he named al-Manṣuriyah after himself, and in which he fixed his residence. He was courageous, firm-hearted, and eloquent, pronouncing the *ḥuṭbah* without previous preparation. In the month of Ramaḍān, 341 (A. D. 953), he went from al-Manṣuriyah to Jalnā on a party of pleasure, accompanied by his concubine Qaḍīb, of whom he was passionately fond; when God poured down on them heavy showers of hail and gave a storm power over them. Al-Manṣūr turned back, therefore, to al-Manṣuriyah, but he suffered so much from cold, that he lost his strength, and most of those who accompanied him perished. On his arrival, he fell sick, and died on Friday, 29 Shawwāl, A. H. 341 (March, A. D. 953†). ‡[His illness originated in the following manner: when he arrived at al-Manṣuriyah, he took a bath against the orders of his physician, Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī,<sup>1</sup> the consequence of which was, loss of natural heat, and inability to sleep; on which Ishāq came and treated him, but the sleeplessness continued. Al-Manṣūr at last grew impatient, and said to one of his slaves: "Is there no physician in Qayrawān who can deliver me from this." The answer was: "There is here a young man just grown up, called Ibrāhīm." He ordered him to be called and acquainted with his state, and complained to him of what he was suffering; on which Ibrāhīm took some soporiferous drugs and put them in a glass phial on the fire, prescribing to his

<sup>1</sup> The life of Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān will be found in M. de Sacy's 'Abd-Allaṭif, p. 43.

\*15 August.—Ed.

†18 March.—Ed.

‡[ ] From "His illness" to "he was dead" on page 325, not in the autograph.—Ed.

patient to smell them. Al-Manṣūr, after smelling them for a considerable time, fell asleep; and Ibrāhīm retired, rejoicing in what he had done. When Ishāq returned, he went to enter the patient's chamber, but was told that he slept, on which he said: "If anything has been done to him to make him sleep, he is now a dead man." They then entered the room, and having found that he was dead, they wanted to kill Ibrāhīm, but Ishāq said: "He is not to be blamed, as he treated him in the manner which physicians teach; but he was unacquainted with the cause of the disorder, and you did not inform him. As for me, I treated him with the view of fortifying the natural heat, so as to cause sleep, and on learning that he was treated in a way to extinguish that heat, I knew he was dead." He was interred at al-Mahdiyyah; born at Qayrawān, 302 (A. D. 914), or 301; his reign lasted seven years and six days.—*Ifrīqiyah* is the name of an extensive country in Maghreb; it was conquered in the *khalfat* of Uthmān; Qayrawān was then the capital, as Tunis is now.

#### 96. AL-ZĀFIR AL-'UBAYDĪ

Abu 'l-Manṣūr Ismā'il, surnamed al-Zāfir (*the conqueror*), son of al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mustanṣir Ibn al-Zāhir Ibn al-Ḥākim Ibn al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qāim Ibn al-Mahdī. In the article which precedes, we have given the life of his ancestor al-Manṣūr. On the death of al-Ḥāfiẓ, his youngest son, al-Zāfir was immediately proclaimed as his successor, in conformity to his father's last orders, and on the same day he received the oath of fealty from his subjects. This prince was addicted to pleasure and frivolous amusements, passing his time with his concubines, or listening to vocal music. He was assassinated by his favourite, Naṣr, son of his vizīr 'Abbās (of whom we shall again speak in the life of al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār), who having invited him one night to come secretly to his father's palace (which is now the Hanefite College, and is called the *Suyūfiyah*),<sup>1</sup> murdered him there and concealed

<sup>1</sup> The Suyūfiyah College at Cairo was so called, because it was close to the Sword-cutter's Bazār (*Sūq al-Suyūfīn*).—(Al-Maqrizī.)

his death. This well-known event took place on the 15, or, according to some, on Thursday night, 30 of Muḥarram, A. H. 549 (April, A. D. 1154\*). He was born at Cairo, on Sunday, 15 of the Second Rabi' (some say the First) A. H. 527 (A. D. 1133†); he was a very handsome man. On perpetrating this murder, Naṣr went, the same night, to his father 'Abbas, and informed him of what he had done. It was by his father's orders that he had acted; for his extreme beauty had induced the public to suspect that his intercourse with al-Zāfir was of an improper nature, and in consequence (of these rumours), his father had said to him: "You are ruining your reputation by keeping company with al-Zāfir; your familiarity with him is the subject of public talk; kill him then, for it is thus that you will vindicate your honour from these foul suspicions. The next morning, 'Abbas went to the door of the castle, and asked admission to al-Zāfir, saying that he had business of importance to transact with him. The slaves having sought their master in the places where he usually passed the night, and not finding him, told 'Abbas that they did not know where he was. On this the vizīr dismounted, and entered the castle with some trusty attendants; he then ordered the slaves to bring forth Jibrīl and Yūsuf, the two brothers of him master; then he questioned respecting him; but they told him to ask his own son, for he knew better than they. On this, he caused their heads to be struck off, and said: "These two are his murderers."—Such are the main circumstances of the event, which is related more fully in the life of al-Fā'iz 'Īsa, son of al-Zāfir.—The mosque al-Zāfirī, which is inside the gate of Zawilah at Cairo, was so called after him, as he was its founder, and had settled upon it *waqf*s<sup>1</sup> to a great amount.

---

1 See No. 29. note on *waqf*.

\* M. de Slane gives Wednesday which is an error: the dates correspond to 1 or 16 April, the former was Thursday and the latter Friday. In Arabic the word *سلك* (*Salkh*) means the last day of the month and it should be 29 when day and date tally.—*Ed.*

† The 15 of the First Rabi' fell on Tuesday, 24 January and 15 of Second Rabi' fell on Thursday, 23 February.—*Ed.*

97. ASHHAB AL-QAYSI

Abū 'Amr Ashhab Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qaysī al-Ja'dī (*member of the tribe of Qays and of the family of Ja'aah*), a doctor of the sect of Mālik and native of Egypt, studied jurisprudence under the imām Mālik, and afterwards under the doctors of Madinah and Miṣr. The imām al-Shāfi'i said of him: "I never saw an abler jurisconsult than Ashhab, were he not so precipitate." A rivalry subsisted between him and Ibn al-Qāsim,<sup>1</sup> whom he afterwards replaced as chief of the Malikites in Egypt. Ashhab was born in Egypt, A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), or in A. H. 140, according to Abū Ja'far al-Jazzār<sup>2</sup> in his

---

1 The life of Ibn al-Qāsim is given in this work: his full name is Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Utaqī.

2 The physician and historian Abū Ja'far Ibrāhīm Ibn Khālid, surnamed Ibn al-Jazzār, was a native of Qayrawān, where his father and his paternal uncle Abū Bakr practised also the art of medicine. He had studied in that city between A.H. 300 and 320, under Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī, the physician to Ziyādāt Allāh Ibrāhīm the Aḥḥlabite. As a teacher, a practitioner, and an author, he attained a high reputation, and disdained courting the favours of the great. The only man of rank whom he visited was an old friend of his, Abū Tālib, uncle to the Fatimite prince al-Mu'izz, and him he went to see every Friday. He passed the days of summer, every year, in one of the *ribāṭs* or garrisons on the sea-coast. According to Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ah, he died, aged upwards of eighty. Ḥājji Khalifah, in his Bibliography, No. 3090, places his death in A.H. 400, but al-Dhahabī conjectures that it took place before A.H. 350. He was a man of great information in various sciences. The list of his medical works is given by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ah, and may be found in Wustenfeld's *Arabische Aerzte*. His *Zād al-Musfir* (*provisions for travellers*) has been translated into Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. His historical works are the *Ta'rif Taṣṭiḥ al-Tārīkh* (*the truth of historical statements*), which is a short treatise; and the *Akhhbār al-Dawlat* (*History of the present Empire*), containing an account of the rise and progress of the empire founded by 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī. He left a fortune of twenty-four thousand dinārs and twenty five hundred weight (*qinṭār*) of books on medicine and other subjects. (Al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām*; Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ah. This last author cites some verses from a poem composed by Kuṣṣājīm in praise of Ibn al-Jazzār.)\*

\*(This information is given in Additions and Corrections by de Slane.)

history: he died in 204 (A. D. 820), a month (or, as some say, 18 days) after al-Shāfi'ī, whose death occurred on the 30 Rajab of that year. Aṣḥhab died at Old Cairo, and was interred in the lesser Qarāfah;<sup>1</sup> I have visited his tomb, which is near that of Ibn al-Qā'im. Some state that his real name was Miskīn\* and Aṣḥhab only a surname, but that is not exact. His veracity is unquestionable in the Traditions, which he gives on the authority of the imām Malik. †Al-Qudā'ī says, in his *Khiṭaṭ*, that Aṣḥhab was head of the Malikites in the city (of Old Cairo); that he possessed great wealth; and that he was the ablest divine among the Malikites in resolving doubtful questions. Al-Shāfi'ī said that he never saw his equal among the natives of Egypt, but that he was rather rash, ‡[and (we know) that the only doctors of the sect of Malik whom al-Shāfi'ī saw in that country were Aṣḥhab and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥukm. It is related by the latter that he heard Aṣḥhab pray for the death of al-Shāfi'ī, who, on learning from him the circumstance, quoted the following verses, which he applied to himself :

"Some men desire my death, and if die, I shall not be the sole who travelled in that path. Tell him who strives to obtain constant happiness,<sup>2</sup> that he should lay in a store for another, and a future life; then he shall have nearly (*gained his wish*) " <sup>3</sup>

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥukm relates also that al-Shāfi'ī, on his death left, among other property, a slave who was purchased by Aṣḥhab, and that he himself purchased that same slave when Aṣḥhab died. Ibn Yunus speaks of Aṣḥhab in his History, and says; "Aṣḥhab was descended from Qays through the tribe of 'Āmir, and sprang from the family of Ja'dah, his surname was Abu 'Amr: he was one of the first jurisconsults of Egypt, and a

1 See No. 24, note on *Qarāfa* h.

2 Literally: The contrary of that which is transitory.

3 The signification of the words كُنْ اَمْرًا is explained in M. de Sacy's commentary on the *Maqāmahs* of al-Ḥariri; see page 311 of that work.

\* M. de Slane reads it *Maskin*. Ed.

† Abu 'Abd Allāh is omitted.—Ed.

‡[ ] From "and (we know)" to the end, not in the autograph.—Ed.

man of great judgment; born A. H. 140 (A. D. 757); died on Saturday, 21 of Sha'ban, A. H. 204 (A. D. 820\*). He wore his beard dyed (*in imitation of the primitive Muslims*).<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ibn 'Āsim al-Ma'afirī relates that he had a dream<sup>2</sup> in which he seemed to hear a voice say: "O, Muḥammad!" to which he gave answer, and the voice then pronounced this verse:

"They are gone, those friends on whose departure we exclaim: O, that the earth and those which inhabit it were dissolved!"

"At that time," says he "Aḥḥab was sick, and I said: 'O, how greatly I fear that he may die!' and he died of that illness."

For further reference, see *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, vol. I, p. 359, No. 654.)

## 98. AṢBAGH AL-MĀLIKĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Aṣbagh Ibn al-Faraj Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Naṣī', a doctor of the sect of Malik and a native of Egypt, studied jurisprudence under Ibn al-Qāsim, Ibn Wahb, and Aḥḥab.<sup>2</sup> It was said by 'Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Majīshūn that Egypt never produced the like of Aṣbagh; and when asked if he did not make an exception in favour of Ibn al-Qāsim, he replied: "Not even Ibn al-Qāsim." He was *Katīb*<sup>3</sup> to Ibn Wahb, and his ancestor Naṣī', who was an enfranchised slave of 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam the Omaiyide, was governor of Egypt.<sup>4</sup> Aṣbagh died on Sunday, 25th of Shawwāl, 225 (A.D. 840), † some state, however, that his death took place in 226 or 220.

1 See No. 20, note on *dreams*.

2 For the life of the Aḥḥab, see the preceding article; the lives of Ibn al-Qāsim and Ibn Wahb will be found in the letter *'ayn*.

3 *Katīb*, copyist or secretary.

4 'Abd al-'Azīz was appointed governor of Egypt by his father Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam in the year 65 (A.D. 685), and was authorised by him not only to preside at public prayers (which was the prerogative of the governor), but to collect the revenue. He continued in the exercise of these functions till his death, which took place A.H. 85 (A.D. 704).—*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*.

\* 11 February.—*Ed.*

† 29 August.—*Ed.*



## 99 'ĀQ SUNQUR THE ḤĀJIB.

Abn Sa'īd 'Āq Sunqur<sup>1</sup> Ibn 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Qāsim al-Dawlat (*partner in the empire*), and generally known by the title of al-Ḥājib (*the chamberlain*) was the ancestor of the Atābeks of Mosul, and the father of 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī. He and Buzān<sup>2</sup> prince of Edessa, were *mamlūks* of the Seljuq Sulṭān, Malik Shāh Ibn Alp Arsilān. When Tāj al-Dawlat Tutuṣh Ibn Alp Arsilān obtained possession of Aleppo (*in the year 478*) (A.D. 1085)<sup>3</sup>, he left 'Āq Sunqur as his lieutenant in that city, thinking that he could place every reliance on one who was his brother's *mamlūk*. 'Āq Sunqur, however, revolted, and Tutuṣh, who was then master of Damascus, marched against him and gave him battle. in the month of the first Jumādā, A. H. 487 (A.D. 1094); both sides fought with great animosity, and the conflict terminated by the death of 'Āq Sunqur<sup>4</sup>. He was interred in the Zajjājiyah College at Aleppo. When I visited his tomb, I found it surrounded by a great number of persons, who met there every Friday for the purpose of reading the Qur'ān<sup>5</sup>; and I was informed that (*in recompense for their services*), a large sum, arising from the revenue of a *waqf*<sup>6</sup> founded for that purpose, was distributed among them; but I do not know by whom that *waqf* was established. I have since discovered that it was established by Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd, grandson of 'Āq-Sun-

1 'Āq Sunqur is a Turkish name; it means *white falcon*.

2 This Buzān assisted 'Āq-Sunqur in his revolt against Tutuṣh, and was taken prisoner and beheaded by that prince, A.H. 487. (*Zuhdat al-Ḥalab*.) The analysis of this work is given by professor Freytag in his *Selecta ex Historia Halebi*.

3 It appears from a passage in the life of Tutuṣh, that this date should have been inserted in the Arabic text. It is omitted in most of the manuscripts.

4 A more full account of 'Āq-Sunqur's revolt and death is given by Abu 'l-Fidā in his Annals. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn al-'Adīm says, in his *Zuhdat al-Ḥalab*, that the troops of 'Āq-Sunqur did not resist an instant, and that he himself was taken prisoner *after* the battle and beheaded by Tutuṣh.

5 The merits and spiritual recompenses attached to the reading of the Qur'ān are transferable to the dead when this act of piety is performed on their account and in their name.

See note on *waqf* No. 21

qur; I shall give his life later, and shall narrate also, in the life of Tutuṣh, some particulars respecting 'Āq Sunqur, which are in contradiction to the foregoing statement.<sup>1</sup> The Zajjājiyah College was built by Abu 'l-Rabi' Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Urtuq, prince of Aleppo.<sup>2</sup> 'Āq Sunqur was at first buried at (Mount) Qarnebiye, but his son Zinkī, on obtaining possession of Aleppo, had his body transported to the Zajjājiyah, and introduced it into the city by hoisting it over the wall.<sup>3</sup> 'Āq Sunqur was slain at a village called Ruḡān, which is situated near Sab'in<sup>4</sup> in the dependencies of Aleppo, according to Yāqut (*in his Mushtarik*).

### 100. 'ĀQ SUNQUR AL-BURSUQĪ

Abn Sa'īd 'Āq Sunqur al-Bursuqī al-Ghāzī (*the warrior*), surnamed Qāsim al-Dawlat Sayf al-Dīn (*partner in the empire and sword of religion*), was prince of Mosul, Raḥabah, and the neighbouring countries. He got possession of these places on the death of the Ispāsālār<sup>5</sup> Mawdūd, who governed them and the Syrian provinces in the name of the Seljuq prince Muḥammad Ibn Malik Shāh (whose life shall be given in this work). Mawdūd was murdered on Friday, 12th of the second Rabi', A.H. 507 (September, A.D.

<sup>1</sup> This is an oversight of the author; nothing of the kind is to be found in the life of Tutuṣh.

<sup>2</sup> Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār was lieutenant of 'II Ghāzī in Aleppo. (*Zubdat al-Ṭalab*.)

<sup>3</sup> When the Atābek Zinkī transported the corpse of his father to the college situated in (the quarter of Aleppo called) al-Zajjājan (the glassblowers), he did not bring it through any of the city gates, but had it hoisted over the wall; for it would have been considered as an unlucky omen to introduce a dead body into the city. (*Bu ḥiyat al-Ṭalab*; Ms. No. 726, fol. 180) Kamāl al-Dīn, the author of this work, states that 'Āq Sunqur governed Aleppo with great justice, and that, under his excellent administration, the revenues of the city amounted to fifteen hundred *din-ars per diem*. (Fol. 178, v.)

<sup>4</sup> The author of the *Mar'at al-Ḥitā'* says that Sab'in is a village at the gate of Aleppo, but Abū 'l-Fidā in his history t. III, p. 290, places the field of battle at Tall al-Sulṭīn, on the river Sab'in, at six parasangs from Aleppo.

<sup>5</sup> This word, which is written اسميسلار and اسميسلار signifies *commander of the troops*.

1113)\*: by a gang of Batinites, <sup>1</sup> who attacked him in the great mosque of Damascus. 'Āq Sunqur was then acting as *Shahnah* <sup>2</sup> at Baghdād, to which post he had been appointed in the year 498 (A.D. 1004-5), by the sultān Muḥammad, who had become master of the empire by the death of his brother Barkyāruq. In the year 499, 'Āq Sunqur was directed by the sultān Muḥammad to lay siege to Tikrīt, which was then in the possession of Kayqubād Ibn Hazāraṣb the Daylamite, who was reported to be a partisan of the Bātinite doctrines. In pursuance of his orders, 'Āq Sunqur made preparations for the expedition, and having set out in the month of Rajab of that year, he besieged Kayqubād till Muḥarram, A.H. 500. When on the point of taking the city, Sayf al-Dawlat Ṣadaqaḥ came up, and was put in possession of it <sup>3</sup> and then returned to Ḥillah, accompanied by Kayqubād, who took with him his treasures, but died on arriving. The sultān Muḥammad, on being informed of Mawdūd's assassination, ordered 'Āq Sunqur to set out for Mosul, and make preparations for attacking the Franks in Syria. On arriving at Mosul, he established his authority in the city, and then made an expedition against the Franks, whom he forced to raise the siege of Aleppo, which was closely pressed by them; he then returned to Mosul, and continued to inhabit it till his death. He was one of the greatest and most celebrated amīrs under the Seljukides. It was in the mosque of Mosul, on Friday, 9th of Dhū'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 520 (November, A.D. 1126),† that he met with his death by the hands of some Batinites. ‡ Ibn al-Jawzī says, in his History, that he was slain in the *Maqsūrah* <sup>4</sup> of the Mosque

---

1 The Batinities are the same as the Ismailians: they are better known in Europe as the Assassins الحشيشية See M. de Sacy's *Memoire sur la dynastie des Assassins et sur l'etymologie de leur nom*, and his *Histoire des Druzes*.

2 See no. 77, note on *Shahnah*.

3 This was a concerted plan between Sadaqaḥ and Kayqabad, and must have caused great disappointment to 'Āq Sunqur, who had the promise of the sultān to be allowed to retain Tikrīt as a fief after he had captured it. (Ibn al-Aṭhīr's *Kamil*).

4 In the great mosques, a railed enclosure or pew, called the. *Maqsūrah* is reserved for the sultān or his lieutenant.

\* 26 September.—Ed.

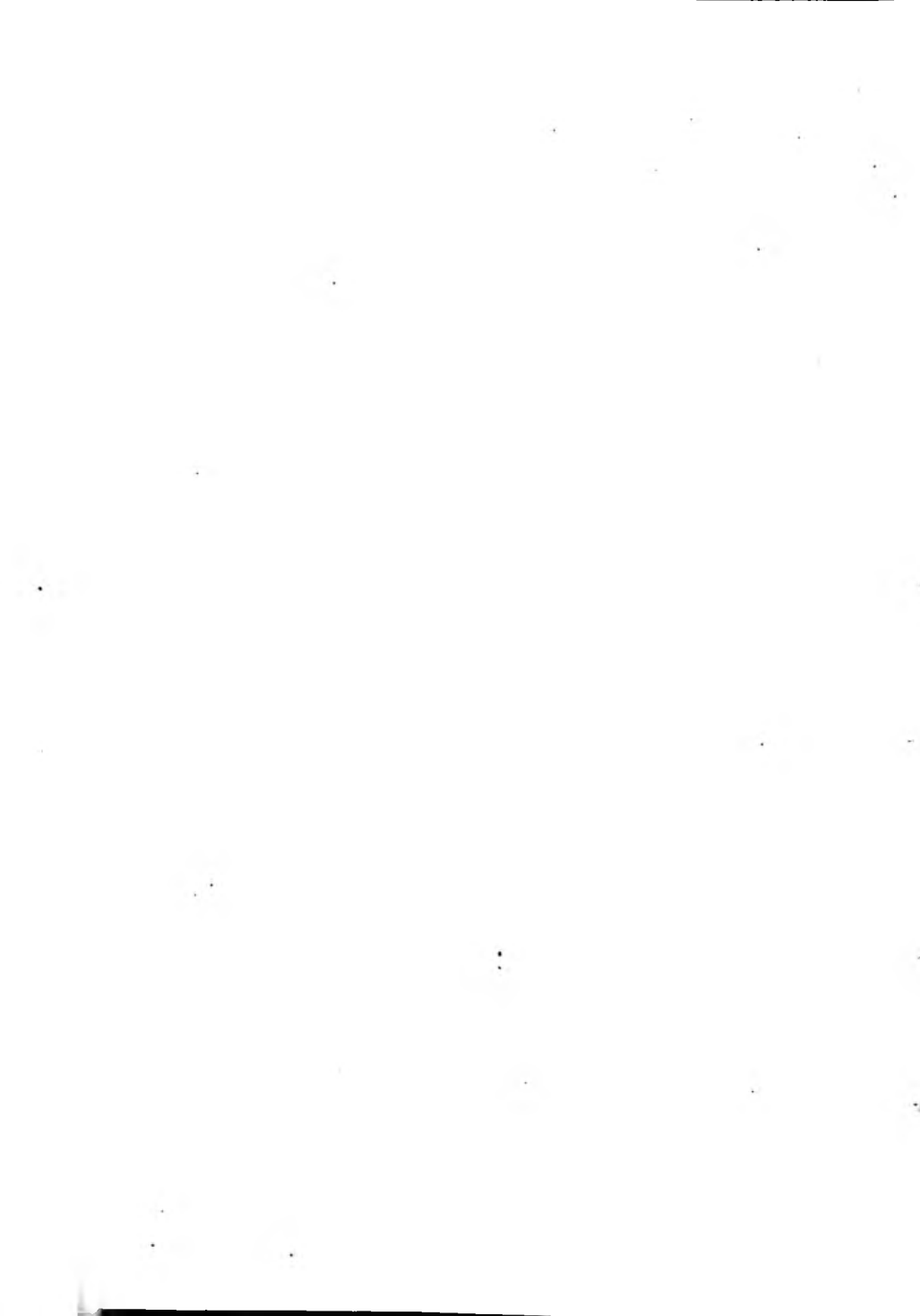
† 26 November.—Ed.

‡ From 'Ibn al-Jawzī' to 'Power' not in the autograph.—Ed.

of Mosul, A.H. 519, whilst the *Katib* 'Imād al-Dīn states that it happened in 520; the latter writer says: "The assassins, who were sitting in the mosque, in the dress of Sūfīs, sprang upon him as he was retiring from prayers, and stabbed him in many places. This was in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*. Their enmity had been excited against him, because he had persecuted and slain them in great numbers, with the intention of eradicating their power."] The government of 'Āq Sunqur passed to his son 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, whose death took place on Tuesday, 22nd of the latter Jumādā, 521 (July, A.D. 1127)\* 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī (son of the 'Āq Sunqur whose life is given in the preceding article) was his successor.--The derivation of *Bursuq* was unknown to me, and al-Sam'ānī makes no mention of the word; but I have since discovered that it comes from *Bursuq*, the name of a Mamlūk belonging to the sultān Muḥammad Ṭughrulbek, whose life we intend to give. This Bursuq held a high rank under the Seljuq dynasty, and was one of their most remarkable and ominent amīrs.

---

\* 5 July.—Ed.



## A

- 'Ā'shah (widow of Muḥammad), 46.  
 'Āsim, 52.  
 Ibn 'Abdah, 109n.  
 'Abbād (al-Mu'taḍid), 202, 204.  
 'Abbād Abul Ḥasan, 320.  
 Ibn 'Abbād (al-Mu'tamīd), 204.  
 Ibn 'Abbād, the Ṣāhib, 314-315, 318, 319n, 320.  
 Ibn al-Abbār, 68n, 72n, 79n.  
 Ibn al-Abbār (Abū Ja'far Aḥmad) Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḳhawlanī, 204-205, Abbās, 315.  
 Al-'Abbās (Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib), 62n.  
 Al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf, 67, 68, 71.  
 Al-'Abbās Ibn al-Māmūn, 65.  
 Abul 'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Sahl Kātib, 147.  
 Abu'l 'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī, Ibn Bābah al-Qābisi, 265.  
 Ibn 'Abbās (Abu'l-Abbās 'Abd Allāh, 19, 31, 153, 153n.  
 \*Al-'Ābbasah, 96n.  
 'Abadah Ibn al-Ṭabīb, 255.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Amir Ibn Karīz, 105, 106, 142.  
 'Abd Allāh (Brother to Nizār) 249n, 250.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, see Ḥanbal.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, 72.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mu'āwiyah, 136.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aṭā, 8.  
 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, 71.  
 'Abd Allāh, 100.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Salamah, 75n.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, 275.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahī'ah, 25.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak, 111.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh, the son of al-Muḥtadi, 112.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Qāsim al-utaqi, 327n.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad. Ibn 'Alī al-'Azimī, 265n.  
 'Abd 'l-Barr, 137n, 138.  
 'Abd al-Laṭīf, 27.  
 'Abd Munāf, 94, 95.  
 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhārī, 293.  
 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn al faql, 76.  
 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwān, 17, 76n, 229.  
 'Abd al-Ḥukm Ibn al-Ḳhaṭīb, 56, 57.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Muḥammad, 152.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Sulaymān, 330.  
 'Abd al-Karīm, 115n.  
 'Abd al-Laṭīf, 266n.  
 'Abd al-Malik, 171.  
 'Abd al-Qāhīr Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (Abū Muḥammad), 226.  
 'Abd al-Qāhīr Ibn Muḥammad, 217.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 79n.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad, 312.  
 Abrahām, 84, 95.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Nūr al-Laznī, 88.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad, the 'Alide, 63n.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Abdūs, 75n, 116, 145.  
 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 100.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurayshī, 85n.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn wa'lah al-Sabā'i, 153.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 211.  
 Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh, 159-162.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid, al-Baghdādī, 160.  
 'Abd Bani'l-Ḥaghās Suhaym, 64.  
 'Abdah Ibn al-Ṭabīb, 255.  
 Ibn 'Abdah al-Abbādānī, 108n.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Isfār, a'nī, 111.  
 Al-'Abdī Ibn Baqiyyah, 146-147.  
 Al-'Abdī Qāḍī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Al-Barā, 150n.  
 Ibn 'Abdūs, 75n.  
 Abū Bakr, 287.  
 Abū Bakr (Ḳhalīf) 7, 40, 46n, 101, 153n.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ḳhuwārazmī, 315.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Zaydūn, 204.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Mujāhid al-Muqrī, 148.  
 'Abu 'l-Fidā, 22, 24, 26, 41, 62, 64, 80, 85n, 96, 97n, 99, 105, 111, 121, 139, 156, 196, 206, 207, 221, 243, 252, 308, 342.  
*Adab al-Ḳhawāṣṣ*, 161.  
 'Aḍad Al-Dawlat (Fennā' ḥurū) Ibn Buwayh, 58, 81, 178, 183n, 228, 243, 316.  
 Adam, 323.  
 Aden, 231.  
 'Āderbijān, 55.  
 Aḡḡanah, 104.

- 'Adi, 234.  
 'Adnān, 216n.  
 Abū 'Adīnah, 15.  
 'Adī Ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī, 284.  
 Ibn 'Adī Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sattār, 152, 270.  
 'Ādil Ibn Ziyād, 284n.  
 Ibn al-'Adīm Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar, 15.  
 Ibn 'Adlān, 259.  
 'Adnān, 220n.  
 Al-'Afḍal Shāhanshāh Amīr al-Juyūsh, 248, 249n, 250n, 263.  
 'Afīf al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Adlān, 259.  
 Africa, 138.  
 Afṣā, 97, 147.  
 Al-Afshīn, 122, 123.  
 Al-Aghānī (Abul Farj Ispahānī), 16, 64, 67, 68n, 70, 196, 256, 284.  
 Al 'Aqr, 72.  
 Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, 108.  
 Aḥmad, see Ḥanbal.  
 Aḥmad, see al-Mutanabbī.  
 Aḥmad Ibn 'Abī Duwād, 122, 130, 131-132.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal, 65.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn (Abū 'l-'Abbās, 108n, 241, 242.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 141.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf, 242.  
 Al-Aḥnaf, Ibn Qays, 105n, 106n, 142.  
 Al-Aḥwal, see Aḥmad.  
 Al-Ahwāzī, 136, 220, 243, 244.  
 Al-Ahwāzī 213.  
 Ibn al-Ahẓam, 75n.  
 'Ayyak (Ḥusayn Ibn 'Ayyak), 11.  
 'Ayn al-Tamar, 301.  
 'Aynī, 311.  
 Ayyar Ibn Ḥuṭaiyah, 307n.  
 Al-Akhfaṣh al-Aṣghar Abū Ḥasan 'Alī, 146, 147, 184, 279.  
 Ibn Akḥī 'l-'Ilm, 56.  
 Aksab, 264.  
 Aksuk, 262.  
 'Āq Sunqur al-Bursuqī, 331-333.  
 'Āq-Sunqur the Ḥājib, 329-331.  
 Al-Aqṭa', 243.  
 Abū 'l-'Alā al-Mu'arri, 7, 34, 166, 167n, 182, 206.  
 Ibn Abī 'l-'Alā, 319n.  
 Ibn al-'Alā 'Umar, 303n.  
 Al-'Alamūt, 248.  
 Al-'Alawī Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, 181n.  
 Al-'Alawī Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad, 244.  
 Al-'Alawī Abū Ja'far, 235.  
 Aleppo, 2, 15, 24, 61, 207, 225, 227, 280n, 293, 329, 330, 331, 332.  
 Alexandria, 49, 59, 152, 153, 155n, 156n, 184, 228, 248, 249n, 250 n, 271.  
 'Alī (Prince), 237.  
 'Alī Abū 'l-Ḥasan, 85.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn, 109, 111n.  
 'Alī Ibn Abī 'l-Faḍl Ibn 'l-'Umayd Abul-Faṭḥ, 316.  
 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb (Khalīf, 13, 46n, 63n, 72n, 116, 117, 154n, 188, 191, 213n, 216n, 151n, 278n, 310, 317.  
 'Alī al-Harawī Shaykh, 293.  
 'Alī Ibn Mufarrij, 271.  
 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad 'al-Miṣri, 150n.  
 Abū 'Alī Kathīr Ibn Aḥmad, 318.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, 312, 313, 314.  
 Al-māriyayh, 96.  
 Alūh, 262.  
 Ibn Alūh, 260.  
 Amālī (Qālī), 16, 75, 312.  
 Al-A'maṣh, 281n.  
 Amid, 206, 262.  
 Ibn al-'Umayd Abū 'l-Faḍl, 183.  
 Al-'Amīdī, 93.  
 Abū 'Āmir, 170, 171n.  
 Ibn 'Āmir 'Abd Allāh, 106n.  
 Ibn 'Āmir al-Marwarrūdhī (Qāḍī Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad), 49.  
 Ibn 'Ammār, Abū 'Alī, 227.  
 'Ammār Ibn Shadhī Aḥmad, 66.  
 'Amr Ibn 'Adl al-Lakhīmī, 285.  
 'Amr, 205, 234.  
 Abū 'Amr, 75n.  
 Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, 276, 277.  
 Āmul, 54n, 104.  
 'Anazī, 311.  
 Anbār, 301.

- Al-Anbārī (Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Muḥammad), 60, 146.  
 Ibn al-Anbārī Abū Bakr, 147, 149, 312.  
 'Anbasah Ibn Ishāq Ibn 'Amr Abū Ja'far, 191n.  
 Andolus, 84, 89, 90, 197.  
 'Ānah (city), 265.  
 'Antarah, 213n.  
 Antioch, 283.  
 Anmūdhaj, 84.  
 Al-Anmāṭi (Abu 'l-Qāsim), 101.  
*Ansālb al-'Arab*, 97.  
*Al-Ansāb* (Sam'āni) 55, 102n, 118, 119, 144, 266.  
 Anṣārī, 168.  
 Anṭākī, 194.  
 Anṭākiyah, 194.  
 Anūjūr, 176n.  
 'Āq-Sunqur al-Bursuqi Abū Sa'id, 329n, 330, 331, 332, 333.  
 Al-'Aqabah, 121.  
 Al-'Arab, Umm, 95.  
 Ibn al-'Arabī, 80, 147, 148, 282.  
 Arbela, 7, 10, 61, 157, 158, 225, 257, 260, 291, 292, 296.  
 Al-Arbali (see Irbili).  
*Arabian Nights*, 241.  
 Ardshir, 30.  
 Al-Ardebili (Tāhir al-Dīn), 147.  
 Ibn al-'Arif Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Sunhāji, 236, 237.  
 Aristotle, 283.  
 Arsīlān, 265.  
 Al-Arrajān, 69, 183n, 216, 219, 220, 278.  
 Al-Arrajāni Abū Bakr (qāḍī), 261.  
 Al-Arrajāni (Nāṣih al-Dīn), 215, 221.  
 Arri Dr., 179n.  
 Armenia, 207n, 314.  
 Arsīlān Shāh Nūr al-Dīn, 266, 267.  
 Artuq Ibn Aksuk, 2, 263, 262, 264.  
 Asad, 64n, 140, 178, 293, 311.  
 Al-Asad al-'Ijlī, 287-289.  
 Al-Asad al-Mihāni Abū'l-Faṭḥ, 285-287.  
 Al-As'ad Ibn Mammāti, 289-294.  
 Ibn 'Asākir, 117, 226.  
 Aṣbagh al-Mālikī, 328, 329, 330.  
 'Aṣhā, 145n.  
 'Āshir, 97.  
 Aṣḥab al-Qaysi, 327, 328.  
 Al-Aṣḥabi, 90n.  
 Abul'l-Aṣḥā'ir, 182n.  
 Aṣḥab al-Qaysi Abū 'Amr, 327, 328.  
 Aṣḥja' son of Rayṭh son of Ghatafān, 171.  
 Aṣḥja' al-Sulamī, Abū 'l-Walid, 304, 305.  
 Al-Aṣḥja'i al-Andalusī, 168-171.  
 Assyria, 39.  
 'Āsim, 52.  
 Ibn 'Āsim al-Ma'āfiri, 328.  
 'Askari, 136.  
 'Askar Mukram, 215, 216, 220.  
 'Asqālān, 94.  
 Al-Asqlāni, 108n, 109n.  
 Al-Aṣma'i, 80n, 129, 257n, 279, 281.  
 Astarābād, 28.  
 Abū 'l-Aswad al-Duwalī, 19.  
 Atābek Zankī, 221, 224, 225, 252, 331.  
 Alṭha'ālibī, 314.  
 Ibn 'Aḍā Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad'184n, Abū'l-'Atāhiyah, 68, 280, 301-302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308n, 309, 310, 311.  
 Ibn 'Aṭīyah al-'Aṭawi, 278, 279, 280.  
 Ibn al-Aṭḥir I, 11, 22, 63, 72, 262n, 263, 278, 288, 332.  
 'Aydān al-Saqqā, 181.  
 'Aydmor 'Izz al-Dīn, 8.  
 Al-Ayk wa 'l-Ghuṣūn, 162.  
 Al-A'war, 289.  
 Ibn 'Awn al-Ḥariri, 185.  
 Aṣṣaf, 114, 151.  
 Ayar Ibn Ḥuṭaiyah, 307n.  
 Abū 'l 'Aynā, 121, 122, 130, 135.  
 'Ayn al-Tamar, 301, 311.  
 'Ayn al-Zamān, 221.  
 Al-Azd, 110, 232.  
 Al-Azdi, Jamal al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī Mansūr Tāhir, 239n.  
 Al-Azdi, Abū 'l-Mubarak 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Muḥammād, 288.  
 'Aziz Ibn al-Mu'izz al-'Ubaydi, 192, 193.  
 Al-'Aziz Nizār, 31.  
 Azhar Ibn al-Sammān Abū Bakr, 267, 268, 269.  
 Ibn 'Azib, 164.  
 Ibn al-'Azīmi, 265n.  
 Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqi, 245.

## B

Al-Babbaghā Abū'l-Faraj, 184.



- Bāb Dazlī, 318, 319.  
 Bāb al-Maqām, 293n.  
 Ibn Bābah al-Qābisi, 265.  
 Bābek, 122.  
 Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamudānī Abul-'l-  
 Faḍl Ahmad, 186-188.  
 Badr al-Dīn Abū Faḍā'il Lūlū, 256, 267.  
 Badr al-Jamālī, 294.  
 Badr al-Dīn al-Sinjārī, qāḍī, 8-9.  
 Baghdād, 25n, 48, 50, 51, 53n, 54, 55,  
 56, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 68, 75, 78, 80, 81,  
 83, 90, 93, 95, 97, 99n, 102, 105n, 106,  
 107, 109n, 110, 111, 112, 113n, 114,  
 118, 126, 129n, 133, 134, 137, 139, 143,  
 145, 148, 150, 152, 155, 156n, 158,  
 160n, 165, 178, 183n, 196, 199, 200,  
 212, 222, 229, 242, 244, 246, 264, 265,  
 269, 275, 276, 277, 280n, 281n, 283,  
 286, 287, 302, 304, 305, 309, 313.  
 Al-Baghdādī, Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Umar  
 Khaṭīb Abū Bakr Ahmad, 21, 24, 28,  
 54n, 59, 107, 111, 112, 114, 118, 129n,  
 137, 138, 139, 150n, 160, 196n, 208, 226,  
 286.  
 Bahā al-Dīn al-Sinjārī Abū 'l-Sa'ādāt  
 As'ad Ibn Yahyā, 294-298.  
 Bahā al-Dīn Zuhayr, 234.  
 Bahā al-Dawlat Ibn 'Aḍad al-Dawlat  
 Ibn Buwayh, 264.  
 Bahā al-Dīn Qarāqūsh, 253.  
 Bāhilah, 220, 267.  
 Al-Baḥr al-Zākhir, 13.  
 Bahrā, 168.  
 Bahrayn, 25n, 168.  
 Al-Bākhārī, 141.  
 Bakhtyār 'Izz al-Dawlah, 81.  
 Bakkār ibn Qutaybah, 229.  
 Ibn Bakkār, 300.  
 Bakr ibn Wā'il, 151.  
 Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb, 286.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd al-Azdi, 312.  
 Al-Balādhuri, Ahmad ibn Yahyā, 314.  
 Balḫ, 7, 24, 49, 94, 106n, 227, 279n.  
 Balansiyay (Valencia) Spain, 89.  
 Banu 'l-'Abbās, 162.  
 Banu 'l-'Allāt, 237.  
 Banu 'l-Ḥashās, 64, 233.  
 Banū Kalb, 176.  
 Banū Marwān, 245n.  
 Banū Tamīm, 255.  
 Banū Tūma, 229n.  
 Banū Waḍḍāh, 169.  
 Ibn al-Baqīyah al-'Abdi, 146-147.  
 Al Barā al-'Abdi, 150.  
 Baradā, 290.  
 Kitāb al-Bārī, 312.  
 Bariḥ, 163.  
 Ibn Barmak, 7.  
 Barmakide, 123.  
 Barqā, 250n.  
 al-Bāriq al-Shāmī, 254.  
 Al-Bāriqi, 322.  
 Al-Berzali, Abū Muḥammad, 10.  
 Basā (town), 265.  
 Al-Basāsiri Abū 'l-Hārith Arsilān Ibn  
 'Abd Allāh al-Turki, 111n, 264-266.  
 Būshān, 142.  
 Baṣṣir, 168.  
 Baṣṣhār Ibn Burd, 304, 305, 307.  
 Ibn Bāssam, 84, 85, 87, 169, 197, 205.  
 Ibn Baṣṣuwal Abū Bakr, 171, 203, 321.  
 Baṣṣit, 145n.  
 Baṣrah, 22, 24, 25, 54, 105, 106n, 108n,  
 125, 129, 133, 147n, 154n, 221, 240, 267,  
 268, 278, 279n, 298, 312.  
 Al-Baṣri, 268.  
 Baṣā'ih, 239, 240.  
 Ibn al-Baṣṣi, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī, 87n, 287.  
 Baḥḥā, 57.  
 Ibn -Bāṣṣh Abu 'l-Majd Ismā'il Ibn  
 Hibat Allāh Ibn Sa'id, 280.  
 Ibn Bāwak, 7.  
 Bayyāsah, 319n.  
 Al-Bayyāsī, 319.  
 Baydā, 54n.  
 Al-Bayḍāwī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, 54, 238n.  
 Al-Bayḍāwī, Abū 'l-Khayr, 54.  
 Al-Buhturi 34, 66, 165, 182n, 253.  
 Bawāzīj, 60.  
 Bayhaq, 115.  
 Al-Bayhaqī Abū Bakr Ahmad  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd  
 Allāh Ibn Mūsā, 50, 86, 114, 115.  
 Al-Bayḍāwī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, 54n.  
 Al-Bayḍāwī, Abū al-Khayr, 54n.  
 Ibn al-Bayy' Ḥakīm Abū 'Abd Allāh, 114.  
 Bāyazīd Sulṭān, 14.  
 Bedwīns, 255n.

Bijāyah, 97.  
 Bilāl Ibn Abi Burdah, 31.  
 Bilbais, 96n.  
 Biographical Dictionary, 1.  
 Al-Birah, 203.  
 Ibn Bishrān, 290.  
 Bishr al-Ḥāfi, 98, 99, 138.  
 Bughiyah, 304.  
 Bughiyat al-Multamis, 169n, 171n, 180, 196n.  
 Bughiyat al-Ṭalab, 15, 280n.  
 Buḥārā, 31, 242.  
 Al-Buḥārī, Maḥammad, 18-98, 275, 287n.  
 Būrān, Daughter to al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl, 78.  
 Bustān, 139.  
 Buḥaynah, 153.  
 Ibn Buḥlān, 283n.  
 Buwayh, 81.  
 Ibn Buwayh, Mū'izz al-Dawlat, 242-245.  
 Ibn Buwayh, Muwayyad al-Dawlat, 315.  
 Buzā'ū, 206, 207.

## C

Caifa (Ḥayfah), 248n.  
 Cairo, 8, 24, 29, 31, 39, 44, 55, 56, 59, 95, 109, 116, 146, 154n, 183n, 191, 194, 228, 234, 238, 239, 241, 242, 249, 257, 260, 270, 273, 291.  
 Cana'an, 86n.  
 Cais fils d'Acem, 256n.  
 Casiri 12.  
 Caussin M., 278n.  
 Ceuta, 96, 239.  
 Chancery, 250n.  
 Charpud, 207n.  
 Conde, 201n.  
 Conspectus operis Ibn Challikani, 4.  
 Constantinople, 206.  
 Cordova, 79, 80, 122, 162, 168, 180, 201, 203, 204, 312.

## D

Dabbā, 184n.  
 Damietta, 232.  
 Abu'l-Dann, 112.  
 Al-Daqqāq, 169n.

Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Kāmiliyah, 154n.  
 Al-Dārakī, Abu'l-Qāsim, 54n, 107, 111.  
 Dārim Ibn Mālik, 186.  
 Al-Dāraqūṇi, 51q, 113, 274.  
 Al-Dāraqūṇi Abu'l-Ḥasan, 116, 117.  
 Ibn Darastawayh, 312.  
 Abu'l-Dardā, 31.  
 Al-Darir, Abū Mu'āwiyah, 135, 281n.  
 Ibn Darrāj, 196, 197, 201.  
 Al-Darrābūn, 317n.  
 Damascus, 7, 8, 24, 27, 29, 31, 90, 116, 117, 121, 154n, 156n, 183n, 208, 211, 221, 226, 227n, 228n, 241, 259, 263, 269, 270, 273, 280n, 290, 293, 295, 305.  
 Ibn al-Dāyah, 242n.  
 Daylam, 173, 243.  
 Daylamite, 81.  
 Daynaur, 212.  
 Dayr al-'Āqūl, 178.  
 Da'wat al-Aṭibhā, 283.  
 Al-Dhahābi, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, 24, 28, 41, 275, 312.  
 Al-Dahlak Ibn Qays al-Fihri, 168.  
 Al-Dhakhīrat fi 'Ilm al-Baṣīrat, 143.  
 Dhakhīrah, 85, 87, 197, 205.  
 Dhayl (Muadḥayyāl), 286.  
 Dhuhl, 151.  
 Dhul Qarnayn (Alexander), 49, 136.  
 Dhul Qarnayn Ibn Ḥamadān, 189.  
 Dhul Riyāsatayn, al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl, 72.  
 Diyā' al-Dīn Ḥāfiḡ, 156n.  
 Di'bil Ibn 'Alī al-Khuzā'i, 64, 73, 121.  
 Ibn Dihyah Dhul-Nisbayn Ḥāfiḡ, 291, 292.  
 Ibn Dinār, 'Abd Allāh, 63.  
 Druzes, 144n.  
 Diyār Bakr, 206, 245, 263, 313.  
 Dīwān Amro 'l-Qais, 224, 295n.  
 Dīwān of Ibn Mammāṭi, 292.  
 Dīwān of al-Mutanabbī, 177n.  
 D'oḥsson, 264n, 274n.  
 Al-Duw'al al-Munqaṭi'ah, 239n.  
 Dubayas Ibn Ṣadaqaḡ, 286n.  
 Al-Dubbi, 114.  
 Ibn al-Dubayṭhi, 59.  
 Abū Dalaf, 122.

Du'luj. Abū Muḥammad, 51.  
 Ibn Du'mā, 147.  
*Al-Durr al-Naẓīm*, 29n.  
*Durrat al-Aslāk fī Dawlat al-Atrāk*, 2.  
 Ibn Durayd, Abū Bakr, 134.  
 Ibn Durustūwayh, 184.  
 Ibn Dust, 188.  
 Ibn Abī Duwād, Qāḍī, 27, 76,  
 155, 278n.

## E

Edessa, 260.  
 Edward Mahlar 137, 254n, 273.  
 Egypt, 2, 9, 20, 29, 30, 40, 49, 53n, 55,  
 57, 59, 94, 95, 107, 108n, 110, 140,  
 145, 146, 148n, 152, 153, 154n, 155n,  
 156, 176, 178, 183n, 188, 190, 192, 193,  
 197, 199, 200n, 224n, 227n, 230n, 231,  
 234, 235, 238, 239, 241, 246, 247, 252,  
 257, 258, 259, 260, 263, 264, 266,  
 269, 270, 271, 275, 289, 293, 294, 299,  
 301, 310.  
 Emessa, 223.  
 Erḍe Rūm, 314.  
 Euphrates, 207n, 240n, 301.

## F

Al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī', 128.  
 Al-Faḍl Ibn Yahyā, 238.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl, 213.  
 Abū Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭayfūr, 160n.  
 Al-Fāḍil Qāḍī, 207, 234, 253, 254.  
 Al-Fāḍil Ibn Yahyā, al-Ṭawīl, 238.  
 Al-Fā'iz, 'Isā Ibn Zāfir al-'Ubaydī, 5.  
 Fakhr al-Dawlat Abū Naṣr, Muḥammad  
 Ibn Jahīr, 262, 320.  
 Fakhr al-Dīn, 66n.  
 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, 274.  
 Al-Fakīk, 'Abd al-'Azīz, 85.  
 Fannā Khusrū, 245, 310n.  
 Al-Faramā, 95.  
 Al-Faraḍī, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣṭafā, 13.  
 Ibn al-Fariḍ, 34.  
 Al-Farghānī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd  
 Allāh Ibn Muḥammad, 241 n, 241, 242.  
 Abu 'l-Faraj Ispahānī, 67, 193n.  
 Faras, 106n.  
 Al-Fāriqi, 245.  
 Ibn Fāris, 173, 187, 314.  
 Al-Fārisī Abū 'Alī, 79, 146, 174, 265, 321.

Al-Fārisī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Ghāfir  
 50, 119, 318.  
 Al-Farrā', 48, 279.  
 Fārs, 265.  
 Al-Fasawī, 265.  
 Al-Fāshān, 142.  
 Al-Fāshānī, 141.  
*Faṣīh*, 149.  
 Fāṭik al-Aṣudī, 184n.  
 Fāṭik al-Majnūn, 183n.  
 Fāṭik Ibn, Abī 'l-Jahl, 178.  
 Fāṭimāh, 274n, 310n.  
 Fāṭimah al-Juzdāniyah, 287.  
 Fayrūr, 72.  
*Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 12.  
 Fayrūzābādī, 23.  
 Faz (Faz) 31, 96, 238, 239.  
 Firūzābād, 52, 54, 55.  
 Fityān, Abek, 208.  
*Fihrist (Kitāb al)*, 3, 8n, 25, 71n, 83, 184n.  
 Franks, 252, 253.  
 Freyag, 285n.  
 Florus, 22.  
 Flugel, 169n, 277n, 288.  
 Frederic II, 258.  
 Ibn al-Furāt Waizir, 71n.  
 Al-Furāt, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad,  
 150, 263.  
 Al-Furawī Muḥammad, 115.  
*Kitāb al-Fuṣūṣ*, 307.  
 Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī, 287-289.

## G

Gaza, 94.  
 Gazas, 95.  
 Ghadāyā, 210.  
 Ghadir Khumn, 250.  
*Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, 80.  
 Ghāsib, 179n.  
 Ghassān, 232.  
 Ghassanide (princes), 264n.  
 Ghānim Ibn Abī 'l-'Atā, 319n.  
 Ghaylān, 89.  
 Gehinnam, 271.  
 Ibn Ghāzī, 263.  
 Ghazzāh, 13, 94,  
 Ghazzālī, 144.  
 Al-Ghazzālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad  
 103, 104, 143, 144, 157, 257, 288.

Al-Ghazzālī, Abū 'l Fath Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad, 142-144  
 Al-Ghazzī, 'Alī iAbū 'Umar, 75n.  
 Al-Ghazzī, Abū Ishāq, 199, 219.  
Ghaznah, 285  
 (*Kitāb al-Ghilmān*, 82.  
Ghūṭah, 290n  
 Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, 86n, 258n.  
 Greeks, 264n.

## H

Ibn al-Habāb, 231.  
 Ibn Ḥabīb Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Ḥasan, 2.  
 Ḥabīb see Abū Tammām.  
 Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, 2.  
 Al-Hādī, 68n.  
 Al-Hāfiz li-Dīn Allāh, Abū Maymūn 'Abd al-Majid, 239.  
 Abū Ḥafṣ al-Lūṭī, 282.  
 Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī, 47n.  
 Ibn Ḥajjāj al-Husayn, 191, 268n.  
 Al-Hajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, 220, 237 319, 322  
 Ḥājī Khalīfah, 11, 12, 21, 47, 71, 77n, 80n, 84, 90, 100, 103, 108n, 139n, 150n, 154n, 169n, 236n, 239, 241n, 242n, 265n, 277, 288n, 299.  
 Ibn Ḥājib, 29.  
 Ḥājir, 95, 298,  
 Al-Hākīm, 'Ubaydī, 31, 193, 238n.  
 Al-Hākīm, (Ibn al-Baṭṭī) 29.  
 Al-Ḥalabī, Abū 'l-Qāsim, 184.  
 Al-Hallāj, *History of al Hallāj*, 24.  
 Ḥalīl, 251n.  
 Ḥamadān, 171, 172, 187, 231, 263n. 286  
 Al-Hamdānī, 'Alī Ibn Ḥatīm, 231.  
 Al-Hamādānī, Badī' al-Zamān, 171, 187.  
 Ḥamāh, 168, 207, 234, 274.  
 Abū Ḥamid, al-Isfarā'nī, 111, 113.  
Ḥamāsah, 16, 73n, 74, 92, 93, 140, 169, 255, 319.  
 Ibn Ḥamdūn (Sayf al-Dawlat), 176.  
 Ḥammād Ibn Maslamah, 24.  
 Ḥammer, M. de, 12, 36n.  
 Al-Ḥamzī, 96.  
 Ibn Ḥanbal, 26, 97, 98, 99, 100, 117, 126, 156n. 275, 276, 287.  
 Abū Ḥanīfah, (imām) 7, 24, 26, 27, 48, 107, 108, 118.

Ibn Hānī, 279.  
 Ḥanzalah (son of Mālik), 274, 276.  
 Ibn Ḥarb, 129n.  
 Ḥarb Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 98, 138.  
 Ibn Harbawayh, 109.  
 Al-Ḥarbī, Ibrāhīm, 99n, 148, 148n.  
 Ḥarrān, 53n, 72, 80n, 252, 253, 260.  
 Al-Harrāsī, Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Kiyā, 144.  
 Al-Hariri, 45n. 163n. 171, 186, 187, 216n. 259n. 261n, 297.  
 Al-Hariri, Abū-'l-Khattāb, Ibn 'Awn, 184, 185.  
 Abū 'l-Nāsr al-Harthīmī, 179n.  
 Al-Harawī, Abū 'Ubayd Aḥmad, 141, 142.  
 Ḥarūn al Rashīd, 61, 67, 104, 179n, 199n, 281, 304n, 305.  
 Herāt, 187, 188.  
 Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Zayd, 310n.  
 Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Hammām, 167.  
 Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al Harawī, 293n.  
 Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al Fakik, 85.  
 Abū-'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā al-Alavī, 181.  
 Al-Ḥasan Abū Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad, Ibn Jakīnā, 261.  
 Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Buzurk Umlid 250n.  
 Ḥāshim, 61, 94, 95.  
 Al-Hattāk (Diyār Bakr), 245.  
 Hawāzin, Ibn, 115n.  
 Ibn Hawqal, 246n.  
 Ḥayder Ibn Kā'ūs, 122n.  
 Abū-'l-Hayzā 251.  
 Ḥayyūj, 121.  
 Ḥayyān, 99.  
 Abū-'l-Hayyān 'Alī, 105.  
 Ibn Ḥayyūs, 208.  
 Al-Ḥazīrī, 207.  
 Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhiri, 169, 237.  
 Al-Ḥazāimī, 69, 220.  
 Herāt, 49, 53n, 106n, 142.  
 D. Harbelot, 279n.  
 Abū-'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh, 214.  
 Abū Hifān al-Mahzamī, 129.  
 Ḥijāz, 27, 53d, 107, 114, 275, 298, 301.  
Ḥilyat al-Awlyā, 135, 136.  
Ḥilyat al-Fuqaha, 171.

- Himyar, 86n, 231n.  
 Ibn Hinzaba, 235.  
 Hilarah 264n, 284, 285.  
 Ibn Hisham, 22.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 31n.  
 Hishām al-Muwayyad Billāh, 196n.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān (Khalif), 159.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, 281n.  
 Hishan Kayā, 270.  
 Hishn Ziyād, 207.  
*History of Arbela*, 269, 292.  
*History of Aleppo*, 21, 265n.  
*History of Baghādād*, 21, 24, 118, 129, 138, 196n.  
*History of Islāmism*, 22.  
 History of Ispahān, 136.  
 History of Nayshapūr (Hākim), 24.  
 Hobbān, 220n.  
 Hadhaige, 279n.  
 Hudhayl, Allah, 211n, 279.  
*Kitāb al-Hujjah*, 321.  
 Ibn al-Hulay'ah, 239.  
*al-Hullat al-Siyara*, 68n, 72, 79n, 85n.  
 Hulwān, 262.  
 Humayd al-Tawil, 267.  
 Abu 'l-Hudhayl al 'Allāf, 211, 279.  
 Al-Humaydi, 54.  
 Husn al Muḥāqarah, 28n, 29, 30, 230n, 293n.  
 Ibn Husūl, Abu'l-'Alū Muḥammad, 188.  
 Al-Husayn Ibn Naṣr, Qāḍi Abū 'Abd Allāh, 60.  
 Abu 'l Husayn Ahmad al 'Alawī, 244.  
 Al-Husayn (Imām), 188n.  
 Al-Husayn father of Mutanabbi, 180, 181n.  
 Al-Husayn Ibn Hajjāj, 191n.  
 Al-Husayn, Ibn Mālik, 7.  
 Al-Husayn Ibn al-Dahḥak, 125.  
 Al-Husayni, Sharif Thanā al Mulk, 250n.  
 Hushaym Ibn Bushayr, 280.  
 Al-Huṣrī, 84, 86.  
 Al-Huṭayyah, 307n.  
 Ibn al-Huṭayyah, 238, 239.  
 I  
 'Ibādī, 284.  
 Ibrāhīm, 297.  
 Ibrāhīm, Abū 'Abd Allāh, 75.  
 Abū Ibrāhīm, 299.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās, 132.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al 'Urūdī, 184.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn Abi Bakr, 43.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥasan, 121.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī, 60, 68, 242, 305.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalebī, 274n.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Kalbī, 47-48.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Nadīm al Mawṣilī, 67-69, 278, 280, 281, 282.  
 Ibrāhīm Nākha'i, 47.  
 Ibrāhīm, al-Shīrāzī, 51, 52, 53, 55, 83, 100, 104, 107, 111, 113, 137, 139, 157.  
 Ibrāhīm Silafī, 156.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, 99.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Ṣulī, 71, 72, 73, 74, 79.  
 'Idāh, 146, 174, 265.  
 Idem, 207n.  
 Idrīs, 83.  
 Al-Idrīsī, 201.  
 'Ilān, 220n.  
 Al-Ilālī, 79-80, 180.  
 Ifranjah (France), 90.  
 Ifriqiyah, 72, 85, 86.  
 Ifriqush, 86n.  
 Ifṭikhār al-Dawlat, 248n.  
 Ifṭikīn, 250n.  
*Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, 143, 157.  
 'Ijl Ibn Lujayn, 288, 289.  
 Al-'Ijlī, Abū Dulaf, 122.  
 Al 'Ijlī, Abū 'l-Futūh, 287-289.  
 Ikhshid. 176-183.  
 al-Ikhshidī, 288.  
*Ikhṭilāf al-Ulāmā*, 108.  
*Ikmāl*, 158n.  
 'Imād al-Dīn (Ibn Bātiṣh). 280n.  
 'Imād al-Dīn (Rajā), 217.  
 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ispahānī. 254, 260, 261.  
 'Imād al-Dīn (Jibril), 59.  
 'Imād al-Dīn, *Kātib*, 61-85n, 88, 91, 214, 215, 221, 228, 229, 233, 234, 253, 261, 262, 269, 273, 291, 294, 298.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn al Maṣṣūb, 251.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī 168, 224n, 267.  
 Al-'Imādiyah, 251.  
 Imām al-Haramayn, 115, 142.  
 Imāmāh, 76.

- Ibn al Mubārak, 25.  
 Imra' al-Qays, 15, 68n, 88, 170, 189, 210.  
 'Irāq, 27, 48, 51, 55, 60, 66, 106n, 107, 108, 114, 118, 136, 144, 146, 183n, 191, 224, 240, 242, 244, 261, 264, 267, 268, 275.  
 Al-'Irāqī, 'Abdal Raḥmān Ibn Ḥusayn, 11.  
 Al-'Irāqī, *Khatib* Abū Ishāq, 55, 56.,  
 Irbil, 60, 260.  
 Irshād, 108.  
 'Isā Ibn Zayd, 310, 311.  
 Al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Nu'aym, 28, 116, 135-137, 319n.  
 Iṣḥāq, 205.  
 Iṣṭakhr, 49, 54.  
 Iṣṭakharzi, 49.  
 Ibn Ishāq, 22-24, 94.  
 Ishāq al-Mawṣilī, 277-283.  
 Ishāq, 298.  
 Ishaq ibn Hunayn Abu Ya'qūb, 283-285.  
 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Sayyār, 279n.  
 Ishāq, Ibn Rahawayh, see Ibn Rahawayh  
 Ishāq Ibn Mirār, 277.  
 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, 59.  
 Abū Ishāq, 29.  
 Abū Ishaq (Ibn *Khafājah*), 89.  
 Isfarā'īn, 50, 112.  
 Abū Ḥamid al-Isfara'īni, 51, 54, 101, 110-113, 118, 139.  
 Al-Iṣfahānī, Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq, 116.  
 Ismā'il, 249n.  
*Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*, 276.  
 Al-Ismā'īl Asmā, 212.  
 Ispahān, 31, 53n, 100, 135, 136, 140, 152, 156n, 180, 214, 215, 262, 263, 287, 288, 318, 319.  
 Al-Ispahānī, 215.  
 (Nāṣir al-Dawlat) Iftikīn al-Turkī, 250n.  
 'Iqd, 159-204.  
 Ismā'il al-Fāriqī, 9.  
 Ismā'il, 315.  
 Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad, 10.  
 Ismā'il Ibn Sa'd, 138.  
 al-Ismā'īlī Abū Baksr, 50, 51, 95, 96.  
 Ismā'il, Abu, Sa'd, 28.  
 Ismā'il Abū'l-Qasim, 287.  
 Ismā'il (Prophet), 231.  
 'Iyād, 129, 135, 216.  
 Al-Iyādī, 135.  
 Al-Iyād Abu 'l-Ḥasan, 135, 161.  
 Al-Iyādī Abū Muḥammad, 164.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, 266n, 267, 333.
- J
- Ja'bar (Qal'ah), 224.  
 Jacob, 248n.  
 Jaḍhimat al-Abrash al-Azdi, 285.  
 Abū Ja'far al-'Alawī, 235.  
 Abū Ja'far Ibn Abī 'Imrān, 107, 109.  
 Ibn Ja'far, 7.  
 Ja'far Ibn Yahyā, 304.  
 Ja'far Ibn al-Sarrāj, 152.  
 Ja'far Ibn Shams al-*Khilāfah*, 56.  
 Jahazah al-Barmakī 194, 196.  
 Al-Jāhiz, 123.  
 Ibn al-Jahm, Barmakide, 123.  
 Ibn Jakīnā, 261.  
 Ibn Jalā, 233, 234.  
 Jald, 47.  
 Jaldak al-Taḡawī, 232, 234.  
 Al-Jabidī, 287.  
*Jamharat al-Nisab*, 47, 220.  
*Jāmi'*, 25, 104.  
*Jāmi'* al-Jalī, 50.  
*Jāmi'* Ṣaḥī, 51ḡ.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn, 296.  
 Jamīl, 153, 216.  
 Ibn Jarir al-Ṭabarī, 27, 40, 86.  
 Ibn al-Jarrāb, 71, 73n.  
 Al-Jarrār, 302.  
 Ibn al-Jawazī, 22, 25ḡ, 54, 98, 107-215, 222, 236, 244.  
 Ibn Jibrīl, 'Imād al-Dīn, 56.  
 Jaysh, 108ḡ.  
 Japhet, 90.  
 Jazīrah, 84, 89ḡ.  
 Al-Jazzār, 272.  
 Jerusalem, 24, 236ḡ, 247, 248, 251, 253, 254, 322.  
 Jewish, 27.  
 Al-Jilī Shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn, 158.  
 Jilliḡ, 290.  
*Al-Jinān*, 13.  
*Jinān al-Janān wa Riyāḍ al-Aḡḡān*, 227ḡ.

Ibn Jinni, 177.  
 Jasn (Surnamed al-Nakha), 47.  
 Jawhar al-Qā'id, 193.  
 Al-Jawhari, 66, 69, 220, 242.  
 Jawzajān, 106n.  
 Ja'wanah al-ʿĀmirī, 220.  
 Al-Juwaynī, 142n.  
 Jawshān (Hill), 225, 227n.  
 Jibāl, 114, 136.  
 Al-Jili, 158.  
 Jirjis, 86n.  
 Jones (Sir William), 1.  
 Jošua, 86n.  
 Joseph, 9, 253, 258.  
 Jubayr Abū 'Abd Allāh, 313.  
 Judham, 234.  
 Ju'f, 179.  
*Jumal, fi'l(Nahw)*, 9.  
 Ibn al-Jumayzī, 10.  
 Al-Junayd, 148n.  
 Jūr, 55.  
 Ibn Jurayj, 24.  
 Jurjān, 70n, 71, 72, 144, 316.  
 Al-Jurijānī, Abū Bakr, 86n, 135-173.  
 Justin, 22.  
 Juzdān (Ispahān), 287n.

## K

*Kāfi*, 145, 317.  
*Kāfiyah*, 29.  
 Kāfur al-Ikhshīdī, 176, 177, 178, 183n.  
 Ibn al-Kahhāl, 'Alī, 249n.  
 Kahlāq, 23n.  
 Kalb, 301.  
 Al-Kalbi Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, 124.  
 Al-Kalbi al-Ghazzi, 90, 96, 220.  
 Al-Kalbi Ibrāhīm, 47, 48.  
 Ibn al-Kalbi, 47, 86, 87n.  
 Ibn al-Kall Baghdādī, 55.  
*Kalilah wa Dimnah*, 289.  
 Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā Ibn Yūnus, 89.  
 Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Shahruzari, 295.  
 Al-Kāmil, Ibn Shāwir, 229.  
*Kāmil* (Mubarrad), 302.  
 Ibn Kāmil Abū Bakr Aḥmad, 277.  
 Karkh, 275n.  
 Karm Ibn al-Karm, 10.  
 Kashf al-Dakk wa-ʿIdāh al-Shakk, 169.  
 Kathir Ibn Aḥmad, 318.  
 Kermān, 91-102, 136, 180, 182n, 243.  
 Al-Kermānī Ibn Mūsā, 184n.  
*Khābarān*, 287.  
 Ibn Khacanis, 168n.  
 Ibn Khafājāh al-Andalusi, 87-90.  
 Abū Khalf, 118.  
 Ibn Khakaf al-Saraqustī, 320-321.  
 Khakaf al-Aḥmar, 15.  
 Khalf Ibn Ayyūb, 7.  
*Khālāt*, 207.  
 Ibn Khālawayh, 75, 177, 182n.  
 Ibn Khaldūn, 27, 72, 85n, 86, 87n, 102n, 109n, 179.  
 Ibn Khālid, 7.  
*Khālid*, 47n.  
 Khālid Ibn Yazīd, 130, 131.  
 Ibn Abi Khālid Aḥmad, 66.  
 Al-Khālidī Abū Bakr, 184.  
 Khalil Marwan, 169n.  
*Khallidites* 184n.  
 Ibn al-Khall, 56.  
 Ibn Khallikān, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 25n, 34, 37n, 38, 39, 41, 44n, 45, 46, 47, 66, 68, 69n, 73, 75n, 79n, 81n, 82, 85, 86, 92, 94, 95, 97n, 103, 105n, 121n, 127, 139n, 145n, 155n, 164, 166n, 171n, 174n, 215n, 221n, 228n, 243n, 245, 247n, 250n, 262n, 272, 279n, 280n, 283, 288n, 293, 294, 298, 319.  
 Al-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad, 312.  
 Kharidah, 61, 85, 91, 214, 215, 221n, 225, 229, 233, 261, 262, 291, 294.  
*Khartabirt*, 207.  
*Khayālī*, 117.  
 Al-Khaṣīb, Abū Naṣr, 95, 197, 199-200.  
 Al-Khāsir, 68.  
 Al-Khatan Abū 'Abd Alīh, 103.  
 Khaṣīb, Abū Ishāq al-Iraqī, 55.  
 Khaṣīb, *see al-Baghdādī*.  
*Khaṣīb's History of Baghdād*, 279n.  
 Al-Khaṣir, 291, 293.  
 Abū Khaṣīb, 185.  
 Khawāf, 142. Abu'l  
 Al-khaswāfi, Muffzar Aḥmad, 142.  
 Khayf, 187.  
 Khawlan, 205.  
 Ibn Khayyāt, 207-211.  
 Ibn al-Khāzin, 212-215.  
*Khazraj*, 29.

Khindif, 129, 231.  
 Al-Khulūṣāh, 257.  
Khumārawayh, 108n.  
Khurāsān, 25, 49, 62-63, 71, 90, 91, 94,  
 104, 105, 106, 112, 114, 117, 119, 124,  
 125, 141, 142, 144, 150, 187, 275, 320.

Ibn Killis, 193.  
 Kindah, 16, 179.  
 Al-Kindī (Mutanabbī), 179.  
 Al-Kindī (Philosopher), 27.  
 Al-Kindī, (Taj al-Dīn), 174.  
 Kitāb al-Amālī, 313.  
*Kitāb al-A'yād*, 317.  
 Kitāb al-Buldān, 3, 114.  
*Kitāb al-Dhakhīrah*, 169.  
*Kitāb al-Duhal al-Munqatiyah*, 239.  
*Kitāb al-Hurūf*, 277.  
*Kitāb al-Imān*, 151n.  
*Kitāb al-Arā'is*, 119.  
*Kitāb al-Isṭi'āb*, 137.  
*Kitāb al-Janān*, 69n, 85, 270, 277.  
*Kitāb al-Kharāj*, 147.  
*Kitāb al-Kināyāt*, 284.  
*Kitāb al-Maṣūn*, 84.  
*Kitāb al-Sāmi fi' Asāmi*, 211.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣilāt*, 171.  
*Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 96.  
*Kitāb al-Sayl wa Dhayl*, 298.  
*Kitāb al-Tajī*, 315.  
*Kitāb al-Tawābīn*, 236.  
*Kitāb al-Tuḥwān*, 236n.  
*Kh*itāf, 29n, 241-179n, 241.  
 Al-Kiyā al-Harrasī, 152.  
Khurrazad Ibn Baris, 221.  
Khurzād, 221n.  
Khursroes, 106n-136.  
Khusrüjerd, 115.  
 Al-Khusrüjerdī, 114.  
Khusruwān, 223.  
Khwarezm, 106n, 144.  
 Al-Khwarezmi, Abū Bakr, 118.  
 Al-Khuza'i, Matrūd Ibn Kaab, 90.  
Khuzaq 140, 141.  
 Ibn Khuzaymab, 119, 163.  
Khuzestan, 216, 220, 221, 264.

Kufah, 22, 24, 25n, 31, 46, 67, 68, 75,  
 113, 147, 178, 179, 181, 183n, 184, 276,  
 277, 281n, 285, 302.  
 Kurds, 243.  
 Al-Kurdi, Abū Nasr, 206.

## L

Lakhm, 234.  
 Al-Lakhmī 'Abbād Ibn Muḥammad  
 204, 234.  
 Al-Lakhmī Ahmad, 238-239.  
 Lāmi, 23.  
 Al-Lami 'al 'Azizī, 164.  
 Lanes, Mr., 179.  
*Lajāif al-Ma'arīf*, 76.  
 Al-Lataqiyah, 181n.  
 Layth Ibn Bakr, 278.  
 Al-Lazni, 88.  
 Lāzūn Ibn Ismā'il, 124.  
 Lujaym, 288.  
 Livey, 22.  
 Liwa, 69.  
 Lorca, 180.  
*Lubāb al-Ihya*, 143.  
*Lubāb*, 113.  
 Lūlū, 176.  
*Luma'*, 52.  
 Luqmān, 230.

## M

Al-Ma'afrii, 328.  
 Abū'l Ma'ālī al-Aghlabi, 207, 230n.  
 Al-Abū'l-Ma'aliki Mujalli, 55.  
 Moallaqas, 145.  
 Ma'an, 220.  
 Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah, 147, 316.  
*Ma'āni 'Aṭhar*, 108.  
*Ma'āni Ahl'al-Bayān min wafayat Ibn  
 Khallikan*, 2.  
 Ma'arraḥ, 163, 164, 165.  
 Al-Ma'arri, Abul 'Alā, 163, 164, 168, 229,  
 236.  
 Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, 163, 147, 168, 271.  
 Mada'in, 25n.  
 Madhbiq, 47.  
 Maghreb, 57.



- Al-Magħribī al-Wazīr, 15.  
 Ibn al-Magħribī Abu'l Qāsim al-Husyn, 146, 161.  
 Magħzī, 24.  
 Al-Maḥāmīlī Abu'l Ḥasan, 113, 114, 150n.  
 Al-Mahdī, 'Abbasi, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68n, 302, 304, 306, 311.  
 Al-Mahdī, 'Ubayd Allāh, 247.  
 Al-Mahasat, 159n.  
 Abu'l-Maḥāsin, 4, 18, 24, 25, 200n, 241n, 310n.  
 Mahmūd Ibn Maṣṣāl al-Malīki, 249n, 250.  
 Mahmūd al-Saljuqi, 261.  
 Mahmūd Sulṭān, 28.  
 Al-Mahzami, 129.  
 Al-Majalis, 236.  
 Abu'l Majd, 224, 280n.  
 Majmu'ah, 113.  
 Al-Makin, 105n, 196, 200.  
 Makhzum, 201, 202.  
 Al-Makhzumī 'Abdul Ḥamid, 11, 31.  
 'Abd al-Malik, 323.  
 'Abd al-Malik, Ibn al-Māji Shūn, 328.  
 Abū Malik, Ibn Malīh, 293, 294.  
 Ilā Malīk, 7, 183.  
 Malīk Ibn Anas, 24, 27, 31, 233, 286.  
 Al-Malik al-'Adil Nur al-Dīn, 154n, 234, 254, 257, 266.  
 Al-Malik al-Aḥraf, 252, 295.  
 Al-Malik al-Fā'iz Sābiq al-Dīn Ibn Malik al-'Adil, 252n, 258.  
 Malik al-Kāmil, 252, 254n, 257, 258, 260, 292, 293n.  
 Al-Malik al-Muazam Muzaḥfar al-Dīn 157.  
 Al-Malik al-Mughlīh 257.  
 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, 291.  
 Al-Malik al-Qāhir Bahā al-Dīn Ayyūb, 257, 267.  
 Malikshah, 262.  
 Malīk Ibn ṭawq al-Tagħlībī, 139.  
 Al-Malik al-Zāhir, 293.  
 Malekite, 26.  
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, 312.  
 Ibn Mammāṭ, 290, 291, 293.  
 Al-Māmūn, al-Rashīd, 62, 63, 64, 65n, 70, 78, 104, 109, 121, 122, 125, 126, 130, 150, 151, 160n, 242, 262n, 281.  
 Ma'mar, 24, 153.  
 Manāzjird, 207, 313.  
 Al-Manāzi, 206, 207.  
 Manbij, 207.  
 Al-Manhal al-Sāfi wal Mustawfi ba'd al-wāfi, 4, 13, 24, 29.  
 Al-Manṣurah, 257.  
 Manṣur, 109.  
 Al-Manṣūr, Abu Ja'far, 72, 98, 112, 118, 186, 267, 268, 310.  
 Al-Malik al-Manṣūr, 267.  
 Al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī, 321-325.  
 Abū Manṣūr al-Azhari, 141.  
 Abū Manṣūr Ṣarradarr, 170.  
 Al-Manṣūr Ibn Abi 'Āmir, 196n, 197, Al-Manṭhur, 299.  
 Manṣūr Ibn Marwān Abū Sa'id, 245.  
 Manṣūr Ibn Ismā'il al-Ḍarir, 110.  
 Ibn al-Manṣūr al-Qā'im, 193n.  
 Maqqari, 32n.  
 Al-Maqdīsī Diyā al-Dīn, 156n.  
 Al-Maqdīsī, 'Abd al-Ghani, 156.  
 Al-Maqdīsī, Naṣr, 90.  
 Al-Maqrīzī, 30, 174n, 279.  
 Maqrīzī (history of the Mamluk Sultans, 4, 53n, 96, 191n).  
 Maraṣid, 41, 287, 290, 298.  
 Marāṣid al-Iṭtilā, 252n, 252n, 276n.  
 Mārib, 231.  
 Martin, St, 207n.  
 (Abū Ja'far) al-Marwarrūdī, 322.  
 Al-Maqūm, 293.  
 Māridah, 67.  
 Māridīn, 263.  
 Māriq, 64.  
 Al-Mariyyah, 64-96, 237.  
 Marj Rāhiṭ, 169n.  
 Al-Marwah, 116.  
 Marwān Ibn Abi 'l-Janūb, 129.  
 Marw al-Rūd, 49.  
 Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam, 169n.  
 Marwarrud, 105.  
 Marw al-Shahjān, 94, 106, 160n, 173, 274, 276, 285.  
 Ibn Marwān al-Kurdī, 245-247.  
 Al-Marwarrūdhi, Abū Ḥamid, 104, 106.  
 Al-Marwarrūdhi, Abū Jafar, 322.  
 Marwazi, 105, 173.  
 Al-Marwazi, Abū Ishāq 48, 49, 106.

- Al-Marwazī, Naṣr, 114.  
 Marwī, 49.  
 Ibn al-Marzubān, Abū Ḥasan, 111.  
 Al-Marzuban Abū Naṣr, 194.  
 Al-Marzubanī, 120, 121, 130, 133, 134.  
 Maṣṣa'at al-Qaṣab, 244.  
 Maṣḥarīq al-Anwar, 96.  
 Ibn al-Maṣḥūb, 251-256, 267.  
 Al-Masjid al Aqṣa (Mosque of 'Umar), 247, 254.  
 Masālik al-Aḥṣā, 96.  
 Masālik wa Mamālik, 19.  
 Ibn Maṣṣāl, 250n.  
 Al-Maṣṣisah, 104, 186.  
 Maṣ'ūd, 'Izz al-Dīn, 333.  
 Ibn Maṣ'ūd, 46n.  
 Al-Maṣ'ūdi, 84n, 264n, 267.  
 Matālī' al-Anwar, 96.  
 Māwāqit, 103.  
 Mawsil, 157, 158, 159.  
 Al-Mawṣilī Abū'l 'Atāhiyah, 68, 282.  
 Al-Maydānī Abū'l Faḍl, 211, 212, 234.  
 Al-Maydānī, Abū Sa'd, 212.  
 Mayyāfariqīn, 24, 206, 245, 246.  
 Māẓenderān, 104.  
 Medinat al-Zahrā, 79n.  
 Madīnah, 24, 106n, 121, 124, 171n, 210n, 216n, 251n, 256n, 278n, 301, 310.  
 Makkah (Mecca), 19, 20, 24-31, 47, 51n, 57, 63, 106n, 109, 112, 116, 117, 124, 153n, 157, 167n, 187, 216n, 228, 236n, 238, 251n, 274n, 275, 298, 310.  
 Makkī, Shykh, 60.  
 (History of) Mekkah, 274n.  
 Methuselah, son of Idris, 83.  
 Memoire, 15.  
 Medain, 257n.  
 Mesopotamia, 15, 84, 123, 261, 263, 265n, 304n.  
 (Abu Sa'd) al-Mutawallī, 288.  
 Miṣṭāḥ, 103.  
 Al-Mihani, 287.  
 Ibn Mihrān, 119, 136.  
 Ibn Minkasah al-Maghribi, 294.  
 Minā, 87, 236.  
 Mira'dt al-Jānān, 51n.  
 Mir'dt al-Zamān, 122.  
 Mirkhond, 250n.  
 Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ, 83n, 98n, 99n, 114n, 168n.  
 Miṣr, 116, 117, 194, 234, 242, 249n, 250n, 251, 270, 271, 281.  
 Al-Miṣrī, 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad, 40, 150n.  
 Al-Miṣṣinsh, 186.  
 Al-Miṣṣisi, Muḥammad, 184.  
 Mohalhil, 256n.  
 Mosul, 59, 60, 61, 225, 251n, 252, 256, 259, 260, 266, 267, 278, 280n, 313n.  
 Muḥi al-Dīn Abdul Ḥameed, 47n.  
 Mohls, Dr. 140.  
 Mopsuestia, 186.  
 Morocco, 149, 237.  
 Moses, 170n.  
 (Abu Ishāq) of Mosul, 59.  
 Muazilites, 139.  
 Moucharmradj, 256n,  
 (Mount), Muqatṭam, 59, 301.  
 Ibn al-Mu'aḍḍal, 179.  
 Al-Muadird, 155n.  
 Mu'awiah Ibn Abī Sufyān, 13, 85n, 116.  
 Al-Mubārrad, 77, 302.  
 Ibn al-Mubārak, Abul Ḥasan, Muḥammad, 55.  
 Mudhyyal, 286n.  
 Mudrikah, 231n.  
 Al-Mufaḍḍal, 277.  
 Mufliḥ, 178.  
 Al Muḡhni, 280n.  
 Muḥāḍarāt al-Aw'ail, 17.  
 Muḥādhḍhab (of Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzi, 280n.  
 Muḥādhḍhab al-Dīn Ibn al-Lakhmī, 291.  
 Al-Muḥādhḍhab Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, 52, 55, 104, 227, 228.  
 Muḥādhḍhab al-Dīn Ibn Munīr al-Tarabulusi, 221.  
 Muḥārish (emir), 264, 265, 266.  
 Muḥallab, 183, 290.  
 Al-Muḥallabi, Abū Muḥammad, 186.  
 Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn al-Najjar, 155.  
 Abū Muḥammad, 152.  
 Muḥammad, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 25, 27, 29, 40, 42, 43, 46, 51, 60, 61, 83, 84, 94, 96n, 98n, 100n, 115, 117, 121, 123, 132, 152, 153, 159n, 166, 177, 188,

- 213, 216, 223n, 225, 231n, 236-247n, 251n, 300, 310, 316.
- Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 163.
- Muhammad Abū 'Abd Allāh, 29.
- Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwād, 127, 133, 134.
- Muhammad Ibn 'Alīyyah al-'Atawī, 278.
- Muhammad (Sulṭān), 263.
- Muhammadan History*, 221n.
- Muhammad Ibn Buzurk Umid, 250n.
- Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafīyah, 154n.
- Muhammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥanafī, 101.
- Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhīm, 7.
- Muhammad Ibn Isā, 129.
- Muhammad Ra'īs al-Dīn, 216.
- (Abu'l Faḍāl) Muhammad, 160.
- (Abu'l Faḥ) Muhammad, 287.
- Muhammad son of Malikshāh, 262n.
- Muhammad Ibn al-Muzaḥḥar, 113.
- (Abu Faḥ) Maḥmūd Ibn Qādūs, 230.
- Muhammad Ibn al-'Umayd, 316n.
- Muhammad Ibn Zayd, 76.
- Al-Muḥassad, 178.
- Al-Muḥazzamī, 129.
- Al-Muḥtadī, 112.
- Al-Muḥdāḥḥ, 246.
- Al-Mu'izz Abū Tamīm Ma'add, 193.
- Mu'izz al-Dawlah, 81n, 244.
- Ibn Mujāhid, 75n.
- Al-Mujallī, 265.
- Mu'jam*, 10, 51, 154.
- Mujmil fi'l Lughah*, 171-187, 314.
- Mu'jiz Ahmād*, 165.
- Al-Mukhtār, Emīr, 190, 193.
- Mukhtaṣar*, 104, 107, 110, 118.
- Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Khatīb*, 99n.
- Mukram, 221n.
- Mukhāriq, 64, 105.
- Al-Muktafi, 77, 79, 244.
- Mulaykah, 46.
- Mumahhid al-Dawlat, 245.
- Ibn Munir al-Tarābulusī, 221-227.
- (Abu 'Ubaydah) Ma'mar Ibn al-Muḥannā, 288n.
- Ibn al-Munajjim, 271.
- Mūnis, 71n.
- Munḥir, 285.
- Al-Munḥirī, 'Abd al-'Azīm, 154, 224, 232.
- Ibn Munqidh, 269, 271, 274.
- Muntaẓim*, 215, 236.
- Ibn al-Muqaffa, 17.
- Al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab, 266.
- Muqātil Ibn Ḥakīm al-'Akkī, 72, 231n.
- Muqīrr Ibn Ḥimār, 322n.
- Al-Muqallad, 274.
- Muqni, 113.
- Al-Muqri 'Ibn Mujāhid, 75, 148.
- Muqaṭṭam (mount), 56, 59, 242.
- Murcia, 180.
- Murhaf Ibn 'Usāmah, 228.
- (Abu' Usāmah) Murshid, 274.
- Ibn Murshid, 269-274.
- Murūj al-Dhahab*, 264n.
- Ibn Muṣ'ab Nūr al-Dīn, 9.
- Mus'ab Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī, 278.
- Al-Musabbihī, 190, 193.
- Musallā, 191.
- Muslim, 275.
- Muslim Ibn al-Walid, 70, 73.
- Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 98, 155n.
- Musnad* (Ibn Rahawayh), 275n.
- Muṣṭabih al-Nisabālī, 280n.
- Al-Mushakfī, 79n.
- Al-Musta'li Billāh, 247, 248, 249, 256.?
- Al-Mustāfa li Dīnillāh, 250n.
- Al-Mu'tasim, Abū 'Abd Allāh, 65, 66, 74, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128n, 130, 196, 242, 264n, 282.
- Al-Mustansir al-'Ubaydī, 264.
- Al-Mustarshid (Khalīf), 286n.
- Al-Mustawfī, 260, 262.
- Al-Mustanṣih Billāh, 247, 205, 249n.
- Ibn al-Mustawfī, 269, 292.
- Al-Mustawfī, 260, 262.
- Al-Mutadid Billāh, 283.
- Al-Mu'taqid, 77n, 202, 204.
- Muṭahhir, 287.
- Al-Mu'tamid, 241.
- Muṭaraf, Ibn Sīdlān, 220.
- Mutallimun, 125.
- Al-Mutalaf wal Mukhtalaf*, 93.
- Al-Mū'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, 204.
- Al-Mutanabbī, 10, 17, 34, 40, 43, 79, 122, 132, 165, 166, 173, 181, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182n, 183, 184n, 185, 197, 220, 241, 253, 317.

- Ibn Mu'tazz, 71n, 75n.  
 Al-Mu'tazz Billāh, 241.  
 Ibn al-Muṭṭahannā, 28.  
 Al-Muṭi Lillāh, 81n.  
 Al-Mutawakkil, 126, 127, 132, 134, 241.  
 Al-Muwaffiq, 241.  
 Muwaffiq al-Dīn, 236n.  
 Muḥyad al-Dawlat, 315, 316.  
 Muwaffā, 24.  
 Muḥyad al-Mulk, 55.  
 Muḥyad al-Dawlat, Majd al-Dīn, 269.  
 Mu'izz al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh, 183, 242, 245.  
 Ibn al-Mu'izz 'Abd Allāh, 196.  
 Al-Muzaḥḥar al-'Abbāsī, 179.  
 Muzaḥḥar al-Dīn Ibn Zayn al-Dīn, 257.  
 Abu'l Muzaḥḥar Kukubri Mustawafī, 260n.  
 Abu'l Muzaḥḥar, 234.  
 Ibn al-Muzaḥḥar Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, 113n.  
 Muzaḥḥariyah College, 296.  
 Muzaḥḥar al-Dīn Kukuburi, 225, 291, 296n.  
 Al-Muzani, 48, 100, 104, 107, 108, 110, 285n, 298, 299, 300, 301.  
 Muḥayyirah, 301.  
 Muḥal al-irtiyāh al-Muḥṭabih al-Intisāh, 280n.
- N
- Nābiḥah, 88n, 105n, 145.  
 Nablus, 24.  
 Ibn al-Nadīm al-Baghdadi, 83.  
 Ibn Nadīm al-Mawṣilī, 67, 69.  
 Ab'ul Naḍr, 24n.  
 Nāfi, 329.  
 Al-Nafīs-al-lakḥmī, 232, 235.  
 Nahḥās, 146.  
 Al-Nahḥās Abu Ja'far, 145, 146.  
 Njd, 208.  
 Najrān, 216n.  
 Najm al-Dīn, 263.  
 Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, 262.  
 Najm al-Dīn Khubūshānī, 30.  
 Ibn Najjār, 90.  
 Ibn al-Najjār Muḥibb al-Dīn, 53, 139, 143.  
 Nakḥḥā'i 'Al-Aswad, 46n.  
 Nakḥḥā'i 'Alamah, 46n.  
 Al-Nakḥā'i Ibrāhīm, 46, 47.  
 Al-Nāmi, Abu'l 'Abbās Aḥmad, 175, 182, 185, 186.  
 Naplus, 251, 254.  
 Naqica, Ibn Nasā, 117.  
 Al-Nasa'i, 116, 117, 146.  
 Nāṣih al-Dīn, al-Arrajāvi, 215, 221.  
 Nāṣir al-Dīn-Mukram, 91.  
 Al-Nāṣir, li-Dīn Allāh, 158.  
 Nāṣir al-Marwazī, 114.  
 Nasr al-Dawlat, al-Kurdi, 245, 247.  
 Naṣr Ibn 'Abbās, 325.  
 Abū Naṣr-Ibn Ja'hīr, 246.  
 Abu'l Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh, 212, 215.  
 Nasr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad, Qāḍi, 216.  
 Abu Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahab, 29.  
 Nasr al-Maqdisi, 90n.  
 Navarre, 196n.  
 Nawfal, 112.  
 Nawqan, 144.  
 Nayshāpūr, 10, 24, 28, 49, 50, 53n, 106n, 112, 115, 118, 119, 140, 180, 211, 275.  
 Nayshāpūri, 119.  
 Al-Nāẓim, 279.  
 Niṣṭawayh, 7, 75, 76, 146, 312.  
 Nihāyah, 103.  
 Nile, 59, 146, 228.  
 Nizām al-Dīn Naṣr, 247.  
 Nizām al-Mulk, 28, 29, 31, 32, 50, 52, 55, 156, 215.  
 Nizamiyah College, Baghḍād, 60, 90, 143, 145, 158, 212, 286.  
 Nizār (tribe), 129.  
 Nizār son of Almustansir, 248, 249n, 250n.  
 Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān, 135.  
 Noah, 90.  
 Noman bin Mancrim, 257n.  
 Abu Nu'aym, 136 (see al-isbahane)  
 Ibn Nubātāh, 99n, 204n.  
 Nūh Ibn Asad, 242.  
 Nuḥ, Ibn Maṣṣūr, 318.  
 Nuḥ al-Zahrah, 13, 25n.  
 Al-Nu'mān Ibn Baṣṣār, 168.  
 Al-Nu'māniyah, 178.  
 Nūr al-Dīn Arsīlān Shāh, 266, 267.  
 Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, 225, 266n.

- \*Abū Nawās, al-Hakam, 95, 127, 128,  
182n, 197, 199n, 200, 280, 305, 306.  
Al-Nuwayri, 248, 249.

## O

- Ortuk Ibn Aksab, 262n.  
Osrushtrana, 122.  
Oghoman Empire (d. Ohsson), 274n.

## P

- Parisi, 87n, 159n.  
Palastine, 94, 117.  
Persia, 136, 178, 285.  
Persian, 144.  
Pococke 1, 285n.  
Poeseos Asiaticae Comment artum, 1.

## Q

- Qāḍizādah, 14.  
Al-Qaffāl, 114.  
Qāhiriyāh College, 158.  
Qaḥṭān, 231.  
Al-Qā'id Abu Ṭahir Isma'il ibn Muḥam-  
mad (Surnamed) Ibn Miknasah, 26,  
29n.  
Al-Qāim, 111n, 264, 265, 322.  
Qaysariyah, 248.  
Ibn Qalāqis, 65.  
Qal'ah Bani Ḥammād, 97.  
Al-Qali, 'Abū Ali, 16, 75, 79, 312, 313,  
314, 318.  
Qallūt (River), 226, 227n.  
Qama'ah, 231n.  
Qāmus, 23, 41, 103.  
Qantarāt al-Zayyātīn, 305.  
Ibn al-Qarāb, 150.  
Qarāfah, 239, 242, 260, 271, 301.  
Qaryatayn, 263n.  
Al-Qaṣab, 139.  
Abu'l Qāsim al-Ahwāzī, 213.  
Abu'l Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān, 78.  
Abu'l Qāsim 'Aḥmad, 249n.  
Abu'l Qāsim, 190.  
Al-Qāsim Ibn 'Isā, 123.  
Al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām, 276.  
Al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, 77, 283.  
Ibn al-Qāṣṣ, 103, 104.  
Qāsān, 140, 142.

- Qaṣṣār, 144.  
Al-Qaṣṣār al-Baḡri, 193n.  
Al-Qaṣir, 267n.  
Qaṣṭallah, 201.  
Qāsiyun (mount), 8.  
Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', 86.  
Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, 106, 107.  
Al-Qaynī, Abu'l Tamahān, 93.  
Qayrawān, 31, 84, 85, 86.  
Qays, 255.  
Ibn Qays, 86, 147, 216n, 255.  
Ibn al-Qaysarānī; 221, 224, 225.  
Qazwin, 144, 108.  
Qinnisrin, 120.  
Quatremere, 4.  
Al-Quḍāf, 108.  
Al-Qurudī, 111, 117, 118, 241.  
Qumm, 140.  
Ibn Qunber, 70n.  
Qunbul, 75n.  
Qur'an, 15, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 31,  
32, 33, 42, 47, 53n, 54n, 68, 75, 76,  
77, 81, 82, 88n, 94, 96, 98, 114n,  
118, 119, 125n, 126, 133, 138, 141,  
143, 145, 148, 150, 151, 153, 154n,  
167, 170n, 182n, 211, 221, 225n,  
233, 237, 238, 241, 259n, 274, 285,  
287 n, 304, 317, 320, 322n.  
Quraysh, 15, 84.  
Ibn Qurqūl, 96, 97.  
Qurṭubah, 204.  
Qurṭubī, 162.  
Quṣayr, 96.  
Qushayri, al-Ḥusayn, 10.  
Al-Qushayri 'Abd al-Munim, 115.  
Al-Qushayri, Abū'l Qasim, 50, 119.  
Quss, 2:6, 234.  
Ibn Qutaybah, 268.  
Qutaybah Ibn Muslim, 220n.  
Quṭayris, 234.  
Quṭb, al-Din, 9, 274n.  
Quṭrus, 234.  
Al-Quṭrusi, 232.

## R

- Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, 36, 159, 161, 162, 204.  
Al-Rabī', 48.  
Al-Rabī' al-Muradi 301.  
Rabī'ah Ibn Kinānah, 93n.

- Ibn Rabī'ah, 311.  
 Rabī'at al-Rā'i, 24.  
 Rabī'at al-Faras, 288.  
 Rafīdī, 221.  
 Raḥabah, 139.  
 Ibn Rahawayh, 274, 275, 276.  
 Ra'īs, al-Dīn, 216.  
 Ra'īs al-Ru'asa, 111n.  
 Rajā Abu 'l-'Āla, 217.  
 Ramādaht, 276n.  
 Ramādat al-Kūfah, 276.  
 Rāmāh, 298.  
 Ramīm, Bint Ahmad, 256n.  
 Ibn Rāmīn, 54n.  
 Ramlah, 116, 117, 183n.  
 Raqqah, 304n.  
 Ar-Raqmatayn, 210.  
 Abu'l Raqa'maq 191, 194.  
 Rās 'Ayn, 253, 297.  
 Al-Rashīd of Egypt, 200.  
 Al-Rashīd Abul Ḥusayn Ahmad al-Ghassani al-Qaḍī, 227, 232.  
 Al-Rashīd, Hārūn, 67, 68, 72n.  
 Al-Rashīd, Ibn Zuhayr Qaḍī, 85, 270.  
 Rāshīdah, 238.  
 Ibn Rashīq, 84.  
 Al-Rass, 188.  
 Al-Rassi, 191.  
 Ray, 49, 173.  
 Rāwand, 140.  
 Al-Rāwandī, 139, 140, 141.  
 Rāzī, 49.  
 Al-Rāzī, 'Alī, 127.  
 Al-Rāzī Ibn Fāris, 171, 173.  
 Al-Rāzī, Salīm, 90.  
 Al-Ribāṭ al-Kabīr, 158n.  
 Al-Rida, 62, 92.  
 Al-Riyāhī, Suhaym, 253.  
 M. Reinauds, 258n, 263, 267n.  
 Reiske, 1.  
 Rifa'ah, 240.  
 Ibn al-Ri'fāi, 259, 240.  
 Al-Rudbārī, Abu 'Alī, 148n.  
 Al-Rudhbārī, Ahmad, 148n.  
 Al-Ruhā, 260.  
 Abū Rūh, 10.  
 Rukn al-Dawlat al-Ḥasan, 243, 245, 320.  
 Rūm, 186.  
 Ibn al-Rūmī, 82, 95, 283.  
 Rūmīyah, 104.  
 Al-Rummānī Abu'l Ḥasan, 146.  
 Rusafah, 99.  
 Al-Rustamī, 315n.  
 Rūyān, 331.  
 Ibn Ruzzīk, 7, 270.
- S
- Sa'd al-'Ashīrah. 179.  
 Sabā, 233.  
 Ibn al-Sabbāgh, Abū Naṣr. 52, 55.  
 Sābūr *Dhu'l* Aktāf. 119.  
 Al-Šābi, 315.  
 Al-Šābi' son of Mārī, 84.  
 Al-Šābi' Abū Ishāq, 80n, 81, 84.  
 Al-Sabī, Abū 'l-Alfās Ahmad, 235, 236.  
 Sacy, M. D., 1, 15, 27.  
 Abū Sa'd Ismā'il, 28.  
 Ibn Abī Su'd Sufi, 138.  
 Abū Sa'd, 51n.  
 Abū Sā'd al-Mutawallī, 55.  
 Abū Sa'id Sa'd, 212.  
 Sa'd Zayd Maud, 256n.  
 Saḍuqah Sayfal-Dawlat, 332.  
 Sa'dī, 39.  
 Al-Sadīd. 226.  
 Šadr al-Dīn, 152.  
 Al-Šafā, 116.  
 Al-Safadī, 12.  
 Al-Šaffāh, *kh*alīf. 72.  
 Ibn al-Šaffār, 10.  
 Al-Šafiyaḥ, 178.  
 Šafī al-Dīn Ibn *Shuqr*. 293n.  
 Šūfis, 143.  
 Al-Šafrawī, 155n, 156.  
*Safwat al-Safwat*, 236n.  
 The Šahīh Ibn 'Abbād. 314-320.  
 Šāhib al-Ḥimār, 323.  
*Šahīh al-Bukhārī*, 10.  
 Al-Sahmī, 71n.  
 Sa'id (Abū 'l-Naḍr), 24n.  
 Sa'id, 307.  
 Sa'id bin Nassi, 308n.  
 Abū Sa'id Muḥammad. 100n.  
 Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Rahmān, 188.  
 Sa'id Ibn al-'As, 105n.  
 Sa'id Ibn Abī Urubah, 24.

- Abū Sa'īd al-Širāfi. 146.  
 Abū Sa'īd al-Rustamī. 315, 320.  
 Sa'īd Ibn-Nassi. 308.  
 Šā'igh 'Izz al-Dīn. 8.  
 Šā'ih. 96n.  
 Al-Sajazir Ibn Ahmad. 51.  
 Al-Šakhrāh. 248n.  
 Šaāh al-Dīn al-Irbili. 30, 251, 253, 254.  
 257, 258, 259, 260, 262, 270, 273, 289.  
 291, 293.  
 Al-Salamī. 58.  
 Šalāh Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. 100.  
 Šālīh Ibn 'Alī. 186.  
 Šālīh Ṭalā'ī Ibn Ruzsik. 57.  
 Sallim al-Rāzi. 90n.  
 Saljūs (Seljuqs). 313.  
 Saljūg, Sulṭān Maḥmūd. 286.  
 Salim, Sulṭān Kḥān. 14.  
 Sallāmiyah. 59, 60, 61.  
 Salm al-kḥāsir. 68.  
 Salmān. 312.  
 Al-Salūki Abu 'l-Ṭayyib. 114n.  
 Al-Salūki. Muḥammad. 110n.  
 Sāmānī. 242.  
 Al-Sam'ānī, Ḥafiz Abū Sa'īd. 24, 53, 55.  
 59, 102, 105, 109, 118, 119, 136, 142.  
 144, 191, 265, 286, 313.  
 Sam'ānī *Ansūh*. 221.  
 Samārrah. 242.  
 Samāwah. 176.  
 Ibn al-Sammān. 267-269.  
 Šana'a. 231n.  
 Sāūr, Ibn Ardashir. 30.  
 Ibn Saqlāb. 109.  
 Al-Šaqqāi. 12, 272.  
 Al-Sarrāj. 152.  
 Sarakhs. 106n.  
 Saraquṣṭah. 321.  
 Ibn Abi Sarh. 86n.  
 Šarī al-Dilā. 193.  
 Šarī al-Ghawānī. 70.  
 Sarraman ra'a. 66, 74, 133.  
 Sāriah. 104.  
 Sawād. 178.  
 Šaydā. 183n.  
 Šaydalanī. 287.  
 Sayf al-Dawlat, Ibn Ḥamūdān. 176, 177.  
 183, 184, 253, 254.  
 Sayf al-Dawlat Saduqah. 332.  
 Sayf al-Dīn Gḥāzī. 225.  
 Ibn Sayfī. 86.  
 Sayl wa'l Dḥayl. 228.  
 Ibn Sayyār, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm. 279n.  
 Schultens Albert. 1. 15. 254n.  
 Sadjah. 256n.  
 Sevilli. 202, 203, 204.  
 Ibn Shaddād. 254.  
 Al-Šahljān. 'Marw. 105. see Marw.  
 Al-Šāfi'ī (imam). 7, 24, 26, 27, 29, 42,  
 47, 48, 50, 54, 59, 75, 100, 101, 104,  
 106, 107, 109n, 110, 111, 112, 113,  
 114, 115, 152, 158, 239, 266, 274,  
 282, 285, 287, 294, 301.  
 Al-Šahāmi. Abū'l-Qāsim Zāhir, Ibn  
 Tāhir. 115.  
 Al-Šahrastānī. 48n, 279n.  
 Shakspear. 192n.  
 Ibn Shal, al-Kḥatīb. 147.  
*Shāmīl*. 53.  
 Shams al-Dīn. 24.  
 Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Man'ah. Al-Irbili,  
 157, 159.  
 Sharafal Dawlat Muslim Ibn Quraysh.  
 262n.  
 Ibn Shākīr Šalāh al-Dīn. 12.  
 Ibn Shākīr. 179n.  
 Ibn Shākal. 7.  
 Shams al-Dīn. 8.  
*Shāhnāmah*. 140.  
*Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughni*. 233n.  
 Sharīf al-Raḍī. 83.  
 Al-Šāshi Abū Bakr. 144.  
 Al-Šaṭṭ. 266n.  
 Shāwir. 228, 229, 231.  
 Shaybān. 147, 151, 276.  
 Al-Šaybānī Abū 'Amr. 68, 80, 130.  
 Shayzar. 168, 269, 273, 274.  
 Shirāzī. 54, 100, 183n, 184n.  
 Shirāzī, Abū Ishāq. 51, 54.  
 Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. 10.  
 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghawzi. 13  
 Shikaah. 62, 64.  
 Shirkūh Asad al-Dīn. 225, 228, 262.  
*Shudhur al-'uqud*. 107, 236, 244.  
 Shuhbah Ibn qādi. 100n.

- Shujā al-Dīn, 232.  
 Ibn Shukr Šafī al-Dīn, 58, 293.  
 Shunīzī, 83.  
 Shūr (Jazīrah), 89.  
 Al-Shurūḡī, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad, 108.  
 Shūster, 220.  
 Sībawayh, 76, 145, 291.  
 Sicily, 138.  
 Al-Sidillī, 246.  
 Šiffin, 216.  
 Sijistān, 51n, 106n, 243.  
 (Ibn al-)Sikkī, 276.  
 Al-Silafī, 152, 156, 164, 228, 234, 271.  
 Silafī College, 152.  
 Al-Simak, 166, 167.  
 Sindiyah, 60.  
 Sinjār, 252, 294, 297.  
 Sinjār Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Malik Šah, (Sulṭān), 261, 286n.  
 Al-Sinjārī Bahā al-Dīn, 160, 294-298.  
 Al-Sinji Šaykh Abū 'Alī, 103.  
 Siq al-Zand, 163.  
 Siyar al-Salaḥ, 154n.  
 Slane, M. de, 262n.  
 Solomon, 216.  
 Spain, 24, 36, 79, 84, 87, 89, 138, 152, 162, 168, 169, 180, 196, 201, 204, 205, 236, 237, 312, 313, 321.  
 Subk, 29.  
 Al-Subkī, Tāj al-Dīn, 29.  
 Al-Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn, 29n.  
 Šūfī, Abū Sa'd, 138.  
 Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah, 275, 280.  
 Sufyān, al-Thawrī, 25, 27.  
 Suhaym Ibn Wāḥilāh al-Riyāḥī, 64, 233.  
 Sukmān, 248, 263.  
 Sulmah, 281n.  
 Al-Sulamī, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 31.  
 Sulaykī, 206.  
 Al-Sulī, Abū Bakr, 74, 77, 132, 134, 184.  
 Sulṭān 'Alī Ibn Ḥatīm, 231.  
 Šul, 72.  
 Al-Sulamī Hayyūs Ibn al-'Alā, 121.  
 'Āq Sunqūr al-Bursuqī, 331-333.  
 'Āq-Sunqūr al-Ḥājib, 329-331.  
 Šūr, 152.  
 Ibn Šūrah, 271.  
 Ibn Surayj Abū 'l-'Abbās, 48, 100, 103, 106, 148n, 299.  
 Ibn Surayj, (Ibn Dawūd), 76.  
 Šul Takīn, 69, 71.  
 Ibn al-Sunaynirah, 296.  
 Surayj Ibn Yunys, 102, 103n.  
 Suwaydā, 224, 260.  
 Suwayqat Ghālib, 102.  
 Syria, 15, 24, 25n, 58, 80, 104, 120, 148, 151, 152, 154, 160, 168, 179, 181, 191, 197, 205, 221, 224, 225, 227, 238, 241, 247, 251n, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 270, 275, 280n.  
 Al-Sūyūṭī, 17, 22, 28, 29, 41, 210n, 23n, 233n, 287, 293n, 298.
- T
- Tabaqāt, 97, 100, 107, 110, 111, 114, 115, 280n.  
 Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā, 31, 46n, 51n, 100n.  
 Tabaqāt al-Hanafīyīn, 118.  
 Tab al-Ḥifūz, 113n, 156n, 275.  
 Tabaqāt al-Kubrā, 29.  
 Tabaqāt al-Šughra, 29.  
 Tab al-Muḥaddithīn, 281n, 288n.  
 Tabaqāt al-Šāfi'ī, 51n, 54, 75n, 90n, 105, 155, 158n.  
 Tabaqāt al-Shu'ara, 145.  
 Al-Tabaqāt al-Wusṭā, 29.  
 Al-Tabarī Ibn Jarir, 22, 36n, 40, 62, 63, 65, 86n, 241n, 277n.  
 Al-Tabarī, Abū Tāyib, 22n, 50, 51, 54, 137, 156.  
 Al-Tabarī Ibn al-Qāss, 103-104.  
 Ibn Tabāḡabā Abū 'l-Ḥasan, 190.  
 Ibn Tabāḡabā Abū 'l-Qāsim, 188, 191.  
 Tābirī, 46n, 267n.  
 Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman, 167n.  
 Al-Tabrizī, 73, 152, 164, 255n.  
 Tāhūdā, 85n.  
 Tūberān, 144.  
 Taberestān, 104.  
 Tābikhah, 231.  
 Tacitus, 22.  
 Tadmor, 183n.  
 Taghlib, 168.  
 Ibn Taghri Bardī, 13.  
 Al-Taḡā, 110.



- Al-Ṭahāwī, 107-110.  
*Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 47, 48n, 269, 276, 189n, 194.  
 Ibn Abi Ṭāhir. 160n.  
 Ṭāhir al-Azdī, 239n.  
 Abu Ṭāhir Ṣālih, 184.  
 Ibn Ṭālib. 270n.  
 Ṭāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Bāqī, 11.  
 Taj al-Dīn al-Kindī, 174.  
 Ṭāj al-Dawlat, 248n.  
*Al-Taji*, 81.  
*Takmilah*, 174.  
 Takrit, 261, 262.  
 Ṭālaqān, 318, 320.  
 Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥat al-*Khuṣṣi*. 267n.  
*Ṭālī*, 12.  
*Ta'liqah*, 111, 113, 228n.  
*Talkhis*, 103.  
 Tall al-Sultān, 333.  
 Tall Ya'fur, 252.  
 Ibn Ṭulayb, 270.  
 Abu'l Ṭamahān al-Qayni, 93.  
 Abū Tammām Ḥabīb, 40, 70, 74, 127, 128, 140, 165, 175, 179, 182n, 193n, 245, 255.  
 Abū Tamīm Ma'add, 68, 161, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281n.  
*Al-Taymīz wa'l-Faṣl*, 280.  
*Tanbih*, 52, 157, 158.  
 Tanūkh, 167, 168n.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, 311.  
 Al-Tanūkhī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, 167.  
 Tanush, 236.  
*Al-Tanwir*, 291.  
 Al-Taḳawī, 232.  
 Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar, 207.  
 Taqī al-Dīn, 29, 232, 234.  
*Taqwīm al-Buldān*, 41.  
*Al-Taghrīb wal-Tarhib*, 155n.  
 Ṭarafah, 163n.  
*Tārīkh Baglādād*, 21.  
*Tārīkh Qnzidāh*, 243.  
*Tārīkh Haleb*, 21.  
*Tārīkh al-Hukama*, 283n, 284n.  
*Tārīkh al-Islām*, 313n.  
*Tārīkh al-Khamis*, 106n.  
*Tārīkh al-Wuzarā*, 318.  
 Ṭarsūs, 104, 186.  
 Tartushī, 52.  
*Tatimmat al-Tatimmat*, 288n.  
 Tavira, 201n.  
*Al-Tawabī' wal-Zawabī*, 169.  
*Tawārīkh Dimesch*, 21.  
 Al-Tawhīdī, 105.  
 Al-Ṭawī, 10.  
 Al-Ṭawīl, 267n.  
 Ṭaybah, 171n.  
 Al Ṭaybiyah 171n.  
 Termedhī, 51, 275.  
 Al-Tha'ālībī, 82, 83, 189, 191, 196, 227n.  
 Tha'labah (son of 'Ukābah), 151.  
 Al-Tha'labī, Abū Ishāq, 118, 119, 285.  
 Al-Tha'labī, 139n.  
 Al-Tha'ālībī, Abū Mansūr, 76, 327n.  
 Al-Thawrī Sufyān, 48.  
 Abu Thawr al-Kalbī, 47-48.  
 Al-Thawrī, 27.  
 Tha'lab Abū'l-'Abbās, 8n, 75n. 147, 151, 282.  
 Thalab, 163n.  
 Thawrā, 290.  
 Tigris, 61, 178, 240, 266, 305n.  
 Al-Tinnin, 62.  
 Tugh'likin, 221.  
 Tughrulbek Seguqīdī (Şulṭān), 265.  
 Tughj, 183n.  
 Tripoli, 24, 221, 225, 227, 263.  
 Tughril, 280n.  
 Tukharestān, 106n.  
 Ibn Tūlūm (Aḥmad), 242.  
 Banū Tūmā, 229.  
 Turkmāni Shams al-Dīn, 13.  
 Tūs, 144.  
 Al-Tūṣī al-Muwayyad, 10.  
 Tustar, 215, 216, 228.  
 Al-Tūṣī, 144.  
 Al-Turṭushī, 153.  
 Tydeman, 4.  
 Al-Taymī, 322n.

## U

- 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān Ibn Wahab, 77.

- Abū 'Ubayd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdah, 108, 109.  
'Ubayd Allāh Abū 'l-Ḥakam, 226.  
Abū 'Ubaydah, 279, 281.  
Umm Ibrahim Fāṭimah al-Juzdāmyah, 287.  
Umm 'Abidah, 239, 240.  
Umm 'l-Arab, 95, 96.  
Umm Salmah, 171.  
'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, 17, 101.  
'Umar Ibn al-'Alī, 303, 304.  
'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 46n, 153n, 239, 248, 263, 285, 291.  
'Umar Ibn Shabbā, 160n.  
Abū 'Umar Ibrāhīm al-Za'farānī, 316n.  
Ibn 'Umar al-Ghazzi, 90.  
Abū 'Umar Yusuf, 137, 199, 201.  
'Umārat al-Yamani, 57.  
Abū 'Umārah, 72.  
Al-'Umari, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, 114.  
Al-'Umayyad, Abu 'l-Faḍl, 314, 315.  
Ibn al-'Umayyad Muḥammad, 105n, 178n.  
'Umadah, 178.  
Ibn 'Unayn, 259.  
'Unwan fī 'l-Qara't, 32.  
'Ukābah, 151.  
'Uqbah Ibn 'Āmir al-Sahābi, 85.  
'Uqbah, ibn Nafi'al-Fihri, 85n.  
'Uqūd al-Jinan, 12.  
Al-Urmāwī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad, 55.  
Al-'Urūḍī, Ibrāhīm, 184.  
'Urwah, 89.  
'Usāmah Ibn Munqidh, 228, 273.  
'Usāmah Ibn Muḥid Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, 269, 274.  
Ibn Abi Usāmah, 184.  
Al-Uṣūlī, Ibn Barhān, 144-145.  
'Uswān, 232.  
Uswānī, 232.  
'Utba, 302, 303, 306, 307.  
'Utba Ibn Ghazwān, 268.  
'Uṭhmān (Khalīf), 13, 46n, 86n, 153.  
'Uṭhmān Ḥāfiẓ Abu 'Amr, 15.  
Ibn 'Uṭhmān, 90.  
'Uṭhmān, 106n, 207n.  
'Uṭhmānī, 97n, 100n, 109, 110, 115n.  
Al-'Uṭhmanīs *Tabaqāt*, 148n.  
'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, 72.  
'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh, 122, 279n.  
V  
Vullers, 163n.  
W  
Al-Waḍḍāh Ibn Razāh, 168, 169.  
*Wafayāt al-A'yan*, 9, 12.  
Abū 'l-Wafā, al-Jalūdi, 287.  
*Wafī 'l-Wufayāt*, 12.  
Ibn Wahbūn, 180.  
Al-Wāḥidī Abu'l Ḥasan, 211.  
Al-Wajih Ibn Sūrah, 270, 271.  
Wajiz, 144, 145n, 288.  
Walid, 256n.  
Al-Warrāq, Ibn al-Nadīm, 83.  
Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṣā, 121n.  
Wāsiṭ, 25n, 75, 76, 240, 296.  
*Wasīf*, 104, 288. -  
Al-Wāḥiq Billāh, 126.  
X  
Xucar, 89.  
Y  
Yaḥyā, 69n, 99n, 102n, 108n, 148n, 150n, 156n, 167n, 178n, 266n, 268n, 278n.  
Al-Yāfi'i *Mir'āṭ al-Janaā*, 31, 51n.  
Ya'fur (Tall), 252.  
Yaḥyā Ibn al-Akḥamān, 125, 126, 127, 133, 278, 279, 280.  
Yaḥyā al-Miṣrī, 272.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Mu'in, 99.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Nizār, 291.  
Yaḥyā 'Alawī, 310n.  
Ibn Yahyā, 7.  
Abū Ya'lā al-Khalīlī, 108.  
Abū, Jilā al-Tamīmī, 313.  
Al-Yamani Muḥammad Ibn 'Isā, 229.  
Ya'qūb Ibn Killis, 192.  
Yāqūt al-Ḥamwī, 210n, 301.  
Yaḥhob, 179.  
Yaḥjub, 179.  
Abū Yazid, 322.  
Yūsuf Ibn Harūn al-Ramādī, 313.  
*Yatimah*, 189, 191, 227n, 314, 315n, 219.

- Yazīd, 13.  
 Yazīd Ibn al-Muḥallab Ibn Abi Sufra, 71, 72.  
 Yazīd Ibn Qays, 46, 130, 290.  
 Yazīd Riv. 274.  
 Yemāmāh, 156n.  
 Yeman, 13.  
 Yemaen (Yaman), 24, 25n, 47, 63, 110, 223, 231, 275.  
 Yesāi, 279n.  
 Yumn, 82.  
 Ibn Yūnus, 48n, 117, 301.  
 Abū Yūsuf, Qādī, 25.  
 Yūsuf al-Shantmar, 105n.  
 Yūsuf Ibn Tāghifīn, 204, 237.

## Z

- Al-Zubbā, 285.  
 Al-Zāfir al-'Ubaydī, 152, 279.  
 Al-Za'fīrī Abu'l Qāsim, 316.  
 Al-Zāhid Abu 'Umar al-Muḥarrir, 147, 149.  
 Zāhir al-Shahālmī, 115, 288n.  
 Zāhir al-Dīn al-Ardbelī, 13.  
 Abū Ishāq Zāhir al-Dīn, 8, 14, 59, 63.  
 Al-Zāhirī, Abū Dawūd, 27, 101.  
 Zahr, 120n.  
 Zahr al-Riyāḍ, 155.  
 Zahrā, 79.  
 Ibn Zahrā Abū Bakr, 138, 312.  
 Zahr al-Adab, 84, 85.  
 Al-Zajjāj, 76, 77, 78, 79, 146.  
 Zaki al-Dīn al-Mumdhiri, 154n.  
 Al-Zamakhsarī, 42n, 210n, 238n.  
 Zamzam, 228.  
 Zanj, 241.  
 Ibn al-Zaqqaq, 58.  
 Al-Zar Kāshī Shaykh Badr al-Dīn, 12.  
 Al-Zawzani, 189, 210n.  
 Zayd Ibn Harit, 310.  
 Zayd Ibn al-Ḥasan, 310n.  
 Zayd Ibn Thābit, 20.  
 Ibn Zayd 'Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad, 76.  
 Ibn Zaydūn, Abu Bakr, 203.  
 Ibn Zaydūn, al-Andalusī 201, 204.  
 Zaynab, 162.  
 Zayn al-Dīn, 11.  
 Zayn al-Dīn, Ali, 225, 260n.  
 Zayn al-Dīn al-Irāqī, 11.  
 Al-Zayyāt, 66, 74, 121, 127, 131, 132.  
 Zeidauno, 163n.  
 Zibriqān Zibrican (Zibriqān), 308.  
 Zinat al-Dahr, 207.  
 Zinkī, 225.  
 Ziri Ibn Manād, 97.  
 Ziyād, 211.  
 Al-Zubaydī, Abu Bakr Muḥammad, Ibn al-Ḥasan, 79.  
 Al-Zubaydī Abu Bakr al-Andalusī, 312.  
 al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkār, 147.  
 Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd Allah, 169n.  
 Zuhr, 120.  
 Zuhri, Ibn Shihāb, 17.  
 Ibn Zūlāq, 301.  
 Zalzal, 64, 67.  
 Zūrud, 185.

Page	Line	For	Read
3	37	Works	Work
5	17	ظلال	ظلال
11	32,34	'Aibek	Aybak
15	17	'Imra	Imra
17	26	al-Muqaṭṭa' al-Mutanabbī'	al-Muqaṭṭa' al-Mutanabbī
19	2	'Al	'Ali
24	7	Muwatṭa	Muwattā
27	1	Daw'ūd	Dāwūd
28	37	Huṣn al-Muha- 'ara,	Huṣn al-Muḥāḍarah
29	35	al-Shāfi'i	al-Shāfi'i
37	37	Curuls locks	Curls of locks
39	7	Trave's	Travels
46	3	NAKHA'I	NAKHA'I
46	7	Tābais	Tābi 'is
46	22	Tabai'is	Tābi'is
47	12	Abi'l Yamān	Abi 'l Yamān
47	25	comprison	comparison
48	2	Shā'fai'is	Shāfi'i
48	4	al-Shāfi'is	Shāfi's
49	20	K	Ḳ
50	6	Jāmi' 'al-	Jāmi' al
50	31	Chrestomathiue	Chrestomathie
51	29	Du'luj	Du'luj
54	19	Catalgi	Catalogi
55	4	Sa'd	Sa'd
55	4	al-Mutwalli	al-Mutawalli
55	12	Abu Sa'd	Abū Sa'd
55	16	Shāfi'i	Shāfi'i
55	24	Urmāwi	Urmawi
55	26	al-Kall	al-Khall
59	18	Mughayra	Mughīrah
61	9	tallent	Talent
61	10	to me	me to
65	9	word and	words
68	23	Baghdād	Baghdād
71	29	Mu'tazz	Mu'tazz
72	24	Da'id	Dā'i al-
72	29	ail	all
75	36	adies'	ladies'
76	19	Tha'alibi	Tha'alibi

Page	Line	For	Read
80	21	<i>Orintale</i>	<i>Oriental</i>
86	17	Canā'an	Kan'ān
86	41	Gregorus	Gregorius
94	8	Justy	justify
94	13	Askalan	'Asqalān
95	16	land-tan	land-tax
97	9	Ans	Anas
98	16	Ja'far	Ja'far
99	14	<i>Hayān</i>	<i>Ḥayyān</i>
101	8	Dā'ūd	Dāwūd
101	23	minifest	Manifest
101	34	as as a	as a
102	3	Suwayjat	Suwayqat
102	29	Yafi'i	Yafi'i
104	25	Muḥadhdhab	Muḥadhdhab
108	17	explained	expiated
108	25	Yāfi'i's	Yāfi'i's
108	35	Ṭanlun	Ṭūlūn
109	14	Samāni	Sam'āni
111	10	Abū Allāh	'Abd Allāh
111	19	al-Kudūri	al-Qudūri
111	28	Ta'lika	Ta'liqah
113	24	No. 26	No. 25
117	29	Ja'afar	Ja'far
121	19	tread	treated
121	29	'Aa	'Aja
124	13	preyed	prayed
125	25	Aḥḥam	Akḥḥam
125	33	Muta'kallimn	Mutakallimīn
127	4	Al-Aḥhiq	Al-Wāḥhiq
127	36	Originai	Original
127	38	notice	noticed
129	40	Mahzani	Mahzami
131	28	Sayyāt	Zayyāt
132	3	stirize	satirize
137	33	al-Barr	al-Barr's
142	5	Samāni	Sam'āni
145	21	السحر	الشهر
145	28	العاني	المعاني
145	32	A'shā	A'shā
148	27	(word 'dreams'	to be deleted)
150	36	تشديد on	تشديد with n

Page	Line	For	Read
151	34	'Imān	'Imān
152	3	Silafā	Silafi
152	29	al-Abbār	al-Jabbār
154	24	Fuqahd	Fuqahā
154	25	Salal	Salaf
154	38	abstenions	abstemions
155	2	Ribāq	Riyāq
155	21	Mundird	Mundhiri
155	30	Abn 'Ibn Qāsim	Abu'l-Qāsim
156	24	bouble	double
156	34	Anals	Annals
157	9	talen	talent
157	11	Tinbih	Tanbih
159	11	Qurṭudi	Qurṭubi
160	4,13, 17	izar	'idhār
163	24	Ths teset	the Text
164	5	thle areomestnd	the most learned
164	21	al-āmi'	al-Lāmi'
165	2,24,25	Habib	Ḥabib
165	26	Buḥlūori	Buḥturi
167	23,26	al-yāfi	yāfi'i
170	19	Imra'ut	Imra
171	11	Mu'jmil	Mujmil
173	6	deposes	deposed
174	8	'Iḍāh	'Idāh
174	10	Ḥiyla	Ḥijṭā
175	15	Ḥazal	Ḥajal
175	27,30	خوشی	حوشی
176	20	Ikḥshihī	Ikḥshidi
178	14	Uuḥiq	Ruḥiq
179	19	Mu'aḍḍal	Mu'aḍḍhal
179	36	atimah	yatimah
179	38	Ghārib	Ghārib
180	28	beprive	deprive
181	33	word	world
182	28	repproched	reproached
183	7	perceived	Perceive
184	26	hc	be
188	21	lbc	lbn
188	30	Nakr	Nakir

Page	Line	For	Read
193	15	Egypt	Egypt
193	32	Kuyah	Kunyah
195	29	of	or
196	2	Mu'azz	Mu'tazz
196	20	occomplished	accomplished
197	24	wasot	waste
198	18	meridan	meridian
198	18	evening	evenings
200	2	heirs	hairs
200	5	fo	of
201	20	Māk <sub>h</sub> -ūn	Mak <sub>h</sub> zūm
206	17	velley	valley
208	28	zephrr	zephyr
209	29	sleeplessnes	sleeplessness
210	12	men	man
214	11	al-Ahaā-i	al-Ahwāzi
216	27	some	same
217	25	througħ	though
221	23	Kharidah	Khurdād
224	6	Hijāj	Hijāz
228	5	al-Rashī	al-Rashid
228	34	emrr	emir
230	25	sa'ādi	sa'di
230	33	tde	the
233	12	may	many
235	33	in	is
236	5	'Ārif	'Arif
236	18	adour	odour
236	28	al-Zuwwāqin	Tawwābīn
237	1	'Iyāt	'Iyād
237	20	sings	signs
240	1	saqirs	faqirs
241	14	on	an
242	15	for	from
242	19	rai	a'ā
243	2	Shān	Shāh
243	5	Aktār	Aktāf
243	25	accostomed	accustomed
244	16	later	latter
244	17	place	palace
245	17	cnaracter	character

Page	Line	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
247	31	missimaries	missionaries
248	30	si	is
250	7	Istikin	Iftikin
251	21	Hakkāis	Hakkars
251	31	Graleis	Graecis
259	1	any	and
261	14	Arsiān	arsilān
262	6	Najm at-Dīn	'Najm al-Dīn
262	9	'Az	'Aziz
262	11	Ipsahāni	Ispahāni
262	12	7	77
263	22	sulān	sultān
265	18	Basūrīr	Basūsiri
267	24,25	(Both lines to be deleted)	
268	36	fouding	founding
270	62	Svria	Syria
274	—	276	274
277	25	Specimencatal	Specimencatal
278	40	oupage	on page
280	13	Ans	Anas
282	31	acquai stance	acquaintance
282	35	Lūt	Lūti
284	24	lines	line
293	23	<u>Shuqr</u>	<u>Shukr</u>
305	1	<u>Khalifah</u>	<u>Khalifat</u>
305	25	Jāhali	Jāhili
308	7	treshards	treshardi
308	7	satriser	satiriser
308	18	fass-fosse	bass-fosse
308	23	vavre	vivre
308	26	fair	faire
308	35	lonagge	lauange
308	38	ci'q	cing
312	33	Maḥammad	Muḥammad
326	22	him	his



***Ibn Khallikan's***

**WAFAYAT AL-A'YAN**

**WA ANBĀ' ABNA' AL-ZAMĀN**

**(A Biographical Dictionary)**

**Vol. 2**

Eng. Translation  
**M. de Slane**

Edited by  
**Dr. S. Moinul Haq**

## **BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE QUR'AN**

By *MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD*

Translated by *DR. SYED ABDUL LATIF*

Being a Resume of the views advanced by him in his Commentary of the *Surat-ul-Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an

The volume sets out on a brief canvas the ideology of the Qur'an as estimated by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and should serve as an illuminating Introduction to the Study of the Qur'an.

ISBN 81-7151-217-8 23x36/16 pp. 16+118 1996

Book Code No. B00075

**Rs 60/-**

## **AN ORIENTAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY**

*T. W. BEALE*

Thomas Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, revised and edited by H.G. Keene, is still the most comprehensive work of its kind. It provides detailed biographical information on all the main figures in the history of the East from the first century A.D. to the nineteenth century.

The Dictionary is an outstanding work of scholarship and has been highly acclaimed by Oriental scholars and historians all over the world. It is indispensable for scholars and students of the history of Muslim India, consisting as it does material gathered from Persian Arabic, Urdu and European sources. The history of the Maratha and Rajput States and Kingdoms is also covered in full detail. Students of Muslim India's art, music and literature will find much of great interest and use in the volume.

More than 4500 entries are listed according to the English variant of each individual's name together with their Persian form in the parenthesis.

ISBN 81-7151-214-3 20x26/8 pp. 8+432 1996

Book Code No. 000018

**Rs. 300/-**

# **KITAB BHAVAN**

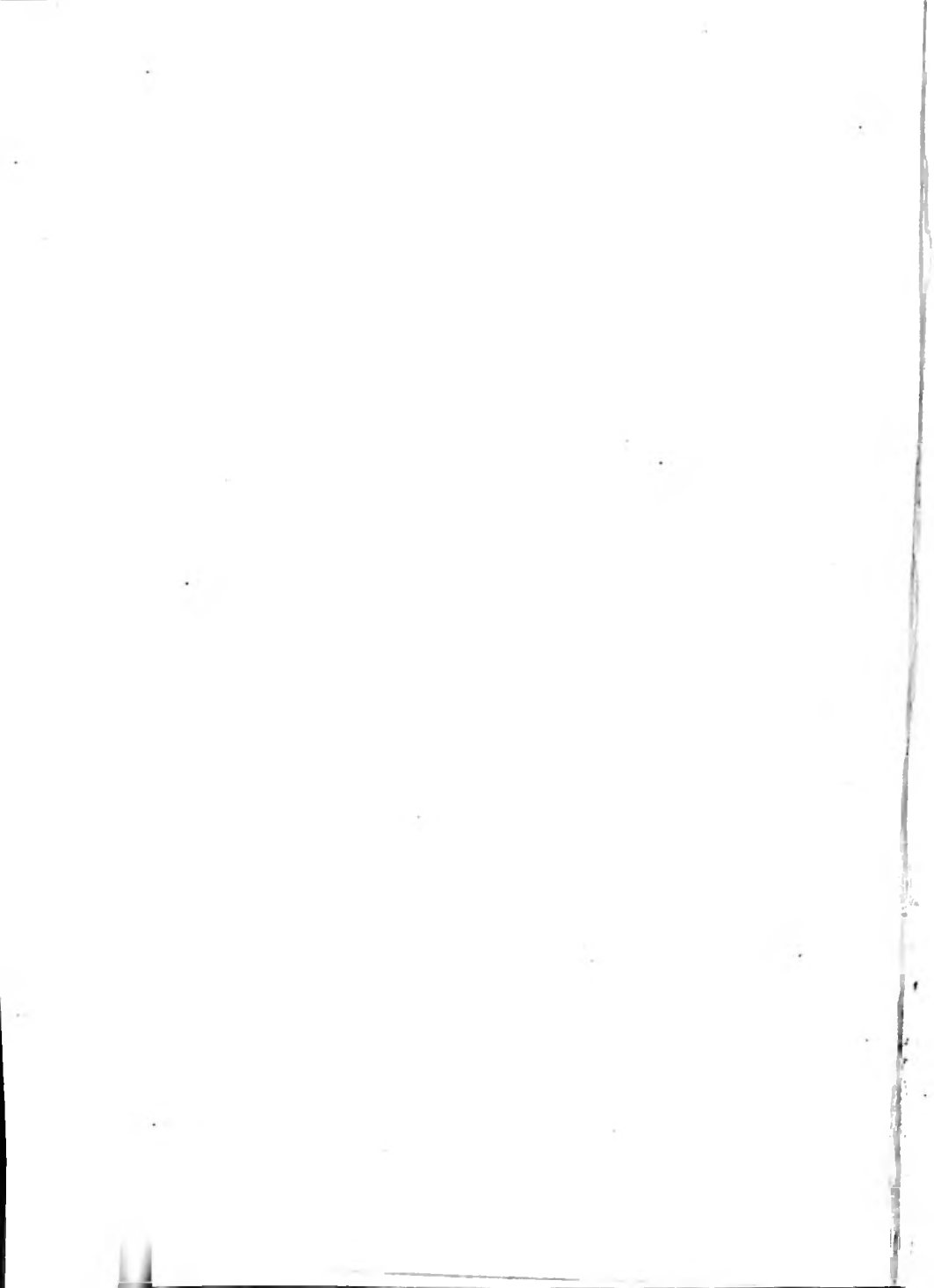
**1784, Kalan Mahal, Darya Ganj**

**New Delhi-110002 (India)**

**Phones : 3274686, 3277392-93**

**Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN**

**Fax : 91-11-3263383**



Ibn Khallikan's  
**Wafayat al-A'yan**

wa  
**Anbā' Abna' al-Zamān**  
(A Biographical Dictionary)

(M. de Slane's English Translation)

**VOLUME II**

*Edited by:*

S. MOINUL HAQ  
M.A., Ph.D.

**KITAB BHAVAN**  
New Delhi - 110002 (India)

**KITAB BHAVAN**

**Exporters & Importers**

**1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj**

**New Delhi-110002, [India]**

*Phones : 3274686, 3277392, 3277393*

*Fax : 91-11-3263383*

*Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN*

**ISBN 81-7151-170-8 Set**

**ISBN 81-7151-172-4 (Vol. II)**

**First Published in India      1996**

*Published by:*

**Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan**

**1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj**

**New Delhi-110002**

*Printed in India*

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

ا	=	a	ض	=	d
آو	=	aw	ط	=	t
ای	=	ay	ظ	=	z
ب	=	b	ع	=	'
ت and ث	=	t	غ	=	gh
ث	=	<u>th</u>	ف	=	f
ج	=	j	ق	=	q
ح	=	h	ك	=	' k
خ	=	<u>kh</u>	گ	=	g
د	=	d	ل	=	l
ذ	=	<u>dh</u>	م	=	m
ر	=	r	ن	=	n
ز	=	z	و	=	ū;w
س	=	s	ه	=	h
ش	=	<u>sh</u>	ی	=	ī;y
ص	=	ṣ	ء	=	'

Long vowels : ā, ī, ū

Short vowels : a, i, u

## PREFACE

For some unavoidable reasons the publication of this volume was delayed. I am happy that Part I of the book is now being published. The printing of Part II will be taken up shortly.

It may be mentioned that three notices included in this Part (Nos. 210; 213; 216) are not to be found in de Slane's Trans., nor in the autograph. Since they appear in the printed editions (Cairo, 1299 H.; 1948; Tehran, 1367) we have also translated them, dropping however some additional anecdotes which appear only in the last one.

Wherever it was considered necessary to indicate the original orthography of a name or word it has been shown within square brackets—[ ]; additional footnotes by the Editor have not been numbered, but have been indicated with signs, such as an asterisk (\*).

S. Moinul Haq

## CONTENTS

	Page
Preface .....	iii
Note on Transliteration .....	iv
101 Umayyah Ibn Abī al-Ṣalt .....	1
102 Iyās al-Qaḍī .....	5
103 Ibn al-Qirriyah al-Hilālī .....	9
104 Najm al-Din Ayyūb .....	17

### ب

105 Bādīs Ibn al-Manṣūr .....	23
106 'Izza al-Dawlah Bakhtiyār .....	25
107 Barkyaruq .....	27
108 Abū al-Ṭāhir al-Raffa al-Anmāṭī .....	28
109 Barjawān .....	29
110 Baṣhshār Ibn Burd .....	30
111 Biṣhr Ibn al-Ḥarith al-Ḥafī .....	34
112 Biṣhr Ibn Ghīyāth al-Marīsī .....	37
113 Bakkār Ibn Qutaybah .....	38
114 Abū Bakr the Jurisconsult .....	41
115 Abū 'Uṭhmān al-Māzinī the Grammarian .....	42
116 Bulukkin Ibn Ziri .....	45
117 Būrān .....	46
118 Būri Taj al-Mulūk .....	51

### ت

119 Tutuṣh .....	52
120 Taqiyah Bint Ghayth .....	55
121 Abū Ghālib al-Tayyānī .....	57
122 Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣūr .....	59
123 Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs .....	62
124 Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh .....	65

### ث

125 Thābit Ibn Qurrah .....	69
126 Ḍhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī .....	74





127	Jarīr the Poet .....	78
128	The Imām Ja'far Al-Ṣādiq .....	84
129	Ja'far the Barmakide .....	86
130	Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt, called also Ibn Ḥinzābah .....	107
131	Ibn al Sarrāj al-Qārī al-Baghdādī .....	112
132	Abū 'l-Ma'ṣhar al-Balkhī .....	114
133	Ja'far Ibn Ḥamdan al-Andalusi .....	115
134	Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ .....	116
135	Ja'far Ibn Shams al-Khilāfat .....	117
136	The Amir Ja'bar .....	118
137	Naṣīr al-Dīn Jaqar .....	119
138	Jamīl The Poet .....	120
139	Abū Usāmah Jundādāh .....	128
140	Al-Junayd .....	128
141	The Qā'id Jawhar .....	131
142	Jihārkas al-Ṣalāḥī .....	140



143	Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'ī .....	140
144	Al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf .....	149
145	Al-Muḥāsibī .....	157
146	Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī .....	158
147	Ḥarmalah .....	162
148	Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī .....	162
149	Abū 'Alī al-Za'farānī .....	165
150	Al-Iṣṭakhrī .....	167
151	Ibn 'Abī Hurayrah .....	168
152	Abu 'Alī al-Ṭabari .....	168
153	Abu 'Alī 'l-Fāriqī .....	169
154	Ibn al-Marzubān al-Qāḍī al-Sirāfi .....	170
155	Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī .....	172
156	Abū Aḥmad al-'Askari .....	174
157	Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī .....	176
158	Al-Mujid al-'Asqalānī .....	178
159	Ibn Zūlāq al-Miṣrī .....	180
160	Abū Nizār Ibn Sāfi Malik al-Nuḥāt .....	181
161	The Imām al-Ḥasan al-'Askari .....	182
162	Abū Nuwās Ibn Hānī .....	183

163	Ibn Waki' al-Tinnīsī .....	188
164	Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Allāf .....	190
165	Abu 'l-Jawā'iz al-Wāsīṭi .....	194
166	'Alam al-Din al-Shātānī .....	195
167	Nāṣir al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān .....	196
168	Rukn al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh .....	199
169	Al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl the Vizir .....	200
170	Al-Wazīr al-Muhallabī .....	202
171	The Viṣir Nizām al-Mulik .....	205
172	Fakhr al-Kuṭṭāb al-Juwaynī .....	208
173	Al-Karābisi .....	209
174	Abū 'Ali al-Khayarān .....	209
175	The Qāḍi Ḥusayn .....	210
176	Abū 'Ali al-Sinjī .....	211
177	Al-Farrā al-Baghawī .....	211
178	Al-Ḥalīmī .....	212
179	Al-Wannī al-Faraḍī .....	213
180	Ibn Khamis al-Juhānī .....	214
181	Al-Ḥallāj .....	214
182	Al-Jannābī .....	218
183	Ibn al-Muqaffa' .....	223
184	Al-Ra'is Ibn Sinā (Avicenna) .....	231
185	Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Khalī' .....	239
186	Ibn al-Ḥajjāj The Poet .....	240
187	Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī .....	242
188	Ibn Khalawayh .....	248
189	Abū 'Ali al-Ghassānī .....	250
190	Ali Bārī' .....	251
191	Al-Tughhrā'i .....	254
192	Ibn al-Khāzin, the Khātib .....	256
193	Abū 'Abd Allah the Shī'i .....	257
194	Abū Salamah Ḥafṣ al-Khallāl .....	259
195	Ḥammād Ibn Abi Hanifah .....	261
196	Ḥammad al-Rāwiyah .....	262
197	Ḥammād 'Ajrād, the Poet .....	266
198	Abū Sulaymān al-Khattābī .....	268
199	Ḥamzah Ibn Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt .....	270
200	Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī .....	270
201	Ibn Ḥayyān .....	271

## خ

202	<u>Kh</u> ārijah the Jurisconsult .....	273
203	<u>Kh</u> ālīd Ibn Yazīd the Umayyad .....	274
204	<u>Kh</u> ālīd Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bajāli al-Qasri .....	276
205	Al- <u>Kh</u> idr Ibn 'Aqīl al-Arbili .....	280
206	Ibn Bashkuwāl .....	283
207	<u>K</u> halifah Ibn <u>K</u> hayyāt .....	284
208	Al- <u>K</u> halīl Ibn Aḥmad .....	285
209	<u>K</u> humārawayh [Ibn Ṭulūn] .....	290
210	<u>K</u> hayr al-Nassāj al-Ṣūfī .....	292

## د

211	Abū Sulaymār: Dāwūd al-Zahīrī .....	293
212	Al-Malik al-Zāhir Mujīr al-Dīn .....	296
213	Dāwūd al-Ṭā'ī .....	297
214	Ḍubays Ibn Sadaqah .....	300
215	Di'biī Ibn 'Alī al- <u>K</u> hūzā'ī .....	302
216	Da'īaj Ibn Aḥmad al-Sijistānī .....	307
217	Abū Bakr Dulaf al- <u>S</u> hibli .....	308
218	Abu'l-Mutā' Dhu'l-Qarnayn Ibn Ḥamdān .....	311
219	Rabī'ah al-'Adawaiah .....	312
220	Rabī'ah al-Rāi .....	314
221	Al-Rabī' Ibn Sulaymān al-Murādi .....	317
222	Al-Rabī' al-Jīzī .....	318
223	Al-Rabī' Ibn Yūnus .....	320
224	Rib'ī Ibn Khirāsh al-Kūfī .....	325
225	Rajā' Ibn Ḥayāt .....	326
226	Ru'bah Ibn al-'Ajjāj .....	329
227	Rawḥ Ibn Ḥatīm al-Muhallabi .....	330

## ز

228	Al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkar .....	333
229	Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayr .....	335
230	Zubaydah The Wife al-Rashīd .....	335
231	Zufar Ibn al-Hudhayl al-Ḥanafī .....	336
232	Abū Dulāmah .....	337
233	'Imād al-Dīn Zankī .....	344
234	Zankī Ibn Mawdūd .....	346

235	Bahā al-Dīn Zuhayr al-Muhallabī .....	347
236	Ziyād Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bakka'ī .....	352
237	Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī .....	353
238	Zirī Ibn Manād .....	356
239	Zaynab The Daughter of al-Sha'ri .....	357

## س

240	Sālim Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Adawī .....	358
241	Sālim al-Khāsir .....	359
242	Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ayyāsh .....	361
243	Sābūr Ibn Ardashir The Wazir .....	363
244	Sarī al-Saqatī .....	364
245	Al-Sari al-Raffā .....	366
246	Ḥayṣ-Bayṣ al-Ṣayfi .....	368
247	Abū 'L-Ma'ālī al-Ḥazīrī .....	371
248	Sa'id Ibn Jubayr .....	373
249	Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab .....	378
250	Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī .....	379
251	Al-Akhfash al-Āwsaṭ .....	382
252	Sa'id Ibn al-Mubārak al-Dahhān .....	383
253	Sufyān al-Thawrī .....	386
254	Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah .....	387
255	Al-Sayyidah Sukaynah .....	390
256	Sulaym al-Rāzī .....	393
257	Sulaymān Ibn Yasār .....	395
258	Al-A'Mash .....	396
259	Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī .....	399
260	Al-Ḥamiq The Grammarian .....	401
261	Abu 'L-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī .....	402
262	Abū 'L-Walīd al-Bājī .....	402
263	Abū Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī .....	404
264	Sulaymān Ibn Wahb .....	406
265	Sanjar Ibn Malikshāh .....	410
266	Sahl al-Tustarī .....	412
267	Abū Ḥatīm al-Sijistānī .....	413
268	Abū 'L-Faṭḥ Sahl al-Arghiyānī .....	415
269	Abu 'L-Tayyib Sahl al-Ṣ'ulūki .....	416

## ش

270	Shāwar .....	418
271	Al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh .....	423
272	Nūr al-Dawlat Shāhanshāh .....	425
273	<u>Shabīb</u> Ibn Yazīd al- <u>Khārījī</u> .....	427
274	The Qāḍī <u>Shurayh</u> .....	430
275	The Qāḍī <u>Sharik</u> .....	433
276	<u>Shaqīq</u> al-Balkhī .....	435
277	<u>Shuhdah</u> al-Kātibah Bint al-Ibarī .....	435
278	<u>Shirkūh</u> Ibn Shāḍhī .....	436

## ص

279	Abū 'Umar al-Jarmī .....	440
280	Ṣaliḥ Ibn Mirdās .....	441
281	Sā'id The Philologer .....	443
282	Sayf al-Dawlat Ṣadaqah al-Asadī .....	444

## ض

283	Al-Aḥnaf Ibn Qays .....	445
-----	-------------------------	-----

## ط

284	Ṭawūs .....	453
285	Abū 'L-Ṭayyib al-Tabarī .....	454
286	Ibn Bābshadh The Grammarian .....	458
287	Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn al- <u>Khuzā'i</u> .....	460
288	Sayf al-Islām Tuḥtikīn .....	466
289	Al-Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ruzzik .....	469
290	Abū Yazīd al-Bastāmī .....	474

## ظ

291	Abū 'L-Aswad al-Du'walī .....	474
292	Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād .....	480

# IBN KHALLIKAN'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

## 101 Umayyah Ibn Abi al-Şalt

Abu al-Şalt Umayyah Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Abi al-Şalt al-Andalusi al-Dāni (*a native of Denia in Spain*), possessed superior information in the different branches of general literature, and is author of a work entitled *al-Ḥadiqah* (*the Grove*), which is composed on the plan of al-Tha'ālibī's *Yat mah*; being also skilled in philosophy, he received the title of *al-Adīb al-Ḥakīm* (*the learned in belles-letters and philosophy*): he was besides deeply versed in the sciences of the ancients.<sup>1</sup> Having left Spain, he took up his residence at Alexandria. The kاتب 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him with commendation in the *Kharidah*<sup>2</sup> and cites the following, among other pieces of verse composed by him:

"Formed as I am of earth, the earth is my country, and the human race my relations. I must therefore impose on my camels a task of difficult accomplishment over for the tallest and the strongest."<sup>3</sup>

I have not, however, met with these verses in Ibn Abi al-Şalt's poetical works. The kاتب gives also as his, the following piece:

"She said to me: Why art thou living in obscurity? Is thy judgment weak or thy talent inferior?" To which I answered: 'My fault in the eyes of the public is to have obtained glory such as they never possessed. It is in fortune alone that I am deficient, but I am rich in honourable deeds.' "

1 The sciences of the ancients; the philosophical doctrines of the Greeks.

2 See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*. No 1375, fol 76. Numerous extracts from the poems of Abu al-Şalt are there given.

3 That is, I must visit a generous patron who lives in a distant land

This piece also is not to be found in his *divān*.

By the same :

"She tormented and sported with my heart, and then returned unconcerned. How intrepid is that gazelle whose magic charms prolong my sufferings ;<sup>1</sup> she kills with her looks whom she pleases, and whom she revives. Where is the love which she has not betrayed? Where are the promises which she does not break? "

By the same :

"The '*idhar* crept along his cheek, but retreated from the smiling lips it did not dare to kiss. No wonder it should fear death from such a kiss ; saliva is a deadly poison for scorpions.<sup>2</sup> "

By the same :

"I have seen a graceful maid, whose beauty partook of the qualities possessed by that liquor which she poured from the ewer into the wine-cup ; its intoxicating power was in her looks, its colour in her cheeks, its flavour in her kiss."

The author of the *Kharidah* gives as his the following verses in his notice on al-Ḥasan Ibn Abi *Shakhnā*<sup>3</sup>.

"I marvel how your looks, which are so languishing, can captivate the brave and vigorous ; your glance, though sheathed (*in your eyelids*), work the same effects as the unsheathed sword."

The poetical compositions of Umayyah Ibn Abi al-Ṣalt are numerous and good. Towards the end of his life he removed to al-Mahdiyyah<sup>4</sup>, where he died on Monday, the first day of the

1 Literally ; Who bloweth on the knots of patience ; see Sale's *Koran*, note on *sūrat* 1 3, in which a similar expression occurs.

2 See Introduction.

3 Abu 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn Abi al-*Shakhnā*, surnamed al-Mujid, was native of 'Asqalān in Syria, and the greatest poet which that city produced. He was living H. 470 (A. C. 1077-8) 'Imād al-Dīn's *Kharidah* furnishes little information respecting him, but it contains numerous fragments of his poetry. See MS. of the *Bib du Roi*, No. 137., fol. 13 v. In this manuscript, the name of al-*Shakhnā* is written *al-Shajna*. الشجنا

[The Egyptian edition gives al-*Shakhḥba*. The name is not legible in the autograph.—Ed.]

4 Al-Mahdiyyah, a sea-port city lying to the south of Tunis, was founded A. H. 303, by al-Mahdi 'Ubayd Allāh, the first of the Fā imite *Kh*alifs. For its description see al-Bakrī's geography of Northern Africa in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. 12, p. 479.

year 529 H (22 nd October, A. C. 1134), some, however place his death on the 10th Muḥarram, 528\*, and 'Imād al-Dīn says in the *Khariḍah* that he found written at the end of a copy of the *Ḥadiqah* given him by al-qāḍī al-Fāḍl, that the author died on Mondy, 12th of Muḥarram, H. 546; but the first is the true date, because most writers agree in giving it, and it is mentioned also in the *Jinān* of the qāḍī al-Raḥīd Ibn al-Zubayr<sup>1</sup>. Ibn Abi al-Ṣalt died (*as we have said*) at al-Mahdiyyah, and was buried at al-Munastir<sup>2</sup> (of which place we shall again speak in the life of Hibat Allāh al-Būṣīrī). The last words pronounced by him were the following verses of his own composition, which he ordered to be inscribed on his own tomb :

"I have dwelt in thee, O transitory world ! in the full certainty of passing to an eternal abode ; and the most awful circumstance for me in the event, is the obligation of appearing before One Whose judgments are equitable, and Who acts not unjustly. O ! that I knew what reception shall be mine on that day ; for my stock (*of merits*) is small, and my sins are many. If I be covered with confusion for my crimes (*I shall avow the justice of my sentence*), for I deserve the severest punishment inflicted on a sinner. But if mercy and forgiveness be shown me, (*what happiness !*) for bliss shall be there, and joy without end."

In the height of his last illness, he addressed his son 'Abd al-'Aziz in these terms ;

"O, 'Abd al-'Aziz ! thou who art to replace me ! Let the fear of the Lord of Heaven be before thee when I am gone. I thus do bind thee to fulfil a duty which thou knowest (*to be essential*) ; keep therefore thy agreement. If thou actest according to my recommendation, the true direction and thou shall be inseparable ; if thou brekest thy promise, thou shalt err from the rigway. I have now advised thee to the best of my power."

<sup>1</sup> See his life, No. 64.

<sup>2</sup> It would appear from al-Bukri's description of Northern Africa, that Monastir, a sea-port town 50 miles S. E. of Tunis, was a sort of military convent, *o' ribat* : see *Notices of Extrails*, tom. 22, p. 488.

\* 3d April, A. C. 1151.—Ed.



[I have since discovered, in a compilation written by a native of Maghrib, that Abu al-Ṣalt was born at Denia, a city in Spain, in the year 460 (A. C. 1067-8), and that he studied under a number of persons in that country; among others, Abu al-Walīd al-Waqashī, qāḍī of Denia. He arrived at Alexandria with his mother on the festival of Sacrifices (10th *Dhu al-Ḥijjah* 489\* in the year 505 he was banished from Egypt by al-Afḍal *Shāhan-shāh*, but he continued some time at Alexandria, uncertain (*to what country he should go*); he departed in the year 506 for al-Mahdiyyah, where he was honourably received by the sovereign of that city, 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādis'. He there had a son born to him, whom he called 'Abd al-'Aziz, and who became a poet of superior ability and a skilful chess-player; 'Abd al-'Aziz died at Bugia (*in the province of Algier*), H. 546 (A. C. 1151). I may observe that 'Imād al-Dīn, in citing the authority of al-qāḍī al-Fāḍil, has made a mistake and taken the date of the son's death for that of the father's. When Umayyah was imprisoned in Egypt, he composed, by al-Afḍal's orders, a treatise on the use of the astrolabe; a work on astronomy, entitled *al-Wajīz (the compendium)*; a treatise on simple medicines; a work on logic, entitled *Taqwīm al-Dhihn (regulation of the mind)*; another, called the *Intiṣār (Aid)*, containing an answer to 'Alī Ibn Ridwān's<sup>2</sup> refutation of Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq's Medical Questions. When he had composed the *Wajīz* by order of al-Afḍal, that wazīr had it examined by his astronomer Abu 'Abd Allāh of Aleppo, who gave as his opinion that the work could not be made use of by beginners in astronomy, and that those who were masters of that science had no occasion for it. One

1 In the life of Yaḥyā Ibn Tamīm will be found the requisite information respecting 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā: mention is also made, in the same article, of Umayyah Ibn Abi al-Ṣalt, and of some works composed by him, which are not indicated here.

2 'Alī Ibn Ridwān died, A. H. 460 (A. C. 1067-8). See Abu a p. 256. in which work will be found several anecdotes respecting him; see also *Russell's Description of Aleppo*, vol. 2, appendix, p. xix. His life is given in the *Tārīḥ al-Ḥukamā*, MS of the *Bib. du Roi*, supplement, No. 105, page 351.

\* December, A. C. 1096.—Ed.

of Umayyah's verses is as follows :

"Why should his clothes not be worn out, since he is a full moon (in beauty), and they are of linen."

His reason for enouncing so singular a thought is, that linen rots when exposed to the light of the moon. The disease of which Umayyah died was dropsy]<sup>1</sup>.

## 102 IYĀS AL-QĀDĪ

Abū Wāḥilah\* Iyās was son of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Qurrah Ibn Iyās Ibn Hilāl Ibn Rabāb Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Sū'āt Ibn Sāriyah Ibn Dhubyān Ibn Tha'labah Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Aws Ibn Muzaynah for which reason he was surnamed al-Muzani, or the descendant of Muzaynah. He was renowned for eloquence<sup>2</sup> and penetration, and the acuteness of his mind was proverbial; the persons of merit who spoke their language with elegance considered him as their chief; (*his judgment was so sure, that*) his conjectures were verified by the events, and in the management of affairs he showed great dexterity. It is he to whom al-Ḥarīrī alludes in the following passage of his seventh *maqāmah*: *In quickness of understanding, I resemble Ibn 'Abbas, and in the art of physiognomy I possess the talent of Iyās*.<sup>3</sup> He was appointed qāḍī of Baṣrah by (*the khalif,*) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, and his great-grandfather Iyās was one of the companions of Muḥammad. His father Mu'āwiyah, having been asked how his son behaved towards him, replied: "An excellent boy! (*his filial piety*) relieves me from the cares of this world, so that I have leisure to think of the next." Iyās was celebrated for his talents and judgment; he was equally remarkable for his acuteness, instances of which are thus related: Being at a place in which something happened pro-

1 I have since.....to dropsy, is not in the autograph, Ed.

2 An Arab of the desert defined eloquence as the art of expressing one's ideas with precision and brevity. Arabic eloquence is therefore quite different from European: it is Iconicism rather than eloquence.

3 See De Sacy's *Ḥarīrī*, page 72.

\* Egyptian edition gives *Wā'ilah*.—Ed.

ductive of alarm, and where three females whom he did not know were present, he said : "One of these females is pregnant, the other is nursing, and the third is a virgin." On inquiry, it was found that he had judged right; and on being asked how he had acquired that information, he replied : "In time of danger, persons lay their hands on what they most prize; now I saw that the pregnant woman, in her fright, placed her hand on her belly, which showed that she was with child; and I perceived the nurse place her hand on her bosom, by which I knew that she was suckling; and the movement of the virgin's arm<sup>1</sup> proved to me that she was a maid."—\*[Hearing a Jew express his astonishment at the silliness of Muslims in imagining that the inhabitants of paradise are to eat food, and yet not be subject to any natural evacuation, he asked him if all that he eat passed off in that manner and on the Jew's replying, that God converted a portion of it into nourishment, he said : "Why then dost thou deny the possibility of God's converting into nourishment the whole of the food eaten by the inhabitants of paradise?"—Being one day in the court-yard of a house at Wāsiṭ, he said that there was an animal under one of the bricks (*which formed the pavement*) and the people having pulled it up found a snake coiled under it. He was then asked how he came to know it, and he answered : "I saw that, among all the bricks in the pavement, there were only two between which any dampness appeared; so I knew that there must have been somethings underneath which breathed."—As he was one day passing by a place, he said that he heard the howl of a strange dog, and on being asked how he knew that, he answered : "I know it from the lowness of his howl, and the loudness of the other dogs in barking." On examination, it was found that a strange dog was tied up there, and that the other dogs were barking at him.—Another day, he saw a fissure in the ground and said that some animal was beneath, which was found to be true : being asked how he knew it, he replied that a fissure in the ground could only be produced by an animal or by a plant

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic is here much more explicit.

\* From "Hearing" a Jew to "testimony" on page 8 is not in the autograph. Ed.

(*underneath*).—Al-Jāḥiẓ says that, on examining a raised spot in an even soil if the orifice be found of a regular form and surrounded with loose earth, it is a sign that a truffle is below<sup>1</sup>; but if the opening be irregularly shaped, and the earth thrown up unevenly, it denotes the presence of an animal. Were I not apprehensive of being prolix, I should relate many singular instances of his clear-sightedness, but one of our learned men has already compiled a large volume on that subject. When 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was khalif, he wrote to 'Adi Ibn Arṭāh, who acted as his lieutenant in 'Irāq, ordering him to effect a meeting between Iyās Ibn Mu'āwiyah and al-Qāsim Ibn Rabi'ah al-Ḥarashī, and authorising him to appoint the most acute-minded of the two qāḍī of Baṣrah. The meeting having taken place, Iyās said to Ibn Arṭāh: "O amīr! ask the two great doctors of Egypt, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Muḥammad Ibn Sīrin, their opinion of al-Qāsim and me." (*His object in this was, to avoid the heavy responsibility which he should incur, were he to accept the office of qāḍī, and he therefore wished that the choice of the amir should fall upon al-Qāsim, who would certainly be strongly recommended by these two doctors*;) for al-Qāsim went often to see them, whilst he, Iyās, did not. Al-Qāsim (*being equally unwilling to fill the place of qāḍī*), and aware that these two doctors would advise the amir to name him, said: "Make no inquiries respecting me or him, for I solemnly aver by the only true God, that Iyās Ibn Mu'āwiyah is an abler jurisconsult than I, and knows better the duties of a qāḍī; if what I say be false, you cannot legally appoint me, because I am a liar; and if my declaration be true it is incumbent on you to receive it (*and act by it*)."

On this Iyās said: "(O amīr!) you set a man on the brink of perdition, and he escapes the dangers which he apprehends by making a false oath, for which he will implore God's forgiveness." "Since you perceive that" replied 'Adi Ibn Arṭāh, "you are fit to fill the

<sup>1</sup> Truffles are common in the Syrian Desert about the month of April. They are favourite dish with the Arabs. (Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, vol. 1, page 60.)

place" and he appointed him accordingly<sup>1</sup>. It is related of Iyās that he said: "I was never worsted (*in penetration*) but by one man; I had taken my seat in the court of judgment at Baṣrah, when a person came before me and gave testimony that a certain garden of which he mentioned the boundaries, belonged to a man whom he named. (*As I had some doubts of his veracity,*) I asked him how many trees were in that garden; and he said to me, after a short silence, 'How long is it since our lord the qāḍi has been giving judgment in this hall?' I told him the time. 'How many beams' said he, 'are there in the roof?' On which I acknowledged that he was in the right, and I received his testimony."—Iyās was once in the desert, and the water had run short, when he heard the bark of a dog: "That fellow," said he "is at the mouth of a well." His companions, having gone to the place from which the barking proceeded, found the fact as he had stated; on which they asked him how he knew it, and he replied that the barking which he had heard seemed to issue from well. Many other extraordinary instances are recited of his sagaciousness. It is stated by Abu Ishāq Ibn Ḥafṣ that Iyās dreamt that he should live till the next Festival of Sacrifices (*which takes place each year on the 10th Dhū al-Hijjah*); he therefore retired to a farm which he had at 'Abdasi (a village in the dependencies of Dašt Maysān, which place lies between Baṣrah and Khūzistān); and he died there in the year 122 (A. C. 730-40) or, by another account, in the year 121, at the age of 79.

1 In the early ages of Islamism, pious Muslims were detested from exercising the functions of judge, by consideration of the heavy responsibility they should incur, and the strict account they should give to God of their administration. There were many instances of learned juriconsults suffering persecution and punishment rather than consent to fill so dangerous an office. Their apprehensions were grounded on the *Sunnah*, or Traditions, which furnish many positive declarations on the subject; according to one of these traditions, Muḥammad said: "There will come upon a judge, at the day of resurrection, such fear and horror that he will wish: 'Would to God I had not judged between two persons in a trial for the value of single date!'" Muḥammad said also: "He who shall be judge and awards agreeably to justice, will neither gain nor loose." (See other traditions of similar import in Mathew's *Mishkāt al-Maḡdib*, vol. 2, page 221).

In the year of his death, he related that he had a dream<sup>1</sup>, in which it seemed to him that he and his father were riding a race, and that one was unable to outstrip the other; he then mentioned that his father had lived seventy-six years, and that he himself was in that year of his age. On the night before he died, he said: "Do you know that in this night I shall have reached my father's age?" He then went to sleep, and was found dead in the morning. His father Mu'āwiyah died H. 80 (A. C. 699). (*We shall conclude this article by another anecdote respecting Iyās:*) A number of persons, amongst whom was Anas Ibn Mālik<sup>2</sup>, then nearly one hundred years of age, were looking out for the new moon of the month of Ramaḍān<sup>3</sup>; Anas said that he saw it, and he pointed to the place, but the others could not discern it. On this, Iyās went up to Anas, and perceived that a hair of his eyebrow was bent down (*before the pupil of the eye, and thus produced an optical delusion*); he therefore drew his finger over it, and smoothed it to her brow, after which he said: "O Abū Ḥamzah! show us the moon;" and the other looked again, but could not discover it.

### 103 IBN AL-QIRRIYAH AL-HILĀLĪ.

Abū Sulaymān Ayyūb al-Hilālī, surnamed Ibn al-Qirriyah was son of Zayd Ibn Qays Ibn Zurārah Ibn Salamah Ibn Jusham Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Zayd Manāt\* 'Āmir Ibn Sa'd Ibn al-Khazraj Ibn Taym Allāh Ibn al-Nimr Ibn Qasiṭ Ibn Hinb<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note on *dreams* no 19.

<sup>2</sup> Anas Ibn Mālik, one of the last survivors among the Companions of Muhammad, died at Baṣrah, about the year 92 (A. C. 710-11), aged 102 years. He had served ten years under the Prophet, to whose prayers (say the Muslim writers,) he was indebted for his long life, his great wealth (his palm-trees bearing fruit twice every year), and upwards of eighty children — (*Siyar al-Salaf*)

<sup>3</sup> The Muslim Lent begins on the appearance of new moon in the month of Ramaḍān.

<sup>4</sup> I have here suppressed the intervening links of this genealogy, as they have been already given in the life of 'Abū al-Ḥasan al-Banbal; no 19.

[The name of Ibn Afṣar Ibn Dūmāl Ibn Jādilah Ibn Asad Ibn Rab'ah Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'ad have been omitted.—Ed.]

\* The name of Zayd Manāt's father is given in two different ways on the same page as 'Āmir and 'Awf. See next page also.—Ed.

Ibn 'Adnān. Al-Qirriyah was the surname of one of his female ancestors, whose real name was Khumā'ah\*, and who descended also from the Khazraj of the above genealogy; her father, Juḥam, being son to Rabi'ah Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn 'Awf • Ibn Sa'd Ibn al-Khazraj. Ibn al-Qirriyah was an untutored Arab of the Desert, but the elegance and precision of language entitled him to the reputation of being one of the first orators among that people. A season of severe drought having obliged him to quit the Desert, he went to 'Ayn al-Tamar<sup>1</sup>, the governor<sup>2</sup> of which was under the orders of al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf. This governor kept open table every day, morning and evening, and Ibn al-Qirriyah, who had stopped at the door of the palace and saw the people enter, asked where they were going; being informed that they were going to dine with the Amīr, he went in also, and dined along with them. He then asked if the Amīr did so every day and being answered in the affirmative, he went to the palace every day for morning and evening meals. It happened, however, that the Amīr received letter from al-Ḥajjāj, written in the pure Arabic of the Desert, and full of uncommon expressions, which he was unable to understand, and for that reason, he caused dinner to be delayed. Ibn al-Qirriyah, on his arrival, not seeing the Amīr at table, asked why he did not dine, nor have dinner served for his guests; and he was informed that al-Ḥajjāj had sent him (*the governor*) a letter which he could not understand, as it was in the language of the Desert Arabs, and worded in terms of rare occurrence. On this, Ibn al-Qirriyah, who was an able orator and spoke (*the pure Arabic*) with fluency and eloquence, said: "Let the Amīr have the letter read to me, and I shall explain it with the help of God." This being told to the Amīr, he called him in, and Ibn al-Qirriyah, on hearing the letter read, explained to him all the contents.

1 'Ayn al-Tamar is situated on the edge of the Desert to the west of the Euphrates (*Marāṣid*).

2 The word (*جـ*) (*āmīl*), which is here translated governor, signifies literally an agent; it was also the name given to the resident officers who collected the revenue in the provinces.

\* Jamā'ah according to de Slane but the autograph is supported by *al-Qāmūs*.—Ed.

"Could you answer it? said the Amīr. "I cannot read," said Ibn al-Qirriyah, "neither can I write; but I may sit by a person who can write down what I dictate." The answer was drawn up accordingly, and sent to al-Ḥajjāj, who, on hearing it read, perceived that it was in the pure language of the Arabs, and that its expressions were of uncommon elegance; and knowing that such was not the ordinary style of writers in the tax office, he caused the letters of the governor of 'Ayn al-Tamar to be brought, and found that they were not like that which he had just received. He therefore wrote to the governor in the terms: "Your letter has come to hand; it is widely different from your (*usual*) answers, and is in a language not your own: therefore, on the perusal of this, lay it not out of your hand before you send me the man who dictated to you your letter. Adieu". The governor read this note to Ibn al-Qirriyah, and told him to go to al-Ḥajjāj; the other wished to be dispensed, but the governor insisted, and having ordered him a dress, a supply of money, and a conveyance, he sent him off. Ibn al-Qirriyah, on arriving, went to al-Ḥajjāj, who said to him: "What is your name?"—"Ayyūb."—"That," said al-Ḥajjāj, "is the name of a prophet, and yet I think that you are an untutored Arab of the Desert<sup>1</sup>, one who meddles with eloquence, and finds no difficulty in expressing his thoughts." He then gave him a hospitable reception, and his admiration for him increased to such a height, that he intrusted him with a mission to (*the khalīf*) 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. On the revolt of 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays al-Kindi<sup>2</sup> in Sejestān, al-Ḥajjāj sent Ibn al-Qirriyah on a mission to that chieftain. When he entered, Ibn al-Ash'ath said to him: "You must mount the pulpit, and say the *khuṭbah*<sup>3</sup>, and you must pronounce the deposition of 'Abd al-Malik, and revile al-Ḥajjāj: If not, I shall strike off your head." Ibn al-Qirriyah represented that he was an ambassador (*and ought to be respected*),

1 The names of patriarchs and prophets were more frequently borne by the Arabs who dwelt in towns, than by those who inhabited the Desert.

2 See Abulfeda *Annoles*, tom. I p. 423; and Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*, vol. I. p. 455 This revolt took place H. 80 (A.C. 699).

3 See note on *Khuṭbah* no. 78



but the other merely replied that he should do what he had said. He was therefore obliged to mount the pulpit pronounce the deposition of 'Abd al-Malik and rail at al-Ḥajjāj. He then remained at that place. On the defeat and repulse of Ibn al-Ash'ath<sup>1</sup>, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to his agents at Ray, Isfahān, and the neighbouring places, ordering them to arrest all the partisans of Ibn al-Ash'ath whom they might meet, and send them to him prisoners. Ibn al-Qirriyah was among the number that were taken, and on being brought before al-Ḥajjāj the following dialogue ensued<sup>2</sup> :—Al-Ḥajjāj : "Answer what I ask thee!" —Ibn al-Qirriyah : "Ask what thou wilt."—Ḥ. : "What sayest thou of the people of 'Irāq?"—Q. : "They know the best of any the difference between true (*rights*) and vain (*pretensions*)."  
—Ḥ. : "And what of the people of Ḥijāz?"—Q. : "They are the most prompt of any to sedition, and the feeblest when in it."—Ḥ. :—"What of the people of Syria?"—Q. : They are the slaves of him who conquers;" —Ḥ. : "Those of Baḥrayn?" —Q. ; "They are Nabateans become Arabs."—Ḥ. : "What sayest thou of the people of 'Ammān?"—Q. : "They are Arabs become Nabateans<sup>3</sup>."—Ḥ. : "The people of Moṣul?"—Q. : "The bravest of horsemen, and the most fatal to their foes." —Ḥ. : "And those of Yaman?"—Q. : "People who hear and obey, and cling to the strong side." Ḥ. : "Those of Yamāmah?" Q. : "They are rude and fickle, yet most firm in fight." Ḥ. : "The people of Fārs?" Q. : They are mighty in their violence, and ready to work woe; their plains are extensive, their towns few." Ḥ. : "Now tell me of the Arabs," Q. : "Ask." Ḥ. : "The Quraysh?" Q. : "The greatest in prudence, and the noblest

1 H. 83 (A. C. 702) Price's *Retrospect*, page 461.

2 This singular dialogue or catechism is frequently cited by Arabic historians and philologists; and is remarkable as an encyclopaedia of the knowledge possessed at that period by the inhabitants of the Desert; it is frequently obscure, its style being singularly concise and ancient. But it may be doubted if such a conversation as this really took place between al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn al-Qirriyah.

3 The contempt of the Arabs for the Nabateans is well known.

4 I have doubts respecting the real meaning of expression اكرههم سباحا

5 I may be possibly mistaken here.

in rank" H.: "The tribe of 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah?" Q.: "They bear the longest spears, and are the bravest in making inroads<sup>1</sup>." H.: "The Banū Sulaym?" Q.: "The most sociable, and also the most generous in their gifts for God's service<sup>1</sup>." H.: "The tribe of Thaqif?" Q.: "The noblest by their ancestry, and the most frequent in their deputations." H.: "And the Banū Zubayd?" Q.: "They are the most attached to their standards, and the most successful in their vengeance<sup>2</sup>." H.: "What sayest thou of the tribe of Quḏā'ah?" Q.: "The greatest in importance, the noblest in origin, and the widest in renown." H.: "What of the Anṣārs?" Q.: "The best established in rank, the most sincere in their acceptance of Islāmism, and the most illustrious in their combats." H.: "The tribe of Tamim?" Q.: "The most conspicuous for their fortitude, and the greatest by their numbers." H.: "Bakr Ibn Wā'il?" Q.: "The firmest in their ranks, the sharpest in their swords." H.: "And 'Abd al-Qays?" Q.: "The first to reach the goal, and the best swordsmen under standards." H.: "What of the Banu Asad?" Q.: "A people great in number and fortitude; difficult to overcome, and firm in resisting." H.: "The tribe of Lakḥm?" Q.: "Princes, but some of them fools<sup>2</sup>." H.: "And Judḥām?" Q.: "They light up war, and fan it into a flame; they make it fruitful, and they reap the profits<sup>3</sup>." H.: "The Banu al-Ḥārith?" Q.: "They are maintainers of their ancient glory, and protectors of female honour." H.: "The tribe of 'Akk?" Q.: "Obstinate lions with hearts working evil." H.: "Taghlib?" Q.: "They strike home when they meet the enemy, and they raise around him the flames of war." H.: "And Ghassān?" Q.: "They of the Arabs possess the highest reputation, and the best established genealogy." H.: "Which of the Arab tribes in the time of paganism was the farthest above the reach of insult?" Q.: "Quraysh; the people of a hill (*of glory*) which is inaccessible, of a mount not to be shaken; dwelling in a town of which God declared

1 This is the tribe to which al-Ḥajjāj belonged.

2 It was to this tribe that the Mundhirs of Ḥirah belonged.

3 Literally: They impregnate it and milk it.

the rights sacred, and took under His protection the clients who sought its shelter." H.: "Tell me now of the character of each Arabian tribe in the time of paganism." Q.: "The Arabs used to say: Ḥimyar are lords of the kingdom; Kindah are the pure race of kings; Madhij are spearmen; Hamdān horsemen<sup>1</sup>; and Azd, the lions of the human race." H.: "Tell me now about the countries of the earth." Q.: "Ask." H.: "What is India?" Q.: "Its seas are pearl; its mountains rubies; its trees, (*sweet-smelling*) aloes; their leaves, perfumes; its people, a vile multitude, (*fearful*) as a flock of pigeons." H.: "The people of *Khurāsān*?" Q.: "Their waters are frozen, and the enemy they must contend with obstinate<sup>2</sup>." H.: "What sayest thou of 'Umān?" Q.: "Its heat is violent, and its game ready at hand." H.: "And Baḥrayn<sup>3</sup>?" Q.: "It is a heap of refuse between the two cities."<sup>4</sup> H.: "What of Yaman?" Q.: "It is the stock from which the Arabs are sprung; the people come of noble houses, and bear a high reputation." H.: "And Makkah?" Q.: "Its men are learned yet rude, and its women clothed yet naked." H.: "Madinah?" Q.: "It was there learning took root and sprang up." H.: "Baṣrah?" Q.: "Its winters are frosty, its heats violent; its waters salt, and its wars peace." H.: "And Kūfan?" Q.: "It is so high that it feels not the heat of the sea, and so low that the cold of Syria does not reach it; its nights are pleasant, and its good things abundant." H.: "What sayest thou of Wāsiṭ?" Q.: "It is a wife<sup>5</sup> placed between mother-in-law and a sister-in-law." H.:

1 Literally: Saddle cloths; that is always on horseback.

2 Probably the Turkish tribes.

3 *Baḥrayn*, as it is now written and pronounced, is a noun in the accusative case of the dual; it would appear that in old times it was pronounced *Baḥrān* in the nominative, which is more correct. The province of *Baḥrayn* is to the south-west of the Persian Gulf.

4 This I do not understand; but Kūfah and Baṣrah were sometime called the two cities.

5 I have followed the authority of the MSS. in printing *جنته* a garden in the Arabic text, but I am inclined to think that *حنه* (a wife) is the true reading. According to Abu al-Fida, Wāsiṭ lay between Kūfah and Baṣrah at the distance of fifty parasangs from each.

"And what are its mother-in-law and sister-in-law?" Q.: Baṣrah and Kūfah, which are jealous of it; but what harm can await it, since the Tigris and the Zāb shed, as they flow, prosperity upon it?" Ḥ.: "What of Syria?" Q.: "It is a fair bride, with females seated around her." Ḥ.: "Woe be to thee<sup>2</sup> 'O Ibn Qirriyah? (*it had been better for thee*) that thou hadst not followed the people of 'Irāq and adopted their hypocritical doctrines, after my telling thee to avoid them." He then called forth the executioner, to whom Ibn al-Qirriyah made a sign to wait, and then said: May God prosper the Amīr! (*let me say only*) three words, which shall become proverbs after my death<sup>3</sup>." Ḥ.: "Out with them." Q.: "The best horse may stumble; the best sword may rebound without cutting; and the man of prudence may commit a fault." Ḥ.: "This is not a time for jesting. Slave, inflict his (*death's*) wound!" On these words, the executioner struck off his head. According to another account, al-Ḥajjāj said, as he was about to put Ibn al-Qirriyah to death: "The Arabs pretend that for each thing there is a cause of ruin what then is the ruin for clemency?" Q.: "Anger." Ḥ.: "What is the ruin of knowledge?" Q.: "To bestow on those in affliction, and tell them that they are undeserving." Ḥ.: "What ruins the credit of the generous?" Q.: "To keep company with the base." Ḥ.: "What is the ruin of bravery?" Q.: "Tyranny". Ḥ. what is the ruin of piety? Q.: "Lukewarmness." Ḥ.: "And of genius?" Q.:

2 Literally: May thy mother be bereft of thee!

3 In the translation I have omitted rendering the expression *كانهن ركب ووقف* as it is impossible to make it understood without a note. Ibn al-Qirriyah's words are: "May God prosper the Amīr! *the words are like a troop of travellers when halted.*" This is most probably an allusion to the third verse of Imr al-Qays's *Mu'allaqah*, in which the poet describes his sorrow at the sight of the abandoned cottage where mistress dwelt, and relates that his two companions stopped their camels *وقفوا* and endeavoured to console him. Their troop was therefore composed of three persons, and it is this number of three that Ibn al-Qirriyah made allusion. He merely meant that the words which he had to say were three in number, like the troops of Imra al-Qays. Al-Ḥajjāj possessing, as he did, a great acquaintance with the language, customs, and poems of the Desert Arabs must have immediately understood the expression.

"Ambition." H. : "And of traditon?" Q. : "Falsehood." H. : "What is the ruin of property. Q. : "Bad management. H. : "What is the ruin of the perfect man? Q. : Privation (of life). H. What is the ruin of al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf? Q. : "May God prosper the Amir ! nothing can ruin one whose reputation is noble, whose family is illustrious, and whose fortune is flourishing<sup>1</sup>." H. : Thou art full of schism ; thou hast shown thyself a hypocrite ! Strike off his head." "When he saw him dead, he was sorry for it. I took the above account from the work entitled *Kitāb al Lafīf*<sup>2</sup>, and gave it in full, as it was so connected that it was not possible to make an extract from it. To the demand of a learned man, who asked him the definition of address<sup>3</sup>, Ibn al-Qirriyah replied : "To bear with vexations, and wait for opportunities." The following was his definition of embarrassment : Stammering not produced by a natural infirmity, hesitation without motive<sup>4</sup>, and stumbling without cause. He was put to death A. H. 84 (A. C. 730). This is the person meant by the grammarians when, in citing their examples, they say Ibn al-Qirriyah in the time of al-Ḥajjāj<sup>5</sup>. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahānī says, in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī* after giving a full account of Majnūn, the lover of Laylā<sup>6</sup>: "It has even been said that there are three persons who had never any real existence, though their (*supposed*) adventures and names are well known ; namely, Majnūn, the lover of Laylā, Ibn al-Qirriyah," (*he of whom we are now speaking*), "and Yahyā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi al-'Aqb, the putative author of the *Malāḥim*?" Ibn al-Qirriyah was so

1 Literally : Whose branches are growing.

2 This work is not noticed by Ḥāj. Khalīfah

3 Meaning address in the management of affairs.

4 Literally : Not arising from doubtfulness (or mental incertitude).

5 I take the words *Ibn al-Qirriyah in the time of al-Ḥajjāj* to be grammatical example cited to prove that a noun governed in the genitive case by a preposition may sometimes be put in the accusative, and the preposition suppressed, thus *في زمان* is for *في زمان*.

6 See M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 150

7 The *Malāḥim* (*prognostics*) is a collection of predictions and pretended prophecies. There were a number of works which bore this title. M. de Sacy has an excellent note on the subject in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. page 298 *et seq.*

named after al-Qirriyah, mother of Juṣham Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Amr, one of his ancestors; she had been first married to 'Amr and on his death she became the wife of his son Mālik,<sup>1</sup> by whom she had Juṣham. *Qirriyah* as an appellative noun, signifies *the crop of a bird*, but it was given to this woman as her real name. Some learned genealogists state that al-Qirriyah's true name was Khumā'ah\* (as has been said towards commencement of this article;) and that she had two sons by Mālik: Juṣham, ancestor of Ibn al-Qirriyah, and Kulayb, maternal grandfather of al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭlib, uncle of Muḥammad; for Nutaylah or Natlah, mother of al-'Abbās, was daughter of Ḥubbāb†, son of Kulayb, son of Mālik; from this it would appear that al-'Abbās was a descendant of al-Qirriyah. Ibn Qutaybah says, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, that Ibn al-Qirriyah was surnamed *Hilālī* because he sprung from the tribe of Hilāl Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn 'Āmir; but Ibn al-Kalbī states that he descended from Mālik Ibn 'Amr Ibn Zayd Manāt: there is then no Hilāl in Ibn al-Qirriyah's genealogy (as given by Ibn al-Kalbī), and Hilāl and Mālik are only related to each other through Zayd Manāt; God knows best!—*Hilālī* means *descended from Hilāl* Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Zayd Manāt, a branch of the tribe of Nimr Ibn Qāsiṭ: there is another Arabian tribe of the same name descended from 'Āmir Ibn Ṣaṣa'ah. Ibn al-Kalbī has noticed these two tribes in his *Jamharat al-Nisab*, and marked the relationship by marriage which existed between them; the reader is, therefore, referred to that work.

#### 104. NAJM AL-DIN AYYŪB

Abu al-Shukr Ayyūb Ibn Shādhī Ibn Marwān, surnamed al-Malik al-Aḥḍal Najm al-Dīn (*the excellent prince, the star of religion*), was father of the sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yūsuf, to whose life the reader is referred for the rest of the genealogy, and the

1 These incestuous marriages were common before Islamism. See Pocock's *Specimen*, p. 350, 2nd ed.

\* M. de Slane writes *Jamā'ah* and Egyptian edition also supports this reading.—*Ed.*

† M. de Slane gives Ḥubbāb.

nature of the uncertainty which prevails respecting it; we need not therefore repeat it here. A historian says: "Shādhī Ibn Marwān belonged to one of the most eminent and respectable families of Duwin<sup>1</sup>; he had there a companion called Jamāl al-Dawlat al-Mujāhid Bihruz," (the same who is mentioned in the life of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.) "who was a most engaging and insinuating man, and gifted with superior abilities for the management of affairs; they were like two brothers for their mutual attachment, but an adventure which happened to Bihruz at Duwin forced him to abandon that city in shame and confusion. Having been suspected of improper familiarity with the wife of an Amir, he was seized and castrated by the husband; after this cruel mutilation, he would remain no longer in the city, but departed with the intention of entering the service of the sultān (of *ʿIrāq*), Ghiyāth al-Dīn Masʿūd, son of Mūḥammad Ibn Malikshāh.\*" (The lives of these princes will be found in this work). "He there became acquainted with the tutor of the sultān's sons, and gained his favour and confidence by the address and skill which he displayed in all the affairs entrusted to his management; the tutor even authorised him to ride out with the young princes, when business prevented him from accompanying them himself. The sultān having perceived him one day with his sons, rebuked the tutor, who informed him that the person whom he had seen was a eunuch possessing great talents, and highly to be commended for his piety and morality. He then sent Bihruz occasionally on business to the sultān, who at length took much pleasure in his company, and chose him for his companion when he played at chess or draughts.<sup>2</sup> Bihruz got thus into such favour, that on the death of the tutor, he was chosen to fill his place; and being also entrusted by the prince with every affair of importance, his reputation spread over the empire. He then sent to Shādhī inviting him to come and witness the prosperity which he had attained, and partake of the good fortune with which God had favoured

1 *Duwin* or *Dawin*, is the Arabic name of the city of Tovin in Armenia. (St. Martin's *Mem. hist. l'Arménie*, tom. I. p. 119.)

2 Draughts, in Arabic *Nurd*. See Hyde's treatise *de Ludis Orientalibus*.

\*M. de Slane writes *Malakshah*—Ed.

him, 'for,' said he, 'I wish you to know that I do not forget you.' On his arrival, Shādhī met with the greatest attention and kindness from his old friend, and he afterwards, with his sons, accompanied Bihruz to Baghdād, whither he had been sent by the sulṭān as governor: it being the custom of the Saljūq sulṭāns to have a lieutenant in that city. Bihruz having received the castle of Tikrit in gift from his sovereign, appointed Shādhī to the command of that place, finding that he above all others, was worthy of this mark of confidence. Shādhī died at Tikrit, and was succeeded by his son Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (the subject of this article), who obtained, for his able administration, the thanks and the rewards of Bihruz. He was older than his brother Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh\* (whose life we intend to give). This relation differs in some points from that which is contained in the life of Ṣalāh al-Dīn (*given in this work*); but the facts may, no doubt, be perfectly established by combining the two accounts. We have also mentioned in that article by what means it was, that 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī, lord of Moṣul, became acquainted with Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb and Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh; there is therefore no necessity for repeating it<sup>1</sup>. It happened some time after this that one of the females went out of the castle of Tikrit on some business, and passed, on her return, by Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb and his brother Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh, who remarked that she was weeping, and asked her the cause; on which she told them that on entering the castle, she had been insulted by the Isfahsalār.<sup>2</sup> Shayrkūh, on hearing this, rose up, and seizing the halberd which belonged to that officer, struck him with it and killed him. In consequence of this, Najm al-Dīn imprisoned him and wrote to Bihruz, informing him of the circumstance, and putting Shayrkūh at his disposal. Bihruz made answer in these terms: "I have been under obligations to your father, who was my intimate friend; it is not therefore possible for me to treat either of you with severity; but it is my wish that you and your

1 I suspect that what follows is a continuation of the preceding extract.

2 See No. 100, note on إسماعيل.

\*M. de Sane gives *Shirkūh*.—Ed.



brother retire from my service, that you leave the city of Tikrīt, and seek your livelihood where you will." This letter having put it out of their power to remain any longer at Tikrīt, they went to Moṣul where they met with a favourable reception from the Atābak 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, who treated them with great honour and kindness, on account of his former acquaintance with them, and granted them a rich fief. When this Atābak obtained afterwards possession of the castle of Ba'labek, he appointed Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb as his lieutenant in that place. All these circumstances have been already related in the life of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn but in different terms. When I was at Ba'labek I saw there a convent of Ṣūfis, founded by Najm al-Dīn during his stay in that city, and called *the Najmiyah* after him. He was a man of great holiness and piety, fond of virtuous society and animated (*in all his actions*) by the purest motives and the best intentions. We have mentioned in the beginning of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's life some particulars respecting his father Najm al-Dīn, and have there related his appointment to the government of Ba'labek by Zangī and his removal afterwards to Damascus; it is not therefore necessary to repeat the same account here. When Shayrkūh went to Egypt to assist Shāwir, his brother Ayyūb remained at Damascus in the service of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Zangī. We shall speak of this expedition in the life of Shayrkūh and in that of Shāwir. In the reign of al-'Ādid, the (*Fāṭimite khalif and*) lord of Egypt, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn became wazīr of that country, and sent to request the presence of his father Ayyūb, who was still in Syria. In pursuance of his desire, Ayyūb was authorised to set out for Egypt, and was accompanied by a guard of honour furnished by Nūr al-Dīn, who defrayed also all the expenses of the journey<sup>1</sup>. He arrived at Cairo on the 24 Rajab, 565 H. (April, A.C. 1170)\*; on approaching the city, al-'Ādid went out to meet him, in order to testify his esteem for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who, on his part, treated his father with all due honour and respect; he even offered to resign the authority

---

1 I have here been obliged to paraphrase, in order to render fully the ideas expressed by the original.

\* 13 April—Ed.

over to him, but Ayyūb replied: "O, my son! God had not chosen thee to fill this place, hadst thou not been deserving of it; and it is not right to change the object of Fortune's favours." Ayyūb continued to remain with his son till the latter obtained the sovereignty of Egypt, particulars of which event shall be given in his life. On the departure of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to lay siege to Karak<sup>1</sup>, his father remained at Cairo, and as he was one day riding out to exercise, as was customary with the troops; his horse stumbled after passing through the Bāb al-Naṣr, which is one of the city gates, and threw him in the middle of the road; this happened on Monday, 18 of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 568 H. (end of July, A. C. 1173)\*. Having been carried home, he continued in great suffering till death took place on Wednesday, 27 of the same month. Such is the statement of generality of historians, the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn amongst the rest; this author says, however, that Ayyūb died on a Tuesday, and I read in the historical work of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm,<sup>2</sup> a passage extracted from a note written by Aḍad al-Dīn Murhif,† Ibn Usāmah,<sup>3</sup> stating that Ayyūb died on Monday, 18 of Dhū al-Ḥijjah; but it is manifest that 'Aḍad al-Dīn fell into this mistake from supposing that he died the same day on which he fell from his horse. Ayyūb was buried by the side of his brother Shayrakkūh in a chamber of the royal palace, and some years later, their bodies were transported to Madīnah; I find the following passage in a diary, composed by the qāḍī al-Faḍīl,

1 This was in A.H. 568; see Abu al-Fida's *Annals* and M. Reinaud's *Extraits*, c.c., p. 151.

2 The life of this historian has been given by M. de Sacy, in the *Biographie universelle*, article Kemal al-Dīn; and M. Freytag, in his *selecta ex Historiæ Halebi*. He died A.H. 660 (A. 1262). The passage to which Ibn Khallikān alludes is not to be found in the *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No 728. On the contrary, that work places Ayyūb's death on the 28 Dhū al-Ḥijjah. It must therefore be his *Bugh̃hiyat al-Talab*, or *biographical dictionary of the illustrious men of Aleppo*, which contains the note here spoken of, but this I have been unable to verify, as the MS. of the *Bugh̃hiyat* belonging to the *Bib. du Roi* is incomplete; it proceeds only as far as "أيه".

3 See No. 64, note on the son of Usāmah.

\* 30 July.—Ed.

† M. de Slane gives *Murhif*—Ed.

and in his own handwriting, in which he mentions the occurrences of each day: "On Thursday, 4 Šafar, 580 (May, A. C. 1184)\*, a letter written by Badr al-Dīn, formerly *mamlūk* of Asad al-Dīn Šayrkūh, came from Madinah, with the information that the two coffins, containing the bodies of the amīrs Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb and Asad al-Dīn Šayrkūh had arrived, and that they had been deposited in the mausoleum prepared for their reception, and which is situated near the sacred tomb of the Prophet; may God grant to them the (*spiritual*) advantages of that neighbourhood!" Šalāh al-Dīn was on his way from Karak to Egypt, when he received the news of his father's death, and his affliction was the more poignant from his having been absent at the time. The following is an extract from a letter of consolation written by the Qādī al-Fāḍil, in the name of Šalāh al-Dīn, to 'Izz al-Dīn Farūkh Shāh Ibn Shāhanshāh Ibn Ayyūb, lord of Ba'labek and a nephew of that prince: "The fatality which has befallen our deceased lord (may God pardon him his sins and shed mercy on his tomb!) is a cause of great pain and extreme sorrow; and our sadness was doubled by our absence from his death-bed; though we invoke the aid of patience, it refuses to come but tears obey our wishes. O, what a misfortune! to be deprived of him who has thus deprived us of consolation; whose death has made all other affliction appear light, and sundered the bonds of our happiness, formerly so complete, and now, broken for ever!"

The hand of Death snatched him away in my absence; and had I been present, what could I have done?"

The doctor 'Umārat al-Yamānī (whose life shall be given) lamented his death in a long *qasidah*, the greater part of which is excellent; it begins thus:

"It is the greatest shock (*which could happen*)! and a double reward shall be his, who hath shown firmness in abiding its terrors."

---

1 Literally: By whose death the collected mass of happiness was scattered, so that, after its union, it became fragments.

\* 17 May.—*Ed.*

The learned Ibn Abi al-Ṭay of Aleppo<sup>1</sup> says in his greater history that Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb was born in Sijistān, or by another account, at Jabal Jūr,<sup>2</sup> and that he was brought up in the city of Moṣul; but in this he is in contradiction with every other author, and my only reason for noticing his statement is to prevent those who may read that passage, and who are unacquainted with history, from supposing that it is exact, which is by no means the case; the true circumstances being those which we have mentioned above. *Shādhī* is Persian word and means joyful<sup>3</sup>—Duwin is the name of a city in the most northern extremity of Adherbījān, near Georgia. *Duīnī* and *Dunī*, are relative adjectives derived from it. The mosque and cistern which are outside the Gate of Victory (*Bāb al-Naṣr*, at Cairo, were constructed by Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb and it appears from an inscription on the stone placed over the cistern, and which I have myself seen, that it was built by him. A.H. 566 (A. D. 1170-1).

#### 105. BĀDĪS IBN AL-MANŞŪR

Abū Manād Bādīs Ibn al-Manşūr Ibn Bulukkīn Ibn Zīrī Ibn Manād<sup>4</sup> al-Ḥimyarī al-Ṣunhāji (*descended from the tribe of Ḥimyar through that of Ṣunhāj*) was father of al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs (whose life shall be given later); the rest of his genealogy will be mentioned in the life of his grandson Tamīm. Bādīs governed the kingdom of Ifriqiyah as lieutenant to al-Hākīm al-'Ubaydī, the pretended *khalīf*

1 Ibn Abi al-Ṭay Ibn Ḥumaydah, a native of Aleppo, wrote a history of that city in the form of Annals, which he entitled *Ma'adin al-Diḥab fi Tārīkh Ḥalab* (*Goldmines, being a treatise on the history of Aleppo*). He died H. 630 (A. C. 1232-3).—(Ḥājjī *Khalīfah*).

2 Jabal Jūr (Mount Jūr) is the name of a region in Armenia, on the borders of Diy r Bakr, containing a number of castles and villages inhabited by Armenians.—(*Marāsid ul-Iṭlā'*).

3 It does not mean *joyful*, but *joy*.

4 For the pronunciation of these names, I have followed Ibn *Khalīkān*. See the lives of Zīrī and Bulukkīn.

of Egypt, who gave him the title of Naṣīr al-Dawlat (*aid of the empire*); he succeeded to government on the death of his father al-Manṣūr, which happened on Thursday, 3 of the First Rabi', H. 386 (March, A. C. 996)\*, in the great castle which he possessed outside the city of Ṣabrah<sup>1</sup> and in which he was interred the next day. Pādīs was a powerful and resolute prince; he possessed great bodily strength, and could break a spear by merely brandishing it: his birth took place on Saturday† evening, 13 of the First Rabi', H. 374 (August, A. C. 984), at 'Āshir, a place of which mention has been made in the life of Ibn Qurqūl.<sup>2</sup> He continued to govern with prosperity till A. H. 406; on Tuesday, 29 Dhu al-Qa'dah‡ of that year, he reviewed his army, which passed before the canopy under which he was seated to receive its salutations. He continued sitting till the afternoon, and then returned to his palace, highly pleased with the beauty of his troops, the splendour of their equipment, and their excellent condition. In the evening of the same day, he rode out with a superb escort, and caused the soldiers to exercise in his presence; he then went back to his palace, delighted with the prosperous state of his affairs, and took his place at a feast with his favourites and the other persons admitted to his table; during the repast he was animated with joy to a degree never observed in him before; the company at length withdrew, and about midnight he expired. His death was kept secret, and his brother Karāmat Ibn Manṣūr was established

---

1 The city of Maḡhrib, called al-Manṣūriyah, after al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qā'im, bore previously the name of Ṣabrah—(*Marāḡid al-Iḡlā'*) Al-Bakri has given a description of this city: see *Notices et Extraits*, XII, page. 473.

2 See No. 18. This city was built by Zīrī Ibn Manād, H. 324 (A. C. 935-6). It was a place of such natural strength that ten men were sufficient to defend it, and it contained within its walls two copious springs of excellent water. (Al-Nuwayri, MS. No. 702 fol. 28. *Notices et Extraits*, t. XIII. p. 519).

\* 26 March.—Ed.

† It should be Sunday which fell on 16 corresponding to 17 August.—Ed.

‡ 8 May, 1016.—Ed.

ostensibly as sovereign<sup>1</sup> (*by the chief officers of the kingdom*), till they went to al-Mu'izz, son of Bādīs, and placed him at the head of affairs. It is stated, in the work called *al-Duwal al-Munqafi'ah*<sup>2</sup> that the death of Bādīs happened in the following manner: he had set out for Tripoli, and remained near it for a considerable time with the intention of attacking it; having sworn to depart till he had rendered (*the soil on which*) it (*was built*) as a field fit for grain. (To avoid prolixity, I abstain from relating the motive which induced him to take this determination.) In consequence of this, the inhabitants of the city went to a school-master called Muhriz, (*who was in great reputation for sanctity*); and said to him: "O thou who art God's friend! thou hast heard the declaration of Bādīs; call therefore on God to deliver us from his violence." On this, Muhriz raised his hands to heaven and said: "O Lord of Bādīs! preserve us from Bādīs." That very night, Bādīs died of a quinsy—*Ṣunhāji* means *belonging to* *Ṣunhāj* or *Ṣinhāj*, a great and celebrated tribe in Maghrib, descended from Ḥimyar. Ibn Durayd says that *Ṣunhājiah* is the true pronunciation, and he admits of no other; but some persons allow that *Ṣinhājiah* also is correct.—The orthography by the names of Bādīs' ancestors shall be given hereafter.

## 106. 'IZZ AL-DAWLAT BAKHTIYĀR

Abū Maṣṣūr Bakhtiyār, surnamed 'Izz al-Dawlat (*might of the empire*), was son of Mu'izz al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh, whose life has

---

1 On the death of Bādīs, the chief officers<sup>1</sup> of the empire met and agreed to appoint his brother Karāmāt ostensibly as sovereign till tranquillity would be re-established, and that he should then place al-Mu'izz, son of Bādīs, at the head of affairs. As their design was not generally known, the partisans of al-Mu'izz murmured at Karāmāt's nomination, but were promptly appeased on learning for what object he was appointed.—(Al-Nuwayrī; MS. No. 702, fol. 35 verso.)

2 See note on *al-Duwal Munqafi'ah*, No. 68.

been already given, with the genealogy of the family.<sup>1</sup> 'Izz al-Dawlat succeeded to the government of the kingdom the same day on which his father died (*Monday, 17 of the Second Rabi' H. 356*)\*. In the year 364 (A. C. 974-5), the *khalif* al-Ṭāi' gave him in marriage his daughter *Shāh Zanān*†<sup>2</sup> on whom a dowry.‡ of one hundred thousand *dinārs* was settled by her husband; the marriage-sermon<sup>3</sup> was pronounced by the *qāḍi* Muḥammad Ibn Quray'ah, whose life is given in this work § 'Izz al-Dawlat was a noble prince, and possessed such bodily strength that he would seize an enormous bull by the horns and throw him to the ground. He was profuse in his expenses, in his grants, and in his allowances to the officers of his court. It was related by a wax-chandler of Baḡdād named Bishr, that Aḍad al-Dawlat (on entering that city after the death of his nephew 'Izz al-Dawlat,) asked him respecting the wax-light which was kept burning in the presence of the prince, and was informed that it was furnished out of a monthly allowance of two thousands pounds weight of wax granted, for that object, to the wazīr Abu al-Ṭāhir Ibn Baqiyah : which allowance 'Aḍad al-Dawlat found so excessive, that he would not suffer the usage to be continued<sup>4</sup> in its full extent. (The life of the wazīr Ibn Baqiyah will be given in the letter M)—A contestation which arose between 'Izz al-Dawlat and his uncle 'Aḍad al-Dawlat relative to their respective possessions, caused a breach between them which led to a war; and on Wednesday, 18 *Shawwāl*, 367 (May, A. C. 288||), they met and

1 See No. 71.

2 *Shāh Zamān*. or prince of the age; a singular title for a female, but we have another example in *Shāh Firēd*, the name of the Omayyide *khalif* Yazīd Ibn al-Walīd's mother.—(*al Nujūm*, A. H. 126).

3 *The marriage-sermon; kḥuṭbah of the bond*. See the description of the ceremony in Lane's *modern Egyptians*, vol. I, p. 200.

4 One of my manuscripts has *ليعود* in the singular; this reading appears preferable.

\* 1 April, 967 A.C.—*Ed.*

† M. de Slane has *Zamān* which is wrong. The Cairo edition (1948) also follows the same reading.—*Ed.*

‡ *مداق* (*Saddaq*) : Marriage gift by the husband.—*Ed.*

§ "in letter M" should be added.—*Ed.*

|| 29 May.—*Ed.*

fought a battle, in which 'Izz al-Dawlat was slain, at the age of thirty-six years. His head was placed on a tray, and presented to 'Aḍad al-Dawlat, who, on seeing it, covered his eyes with his handkerchief and wept.—(We shall give the life of 'Aḍad al-Dawlat.)

## 107. BARKYARUQ

Abu al-Muẓaffar Barkyārūq, son of the sultān Malik Shāh Ibn Alp Arslān Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Mikāyil Ibn Saljūq Ibn Daqāq, and entitled Rukn al-Dīn (*pillar of religion*). Shihāb al-Dawlat (*flambeau of the empire*), and Majd al-Mulk (*glory of the kingdom*), was a prince of the Saljūq dynasty: (we shall give an account hereafter of a number of persons sprung from the same stock). He succeeded to the empire on the death of his father, who, as we shall mention in its proper place, possessed a more extensive kingdom than any other (*sovereign of that family*), having entered Samarqand and Bukhārā, and carried the war into Transoxiana. Barkyārūq appointed his brother Sinjar (see his life in the letter S) as his lieutenant in Khurāsān, and in one of his wars he slew his uncle Tutush (as shall be related in the letter T). He was highly fortunate in his enterprises, and was animated by a lofty spirit; the only fault he had was his addiction to wine. He was born H. 474 (A. C. 1081-2) and died at Burūjird on the twelfth of the latter Rabi' (some say of the first), A. H. 498 (A. C. 1104\*). He had governed as Sultān during twelve years and some months.<sup>2</sup>—Burūjird is a town at eighteen parasangs from Hamadān.

1 The word shihāb, which is here translated *flambeau*, means a shooting star.

2 A fuller account of this prince's life will be found in Mir'āsān's *History of the Saljukides*, edited and translated into German by Professor Vullers in 1838. A still more satisfactory notice of Barkyārūq will be found in Von Hammer-Purgstall's *Gemeinesaal*; fünfter Band.

\* 1 January, 1105, or 2 December, 1104.—Ed.



## 108. ABU AL-ṬĀHIR AL-RAFFA AL-ANMĀṬĪ

Abu al-Ṭāhir Barakāt was son of the Shaykh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, son of the Shaykh Abū al-Faḍl Ṭāhir Ibn Barakāt Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad bn Aḥmad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Hāshim: he was surnamed al-Khushū'i, al-'Dimishqī, al-Jirūnī, al-Furshī and al-Raffa al-Anmāṭī. He drew his knowledge of the Traditions from the highest sources, and he handed down some of them on the authority of certain Traditionists, from whom he alone, of all the persons of his time, possessed certificates of licence to that effect.<sup>1</sup> He was the link which connected the past and the rising generation of Traditionists;<sup>2</sup> for in his latter days he was the sole person who had heard Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Akfānī teach, and who was himself authorised to teach by al-Akfānī. He was also the sole person who possessed a similar certificate from al-Ḥarīrī the author of the *Maqāmat*, which certificate was dated *Baṣrah* H. 512 (A. C. 1118).<sup>3</sup> Abu al-Ṭāhir al-Anmāṭī belonged to a family of Traditionists, and he, his father, and grandfather, were Traditionists themselves. His father having been asked why they were called the Khushū'ūn (*humble*), replied that one of their ancestors, when acting as imām to a congregation, died in the *miḥrāb*<sup>4</sup> and was named al-Khushū'i, which word is formed from Khushū' (*humility*).<sup>5</sup> Abu al-Ṭāhir was born at Damascus, in the month of Rajab,\* 510 (A. C. 1116), and died in the same city on

1 I have paraphrased the text here, so as to render intelligible the nature of the sort of certificate called *Ijāzah* اجازة.

2 In Arabic الحق الاصاغر بالاكابر a technical expression employed only in speaking of Traditionists.

3 Abu al-Ṭāhir was then only two years of age, if the date of his birth, as given by Ibn Khallikān, be correct. [One of the dates is incorrect, the date of *Ijāzah* is written on the margin.—Ed.]

4 See No. 16, note on *miḥrāb*.

5 It appears from this that Abu al-Ṭāhir died in making one of the prostrations ordained by the Muslim ritual as a sign of the worshipper's humility and profound submission to the Deity. [The text refers to one of his ancestors.—Ed.]

\* In the autograph the word منى (Safar) is written under رجب (Rajab); this appears to be a slip of pen.—Ed.

the Šafar, 598 (November, A. C. 1210)\* : he was interred outside the Bāb al-Farādīs (*gate of the gardens*) in the grave of his father : he was the last person who bore a licence from al-Ḥarīrī, authorising him to teach what he had learned from him.—*Furshī* means a *seller of carpets* (*fursh*) ; *Anmāṭī* has the same signification : *Ruffā* is well known.<sup>1</sup>—I met a number of Abu al-Ṭāhir's disciples, and learned Traditions from them, for which I have their certificates : I met also his son in Egypt, who used to visit me very often ; he gave a certificate authorising me to teach all the Traditions which he had learned, and granted to me the privileges contained in the certificates which he himself had received from his father.

### 109. BARJAWĀN

The *ustād*<sup>2</sup> Abu al-Fuṭūḥ Barjawān, whose name is borne by one of the streets of Cairo, was a eunuch in the service of al-'Azīz, lord of Egypt, and governed with unbound authority as one of his ministers of state. In the year 388 (A. C. 991), he was director of the affairs of Egypt, Ḥijāz, Syria, and Maghrib, and intendant of the royal demesnes : this was in the reign of al-Ḥākim. We shall give some further information respecting him in the life of al-'Azīz Nizār. Barjawān was black<sup>3</sup> ; he was slain in the castle of Cairo, by order of al-Ḥākim, on Thursday evening, 26 of the latter Rabi'ṭ, (or by another account, on Thursday, 15 of the First Jumāda), H. 390 (A. C. 1000). He was killed by Abu al-Faḍl Raydān al-Šaqlabī, the prince's umbrella-bearer who stabbed him in the belly with a knife. It is related by Ibn al-Šayrifī, in his *History of wazīrs*, that Barjawān had all the state under his control in the

1 *Raffā* signifies *danner* ; *Anmāṭī* means a *carpet-merchant*, it is derived from *Anmāṭ*, plural of *Namaṭ*, (*carpet*). *Jirūnī* means native of that quarter of Damascus which is near the gate of Jirūn, and *Dimighī* signifies native of Damascus.

2 *Ustād* means *master* ; it is a title frequently borne by eunuchs who were tutors or ministers to a prince.

3 Al-Maqrīzī says, on the contrary, that he was a white eunuch.

\* 26 November.—Ed.

† 4 April.—Ed.

month of Ramaḍān, H. 387; and that, on his death, his wardrobe contained one thousand pair of *Dabiq*<sup>1</sup> trousers, with one thousand silk *tikkahs*,<sup>2</sup> and an immense quantity of clothes, furniture, musical instruments,<sup>3</sup> books and curiosities. The Raydān here mentioned is the person after whom the *Raydāniyah*<sup>4</sup> outside the Gate of Conquests (*Bab al-Futūḥ*) at Calro, was so called. On the death of Barjawān, al-Ḥākim transferred the entire direction of affairs to the *qā'id al-quwwād*<sup>5</sup> al-Ḥusayn, son of Qā'id Jawhar: (we shall make mention of him when giving the life of his father). Al-Ḥākim then caused Raydān to put to death by Mas'ūd al-Ṣaqlabi the sword-bearer, in the beginning of the year 393 (A. C. 1002). *Ṣaqlabi* means *one of the people called Ṣaqālibah (Sclavonians)*, a race out of which eunuchs are procured.<sup>6</sup>

#### 110. BASHSHĀR IBN BURD

Abu al-Mu'ādh *Bashshār* Ibn Burd Ibn Yarjūkh, member by adoption of the tribe of 'Uqayl, was a blind man and a poet of celebrity. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahānī gives, in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the names of twenty-six of his ancestors, which I do not insert here, as their number is too great; they belong also to a foreign language, and may probably be altered in the transcription, this author not having marked the right orthography of any of them; it is therefore useless to pay farther attention to them. Abu al-Faraj gives copious information respecting his life and adventures: he was a native of of Baṣrah, whence he removed to Baḥdād—he was surnamed al-Mura'ath—he was descended from one of

1 The town of Dabiq, situated between the cities of Farama and Bilbays was celebrated for the clothes made there—(*Marāṣid*).

2 The *tikkah* is the running string or bands by which the trousers are fastened round the waist.

3 Al-Maqrizī says that Barjawān was very fond of music.

4 According to al-Maqrizī, the Raydāniyah was a garden.

5 General-in-chief.

6 In M. de Sacy's life of *ḫalīf Ḥākim* will be found a full account of Barjawān's rise and fall, See *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*, tom. I.

the natives of Tukhāristān, who were led into captivity by al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah.<sup>1</sup> It is said that Bashshār was born in slavery and enfranchised by a woman of the tribe of 'Uqayl, for which reason he received the surname of 'Uqayli. He was blind from his birth, and his eyeballs, which were prominent, were covered with red flesh; he was a man of great bodily frame and corpulence; his face was long and marked with the small-pox. He held the highest rank among the eminent poets in the first period of Islāmism, and the following verses, composed by him on good counsel, are among the best made on the subject:

"When your projects are so far advanced that counsel becomes necessary, have recourse to the decision of a sincere counsellor, or to the counsel of a determined man. Let not good advice be irksome to you, for the short feathers of a wing are close to (*and sustain*) the long. Of what use is one hand when the other is confined in a pillory? Of what use is the sword, if it has no handle to give it power?"

He is also author of this verse, which is so current:

"I have attained the furthest bonds of love; is there, beyond that, a station which I must reach in order to be nearer to thee?"

He composed also the following verse, which is the most gallant\* of any made by the poets of that epoch<sup>2</sup>:

"Yes, by Allāh! I love the magic of your eyes, and yet I dread the weapons by which so many lovers fell."

By the same:

"Yes, my friends! my ear is charmed by a person in that tribe; for the ear is sometimes enamoured sooner than the eye. You say that I am led by one whom I never saw; know that ear, as well as the eye, can inform the mind of facts."

The idea expressed in the first of these verses has been adopted by Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Mawṣili, surnamed Ibn al-Shāḥnah, and inserted by him in a *qaṣīdah* of one hundred and thirty verses, in praise of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, from which I extract:

1 See his life in this work.

2 In Arabic المولودون (*al-Muwalladūn*). See No. 91, note on *classes of poets*,

\* For aghlzal "amorous" is more appropriate.—Ed.

"I am one who loves you on the report of your virtues; for the ear can be charmed as well as the eye."

Bashshār composed a great quantity of poetry, which is in general circulation; but we shall confine ourselves to the foregoing extracts. Happening one day to celebrate the praises of al-Mahdi, son of the khalif al-Manṣūr, that prince, to whom he had been denounced as an atheist,<sup>1</sup> ordered him to receive seventy strokes of a whip; this punishment had for result the death of Bashshār, who expired in the *Baṭḥah* (or swamp), near Baṣrah, to which city his body was transported by one of his relations, and there buried. This occurred in the year 167 or 168 (A. C. 783-4); he was aged upward of 90. It is related that he considered the element of fire superior to that of earth, and that he justified Satan for refusing to fall prostrate before Adam.<sup>2</sup> The following verse, on the superiority of fire to earth, is attributed to him:

"Earth is dark and fire is bright; fire has been worshipped ever since it was fire."

It is related, however, that on the examination of his works, nothing was discovered in them to warrant the accusation: the following passage was found in one of them: "I had the intention of satirizing the family of Sulaymān<sup>3</sup> Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās; but I abstained on recollecting their near relationship to the Prophet." God alone knows what were his real principles. Al-Ṭabarī says, in his History: "The reason for which al-Mahdi put Bashshār to death was this: That khalif had conferred a government on Ṣāliḥ Ibn Dāwūd, brother of his wazīr Ya'qūb,<sup>4</sup> and the poet satirized him in this verse addressed to Ya'qūb:

1 See d'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient. Zendik*.

2 God said to Iblīs (or Satan): "What hindered thee from prostrating thyself before Adam?" He answered: "I am more excellent than he; Thou hast created me of fire, and hast created him of clay!"—*Qur'an*, *sūrat* 7, verse 11.)

3 Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī was uncle to the Khalif al-Saffāh, who named him governor of Baṣrah and the neighbouring provinces in H. 133 (A. C. 750-1). He died H. 142 (A. C. 759-60)—(Abu al-Fidā).

4 Abu 'Abd Allāh Ya'qūb Ibn Dāwūd was son of an enfranchised slave. His brothers and father were in the service of Naṣr Ibn Sayyār, Amir of Khurāsān;

(Continued on page 33)

'They have raised thy brother Šāliḥ to the pulpit,<sup>1</sup> and the pulpit complains of the indignity.'

Ya'qub, on hearing of this satire, went to al-Mahdī and said: 'Baṣḥshār has reviled you.'—'How so?' said al-Mahdī.—'The Commander of the Faithful must dispense me from repeating the verses.'—'I must hear them.'—So he recited to him these lines:

'A khalif who commits fornication with his aunts, and plays at the game of *dabbuq* and mall! May God give us another in his stead, and thrust Mūsā back into the the womb of al-Khayzurān.'<sup>2</sup>

Al-Mahdī therefore caused him to be sought for, and Ya'qub, fearing that Baṣḥshār, when brought before the kalif, might obtain pardon by reciting a panegyric on him, sent a person who threw him into the Baṭīḥah."—'*Uqaylī* means *belonging to 'Uqayl Ibn Ka'b*, which is a great (*Arabic*) tribe.—The word *Mura'āṭḥ* denotes one who wears *ri'āṭḥ* in his ears; *ri'ā ḥ* is the plural of *ra'tḥah*, which means *ear-ring*; Baṣḥshār received this surname from his wearing ear-rings when a boy: the *ra'tḥat* of a cock are the wattles which hang under his beak, and *ra'tḥ* means to be suspended or hanging down; whence the derivation of *ra'tḥah* for *ear-ring*. There are other reasons given for his receiving this surname, but the one here stated is the trues'.—*Tūkhāristān* is a great country containing the towns situated beyond the river of Balḥ, which river is called the Jayḥan.<sup>3</sup> This province has produced a number of learned men.

---

(Continued from page 32)

and he himself was chosen by the khalif al-Mahdī for wazīr. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Muṭbiq by that prince for having suffered a state-prisoner to escape, whom he had confided to his custody. Ya'qub was liberated on the accession of al-Raḥīd, and retired to Makkah, where he died A. H. 186 (A. D. 82). During his confinement, he lost his sight.—(Fakḥr al-Dīn MS. No. 895, fol. 71 *et sequentia*.)

<sup>1</sup> The governors of provinces possessed the right of pronouncing the *khutbah* from the pulpit.

<sup>2</sup> Mūsā was son, and al-Khayzurān wife, of Al-Mahdī.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. and the printed text have *على جيحون*, but the true reading is certainly *وهو جيحون*. The whole passage is taken from the *Lubāb* of Ibn al-Aṭḥir. See the Arabic text of Geography of Abu 'l-Fidā, page 471.

## 111. BISHR IBN AL-ḤĀRITH AL-ḤĀFĪ

Abū Naṣr Bishr al-Marwazī (*native of Marw al-Shāhijān*), and surnamed al-Ḥāfī (*the barefooted*), was son of al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ibn 'Aṭā Ibn Hilāl Ibn Māhān Ibn 'Abd Allāh; (this 'Abd Allāh, whose name was originally Ba'būr,<sup>1</sup> was converted to Islamism by 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib.<sup>2</sup> Bishr was one of the *men of the path*<sup>3</sup>; he ranked among the greatest of the holy ascetics, and was most eminent for his piety and devotion. He was born in the village of Mātarasām,<sup>4</sup> situated in the dependencies of Marw, and dwelt at Baḡhdād. His father was a *kātib* and president of one of the government offices. Bishr renounced the world from the following circumstance: Happening to find on the public road a leaf of paper with the name of God written on it, and which had been trampled under foot, he bought *ghāliyah*<sup>5</sup> with some dirhems which he had about him, and having perfumed the leaf with it, he deposited it in a hole in a wall. He afterwards had a dream, in which a voice seemed to say to him: "O Bishr! thou hast perfumed my name, and I shall surely cause thine to be in sweet odour both in this world and the next". When he awoke, he gave up the world, and turned to God.—It is related that he once knocked at the door<sup>6</sup> of al-

<sup>1</sup> Neophytes received a new name on their conversion to Islamism.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Professed Islamism on the hand of 'Alī Ibn Ṭālib; that is, he took a solemn engagement to that effect, and ratified it by placing his hand in 'Alī's.

<sup>3</sup> *Man of the path*; a title given to some of eminent Ṣafīs; it means one who walks in the path of ascetism. The word "طريقه" (*path*) signifies also metaphorically *doctrine and system of conduct*, which, with the Ṣafīs, consisted in the continual practice of mystic devotion.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Marāṣid* this name is spelled *Mābarsām*.\*

<sup>5</sup> The *ghāliyah* †(غالية) was indubitably a sort of perfume. This word occurs also in a satirical verse given in the *Hamāsah*, page 668, line 3, the meaning of which is: "Compared with Qatādah, son of Muḡhrib, the odour of a swine's putrid carcass is musk and *ghāliyah*."—Meninski notices the word after Wanḡalī.

<sup>6</sup> Literally: He knocked the door with the ring (or circular knocker).

\* The name is not legible in the autograph and so it cannot be verified.  
—Ed.

† The غالية (*ghāliyah*) was a mixture of perfumes.—Ed.

Mu'āfā Ibn 'Imrān,<sup>1</sup> and on being asked who was there, he answered Bishr al-Ḥāfī; on which the girl inside the door said: "Go and buy a pair of shoes for two *dānaqs*,<sup>2</sup> and the name of al-Ḥāfī (*the barefooted*) will leave you." He was so surnamed for the following reason: the latchet of one of his shoes having broken, he went for another to a shoemaker's, who said to him: "How full you are of worldly consideration!" On this Bishr threw away the shoe he held in his hand and kicked the other off his foot, making oath never to wear shoes again.—Bishr being once asked with what sauce he eat his bread, replied: "I think on good health, and I take that as my sauce."—One of his prayers was this: "O, my God! deprive me of notoriety, if thou hast given it to me in this world for the purpose of putting me to shame in the next." One of his sayings was: "The punishment of the learned man in this world is blindness of heart." He used also to say: "He that seeks for worldly goods should be prepared for humiliation." It is related that Bishr said to the Traditionists: "Pay the legal alms out of your Traditions:" and that on being asked what was the mode of doing so, he replied: "Out of every two hundred, "take five for rules of conduct."<sup>3</sup>—Sarī al-Saqāṭī and a number of holy men cited Traditions on his authority. He was born A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), and died at Baḡhdād (or, by another account, at Marw), in the month of the Second Rabi' A. H. 226 (February, A. D. 841) or 227; some say, however, that he died on a Wednesday 10 of Muḥarram and others again state that his death took place in Ramaḡān. †[Bishr had three sisters named Muḡḡah, Muḡḡah, and Zubdah, who spent their lives

<sup>1</sup> Abū Mas'ūd al-Mu'āfā Ibn 'Imrān, a member of the tribe of Azd and native of Moṣul, learned the Traditions from a number of learned men, and studied jurisprudence under Sufyān at-Thawrī; he was remarkable for his learning piety, liberality, and mortified life. Died A. H. 184 (A. D. 800).—(*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, MS. No. 659.)

<sup>2</sup> Two *dānaqs* made one-third of a dirhem.

<sup>3</sup> The legal alms consist in a yearly tax of 2½ per cent. on cattle, money, corn, fruits, and wares sold.

\* Wednesday fell on 10 Muḥarram 226 corresponding to 10 November A. D. 840, and in 227 it was Sunday.—*Ed.*

† From "Bishr had three" to the end not in the *text* — *Ed.*



in the practice of mortification and piety; the eldest, Muḍḡḡah, died before her brother, who was deeply afflicted at her loss and wept bitterly; on being asked why (*he who was so resigned to the will of God should give way to grief*), he answered: "I have read in some book, that when the creature is remiss in the Lord's service, the Lord deprives him of his companion, and my sister Muḍḡḡah was my companion in this world." The following is related by 'Abd Allāh, son of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal: "A woman came in to my father and said: 'O Abū 'Abd Allāh! I spin at night by candle-light, and, as it sometimes happens that my candle goes out, I spin by the light of the moon; is it incumbent on me to separate the portion spun by the light of the candle from that spun by the light of the moon?'<sup>1</sup> To this my father answered: 'If you think that there is a difference between them, it is incumbent on you to separate them'. She then said: 'O Abū 'Abd Allāh! are the groans of a sick person a repining against Providence?' To which he answered: 'I hope not; it is rather a complaint addressed to God.' The woman then withdrew, and my father said: 'I never heard such a question made; follow her.' I followed her therefore, till I saw her enter into the house of Biṣḥr al-Ḥāfi, and I then returned and told my father that it was Biṣḥr's sister. 'You are right,' said he 'it is impossible that this woman could have been any other than Biṣḥr's sister!'"—The same 'Abd Allāh related this anecdote: "Muḡḡḡah", one of Biṣḥr's sisters, came to my father and said 'O Abū 'Abd Allāh! I possess a capital of two *dānaqs* which I lay out in cotton wool; this I spin and sell for half a dirhem<sup>2</sup>; and I spend one *dānaq* each week: now it happened that the patrol passed one night with their cresset, and I profited by the opportunity to spin a double quantity by that light: I know that God will question me on the subject<sup>3</sup>; free me then from this strait, and may God free thee.'

<sup>1</sup> In spinning by moonlight, she had economised her candles, and being thus in some degree richer, she thought herself obliged to increase her legal alms; this anecdote is given as an example of her scrupulous piety.

<sup>2</sup> Half a dirhem is equal to three *dānaqs*.

<sup>3</sup> As the cresset did not belong to her, she imagined that she had no right to make use of its light, and that the money which she gained in so doing was badly acquired (غصب).

My father answered: 'Thou shalt spend two *dānaqs* in alms, and remain without any capital till God gives thee something better.' On this I said: 'How is that? You tell her to give her capital in alms?' And my father replied: 'O my son! her question would not admit of any modification in its solution. Who is she?' I answered: 'It is *Mukḥḳḥah*, a sister of *Bishr al-Ḥāfi*.' To which my father said: 'In making answer to her, I proceeded on that supposition.'"—*Bishr al-Ḥāfi* said: "I learned devotion from my sister; for she was assiduous in abstinence from whatever food had undergone preparation by a created being."]

## 112. BISHR IBN GHIYĀTH AL-MARĪSĪ

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān *Bishr* Ibn *Ghiyāth* Ibn Abī Karīmah al-Marīsī, a theologian and jurisconsult of the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah, was descended from a slave belonging to Zayd Ibn al-Kḥaṭṭāb.<sup>1</sup> He was instructed in the law by the Qāḍī Abū Yūsuf al-Ḥanāfi, but he was addicted to the study of dogmatic theology, and taught openly that the *Qur'ān* was created<sup>2</sup>; some abominable opinions of his on this subject have been handed down. He belonged to that sect of the *Murji'ans*<sup>3</sup> which is called after him the *Marīsian*, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Umar Zayd Ibn al-Kḥaṭṭāb, one of the companions of Muḥammad, was an elder brother of the *ḫalīf* 'Umar Ibn al-Kḥaṭṭāb, and embraced Islamism before him; he fought on Muḥammad's side at the battle of Badr. In the thirteenth year of the Hijrah he was standard-bearer of the Muslims in their expedition against the false prophet Musaylamah; he led them to action, and was slain after displaying great gallantry. His brother 'Umar was deeply afflicted for his loss.—(Al-Yāfi'i *Siyaral-Salaf*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds St. Germain, No. 133, fol. 72 verso.)—The details of his death will be found in Professor Kosegarten's edition of the *Annals* of al-Ṭabari.

<sup>2</sup> A most heterodox doctrine (see note on *eternity of Qur'ān*, No. 19); indeed all the doctors versed in dogmatic theology were suspected of heretical principles.

<sup>3</sup> See Pocock's *Specimen*, etc. MORJIANI.

he held that it was not an *act* of infidelity to bow down to the sun and the moon, but only a *token* of it. He had frequent discussions with the imām al-Shāfiʿī. He committed the grossest faults in grammar, from his ignorance of that science: he transmitted the Traditions on the authority of Ḥammād Ibn Salamah,<sup>1</sup> Ibn ʿUyaynah, the qāḍī Abū Yūsuf and others. It is said that his father was a Jewish goldsmith of Kāfah. He died at Baḡhdād in the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah, A. H. 218 (A. D. 833-4) or 219.—*Marisi* means *native of Maris*, a village in Egypt, according to the statement of the wazīr Abū Sa'd in his work entitled *al-Nuṭaf wa'l-Ṭuraf* (*pickings and sweetmeats*); but the inhabitants of Miṣr tell me that the Marīs are a people of Negroes inhabiting the country between Nūbiah and Syene; they appear to be of Nubieh race, and their country is contiguous to that of Syene. In winter they (*the people of Cairo*) are visited by a cold south wind which they believe to come from that country, and name the *Marisi* in consequence.—I have since found in the handwriting of a person who has studied this branch (*of science*)<sup>2</sup>, that (*Bishr al-Marisi*) dwelt in the street of Baḡhdād which is called *al-Marisi* after him, and lies between the rivers al-Dajāj and al-Bazzāzin.—I may add that the name of *maris* is given at Baḡhdād to flat cake, only substituting honey for dates, and they call it *lasisah*.

### 113. BAKKĀR IBN QUTAYBAH

The qāḍī Abū Bakr Bakkār was son of Qutaybah Ibn Abī Fardhā'ah Ibn ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Baḡhār\* Ibn ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn Abī

<sup>1</sup> Abū Salamah Ḥammād Ibn Salamah was descended from an enfranchised slave belonging to the Banū Tamīm and sister's son of Humayd al-Ṭawīl (see No. 81 note on al-Ṭawīl, ). He was noted for his learning, piety, and holy life, and his authority as a traditionist was of the highest order. Born at Baḡrah, and died A. H. 168 (A. D. 784-5).—(*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*.)

<sup>2</sup> He means Biography.

\* In Cairo edition (1948) the name is "Bishr" which in the autograph has been defaced and so it is illegible. In Ṭehrān edition it is "Baḡhār."—*Ed.*

**Bakr Nufay'** Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Kaldah al-Ṭḥaqafī (*member of the tribe of Ṭḥaqif*); Ibn Kildah was one of the companions of Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup> Bakkār followed the doctrines of Abū Ḥanīfah, and was appointed qāḍī of Miṣr in the year 248 (A. D. 862), or 249; but it is stated in another account, that he arrived at Miṣr for the purpose of acting as qāḍī on behalf of the khalīf al-Mutawakkil, on Friday 8 of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 246.\* The excellent manner in which he fulfilled the duties of that office is well known, and the treatment which he experienced from Aḥmad Ibn Ṭulūn, lord of Egypt, has been mentioned by historians: Ibn Ṭulūn used to give Bakkār every year one thousand dinārs more than his salary; but the qāḍī made no use of that additional sum, neither did he break the seal placed on the purse which contained it. Ibn Ṭulūn having afterwards required of him to depose al-Muwassāq, the son of al-Mutawakkil and father of al-Mu'taḍid (who had been declared khalīf-elect), imprisoned him on his refusal, and then redemanded the amount of the money which he had advanced him each year in addition to his salary. This sum, which consisted in eighteen purses, was given up by Bakkār with the seals unbroken, to the great confusion of Ibn Ṭulūn, who thought that the money had been spent, and hoped to have had a pretext to persecute the qāḍī for his inability to pay. Bakkār, on being imprisoned, was obliged by Ibn Ṭulūn to appoint Muḥammad Ibn Shādhān al-Jawharī<sup>2</sup> as deputy, and he remained in confinement for a number of years; but as the students who were learning the Traditions complained that they were deprived of his tuition, he was frequently produced to the public by Ibn Ṭulūn, and then taught from a window of the prison. The qāḍī Bakkār was one of that class of pious men who were called the weepers

---

1 Nufay' was also a companion of Muḥammad, who named him Abū Bakrah, or the *pulley-man*, because he let himself down by a pulley from the castle of Ṭā'if when it was attacked by the Muslims in A. H. 8.—(*Qāmūs*, in the root ب ك ر.)

2 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyā Ibn Shādhān al-Jawharī possessed great reputation as a traditionist. He died A. H. 274 (A. D. 887), or by another account, 286, aged 73 years.—(*History of the qadis of Egypt*, by Ibn Ḥajr al-'Asqalānī.)

\* 30 August, 860.—*Ed.*

and chanters of the *Qur'ān*<sup>1</sup>; (*every day*) on the termination of his judicial duties, he retired into a private apartment, and then recalled to mind the cases of all those who had come before him, and the judgments which he had given he would then weep and say to himself: "O Bakkār! two persons came before thee on such and such a case; two adverse parties appeared before thee in such and such a cause, and thou hast judged so and so; how wilt thou answer for it to-morrow?"<sup>2</sup> He frequently made pious exhortations to the defendant when administering to him the oath,<sup>3</sup> and would recite to him this verse of the *Qur'ān*: *They who make merchandize of God's covenant, and of their oaths, for a small price, shall have no portion in the next life, etc.*<sup>4</sup> He never ceased making his *Amins*<sup>5</sup> render an account of their conduct and constantly inquired into the character of witnesses. He was born at Baṣrah A. H. 182 (A. D. 798), and died at Miṣr on Thursday, 6 of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A. H. 270 (June, A. D. 884\*) being still in prison and invested with the functions of a qāḍī. On his death, Miṣr remained without a qāḍī for three years. His tomb is close to that of the ṣharīf Ibn Ṭabāṭabā,<sup>6</sup> and is a well-known monument; it lies near the *Muṣallā* of the Banu Maskīn<sup>7</sup>; and is situated between the Kawm (*the mound*) and the road below; it is famous for the fulfilment of prayers offered up at it. His nomination as qāḍī is said to have taken place A. H. 245, but the correct date is A. H. 246.

<sup>1</sup> They wept for the sins and recited the *Qur'ān* assiduously through devotion.

<sup>2</sup> *Tomorrow*, that is, the day of judgment, when God should question him.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Muslim law, oaths are not required before justice, except in certain cases; as for instance, when a plaintiff is unable to furnish evidence in support of his claim; he has then the right of requiring the defendant to confirm his negation by oath. In criminal causes oaths are not receivable.

<sup>4</sup> *Qur'ān*; surat 3, verse 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Amin* (أمين) *anglice* trustee or confidant. It is the name of an officer in the qāḍī's court, in the manner of a register. It also signifies an inquisitor.—Hamilton's *Hedaya*, vol. II, p. 618.—They were entrusted with the care of the documents in the qāḍī's office, and of all property confided to him.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Ṭabāṭabā's life is given in No. 52.

<sup>7</sup> This *Muṣallā* was probably in the Lesser Qarāfah.

\* 4 June.—*Ed.*

## 114. ABŪ BAKR THE JURISCONSULT

Abū Bakr Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥarith Ibn Hishīm Ibn al-Muḡhayrah Ibn 'Abd al-Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn Maḳḥẓam al-Qurashī al-Ma'ḥẓamī (*member of the tribe of Quraysh and descended from Maḳḥẓam*), was one of the Seven Jurisconsults of Madīna. The surname *Abū Bakr* was his real name, and we have placed him under the letter *B*, because it is customary with annalists, when noticing a person who has no other name but a surname, to insert his life under the letter which corresponds to the initial of the consequent in the genitive<sup>1</sup>; some annalists, however, place names of this kind in a separate chapter.—Abū Bakr was one of the chief *Ṭabī'īs*,<sup>2</sup> and was called *the monk of the Quraysh*; his father al-Ḥārith, brother of Abū Jahl, was an eminent companion of Muḥammad. The birth of Abū Bakr took place under the *kḥilāfat* of 'Umar Ibn al-Kḥaṭṭāb, and his death happened in A. H. 94 (A. D. 712-3); which year was denominated *the year of the jurisconsults*, because a number of them died therein. The Seven Jurisconsults lived at Madīnah in the same time, and it was from them that the science (*of law*) and legal decisions spread over the world; we shall notice them under their letters. One of the learned has united the names of them all in the two following verses :

"He who taketh not an imām for guide shall receive a portion (*in the next life*) inadequate to his deserts. Learn here their names: 'Ubayd Allāh, 'Urwah, Qāsim, Sa'id, Sulaymān, Abū Bakr, Kḥhārijah."

Were it not that it is very requisite for the jurisconsults of our epoch to have information respecting these persons, I should not have made mention of them in a work which, like this, aims at concision; for they are so well known, that I might have passed them over in silence.<sup>3</sup> They were designated by the appellation of the

<sup>1</sup> In *Abū Bakr* (*Pater Bakri*), *Bakr* is governed in the genitive as consequent of the antecedent *Abū*.

<sup>2</sup> See Author's Introduction, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> It might be supposed that the author intended this passage as a sarcasm against the jurisconsults of his time; but such, I am inclined to think, was not his intention.

Seven Jurisconsults, because the right of giving decisions on points of law had passed to them from the Companions of Muḥammad, and they became publicly known as *muftis*; it is true that there were some learned *Tābi'īs* still living, Sālim Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar for instance; but these seven alone were acknowledged as competent to give *fatwās*, or legal decisions. Such is the observation made by the Ḥāfiz al-Silafī.

### 115. ABŪ 'UTHMĀN AL-MĀZINĪ THE GRAMMARIAN

Abn 'Uṭḥmān Bakr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Uṭḥmān (named also Baqiyah and 'Adi) Ibn Ḥabīb al-Māzinī was a native of Baṣrah and the first man of the age in grammar and general literature. He learned Philology from Abn 'Ubaydah, al-Aṣma'i, Abn Zayd al-Anṣārī and others, and had for pupil Abū'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad, who profited greatly by his tuition, and handed down many pieces of traditional literature which he had learned from his master. The following works were composed by al-Māzinī: Observations on the Faults of Language committed by the Vulgar; a Treatise on the Arabic Article; one on the Conjugations; one on Prosody; one on Rhyme; and the *Kitāb al-Dibāj*, written in opposition to a work of the same title composed by Abn 'Ubaydah.<sup>1</sup> It is related by Abn Ja'far al-Ṭahāwī that he heard Bakkār Ibn Qutaybah, the qāḍī of Egypt, say: "I never saw any grammarian resemble a jurisconsult except Ḥayyan Ibn Harmah and al-Māzinī;" meaning the present Abn 'Uṭḥmān. Al-Māzinī was scrupulously pious, and among the anecdotes related by al-Mubarrad (*on this subject*) is the following: "A *Dhimmi*<sup>2</sup> went to Abn 'Uṭḥmān, and offered him one hundred dīnārs, on condition that he would explain to him the

---

<sup>1</sup> *Dibāj* means *cloth made of silk*. Abn 'Ubaydah's work is noticed by Ḥājī Khalīfah, but he does not mention its subject.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhimmi* means *client*; it is the legal denomination of the Christian Jewish, and Sabea subjects of a Muslim power.

grammar of Sibawayh. He refused however to do so, and I said to him: 'May I be your ransom! how can you reject so advantageous an offer, suffering, as you do, from poverty and extreme distress?' On which he replied: 'That work contains three hundred and so many verses of the book of God (*the Qur'an*), and I do not think it right to communicate them to a *dhimmi*; (*in this I am actuated*) by zeal for the book of God, and by the desire of guarding it from profanation.'—Some time after, a slave girl happening to sing, in the presence of the *khalif* al-Wāṭḥiq, this verse of the poet al-'Arjī<sup>1</sup>:

'O (*fair*) tyrant! thy evil treatment of a man who made thee his salutation, is an injustice!'

'A contestation arose among the persons who were in the *khalif*'s presence, respecting the case of the word *ʾAṣṣ* (*man*); some were of opinion that it should be put in the accusative, as being the subject of a preposition governed by *ʾAl* (*utique*); and others, would have it in the nominative as being the attribute of that preposition.<sup>2</sup> The girl maintained, however, that her master, Abū 'Uṭḥmān al-Māzinī had taught her to pronounce the word in the accusative. Al-Wāṭḥiq therefore sent for him: 'When I came into his presence, said Abū 'Uṭḥmān, he asked: Of what family are you?'<sup>3</sup> I answered: 'Of the Banū Māzin'.—'Which of the Māzins? Is it those of the tribe of Tamīm, those of the tribe of Qays, or those of the tribe of Rabī'ah?'—'That of Rabī'ah', I replied.—The *khalif* then addressed me in the dialect of my tribe, saying, *Ba 'Smuk*, in place of *Ma 'Smuk* (*what is thy name?*) for they change the *m* into *b* and vice versa. Not wishing to answer him in the same dialect, so as to

<sup>1</sup> 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Amr al-'Arjī (*native of 'Arj near Ṭā'if*) was grandson of the *khalif* 'Uṭḥmān. His life, extracted from al-Suyatī's *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, is given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 453.

<sup>2</sup> This grammatical question can only be understood by reference to the Arabic text of the verse; it is necessary, however, to observe that expressions such as the following *Utique Deus est justus*, would stand thus, *Utique Deum justus*, if construed according to the genius of the Arabic language. I shall make another remark on the anecdote; *neither of the two parties understood the meaning of the verse*, otherwise they would not have given grammatical explanations so totally inapplicable.\*

<sup>3</sup> Literally: Of whom is the man? It was natural for the *khalif* to make use of the third person in addressing a stranger and one much beneath him.

\*This remark is unwarranted. If Māzinī was not in a position to understand the meaning of a verse of his own tongue, then who else can?—*Ed.*



avoid pronouncing before him the word *Makr*, I replied 'Bakr'i and he, having perceived my motive, was well pleased with that (*mark of respect*). He then repeated to me the verse of al-'Arjī, and asked me if I put رَجُل in the nominative or in the accusative; to which I answered: 'Commander of the Faithful! it must be put in the accusative.'—'Why so?'—'Because مَصَاب is a noun of action employed here with the sense of اَصَابَه. Then al-Yazīdī commenced making me some objection, but I said: 'The phrase is similar to this *ان ضربك زيداً ظلم* (*utique actionem tuam percutiendi Zeidum injustitia est*); the word رَجُل is governed by مَصَابِكُمْ and is therefore in the accusative; the proof is, that the sense of the phrase is suspended till you pronounce ظلم, which completes it.'<sup>2</sup> Al-Wāṭḥiq approved of my opinion, and asked me if I had any children. 'Yes, Commander of the Faithful, a little girl.'—And what did she say to you on leaving her!—'She recited to me these verses of the poet al-A'shā.<sup>3</sup>

'Remain with us, dearest father! we shall be happy whilst you stay. If a distant region possess you, we foresee that harsh treatment will befall us, and that the tie of blood will be severed (*by our unjust relations*).'

'And what answer?' said he, 'did you return her?'—'My answer,' I replied, 'was in the words of the poet Jarīr :

'My confidence is in God, whose power is shared by none; and my hopes of success are fixed upon the khalīf!'

<sup>1</sup> The word *Makr* means *wile* or *stratagem*. In respectable society, terms of a disagreeable import are avoided in conversation, as the person spoken to might consider them as an offence to himself or as an evil omen.—(See Lane's *Arabian Nights*, chap. 2, note 8.)

<sup>2</sup> Al-Māzinī's reasoning is perfectly just, but it can be intelligible to those only who are acquainted with the technicalities of the Arabic system of grammar.

<sup>3</sup> The life of al-A'shā is given by M. de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. II, p. 471.

\*In English it means; "verily your striking Zayd is injustice".—Ed.

On this al-Wāṭhiq said: 'I answer for your success; and he dismissed me with a present of one thousand dīnārs.' Al-Mubarrad then relates that al-Māzinī, on his return to Baṣrah, said to him: "What think you of that, Abu 'l-'Abbās? I refused one hundred dīnārs for God's sake and he has given me a thousand instead." Al-Mubarrad states also that he heard al-Māzinī relate the following anecdote: "There was a person who for a long time, studied under me the grammar of Sibawayh, and who said to me, when he got to the end of the book, 'May God requite you well! as for me, I have not understood a letter of it.'" Abū 'Uṭhmān al-Māzinī died at Baṣrah, A. H. 249 (A. D. 863); or, according to other accounts, in 248 or 236.

#### 116. BULUKKĪN IBN ZIRĪ

Abu 'l-Futūḥ Bulukkīn<sup>1</sup> Ibn Zīrī Ibn Manād al-Himyarī al-Ṣunhājī (*descended from the tribe of Himyar through that of Ṣunhāj*) was grandfather of the Bādīs, whose life has been given.<sup>2</sup> He was also called Yūsuf, but it is by the name of Bulukkīn that he is generally known. It was he whom al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣūr al-'Ubaydī left as his lieutenant in Ifriqiyah (*Africa Propria*) on his departure for Egypt; this nomination took place on Wednesday the 22 Dhū'l-Hijjah, A. H. 361 (October A. D. 972)\*, and the people were enjoined by al-Mu'izz to obey Bulukkīn, who was then placed in possession of the province, and had its revenues collected in his name. Al-Mu'izz (*in departing*) gave him pressing injunctions respecting a number of things necessary to be done, and finished by saying: "Though you forget my counsels, forget

<sup>1</sup> All European authors have written this name *Belkin*, or *Bulkin*; but its true pronunciation is given by Ibn Khallikān.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 105.

\*The date should be 23 Dhū'l-Hijjah which according to Eduard Mahler's calculation fell on Saturday, 5 October.; so there is some discrepancy.—*Ed.*

not (*at least*) these three: never cease levying contributions on the nomadic Arabs, and keeping the sword on (*the necks of*) the Berbers; never appoint any of your brothers or cousins to a place of authority, for they imagine that they have a better right than you to the power with which you are invested; and treat with favour the dwellers in towns." He then departed, and Bulukk'n, after bidding him adieu, returned to his government, and having taken the country under his command, he ruled with ability, and gave unremitting attention to the welfare of his empire and subjects. He died on Sunday the 23rd of Dhu'l-Hijjah, A. H. 373 (May, A. D. 984),\* at a place called Wāraklān, on the confines of Ifr qiyah. His death† was the result of an inflammation‡ in the intestines; or, as some say, of a tumour in his hand. He had four hundred concubines; and it is even stated that on one single day, the births of seventeen sons were successively announced to him.—His name must be pronounced *Bulukkin*, and his father's, Ziri. The remainder of his genealogy will be given in the life of his descendant Tamim.

### 117. BŪRĀN

Bārān was daughter of al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl, whose life shall be given; it is said by some that her real name was *Ḳhadijah* and her surname Bārān; but the first is the more general opinion. She became the wife of the *Ḳhalif* al-Maman, who was induced to marry her by the high esteem he bore her father. The marriage was celebrated at Fam al-Ṣillḥ, with festivities and rejoicings the like of which were never witnessed for ages before: the expenses were defrayed by her father (*the wazir*), whose liberality went so far that he showered balls of musk upon the Hashimites<sup>1</sup> the commanders of the troops, the *kātibs*<sup>2</sup>, and the persons who held an eminent rank

1 The persons related to the Abbaside *ḳhalifs* were designated by the title of Hashimites, as being descended from one common ancestor, Hāshim Ibn 'Abd Manāf.

2 See 'No. 10, note on *Kātibs*.

\*27 May; the day was Tuesday.—*Ed.*

† For قولنج cholice pain is the correct word.—*Ed.*

at court; each of these balls contained a ticket, on which was inscribed the name of a landed property, or of a slave girl, or of a set of horses, etc.; and the person into whose hands it fell having opened it and read its contents, proceeded to an agent specially appointed for the purpose, from whom he received the object inscribed on the ticket, whether it was a farm, or other property, or a horse, or a slave girl, or a *mamlūk*. The Wazīr then scattered gold and silver coins, balls of musk, and eggs of amber among the rest of the people. He defrayed all the expenses of al-Māmūn, of his officers and companions, those of the troops which accompanied him, and of the camp-followers, who were innumerable; he even paid the camel-drivers, those who hired the camels out, the boatmen, and all those who were in the camp; so that none of the latter were under the necessity of buying anything either for himself or his horse. Al-Ṭabarī relates, in his History, that al-Māmūn stopped nineteen days with al-Ḥasan (*Bīrān's father*), who furnished him and his suite, every day, with all they required; these expenses amounted to fifty millions of dirhams<sup>1</sup>. Al-Māmūn, on his departure, having ordered him ten millions of dirhams<sup>2</sup>, and granted him Fam al-Ṣillī in fief, al-Ḥasan gave a public audience, and distributed that sum to the *Khālif's* generals, companions, and domestics. The historian then says: "After this, on the 8th of Ramaḍān, al-Māmūn went forth to (*visit*) al-Ḥasan, and he set out from Fam al-Ṣillī on the 22 *Shawwāl*,\* A. H. 210. The death of Ḥumayd,† Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid<sup>3</sup>. took place on the first of *Shawwāl*, the same year." The following anecdote is told by another historian: "*At the marriage ceremony*) a mat interwoven with gold was spread out for al-Māmūn, who stood on it whilst pearls were showered down in abundance at his feet; on perceiving the pearls thus scattered on the

<sup>1</sup> This, on a very moderate evaluation, is about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

<sup>2</sup> About two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥumayd Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid died in the year 210 (A. D. 825). He was a native of Ṭūs, and one of al-Māmūn's principal generals. In his enterprizes he displayed great vigour, courage, and promptitude.—(*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*).

\*23 *Shawwāl* corresponding to 6 February, 826.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Ḥamid.—*Ed.*

mat of gold, he said: 'God be merciful to 'Abū Nuwās! one would think that he had seen this when he described the bubbles which cover the surface of wine when mixed with water:

'The little bubbles and the great resemble a gravel of pearls upon a ground of gold.'

(In this verse critics have remarked a fault, the nature of which cannot be explained here.) —"Al-Māmūn then granted al-Ḥasan one year's revenue of *ḍiḡars* and of the province of al-Ahwāz. Poets and orators were profuse in their praises on this occasion, and the following verses on the subject by Muḥammad Ibn Ḥāzīm al-Bāhilī, have been remarked for their ingenuity<sup>3</sup>:

'God grant that Barān and al-Ḥasan may be happy with the son-in-law! Thou hast triumphed, son of Hārūn<sup>4</sup>; and of whose daughter hast thou made the conquest?'

"When these verses were mentioned to al-Māmūn, he said: 'By Allāh! I know not whether the author means good or ill.'" 'Al-Ṭabarī says: "Al-Māmūn went in to Barān on the third night after his arrival at Fam al-Ṣillī; and when he sat down by her side, a thousand pearls were showered upon them, out of a golden tray, by her grandmother; he ordered them to be picked up, and asked her how many there were, and she answered, one thousand; on which he deposited them in her lap, saying: 'Let this be the marriage gift, and ask what thou requirest.' On this, her grandmother said to her: 'Speak to thy lord, who hath commanded

<sup>1</sup> Literally: May God *slay* him. This imprecation is frequently employed to denote approbation.

<sup>2</sup> The fault consists in his having employed كبرى and صغرى the feminines of اكبر and اصغر (which are adjectives in the comparative degree), without their being preceded by the definite article, or followed by a complement in the genitive case. (See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*, tom. II, p. 302.) An Arabic grammarian in noticing this fault, would say, in his technical language ذكر فعلی —افعل التفضيل من غير اضافة ولا تعريف. The word فواقع signifies *bubbles*, but this meaning is not indicated by the lexicons; it occurs again, however, in page 413, line 5, of the Arabic text, with the same signification.

<sup>3</sup> In the original Arabic, these verses are so turned, that they may be taken either as a compliment or a sarcasm.

<sup>4</sup> The khalif al-Māmūn was son of Hārūn al-Raṣṣid.

thee.' Burān then asked him to pardon Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī.<sup>1</sup> (His life has been already given under no. 8.) "To this the Khalif answered, saying: 'I grant his pardon.' On that night they lit a candle of ambergris weighing eighty pounds, which was placed in a candle-stick<sup>2</sup> of gold; but al-Māmūn blamed them, saying, that it was an excess of prodigality." Another author says: "When al-Māmūn sought to enter in to Burān, he was refused admittance, on the pretext that she was indisposed, but he would not retire; and when his bride was brought forth to him, he found her unwell, and left her. The next morning, when he gave public audience, the *Kātib* Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf<sup>3</sup> entered and said to him: 'Commander of the faithful! may God accord you happiness and good fortune in what you have undertaken; may you be great in

<sup>1</sup> In the Arabic text, the word ابن (*Ibn*) has been omitted through inattention.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lane, in the second volume of his excellent translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* (p. 351), refers to this passage, and supposes that the word تور\*, as given in my Arabic edition of Ibn Kḥallikān's work, is an error of the press for تنور *lantern*. The best manuscripts agree, however, in giving تور, and the correctness of this reading is confirmed by the following passage from Kamāl al-Dīn's History of Aleppo: "أربع شمعات من عنبر في أربعة أتوار من فضة فضة" "four candles of ambergris in as many candlesticks of silver." See Freytag's *Selecta ex Historia Halebi*, p. 34.) Were تنور the true reading in the first instance, we should necessarily be obliged to suppose that, in the second, أتوار is a mistake of the copyist for تنوير; which is inadmissible. The word تور is not to be found in the lexicons with the signification of *candlestick*, but this or *lantern* is certainly its meaning here. The same word occurs again in the next page of M. Freytag's work, where it is said that the princess Qaṭr al-Nadā (*dew-drop*) went forth, preceded by four hundred female slaves, each of whom bore in her hand a تور of gold and silver, containing a candle of ambergris.

<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Qāsim was the son of an enfranchised slave. He filled the place of *kātib* in one of the government offices, and was distinguished by his talents, instruction, prudence, and skill in state affairs; he was also a poet. On the death of the *wazīr* Aḥmad Ibn Abī Kḥālīd, he was chosen to succeed him by the *khalīf* al-Māmūn, to whom he had been recommended by al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl. He died during the reign of al-Māmūn. (MS. No. 895, fol. 211.)

\*(The autograph copy has the word تور and it is also printed in new Egyptian editions.)—Ed.

pro prowess and victorious in combat!' To this al-Māmūn replied by reciting the following verses:

'Eques impetuosus, cum hastā suā promptus ad confossionem in tenebris, praedam suam sanguine inficere voluit; sed eum prohibuitilla, cum sanguine, a sanguine suo'.<sup>2</sup>\*

In this, he made allusion to the nature of her indisposition, and the figure he employed is perfectly appropriate. The foregoing anecdote is related by Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Jurjānī<sup>1</sup> in his *Kināyāt* or tropes; but I have found the story told in a different manner and God knows best the truth<sup>2</sup>. All this occurred in the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 210 (A. D. 825-6), but al-Māmūn had been (*already*) betrothed to her in the year 202. She was with him in A. H. 218 when he died; his death took place on Thursday, 17th Rajab (August, A. D. 833†); and hers, on Tuesday, 27th of the first Rabi. AH.. 271 September, A. D. 884†). She was then eighty years of age, as she was born on Sunday evening, 2 Šafar, A. H. 192 (December, A. D. 807)§, at Baghdād. It is said that she was buried in a vault opposite to the *maqṣūrah*<sup>3</sup> in the mosque of the sulṭān, and that her monument exists till this day.—According to al-Sam'ānī, *Fam al-Šilḥ* (*the mouth of the Šilḥ*) is a town on the Tigris near Wāsiṭ; but the *kātib* 'Imād

1 Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Jurjānī was a doctor of the sect of al-Šāfi'ī. He studied jurisprudence under Abū Ishāq al-Šīrāzī, and became eminent for his talents. He filled the place of qāḍī at Baṣrah, and was the *Šhaykh* of the Shafites in that city. He was learned in the Traditions and composed both in verse and in prose. Among his works are the following: *Kitāb al-Šhāfi'* الشافعي (*the healing*), rare, in 4 vols. The *Tajrid* التجريد (*the stripped*), a large volume of legal decisions without the proofs. *Al-Mu'āyāt* المعايات (*the puzzler*), being a collection of enigmas, *jeux d'esprit*, etc. He died A. H. 482 (A. D. 1089).—(*Tab. al-Fuq. Tab. al-Šhāf.*)

2 This story is told differently in another part of the work. See no. 12. [But the passage is not in the autograph copy—Ed.]

3 See no. 100 note on *maqṣūrah*.

\*In English it means: A cavalier going with his lancet which can strike its target in darkness, intended to bleed his prey; but abstained from pouring blood because it was already flowing there.—Ed.

†7August.—Ed.

§22 September.—Ed.

§ اثني (ithnayn) is Monday corresponding to 6 Decem.—Ed.

al-Dīn says, in his *ḵharidah*, that al-Ṣilḥ is a large canal branching off the Tigris above Wāsiṭ, and that a great number of towns<sup>1</sup> were on its banks; but the waters having overflowed, those places went to ruin. I must observe that 'Imād al-Dīn was better informed on the subject than al-Sam'ānī, having made a long residence at Wāsiṭ as director of the Government office<sup>2</sup>.

### 118. BŪRĪ TĀJ AL-MULŪK

Abn Sa'id Būrī, surnamed Tāj al-Mulūk (*crown of kings*) and Majd al-Dīn (*glory of religion*) was the youngest son of Ayyūb Ibn Shādhī (whose life has been already given), and brother to the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He was a man of talent; and his *diwān*, or collected poetical works, though made up of pieces, some feebly, and some well written<sup>3</sup>, is yet good, if compared to those of the epoch. I extract from it the following lines, written on one of his mamlūks, who came riding up from the west on a grey horse:

"My friend approached from the west, riding on a grey horse, and I exclaimed: 'Glory to the Almighty! the sun has risen in the west!'"

The following piece is given as his by the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn, in the *Ḵharidah*:

"O, thou who, when pleased, art my life; and when angry, my death! how beautiful are the muskspotted roses of thy cheeks<sup>4</sup>! Between thy eyelids is a (*magic*) power which holdeth sway over my weakness. I strived to assume fortitude, though love tormented me, and passed all bounds. Perhaps Fortune may one day grant, through mistake, that I obtain from thee my cure."

He also quotes the following:

"O, thou who bearest a lance as slender as thy waist! O, thou who wieldest a sword which wounds like thy glance! Quit the lance

1 Literally: places.

2 An office existed in each province, for the administration of the government estates, recovery of taxes, and registry of all property liable to taxation.

3 Literally: Lean and fat; a metaphor taken from cattle.

4 Moles on the cheek are compared by the poets to spots of musk, which is of a black colour.



and sheath thy weapon, for sometimes, undesignedly, thou givest mortal wounds (*with thy eyes*)."

This prince composed some good poetry, and other specimens, besides the foregoing, are given by 'Imād al-Dīn. Būrī was born in the month of Dhu-'l Ḥijjah, A. H. 556 (A. D. 1161), and died near Aleppo, on Thursday the 23rd of Ṣafar, A.H. 579 (June, A.D. 1183),\* of a wound he received when that place was besieged by his brother, the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. They laid siege to it on the 16 of Muḥarram, and on the same day, Būrī received the wound in his knee of which he died. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *al-Barq al-Shāmī*: "On the conclusion of the peace, the sultān, before his entry into the city, had a feast prepared in the camp for 'Imād al-Dīn (Zinkī), the lord of Aleppo; he was sitting at table, with Zinkī by his side, and we were in the height of joy and pleasure, when the chamberlain entered and whispered to the sultān that his brother was dead. On receiving this information, he betrayed no emotion; and having given orders to bury him privately, he continued to do the honours of hospitality to the last moment." It is related that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn used to say: "We did not gain Aleppo cheaply at the cost of Tāj al Mulūk's life." *Būrī* is a Turkish word and means *wolf*.

## 119. TUTUSH

Abu Sa'īd Tutush<sup>2</sup> Ibn Alb Ars'īān Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Mik'āl Ibn Saljūq Ibn Daqāq al-Saljūqī was lord of the countries to the east of Syria. When Badr al-Jamālī held Damascus besieged by order of the lord of Egypt (*the Fatimite Khalif al-Mustanshir*), the Turk-Atsiz<sup>3</sup> Ibn Awq Ibn al-Kḥuwārezmī, who was then in possession of the city, sent to implore the aid of Tutush, who marched to his assistance.

1 Zinkī offered some resistance at first, but he then made a secret treaty with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and gave Aleppo up to him.

2 In Reiske's *Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā* this name is incorrectly written *Tanash*.

3 Reiske erroneously writes this name *Ansiuz*.

\*16 June.—*Ed*,

On arriving near Damascus, Tutuṣh was met by Atsiz, whom he caused to be arrested, and having put him to death he took possession of his kingdom: this was in the year 471, on the 11 of the Second Rabī' (October, A. D. 1078)\*. Atsiz had become master of the city in the month of Dhu'l Qa'dah, 468 (June, A.D. 1076); I have read, however, in some historical work, that it was in 472. It has been already stated in the life of 'Āq-Sunqurī, that Tutuṣh again took Aleppo in A. H. 478; he then conquered the provinces of Syria, but the dissensions which afterwards arose between him and his nephew Barkyāraq led to a war, and a battle was fought between them, near the city of Ray, on Sunday the 17 of Ṣafar, A.H. 488 (February, A. D. 1095)†, in which the troops of Tutuṣh were defeated, and he himself was slain: his birth was in the month of Ramaḍān, 458 (August, A. D. 1066). He left two sons, Fakhr al-Mulūk Riḍwān and Shams al-Mulūk Abū Naṣr Daqāq, the former of whom took possession of the principality of Aleppo, and the latter of that of Damascus. Riḍwān died on the last day of the First Jumādā, A. H. 507 (November, A. D. 1113‡); it was from (one of) his lieutenants that the Franks took Antioch in the year 492).? Daqāq died on the 18 of Ramaḍān, A. H. 497 (June, A. D. 1104§), and was interred in the mosque situated in the Ḥakr al-Fahhādīn<sup>3</sup>, on the bank of the river Baradā outside Damascus. He died of a lingering illness, but it has been said that he was poisoned by his mother with a bunch of grapes. On his death, he was

<sup>1</sup> See No. 99.

<sup>2</sup> This is a mistake; Antioch was taken by the crusaders A. D. 1098 (A. H. 491).

<sup>3</sup> *Ḥakr al-Fahhādīn* (the enclosure of the panther or ounce-keepers); the word *hakr* signifies an enclosed ground; see *Chrestomathies*, t. I, 239. It is well known that in the East, panthers and ounces were trained for hunting. In the Arabic text I have printed *التي* in conformity with all my MSS. except one, which has *الذي*; the latter reading seems preferable. (The autograph copy has *التي* and the printed Egyptian edition has *الذي*.—Ed.)

\*21 October.—Ed.

†25 February.—Ed.

‡12 November.—Ed.

§14 June.—Ed.

succeeded by his atābek, or guardian, *Ẓāhir al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr Tuḡhtikin*, to whom his mother had been given in marriage by his father *Tutush*. This *Tuḡhtikin* was an enfranchised slave of *Tutush*. *Riḍwān* is the ancestor of the family called *Awlād al-Malik Riḍwān* (*Prince Riḍwān's children*), which resides outside of Aleppo. *Tuḡhtikin* continued in possession of the principality of Damascus till his death, which took place on Saturday, 8 Ṣafar, 522 (February, A. D. 1128)\*. He was succeeded by his son *Tāj al-Mulūk Abū Sa'īd Burī*†, who died on Monday, 21 Rajab, A. H. 526 (June, A. D. 1132)‡, of a wound he received from the Batinites.<sup>2</sup> He had for successor his son *Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'il*, who reigned till Thursday, 14 of the Second Rabi', 529 (February, A. D. 1135)§, on which day he was put to death by his mother *Khātūn Zumurrud* (*princess Emerald*), daughter of *Jāwili*, and his brother *Shihāb al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd* was placed by her on the throne. *Maḥmūd* governed Damascus till he was murdered by his page *al-Buḡhush*,§ the eunuch *Yūsuf*, and the *farrāsh*<sup>3</sup> *al-Kharkāwī* on the night of Thursday, 23 Shawwāl, 533 (June, A. D. 1139)||. The next morning, his brother *Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Burī* arrived from his principality of *Ba'l'abek* and took possession of Damascus, where he remained till his death, which happened on the night of Thursday, 8 Sha'bān, 534 (March, A. D. 1140). ¶ He was succeeded by his son *Mujir al-Dīn Aḥiq*, who continued to govern Damascus till besieged by *Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zankī* (A. H. 549, A. D. 1154), when he delivered up the city and received *Emessa* in exchange. He had not been long in *Emessa*, when *Nūr al-Dīn* sent him to *Bālis*, a town on the *Euphrates* where he remained for some

1 These were also the names and titles of a brother of *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*; his life has been given in the preceding article.

2 See note on Batinites, No. 99.

3 The duty of the *farrāsh* is to pitch his master's tent, spread his carpets, and keep his furniture in order.

\*11 February.—Ed.

†6 June.—Ed.

‡31 January.—Ed.

§M de Slane gives *al-Tuḡhush*.—Ed.

||22nd June.—Ed.

¶28 March.—Ed.

time, and then went to Baḡdād, where he was honourably received by the *khalif* al-Muktafi (*li'amr illā*<sup>1</sup>); but I do not know the epoch of his death.<sup>1</sup> When he was at Damascus, he confided the government to Mu'in al-Dīn 'Anez Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a mamlūk of his grandfather Ṭuḡhtikīn. The castle of Mu'in al-Dīn, in the canton of al-Ḡhawr, which is in the dependencies of Damascus, was so named after him; he died on the night of the 23 of the latter Rabi' A. H. 544 (August, A. D. 1149)\*. It was his daughter whom Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd married, and who became wife of the sultān Ṣa'āḥ al-Dīn on the death of her first husband. There is a college at Damascus which was founded by Mu'in al-Dīn.—I have since discovered the date of Muḥr al-Dīn 'Abcī's death; it was (in A. H. 564, A. D. 1168-9) as we shall mention in the life of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

## 120. TAQIYAH BINT GHAYTH

Omm 'Alī Taqiyah Bint Abi 'l-Faraj Ḡhayth (*Taqiyah, mother of 'Alī and daughter of Abu'l-Faraj Ḡhayth*) Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far al-Sulamī al-Armanāzī al-Ṣarī was the mother of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Fāḍil Ibn Ṣamdān al-Ṣarī. She was a woman of talent, and composed some good *qaṣīdahs* and short pieces of poetry. The *ḥafīz* al-Silafī, in whose service she had been for a time when at Alexandria, speaks of her favourably in some of his works, and the following passage is found in his handwriting: "I stumbled in the place of my abode, and my foot was wounded thereby; on which a girl in the house tore a piece off her veil and bound it up"<sup>2</sup> Taqiyah herself pronounced the following verses on the occasion:

<sup>1</sup> See however the last lines of this article.

<sup>2</sup> So slight a mention as this was yet highly honourable coming, as it did, from so great and learned a man. See his life, No. 43.

\*31 August.—*Ed.*

† Ibn Sa'd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad. This portion of genealogy has been omitted by de Slane.—*Ed.*

"Had I found means, I should have given my cheek<sup>1</sup> rather than a maiden's veil. How happy should I be to kiss a foot which has always trod in the laudable path (*the path of righteousness*)."

In expressing this idea, she had in view the following lines, which are by Hārūn Ibn (*Alī Ibn*) Yaḥyā al-Munajjim:

"How should he stumble who hath always been upright under the gravest circumstances? How could a hurt happen to a foot which hath never swerved from the road of honour?"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup>[Besides it she has other good pieces].

I have been informed by the ḥ īfī 'Abd al-'Aẓīm al-Mundhīrī, that Taqīyah composed a *qaṣīdah* in praise of Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar, nephew of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn; its subject was wine, and in it she described all the apparatus of a convivial party,<sup>3</sup> and every thing respecting wine. When the prince read the poem, he said, "The old lady knows all those things from her youth." Taqīyah, having been informed of what he said, composed another *qaṣīdah* on war, in which she described it to perfection, and all its accompanying circumstances; she then sent it to him, saying; "My acquaintance with that is like my acquaintance with this." In so doing, it was her intention to justify herself<sup>4</sup> from the imputation which he cast upon her character. Taqīyah was born at Damascus in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 505 (August, A. D. 1111); I have seen, however, a note in the handwriting of al-Silafī, stating that she was born in the month of Muḥarram of that year: she died in the beginning of Shawwāl, A. H. 579 (January, A. D. 1184). Her father Abu 'l-Faraj died towards the end of A. H. 509, and as some say, in the month of Ṣafar of that year; he was an authority as a traditionist<sup>5</sup>. Her grandfather, 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, died at Ṣūr (*Tyre*) on Sunday morning, 9 of the Second Rabi', 478 (August, A. D. 1085).† Her son Abu l-Ijāsān 'Alī who was a native of Ṣūr, but a denizen of

<sup>1</sup> See No. 58 note on common topics of poets.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Which hath not ceased to tread towards an honourable station.

<sup>3</sup> See note on social parties, No. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Literally: The justification of the court of her dwellings.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: he was a *ṭhiqat*. "أثقة" See note on "أثقة", No. 48.

\*This sentence is omitted by M. de Slane.—Ed.

†3 August.—Ed.

Egypt, died at an advanced age in the city of Alexandria, on the 15 Šafar, A. H. 603 (September, A. D. 1206).<sup>\*</sup> He was an able grammarian and master of the different *readings* of the *Qur'ān*<sup>1</sup>; his handwriting was elegant and his orthography correct: his father Fāḍil was born at Damascus in the month of Šawwāl, A. H. 490 (September, A. D. 1097). (This I have taken from a note written by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī.) I find in the handwriting of Abu 'l-Ḥasan that his father Fāḍil, who was surnamed Abū Muḥammad, died at Alexandria in the beginning of the First Rabi' 568 (October A. D. 1172.) *Armanāzi* means *belonging to Armanāz*, which is a village in the dependencies of Damascus; some say, however, that it is situated in the dependencies of Antioch, but the former statement is more correct; Al-Sam'ānī says that it is in the dependencies of Aleppo, and I have been informed by a person who saw Armanāz, that it is in the dependencies of Aleppo, and lies at less than a mile's distance to the west of 'Azāz.<sup>2</sup> *Šārī* means *belonging to Šār* (Tyre), a city on the coast of Syria, and now in the hands of the Franks, may God frustrate their projects! it was taken by them in the year 518 (A. D. 1124). God render its conquest easy to the Muslims!.

## 121. ABŪ GHĀLIB AL-TAYYĀNĪ

Abū Ghalib Tammām Ibn Ghālib Ibn 'Umar, the philologist, surnamed al-Tayyānī, was a native of Cordova, but had settled at Murcia. He held the first rank in the science of philology, and was

1 See note on *intonation*, No. 48.

2 This is one of the additions, made by the author, and as it frequently happens with him in such cases, he has neglected to modify what was previously said, and has thus fallen into a contradiction. 'Azāz, عزاز written also عزاز, lies to the north of Aleppo. The country was celebrated for its beauty and fertility.

3 Tyre was not retaken by the Muslims till A. D. 1289, seven years after Ibn Khallikān's death.

<sup>\*</sup>21 September.—*Ed.*

considered as a sure authority in his doctrines on that subject<sup>1</sup>. He was cited also for his knowledge of jurisprudence, his observance of the precepts of religion, and his piety. His celebrated compilation of philological remarks is unequalled by any work of the kind both for concision and extensive information. The following anecdote, related of the author by Ibn al-Faraḍī, is a proof not only of his learning, but of his strict religious principles: "When Abu 'l-Jaysh Mujāhid<sup>2</sup> took Murcia, he sent to Abū Ghālib, who was then residing in that city, a present of one thousand dinārs, with the condition that he should add these words to the title of his work: *Composed by Abū Ghālib for Abū 'l-Jaysh Mujāhid*. On this, he returned the money, saying: 'Were the world offered to me on that condition, I should refuse it, to avoid having a falsehood to answer for; it was not for you that I composed the work, but for the public at large'.—How admirable was the noble and lofty spirit of that able master<sup>3</sup>! what an honest pride, what integrity in that profound scholar!" Ibn Ḥayyān says that Abū Ghālib was pre-eminent in his knowledge of the (*Arabic*) tongue, and that all yielded to him in philology. He composed a most instructive collection of philological observations,

---

1 Those philological doctrines consisted in the explanation of the terms and expressions proper to the language of the ancient Arabs. These explanations could only be learned from tradition, and it is for this reason that Ibn Kḥallikān, in speaking of at-Tayyānī, makes use of the word "أَمَّ" (*ḥiqat*), which means a sure authority in the transmission of traditional information.

2 Abu 'l-Jaysh Mujāhid Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī, surnamed al-Muwaffaq, was an enfranchised slave of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Manṣūr, the *kālib* or prime minister of the Spanish *khalīf* Hishām. Ibn al-Ḥakam. In A. H. 406 (A. D. 1015) he made an expedition to the Balearic Isles and Sardinia, an account of which is given by Conde. On his return to Spain, he succeeded, after many adventures, in obtaining possession of Denia, Murcia, and the neighbouring towns. He died at Denia, of which he was *wālī*, or governor, in A. H. 436 (A. D. 1044-5), and left behind the reputation of a just and able ruler, and a generous patron of men of learning. He was brought up at Cordova.—(*Bughyat al-Multa-mis*.)

3 Able master : the Arabic word is *Ra'īs* (*chief*); which was perhaps the title given him as *chief* philologist of the age.

which he entitled *Talqīḥ al-‘Ayn*.<sup>1</sup> He died at Almeria, A. H. 436 (A. D. 1044-5) in one of the months of Jumādā. Among his masters in philology were his father and Abī Bakr al-Zubaydī.—I suppose that *Tayyānī* is derived from *Tīn* (*fig*), and means a seller of that fruit.

## 122. TAMĪM IBN AL-MU‘IZZ IBN AL-MANŠŪR

Abū ‘Alī Tamīm was son of al-Mu‘izz Ibn al-Manšūr Ibn al-Qā‘im Ibn al-Mahdī. His father was lord of Egypt and Maḡrib, and the founder of the city of Cairo (*which is for that reason entitled*) *al-Mu‘izziyah*. (We shall give his life in the letter *M*, and have already made mention of a number of his family; of the others we shall speak hereafter.) Tamīm was a man of superior talent and a poet, gifted with a subtle wit and a refined taste; he did not, however, obtain the supreme authority, as the throne devolved to his brother al-‘Azīz in virtue of the solemn covenant by which this prince had been recognised, during his father’s lifetime, as the legitimate successor to the empire. Al-‘Azīz also composed some good poetry and a great number of pieces by him and by his brother are given in al-Ṭḥa‘ālībī’s *Yatīmah*. The following verses are by Tamīm:

“The love I bore her did not appear excusable till her hair spread a dark shade on her cheek, and her beauty had attained its perfection.<sup>2</sup> The locks which encircled her cheeks<sup>3</sup> aspired to kiss her lips, but she repelled them with the drawn sword of her glances. By Allāh! were I not apprehensive that people should say of me: ‘His head is deranged by love;’ (and yet I am justified in loving!) on kissing those rosy cheeks, I should think them a bunch of violets,

<sup>1</sup> This title signifies literally: *Fructification of the Eye*; it is perhaps a commentary on *Khālil* Ibn Aḥmad’s celebrated Arabic dictionary, the *‘Ayn*, or a supplement to it.

<sup>2</sup> The verb عَزَّر in the second form signifies to have the face encircled with the *‘iqḥār*, which word is explained in the Introduction. I have modified the idea for an obvious reason.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: The scorpions of her face. See Introduction.



and her shoulders of camphor (*whiteness*) I should mistake for ambergris."<sup>1</sup>

By the same:

"I swear by Him who alone possesses sovereign power, and who knows the most hidden secrets! that painful though it be to conceal one's sufferings, it would be, for me, more grievous and painful to reveal them.<sup>2</sup> I undergo tortures the least of which would force the eyes to shed tears (*from pain*), and yet, for her sake, I always wear a smiling face."

The author of the *Yatimah* gives the following lines as being composed by Tamīm:

"No! the mother of the tender fawn who passed days and nights in the desert suffering from thirst,—who roamed unconscious and wandered in amaze through the wilderness,—whom the noontide heat oppressed, and who found not a drop of cool water to quench her thirst,—who drew near to her fawn, and, hanging fondly over it, found its flanks parched and shrunk,—that mother felt not greater pain than I on the day (*of my friends' departure*) when they girthed their camels, and a voice exclaimed from the tribe: 'Adieu for ever!'"<sup>3</sup>

The following (*well-known*) line is attributed to him also:

"Evil Fortune was mortified (*and frustrated*) by (*the abundance of*) his gifts: such mortification he also felt when forced to refuse (*a solicitation*)."

All Tamīm's poetry is good. The author of the *Duwal al-Munqaṭi'ah*<sup>4</sup> says that he died in the month of *Dhū 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H.

<sup>1</sup> What I have here translated *rosy cheeks*, means literally, *the apple of her cheeks*; the similitude between the violet and the *'idhār* has been explained in the Introduction; *camphor* with Arabic poets is the emblem of whiteness, as *musk* is of blackness, and *ambergris* is prized for its whiteness and perfume.

<sup>2</sup> His affliction was love; but respect for his mistress obliged him to conceal it.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: "No meeting again!"

<sup>4</sup> See No. 68, note on *Duwal al-Munqaṭi'ah*.

374 (April, A. D. 985), in Miṣr; and al-'Utaqī<sup>1</sup> states in his History, that his death took place on the afternoon of Tuesday 13th of the month,\* and that his brother al-'Azīz Nizār was present at the funeral prayers, which were said over him in his garden: the qāḍī Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān<sup>2</sup> washed the corpse, and having wrapped it up in sixty robes, he brought it out of the garden towards sunset, and prayed over it at the *Qarāfah*<sup>3</sup>; he then bore it to the castle of Cairo, and placed it in the vault wherein the body of his father al-Mu'izz was deposited. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadānī<sup>4</sup> says, in his work entitled *al-Ma'ārif al-Muta'aḳḳirah* (*Sciences of later Times*), that Tamīm died in the year 375; God knows best! A third writer says that he was born in A. H. 337 (A. D. 948-9).

<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Utaqī is the author of the work entitled *Tārīkh al-Maghāribah* (*History of the natives of Maghrib*). (Al-Dhahabī's *Muṣṭabih al-Asmā*, MS. No. 862). Al-'Utaqī died A. H. 385 (A. D. 995). His life is given by Casiri in the *Bibliotheca Arabica*, tom I, p. 431, after the *Tārīkh al-Hukamā*, or *History of the Philosophers*, by al-Zawzenī. See *Bib. Arab.* No. 1773. I have given an account of al-Zawzenī's work in a note on the life of Thābit Ibn Qurrah; see No. 125. Casiri does not seem to have known this author's name, although he cites his authority frequently.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān was born at Qayrawān, A. H. 345 (A. D. 956). He accompanied his father to Egypt, and was appointed qāḍī by al-'Azīz in the year 374 (A. D. 984-5). Before him, this place was filled by his brother 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, who died in that year. The death of the qāḍī Muḥammad took place A. H. 389 (A. D. 999). The ceremony of his installation is thus related: "After receiving from al-'Azīz a pelisse of honour and a sword, he proceeded on the same day (*from the castle*) to the city; as he was suffering from illness, he was seated in a covered chair which was placed on the back of a mule. On entering the great mosque, he found himself unable to preside at the meeting (*held for his installation*), and he therefore went home and left his son 'Abd al-'Azīz and his nephews with the notaries; it was in their presence that the diploma was read after Friday prayers. By it he was appointed qāḍī of Egypt, Alexandria, Makkah, Madinah, and the provinces of Syria; he was authorised also to preside at public prayers (*which was one of the privileges granted to governors of provinces and wazirs*), and was empowered to act as controller of the mint, and inspector of weights and measures (*these were duties usually filled by the chief magistrate of police or Muhtasib*, (محتسب)) to In this document the names of his father and brothers were mentioned in terms of high praise."—(Ibn Ḥajar's *History of the Qāḍis of Egypt*, MS. No. 691).

<sup>3</sup> See note on Qarāfah No. 24.

<sup>4</sup> According to Ḥājji Khalīfah, this writer died A. H. 521 (A. D. 1127).

\*7 April.—Ed.

## 123. TAMĪM IBN AL-MU'IZZ IBN BĀDĪS

Abū Yaḥyā Tamīm was son of al-Mu'izz (*and a descendant of Qaḥṣān; his genealogy is thus given:*)<sup>1</sup> Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn Bulukkin Ibn Zrī Ibn Manād Ibn Man-qūṣh Ibn Zanāk<sup>2</sup> Ibn Zayd al-Aṣḡhar (*the less*) Ibn Wāṣḥfāl Ibn Wazḡhafi. Ibn Sari Ibn Watlākī Ibn Sulaymān Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Adī al-Aṣḡhar al-Maṭhnā (*the less or the second*) Ibn Miswar Ibn Yaḥṣub Ibn Mālīk Ibn Zayd Ibn al-Ḡhawṭh al-Aṣḡhar Ibn Sa'd; Sa'd, named also 'Abd Allāh, was son of 'Awf Ibn 'Adī Ibn Mālīk Ibn Zayd Ibn Sadad Ibn Zur'ah; Zur'ah, who was Ḥimyar the less, was son of Sabā the less, son of Ka'b Ibn Zayd Ibn Sahl Ibn 'Amr Ibn Qays Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Juṣḡham Ibn 'Abd Ṣhams Ibn Wā'il<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Ḡhawṭh Ibn Ḥaydān<sup>4</sup> Ibn Qūr<sup>5</sup> Ibn 'Awf Ibn 'Arib Ibn Zuhayr Ibn Ayman Ibn al-Ḥumaysa' Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ḥimyar; Ḥimyar, named

1 This genealogical list has been drawn up after the MSS. of Ibn Khallikān, and confronted with the copies of it given by 'Imād al-Dīn in his *Khariḍah* (MS. No. 1375, fol. 59), and al-Nuwayrī in his *History of the Zirite dynasty* (MS. No. 702, fol. 26). The latter writer says that he extracted it from the *البيان والجمع* or *History of Maghrib and Qayrawān*, composed by a grandson of Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, whose name was 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Ṣhaddād. I am inclined to suspect this genealogy to be a forgery, and that it was fabricated to flatter the Zirite princes, who naturally desired to prove their descent from an Arabian stock. A number of names in it appear to be Berber, and might be adduced as a proof that the Arabic language was not then in general use in the tribe of Ṣunḥāj. Other lists besides the present are extant, showing the descent of the Himyarites from Qaḥṣān, but none of them is in perfect accordance with the others. This is, however, a curious document, tracing, as it does, the tribe of Ṣunḥāj up to that of Ḥimyar: which point, if proved, would be important for the history of Northern Africa; the fact is indeed asserted by many Arabian historians, but I should not admit it were it founded merely on the authority of suspicious genealogies.

2 There are differences between the MSS. in the manner of pointing some names in this list. The following various readings may not be undeserving of notice: *Zayyāk* زياكي for *Zanāk*; *Wāṣḡḡāk* واشغاك for *Wāṣḡfāl*; *Wazḡhafi* and *Waz'cafi* for *Wazḡhafi*, *Wayliki* for *Watluki*.

3 Or *Wāṭhil*. (وائل)

4 Perhaps *Huddān*.

5 *Qūr* قور, according to the *Khariḍah*.

also al-'Aranjaj, was son of Sabā the elder, son of *Yashjub*<sup>1</sup>\* Ibn Ya'rūb Ibn Qaḥṭān Ibn 'Ābir (*Heber*); 'Ābir is the same person as the prophet Hūd, who was son of *Shāl kh* (*Šāleḥ*) son of Arfakhshad son of Sem son of Noah. Such is the statement made by 'Imād al-Dīn in the *Khariḍa*<sup>2</sup>—This Tamīm, who was surnamed al-Ḥimyarī al-Ṣunhājī (*sprung from Ṣunhāj and Ḥimyar*), became sovereign of Ifriqiyah and the neighbouring countries on the death of his father al-Mu'izz. His government was just, and his conduct praiseworthy; he liked men of learning, and honoured persons of talent; for this reason, poets came from the most distant regions to celebrate his praise, and, amongst the rest, Ibn al-Sarrāj al-Ṣa'ī. Tamīm's ancestor, al-Maṭṭnā Ibn al-Miswar, was the first of the family who entered Ifriqiyah<sup>2</sup>. Ibn Raṣḥ'q al-Qairawānī composed a number of pieces in honour of Tamīm, and in one of them is this passage:

"The truest and most authentic history of liberality which has been transmitted from ancient times, is that narrative made by the torrents, which learned it from the rain, which received it from the sea, which held it from the hand of Tamīm."<sup>3</sup>

The amīr Tamīm himself composed some good poetry, of which the following are specimens:

"If my eyes looked at hers, she would know with whom I should wish a secret interview. Her glances seem to reach the heart and discover its hidden contents."

1 *Yashjub* according to the *Qāmūs*.

2 The historian (*Ibn Shaddād*, see note 1, says that al-Maṭṭnā Ibn al-Miswar was the first of his family who entered Maghrib. When the Abyssinians took Yamen from the Himyarites, he emigrated to Maghrib, in consequence of a prediction made to him by a soothsayer, the import of which was, that some of his posterity in that country were to obtain an empire.—Al-Nuwayrī, MS. No. 702, fol. 27.)

3 The Arabs compare liberality to a torrent or to the ocean, and frequently designate it by the emblem of humidity. This poet therefore represents the waters of the torrent as proceeding from the hand of the prince, and then transmitted by the sea to the rain, and by the rain to the torrent. The humidity or liberality resembles therefore an ancient tradition, which is handed down from one generation to another. Such is the idea expressed in the verse.

\*M. de Slane gives *Yashhub*.—Ed.

By the same :

"Ask of the abundant rains which have watered all thy country, if they fell as copiously as my tears! If it be thy character to show aversion and rigour (*to thy lover*), patience should be mine; but where shall I find it?"

The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn speaks of him in the *Sayl*, and gives the following passages of his poetry:

"I thought of hell and its fires (*and when the wicked shall exclaim:*) 'Alas for us! There is no time for escape'<sup>1</sup>. I then invoked the Lord, for my best recommendation to his mercy is to declare the sincerity of my faith."

By the same:

"How often have I drunk intoxication off faces which in beauty far surpassed description. The cheeks were like roses, the teeth like pearls, and the ringlets like myrtle."<sup>2</sup>

The merits of Tamīm were abundant like his poetry, and his gifts were bestowed with liberality. It was in his reign that the Mahdī, Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart, [whose mention will be made]\* passed through Ifrīqiyah on his return from the East, and manifested his disapproval of those whom he saw transgress the rules of the divine law; from thence he went to Morocco, where he acquired celebrity by his proceedings. The amīr Tamīm was born at al-Manṣūriyah (called also Ṣabrah,<sup>3</sup> a town in the province of Ifrīqiyah), on Monday, 13 Rajab, A. H. 422 (July, A. D. 1031)† he was entrusted by his father with the government of al-Mahdiyyah, in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 445, and he remained in command of that city till his father's death, which took place in the month of Ṣha'bān, A. H. 454 (August, A.D. 1062),‡ when he became sole master of the kingdom. He continued in the exercise of supreme authority till he

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrat 38, v. 2.

2 Arabic poets frequently compare the hair to myrtle, on account of its dark colour. The word *أس* (*myrtle*) is often used metaphorically to designate the hair.

3 See note on *Manṣūriyah* No. 105.

\*Omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

†7 July.—Ed.

‡The correct date as given in autograph is 445 (November & December 1053).—Ed.

died in A. H. 501, on Friday night, 15 Rajab (February, A. D. 1108)\*. He was buried in his palace, but his corpse was afterwards removed to Qaṣr al-Sīdal; at Munastīr.<sup>1</sup> He left after him upwards of one hundred sons and sixty daughters, according to the account given by his grandson Ibn Shaddād in his *History of Qayrawān*.<sup>2</sup>—I have already marked the manner in which the names of some of his ancestors are to be pronounced, but it would occupy too much room, were I to fix the orthography of the remainder. I have written them here, however, with the vowel points<sup>3</sup>, so that any person who wishes to quote the genealogy has only to follow what I have here given after a note in the handwriting of a man of information.—*Munastīr* shall be noticed in [*letter H in*]<sup>†</sup> the life of al-Būṣīrī.

#### 124. SHAMS AL-DAWLAT TŪRĀN SHĀH

Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Shams al-Dawlat (*the exalted prince, sun of the empire*) Tūrān Shāh Ibn Ayyūb Ibn Shādhī Ibn Marwān was surnamed Faḳḥr al-Dīn (*glory of religion*). Mention has been already made of his father and his brother Tāj al-Mulūk<sup>4</sup>. He was an elder brother of the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who often expressed his high esteem of him, and treated him with deference. In the month of Rajab, 569 the sulṭān having established his authority on a solid basis and strengthened his army, sent his brother Tūrān Shāh, with a chosen body of troops, from Egypt to Yaman against ‘Abd al-Nabī Ibn Mahdī. This man pretended that his authority was to extend over all the land, and having become master of the greater part of the cities and fortresses in that province, he caused the *khutbah*<sup>5</sup> to be said in his own name. Tūrān Shāh, on

<sup>1</sup> See note on *Munastīr*, No. 101.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> These vowel points have been omitted by the copvists.

<sup>4</sup> See No. 104 and No. 118.

<sup>5</sup> See note on *Khutbah*, No. 78.

\* Saturday, 29 February.—Ed.

† Omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

his arrival in Yaman, obtained the victory by God's permission, and slew the rebel. He then took possession of nearly all the country, and enriched great numbers by his donations, for he was of a noble and generous disposition. He left Yamen when the *sultān* was besieging Aleppo, and arrived at Damascus in the month of *Dhu'l-Ḥijjah*, A. H. 571 (June, A. D. 1176). *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, on raising the siege, went back to Egypt, after appointing *Tūrān Shāh* as his lieutenant in Damascus, where he remained for some time and then returned to Miṣr. Ibn *Shaddād* says, in his *History of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, that al-Malik al-Mu'azzam *Tūrān Shāh* died at Alexandria on Thursday, 1st of *Ṣafar*, A. H. 576 (June, A. D. 1180)<sup>1</sup>,\* but in another part of the work he states that his death took place on the 5th of *Ṣafar*. His body was transported to Damascus by *Shitt al-Shām* † who was his sister by the father's side, ‡ and was interred by her in the college which she had founded outside the city. That edifice contains also her tomb, that of her son *Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Umar* son of *Lājīn*, and that of her second husband, *Nāsir al-Dīn, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh*, whom she had espoused on the death of *Lājīn*.—*Ḥusām al-Dīn (the sword of religion)* died on the night of Thursday, 19th *Ramaḍān*, 587 (October, A. D. 1191 §); he was master of the eunuch *Shibli al-Dawlat (whelp of the empire)* *Kāfūr Ibn 'Abd Allāh*, who was therefore entitled *al-Ḥusāmī* and who founded the *Shibliyah* College and the *Shibliyah* convent outside of Damascus, on the road leading to Mount *Qāsiyan*; these two establishments have a certain celebrity at Damascus. *Shibl al-Dawlat* founded a great number of *waqfs* and charitable institutions useful (to others) in this life and (to himself) in the next. He died in *Rajab*, 623 (July, A. D. 1226), and was interred near the

<sup>1</sup> See *Saladini vita et res gestae*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> See note on *waqf*, No. 21.

\*26 June.—Ed.

†M. de Slane reads the name as *Sitt al-Shām*.—Ed.

‡ *شقيقه* *Shaqiqūh* means real sister i.e. having same father and mother. The term is not applied to *بنو العلات* *banu'l-'allāt* (children by the father's side) or *بنو الألبان* *banu'l-a-khyūf* (children by the mother's side).—Ed.

§10 October.—Ed.

Shibliyah College, in the mausoleum which bears his name.—Mention shall be made of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Shayrkūh, in the life of his father.—Shitt al-Shām (*the lady of Syria*) died on the 16th Dhū l-Qa'dah, 616 (January, A. D. 1220).†—On finishing this article, I found some further information in the handwriting of a person of merit, who had cultivated the science of biography; this additional note I shall give here, and let what I have already said stand as it is. His narration is as follows:—When Shams al-Dawlat had reduced the province of Yaman to tranquillity, and submitted it to his authority, he felt a dislike to residing in that country, having been brought up in Syria, a land of abundance, whilst Yaman was sterile region, deprived of every advantage. He therefore wrote to his brother, offering his resignation and demanding his authorisation to return to Syria. (*In this letter*) he complained of his unpleasant situation, and of the sufferings which he underwent in being deprived of the necessary conveniences of life. Ṣalāh al-Dīn sent a letter in reply, encouraging him to continue in a country possessed of so much wealth and forming so extensive an empire. Shams al-Dawlat, on hearing the contents of the letter, ordered his treasurer to bring him a thousand gold pieces, and, giving them to his major-domo in the presence of the messenger who brought the letter, he ordered him to send to market and buy a lump of ice with that sum. To this the major-domo answered: “My lord, this is Yaman, and how can ice be found in it?”—“Tell them then,” said the prince, “to buy with it a tray of apricots! .—“How could such a fruit be found here?” was the reply; He then named all the different sorts of fruit peculiar to Damascus, and the major-domo manifested his astonishment and said, as each species was named: “How, my lord, could such a thing be found here?” Shams al-Dawlat, having at length finished, said to the messenger: “I should like to know what is to be done with these riches, since they cannot procure me the pleasures of life, nor furnish me with what I desire? Money cannot be eaten. and its sole use is, that it

1 Apricots شمش لوزی literally, *almond apricots*: “a beautiful well-flavoured fruit with a sweet kernel.” (Russell's *Aleppo*, vol. 1, p. 87.)—See also De Sacy's *Abdallatif*, p. 132.

\* 12 February Ed.

† From ‘On finishing’ to the end. not in the autograph.—Ed



enables a man to attain the object of his wishes." The messenger on his return, related the circumstance to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who, in consequence, allowed his brother to come back. Al-Qāḍī al-Faḍīl used to write to Shams al-Dawlat, and in his letters, which were elegantly drawn up, he expressed the ardent desire he had (*of seeing him again*); one of these letters contained this well-known piece of verse:

"Be not offended at my conduct; for my bosom is (*alas!*) inclined to betray the secrets of love. By thy departure I die, and by thy return I receive new life. Time swore to separate us; when will it relent and break its oath? Thy letters are strewed around my couch, and I seem to be a victim stung by thee, whilst they are the magicians which strive to effect my cure!. How long can the body exist deprived of life? How long, when deprived of respiration?"

Shams al-Dawlat returned to Damascus in the year abovementioned, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, on his departure for Egypt, A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178). appointed him as his lieutenant. He had already sent him to subdue Nubiah in the year 568 (A. D. 1172-3); this was before his expedition to Yaman. When he arrived in Nubiah he found that its conquest would not repay the trouble, and he therefore left it and returned with a rich booty, consisting of slaves. He held from his brother a number of fiefs for his support, and the taxes of Yaman were collected in his name by his lieutenants, yet he died indebted to the treasury-office for a sum of two hundred thousand dīnārs<sup>1</sup>, which were paid in by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. My master, the learned and talented

1 Literally: These are the magicians, the blowers. This is a *learned* allusion of the *qāḍī's* to a superstitious practice prevalent among the ancient Arabs. When a person was stung by a scorpion, enchanters were called in, who blew upon the wound and performed other ceremonies to effect a cure. Another approved receipt was, to prevent the patient from sleeping, and for this purpose a number of metal bracelets and collars, such as are worn by females, were shaken at his ears all night; or else he performed this operation himself. It is thus that the poet al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī says :

يسهر من ليل التمام سليمها \* بحلى النساء فى يديه قعاقع

"He that is wounded by its sting remains awake the entire night, and a rattling sound proceeds from the women's ornaments which he holds in his hands."

2 About 120,000 pounds sterling.

Shaykh\* Ibn al-Khaym al-Ḥilli (native of Ḥillah) who had settled in Egypt<sup>1</sup>, relates that he had a dream, in which he saw Shams al-Dawlat Tūrān Shāh dead in his tomb; and that he recited to the prince some verses in his praise, on which he rolled up his shroud and threw it to him (*Ibn al-Khaymī*), saying:

“Think it not slight, the gift which I make when dead, for, in bestowing it, my body remains naked. Imagine not that avarice could ever blemish the generosity of one who lavished the wealth of Syria and of Yamen. I left the world, and, of all which my hands possessed, a winding-sheet alone remained with me.”

When Shams al-Dawlat was in Yamen, he appointed al-Mubārak Ibn Munqidh (whose life shall be given in the letter M) as his lieutenant in the city of Zabid.—*Tūrān* is a Persian word; *Shāh* is also Persian and means *king*; *Tūrān Shāh* signifies *king of the East*. The East was named *Tūrān* because it is the country of Turks, who are called *Turkān* by the Persians, which word has been altered into *Tūrān*.

## 125. THĀBIT IBN QURRAH

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit Ibn Qurrah Ibn Hārān (or Zahrān)† Ibn Thābit Ibn Karāyā Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Karāyā‡ Ibn Marinūs Ibn Mālājaryūs (§) al-Ḥarrānī was a great arithmetician and philosopher. He commenced his career as a money-changer at Ḥarrān, and then removed to Baghdād, where he studied with success the sciences of the ancients<sup>2</sup>. He acquired a superior knowledge of medicine, but he devoted himself principally to philosophy. About.

<sup>1</sup> See in the life of Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī Zayd Ibn al-Ḥasan.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 65 note on *Sciences of Ancients*.

\* Between Shaykh and Ibn al-khaymī 'Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Tālib Muḥammad b. 'Alī known as Shaykh, is omitted by de Slane.—*Ed.*

† The autograph copy has هرون (*Hārūn*) while the Cairo edition 1948 has زهرون (*Zahrūn*).—*Ed.*

‡ Two names of Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Karāyā have been omitted by de Slane.—*Ed.*

§ In original it is in Greek letters.

twenty treatises were composed by him on different branches of science, and the work of Euclid, which had been translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī, received from him a better order, its difficulties were removed, and its obscurities cleared up. He attained by his talents an eminent rank among his contemporaries; but having, in his intercourse with the persons of his sect<sup>1</sup>, advanced principles which they considered heterodox, he was cited by them before the chief of their religion, who condemned his doctrines and forbid him to enter the church. On this, he renounced his opinions and returned to his sect; but relapsing, some time after, into his former doctrines, he was excluded from the congregation. In consequence of this, he retired from Ḥarrān and settled at Kafratūthā, where he continued to reside, and where he met with Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā<sup>2</sup>, who was on his return to Baghdād from the country of the Greeks. Muḥammad, struck with his talent and the elegance of his language, took him to Baghdād and lodged him in his own house; he then presented him to the khalif<sup>3</sup> who placed him among his astronomers. Thābit then settled at Baghdād, and his children and their posterity have continued to inhabit it to the present day.—*Kafratūthā* is a town situated in Mesopotamia near Dārā.—Thābit Ibn Qurrah was born A. H. 221 (A. D. 836), and died on Thursday, 26 Ṣafar, 288 (February, A. D. 901).<sup>\*</sup> He belonged to the sect of the Ṣabeans, and had a son named Ibrāhīm, who equalled him in merit, and was one of the greatest physicians of his time. The poet Sarī al-Raffā having been cured of an illness by Ibrāhīm, composed in his honour the following lines, which are the best ever made on the subject of medicine:

“Who is there, after God, to heal the sick—who suffices, if not Ibn Qurrah? Philosophy was dead, and he revived it among us; the traces of medicine were effaced, and he restored them to

1 He belonged to the sect of the Sabeans.

2 The life of Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā is given in this work. See also Abulfeda *Annales*, tom. II, p. 241.

3 According to al-Zawzanī, it was the khalif al-Mu'taqid to whom Thābit Ibn Qurrah was presented by Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā.

<sup>\*</sup>19 February.—Ed.

light. He is like Jesus, the son of Mary, who by a simple word bestowed life. I presented him a phial,<sup>1</sup> and he saw therein that which was concealed between my ribs and my heart. The hidden malady appeared to him as plainly as pebbles at the bottom of a clear pond."

By the same on the same:

"Ibrāhīm, by his surpassing knowledge, obtained the title of the heir of science. He brought to light the path of medicine, the traces of which had long been effaced among mankind. From the penetration of his mind, you would think that he passed between the blood and the flesh (*to discover diseases so well*). When the soul quarrels with the body, he effects a reconciliation."

Abu'l-Ḥasan Thābit Ibn Sanān was grandson of Thābit Ibn Qurrah. He also was a Sabean, and inhabited Baghdād during the government of Mu'izz al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh. This learned and skilful physician taught the works of Hippocrates and Galen; he shewed great penetration in discovering the sense of obscure passages, and he trod in the footsteps of his grandfather, cultivating, like him, medicine, philosophy, geometry, and the exact sciences <sup>2</sup> of the ancients. He wrote a very good work on history.<sup>3</sup> Some say

1 Literally: My urinal.—Notwithstanding Ibn Khālikān's admiration of these strange verses, I must say that even in the original language they are very poor, and offer no excuse for a profane comparison and a gross idea.

2 The exact sciences (which were comprehended under the term of *Quadrivium* by the schoolmen of the middle ages), are, according to Hājji Khālifah, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic and music.

3 "Thābit Ibn Sanān Ibn Thābit Ibn Qurrah lived in the days of (*the khalif*) al-Muṭi' Lillāh, and under the government of al-Aqṭa' Ahmad Ibn Buwayh (*see his life*, No. 71). Before that, he was attached to the service of (*the khalif*) al-Rāḍi, and held a great eminence by his knowledge of medicine; he was learned in its fundamental principles, highly skilful in resolving the difficulties (*met with*) in the books (*of the Greeks which treat on that science*), and was charged with the direction of the hospital at Baghdād. The eloquent *kātib* Hilāl Ibn al-Muḥassan Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi was his sister's son. This Thābit composed the celebrated history which surpasses in extent all other works of the kind. It begins shortly after the year of the Hijrah 290, and proceeds to A. H. 363, in which year the author died. His nephew Hilāl (Ibn) al-Muḥassan Ibn Ibrāhīm continued it, and were it not for them, much of the history of that period had remained un-

(Continued on page 72)

that the first piece of verse given above was composed by al-Sarī on him.—*Ḥarrārī* means *belonging to Ḥarrān*, a well-known city in Mesopotamia: al-Ṭabarī says in his History that it was built by Ḥārān, uncle of the patriarch Abraham whose name it bore; and (Continued from page 71)

known. If you want a good series of historical works, take that of al-Ṭabarī, which extends from the creation to the year 309 (of the *Hijrah*); and you would do well to join with it the works of Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and that of his son 'Ubayd Allāh (see the end of this note), for they have given a perfect account of the Abbaside dynasty, and have furnished details not to be found in al-Ṭabarī; the works of these three finish nearly at the same epoch, but al-Ṭabarī's goes on a little farther than the others. After these, comes the work of Thābit, for it commences some years before the period to which al-Ṭabarī's history reaches, and it proceeds to the year 363. If you join to that, al-Farghānī's continuation of al-Ṭabarī, you will do well, for it is fuller, in some places, than the work of Thābit. Then comes the work of Hilāl Ibn al-Muḥassan Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi, which commences where his uncle Thābit's history ends, and proceeds to the year 447: none of his contemporaries have undertaken, like him, to judge events and discover the secrets of dynasties; this he learned from his grandfather, who, being secretary of the chancery-office (see note on chancery No. 14), was acquainted with what occurred: he also was in the chancery-office, and the facts which came to his knowledge there, served to form his historical compilation. Then follows the work to his son Ghārs al-Ni'mah Muḥammad Ibn Hilāl, which is very good till it approaches the year 470, but is of inferior merit *قصر* from that period to the end; the reason of which God only knows. This history is then taken up by (Muḥammad) Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadānī, who brings it down to the year 512; it is also continued by Ibn al-Rāghūnī, الراغوني, (see at the end of this note,) to the year 527; he gives, however, but an unsatisfactory account of that period, as history was not his profession. After him, 'Afīf al-Dīn Ṣadaqah al-Ḥaddād continues the history beyond the year 570; Ibn al-Jawzī brings it down to 580, and it is continued by Ibn al-Qādisī, ابن القادسي, to the year 616.—Hilāl Ibn al-Muḥassan says: On the eve of Wednesday, 11 Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 365 (July, A.D. 976\*) died Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit Ibn Sunān Ibn Thābit Ibn Qurrah, the historian." (Tawārīkh al-Fukamā, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, Supplement, No. 105, p. 94.)

The work from which this extract is taken was composed by Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Khaṭībī al-Zawzani الخطيبي الزوزني in the year of the *Hijrah*, 647 (A. D. 1249). It contains, in alphabetical order, the lives of those Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, Indians, and Hebrews, who were eminent for their knowledge in medicine,

\* 12 July. —*Ed.*

(Continued on page 73)

that this name was in Arabic converted into Ḥarrān.<sup>1</sup> Ḥārān was the father of Sārah, wife of Abrahām; one of Abrahām's brothers was also called Ḥārān; this was the father of Lot. Al-Jawhārī says in his Lexicon, the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, that from Ḥarrān, the name of a town, is derived the relative adjective *Ḥarrānī*, which is a word of irregular formation and that the vulgar form *Ḥarrānī* is regular.

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥarrān*, in Arabic is written with a hard ḥ, and *Hārān* with a soft.

(Continued from page 72)

astronomy, and mathematics. A copy of it is in the library at the Escorial, and is noticed by Casiri in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, under the number 1773. He has also published some extracts from it in his first volume, page 402 *et seq.* This work has furnished Abu 'l-Faraj, in his History of Dynasties, with most of the literary information there given, and though some glaring faults occur in it, its utility to the student cannot be contested. It contains some long passages translated from Plato and Aristotle. The Manuscript of the *Bibliothèque du Roi* was copied, as it appears by a note at the end, in A. D. 1770, after a MS. belonging to Doctor Russel, the author of the description of Aleppo. This circumstance is mentioned in the appendix to the second volume of Dr. Russell's work, where he says: "Having accidentally heard, at Aleppo, of a manuscript of this work, I with some difficulty obtained permission to have a copy taken; but I was not aware of its value till two years after, when the French consul, in consequence of letters from Paris, requested the favour that I would allow a copy to be made from my manuscript for the king's library." It did not, however, reach the *Bib. du Roi* till A. D. 1784, when it was left to it as a legacy, with five other manuscripts, by M. Legrand, secrétaire-interprete du Roi. It has there remained unnoticed, till lately, when it attracted my attention.

Abu 'l-Faql Ahmad Ibn Abi Tahir Tayfūr was son of a Khōrasānī slave in the service of the Abbāsīd *khalīf* "من ابناء خراسان من اولاد الدولة". He was born at Baghdād, A. H. 204 (A. D. 819-20), and commenced his career as a low schoolmaster and *kātib*. He then rose to considerable eminence *تخصّص* and opened a shop in the book-bazaar on the west side of the Tigris.

جلس في سوق الوراقين في الجانب الشرقي.

He compiled upwards of fifty works on different subjects, the titles of which are given in the *Fihrest*. Died A. H. 280 (A. D. 893). His son Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Ubayd Allāh trod in his footsteps as a compiler, author, and transmitter of ancient narrations. He wrote a continuation of his father's History of Baghdād; taking it up at the end of the *khalīfat* of al-Muhtadī, and adding to it the lives of al-Mu'tamid, al-Mu'ta'īd, al-Muktafi, and al-Muqtadir.—(*Kitāb al-Fihrest*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 874, fol. 197).

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Rāghūnī a native of Baghdād and chief doctor (*Shaykh*) of the Hanbalites, died A. H. 527 (A. D. 1132-3). He taught the Traditions and the seven readings of the *Qur'ān*, was versed in theology and the doctrines of his sect, and composed some works by which he gained reputation.—(*al-Yāfi'i*).

126. DHUL-NŪN AL-MIṢRĪ

Abī 'l-Fayḍ Thawbān Ibn Ibrāhīm (or al-Fayḍ) Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī (*native of Egypt*), and surnamed Dhu 'l-Nūn<sup>1</sup>, was a celebrated saint and one of the *men of the path*.<sup>2</sup> He was the first person of the age for his learning,<sup>3</sup> devotion, communion with the divinity,<sup>4</sup> and acquaintance with literature, and is mentioned as one of those who taught from memory the *Muwaṭṭā* of the imām Mālik.<sup>5</sup> Ibn Yānus says in his History, that he was acquainted with philosophy and spoken with elegance. His father, who was a native of Nābiyah, or Ikhmīm (*in Upper Egypt*), was a slave enfranchised and adopted by the tribe of Quraysh. Dhu 'l-Nūn said, on being asked why he had renounced the world: "I went forth from Miṣr, journeying to a certain village, and I fell asleep in one of the deserts on the way. And my eye was opened, and lo! a little bird,<sup>6</sup> still blind, fell from its nest to the ground. Then the ground split open and two trays came forth, one of gold and the other of silver; in one was sesame, and in the other water: and the bird ate of that and drank of this. 'That,' said I, 'is a sufficient warning for me; I renounce the world!' And I then did not quit the door (*of divine mercy*) until I was let in."—Having been denounced by his enemies to al-Mutawakkil, he was cited from Egypt to appear before him; on entering into his presence, he addressed a pious exhortation to the khaliḥ, who shed tears and dismissed him honourably. (*After this interview*.) whenever men of piety were spoken of before al-Mutawakkil, he would weep and say:

1 Dhu 'l-Nūn, or *he of the fish*, is a surname given by the Muslims to the prophet Jonas.

2 See note on طريق, No. 111.

3 Jurisprudence is probably meant here.

4 See the note on the signification of the word *ḥāl* حال, No. 85.

5 In the early ages of Islamism, many authors composed works, but did not put them in writing; those works they taught from memory to their disciples, who either wrote them down or transmitted them orally.—The *Muwaṭṭā*, or *beaten path*, is a celebrated treatise on jurisprudence.

6 A little Bird; قنبره *qunburah*, which, according to Dr. Russell in his History of Aleppo, is the Arabic name of the crested lark. Larks, however, build on the ground, not on trees, so some other species must be meant here.

"Speaking of pious men, let me have Dhū'l-Nūn." - Dhū'l-Nūn was lean-bodied; of a sanguine complexion,<sup>1</sup> and had not a gray hair in his beard. His master in the path of devotion was Shuqrān al-Ābid (*the devout*)<sup>2</sup>. One of his sayings was: "When hearts hold converse, the members of the body are in repose<sup>3</sup>." "It was related by Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sarakhsī at Makkah, that he saw Dhū'l-Nūn dragged, handcuffed and fettered, to the *Maṭbaq*.<sup>4</sup> whilst the people were weeping around him, and that he heard him say: "This is one of the gifts and favours of God: all He does is sweet, right, good." He then recited these lines:

"For thee (*my beloved!*) is a reserved place in my heart; I despise all blame cast on me for loving thee. For thy sake, I strive to fall thy victim: to support thy absence is (*a task*) not possible."<sup>5</sup>

\* [In a compilation containing some particulars concerning Dhū'l-Nūn, I found the following passage: "A dervish, who was one of his disciples, quitted him in Egypt and went to Baghdād. He there attended a religious concert,<sup>5</sup> and when the brethren were excited and fell into ecstasy, he stood up and whirled about and hearkened (*to the music*): he then uttered a loud cry and fell, and on being shaken by those present, he was found dead. News of this having reached Dhū'l-Nūn, he said to his disciples: 'Get ready,

1 Literally: *Redness prevailed in him* which may also mean that his body was reddish or copper coloured.

2 "Shuqrān al-Ābid was Dhū'l-Nūn's master, but I do not know the year of his death; his tomb is near that of his disciple."—(Qāhir Shāh, in his *Universal History*: MS. No. 615, fol. 152).

3 This means that the service of the tongue is not required to express the thoughts of the mind, neither are signs necessary for the purpose, when two hearts are in sympathetic communion.

4 See No. 9.

5 The mystic import of these lines is manifest; *the beloved* is here *the Divinity*;

6 Literally: *a hearing*; which is something similar to the *dhikr*s so well described by Mr. Lane in his *Modern Egyptians*. Consult also D'Ohsson's *Tab. Gen.* t. iv, p. 656, M. de Sacy says, in the *Notices et Extraits*, t. XII, p. 369, that the *سماع* or *hearing*, which he translates by *concert*, means the dances of turning dervishes.

\* [ ] From 'In a compilation' to 'I Shawwāl A.H. 581' not in the autograph. —Ed.



that we may walk to Baghdād.' So when they had finished their preparations, they set out for Baghdād, and the Shaykh said, the moment he arrived: 'Bring me that musician.' "When the musician was brought before him, and questioned about the dervish, he related the event. On this the Shaykh said: 'Blessed (*is he*)! Then he and his band of disciples commenced singing, and as they began, the Shaykh uttered a loud cry at that musician, who fell dead. 'A slain for a slain', said the Shaykh: 'we have taken vengeance for our companion's death. He then prepared to depart and go back to Egypt; and he stopped not at Baghdād, but returned immediately.'" A circumstance (*similar to this*) occurred in my time, and may be fitly related in this place. There was with us at Arbela a musician renowned for his skill and talent, whose name was Shujā' al-Dīn Jibril Ibn al-Awānī. Some time before the year 620 (A. D. 1223) he went to a religious concert. (I was then a boy, but I remember the circumstance well;1 my family and other persons having spoken of it at the time;) and he there sung the high sounding and beautiful *qaṣidah* composed by the grandson of Ibn al-Ta'āwidhī (whose life will be found in the letter M), and which begins thus:

"May a spring-tide shower descend upon thee by night, and may no evil eyes charm the clouds which come to shed their rain upon thee in the mornings."

He then came to these verses:

"The willow of the sands, in the tribe's reserved grounds, (*was once*) my heart's desire2 but now the sands move me not, neither does the willow. And how can the lover obtain his heart's desire when the cottage weeps (*in its desolation*) and friends are departed3. It was they who animated the dwellings4 but the mansions are dead when deprived of inhabitants. O, how many maids5 were in thee, sweet region! by whom my heart was dazzled! how many nymphs

1 Ibn Khalikān was not then twelve years of age.

2 The *willow* means the maid with a slender and pliant waist.

3 See note on *fatiguing journey*, No. 16.

4 Literally: They were the thoughts (or minds) of the dwellings.

5 Literally: *Moons*.

whose blandishments awoke my love!! O, what a night! when the wine received (*new*) lustre from the (*bright*) hand of the cupbearer, who sung in joy and lightness of heart. She was free from cares<sup>2</sup>, but the ring of metal which adorned her ankles was tight; her heart was void (*of love*) and mine was full. The cool source of her lips inflames with love, and her languishing glances awake desire. If she be filled with the sap of youth, my heart thirsts after the nectar of her lips. Her eyes and swords bear a relation to each other, and for this reason scabbards are called *Ajfan* (*eyelids*)."

When *Shujā'* al-Dīn came to this verse, one of the audience rose up and requested him to repeat it, which he did twice or thrice, during which that person was ravished in ecstasy, and then uttered a loud cry and fell on the ground. The people thought him in a swoon, but finding that his senses continued suspended, they examined him and perceived that he was dead. *Shujā'* related that the same thing occurred once before at one of his concerts. The poem from which these verses are taken is splendid and of considerable length; it was recited in honour of the K̲halīf al-Nāṣir li Dīn Allāh on the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast (i *Shawwāl*) A. H. 581].—The merits of *Dhu 'l-Nūn* were great in number; he died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A. H. 245 (February. A. D. 860), or according to others. A. H. 246 or 248, in Miṣr; and was interred in the lesser qarāfah <sup>3</sup>. A chapel has been built over his tomb, and in this chapel are the graves of a number of other holy men: I have visited it more than once.

---

<sup>1</sup> This verse runs literally thus: How often have moons in thy sky (or region) dazzled my heart, and how many gazelles in thee have blandished me!

<sup>2</sup> Literally: *Loose* from care, but in her anklets *tightness*. See. Mr. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II, p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> See note on *Qārāfah*, No. 24

## 127. JARİR THE POET

Abū Ḥazrah Jarir Ibn 'Aṭīyah Ibn Ḥudhayfah\* (surnamed al-Ḳhaṭafāh) Ibn Badr Ibn Salamah Ibn 'Awf Ibn Kulayb Ibn Yarbū' Ibn Ḥanzalah Ibn Mālik Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn Tamīm Ibn Murr al-Tamīmī (*descended from Tamīm*) was one of the greatest and most celebrated Muslim poets. He was in the habit of making satires on al-Farazdaq who retorted in the same manner, and they composed parodies on each other's poems. Most critics consider him as an abler poet than al-Farazdaq, and learned men agree unanimously that, among the poets of Islamic times, there were none equal to these three: Jarir, al-Farazdaq, and al-Akḥṭal.<sup>1</sup> It is said that verses are of four kinds: boasting laudatory, satirical, and amatory<sup>2</sup> and that Jarir excelled in them all, since he was author of these passages, which are specimens of each style: e.g.—(Boasting).

"When the tribe of Tamīm are wroth against you it seems to you as if all mankind were in anger."<sup>3</sup>

(Laudatory.)†

"Are you not the best of those who ever rode on camels, and the most liberal of men."<sup>4</sup>

(Satirical) †

"Cast down thy eyes (*with shame*), for thou belongest to the tribe of Numayr! You have not even attained the rank of Ka'b or of Kilāb!"

(Amatory)†

"Eyes, of which the glance were full of languor<sup>4</sup>, slew us but revived not our slain. These maids strike the man of courage prostrate and motionless, and yet they are the feeblest of God's creation."

<sup>1</sup> The lives of these three poets, translated from the *Kitāb al-Aḡl ānī*, have been given by M. Caussin de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique* for the year 1834.

<sup>2</sup> It would seem that descriptive and didactic poetry were not acknowledged as forming particular classes, yet many examples are to be found, especially of the former kind.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: The most liberal of creatures as to the palms of the hand.

<sup>4</sup> See No. 11, note on *sickly eyes*.

\*M. de Slane reads it Ḳḥudayfah.—Ed.

†The words "Boasting," "Laudatory," "Satirical" and "Amatory" are omitted in translation.—Ed.

Abu 'Ubaydah Ma'mar relates this anecdote: "Jarir and al-Farazdaq rode forth on the same camel to visit (*the Khalif*) Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who was then at Ruṣāfah.<sup>1</sup> Jarir having got down on a certain occasion, the camel turned its head round, on which al-Farazdaq struck it and said:

"Why dost thou turn when I am on thee, and am going towards the noblest of men? On thy arrival at Ruṣāfah, thou shalt repose from the toils of the journey and the bleeding wounds (*caused by the friction of the saddle*).

He then said to himself: 'When Jarir comes up and hears me recite these lines, he will say:

'She bears a blacksmith's son, and therefore turns to look after the bellows and the dull-edged hatchet. But on arriving at Ruṣāfah, she will meet with the (*rough*) treatment which her rider has experienced every year at the assemblies of Arabs'.<sup>2</sup>

Jarir, on coming up, saw al-Farazdaq laugh, and said to him: 'What makes you laugh, Abū Fārās?<sup>3</sup> Al-Farazdaq then recited to him the first lines, and Jarir answered with the last. On this, al-Farazdaq, said; 'By Allāh! I have just pronounced the same lines'; and Jarir replied: 'Do you not know that it is the same demon which inspires us both'<sup>4</sup>—Al-Mubarrad relates, in his *Kāmil* that the following verse of Jarir's was recited to al-Farazdaq:

"You will see the leprosy on her body (*shine*) like the hoary beard of al-Farazdaq<sup>5</sup>";

---

<sup>1</sup> The town of al-Ruṣāfah lay opposite to al-Raqqah, at one day's journey west of the Euphrates, Abu 'l-Fidā places it in lat. 36° N. It was called also the Ruṣāfah of Hishām, after its founder Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who made it his summer residence and retired there to avoid the plague, which desolated Syria.—(*Marāṣid*.)

<sup>2</sup> There were five places in Arabia at which annual fairs were held, and to which the poets resorted previously to the introduction of Islamism. See my *Diwān d'Amro 'l-Qais*, preface, page 8.

*Kunyah* or *patronym* is appropriate appellation.—*Ed.*

<sup>3</sup> Abū Fārās was al-Farazdaq's surname.

<sup>4</sup> Literally; That our demon is one and the same.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: Videbis lepram in imis pudendis hujus (*mulieris*) similem esse barbae canescenti (greek) Farazdak.

And that the latter, on hearing the beginning of the verse clapped his hand to his chin, in expectation of what was to come after, in the second hemistich. —Abū 'Ubaydah relates also this anecdote: "Jarīr's mother, when in her pregnancy, dreamt that she was delivered of a rope made of black hair, and that it began to spring about and seize a great number of people successively by the neck, and strangle them. On this she awoke in affright, and having asked the interpretation of her dream, was told that she would bring forth a male child and a poet, full of acrimony and violence, who would be an affliction to men. It was for this reason that, on his birth, she named him *Jarīr* (*halter*)."—

\* [Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ispahānī gives the life of Jarīr in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, and relates theret he following anecdote; "A man said to Jarīr; 'Who is the first poet of the age?' 'Rise up,' said Jarīr, 'and you shall learn. 'He then lead him by the hand to his father 'Aṭīyah, who had just seized and bound a she-goat and was sucking its teat. On being called forth by Jarīr he appeared in a squalid dress, with drops of the goat's milk trickling down his beard. 'Do you see that man?' said Jarīr—'Yes.'—'Do you know him?'—'No.'—'That is my father; and do you know why he was sucking the goat's teat?'—'No.'—It was because he was afraid, that (*if he milked her*) some one might hear the noise of the milk (*falling into the pail*), and ask him for some. Now the ablest poet is he who, in contests with eighty others, vaunted his descent from such a father and vanquished them all."—It is related, in the work entitled, *al-Jalīs wa 'l-Anīs* (*the companion and friend*)<sup>1</sup>, that one of Jarīr's descendants, named Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn 'Umārah Ibn 'Uqayl Ibn Bilāl Ibn Jarīr, was asked what deed his ancestor intended to commit when he pronounced this verse:

"Had I known that the day of their departure was the last day in which we were to meet, I had done what I did not do."

To this question Muḥammad answered: "He meant that he would have plucked out his eyes, to avoid witnessing the departure of his friends!"—It is related in the *Āghānī* that Mas'ūd Ibn Bishr

<sup>1</sup> This work is not noticed by Ḥājjī Khalīfah.

\*From "Abu 'l-Faraj" to "excuse for love" on page 84 not in the autograph.—Ed.

asked Ibn Munādhir<sup>1</sup> when in Makkah, who was the first poet of the time, and received from him this answer: "He who is playful and serious at will; who in his playful style gives you hopes to attain his level, but rises beyond your reach when you essay; and in his serious mood aims at thoughts so lofty, that you must despair to rival him."—"Who is it?" said Mas'ūd.—"Jarīr," replied Ibn Munādhir; "he who in his sportive humour said:

'The maidens, who in their morning departure bore my heart away, left me<sup>2</sup> however, an abundant source, which ceases not yet to flow from my eyes! They dried up their tears and said to me: "Think not that we resemble you in feeling the effects of love<sup>3</sup>!"'

And who, in a graver style, pronounced words like these:

'He who has refused every honourable quality to the tribe of Taghlib, has placed the *khalifat* and the gift of prophecy in ours! Muḍar is my father and the father of princes! Say, Taghlib, pur-

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ibn Mounādhir (Quelques-uns disent Ibn Manādhir, le fils des Moundhir, alleguant que son pere, son aieul et son bisaieul se nommaient Moundhir, voy. le Camous,) poete de Basra, a compose en divers genres, mais surtout dans le genre satirique. Les ressentimens excites par ses satires le forcerent meme a quitter Basra. Il se retira alors a la Mekke. Il a fait des vers a la louange du calife Elmahdi, des Barmecides et de Haroun Arrachid. Haroun, apres avoir fait perir les Barmecides, partit pour le pelerinage de la Mekke, accompagne de son nouveau vezir Fadhl fils de Rabic. A l'arrivee du calife a la Mekke, Ibn Mounadhir alla se presenter devant lui et demanda la permission de lui reciter un panegyrique qu'il avait prepare. Fadhl dit a Haroun: "Cet homme a celebre les Barmecides, ordonnez-lui de vous reciter les vers qu'il a composés en "leur honneur." Haroun l'ordonna en effet, et apres avoir entendu cet eloge des Barmecides, il fit donner des soufflets au poete et le chassa de sa presence. Ibn Mounadhir mourut a la Mekke, sous le califat d'Al-mamoun, en l'annee 198. Il etait alors devenu aveugle.—(Aghānī, vol iv. fol. 76, 83, 85).—Quant a Massoud ben Bechr, il est cite quelquefois dans l'article d'Ibn Mounadhir comme ayant rapporte quelques anecdotes relatives a ce poete, mais je ne trouve point dans cet article la conversation dans laquelle il lui demande quel est le meilleur des poetes, etc. je ne sais pas non plus quelle etait sa qualite.—(A Caussin de Perceval.)

<sup>2</sup> The pronoun is here in the second person; but as the poet addresses himself, it is necessary to translate by the first in order to express the thought clearly. Arabic poetry abounds with that species of irregularity which European grammarians call *enallage of person*.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: What have you felt from love which we feel.—It is needless to observe that they also felt its effect, but dissembled their weakness,

blind tribe! where have you a father like ours? Behold my cousin khalif in Damascus; if I chose, he would drive you to me as slaves'."

The narrator says that (*the khalif*) 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, on hearing these verses, said: "What could induce Ibn al-Marāghah (*Jarir*) to go so far as to take me for his constable? Had he said: 'If he chose, he would drive you to me as slaves,' I should have done so."—These verses are an attack on the celebrated poet al-Akhṭal, who was of the tribe of Taghlib<sup>2</sup>; Jarir says in them, that the khalifat and the gift of prophecy were in his own family; for the reason that the tribe of Tamim, to which he belonged, was sprung from Muḍar, son of Nizār, son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān, and 'Adnān was an ancestor of Muḥammad's; so that the Khal fat and the gift of prophecy might be considered as belonging to Muḍar, from whom also the tribe of Tamim was descended.—The word Khuzr (*here translated by purblind*) is the plural of akhzar, and is regularly formed like the other plural adjectives of the same class. Akhzar means *narrow-eyed*, and is an epithet given to the Persians; it is for this reason that Jarir employs it here, excluding thus the Taghlibites from the Arabic nation, and pretending that they were Persians; a most grievous insult to an Arab.—In saying, *Behold my cousin a Khalif in Damascus*, he means 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān the Umayyid, who was then living. 'Abd al-Malik calls Jarir *Ibn al-Marāghah* (*son of the Marāghah*), because al-Akhṭal had made a satire on him, and said that his mother was a *marāghah*<sup>3</sup> for men; God forgive us for saying such a thing! but the explanation of the anecdote required it.—Jarir once went into the presence of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, and recited him a *qaṣīdah*, beginning thus:

<sup>1</sup> The word *ghurātī* شرطی is here translated *constable*, to avoid a periphrase. It means a soldier of the police cavalry.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Akhṭal was a Christian; his tribe also professed the same faith, and it is for this reason that the Taghlibites, although an Arab tribe, are specially excepted, by law, from paying the *zakāt*, or *tithe*, of their cattle. But this was merely a nominal advantage, as they were bound to pay tribute like the Christian subjects in conquered countries.

<sup>3</sup> Marāghah is thus explained in Freytags Lexicon: *Locus ubi se volutat jumentum. Asina qua admittit admissarios.*

"(*My companions said to me*) have you recovered, or is your heart still troubled (*since*) the evening that your friends resolved to depart? Censorious females tell me that gray hairs cover my head; must gray hairs then prevent me from being gay? (*My wife*) Umm Khazrah\* was (*at length*) consoled (*and consented to my leaving her*): "Go," said she, 'I foresee that your servants will have a flock of she-camels (*the Kh ilif's gift*) "to drive to the watering place.' My confidence is in God who has no partner in His power, and my hopes for success are placed in the Kh ilif. Thee (*O prince*) shall I thank, if thou restore to me my plumage, and cause the pinions of my wing to grow: are you not the best of those who ever rode on camels, and the most liberal of men?'

Jarīr said: "When I recited this poem to 'Abd ai-Malik and came to this verse, he sat up straight on his throne and exclaimed: 'Those who praise us must pronounce verses like that, or else be silent'. He then turned towards me and said: 'O Jarīr, dost thou think that one hundred camels from the flocks of the tribe of Kalb would suffice to quench the thirst of Umm Ḥazrah†?' To this I replied: 'Commander of the Faithful if they suffice not, may God never assuage her thirst!' He then ordered them to be given to me, all of them black-eyed!; and I said: 'Commander of the Faithful! we are all old men in our family, unable to go on foot 2, and camels are apt to stray; suppose that you made me a present of some slaves to keep them?' On this, he ordered me eight, and as he had some dishes of gold before him and a rod in his hand, I said, in pointing to one of them: 'Commander of the Faithful! and the milkpail?' On which he pushed it towards me with the rod, saying: 'Take it, and much good may it do thee 3!'" It is to this circumstance that Jarīr alludes in the following verse:

---

1 This was a proof of their good breed.

2 More literally: And none of us can do without his riding-camel.

3 Literally: May it do thee no good. It very frequently happens in Arabic that good wishes are expressed under the form of imprecations, as in this case.

\*In the new Egyptian (1948) edition it is *Ḥazrah* and M. de Slane also gives the same reading a few lines below.—*Ed.*

†M. de Slane gives Khazrah above.—*Ed.*



"They gave a *hunaydah*, which was tended by eight; their gifts are not granted with ill-will, neither are they excessive."

The word *hunaydah*, which has the form of a diminutive noun, is a proper name serving to designate one hundred,<sup>1</sup> and most of the learned in philology do not allow it to take the definite article; so me, however, permit it, and the celebrated poet of Aleppo, Abu 'l-Faḥ Ibn Abi Ḥusayn al-Sulamī has said in one of his *qaṣīdahs*:

"O, my heart! the half of *al-Hunaydah* (i. e. fifty years) has left you no excuse for love"<sup>2</sup>.

When Jarīr learned the death of al-Farazdaq, he wept and said: "By Allāh! I well know that I shall survive him but for a short time; we were born under the same constellation, and each of us was taken up with the other; and it rarely happens that a rival or a friend dies without being followed by him whose rival or friend he was!" And this was in fact the case, as he and al-Farazdaq died in the year 110 (A. C. 728-9); see the life of (*Hammām Ibn Ghālib*) al-Farazdaq, where some particulars of Jarīr's death are related. Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī places the death of Jarīr in A. H. 111; and Ibn Qutaybah states, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*, that Jarīr's mother bore him in her womb seven months. He died in al-Yamāmah<sup>3</sup>, aged upwards of eighty years.

## 128. THE IMĀM JA'FAR AL-ŠĀDIQ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far al-Šādiq Ibn Muḥammad al-Bāqir Ibn 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib was one of the twelve persons who, according to the religious doctrines of the *Shi'ites*, are considered as imāms. This illustrious descendant

<sup>1</sup> It is thus that an Arabic grammarian would say of the English words *a dozen* and *a score*, that they are the proper names of *twelve* and *twenty*.

<sup>2</sup> More literally: For attachment to the person whose face is shaded by the *'idhār*.—See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Yhmāmah*; a country and town lying to the east of Makkah, at four days' journey from al-Qaṭīf on the Persian Gulf.—(Abu 'l-Fidā.)

of Muḥammad was surnamed al-Ṣādiq<sup>1</sup> for his veracity, and his merits are too well known to be mentioned here. He composed a discourse (*or treatise*) on alchemy, augury and omens, and the ṣūfī Abū Mūsā Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān of Ṭarsūs<sup>2</sup> compiled a work of two thousand pages, in which he inserted the problems of his master Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, which formed five hundred treatises. Ja'far was born A. H. 80 (A. C. 699), (which year is denominated *the year of the Torrent*<sup>3</sup>): but according to another statement, his birth happened before the daybreak of Tuesday 8 Ramaḍān, A. H. 83.\* He died in the month of Ṣhawwāl, A. H. 148 (A. C. 765) and was buried in the cemetery of al-Baqī' at Mādīnah. The same tomb contains the bodies of his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir, his grandfather 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidīn, and his grandfather's uncle, al-Ḥasan son of 'Alī: how rich a tomb in generosity and nobility! His mother 'Umm Farwah, was daughter of al-Qasim, son of Muḥammad, son of (the Khalīf) Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.—The lives of the twelve *imāms* shall be given in their respective places.—It is related by Kuṣḥājīm<sup>4</sup> in his *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-Maṣā'irid* that Ja'far once asked Abū Ḥanīfah his opinion respecting a pilgrim wearing the *iḥrām* who

---

<sup>1</sup> Al-Ṣādiq; the veracious.

<sup>2</sup> Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān is the name of the celebrated alchemist whom Europeans call *Geber*. Casiri gives some account of him, after the *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*, in the *Bibliotheca Arabica*; vide tom. I, p. 423.

<sup>3</sup> In the eightieth year of the Hijrah a torrent overwhelmed a number of persons at Makkah. It was for this reason that the above year was called the year of the *impetuous torrent* (*al-Sayl al-Juhf*).—(Ibn Ṣhākīr's *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh*.)

<sup>4</sup> Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn, surnamed Kuṣḥājīm, was a celebrated poet and philologist, contemporary with al-Mutanabbī. He is author of the following works: *Adab al-Nadīm* (*the necessary qualities for a boon-companion*); *Al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-Maṣā'irid* (*snares and game*), which appears to be a collection of sporting anecdotes; a Collection of Epistles, and a *Diwān* of poems. He died some time after A. H. 350 (A. C. 961).—(*Fihrist*; al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām*, MS No. 646, fol. 296, V).

\*5 October, A. C. 702, but the day according to Mahler's calculation was Thursday. 'Asqalānī places his birth in A. H. 80/699 A. C.—*Ed.*

broke the canine teeth of a gazelle<sup>1</sup>; to which Abū Ḥanīfah answered: "Son of the Prophet of God! I know not what to say on the subject." On this, Ja'far said; "You, who are a man of quick mind do not know that gazelles have no canine teeth, but only incisors."<sup>2</sup>

### 129. JA'FAR THE BARMAKIDE

Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far Ibn \*([Abū 'Alī]Yaḥy Ibn Khālīd †[Ibn Barmāk Ibn Jāmās Ibn Yaṣḥtāsf] al-Barmak was wazīr to Hārūn al-Raṣīd. †[In the high rank which he attained and the great power which he wielded, in loftiness of spirit and in the esteem and favour shown him by the khalīf, he stood without a rival. His disposition was generous, his looks encouraging, his demeanour kind; but his liberality and munificence, the richness and the prodigality of his donations, are too well known to require mention. He expressed his thoughts with great elegance, and was remarkable for his eloquence and command of language; it is stated that one night, he wrote, under the inspection of Hārūn al-Raṣīd, upwards of one thousand decisions on as many memorials which had been presented to the khalīf, and that not one of these decisions deviated in the least from what was warranted by the law. He had been instructed in jurisprudence by the qāḍī Abū Yūsuf the Ḥanefite, under whose tuition he had been placed by his father Yaḥyā. Ibn al-Qādisi relates, in his History of wazīrs, that Ja'far said to a person who asked his excuse for some fault: "By the pardon which we have already granted to you, God has dispensed you from the necessity of making any excuses to us; and our friendship for you is too great to permit that we should entertain an unfavourable opinion of your character."—A written complaint having been presented to him against one of the public

<sup>1</sup> The person who is making the pilgrimage to Makkah is not allowed to hunt, fowl, or fish, as long as he wears the *Ibrām*, or pilgrim's dress. The laws on this subject may be seen in D. Ohsson's *Empire Ottoman*, tom. III.

<sup>2</sup> Camels have incisors, canine teeth, and molars, but most of the other ruminating quadrupeds have incisors and molars only. This peculiarity did not escape the notice of the nomadic Arabs, but was not generally known to towns' people.

\* { } This name is omitted by M. de Slane.—*Ed.*

† { } These two names are omitted in the autograph.—*Ed.*

‡ { } From "In the high" to "his own folly." on page 87 is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

men under his orders, he wrote the following note on the back of the document and sent it to him: "Those who complain of you are numerous, and those who praise you are few; be just, or resign."—The following example is related of his penetration: Having learned that al-Rashīd was much depressed in consequence of a Jewish astrologer having predicted to him that he should die within a year, he rode off to the Khalif and found him deeply afflicted: the Jew had been detained as a prisoner by the Khalif's orders, and Ja'far addressed him in these terms: "You pretend that the Khalif is to die in the space of so many days?"—"Yes," said the Jew.—"And how long are you yourself to live?" said Ja'far.—"So many years," replied the other, mentioning a great number. Ja'far then said to the Khalif: "Put him to death, and you will be thus assured that he is equally mistaken respecting the length of your life and that of his own." This advice was followed by the Khalif, who then thanked Ja'far for having dispelled his sadness. The Jew's body was exposed on a gibbet, and on this occasion the poet Aṣḥja' al-Sulamī pronounced the following lines :

"Ask the horseman who is perched on the trunk of that palm-tree, if a favourable constellation ever appeared for such a rider? Were it possible that the stars could teach the hour of death, he had known the fate which awaited his own silly head. He announced to us the imām's<sup>1</sup> death; such a prediction he must have learned from the sons of Khusroes and Caesar (*the enemies of Islamism*). Ah, worst of diviners! you foretell the ill fortune of others, while your own constellation plainly foreboded evil!"

The astrologer thus lost his life through his own folly.]—The generous character of Ja'far and the abundance of his donations are well known: it is related that when he made the pilgrimage to Makkah, he passed through al-'Aqīq,<sup>2</sup> which had greatly suffered that year from drought, and was met by a woman belonging to the tribe of Kilāb, who recited to him these lines :

---

<sup>1</sup> The khalif was the spiritual chief or imām of the Muslims.

<sup>2</sup> This place lies near Madinah.

"I passed through al-'Aqlq. and found its inhabitants complaining that the showers of spring had fallen but scantily. But now, that Ja'far is their neighbour, a spring without rain cannot injure them."<sup>1</sup>

On hearing this, Ja'far made her a rich present.—The idea expressed in the last verse is taken from a piece of poetry by al-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn 'Uqayl al-Khafāji, in which he says :

"Had we Samrā this year for neighbour, we should not (though drought afflicts us) mind the absence of spring-tide rains."

How well the poet has turned that verse, and how sweet the parenthesis *though drought afflicts us*! This parenthesis is an example of what the rhetoricians call *Hashw al-Lawziyya*<sup>2</sup> \*[(*Hilāl*) Ibn al-Ṣābi gives the following anecdote, in his *Kitāb al-Amāthil wa'l-A'yān*, on the authority of Ishāq (Ibn) al-Nadīm al-Mawṣili, who had learned it from Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī: "Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā was one day in a private apartment of his house with his boon companions, and I was one of the number; he had put on a silk dress and anointed himself with perfumes, and he made us do the same; he gave also orders not to admit any person except the intendant of his demesnes, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Baḥrān, but the chamberlain heard the words 'Abd al-Malik only. Now it happened that 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣāliḥ, the Hashimite<sup>3</sup> rode to Ja'far's house, knowing that he was at home, and the chamberlain sent in to say that 'Abd al-Malik was come, on which Ja'far said, 'Let him enter;' thinking that it was Ibn Baḥrān. Judge then of our consternation at the sight of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣāliḥ in his black dress<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For he will shower down on them the rain of his generosity.

<sup>2</sup> These words mean, *the pulp or stuffing of almond comfits*.—I have not been able to find this term in the Calcutta edition of the *Mukhtaṣir*, or abridged treatise on rhetoric, by al-Taftāzāni.

<sup>3</sup> The Hashimites were all members of the khalif's family, being descended, like him, from Hāshim Ibn 'Abd Manāf.

<sup>4</sup> All the members of the Abbaside family and the chief officers of their empire wore black.

[ ] From "(*Hilāl*) Ibn al-Ṣābi" to "tear it in pieces" on page 98 is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

and a *ruṣṣīyah*<sup>1</sup> on his head! Ja'far himself changed colour. Ibn Ṣāliḥ never drank *nabīdh*<sup>2</sup>, and had even refused to do so, though invited by the K̲h̲alīf; but on seeing Ja'far's perplexity, he called his page, to whom he gave his black robe and *qalansuah*, and then advanced to the door of the apartment where we were, and after saluting us, said: 'Allow me to be a partaker in your pleasures, and treat me as one of yourselves.' Having then received a silk dress from a servant, he asked for something to eat, and when he had done, he called for *nabīdh* and drank off a pint of it<sup>3</sup>. He then said to Ja'far: 'By Allāh! I never drank it till to-day, so I request your indulgence.' On this Ja'far ordered a pitcher of *nabīdh* to be set before him, so that he might take what quantity he pleased. 'Abd al-Malik then anointed himself with perfumes, and joining in our conviviality, he proved himself a most agreeable companion. The further he went on, the more Ja'far's mind was set at ease, and he said to his guest when about to retire: 'Inform me of your business, for I cannot make a sufficient acknowledgement for your courtesy.'—'You must know then,' said 'Abd al-Malik, 'that the Commander of the Faithful is ill-disposed towards me, and I wish you to remove that un-favourable feeling from his mind, and aid me to regain his good opinion.' To this Ja'far answered: 'The Commander of the Faithful shall take you into favour, and his prepossessions against you shall cease'. 'And I am also in debt,' said 'Abd al-Malik, 'to the amount of four millions of dirhams.'<sup>4</sup>—'Your debts shall be paid,' said Ja'far; 'the money is ready, but it will be more honourable for you to receive it from the k̲h̲alīf himself, and it will serve as a public token of his good feeling towards you.'—'I should like also,'

<sup>1</sup> The *ruṣṣīyah* was a sort of cap the precise form of which is not now known. A little farther on, this species of cap is called a *qalansuah*, which name is now given to the coif worn by Christian priests in that country.

<sup>2</sup> *Nabīdh* is a fermented liquor made of dates, but in many cases, this term is employed to denote wine made of grapes.—Ibn k̲h̲aldūn is of opinion that in the present case the date-liquor is meant.—(See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, p. 380).

<sup>3</sup> A *pint*, in Arabic رطل (*raṭl*); which word our principal orientalists, with the exception of M. de Hammer, pronounce incorrectly *roil*.

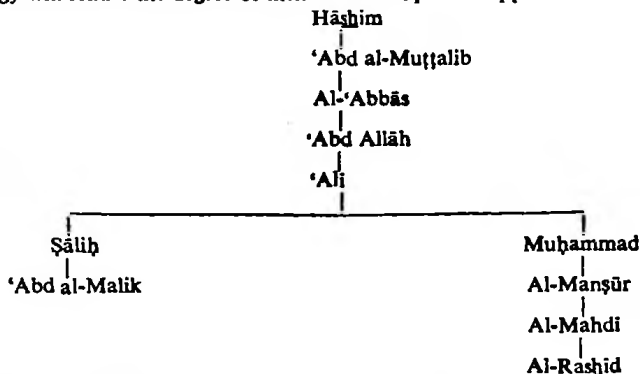
<sup>4</sup> About ninety thousand pounds sterling.

said the other, 'to raise my son Ibrāhīm to an elevated rank, by obtaining for him a princess of the khalif's family in marriage'.—'The Commander of the Faithful,' answered Ja'far, 'shall give his daughter al-'Āliyah to him as a wife'—'And I should wish,' said 'Abd al-Malik, 'as a public mark of my son's elevation, that a standard be borne over his head.'<sup>1</sup> 'The Commander of the Faithful,' replied Ja'far, 'shall give him the government of Egypt.'<sup>2</sup> 'Abd al-Malik then

<sup>1</sup> Governors of provinces were entitled to have a standard borne before them.

<sup>2</sup> This is certainly a mistake; it was Ibrāhīm, *brother* of this 'Abd al-Malik who was named governor of Egypt.—As these two persons filled places of the highest importance under the Abbaside khalifs, I shall here give some account of them.

'Abd al-Malik Ibn Sālīh was descended from Hāshim, grandfather of Muḥammad, and was consequently related to al-Rashid. The following genealogy will render the degree of their relationship more appreciable :



The mother of 'Abd al-Malik was a concubine of Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, the last Umayyid khalif, and on the death of her master, she was bought by Sālīh, to whom she bore a son named 'Abd al-Malik, the subject of this notice. Some even say that 'Abd al-Malik was son to Marwān, for according to them his mother was pregnant when she came into the possession of Sālīh. In A. H. 173 (A. C. 789-90), 'Abd al-Malik commanded the *Ṣayfiyah* or annual summer excursion made into the territory of the Greeks; in 175 (A.C. 791-2) he defeated the Greeks and returned with seven thousand heads of enemies slain in battle. In 177 (A. C. 793-4) he was appointed governor of Damascus by al-Rashid, and in 178 he was named governor of Egypt, but did not proceed to that country. In 187 (A. C. 803), he was accused by his own son, 'Abd al-Rahmān, of aspiring to the khalifat, and was arrested by order of al-Rashid, who only spared his life from the reluctance he felt to shed the blood of a Hāshimite. 'Abd al-Malik was then kept in confinement by his orders; it was only on the accession of the khalif Amin that he was restored to liberty. He received the government of Syria from this prince, and died in 193 (A. C. 808-9), a short time before his protector lost his life.—(Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. Abu 'l-Mahāsīn's *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*. Al-Magrizi's *Khitāṭ*.)

(Contd. on page. 91.)

withdrew, and we were in great astonishment at Ja'far's answers, and his boldness in taking engagements of such a nature without the authorisation of the khalif. The next morning we rode to the court of al-Raṣhīd, where we awaited the return of Ja'far, who went in to the khalif's apartment. Almost immediately on his entrance, the qāḍī Abū Yūsuf was called in along with Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan<sup>1</sup> and Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Malik; and a moment had scarcely elapsed when Ibrāhīm came forth decked in a robe of honour, with a standard borne before him: he had also been betrothed to al-'Āliyah, who was then brought to him in state, and carried, with the money (*which Ja'far had promised*), to 'Abd al-Malik's house. Ja'far then came out and ordered us to follow him home, where he said to us: 'I suppose that your minds are so taken up with 'Abd al-Malik's affair, that you would like to know the result?'—Our reply was: 'That is precisely what we desire'; and Ja'far made us the following narration: 'I stood in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, and informed him of 'Abd al-Malik's conduct from the beginning to the end, and the khalif exclaimed, "Excellent! excellent! And what did you do for him?" I here informed him of the promise which I had made him; and the khalif approved of it and confirmed it. You saw the result. (*In relating this anecdote,*) Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī said: 'By Allāh! I know not

---

I Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan was a jurisconsult of the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah. His life will be found in this work.

(Contd. from page 90.)

His brother Ibrāhīm Ibn Ṣāliḥ was appointed governor of Egypt by the khalif al-Mahdī in A. H. 165 (A. C. 781-2). Under his administration, a member of the Omayyide family, Dihyah Ibn al-Mu'aṣṣab, وحيه ابن المعصب Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān, revolted in Upper Egypt and had himself proclaimed khalif. Ibrāhīm was extremely remiss in taking measures to suppress this insurrection, and he even seemed to take no notice of it. Al-Mahdī was so highly displeased at this conduct that he deprived him of his place in A. H. 167, and fined him in a sum of fifty thousand dīnārs (*twenty-five thousand pounds sterling*); but he afterwards took him into favour and gave him another government. The khalif al-Raṣhīd re-appointed him to the province of Egypt in A. H. 176 (A. C. 792), and he died there in less than three months after his nomination.—(Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn's *Nuḡūm*.)



which (*of the three*) to admire most. 'Abd al-Malik's drinking *nabīdh* and putting on attire different from what he usually wore; he who was a serious man, scrupulously devout, full of gravity and sedateness; or the liberty which Ja'far took with al-Raṣhīd; or the confirmation given by al-Raṣhīd to the promises made by Ja'far'.<sup>1</sup> It is related that one day, at Ja'far's, a beetle flew towards Abū 'Ubayd, the Ṭhaqifite, and that Ja'far ordered it to be driven away, when Abū 'Ubayd said: "Let it alone; it may perhaps bring me good luck; such is at least the vulgar opinion." Ja'far on this ordered one thousand dīnārs to be given him, saying; "The vulgar opinion is confirmed." The beetle was then set at liberty, but it flew towards Abū 'Ubayd a second time, and Ja'far ordered him another present to the same amount.—The following anecdote is given by Ibn al-Qādisi,<sup>1</sup> in his *History of Wazīrs*: "A slave girl, who was just sold to Ja'far for forty thousand dīnārs, said to her former owner: 'Remember the promise which you made me, never to sell me even from necessity'<sup>2</sup>; \* She then wept, and he exclaimed, 'Bear witness that I set her free and take her for my wife.' Ja'far (*on hearing this*) gave the money to her owner, without accepting any thing in return."—Many are the examples related of his generosity; he was also the most eloquent person of his family. The first of the Barmakides who acted as wazīr was Khālīd Ibn Barmak, who was raised to the wazīrāt by (*the Khālīf*) al-Saffāḥ after the assassination of Ḥafṣ al-Khallāl; (this circumstance is related in the life of Ḥafṣ). Khālīd continued in the wazīrāt till the death of al-Saffāḥ, which event took place on Monday, 13 of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A. H. 136 (June A. C. 754)†; and was confirmed in his post the same day, by the new Khālīf, al-Manṣūr, brother to al-Saffāḥ. One year and some months after this, he was removed through the intrigues

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the same historian mentioned in the note, No. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: Not to eat the price obtained for me.

\* M. de Slane has erred in this rendering, it should be *Her master*, then wept and explained.—*Ed.*

† "in the letter Ḥ" is omitted in translation.—*Ed.*

‡ Sunday 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah corresponding to 9 June.—*Ed.*

of Abū Ayyūb al-Mūriyānī, who had gained great influence over the mind of al-Manṣūr, and represented to him that the Kurds had taken possession of Fārs, and that Khālīd was the most proper person to arrest their progress. Khālīd was therefore sent off to that country, and, in his absence, Abū Ayyūb got all the authority into his hands. Ibn al-Qādisī says that Khālīd died A. H. 163 (A. C. 779-80), but Ibn 'Asākir states, in his *History of Damascus*, that he was born A. H. 90 (A. C. 709), and died A. H. 165 (A. C. 781-2): God knows best!—Ja'far had taken a solid hold on the predilections of al-Raṣhīd, who yielded to his influence and granted him his friendship; the degree of favour which he attained was unexampled, so much so that the khālīf caused a robe to be made with two separate collars, which he and Ja'far wore at the same time. Al-Raṣhīd could not suffer being deprived of Ja'far's company, neither could he bear being separated from his own sister al-'Abbāsah, daughter of al-Mahdī, whom he loved with an extreme affection; his pleasure was never complete in the absence of one or the other; he therefore said to Ja'far: "My pleasure is never complete except when you and al-'Abbāsah are with me; I shall therefore marry you together, in order that you may legally keep company with her; but beware that you meet her and I not present!" Ja'far accepted this condition and married her; but at last the favourable feelings of al-Raṣhīd towards him and the Barmakides underwent a total change; he reduced that family to ruin, put Ja'far to death, threw his brother al-Faḍl and his father Yaḥyā into prison, and there left them to die (as will be mentioned in their respective articles). Historians disagree respecting the motives which turned al-Raṣhīd against them; some go so far as to say that when Ja'far and al-'Abbāsah were married on the condition above-mentioned, and had continued for a time to observe it, she conceived a passion for her husband, who refused however, through fear, to accede to her desires; she then had recourse to a stratagem, and sent to 'Attābah Ja'far's mother, requesting to be offered to him as a slave, (for Ja'far's mother made him a present every Friday of a young virgin, with whom he passed the night, having previously taken some *nabidh*). This proposal having been rejected, al-'Abbāsah said to 'Attābah: "If you do not consent to what I desire, I shall tell my

brother that you asked me to act so and so; whereas, if I bear a son to Ja'far, it will be a source of honour to your family; and what could my brother do, were he to discover the circumstance?" Ja'far's mother was induced by this to accede to al-'Abbāsah's request, and she began by promising to her son that she would give him a fair slave whom she then had in her possession, and whom she described as possessing great beauty. Ja'far asked her, time after time, to fulfil her promise, and she, on perceiving that his desires were at length excited to possess the slave, told al-'Abbāsah to hold herself in readiness, and that night she introduced her into Ja'far's chamber. Her countenance was not known to Ja'far, as he had never met her but in the Khālīf's presence and did not then dare to cast his eyes on her. When they had been some time together, she said to him: "What think you of the stratagems practised by princesses?"—"What princess are you?" said Ja'far.—"I am thy sovereign mistress," she replied; "I am al-'Abbāsah!" Immediately the fumes of the nabīdh were dispelled from his head, and he sought his mother, to whom he said: "Mother, you have brought me to ruin!"<sup>1</sup> The pregnancy of al-'Abbāsah was the result of this interview, and she gave birth to a son, whom, to avoid discovery, she sent off to Makkah under the care of a slave called Rayyāsh, and a nurse whose name was Barraḥ. At that time Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd, was inspector of al-Raṣḥīd's palace and ḥarem, the doors of which he used to lock and then retire with the keys. The strict confinement in which he kept the females of the ḥarem induced at length Zubaydah to make complaints of him to (*her husband*) al-Raṣḥīd, who said to him: "Father,"—for so he used to call him—"Father, why does Zubaydah complain of you?"—"Commander of the faithful," said Yaḥyā, "can you suspect me of dishonouring your Ḥarem?"—"No"; answered the Khālīf.—"Then," replied Yaḥyā, "hearken not to what she says of me." After this, Yaḥyā acted towards her with such increased rudeness and severity, that she complained again to al-Raṣḥīd, who said to her: "I cannot harbour any suspicion against Yaḥyā relative to my ḥarem."—"Why then," replied she,

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: You have sold me for a vile price.

"did he not prevent his son from acting as he has done?"—"What has he done?" said he. She then informed him of al-'Abbāh's adventure. "Is there any proof of this?" said al-Raṣḥīd.—"What stronger proof than the child?" "Where is it?"—"It was here, but fearing a discovery, she sent it to Makkah"—"Does any other but yourself know this?"—"There is not a slave-girl in the palace but knows it." Al-Raṣḥīd then spoke no more to her on the subject, but manifested later his intention of making the pilgrimage to Makkah. When he set out with Ja'far for that place, al-'Abbāh wrote to the slave and the nurse, directing them to retire into Yam n with the child. Al-Raṣḥīd, on arriving at Makkah, commissioned a person of confidence to investigate the circumstance, and it was discovered that the child really existed<sup>1</sup>. From that time, the K̲halīf nourished in his bosom evil intentions against the Barmakides.—Ibn Badrūn speaks of Ja'far in his commentary on the elegiac poem composed by Ibn 'Abdūn on the fall of the Banu 'l-Aṣṭas<sup>2</sup> this *qaṣīdah* commences thus:

"After (*inflicting*) the reality (*of misfortune*), time torments (*us*) still with the traces (*of it*); why then weep for shadows and (*unreal*) images?"

And the mention of Ja'far occurs in the commentary on the following verse of the poem;

"(*Fortune*) made Ja'far to taste of death by the sword,<sup>3</sup> whilst Faḍl and the venerable Yaḥyā looked on."

---

<sup>1</sup> The Banū Muhannah, an Arabian tribe, settled in North Africa, pretended that they drew their descent from this boy, whom they called Samī' مع —(Ibn K̲haldūn's *Hist. of the Mustajamite Arabs*).

<sup>2</sup> The dynasty of the Banu 'l-Aṣṭas reigned for some time at Badajoz in Spain, but was overthrown by the al-Murābiṭs under the command of Yūsuf Ibn Tāḥīfīn in A. H. 486 (A. C. 1093).—The poem of Ibn 'Abdūn with the commentary of Ibn Badrūn will be published under the direction of Professor Weyers of Leyden.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: It choked Ja'far in making him swallow the saliva of the cutting steel.

In the following verses, Abū Nuwās alludes to the circumstance mentioned by Ibn Badrūn:

"Say to the trusty servant of God, the offspring of princes and able rulers: 'When you wish to make a traitor lose his head, slay him not with the sword, but marry him to 'Abbāsah'."

According to another statement, (*a descendant of 'Alī*), Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>1</sup>, who had revolted against al-Raṣḥīd, was given by him in charge to Ja'far who kept him prisoner in his house. This Yaḥyā, having asked to see Ja'far, said to him: "Fear God, O Ja'far! in your conduct towards me, and avoid the risk of having my ancestor, the prophet Muḥammad, for an adversary (*on the day of judgment*); for I solemnly aver that I never excited a revolt." Ja'far was touched with this appeal, and replied: "Go to what country you list." "I fear," said Yaḥyā, "lest I be arrested and brought back." Ja'far therefore sent with him a person who conducted him to a place of safety. When the news of this reached al-Raṣḥīd, he called Ja'far into his presence, and after a long conversation, addressed him thus: "O Ja'far! what is Yaḥyā doing?" To which Ja'far answered: "He is still as he was."—"Swear by my life that it is so" said the Khalīf; but Ja'far, after some moments of silence and hesitation, said: "No! I swear by your life that I have set him free; for I knew that no evil was in him."—"It was well done," said the Khalīf; "you have not acted contrary to my intentions." When Ja'far withdrew, al-Raṣḥīd followed him with his eyes and said: "May God slay me if I slay thee not!"—It is said that Sa'īd Ibn Sūlim was asked what was the crime of the Barmakides which had merited the wrath of al-Raṣḥīd, and that he answered: "Of a verity! they committed nothing to warrant al-Raṣḥīd's conduct towards them; but the day (*of their prosperity and power*) had been long, and that which continues long becomes irksome. There were persons, and those among the best of men, who were fatigued with the length of the Khalīf 'Umar's reign, although the like of it was never seen for justice, security, wealth, and victories; they also

<sup>1</sup> See *Abulfedac Annales*, t. II, pp. 60, 80; and M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 4 of the Arabic text.

\* The name of 'Abd Allāh's father is omitted by de Slane. It should be al-Ḥusayn and according to another version al-Ḥāsan.—Ed.

bore with impatience the sway of 'Uthmān; and both were murdered. Besides, al-Rashīd saw that generosity had become their habitude; that the public were loud in their praise and that men's hopes were fixed on them and not on him. Less than this suffices to excite the jealousy of princes; so al-Rashīd conceived ill-will against them, wreaked his vengeance on them, and tried to find out faults (*with which he might reproach them*). Besides this, a certain degree of presumption was sometimes visible in the conduct of Ja'far and al-Faḍl (although Yaḥyā was exempt from it; for he had more solid experience than the others and better skill in affairs). This induced some of their enemies, as al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' and others, to have recourse to al-Rashīd, from whom they concealed the good done by the Barmakides, and only told him of their faults; (*they persevered in this*) till they brought about what took place. After this, when any persons spoke ill of the Barmakides in al-Rashīd's presence, he would say:

"Perdition to your father!<sup>1</sup> blame them less, or fill the void which they have left."

It is also stated that the ruin of the Barmakides was caused by a memorial which was presented to al-Rashīd by an unknown individual, and which contained the following lines :

"Say to God's trusty servant upon earth, him who has power to loose and to bind: Behold, the son of Yaḥyā has become a sovereign like yourself; there is no difference between you! Your orders must yield to his, and his orders dare not be resisted. He has built a palace, of which the like was never erected by the Persian or the Indian (*king*). Pearls and rubies form its pavement, and the floor is of amber and aloes-wood. We fear that he will inherit the empire, when you are hidden in the tomb. It is only the insolent slave who rivals his master in splendour."

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: No fathers to your fathers.

On reading this paper, al-Rashīd conceived a secret hatred for Ja'far.—Ibn Badrūn relates that 'Ulayyah, daughter of al-Mahdī,<sup>1</sup> said to al-Rashīd, after the fall of the Barmakides: "My lord, I have not seen you enjoy a day of perfect happiness since you put Ja'far to death. Why did you do so?" To this al-Rashīd replied: "My dear life! if I thought that even my inmost garment knew the reason I should tear it in pieces."—Ja'far was executed by al-Rashīd's orders at a place called al-'Umr, in the province of al-Anbār, on Sunday 30 Muḥarram (or on the first of Šafar), A. H. 187,\* (end of January, A. C. 803)†.—Al-Ṭabarī says in his *History*: "In the year

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Ulayyah, daughter of the khalīf al-Mahdī, was born A. H. 160 (A. C. 776-7). Her mother Maknūnahh (مَكْنُونَه) was a slave girl possessing every perfection of mind and person, who had been bought by al-Mahdī for one-hundred thousand dinārs (upwards of fifty thousand pounds sterling). By her charms she gained al-Mahdī's affections to such a degree that his wife al-Khayzurān could not repress her jealousy. 'Ulayyah also was extremely beautiful, but her forehead was rather high; to conceal this defect, she wore a fillet or diadem set with precious stones. She had an exquisite taste for music, and in that art she surpassed her half-brother Ibrāhīm, whose talent was so eminent. The airs and verses of her composition excited the utmost admiration, and are mentioned with high eulogium by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣpahānī, who has inserted a portion of them in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. It was only during those periods of delicate health in which females are not allowed by the Muslim law to fulfil the duty of prayer (see D'Ossons *Empire Ottoman*, t. II, p. 39), that she indulged her passion for music and conviviality; but on her convalescence, poetry and song were discontinued, and she abstained from *nabīḡh* (see note 2, p. 89) her occupation was then to read the *Qur'ān* and other books. She used to write poetical epistles to her friends and to a slave of al-Rashīd's, named *Tall* (طَلّ dew). Some of these pieces were set by her to music and are still preserved; they are short, but inspire an ardent passion. Her brother al-Rashīd disapproved of her familiarity with Tall, but afterwards gave him to her and authorised her to do with him as she pleased. Another slave called *Rashā* (رَشَى) was also honoured by her affection and celebrated in her verses. Her death took place A. H. 210 (A. C. 825-6): she was then wife to Mūsā موسى كانت تحت موسى Ibn 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, a member of the imperial family.—(From the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, which contains a long notice on 'Ulayyah, interspersed with many curious anecdotes.)

\* Saturday, 28 January, A. D. 803.—Ed.

† [ ] From "Al-Ṭabarī says" to "Our fortune has passed away" on page 104 is not included in the autograph.—Ed.

186, al-Rashīd made the pilgrimage with the Barmakides, and arrived at Hīrah from Makkah in the month of Muḥarram, 187: he stopped at the palace of 'Awn al-'Ibādī for some days, and having then embarked, he descended the river to al-'Umr near al-Anbār. On the eve of Sunday\*, last of Muḥarram, he sent the eunuch Abū Hāshim Masrūr with Abū 'Ismah Ḥammād Ibn Sālīm and a troop of soliders to guard the issues of Ja'far's house, and Masrūr went in and found him engaged in a party of pleasure with Ibn Bakhtayshū' the physician<sup>1</sup> and Abū Zakkār al-Kalwādānī<sup>2</sup> the blind musician. Masrūr dragged him out violently and led him to al-Rashīd's mansion, where he imprisoned him and shackled him with an ass's fetters. He then informed al-Rashīd of his arrival, and was ordered by him to behead him."—Al-Ṭabarī then gives in full the history of Ja'far.—Al-Wāqidī says: "Al-Rashīd stopped at al-'Umr, near al-Anbār, on his return from Makkah in the year 187; he then wreaked his vengeance on the Barmakides and slew Ja'far on the first of Ṣafar; his body he ordered to be gibbeted on one side of the bridge of Baghdād, and the head he caused to be stuck up on the other."—Another historian states that Ja'far's body was gibbeted on the bridge

---

<sup>1</sup> This was Gabriel Ibn Bakhtayshū'. See also the *Chrestomathie*, tom. I, page 53, and Russell's *Aleppo*, vol. II, appendix, p. v. A long account of his life may be found in the *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*.

<sup>2</sup> Abou Zakkār l'aveugle était un chanteur de Bagdad attaché à la famille des Barmekides, qui faisaient grand cas de lui et le comblaient de biens. Il était auprès de Djafar et lui chantait des vers exprimant la pensée que la menace de la mort est incessamment suspendue sur l'homme, lorsque Mesrouf entra chargé des ordres du calife Haroun et fit trancher la tête à Djafar. Abou Zakkār demanda avec instance qu'on lui donnât la mort à lui-même; Djafar, disait-il, a été mon bienfaiteur, il me serait trop dur de lui survivre. Mesrouf répondit qu'il allait consulter à cet égard la volonté de Haroun. Il porta au calife la tête de Djafar et lui répéta ce qu'Abou Zakkār avait dit. Cet aveugle, dit Haroun, mérite qu'on se l'attache; informe-toi du traitement qu'il recevra de Djafar; je veux qu'on lui en alloue un semblable.—(*Aghānī*, tom. IV, fol. 98 — Communicated by M. Causin de Perceval. *Kalwādānī* means native of *Kalrādā*, a town at two parasangs distance from Baghdād.—(Abu 'l-Fidā's *Geography*, p. 303).

\* Saturday is correct word.—*Ed.*



opposite to al-Šarāt<sup>1</sup>.—Al-Sindī Ibn Shāhik<sup>2</sup> relates as follows: "I was one night asleep in the upper room of the guard-house, which is on the western side (*of the Tigris*), and I saw in a dream Ja'far, who stood before me in a robe dyed with saffron, and recited these verses<sup>3</sup>:

'('Tis now) as if not a soul had ever lived between al-Ḥajūn and al-Šafā<sup>4</sup>. As if there had never been one friend in Makkah to hold evening converse with another! For we were its inhabitants, but we perished by the vicissitudes of time and the precariousness of fortune. 5'

On this I awoke in terror, and related my vision to one of my friends, who answered: '*They are confused dreams*<sup>6</sup> and it is not all which a man sees (*in sleep*) that will bear interpretation.' I then returned to my couch, but had scarcely closed my eyes when I heard the challenge of the sentries and the guard, and the ringing of the bridles of post-horses,<sup>7</sup> and a knocking at the door of my

<sup>1</sup> Al-Šarāt is the name of the canal on which Baghdād was built by al-Manšūr.—(See M. de Sacy's note in the first vol. of the *Chrestomathie*, p. 68.)

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the sequel, that al-Sindī Ibn Shāhik was al-Rashīd's Šāhib al-Shurṭah, or chief of the armed police. Ibn Shāhik was a native of India and an enfranchised slave of al-Manšūr. He filled a number of elevated posts under the Abbaside Khalifs: in the year 176 (A. C. 792), he was governor of Damascus; in 187, as appears by Ibn Khalikān's citation, he was Šāhib al-Shurṭah, and at another period he acted as qāḍī at Baghdād, where he died A. H. 204 (A. C. 819-20).—(*Mir'āt al-Zamān*, MS No. 640, fol. 41 verso.)

<sup>3</sup> These verses are taken from a well-known poem in which 'Āmir Ibn al-Ḥārith deplores the misfortune of his tribe, the Jurhamites, who had been guardians of the *Ka'bah* at Makkah, but were no longer in possession of that honourable office.—(See the *Excerpta ex Abulfeda* in the second edition of Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.*, page. 561; Fleisher's *Annales Anteislamicae*, (p. 192, and Schulten's *Monumenta Vetustiora Ar.*, p. 1.)

<sup>4</sup> Ḥajūn and Šafā are hills near Makkah. For Šafā see Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I, p. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: But we were destroyed by the vicissitudes of nights and stumbling fortunes.

<sup>6</sup> *Qur'ān*, sūrah., 12, ver. 44.

<sup>7</sup> It would appear from this that a number of small bells were fastened to the throat-band of the bridles, as with the post-horses on the continent.

chamber. I ordered it to be opened, and the eunuch Sallām al-Abrash (whom al-Rashīd never sent out but on important business,) came upstairs. I shuddered at his sight, and my joints trembled, for I imagined that he had got some orders concerning me; but he sat down by my side and handed me a letter, the seal of which I broke open, and lo! it contained these words: *O Sindī! this letter is written with our own hand, and sealed with the seal-ring which we wear on our finger; it will be presented to you by Sallām al-Abrash; and as soon as you read it, even before you lay it out of your hand, go with Sallām to the house of Yaḥyā Ibn Khālīd, (may God not protect him!) and having seized on him, put him in heavy irons and bear him to the prison in the city of al-Manṣūr<sup>1</sup>, which is called Ḥabs al-Zanādiqah<sup>2</sup> Order also your lieutenant Bādām Ibn ‘Abd Allāh to go to al-Faḍl’s, at the same time that you ride off to the house of his father Yaḥyā, before the news spread abroad: tell him to do with al-Faḍl what you are ordered to do with Yaḥyā, and let him take him to the same prison. On finishing with these two, send some of your men to seize on the children, brothers, and relations of Yaḥyā.<sup>3</sup>—Ibn Badrūn also relates the fall of the Barmakides with some additional circumstances which I am induced to give here in an abridged manner. After the passage relative to Ja’far which has been cited above,<sup>4</sup> he says: “Then (al-Rashīd) called al-Sindī Ibn Shāhik and ordered him to proceed to Baghdād and arrest secretly the Barmakides, their clerks and their relations, which was done. Al-Rashīd was then with Ja’far at al-‘Umr, near al-Anbār. Ja’far was in his lodgings at the time, and had called in Abū Zakkār and his slave girls; the curtains (of the apartment) were closed, and Abū Zakkār had sung to him this song :*

<sup>1</sup> The city of al-Manṣūr; Baghdād, founded by that khalīf.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥabs al-Zanādiqah, the prison for Zindīqs, or atheists.—See D’Herbelot; ZEN DIK.

<sup>3</sup> The Manuscripts and the printed text have يحيى واولاده, but I read اولاد يحيى.\*

<sup>4</sup> See above in this article.

\*This is not in the autograph but the Cairo edition (1948) text corroborates M. de Slane’s reading.—Ed.

'What want they with us? They never cease to watch us! Their only thought is to detect (*the joys*) which we conceal.'

And al-Rashīd called his page Yāsir and said to him: 'I have chosen you for a business which I do not think fit to confide to any other <sup>2</sup>; justify then the opinion which I have of you, and beware resisting me, or you die'. —To this Yāsir answered: 'Were you to order me to kill myself, I would do it.'—'Go then,' said al-Rashīd, 'and bring me immediately the head of Ja'far Ibn Yahyū.' Yāsir was confounded, and gave no answer. 'Wretch!' exclaimed al-Rashīd, 'do you hesitate?'—'It is a serious business'; replied the other; 'would that I had died before this hour!'—'Execute my orders!' said the Khalif. Yāsir then went to Ja'far's, and found him in company with Abū Zakkār, who was singing these verses:

'Leave us not, for every man must meet death either in the night or in the day. Treasures, though well preserved, must one day be exhausted. Could you be preserved from the attacks of misfortune, I should give my own wealth and that of my father's to secure your safety.'

"(*Yāsir then entered*) and Ja'far said to him: 'I am happy to receive your visit, O Yāsir; but am displeased at your entering without permission.'—'My business,' said Yāsir, 'does not admit of ceremony'<sup>3</sup>. He then informed him of the orders which he had received from the Khalif. Ja'far, on this, kissed Yāsir's feet and said: 'Let me go in and make my will'—'As for going in,' answered Yāsir, 'it is impossible for me to grant it; but make your will if you please'—'You are under obligations to me,' said Ja'far, 'and you can repay them at the present moment only.'—'You will find me prompt to do any thing,' said Yāsir, 'except to disobey the Commander of the faithful.'—'Return then,' said Ja'far, 'and tell him that you have

<sup>1</sup> Literally: *They sleep not off us*; that is, their vigilance is never lulled so that their attention is drawn off us.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: For which I judge not fit either Muḥammad or 'Abd Allāh or al-Qasim.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: Is too grave for that.

put me to death; if he express his regret, I shall owe you my life; and if not, you can fulfil your orders.'—'Impossible!' said Yāsir.—'Let me then go with you to his tent, that I may hear the answer which he makes you, and if he persist in willing my death, you can execute his commands.'—'To that I consent,' replied the other. He then entered the tent of al-Rashīd, who, on hearing the noise of his approach, said to him: 'Have you done it?'<sup>1</sup> Yāsir told him what Ja'far had said. 'Vile wretch!'<sup>2</sup> exclaimed the Khalif, 'if you answer me another word, I shall send you before him (*to the next world*.) Yāsir then retired, and having put Ja'far to death, he carried in his head and placed it before the Khalif. He looked at it for some time, and then ordered Yāsir to bring in two persons whom he named. When they came, he said to them: 'Strike off Yāsir's head, for I cannot bear the sight of Ja'far's murderer.'—In another part of the book, Ibn Badrūn relates this anecdote: During the pilgrimage, Ja'far had remarked al-Rashīd's estrangement, and on arriving at Hīrah, he rode out on business to a church, in which he found a stone with something written on it, which he did not understand. He sent for interpreters to have it explained, with the intention of drawing from it an omen relative to what he had to fear or hope from al-Rashīd. The inscription was read, and it ran thus:

'In the year that the family of Mundhīr<sup>3</sup> persihed, by the spot where the monk built the church, the hopes of the needy were fixed on them no longer and the criminal ceased to fear them. Their hair breathed the odour of musk and the perfume of ambergris, which caused the rose to frown (*with jealousy*). They became food for the worms of the earth; the patron had ceased to exist, and those also who sought his favour'.

<sup>1</sup> Literally: What is behind you? An expression frequently used in the sense of "What have you done?"

<sup>2</sup> Literally: *Qusugens pudenda matris tuae!* a foul imprecation, and very common in the mouths of the ancient Arabs. See another example in my *Diwān d'Anro l'-Kais*, page 20, note.

<sup>3</sup> A sketch of the history of this family will be found in Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Ar.*

Ja'far, on hearing this, was dejected and said: 'Our fortune has passed away!']—Al-Aṣma'i related this anecdote: "Al-Raṣhīd sent for me after he had put Ja'far to death, and on my arrival, he said: 'It is for some verses which I wish you to hear.' I answered: 'If it pleases the Commander of the faithful.' He then repeated to me these lines :

"Had Ja'far apprehended death, a bridled courser had saved him; and precaution against (*the stroke of*) fate had placed him in an asylum which even the eagle would despair to reach. But when his day was come, no horoscope could repel misfortune from him."

"I perceived that the verses were his own, and said: 'They are the best verses on the subject' and he said to me: 'Rejoin now your family, O Ibn Qurayb! if you like' "

\*.It is stated that Ja'far, some days before his death intended to ride to al-Raṣhīd's, and called for an astrolabe that he might choose a (*lucky*) hour for the purpose]; he was then in his house situated on the Tigris, when a boat passed by with a man in it, who, although he did not see Ja'far or know what he was doing, recited this verse:

"In his ignorance he takes counsel of the stars, but the Lord of the stars does what He wills."

Ja'far, on this, threw down the astrolabe and rode out.—It is also related that on the morning after the night in which Ja'far was put to death, a bill was found posted on the door of 'Alī Ibn 'Isā Ibn Māhān's palace at K̲h̲urāsān, containing the following lines written in a large hand :

"The unfortunate sons of Barmak have been overwhelmed by misfortune. Their fate is an example for us, and let him who inhabits this palace take warning".

---

1 This 'Alī Ibn 'Isā is spoken of in the lives of Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn and al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī'.

\*[ ] From "It is stated" to "bereft of its children" on page 106 is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

When Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah heard the news of Ja'far's death and the misfortune of the Barmakides, he turned towards the *qiblah*<sup>1</sup> and said: "O my God! he relieved me from the wants of this world; relieve him from the pains of the next!"—On the death of Ja'far, a great number of elegies were composed on him by the poets, in which they deplored his loss and the misfortunes of his family; the following verses on the subject were composed by al-Raqāshī:<sup>2</sup>

"Those whose hearts were free from anguish such as mine, enjoyed quiet and repose; but sleep is not suited for my eyes. The passionate lover is wakeful, but it is not love which prevents my eyes from closing. Those sad events have awoken me; and when others yield to slumber, sleeplessness is mine. It was a heavy blow for me to lose those princely stars by whose generous showers we were watered when the skies withheld their rain. Let beneficence and the world now say adieu to the glory of the Barmakides! Before thy fall, O son of Yahyā! I never saw one sword cut by another.<sup>3</sup> By Allāh! were it not through fear of informers, and of the Khalīf's eye which sleepeth not, we should walk around thy gibbet (*as round the ka'bah*), and kiss it as men kiss the sacred stone."<sup>4</sup>

The same poet said, in a lament on the death of Ja'far and of his brother al-Faḍl:

<sup>1</sup> See No. 16, note on *qiblah*.

<sup>2</sup> The poet Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Raqāshī was born at Baṣrah, but settled at Baghdād, where he celebrated in his verses the praises of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, al-Amin and the Barmakides: He and Abū Nuwās were constantly at enmity with each other, and his pretensions and pride exposed him to the attacks of all the other poets of the day. (The *khaṭīb's Tārīkh Baghdād*, No. 634, fol. 148:) The date of his death is not given.

<sup>3</sup> There is here a play upon words; *سيف* means a *sword* and metaphorically a *prince*.

<sup>4</sup> This is an allusion to the ceremony of the *Tuwāf* which consists in walking a certain number of times round the *ka'bah*, at Makkah, and kissing the black stone.—See Sale's introduction to the *Qur'ān* and Burckhard's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I, p. 172.

"Behold how the cutting sword of the Barmakides has been broken by that of the Hashimites. Now that Fadl is dead, tell the camels that they may repose,<sup>1</sup> and tell misfortunes to come renewed each day."

Di'bil Ibn 'Alī al-K̲h̲uzā'i said, on the same subject :

"On seeing the sword fall upon Ja'far, and on hearing the K̲h̲alīf's herald cry vengeance on Yaḥyā, I wept for the world (*of which they were the ornament*), and I felt how true it was that the goal of human life is the quitting of the world."

And Šāliḥ Ibn Ṭarīf said of them :

"O for the sons of Barmak and the happy days (*of their power*)! with you the world was (*brilliant as*) a bride; but now it is widowed and bereft of its children .]

The apprehension of prolixity prevents me from giving numerous passages from the eulogistic poems and the elegies composed on the Barmakides;\*[the present article has already attained a considerable length; but this, it is true, was rendered unavoidable by the necessity of stating, in a connected manner, the particulars of their rise and fall.] One of the most singular examples which history offers of the vicissitudes of fortune is thus related by Muḥammad Ibn †[G̲h̲assān Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaṣḥimī, chief of the prayer at Kūfah<sup>2</sup> "On a certain day, which was the Festival of Sacrifices,<sup>3</sup> I went into my mother's, and found with her a woman of respectable mien, but dressed in shabby clothes. 'Do you know who this is?' said my mother.—'No', I replied.—'This' said she, 'is the mother of Ja'far the Barmakide.' On this I turned towards her and saluted her with respect; we then conversed together for some time after which I said:

<sup>1</sup> He means that there existed no longer a generous patron in the world; and that the camels which had borne him across the deserts to solicit Faḍl's bounty might now enjoy repose, as he should not require their services again.

<sup>2</sup> One of the privileges possessed by the governors of provinces was to preside at Friday prayers as the representative of the k̲h̲alīf, but this office was often filled by the qāḍī.

<sup>3</sup> The Festival of Sacrifices is held on the 10 of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*. (*It is an obvious mistake for Dhu 'l-Hijjah.*"—Ed.)

\*[ ] From "the present article" to "rise and fall" is not included in the autograph.—Ed.

† "G̲h̲assān Ibn" is omitted in translation.—Ed.

'Madam! what is the strangest thing that you have seen?' To which she answered: 'There was a time when this anniversary found me with four hundred female slaves standing behind me to await my orders, and yet I thought that my son did not provide for me in a manner adequate to my rank; but now my only wish is to have two sheep-skins, one to serve me for a bed and the other for a covering.' 'I gave her,' said the narrator 'five hundred dirhams, and she nearly died from excess of joy. She afterwards continued to visit us till death placed a separation between us'—I found the word '*Umr*, as here written, in a manuscript which had been read over and carefully corrected; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakr<sup>2</sup> says, in his *Mu'jam* (or dictionary of proper names), that in the expression *Qill'iyat al-'Umr* (cell of an 'Umr), the word '*Umr* means convent.

### 130. JA'FAR IBN AL-FURĀT, CALLED ALSO IBN ḤINZĀBAH

Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt, and generally known by the surname of Ibn Ḥināzbah, was wazīr to the *Ikhshīd* family in Egypt during the protectorship\* of Kāfūr. When Kāfūr took the sovereign authority into his own hands, he served him in the same capacity, †[and he continued to act as wazīr and direct the administration of the Egyptian and Syrian provinces for Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshīd, on the death of Kāfūr. He then seized on a number of the great

---

<sup>1</sup> To avoid confusion, the Arabic words *Yā Umma* (O mother!) are here rendered by *madam*.

<sup>2</sup> Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bakrī was a native of Cordova. Died A. H. 487. This is the author of the geographical work, a portion of which has been translated and published in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII. For his life, see Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*, tom. II, p. 46; and for specimens of his poetry and the history of his ancestors and himself, see Ibn al-'Abbār's *al-Hullat al-Siyarah*, fol. 82 et seq. See also the translation of al-Maqqarī by Mr. Gayangos, vol. I, p. 312.

\* "Sovereignty" is proper word.—*Ed.*

† [ ] From "and he continued" to "A.H. 358, (A.C. 969)" on page 109 is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*



officers of the Empire and extorted sums of money from them: he arrested also Ya'qub Ibn Killis, who was (*afterwards*) wazir to al-'Aziz al-'Ubaydī, and forced from him a sum of four thousand five hundred dinārs. Ibn Killis was delivered out of his hands by the *Sharif* Muslim al-Ḥusaynī<sup>1</sup>, in whose house he lay concealed for a time, and then fled secretly to Maghrib. Ibn al-Furat was not, however, able to satisfy the exorbitant demands of the Kāfūrītes, the Ikḥshīdites<sup>2</sup>, the Turkish mercenaries, and the other troops, as the persons who had farmed out the different branches of the public revenue paid him nothing. His authority was shaken to such a degree, that he was twice obliged to conceal himself, whilst (*a seditious multitude*) pillaged his palace and the houses of some of his partisans. About this time Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭughj, prince of Ramlah<sup>3</sup> arrived at Miṣr, and, having arrested Ibn al-Furat, he caused him to be put to torture and inflicted on him a heavy fine. Al-Ḥusayn then appointed his own secretary al-Ḥasan Ibn Jbir al-Riyāḥī<sup>4</sup> to the place of wazir, but through the intercession

<sup>1</sup> The *Sharif* Abū Ja'far Muslim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī (*descended from al-Ḥusayn grandson of Muḥammad*), surnamed also Muslim al-'Alawī (*descendant of 'Alī*) and Abū Ja'far al-'Alawī, was an amīr of eminent talents and merit; he acted a conspicuous part at the capture of Miṣr by the troops of the Fatimite *Khaliḥ* al-Mu'izz (see the life of the *qā'id* Jawhar), and was treated with great respect and favour by that prince. Al-Mu'izz having one day found in his palace, or on the pulpit of the mosque, a piece of verse inviting him to prove the genuineness of his descent from the *Khaliḥ* 'Alī by obtaining the consent of the Banū Ṭāhir, Muslim's family, to a matrimonial alliance with his own, he asked Muslim to give one of his daughters in marriage to his son al-'Aziz. Muslim refused on the plea that they were already betrothed to relatives of his own family. Al-Mu'izz was so highly displeased at the rejection of his offer, that he imprisoned Muslim and seized on his property. From that period Muslim was never seen again; some say that he was put to death by the orders of the *Khaliḥ*, and others state that he escaped from confinement, but perished in one of the deserts of Hījāz. His grandson al-Ḥasan became sultān of Makkah. (See '*Umdat al-Tālib*', MS No. 636, fol. 206).

<sup>2</sup> The Kāfūrītes were mamlūks of Kāfūr, raised by him to places of high authority. The Ikḥshīdites were the manmlūks and partisans of the Ikḥshīdite family.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ṭughj had been elected regent by the troops, during the minority of his relation Abū 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ikḥshīd. The poet al-Mutanabbī composed some poems in his honour. See No. 49.

<sup>4</sup> In two manuscripts of Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn's *History of Egypt*, this name is written الزنجاني (*al-Zinjānī*).

\*Abū Ja'far Muslim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-*Sharif* al-Ḥusaynī is the full name according to the autograph.—*Ed.*

of the sharīf Muslim, he set Ibn al-Furāt at liberty, and retired to Syria after entrusting him again with the government of Egypt. This happened at the beginning of the month of the latter Rabi', A. H. 358 (February, A. C. 969). (*Ibn al-Furāt*) was learned himself, and loved learning in others; \* [he taught the Traditions on the authority of Muḥammad Ibn Hārūn al-Ḥadramī (*native of Ḥaḍramawt*) and the Traditionists of Baghdād his contemporaries; he transmitted them also as they had come down to him from Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id al-Burjumī, a native of Emessa, Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far al-Kharā'iṭī al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Baṣṭām, al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad al-Dārakī and Muḥammad Ibn 'Umīrah Ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣpahānī. He related having heard read a *Majlis*, or conference, composed by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī<sup>2</sup> and that he did not possess a copy of it; "If any one brings it to me," said he, "I will make him a rich man." When wazīr of Egypt, he used to teach the Traditions by dictation,] and for that reason was visited by eminent persons from distant countries. The same motive induced the *ḥāfiz* Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Dāraquṭnī to make the journey from 'Irāq to Egypt; †[and as the wazīr had the intention of composing a *Musnad*<sup>3</sup> he continued with him till the work was finished.] Ibn al-Furāt wrote also a treatise on the proper and patronymic names of men<sup>4</sup>, and some other works. The khaṭīb Abū Zakariyā al-Tabrīzī mentions, in his commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbī, that this poet,

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far al-Kharā'iṭī, author of the *Makārim al-Akhlaq* and other works, died at Jaffa or 'Asqālān in A. H. 328 (A. C. 939-40).—(Al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām*; al-Yāfi').

<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī was born at Baghdād, A. H. 214 (A. C. 829). He was a *ḥāfiz* of the highest reputation. Died A. H. 317 (A. C. 929). He composed a *Mu'jam*, or catalogue of the Companions of Muḥammad.—(*Tārīkh al-Islām*. Ḥājjī Khalīfah).

<sup>3</sup> *Musnad*; a collection of Traditions, each of them accompanied with the names of Traditionists by whom it had been handed down.

<sup>4</sup> A branch of the science of the Traditions treats of the Traditionists, their names, country, credibility, etc.

\* [ ] From "he taught the" to "Traditions by dictation" is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

† [ ] From "and as the" to "was finished." is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

when he visited Egypt, celebrated the praises of Kāfūr and the wazīr Ibn al-Furāt in the *qaṣīdah* of which the verses rhyme in *R*, and which begins thus :

"Your love will appear whether you resist it or not."

He named it the *Ja'fariyah* (after *Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt*), having terminated one of the verses with the word *Ja'far*, and inserted the words *Ibn al-Furāt* in the following line :

"I should have made a bracelet for the arm of him who announced the news of Ibn al-Furāt's approach, and have rewarded the servant who shouted with joy."

As the wazīr did not satisfy his expectations, he abstained from reciting this poem to him; and on setting out for Arrajān with the intention of visiting 'Aḍad al-Dawlat, at whose court Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amīd, the wazīr of Rukn al-Dawlat, was then residing, he changed the address of the *qaṣīdah*, and converted it into a panegyric on Ibn al-'Amīd, whose name he inserted in place of Ibn al-Furāt's. He composed some other pieces in praise of Ibn al-'Amīd, but this is a splendid production. We shall insert here another observation made by the same *khaṭīb*, where he explains al-Mutanabbī's *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *A*, which contains the account of his journey to Kufah and the description of the places at which he stopped successively on the way; in this piece the poet attacks Kāfūr in these terms :

"What are the objects which raise the laughter of Egypt, laughter which nearly resembles weeping? There is a Nabatean from al-Sawād<sup>1</sup> who gives lessons on the genealogies of the desert tribes; <sup>2</sup> and a negro whose lip is half as large as himself, and whom they style *the moon of darkness*. When I praised that hippopotamus, my pieces were half poem, half incantation (*to charm the brute*); and it was not so much to praise him as to satirize the human race.<sup>3</sup>"

On this the *khaṭīb* observes, that by the *Nabatean* he meant Ibn al-Furāt, and by the *negro* Kāfūr; but, after all, such an attack does not detract from their merit, for *the noblest characters have always*

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Sawād*; Babylonian 'Irāq.

<sup>2</sup> That is; he taught the history and genealogy of the ancient Traditionists.

<sup>3</sup> In praising Kāfūr he satirized all mankind, for so despicable a being as Kāfūr was among the best of them.

been subject both to blame and praise.—The wazīr Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Maghribī says in his *Adab al-Khawāṣṣ*: “In a conversation with the wazīr Ibn al-Furāt, I quoted to him passages from the poems of al-Mutanabbī, and he betrayed, by the very excess of his approbation, his concealed (*hatred*) for the poet; he was afraid of appearing like one who was prevented by a feeling of private animosity from concurring with the public opinion (*respecting al-Mutanabbī's eminent talent*). He had been satirized by the poet, and that was the motive of his enmity towards him.”—The birth of Ibn al-Furāt took place on the 3 of *Dhū 'l-Hijjah*, A. H. 308 (April, A.C. 921)\*; he died in Egypt on Sunday, 13 of *Ṣafar* (or of the first *Rabī'*), A. H. 391 (January, A. C. 1001).† Prayers were said over him by the qāḍī Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān<sup>1</sup>: and he was interred in the lesser Qarāfah, where this tomb is still conspicuous.—*Thābit* Ibn Qurrā says in his *History*<sup>2</sup> that *Ḥinzābah* was the name of his father's mother. This word, when used as an appellative noun, means a *short and corpulent female*.—The ḥāfiẓ Ibn 'Asākir speaks of this wazīr in his *History of Damascus*, and mentions the following verses as composed by him :

“He who humbleth his soul, preserveth it in repose, and passeth his night free from anguish. The storm, in its violence, throweth down only the loftiest trees.”

The same writer says: “He was very beneficent towards the inhabitants of Makkah and Madinah; he purchased a house in the latter city, close to the mosque, and separated by a wall only from the tomb of the Blessed Prophet. He directed, by his will, that he should be buried in this house, and he enjoined the *sharīfs*<sup>3</sup> to carry that into effect. When he died, his bier was borne from Egypt to

<sup>1</sup> Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān was grand Qāḍī of Egypt under the Fatimite l'khalīf al-Hākim, who put him to death, A. H. 395 (A. C. 1005). (*Exposede* “*Histoire des Druzes*, tom. I, pages 298, 308, 314, 316).

<sup>2</sup> See No. 125.

<sup>3</sup> A family of *sharīfs*, or descendants of Muḥammad, were then governors of Makkah and Madinah.

\*15 April—*Ed*.

†Sunday fell on 13 *Ṣafar* corresponding to 12 January and on the 13 of First *Rabī'* it was Monday 10 February.—*Ed*.

those two cities, and (*on its approach to Madinah*), the sharifs went forth to meet it in acknowledgement of the benefits they had received. They bore the body to Makkah and made the pilgrimage with it, visiting the temple, walking round it, and stationing at Mount 'Arafāt. They then brought the corpse to Madinah and interred it in the house of which we have spoken." This is in contradiction with what I said above, and God best knows the truth! I shall only observe that the tomb of which I have spoken, I myself have seen in the Qarāfah, bearing the following inscription: "This is the tomb of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt." I have since found a note in the handwriting of Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Ṣūfī, in which it is stated that the wazīr was buried in the audience-hall of his great palace, and that the body was afterwards removed to Madinah.

### 131. IBN AL-SARRĀJ AL-QĀRĪ AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

Abū Muḥammad Ja'far Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far al-Sarrāj (*the saddler*), surnamed al-Qārī al-Baghdādī (*the Qur'ān-reader of Baghdad*), was the chief hāfiẓ and the most learned man of the age. He composed some admirable works, such as the *Maṣāri'-al-'Ushshāy* (*Death places of Lovers*). He taught the Traditions on the authority of Abū 'Alī Ibn al-Shādhān, Abū 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Shihīn<sup>2</sup> al-Khallāl<sup>3</sup>, al-Barmakī, al-Qazwīnī, Ibn Ghaylān<sup>4</sup> and others. His disciples were numerous, and among

1 In the Arabic text the word ابن (Ibn) has been unintentionally omitted.

2 The hāfiẓ Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī, surnamed Ibn Shādhān, composed a great number of works; al-Ḥusayn, son of the khalīf al-Muhtadī Billāh, states that they amounted to three hundred and thirty; among the number was a commentary on the *Qur'ān* in one thousand parts, or quires; a collection of authenticated Traditions still more voluminous; and a historical work in one hundred and fifty quires; this last is mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfah under the title of *Kashf al-Mamālik* (Flügel's edition, t. II, p. 148). Died A. H. 385 (A. C. 995-6).—(Al-Yāfi'i.)

3 The hāfiẓ Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad al-Khallāl was a preacher and traditionist of Baghdad. He wrote some works and taught the Traditions on the authority of the Ṣāhiḥs of Bukhārī and Muslim. Died A. H. 439 (A. C. 1047).—(Al-Yāfi'i.)

4 The hāfiẓ Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ghaylān died A. H. 440 (A. C. 1048-9).—(Abu 'l-Fidā.)

\*The autograph and Cairo edition (1948) have the word ابن.

then was the *Hāfiẓ* al-Silafī, who was proud of citing the authority of such a master, although he himself had met and studied under the principal Traditionists of the time. Ibn al-Sarrāj has composed some good poetry, of which we may give the following specimen :

"The caravan departed, and, from affection towards them, my tears gushed forth. The voice of separation incited them to abandon the place of their dwelling, and they loaded their camels. Say to those travellers who have journeyed out of my sight, although they are lodged in my heart, that they spilt my blood on the morning of departure, although I committed no crime. What harm would it have done them, had they suffered me to quench my thirst for their society with repeated draughts?"

By the same (*to his mistress*):

"You promised to visit me every month; visit me now! the month is finished, visit me! The space which separates us extends from the river al-Mu'all to the town of *Shahrūzūr*. The months of your forced absence are a reality, but the month of our reunion is an illusion."<sup>1</sup>

The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn gives the following lines, by the same author, in his *Khariḍah* :

"The hoary-headed pretender to youth dyes his beard with woad, to prevent it from giving him the lie."

Ibn al-Sarrāj was born towards the end of the year 417, or the beginning of 418 (February, A. C. 1027); the *Sharīf* Abu 'l-Ma'mar al-Mubārak Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Anṣarī says, in his *Wafayāt al-Shuyakh* (*Obituary of the Shuykhs*), that his birth took place at Baghdād, A. H. 416. He died at Baghdād on the eve of Sunday, 21 of Ṣafar, A. H. 500 (October, A. C. 1106), and was buried at the gate of Abrez.

---

<sup>1</sup> The original is remarkable for an ingenious play upon words, by which the poet is enabled to terminate each of the three verses with the syllables *shahrūzurī*. In the second line, however, he has committed a fault; for *shahrūzurī*, the name of the town, is in the accusative case, and should be pronounced *Shahrūzūru*.—(Al-Yafī'i).

\* 21 October.—*Ed.*

## 132. ABU 'I-MA'SHAR AL-BALKHI

Abu 'I-Ma'shar<sup>1</sup> Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar al-Balkhī (native of Balkh), the celebrated astrologer, was the great master of his age in that art. He composed a number of instructive works on the science of the stars, such as the *Mudkḥil* (introduction), the *Zayj* (astronomical tables), the *Ulūf* (thousands)<sup>2</sup>, etc. He was singularly fortunate in his divinations. I have read in a collection of anecdotes, that he was in the service of a prince who wished to arrest one of the great officers of his kingdom, who had committed some crime and then concealed himself through fear of punishment. As this officer was aware that Abu 'I-Ma'shar would discover him by means of the operations which he employed for finding out treasures and things hidden, he thought of doing something to bewilder the astrologer and baffle his penetration; and he remained therefore some days seated on a golden mortar which he had placed in a vessel containing blood. The prince, being unable to discover him, notwithstanding the strictest perquisitions, sent for Abu 'I-Ma'shar and ordered him to employ his usual processes and find out in what place the officer was; the astrologer, after erecting a scheme by which he might make the discovery, remained for a time in silent amazement; and on the prince's asking him the cause, replied that what he saw was most extraordinary; the man whom they wished to discover was on a mountain of gold, which mountain was in a sea of blood. "And I know not," said the astrologer, "of any place in the world such as that." On this, the prince ordered him to observe anew the aspect of the heavens, and examine again by means of another scheme. The result was the same, and Abu 'I-Ma'shar declared that he had never met with the like before. The prince, having lost all hopes of discovering the offender by this means, declared by proclamation that he would pardon the man and the person who harboured him; and he gave public proofs of the sincerity of his intentions. The officer's ap-

<sup>1</sup> This astrologer is better known in Europe by the corrupted name of *Albumaser*. Casiri has given the list of his works in the *Bibliotheca Arabica*, tom. I, p. 351, after the *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*. A number of his astrological works are to be found in the *Bib. du Roi*.

<sup>2</sup> See Casiri, page 851.

prehensions being thus allayed, he left his hiding-place and presented himself before the prince, who, on learning from him where and in what manner he had been concealed, was struck with admiration at the artifice he had employed and the skill of Abu 'l-Ma'shar in making the discovery.—Other anecdotes are related of his successful divinations. He died A. H. 272 (A.C. 885-6).—*Balkhī* means *native of Balkh*, a large city in K̲h̲ur s̲n̲, which was taken by al-Aḥnaf Ibn Qays al-Tamīmī in the *kh̲alīfat* of 'Uṭh̲mān. Al-Aḥnaf was proverbial for his prudence: his life shall be given in the letter *Ḍad*.—(See *al-Ḍāḥ ḥāk*.)

### 133. JA'FAR IBN ḤAMDĀN AL-ANDALUSI

Abū 'Alī Ja'far Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥamdān al-Andalusī, prince of al-Masīlah and *amīr* of the province of al-Zāb in Ifrīqiyah, was a generous patron and friend to men of learning; a number of admirable poems, beautiful beyond description, were composed in his honour by Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Hānī. It was this poet who made the following verses in his praise :

"There are two things of which the languor is unequalled in the world; my body (*consumed with love*) and the dark enchanting<sup>1</sup> eyes (*of my mistress*). There are three brilliant luminaries—the sun, the bright moon, and Ja'far."

As for the long *qaṣīdahs* (*which Ibn Hānī made on him, they are so generally known that*) it is useless to give extracts. Al-Masīlah was founded by 'Alī father of Ja'far, and it is known to this day by the name of *Masīlah banī Ḥamdān* (*the Masīlah of the Ḥamdān family*). The hatred which subsisted between him and Zīr Ibn Manād, ancestor to al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, and their mutual contestations led to a war, and a terrible battle ensued in which Zīrī was slain. Bulukkīn, whose life has been already given (no. 116), succeeded his father Zīrī,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Enchanting*: literally *babylonian*. An allusion to the angels Hārūt and Mārūt, who taught men sorcery at Bābel. (See *Qur'ān*, sūrat 2.)



and acquired such superiority that Ja'far, finding it impossible to resist him, abandoned his kingdom and fled to Spain, where he was killed A. H. 364 (A. C. 974-5). Such is the summary of his adventures, which are too long to be related in detail.—*Masilah* is a city in the province of al-Zāb, a region in Ifr qiyah.

### 134. JA'FAR IBN FALĀḤ

Abū 'Alī Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ al-Kut mī (*belonging to the Berber tribe Kutāmah*) was one of al-Mu'izz al-'Ubaydī's generals, and was sent by him with al-Qā'id Jawhar (whose life will be given later), to make the conquest of Egypt. He was then directed by Jawhar to proceed to Syria, and he took the town of Ramlah in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 358 (September, A. C. 969), and the city of Damascus in Muḥarram, 359, after some resistance from the inhabitants. He then went to al-Dakkah<sup>1</sup> on the river Yazīd, outside of Damascus, and from that place he marched, though unwell, to meet al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad al-Qirmitī<sup>2</sup>, surnamed al-A'ṣam, who was advancing to attack him. (*In the combat which ensued*) Ja'far was taken prisoner and slain by al-Qirmitī; a great number of his followers fell in the action. This happened on Thursday, 6 Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 360 (September, A. C. 971)\*. After his death, the following lines (it is said) were found written on the door of Ja'far's palace:

"Thy inhabitants, O mansion! have become the sport of Fortune; Fortune hath destroyed them, and they are dispersed never to meet again. Where are those whom we once saw residing in thee, and by the hands of whom Fortune inflicted evil and poured forth benefits?"

Ja'far was a chief of high authority, and his praises were often sung by the poets; the lines which follow were composed on him by Ibn Hānī:

1 According to the *Marāṣid*, al-Dakkah is a village near Damascus.

2 *Al-Qirmitī* (the *Qarmaṭ* or *Karmatian*); Ibn Khallikān, in another part of his work, says that this name is pronounced *al-Qirmitī*.

\*31 August.—Ed.

"In questioning the (*returning*) caravans, I learned excellent news of Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ; and, by Allāh! when we met, my ears had not heard anything superior to what I witnessed with my eyes."

Those two verses are generally said to have been made by Abū Tammām on the qaḍī Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād, and according to them the first verse ends thus: *I learned excellent news of Aḥmad Ibn Duwād*; but this is a mistake, for the name is not *Aḥmad Ibn Duwād*, but *Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād*, and the measure of the verse does admit\* of the latter reading.

### 135. JA'FAR IBN SHAMS AL-KHILĀFAT

Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far Ibn Shams al-Khilāfat (*sun of the khalifat*) Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Shams al-Khilāfat al-Mukht r al-Aḥḍālī, surnamed Majd al-Mulk (*glory of the kingdom*), was a poet of talent and celebrity. He wrote a great deal, and books transcribed by him are in high request for the elegance of the handwriting and their correctness. Some of his works are compilations, and contain pieces, the elegance of which proves the goodness of the (*taste which presided at their*) selection. His collected poetical works are of considerable merit; the following passage, composed by him, I found in his own handwriting :

"Distress is followed by happiness, and soon perhaps may be heard the harbinger of speedy bliss. Consider also that the evil which ceaseth is preferable to joy just passing away."

The following lines were made by him on Ibn Shukr Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī<sup>1</sup>, wazir of al-Malik al-'Ādil and of his son al-Malik al-Kāmil:

<sup>1</sup> See No. 88, note on الآدمي.

\*It should be "not admit"—Ed.

"Fear induces people to praise thee with their tongues, and they pronounce in your presence the highest eulogiums. I may yet live, however, to see the time in which those tongues shall be loosened<sup>1</sup> (and speak the truth)."

One of our literary men at Cairo told me, in reciting these verses, that they were by Ibn Shams al-Khilāfat; but I met with them afterwards in an old book containing a collection of different pieces, and there, the author is not named. The peculiar cast of Ibn Shams al-Khilāfat's poetry merits approbation. He was born in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 543 (A. C. 1148), and died on the 12 Muḥarram, 622 (January, A. C. 1125)\* at a place called al-Kūm al-Aḥmar (*the red mound*) outside Cairo.—*Afḍalī* is a title given to the persons who were in the service of al-Afḍal Amīr al-Juyūsh, (*the wazīr*) of Egypt. Shams al-Khilāfat, this poet's father, was born A. H. 520 (A. C. 1126), and died in Dhū 'l-Hijjah, 569 (A. C. 1174).

### 136. THE AMIR JA'BAR

The Amīr Ja'bar Ibn Sābiq al-Quḥayrī, surnamed Sābiq al-Dīn (*the surpasser in religion*), is the person after whom the castle of Ja'bar obtained its name; but the sole information that I have been able to procure respecting him amounts only to this: he was advanced in age and blind; he had two sons who robbed on the highway and rendered the roads dangerous; the castle continued in his possession till taken from him by the sultān Malik Shāh, son of Alp Arslān (whose life shall be given). Ja'bar was killed afterwards in the beginning of the year 464 (A. C. 1071-2). These particulars I found in a historical work, but some doubts remain on my mind as to their exactness; for the sultān Malik Shāh did not come to the throne till the death of his father Alp Arslān, who was slain A. H. 465 (A. C. 1072); unless, indeed we suppose that he took the castle in his father's lifetime, and was then acting as his lieutenant. The date of Ja'bar's death may however be erroneous.—My object in

<sup>1</sup> Literally: Thinkest thou that time may delay the term of my life, so that I may live till the loosening of the tongues?

\*24 January, 1225. There is a misprint in de Slane's edition.—Ed.

noticing this difficulty was to prevent the reader from supposing that the fault originated with me, or that I passed over it without perceiving it; but I have been since enabled to verify the circumstance, and I find that Malik Shāh, in his expedition to Aleppo, A. H. 479, took this castle, and put Ja'bar to death on being informed of his evil conduct. It was also named al-Dawsariyah after its founder Dawsar, a page of al-Nu'mān Ibn al-Mundhir, king of Ḥirah, who had placed him there to guard the Syrian frontier.<sup>1</sup>— The word *Ja'bar* signifies in Arabic *short and thick*.

### 137. NAṢĪR AL-DĪN JAQAR

Abū Sa'īd Jaqar Ibn Ya'qūb al-Hamadānī (*native of Hamadān*), and surnamed Naṣīr al-Dīn (*defender of religion*\*), was governor of Moṣul, having been appointed by 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, lord of Moṣul, Mesopotamia, and Syria, as his lieutenant in that city. He was tyrannic, unjust, a shedder of blood, and a violator of property. Having strengthened the walls of Moṣul, he was admiring the solidity of their construction, when a madman cried out to him in these sensible terms: "Are you able to build a wall which may arrest the course of approaching fate?"—During his government, Moṣul was closely besieged for a time by the K̲halīf al-Mustarshid; but Jaqar, who had already fortified and entrenched the city, resisted the attacks of the K̲halīf, frustrated his efforts, and forced him to retire. This was in the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 527 (July, A. C. 1133). Farsukh Shāh al-K̲h̲afāji, a son of the Seljūq Sultān Maḥmūd, was then at Moṣul; but it is stated by Ibn al-Athīr, in his *History of the Atābeks*, that the K̲h̲afāji who was at Moṣul during these events, was Alp Arsilān (*another*) son of (*the sultān*) Maḥmūd. This young prince had been confided to the care of Zinkī, who received, for that reason, the title of *Atābek*; this word means a

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Freytag's proverbs of al-Maydānī, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> This name is also written فروخ Shāh Farūkh Shāh.

\* "Supporter of religion" would be more appropriate title.—Ed.

*bringer up of princes; ata* in Turkish signifying *father*, and *bek, amir*. As Jaqar was frequently in opposition to al-Kḥafājī and thwarted him in his projects, the latter took the opportunity of Zinkī's departure for the siege of al-Birah, to arrange, with some of his partisans, a plot for the death of Jaqar. On the 8, or (according to some) on Thursday, 9 of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 539 (May, A. C. 1145),\* Jaqar proceeded to the palace, that he might pay his salutations to the prince; and was there attacked and slain by the conspirators. Zink then appointed a new governor named Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Baktikīn, who was father to Muẓaffar al-Dīn, lord of Arbela: Zayn al-Dīn was an upright man, and governed his subject with justice. Zinkī on his return to Moṣul confiscated Jaqar's property, seized on his treasures, and extorted large sums from his relations and the persons in his service. Jaqar had nominated to a place of authority in Moṣul one al-Qazwīnī, a wicked wretch, whose tyrannical conduct excited general complaint; he was therefore obliged to appoint another, named 'Umar Ibn Shaklah, whose administration was also very bad: on this, the following lines were composed by a native of Moṣul, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Shaqāqā, who died A. H. 533 (A. C. 1138-9).

"O, Naṣīr al-Dīn! O, Jaqar! a thousand Qazwīnīṣ rather than one 'Umar! If God flung 'Umar down to hell, hell would complain of his wickedness."

Jaqar is a foreign name, and I believe that he himself was a mamlūk.

### 138. JAMIL THE POET

Abū' Amr Jamīl, the celebrated poet and the lover of Buṭḥaynah, was son of 'Abd All h Ibn M 'mar Ibn Ṣubāḥ, Ibn Ṣabyān Ibn Ḥunn Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn Ḥar m Ibn Ḍubbah Ibn 'Abd Ibn Kaṭḥīr Ibn 'Uḍḥrah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Hudḥaym Ibn Zayd Ibn Layṭh Ibn Sūd Ibn Asl m Ibn Alḥ f Ibn Quḍ 'ah. Jamīl was one of the famous Arabian

---

\* 2 or 3 May.—*Ed.*

lovers: his passion for Bu ḥaynah commenced when he was a boy; on attaining manhood he asked her in marriage, but met with a refusal, and he then composed verses in her honour and visited her secretly at Wādi 'l-Qurā<sup>1</sup>, where she resided. His poetical compositions are so well known that it is needless to quote any of them. Ibn 'Asūkir relates, in his *History of Damascus*, that a person said to Jamil: "If you read the *Qur'ān*, it would be more profitable for you than composing poetry;" to which Jamil replied: "There is Anas Ibn Mālīk<sup>2</sup> who tells me that the Blessed Prophet said: 'Wisdom is certainly (to be extracted) from some poetry.'" \* [Jamil and Buḥaynah, who was surnamed umm 'Abd al-Malik, both belonged to the tribe of 'Udhrah; beauty and true love abounded in that tribe; it was said to an Arab of the Desert, a member of the tribe of 'Udhrah: "What is the matter with your hearts? They are as the hearts of birds, and dissolve away like salt in water. Why have you not more firmness?" To this the other replied: "We see eyes of which you do not see the like."— Another Arab being asked to what family he belonged, made this answer: "I am of a people who, when they are in love, die." A girl, who heard him say this, exclaimed: "By the Lord of the Ka'bah! This man belongs to the tribe of 'Udhrah."—The author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* says: "Kuthayyir, the lover of 'Azzah, handed down by tradition the poems of Jamil; Jamil handed down those of Hudbah Ibn Kḥaṣḥam<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Wādi 'l-Qurā is the name of a delicious valley near Madinah much celebrated by the poets.

<sup>2</sup> A celebrated *Companion* of the Prophet. See No. 103, note on *Anas*.

<sup>3</sup> Hudbah Ibn Kḥaṣḥam belonged to the tribe of 'Amir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Dhabyān. He lived in the first century of Islamism, and was celebrated as one of the greatest poets among the Arabs. In a pilgrimage made by him to Makkah with some of his family, he had a dispute with Ziyādah Ibn Zayd, one of his relations, and killed him. Sa'id Ibn al-'Asi, the governor of Madinah, caused him to be arrested and sent before the khalīf Mu'āwiyah. His poetical reputation was so great that Mu'āwiyah did all he could to save him, but the family of Ziyādah would consent to no arrangement, and refused with disdain the legal ransom, though augmented to ten times its amount: they insisted that Hudbah should be kept in prison till the majority of Ziyādah's son, al-Miswar, to whom, as the nearest heir, pertained the right of avenging Ziyādah's blood, Hudbah remained in prison for some years, and excited general sympathy by his conduct, but the family of his victim was implacable, and al-Miswar, on coming of age, beheaded him in the presence of the inhabitants of Madinah.—A very full and curious narrative of this event is given in the *Hamāsah*, p. 233, et seq.

\* [ ] From "Jamil and Buḥaynah" to the end of the notice on page 128 is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

Hudbah, those of Ḥuṭay'ah; Ḥuṭay'ah<sup>1</sup>, those of Zuhayr Ibn Abi Salmā<sup>2</sup>, and of his son Ka'b Ibn Zuhayr." The following verses are by Jamil :

"You told me, my two friends<sup>3</sup>, that Taymā<sup>4</sup> was the abode of (*my mistress*) Laylā when summer once set in<sup>5</sup>. But now the months of summer have passed away from us; why then does absence cast Layl into (*distant*) regions?"

Some persons insert these verses in a *qaṣidah* by Majnūn, the lover of Laylā,<sup>6</sup> but they are not by him.—Taymā was a station frequented solely by the tribe of 'Udhrah.—In the same poem from which these verses are taken, Jamil says :

"You have continued, O Butḥaynah! (*to torment me*), so that the turtle-dove would sympathize with me, were I, in the ardour of my passion, to awaken its complaints with mine. The jealousy of spies only increased my love, and the prohibitions of my friends only made me persevere. This distance which separates us has not rendered me indifferent, and weary nights have not forced me to renounce you. O thou whose lips are a sweet source, knowest thou not that I languish with thirst on the day in which I see not thy face. I often feared that death might surprize me whilst my soul needed thee, as still it does."

Ku ḥayyir, the lover of 'Azzah, used to say: "By Allāh! Jamil was the best poet among the Arabs when he said: *You told me, my two friends, etc.*—The following lines are by Jamil :

<sup>1</sup> See No. 91, note on Ḥuṭay'ah.

<sup>2</sup> This is one of the authors of the seven *Mu'allaqahs*; his son Ka'b was outlawed by Muḥammad, but received his pardon in the ninth year of the Hijrah, after reciting to the Prophet the celebrated poem called the *Buraah*. An account of his life is given by Professor Fieytag in his edition of that poem.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 52, note on "*my two friends*."

<sup>4</sup> Taymā is situated on the frontier between Arabia and Syria.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: When summer had cast anchor.—The nomadic tribes removed towards the north in summer, and Laylā's family, which probably frequented Ḥijāz in the cool seasons, went to the neighbourhood of Taymā, that they might feed their flocks in a more temperate region, when the heat had dried up the herbage in the station where they had passed the winter.

<sup>6</sup> See M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 150.

"I conceal the secret of my love<sup>1</sup> and should feel happy were you to know that you are (*ever*) remembered with sincere (*affection*), and that the day in which I meet you not, nor see your messenger, seems to me like months. Were it impossible for us to meet again one day, O then, may I meet a speedy death!"

From the same poem :

"Whilst I live, my heart shall love thee; and if I die, my ghost<sup>2</sup> shall flit after thine among the tombs. I look towards thee for the fulfilment of thy promise, as the poor looketh (*imploringly*) towards the rich. Other debts are paid, but there is a debtor who keeps no engagement with us, and who yet is not pressed (*by us*). Thou and thy promise are as the lightning of a cloud which withholds its genial rains."

From another of Jamil's *qasīdahs* :

"When I said: 'O Buthaynah! what is this passion which causeth my death?' she replied: 'It is deeply rooted and will augment. When I said: 'Bu:haynah! restore to me a portion of my reason, so that I may live! she replied: 'That (*which thou desirest*) is far beyond thy reach! ' "

By the same :

"Did the jealous spy who observes my conduct know with how slight a favour Buthaynah could make me happy, his envious passions would repose. (*A word from her*), a *no* or an *unless* suffices to content me; vain desires, hopes long deferred and at last deluding my expectations, the sight of her for an instant, the year which begins and ends without my meeting her: (*such are the enjoyments for which I am envied.*)"

By the same :

"I should blush with shame were I seen to love one whom another had already loved, or were another to be loved (*by my*

<sup>1</sup> Literally: I keep *your* secret; that is, the secret of my love for *you*.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: My owl. See *Le Diwan d'Amro 'l-Kais*, p. 8; and M. de Sacy's *Anthologie*, p. 213.



*mistress*) after me. (*I should recoil*) from sipping at thy lips, if love existed no longer; I should reject thy attachment, were it feeble. avoid a troubled source at which many have drunk before."

By the same :

"(*Mgivings are*) far from him who desireth nothing, and near to him who has something to desire. 'O Jamil,' said Bu ḥaynah, 'thou makest me doubt of thy fidelity'; and I replied; 'O Buṭḥaynah! each of us giveth the other cause of doubt; but of us two the most to be doubted is the person who betrayeth confidence and keepeth not secrets when far from the beloved'."

Kuṭḥayyir, the lover of 'Azzah, related the following anecdote: "I was once met by Jamil, the lover of Bu ḥaynah, who said to me: 'Where dost thou come from?' and I answered: 'From the tent of the father of the beloved'" —meaning Buṭḥaynah,—'And whither,' said he 'art thou going?' I answered: 'To the beloved;—meaning Azzah, 'Thou must go back again,' said Jamil, 'and obtain from Buṭḥaynah that she appoint a place where I may meet her.' I answered: 'I have just seen her this moment, and I should be ashamed to go back.'—'Thou must surely do it!' said Jamil. 'When,' said I, 'didst thou last see Buṭḥaynah?'—'At the beginning of summer,' he replied; 'the lower part of Wādi 'l-Dawm (*palm-tree valley*) was watered by a shower, and she went out with a servant-girl to wash clothes: she did not at first know me, and seized a cloak out of the water to cover herself; but the girl recognized me, and Buṭḥaynah replaced the cloak in the water. We conversed for an hour, till the sun had set, and I then asked her to appoint a place of meeting, but she answered that her family was removing, and I have not met her since; nor found a trusty person whom I might send to her.'—'Wouldst thou that I go,' said I, 'to the camp of her tribe, and recite, as if undesignedly, some verses in which I may hint at this circumstance, in case I find it impossible to speak to her in private?'—'Yes,' replied Jamil, 'that is a good plan.' I then set out and made my camel kneel down in their camp, and her father said to me: 'Son of my brother! what bringeth thee back?'—'There are some verses,' I replied, 'which I have just happened to compose, and I wish to submit them to thee.'—'Let us have them,' said he. I then recited these verses in Buṭḥaynah's hearing :

'I said to her: 'O 'Azzah! I send my companion to thee, (and he is a trusty messenger,) so that thou mayest fix a place where we may meet, and that thou mayest tell me what I am to do. The last time I met thee was in Wādī 'l-Dawm, when clothes were washing.'

Then Buḥaynah struck the curtain behind which she was, and said: 'Go away! go away!'—'What is the matter, Buḥaynah?', said her father.—'It is a dog,' replied she, 'which has come to me from behind the hill, now that the people are asleep.' She then said to her girl: 'Let us go to the palmtrees (*Dawmāt*) and gather wood to cook a sheep for Kuḥayyir'.—'No', said I, 'I am in too much haste to wait.' I then returned to Jamil and told him what had passed, and: he said 'The place of meeting is at the palm-trees.' Then Buḥaynah went forth with her female companions to the palm-trees, and I went to them with Jamil: the lovers did not separate till morning dawned, and I never saw a more virtuous meeting, nor two persons who knew so well what passed in each other's hearts; I know not which of the two was the more discerning.'—The *ḥāfiz* Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir says in his great History: Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī states that the following verses were recited to him by his father as having been composed by Jamil Ibn Ma'mar, but they are also attributed to other poets:

'I ceased not my search to find the tribe (*of my beloved*), and I followed their scattered bands till I rode (*my camel*) up to the inmate of the palanquin.<sup>1</sup> I approached her tent by stealth and entered by the secret passage; her smooth finger tips, stained with *ḥinnā*, were passed over my head that she might recognize me, and she said: By the life of my brother, and the kindness of my father! I shall awake the family unless thou withdrawest.' Struck with fear

<sup>1</sup> Literally: To the female brought up in the palanquin (*hawdaj*). This may mean that she was accustomed, from her childhood, to travel in a *hawdaj*, and that her parents were too careful of her to let her walk or expose her to the sun. The *hawdaj* is a sort of covered chair, closed in front by a curtain and borne on camel.

at her words, I was retiring, when she smiled, and I knew that her oath would not be kept. I then took her by the ringlets and kissed her lips, with the pleasure that the man whose throat is parched with intoxication, drinks the cool water of a spring.<sup>1</sup> "

The qāḍī Hārūn Ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>2</sup> says: 'Jamil came to Egypt with the intention of reciting to 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwān<sup>3</sup> a poem composed by him in his honour: this governor admitted him into his presence, and, after hearing Jamil's eulogistic verses and rewarding him generously, asked him concerning his love for Buthaynah, and was told of his ardent and painful passion. He, on this, promised to unite him to her, and did him stop in Miṣr, where he assigned him a habitation and furnished him with all he required. But Jamil died there very shortly after, in A. H. 82 (A. C. 701)."—Al-Zubayr Ibn al-Bakkār says that the following anecdote was related to him by 'Abbās Ibn Sahl al-Ṣa'idī "When in Syria, I met one of my friends, who said to me: 'Would you like to see Jamil? he is sick; let us go and visit him'. On entering, we found him near his last, and on seeing me he said: 'O Ibn Sahl! What sayest thou of a man who never drank wine, nor committed fornication nor murder; who never stole, and who beareth witness that there is no god but the only God.' My answer was: 'I think that he has attained salvation, and hope that he will enter paradise; who is that man?'—"It is I"; replied Jamil.—'By Allāh!' said I, 'I do not think that thou wilt gain salvation after having celebrated, for the last twenty years, the charms of Buthaynah, —'May I be deprived of the intercession of Muḥammad (on the day of judgement),' said he;—"I that am now entering into the first day of the life to come,

<sup>1</sup> Al-Yāfi'i speaks of Jamil in his annals and gives these verses, but he suppressed the last for its indecency, as he says.

<sup>2</sup> Hārūn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad, a descendant from the tribe of Quraysh, and a native of Mādīnah, was a juriconsult of the sect of Mālik. He entered Egypt, A. H. 217 (A. C. 832), where he filled the functions of qāḍī till he was deposed, A. H. 227 (A. C. 841-2), after having administered for eight years and six months. He then retired to 'Irāq, and settled at Sarr-man-ra'ā, where he died in the month of Sh'abān. A. H. 232 (A. C. 847).—(Al-'Asqalānī's *History of the qāḍīs of Egypt*, MS No. 691).

<sup>3</sup> Abu 'l-'Aṣḥabī 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwān Ibn al-Hakam succeeded 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Uqbah as governor of Egypt, A. H. 65 (A. C. 684-5). He died in office, A. H. 86 (A. C. 705), and had for successor 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Malik.—(Al-Maqrizī's *Khita*; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn's *Nujūm*.)

and am in the last day of my life in this world;—if I ever placed my hand on her with an improper intention!" We did not quit him till he expired." It is stated, however, by Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far al-Ahwāz, that he fell sick and died in Egypt; and that during his illness he was visited by Ibn Sahl al-*Ṣā'idī*; he then relates the anecdote just given: God knows which statement is correct. The following relation is given in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* on the authority of al-Aṣma'i: "A person who was present at the death of Jamil in Egypt relates that the poet called him and said: 'If I give you all I leave after me, will you perform one thing which I shall enjoin you?'—'By Allāh! yes,' said the other.—'When I am dead,' said Jamil, 'take this cloak of mine and put it aside, but keep every thing else for yourself; then go to Buḥaynah's tribe, and when you are near them, saddle this camel of mine and mount her; then put on my cloak and rend it, and, mounting on a hill, shout out these verses:

'A messenger hath openly<sup>1</sup> proclaimed the death of Jamil! He has now a dwelling in Egypt from which he will never return. There was a time when, intoxicated with love, he trained his mantle proudly in the fields and palm-groves of Wādi 'l-Qurā! Arise, Buḥaynah and lament aloud; weep for the best of all thy lovers!'

"I did what Jamil ordered, and had scarcely finished the verses, when Buḥaynah came forth, beautiful as the moon when it appears from behind a cloud: she was muffled in a cloak, and, on coming up to me, she said: 'Man! if what thou sayest be true, thou hast killed me; if false, thou hast dishonoured me!' I replied: 'By Allāh! I only tell the truth;' and I showed her the cloak which Jamil had given me. On seeing it, she uttered a loud cry and beat her face, and the women of the tribe gathered around weeping with her and lamenting his death. Her force at length failed her, and she swooned away. After some time she revived and said:

'Never for a single instant shall I feel consolation for the loss of Jamil; that time shall never come. Since thou art dead, O Jamil, son of Ma'mar! the pains of life and its pleasures are the same to me.'

---

<sup>1</sup> *Openly*, the Arabic says; without naming him by his surname. The same surname was often borne by many persons, and of course it would be difficult to know which of them was meant by it.

(These verses have been already given (see no. 43) in the life of the ḥāfiẓ al-Silaf) "I never saw man nor woman weep more than those I saw that day."

### 139. ABŪ USĀMAH JUNĀDĀH

Abū Usāmah Junādah Ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Harawī (*belonging to the tribe of Azd and a native of Herat*): this philologist possessed a most extensive acquaintance with pure Arabic, and transmitted much of that knowledge (*to his disciples*) he knew what terms of the language had become obsolete and those which were still in general use, and during his lifetime he was without an equal in that science. A close intimacy and friendship subsisted between him, the ḥāfiẓ 'Abd Ḥanī al-Miṣrī, and Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Sulaymān al-Anṭākī (*native of Antioch*), who was a grammarian and a teacher of the reading of the *Qur'ān*. They used to meet in the college (*Dār al-'Ilm*)<sup>2</sup> and hold literary discussions, till two of them, Abū Usāmāh Junādah and Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Anṭākī were put to death by al-Ḥakīm, lord of Egypt. They were executed in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A. H. 399 (July, A. C. 1109), and on the same day. The ḥāfiẓ 'Abd Ḥanī concealed himself to avoid a similar fate. This is the account given by the amīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbihī in his history (*of Egypt*).—Herāt is a large city in K. *Khurāsān*.

### 140. AL-JUNAYD

Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Junayd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Junayd al-Khazzāz al-Qawrī,<sup>3</sup> the celebrated ascetic<sup>3</sup>, was born and bred in

<sup>1</sup> In another part of this work he is called Abū 'Alī, and in the *Nujūm* of Abū 'l-Mahāsīn his name is written Abū Bakr al-Anṭākī.

<sup>2</sup> "And he (*al-Hākīm*) founded a college (*Dār al-'Ilm*), which he furnished, and to which he sent books of great value. In this college he placed two *Sunnite* ḥāfiẓs, one of whom was named Abū Bakr al-Anṭākī. He gave them pelisses of honour, treated them with favour, and ordered them to come to his court. He afterwards put them to death."—(*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, year 400. *Exposé de la religion de Druzes*, t. I, p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII, M. de Sacy has given an account of the Ṣūfī doctrines and a translation of the life of al-Junayd by Jāmi,

• M. de Slane has read it *Qawāriri* which is wrong.—*Ed.*

'Irāq, but his family was from Nahāwand. He was the *shaykh*<sup>1</sup> of his time, the pearl of his age, and his doctrine on *the truth*<sup>2</sup> is well known and carefully preserved.<sup>3</sup> He studied jurisprudence under Abū Thawr, the disciple of the imām al-Shāfi'i, but it is said by some that, as a doctor of the law, he followed the system of Sufyān al-Thawri. He had for masters his maternal uncle al-Sar al-Saqat', al-Hārith al-Muḥāsibī and other great *shaykhs*. The Shāfiite doctor, Abū 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj, had been his disciple, and used to say to his auditors, when they were in admiration at his discourses on the dogmatical and secondary points of the law: "Do you know from whom I had that? That is one of the blessed results of my intercourse with Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Junayd."—Al-Junayd being asked who was he who knoweth, answered: "He who can tell what thy secret is, although thou keepest silence." He used to say: "Our system of doctrine is firmly bound with the dogmas of faith and the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah*." He was seen one day with a rosary<sup>4</sup> in his hand, and a person said to him: How! you who have reached such an exalted degree of sanctity, you carry a rosary? "To which he replied: "I quit not the way which led me to my Lord." The following anecdote is related by al-Junayd: "My uncle, Sar al-Saqat' said to me: 'Give lectures'<sup>5</sup>; but a feeling of diffidence prevented me, for I had doubts whether I was worthy thereto; but one Friday eve, I saw in a dream<sup>6</sup> the blessed Prophet, who said to me: 'Give lectures'. I awoke immediately, and went to al-Sarī's door before he had risen, and having knocked, (*I related to him what had passed*). He answered: 'You would not believe me till you were

<sup>1</sup> The word *Shaykh* bears throughout this article the signification of Sūfi doctor.

<sup>2</sup> The word حَقِيقَة (*truth*) denotes that knowledge which can only be acquired by spiritual exercises, and which is the object of *sūfism*. In following that way طَرِيقَة, the creature obtains, at last, a *true* knowledge of the Creator; and this knowledge, in the terminology of mystic divines, is styled emphatically *the truth*.

<sup>3</sup> Carefully preserved مَدُون; this word may also signify.—Put in writing and collected into a book.

<sup>4</sup> The Muslim rosary is composed of ninety-nine beads, which is the number of the names, or attributes of God mentioned in the *Qur'an*.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: Speak in teaching the people.

<sup>6</sup> See note on *dreams*, No. 19.

told to do so'. That morning I sat in the mosque to teach, and the news spread among the people that al-Junayd was lecturing, and a young Christian in disguise stood up before me and said: 'O *shaykh*! what did the holy Prophet mean by these words: *Dread the physiognomic talent of the true believer, for he seeth by means of God's light?*' I reflected with downcast eyes, and, raising then my head, I said: 'Become a Muslim; the time of your conversion has arrived!' and the youth made profession of Islamism."<sup>1</sup>—The *shaykh* al-Junayd said: "There is nothing from which I drew so much profit as from some verses which I once heard." On being asked what they were, he answered: "As I passed through the *Derb al-Qarāfīs*<sup>2</sup> I listened to a slave-girl who was singing in a house, and I heard her say:

"When I say to thee: 'Departure hath given me the raiment of decay,' thou repliest: 'were it not for departure, love had not been proved sincere.' If I say: 'This heart is burned by passion'; thou sayest: 'The fires of passion ennoble the heart;' and if I say: 'I am not in fault,' thou answerest: 'Thy existence is a fault to which no fault can be compared!' "

On this I uttered a loud cry and swooned away.<sup>3</sup> When I was in that state, the master of the house came out and said: 'What is this, sir?' and I replied: 'The effect of what I heard;' on which he said: 'I take you to witness that I now make her a present to you;' and I answered: 'I accept her, and declare her free before God.' I afterwards gave her to one of our companions in the convent<sup>4</sup>, and she had by him a fine boy, who grew up well."—Al-Junayd made the pilgrimage (to *Makkah*) alone and on foot thirty times: his

<sup>1</sup> According to al-Yāfi'i, this answer contained two proofs of al-Junayd's miraculous gifts; the first, that he discovered the religion of the youth notwithstanding his disguise, and the second, that he foretold his immediate conversion.

<sup>2</sup> *Derb al-Qarāfīs* the paper street or bazar.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Junayd perceived a mystic meaning in these verses; for him, the beloved was God, and his own existence in this world was the *fault* or obstacle which prevented his union with the Divinity.

<sup>4</sup> The fraternities of *Ṣūfīs*, or dervishes, lived in convents. Abū Ḥaf's 'Umar al-Sahrawarī, in his '*Awārif al-Mu'arīf, or treatise on ṣūfism*', has three chapters on the monastic life.—(See MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 375.)

(*merits*) are numerous and celebrated.<sup>1</sup> He died at Bagh<sup>h</sup>lād, A. H. 297 (A. C. 910), on a Sunday, \* which was the *kh*alif's Nayrūz;<sup>2</sup> but some say that his death took place on a Friday, in the last hour of the day in A. H. 298: he was buried, on the Sunday \* following, in the *Shūnīziyah* cemetery, near the grave of his maternal uncle Sari al-Saqāṭi. Before his death he had just read over the entire *Qur'ān*, and recommenced the *sūrat* of the Cow, of which he had read the first seventy verses when he died.—He was surnamed *al-khizzāz* because he spun silk (*khizz*); and they gave him the name of *al-Qawāriri*, † because his father was a glass-blower (*qawāriri*). *Nahāwand*, or, according to al-Sam'ānī, *Nuhāwand*, is a city in Persian 'Irāq, said to have been built by Nūḥ (*Noah*), and named for that reason *Nūḥ-āwand*, that is, *Noah has built*<sup>3</sup>; these words have been altered into *Nahāwand* to suit the genius of the Arabic language.—The *Shūnīziyah* is a well-known (*burying*) place at Bagh<sup>h</sup>lād, on the west side of the river; it contains the tombs of a number of *shaykh*h.

(For further reference, vide *Ansāb*, f. 464b.—*Ed.*)

#### 141. THE QĀ'ID JAWHAR

Al-Qā'id<sup>4</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan<sup>5</sup> Jawhar Ibn 'Abd Allāh, known also by the name of *al-Kātib al-Rimī* (*the Greek scribe*)<sup>6</sup>, was a client by

<sup>1</sup> An eye-witness said that the *Kātib*s of Bagh<sup>h</sup>lād went to hear al-Junayd for his choice of words; the philosophers for the subtlety of his discourse; the poets for the elegance of his language, and the dogmatic theologians for his profound ideas. When he was a boy at play, his uncle al-Saqāṭi asked him what was thankfulness (to God), and received this answer: "To act so that his favour may not conduce to disobedience towards him".—(*Al-Yāfi'i*, A. H. 298).

<sup>2</sup> The *kh*alif's *Nayrūz*; this is another name for the *Nayrūz Khāssa* (*new year's day proper*), in which it was customary to visit the sovereign and offer him presents. This festival was held on the sixth day of the month of Farwardīn (end of March). The old Persian custom of celebrating the *Nayrūz* existed at Bagh<sup>h</sup>lād under the Abbāsīd *kh*alifs.—(See No. 91 of this work. See also, in one of the following volumes, an anecdote of Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf the *kātib*, in the life of al-Mubarrad.)†

<sup>3</sup> It is scarcely necessary to say that this derivation is absurd in every point.

<sup>4</sup> The word *qā'id* signifies *leader* or *chief*.

<sup>5</sup> The circumstance of Jawhar's having had a son named al-Ḥusayn, of whom mention is made at the end of this article, induced me to suppose that, in place of *Abu 'l-Ḥasan* (*father of al-Ḥasan*), it would be more correct to read *Abu 'l-Ḥusayn*. The best MSS. of Ibn Khallikān, and three MSS. of Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn's *Nujūm* confirm, however, the reading which I had adopted in the Arabic text.

<sup>6</sup> He was called *the Greek scribe*, because his father was a native of the Greek empire, and he himself was *scribe*, or secretary, to his master al-Mu'izz.

\* Saturday is proper word.—*Ed.*

† M. de Siane gives *Qawāriri*.—*Ed.*

‡ No. 608.—*Ed.*



enfranchisement of al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manşūr Ibn al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī, lord of Ifriqiyah, who sent him, at the head of an army, to take possession of Egypt on the death of Kāfūr al-Ikhshidī. He set out from Ifriqiyah on Sunday\*, 14 of the First Rabī', A.H. 358 (February, A. C. 969), and got Mişr into his power on Tuesday, 16 Shā'bān (July) † of the same year. On Friday† 19 Shā'bān he mounted the pulpit and pronounced the khutbah with a prayer for his lord al-Mu'izz. In the middle of the month of Ramaḍān (beginning of August,) the news of this conquest reached al-Mu'izz in Ifriqiyah. Jawhar continued to govern Egypt with absolute power till the arrival of his master; he preserved his high rank, dignity, ‡[and authority till A. H. 364, when al-Mu'izz, on Friday 17 Muḥarram (October, 974§), removed him from the presidency of the government offices, the collectorship of the revenue, and the control of affairs.] The beneficence of Jawhar ceased only on his death; he expired at Mişr on Thursday, 20 Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 381 (January, A. C. 992),|| and there was not a poet of the time but composed verses to deplore his loss and celebrate his liberality. ¶[The motive which induced al-Mu'izz to send him to Egypt was this: On the death of the eunuch Kāfūr al-Ikhshidī (whose life shall be given\*\*) the officers of the empire agreed to confer the supreme authority on Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshid, who was still a boy, and that he should have for lieutenant the son of his father's uncle, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Tuḡhjl; the great officers and the troops were to be under the orders of Shamūl al-Ikhshidī, and the administration of the public revenue was to be

1 Their relationship will be better understood from the inspection of the following table : (Contd. on page 133.)

\*Sabb is *Saturday* and not *Sunday*. Saturday fell on 6 February.—*Ed.*

† Ibn Khallākān says: "Twelve days remained of the month." "It means 18 Shā'bān corresponding to 6 July which was Tuesday.—*Ed.*

‡ [ ] From "and authority" to "control of affairs" is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

§ This date is not given in the autograph. According to Eduard Mahler's reckoning, Friday fell on 19 Muḥarram corresponding to 9 October.—*Ed.*

|| 28 January.—*Ed.*

¶ [ ] From "The motive which" to "his own house;" on page 139 is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

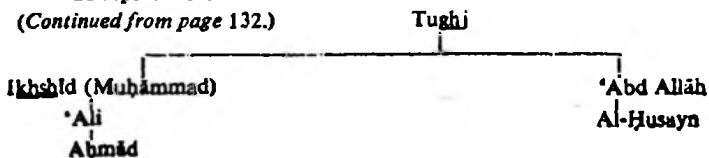
\*\*In letter K omitted by de Slane.—*Ed.*

confided to the wazir Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt. This arrangement took place on Tuesday, 20 of the First Jumādā, A. H. 357 (April, A. C. 968\*). Prayers were offered up for Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī, and then for al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh, from the pulpits of Miṣr, of the Egyptian and Syrian provinces, and of the two holy cities (*Makkah and Madīnah*). Then as we have already related in the life of Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt, the troops became turbulent from the diminution of their pay and the cessation of the ordinary gratuities; this induced a number of persons who held a high rank (*in Miṣr*), to write to al-Mu'izz, who was then in Ifriqiyah, inviting him to send a body of troops to Egypt and take possession of the capital. In consequence of this communication, he ordered the *qā'id* Jawhar to hold the army in readiness to march, but this general fell so dangerously ill, that no hopes were entertained of his recovery. In this state, he was visited by his master al-Mu'izz, who declared that he would not only escape from death, but make the conquest of Miṣr. During his convalescence, the necessary supplies of money, arms and men were furnished to him, and he advanced with upwards of one hundred thousand horses and more than twelve hundred chests of money, to a place named *al-Raqqādah*<sup>1</sup>. He was visited every day by al-Mu'izz, who conversed with him in private and gave him directions; he then received orders to set out, and the prince came to bid him adieu. During this meeting, Ja'far stood before al-Mu'izz, who leant down on his horse's neck and spoke to him in secret for some time. The prince then ordered his sons to dismount and give Jawhar the salutation of departure; this obliged the great officers of the kingdom to dismount also; then Jawhar kissed the hand of al-Mu'izz and the hoof of his horse; and having mounted on his own by order of his master, he put the army in march. When al-Mu'izz

<sup>1</sup> Al-Raqqādah lay at a short distance from Qayrawān; it was the residence of the Aghlabite princes, and was taken by Abū 'Abd Allāh the Shī'ite in the month of Rājab, A.H. 296.—(See M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druses*, t. I, p. 271).

\*21 April.—Ed.

(Continued from page 132.)



returned to his palace, he sent to Jawhar as a present all the clothes which he had on, retaining only his drawers and seal-ring, and he wrote orders to his slave Aflaḥ governor of Barqah, that he should set out to meet Jawhar and kiss his hand. Aflaḥ offered one hundred thousand dinārs to avoid performing that ceremony, but he was obliged to submit. When the approach of Jawhar's troops was known at Miṣr, great agitation was caused by the news, and it was agreed on that the wazīr Ibn al-Furāt should write to obtain peace, and security for the lives and property of the inhabitants; they requested also Abū Ja'far Muslim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>1</sup> al-Ḥusaynī to be their ambassador, and obtained his consent provided that a number of the citizens should accompany him. The wazīr furnished them his conditions in writing, and on Monday, 18 Rajab, A. H. 358 (June, A. C. 969)\*, they set out to meet Jawhar, who had halted at a village called Tarwājah†, near Alexandria. When the *sharīf* Muslim and his companions arrived, they delivered their message to Jawhar, who granted every demand, and confirmed his promise by a written instrument; but the city of Miṣr fell into the utmost agitation; the adherents of the Ikhṣīd family, the officers who had been in the service of Kāfūr, and a portion of the army prepared for battle and after concealing the valuables which were in their houses, they encamped outside the city and rejected the peace which had been offered. When Jawhar was informed of their intentions, he marched against them, but the *sharīf* had already arrived ther on the 7 Sha'bān‡ with the written promise of protection (*amān*), and the wazīr with the inhabitants had ridden to his house to meet him; the troops also had assembled around him. He then read the document, and handed to every person who had written to Jawhar for fiefs, money, or governments, a favourable answer to their

---

<sup>1</sup> In the Arabic text, 'Abd Allāh; but it is a fault. Mention has been made of Abū Ja'far, No. 130, note on Abū Ja'far.

<sup>2</sup> In the Arabic text, for البلد *read* البلاد

\* 7 June.—Ed.

† M. de Slane reads it *Tarūja*.—Ed.

‡ 26 June.—Ed.

demands; he delivered also to the Wazīr a letter in reply to his, and addressed to him as wazīr. A considerable time elapsed in discussions and opposition, and the meeting separated without acceding to the proposals. Nahrīr al-Shū'izānī<sup>1</sup> was chosen by them as general, and the troops, having prepared for battle, marched to Jizah (Gizeh), where they took up their position and placed guards on the bridges.<sup>2</sup> The qā'id Jawhar arrived at Jizah and attacked them on the 11 of Sha'tān; in this combat he made some prisoners and took from them a number of horses, after which he proceeded to Muniyat al-Şayyādīn (Fishermen's village) and seized on the ford of Muniyat Shalqān. A portion of the (Egyptian) troops then passed over to him in boats and surrendered, but the people of Mişr placed a guard at the ford. Jawhar, on seeing this, said to Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ: "This is the day for which al-Mu'izz required your services!" He then stripped to

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Shoizānī*; in two manuscripts of Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn's *Nujūm*, this name is written ابن اسويراسى without points; the third has ابن اسويراسى; its true pronunciation is therefore uncertain. (See Editor's note, p. 134.—*Ed.*)

<sup>2</sup> The account of the conquest of Egypt given by Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn in his *Nujūm*, on the authority of more than one author (غور واحد) is nearly identical with Ibn Khallikān's. This sole passage, however, offers a remarkable difference, as it stands in the MSS. of the *Nujūm*. We there read: "The troops marched towards the isle" (الجزيرة, and not Jizah الجيزة) "to combat Jawhar. They placed guards on the bridges جـور, and Jawhar, on arriving at the isle, attacked them; the combat continued for some time, and Jawhar then went to Muniyat al-Şayyādīn."—If this be correct, the isle is the isle of Rawḍah, in the Nile, between Fuṣṭāṭ and Jizah. It was only in later times that it came to be known by the name of *al-Rawḍah*; before that, it was called simply the isle. (See *Chrestomatie*, t. I, p. 229). A bridge of thirty boats united it to Fuṣṭāṭ, and it communicated with Jizah by means of another bridge of thirty boats also, (Maqrīzī's *Khīṭa*, MS. fonds St. Germain, No. 106, fol. 248v). The word جـور bridges, bears also in Egypt the signification of dykes or mounds; those dykes were raised to protect the edifices of the inhabitants against the inundations of the Nile, and during that period they served as roads; but they could have been of trifling importance as a means of communication at the period of Jawhar's combat with the Egyptians, as the Nile was only beginning to rise and did not overflow the country till six or seven weeks after. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the word جـور here means bridges (probably the two above-mentioned), and that Ibn Khallikān's account is to be preferred. For it is evident that the intention of Jawhar in marching to Jizah, was to gain possession of the bridge of boats between Jizah and Mişr (or Fuṣṭāṭ); the resistance of the Egyptian troops frustrated this project, and he then took the bold determination of fording the Nile, which at that moment, the 5 of July, must have been very low.

\*The name is given in different ways, e. g., Nahrīr al-Shūharānī, Tahrīr al-Shūnizānī.—*Ed.*

†30 June.—*Ed.*

his trousers and passed over in a boat<sup>1</sup>, whilst his men forded (*the river*) and arrived at the other side, where they attacked and killed a great number of the *lkḥshidites* and their partisans. The rest fled during the night and entered Miṣr, which they evacuated in disorder after carrying off from their houses whatever they could. Their wives then went on foot to the *sharīf* Abū Ja'far and (*implored him*) to write to Jawhar, requesting him to ratify his former promise of protection. The *sharīf* wrote in consequence, and after congratulating him on his victory, solicited the renewal of the *amān*. The people remained with the *sharīf* until an answer was returned, confirming the promise of pardon and protection. An envoy arrived also from Jawhar, bearing a white flag and, during two days, he circulated through the people, proclaiming an amnesty and forbidding pillage. This re-established tranquillity in the city, so that the *bī zārs* were opened and all became as quiet as if no disturbance had taken place. Towards the latter part of the day, a messenger arrived with a letter from Jawhar to Abū Ja'far, ordering him to be ready to receive him on Tuesday, the 17 of Sha'bān, with a body of the *sharīfs*, learned men, and chief inhabitants of the city. (*The persons who had assembled at the sharīf Muslim's house*) then retired, and having made preparations for their visit to Jawhar, they set out from the city with the wazīr Ja'far and a number of men eminent for their rank, and proceeded to Jizah where they met the (*Fatimite*) general. Then by order of a herald, every person, except the *sharīf* and the wazīr, dismounted and saluted successively Jawhar, who had placed the wazīr on his left hand and the *sharīf* on his right. When this ceremony was concluded, they set out for the city, and the troops commenced making their entry, with arms and baggage, as the sun was declining towards the west. About four O'clock<sup>2</sup>, Jawhar entered the city, preceded by his drums and flags; he wore a silk dress heavily embroidered with gold, and rode a cream-coloured horse. He passed through Miṣr to the place in which he designed

<sup>1</sup> The MSS of the *Nuḥūm* have *فِي مَوْكِبٍ* (*at the head of a troop*), in place of *فِي مَرْكَبٍ* (*in a vessel*); it is probably the right reading.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: *After the 'aṣr*. "The 'aṣr, or afternoon, i.e. about mid-time between noon and nightfall." (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. 1, p. 82.)

to halt<sup>1</sup> and which is now the spot on which Cairo is situated. He then marked out the circumference of the new city, and when the people of Miṣr came the next morning to congratulate him on his success, they found that the foundations of the citadel had been dug during the night. He was at first displeased with some irregularities in the outline of the future city, but then declared that as the trenches had been excavated in a fortunate hour, he would allow no alterations to be made. On the Tuesday above mentioned and the six following days, his troops continued entering into Miṣr. Jawhar hastened to write a despatch to his master al-Mu'izz, informing him of the conquest, and he sent to him also the heads of the Egyptians slain in the action. He then ordered that the prayer for the Abbasides should cease to be offered up from the pulpits throughout Egypt, and that their name should be replaced on the coinage by these words: *Bismi mawlāi 'l-Mu'izz (in the name of my master al-Mu'izz)\**. He forbid also the black livery of the Abbasides to be worn any longer<sup>2</sup> and directed *khawāṭib* (*preachers*) to wear white vestments. He then every Sunday† held a court for the hearing of grievances; at which the wazīr, the qāḍī, and a number of the great doctors were present, whilst he himself gave judgment. On Friday, the 8 of *Ḍhu 'l-Qa'dah*‡ he caused these words to be added at the end of the *khutbah*<sup>4</sup>: *O my God! bless Muḥammad the chosen,*

<sup>1</sup> Literally: To his halting-place. In the *Nujum* we read: "He stopped at (المنأخ) al-Manākh (*the halting-place*)."<sup>1</sup> I am inclined, however, to give the preference throughout to Ibn Khallikān's account; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn seems to have done nothing more than copy it; and in some cases, he appears to have misunderstood it.

<sup>2</sup> The black dress was worn not only by members of the 'Abbaside family, but by the public officers in their service.

<sup>3</sup> In the court of *Inspection of Grievances* نَفَرُ فِي الْمَقَالِمِ it was the sovereign or one of his great officers who presided as judge. The establishment of this court was rendered necessary by the difficulty of executing the decrees of the qāḍī when the defendant was of high rank or employed in the service of government. None dared to disobey a citation before this court, and none were powerful enough to escape its severity.

<sup>4</sup> See No. 78, note on *khutbah*.

\*M. de Slane does not seem to grasp the sense which is only that the coins were struck in the name of his Lord al-Mu'izz and these words were not meant as legend.—*Ed.*

† Saturday.—*Ed.*

‡ 24 September.—*Ed.*

'Ali the accepted, Fāṭimah the pure, and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the two grandsons of the Apostle whom thou hast freed from stain and thoroughly purified. O my God! bless the pure imāms, ancestors of the Commander of the believers. On Friday, 18 of the Second Rabi' A. H. 359\*, the qā'id presided at public prayers in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn; a great number of the military were present, and the preacher, 'Abd al-Samī' Ibn 'Umar al-'Abbāsī, made mention in the *Khutbah* of the people of the house<sup>1</sup> and their excellent merits; he prayed also for the qā'id and pronounced aloud the *Bismillāh*.<sup>2</sup> He then, during the prayer, read the *sūrats* of the Assembly<sup>3</sup> (*al-Jum'ah*) and the *Hypocrites*<sup>4</sup> (*al-Munāfiqūn*) and in the *adhān* or call to prayer, he introduced these words: *Come to the excellent work*<sup>5</sup>! He was the first who did so in Egypt. This form was then adopted in the other mosques, and on Fridays the preacher pronounced the *qunūt*<sup>6</sup>. In the month of the first Jumādā, the words *Come to the excellent work* were inserted in the *adhān* at the Old Mosque, and all this gave the qā'id Jawhar great satisfaction, and he wrote to al-Mu'izz with that pleasing intelligence. Jawhar disapproved however of prayers being made for himself, and said that such was not in the directions given him by his master. He then commenced the construction of mosque at

<sup>1</sup> The People of the House: 'Ali, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn.' (See *Mishkāt*, vol II, p. 779.)

<sup>2</sup> The first *sūrat* of the *Qur'ān*, entitled the *Fāṭihah*, forms a portion of the Muslim canonical prayer: it begins with the *Bismillāh* (in the name of God, the merciful, the clement), which the Hanīfites and Hanbalites pronounce in a low voice, because they do not consider it as a part of the *Qur'ān*;† but the Shāfiites, Mālikites, and Shī'ites hold the contrary opinion, and pronounce it aloud. (See Zamakhsharī's commentary on the *Fāṭihah* in his *Kashshāf*, and M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 161.)

<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, *sūrat* 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *sūr.* 63.

<sup>5</sup> Those words are peculiar to the Shī'ite form of the *adhān*.

<sup>6</sup> The *qunūt* consists in these words: *Innā laka qānituna* انا لك قانتون (see *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 162, and Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*, t. III, p. 151.)

\* Friday fell on 15 corresponding to 25 February, A. D. 970. If Fāṭimi calender is taken into consideration, it could be 17 or 18.—*Ed.*

† Here the assertion is not true because none says that it is not a part of the *Qur'ān*. The difference lies here that the former group does not consider it a part of the *Fāṭihah* while the latter group holds this view. This verse is said to be revealed twice, once in the body of the *Qur'ān* and a second time as a verse to make distinction between the *sūrahs* and so it is not the part of any *sūrah*.—*Ed.*

Cairo, and finished it on the 7 of Ramaḍān, A. H. 361 (June, A.C. 972) ; on the following Friday he celebrated it in public prayers.—I believe that this is the mosque which is called *al-Azhar* (*the splendid*)<sup>1</sup> and lies between the gate of al-Barqiyah and that of al-Naṣr; for the other mosque of Cairo near the gate of al-Naṣr is well known to have been founded by al-Ḥākim (whose life we shall give). Jawhar continued in the government of Egypt for four years and twenty days; al-Mu'izz then arrived at Cairo (as shall be related in his life), and Jawhar left the citadel to receive him, taking nothing with him of all he possessed except the clothes he had on. He did not afterwards return to the citadel, but took up his residence in his own house: we shall give other particulars of his history in the life of his master al-Mu'izz.—Jawhar had a son named Ḥusayn, who was *qā'id al-quwwād*, or general-in-chief to al-Ḥākim, lord of Egypt: the conduct of this prince having inspired him with apprehensions for his personal safety, he fled with his son and his sister's husband, 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn al-Nu'mān; but al-Ḥākim sent after them and brought them back; he then quieted their fears, and treated them with kindness for some time; but one day, when they went to the citadel to pay him their respects, he gave orders to Rashīd al-Haḳīqī, the executioner<sup>2</sup>, who took with him ten of the Turkish pages and put al-Ḥusayn to death along with his brother-in-law the qāḍī: their heads were then brought to al-Ḥākim. This took place in A.H. 401 (A. . 1010-11).—Mention has been made of al-Ḥusayn in the life of Barjawān .

---

<sup>1</sup> Al-Makrīzī says it positively.

<sup>2</sup> In Arabic *Sayyāf al-Niqmah*† [*the swordsman\* of the (sovereign's) vengeance*]. This seems to have been a peculiar title at the Fatimite court.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 109.

\*22 June.—*Ed.*

†The text has سيف النقه *Sayf al-Niqmah*.—*Ed.*



## 142. JIHĀRKAS AL-ŞALĀĤĪ

Abu 'l-Manşūr Jihārkas Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nāşirī al-Şalāĥī (*attached to the service of al-Malik al-Nāşir Şal ĥ al-Dīn*), and surnamed Fakhr al-Dīn (*pride of religion*), held a high rank as an amir in the empire founded by Şalāĥ al-Dīn. He was a man of noble character, high influence, and a lofty spirit. It was he who built the great Qaysāriyah<sup>1</sup> of Jihārkas at Cairo, which, as I am told by a number of Merchants who visited different countries, is without an equal for beauty, size, and solidity. On the summit of this edifice he erected a large mosque and (*near it*) a *rab'a*<sup>2</sup> supported by arcades. He died at Damascus in the year 608 (A. C. 1211-2), and was buried at Mount Şālihiyah, where his tomb still attracts attention.—*Jinārkas* means *four persons*: it is a Persian word of which the Arabic equivalent is *Istār* (*four in number*). The word *istār* means also four ounces: he was also known by this appellation.

## 143. ABŪ TAMMĀM AL-ṬĀ'Ī

Abū Tammām Ḥabīb, the celebrated poet, was son of Aws Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Qays Ibn al-'Aşhajj Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Marwān Ibn Murr Ibn Sa'd Ibn Kāhil Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Adī Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ġhawṭh Ibn Ṭay (the real name of Ṭay was Julhumah) Ibn 'Udad Ibn Zayd Ibn Kahlān Ibn Yaḥjub<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ya'rab<sup>3</sup> Ibn Qaḥṭān. †[But Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan Ibn Bishr Ibn Yaḥyā al-'Āmidī<sup>4</sup> says in his *Munvāzanah*, or comparison between the two Ṭā'ites: "The general opinion

<sup>1</sup> *Qaysāriyah*, a bāzār.—(See De Sacy's *Abdāllatif*, p. 303.)

<sup>2</sup> The *rab'a* is a large house or hotel, capable of lodging ten or fifteen families, and constructed over shops or stores.—(De Sacy's '*Abd-Allatif*', pp. 303, 402; Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I, p. 23.)

<sup>3</sup> The *Qāmūs* says, *Yaḥjub*.

<sup>4</sup> Ḥājī Khallīfah places the death of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-'Āmidī in A. H. 371 (A. C. 981-2). His work, entitled *Comparison between the two Ṭā'ites*, is a treatise on the parallel passages in the poems of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥtūrī, who were both of the tribe of Ṭay.

\* M. de Slane reads it *Yaḥḥob*.—*Ed.*

† [ ] From 'But' to 'Aws' on page 141 is not included in the Autograph.

respecting Abū-Tammām's descent is, that his father was a Christian named Tadūs al-'Aṭṭār (*Thaddaeus the druggist*) and native of a village near Damascus called Jāsīm. This name of Tadūs they changed into Aws, and fabricated a genealogy for Abū Tammām, tracing up his descent to Ṭay. There is also no Mas'ūd to be found in the list of ancestors which they give him, and this was an oversight in the person who forged it; besides, were it true that he descended from Ṭay, it would be impossible to admit that there were only ten generations between them.<sup>1</sup> Al-'Āmidī makes these remarks when speaking of the following verse of Abū Tammām's:

"Did Mas'ūd water their ruined dwellings with the torrents of his eyes, I should renounce Mas'ūd<sup>2</sup>."

But it must be observed that six generations have been omitted between Qays and Dafāqah and that Abū Tammām's words, *I should renounce Mas'ūd*, are not a proof that Mas'ūd was one of his ancestors; this expression is analogous to the following: *I have nothing to do with such a one, such a one has nothing to say to me*, by which is expressed the idea of renunciation or contempt. Similar to this is the sentence uttered by the holy Prophet: *The child of fornication is not one of us, and 'Alī is one of us*.<sup>4</sup> In the History of Baghdād by the Kḥaṭīb, Abū Tammām's genealogy is given in full with some slight differences from that inserted here; and al-Ṣūlī relates that some say of Abū Tammām Ḥabīb, that his father Tadūs was a Christian, and that this name was changed into Aws.] Abū Tammām surpassed all his contemporaries in the purity of his style, the merit of his poetry, and his excellent manner of treating a sub-

---

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from this, that al-'Āmidī had before him a genealogical list different from that given by Ibn Kḥallikān.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: I am not of Mas'ūd.

<sup>3</sup> It would appear therefore that the name of Dafāqah was in the list given by Ibn Kḥallikān, yet nothing like it is to be found in the MSS.

<sup>4</sup> The mistake committed by al-'Āmidī is singular enough; he does not understand a very common Arabic expression, and he takes Mas'ūd, who was a brother of the poet Dhū 'l-Rummaḥ, for an ancestor to Abū Tammām. Ibn Kḥallikān repeats his observations on this subject in his life of Dhū 'l-Rummaḥ.

ject.<sup>1</sup> He is author of the *Ḥamāsah*, a compilation which is a standing proof of his great talents, solid information, and good taste in making a selection. Another of his works is entitled *Fuṭūḥ al-Shu'arā* (*first-rate poets*), and contains (*the history of*) a great number of poets, some of whom flourished in the times of paganism, and others when Islāmism was introduced or at a later period. The *Ikhtiyārāt*, a third work of his, contains (*as its title implies*) selections from the poets. The number of pieces which he knew by heart was so great, that none ever attained his rank in that branch of knowledge; it is stated that, without counting *qaṣīdahs* and fragments of poems, he knew by heart fourteen thousand verses of that class of compositions, called *Rajaz*.<sup>2</sup> He used to compose verses in honour of the *kh*alifs and was generously rewarded by them. In his travels, he visited different countries and proceeded to Baṣrah, where the poet 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn al-Mu'adī *dh*al<sup>3</sup> happened to be at the time. The latter was surrounded by his scholars<sup>4</sup> and followers when he received intelligence of Abū Tammām's approach, and being apprehensive that the public would favour the new comer and neglect himself, he wrote these lines to Abū Tammām, who had not yet entered the city :

<sup>1</sup> The original of this, if literally translated, would run thus: "He was the unique of his time in the silk stuff of his word, and the wares of his poetry, and the goodness of his manner." In Arabic this is in very good style and perfectly intelligible.

<sup>2</sup> Short poems, the verses of which consist of but a few feet, are termed *Rajaz*. Each verse contains generally six *مستفعلن* or *epitriti tertii*.

<sup>3</sup> Abdessamad fils de Moadhdhel fils de Ghailan avait le prenom d'Aboulca-cem; sa mere etait une femme esclave nommee Zerka الزرقاء. C'est un poete de merite qui florissait sous les Abbasides; son pere Moadhdhel et son grand-pere Ghailan etaient poetes aussi. Moadhdhel et Abbān-ellāheki ابان اللاهقي avaient fait des satyres l'un contre l'autre. Abdessamad etait ne et avait ete eleve a Basra. Son frere Ahmad avait aussi du talent pour la poesie et y joignait un beau caractere, beaucoup de pieté et diverses qualites qui lui donnaient un rang distingue parmi les *moazele* et dans le monde. Abdessamad, qui etait mochant, satyrique et tres-medisant, portait e. vi a son frere et faisait contre lui des epigrammes. Il fut amoureux d'une femme nommee *مشم* esclave d'un seigneur de Basra. Abdessamad se trouva un jour dans une societe avec Abou Tammam; ils s'ecrivirent a l'instant l'un a l'autre des vers piquants. Abdessamad, qui composait avec plus de promptitude et avait la riposte plus vive qu'Abou Tammam, eut sur lui quelque avantage en cette occasion.—(Aghani, vol. III. f. 194—200). Note communicated by M. Caussin de Perceval.

<sup>4</sup> Scholars; *غلمان* (boys).

<sup>5</sup> M. de Slane reads it *Muaddal*.—Ed.

"You appear before the public in two characters, each of which requires a tatterer's face.<sup>1</sup> You are always soliciting the favour of a mistress or the gifts (*of a patron*). Can a blush of generous shame ever mantle on your cheeks<sup>2</sup>, after submitting to the degraded state of a lover and a beggar?"

When Abū Tammām read these verses, he changed his mind and turned back, saying: "This man has drawn to himself the attention of all about him, so they do not stand in need of me." (I have already mentioned some verses similar to these in the life of al-Mutanabbī).<sup>3</sup> \* [Abū Tammām and Ibn al-Mu'adh dhal not being personally acquainted, the latter, on composing these lines, gave them to a copyist who was intimate with them both, and told him to deliver them to Abū Tammām: the latter, having read them, wrote on the back of the paper:

"Is it on me that you make verses filled with falsehood and calumny? you who are less than zero! In your anger you have packed your heart full of hatred, (*plainly to be seen*) as the palpitation of the soul is seen in the body. Wretched man! you have exposed yourself to the danger of my satires, like the ass which from fear rushes towards the lion."

'Abd al-Šamad having read the first verse, said: "What an excellent logician, to assert that a non-existence is capable of increase and diminution! Of the second verse he said, that *packing* was the business of *Farrāshes*<sup>4</sup>, and that such an idea could not be admitted in poetry; but on reading the third verse, he bit his lips. According to al-Šūlī, this anecdote is related by Kuṣḥājīm in his *Maṣū'id wa'l Maṭārid*, after making the following observation: "Al-Jāhīz, in

<sup>1</sup> In place of مذال, as given in most MSS., it appears more natural to read, with the *Uyūn al-Tawārikh* (year 231, where these verses are cited.)†

<sup>2</sup> Literally: What water remains for your face. See note on ماء الوجه No 49.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 49; they begin with these words: *What merit, etc.*

<sup>4</sup> See note, No. 119.

\* [ ] From "Abū Tammām" to "perceives his scent" on page 144 is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

† مذال or else مدالى vide *Edi.* or's note abov.—*Ed.*

speaking of certain animals which deliver themselves up to certain beasts of prey, has forgotten to mention the ass which rushes on the lion when it perceives his scent."—Abū Tammām recited to Abū Dulaf al-ʿIjī the *qaṣīdah* which contains this verse:

"At the sight of dwellings (*abandoned*) like these, and places of joyous meetings (*now deserted*), our tears, long treasured up, were shed in torrents!"

He admired the piece and gave the poet fifty thousand dirhams,<sup>1</sup> saying: By Allāh! it is less than your poem is worth; and that idea is only surpassed in beauty by your elegy on the death of Muḥammad Ibn Ḥumayd \* al-Ṭūs.<sup>2</sup> "Which," said Abū Tammām, "does the amīr mean?"—"Why," said Abū Dulaf, "your poem commencing thus :

"Now let misfortune do its worst, and time inflict its evils! There is no excuse for eyes which have not shed their tears."

"I wish, by Allāh! that this elegy had been composed by you on me." "Nay!" said the poet, "may I and my family die to save the amīr, and may I leave the world before you!" To this Abū Dulaf replied "He whose death is deplored in verses like those, is immortal."—The learned say that the tribe of Tay produced three men, each of whom attained excellence in their speciality, namely: Ḥātim al-Ṭaʿī,<sup>3</sup> famous for his liberality; Dawūd Ibn Nuṣayr,<sup>4</sup> for his self-mortification; and Abū Tammām, for poetry.—The number of anecdotes related of Abū Tammām is very great, and I find this one

<sup>1</sup> About twelve hundred pounds sterling.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamid al Ṭūsī, a son of one al-Māmūn's principal generals, was sent by that khalif at the head of an army against Bābak al-Kharrami, who was desolating the province of ʿAḍharbijān. In the action which ensued, the Muslim troops were totally defeated, and Ibn Ḥamid, abandoned by all except one faithful officer, fought till he fell. This occurred in A. H. 214 (A. C. 829-30). He was renowned for his liberality, and his death gave great pain to al-Māmūn.—(*Ibn al-Aṭhīr's Kāmil*).

<sup>3</sup> See D'Herbelot and Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad Hist. Ar.* p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Dawūd Ibn Nuṣayr *نصير* al-Ṭāʿī, a doctor eminent for his knowledge of the law (*العلم*) his piety and self-mortification, was one of Abū Ḥanīfah's principal disciples: he was deeply learned in the Traditions. Died A. H. 165 (A. C. 781-2).—(*AlNuḥūm al-Zāhirah*).

\*M. de Slane reads it *Ḥamid*.—*Ed.*

generally accredited; He was reciting to the Khalif a *qasida* composed in his praise and rhyming in *s*; when he came to these words:

"(In you I see) the prowess of 'Amr,<sup>1</sup> the liberality of Hatim, and the prudence of Ahnaf, joined with the keenness of Iyas<sup>2</sup>.

The vizir said to him: "How! do you compare the Commander of the faithful with vile Arabs of the desert?" On which the poet kept silence a moment, and then looked up and said (*in the same rhyme and measure*):

"Take not offence at my comparing him with inferiors, persons whose names have gone abroad and are proverbial for liberality and bravery; for God has compared his light to a mean object, a candle in a niche."<sup>3</sup>

The vizir then told the khalif to grant to Abu Tammam whatever he should ask, as he foresaw that the poet could not live more than forty days; "for," said he, "I perceive that his eyes are suffused with blood from excessive thought, and the person in whom such symptoms appear cannot survive longer than that time." On this, the khalif asked Abu Tammam what he would like to have, and being answered that he desired the government of Mosul, he appointed him to that place; Abu Tammam proceeded thither and remained there till his death. This anecdote is however totally devoid of truth, and is related differently by Abu Bakr al-Suli in his History of Abu Tammam. "This poet," says he "when reciting the above *qasida* to Ahmad, son of the khalif al-Mu'tasim, came of these words: *The prowess of 'Amr, etc.*; on which the philosopher Abu Yusuf Yaqub Ibn al-Sabbah al-Kindi,<sup>4</sup> who happened to be present, observed that the

1 The poet meant either 'Amr Ibn Ma'dikarib, or 'Amr Ibn al-Mundhir, surnamed Ibn Hind; his prowess was proverbial. (See Pocock's *specimen Hist. Ar.* p. 73, and Rammussen's *Additamenta ad Hist. Ar.*, p. 50, 53.)

2 See his life, No. 102.

3 See *Qur'an*, surat 24, verse 35.

4 Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Ibn Ishaq Ibn al-Sabbah al-Kindi, the philosopher of the Arabs, was descended from the royal family of Kindah.-(See their genealogy and history in my *Diwan d'Amro al-Kais*.)-His father Ishaq, was emir of Kufah under al-Mahdi and al-Rashid; his great grandfather al-Ash'ath <sup>الاشعث</sup> was one of Muhmmad's companions; Qays, the father of al-Ash'ath and sovereign of all the tribe of Kindah, was celebrated in four *qasidas* by the poet al-A'sha. (See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie tom. II*). Ma'di Karib, father of Qays, reigned in the province of Hadramaut over the Banu al-Harith al-Asghar, a branch of the tribe of Kindah, Mo'awiyah and his other

emir was much above the persons to whom the poet compared him; and Abu Tammam, after a short silence, added the two other verses; but, when he gave (*to the prince*) the copy of the *qasidah*, it was discovered that these lines were not in it, and the audience were in admiration at the promptitude of his genius and his presence of mind. "When he withdrew, al-Kindi, who was the philosopher of the Arab, said: This circumstance is related in a different manner, but that account is totally ungrounded, and ours alone is correct." I have examined into the reality of the fact that Abu Tammam was governor of Mosul, and all I have found is, that al-Hasan Ibn Wahb<sup>1</sup> had appointed him master of the post-horse establishment<sup>2</sup> at Mosul, in which city he died. The exactness of the anecdote is also disproved by the fact that this *qasidah* was not composed in honour of any of the *khalifs*, but that it was addressed to Ahmad son of al-Mu'tasim, or Ahmad son of al-Mamun neither of whom became *khalif*. In one of the seven memorials in which (*the poet*) *Hays Bays* solicited the government of Ba'quba<sup>3</sup> from the *khalif* al-Mustashid, [he states that the government of Mosul had been granted to a poet of the tribe of Tay. As for this assertion, *Hays Bays* must have either grounded it on hearsay, without examining into its truth, or advanced it in the idea that it would serve him as a means for obtaining the government of Ba'quba. Ibn Diayah has followed *Hays Bays* in the same error, and inserted it in his work called the *Nibras*. It is related by al-Suli that Abu Tammam recited to the vizir Ibn al-Zayyat a poem which he had composed in his honour, and containing these two verses:

"His generosity is a constant rain, rushing with slackened bridle, and of which the succour is implored by the afflicted earth. Could a tract of country proceed towards another to pay it honour, each barren spot had gone towards the (*land which he inhabits*)".

ancestors ruled the tribe of Ma'ad كانوا اهل كالى معد al-Mushakkar (a fortress in Bahrayn according to Abu al-Fada in his *(Geography)*, al-Yemama and Bahrayn. I give this extract from the *Tarikh al-Hukama*, because it serves to confirm, if necessary, M. de Sacy's opinion that the philosopher al-Kindi was not of Jewish, but of Arabian extraction. (See 'Abd al-Latif, page 487). Casiri, in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*, t. I, p. 358, has given a short notice on al-Kindi and a list of his works, all of which he took from the *Tarikh al-Hukama*, but he suppressed the passage cited above.

1 See in the life of Sulayman Ibn Wahb.

2 The postmaster kept horses for the special use of government officers and messengers; he acted also as a spy on the conduct of the provincial governor, and he then corresponded directly with the *khalif* or the sultan.

3 Ba'quba, a large town at two parasangs from Baghdad (Abu al-Fada's *Geography*.)

(When) Ibn al-Zayyat (heard these verses, he) said: "O Abu Tammam! your poetry is adorned with the jewels of your words and the originality of your ideas; with beauty, moreover, which surpasses the splendour of jewels on the necks of handsome females. The most abundant remuneration which could be treasured up for you is unequal to the merit of your poetry." A philosopher who was present then observed that the poet would die young, and being asked what induced him to believe so, he answered: "I saw in him sharpness of wit, and penetration and intelligence, united to the refined taste and prompt genius; from this I knew that the mind would consume the body, as a sword of Indian steel eats through its scabbard. And such was the fact, for he died at some what more than thirty years of age.<sup>1</sup> This, however, does not accord with what we shall state lower down respecting the time of his birth and his death. The poetry of Abu Tammam was put in order, for the first time, by Abu Bakr al-Suli, who arranged it alphabetically (according to the rhymes), then 'Ali Ibn 'Hamzah al-Ispahani classed it according to the subjects.] Abu Tammam was born at Jasim, A.H. 190 (A.D. 805-6); other accounts say in A.H. 188, 172<sup>2</sup>. Jasim is a village situated in al-Jaydur, a canton in the dependencies of Damascus, between that city and Tabariyah (Tiberias). He passed his youth in Misr, where, it is said, he used to distribute water to the public out of a pitcher in the mosque<sup>3</sup>; but some say that he worked in the service of a tailor at Damascus, where his father sold wine<sup>4</sup>. Abu Tammam was a tall man of a tawny colour, he spoke his language with elegance and sweetness, but stammered in a slight degree. After studying and passing, through different situations of life, he attained that eminence by which he is illustrious. His death took place at Mosul, as has been already said, in A. H. 231 (A.C. 845-6); but other dates are assigned to that event, such as the month of Dhu al-Qa'dah or that of the first Jumada, 228, or 229 and some say that he died in the month of Muharram, A.H. 232. It is stated by al-Buhturi that a canopy was built over his grave by Abu Nahshal Ibn Humayd al-Tusi,<sup>5</sup> and I myself saw the tomb

1 It is not easy to explain how al-Suli, in relating this anecdote, did not perceive that it was only another version of the one which he had already given as the sole correct. Ibn Khalikan has perhaps mistaken the name of the author whom he cites.

2 Al-Jaydur is one of the dependencies of Damascus, to the north of al-Hauran. It is said, however, that al-Jaydur and al-Hauran are the same place.—(Marasid al-I'tila.)

3 See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 18.

4 This would prove that his father was not a Muslim.

5 This was probably the son of the Hamid al-Tusi mentioned in note (5), No. 117.



at Mosul, outside the Maydan Gate on the edge of the ditch which surrounds the city; the common people call it the tomb of Tammam, the poet. It was related to me by 'Afif al-Din Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn 'Adlan al-Musili, the grammarian and interpreter, that he asked Ibn 'Unayn (whose life shall be given later) what the meant by this verse;

"May God shed genial showers on the groves of *Ghutatayn*,<sup>1</sup> but of barren Mosul, may he refresh the tombs alone!"

"For what reason," said Ibn 'Adlan, "when you exclude Mosul from the benediction, do you except its tombs?" To which he replied, that it was in consideration of Abu Tammam's. This verse belongs to a *qasidah* composed by Ibn 'Unayn in praise of the sultan al-Malik al-Mo'azzam Sharaf al-Din 'Isa (whose life shall be given later). It is a very fine poem and begins thus;

"You long to see the palaces of 'Ali<sup>2</sup> at Damascus, and the youths and dark eyed maids in Nairabayn.<sup>3</sup>

The following lines were composed on the death of Abu Tammam by al-Hasan Ibn Wahb:

"Poetry was in affliction at the death of the last of the poets; him who was the lake in the meadow of poetry Habib al-Taj. He and it are now dead and sojourn together in one tomb; it was thus also that they were (*inseparable*) when alive.

some persons say, however, that these verses were composed on his death by Dik al-Jinn. The following lines are taken from a *qasidah* in which his death was lamented by al-Hasan Ibn Wahb:

"That precious tomb at Mosul has been watered by clouds which deplored his loss. When they shed their dew upon it, that dew fell

1 The *Ghutah*, or cultivated grounds which surround Damascus, are well known. The poets often call it *Ghutatayn* (the two *Ghutahs*) although there is in reality but one place which bears the name. (*Marasid* under the word نوب).

2 'Alia; this is perhaps the river called al-Tawamat al-'Alia التامة العليا one of the streams which water Damascus. (See *Oiyun al-Tawarikh*, No. 638, fol. 93).

3 *Nairabayn*, a delicious spot in the neighbourhood of Damascus. As *Nairabayn* is the dual form of *Nairab*, it might be supposed that there were two places of the name, but such was not the case. It is by the poets that the dual was employed. (*Marasid*.)

The story is not in the autograph.

Probably the poet refers to *Ghutah* and *Nayrab* in both the verses. Ed.

in copious showers.<sup>1</sup> The lightnings beat (the) cheeks (*of the clouds in grief*), and the thunders tore open (*their*) bosoms. For the earth of that tomb contains Habib (*a friends*), who was called my friend.

The verses which follow were on his death by Ibn al-Zayyat, who was then vizir to al-Mu'tasim; but they are attributed also to katib Abu 'l-Zibriqan 'Abd Allah, son of al-Zabriqan, an enfranchised slave of the Omayyad family:

"It is most dreadful news which has reached our agitated hearts, Habib, they say is dead; O, I implore you! let it not be him of Tay.

The names of the persons mentioned in Abu Tammam's genealogy are so well known, that it is needless to mark their orthography. *Al-Jaydur* is a canton in the province of Damascus, near al-Haulan.<sup>2</sup> *Al-Taj* means belonging to Tay, which is a famous tribe. This relative adjective is of irregular formation; analogy would have required it to be *Tayî*<sup>3</sup>, but the formation of relative adjectives admits some variations; thus from *dahr* (*time*) is derived *duhrl* (*temporal*), and from *sahl* (*a plain*), *suhll* (*plain, level*), etc.

#### 144. AL-HAJJAJ IBN YUSUF

Abu Muhammad al-Hajjaj was son of Yusuf Ibn al-Hakam Ibn 'Uqayl Ibn Mas'ud Ibn 'Amir Ibn Mu'attib Ibn Malik Ibn Ka'b Ibn 'Amr Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Awf Ibn Qasi (called also *Thaqif*): mention is made of *Thaqif* in following terms by Ibn al-Kalbi in his *Jamharat al-Nisab*: "Munabbih Ibn al-Nabit had a son called Qasi, who is said to be the same person as *Thaqif*. Such is the genealogy given by those who state that *Thaqif* was sprung from Iyad<sup>4</sup> but some say that he descended from Qays, and that Qasi was son of Munabbih Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawazin;<sup>5</sup> and they state that Umayma, Qasi's mother, and daughter of Sa'd Ibn Hudhyl, lived (*as wife*) with Munabbih Ibn Nabit, and being afterwards married to Munabbih Ibn Bakr, she went to

1 Literally: when they shed their dew on it, they slied on it the full of the water-bag of the dark cloud, which pours forth after theirs, another.

2 Al-Haulan is the name of a village of a hill near Damascus.-(*Marasid*.)

3 The difference between the two forms can be best understood from the inspection of the original text.

4 From this we must suppose that the descent of Munabbih from Iyad was well established and generally known.

5 See the seventh genealogical list, drawn up by Eichhora after Ibn Qutaybah, in the *Monumenta antiquissima Historia Arabum*.

him, being then pregnant with Qays by (her former husband *Ibn al-Nabit*) the *Iyadite*.--(*Al-Hajja*) *al-Thaqafi* (the descendant of *Thaqif*) was governor of *Traq* and *Khurasan* for 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, and on his death he was confirmed in his authority by the new *khaliif* *al-Walid*. *Al-Mas'udi* in his *Muruj al-Dhahab* narrates as follows:--" *Al-Farighah*, the mother of *al-Hajja* and daughter to *Hammam Ibn 'Urwah Ibn Mas'ud* of the tribe of *Thaqif*, wife to *al-Harith Ibn Kaldah*, a member of the tribe and native of the town of *Ta'if*; this *Harith* was judge of the Arabs.<sup>1</sup> Having gone into her apartment early one morning, he found her picking her teeth, on which he sent her a sentence of divorce? And she said to him: 'Why have you sent to me my divorce? has my conduct given you any cause for suspicion.--'Yes, said he, 'When I went in to you in the morning, you were picking your teeth: if you had breakfasted before the regular time, you are a glutton; and if you have passed the night with particles of meat sticking between your teeth you are sluttish. To this she replied: 'It was neither one nor the other; but I was taking out a fragment of the toothpick. She then married *Yusuf Ibn Abi 'Uqayl al-Thaqafi*, to whom she bore *al-Hajja*, who came into the world incompletely formed, as he had an imperforate anus. This defect was removed by an operation; and the child refused the breast of its mother and every other person, so that they were at a loss what to do, till, as it is said, Satan appeared to them in the form of *al-Harith Ibn Kaldah* and asked them what was the matter; they told him the circumstance, and he said; 'Kill a black kid and give its blood to the child to drink; the next day do the same thing; the third day slay a black he-goat and give the blood to be drunk by the child, then kill a snake and make the child swallow the blood, and daub his face with some of it; if you do thus, the child will take the breast on the fourth day. They followed these directions, and the effect of this first nourishment which he received was such that he could not refrain from shedding blood. He even said of himself, that his greatest enjoyment was to [shed blood and commit actions which no other could.'<sup>2</sup> *Ibn 'Abd Rabbih* says, in his *'Iqd*, that *al-Farighah* was wife to *al-Mughayrah Ibn Shu'bah*, and that it was he who divorced her on account of the circumstance of the tooth pick. He adds that *al-Hajja* and his father kept school at *Ta'if*, and that the former attached himself to] *Ruh Ibn Zinba' al-Judhami*<sup>3</sup> vizir of

1 *Harith Ibn Kaladah* was one of *Muhammad's* companions.--(*Qamus*.)

2 Some of the MSS. have يقدّم in place of يقدّر if this reading be adopted, the sense is: which no other dare to do.

3 *Abu Zar'ah* ( زرعه ) *Ruh Ibn Zinba' al-Judami*, the Syrian, was

(Cont. on page 151)

'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, and entered into the *Shurtah* (police guards),<sup>1</sup> of which Ruh was commander. 'Abd al-Malik, having remarked the indiscipline of his army, and that the soldiers never set out nor heated at the same time with himself, complained of it to Ruh Ibn Zinba', who told him that there was a man in the police guards named al-hajjaj Ibn Yusuf, who, if the Commander of the faithful gave him the command of the troops, would oblige them to march and to halt in conformity to his (the *khalif*'s) movements. 'Abd al-Malik adopted this counsel and nominated al-Hajjaj commander of the army. The guards under Ibn Zinba's orders were the only troops dispensed with the obligation of marching and halting at the same time as the *khalif*, and one day, after the departure of the rest of army al-Hajjaj came upon them and found them at dinner: he asked them what had prevented them from setting out with the Commander of the faithful, and received this answer: "Dismount, you son of a slut<sup>2</sup>! and dine with us." To this he gave a refusal, telling them that those times were gone by; and he ordered them to be flogged and paraded before the army; by his directions also, the tents belonging to Ruh Ibn Zinba' were set on fire. Ruh complained bitterly of this to the *khalif*, who set immediately for al-Hajjaj and said to him: "What induced you to do as you have done?—"I have done nothing," replied al-Hajjaj.—"Who did it then?" said the *khalif*.—"You;" answered al-Hajjaj; my hand is your hand; my whip is your whip; and what prevents the "Commander of the faithful from presenting Ruh with a double quantity of tents and men,<sup>3</sup> rather than break my commission after having given it yourself?" The *khalif*, on this, indemnified Ruh for his loss and treated al-Hajjaj with increased favour. This was first known proof which al-Hajjaj gave of his abilities. It was unheard of, what slaughter he committed, how much blood he shed, and what tortures he inflicted. It is said that Ziyad

---

one of the *Tabi'is* (see note (2), *Anshor's Preface*) and highly respected by the people. Mu'awiyah was so apprehensive of his influence, that he resolved to put him to death, and had him arrested, but he afterwards set him at liberty. Ruh was the grandee (عظيم) of the empire of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan. He was husband to (the celebrated poetess) Hind, daughter of al-Nu'man, and he died A.H. 73 A.C. 692-3).—(*An Nujum al-Zahirah*.) (Al-Makin No. 37) call him 'Abd al-malik's *katib*, or secretary of state.

1 It may be observed that Ibn Khaldun, as cited by M. de Hammer in his *Landverwaltung unter dem Khalifate* (page 154), says that the post of commander of the police guards was first established under the Abbasides: this seems in contradiction with Ibn Khallikan's statement.

2 This form of compellation was very frequently used by the Arabs; it indicated either anger or familiarity.

3 Men: the Arabic word *ghilman* signifies boys, pages, mamluks etc

Ibn Abih<sup>1</sup> wished to resemble the *khalif* 'Umar in firm authority, resolution, decision, and severity of administration, but that he carried this to an excess and passed bounds; and al-Hajjaj, say they, took Ziyad for his model, and killed and destroyed. One day, he said in the course of a *khutab*<sup>2</sup> which he was pronouncing: "O men! God's prohibitions are easier to be borne with than his punishments: On which a man rose up and said; "Woe be to thee, O Hajjaj what an impudent face thou hast, and how little modesty!" Al-Hajjaj ordered him to sit down, and when he descended from the pulpit he called him forth: "Thou hast been presumptuous towards me!" said he. "How?" replied the man, "thou art presumptuous towards God and dost not disapprove of thine own conduct, and if we are presumptuous towards thee, thou disapprovest of it! Al-Hajjaj, on receiving this answer, let the man go. Ibn al-Jawzi says, in his *Talqih*, that al-Farighah, mother of al-Hajjaj, was the person who was surnamed *al-Mutamamiyah* (the wish-maker); When she made the wish, she was wife to Ibn Shu'bah, and we shall here present an abridgement of the anecdote as related by this writer. 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab happening to make his rounds one night in the city of Madinah heard a woman sing, from behind the curtain of her apartment, the following verse:

"Where shall I find wine that I may drink it? or else where shall I find Nasr Ibn Hajjaj?"

On this, 'Umar said: "I shall not allow in the same city with myself, a man whose beauty is celebrated by young females in the privacy of their apartments; bring me Nasr Ibn Hajjaj!" When he was brought he was found to be the most beautiful of men in countenance and the handsomest in hair; and 'Umar said to him: "The Commander of the faithful's determination is, that 'you shorten your hair.' When this was done, his cheeks appeared (*fair*) as half-moons. "Now, put on a turban," said 'Umar. The turban was put on, and the youth still charmed the spectators with his eyes. Then 'Umar said; "Dwell not in any town where I may be." "What is my crime, O Commander of the faithful?" said Nasr. "It must be done as I told you," replied 'Umar; and he then sent him off to Basrah. Such are the main points of the narration, and I suppress the sequel. This Nasr was son of Hajjaj Ibn 'Ilat al-Sulami, one of Muhammad's companions.,. Some say, however, that the *Mutamanniyah* belonged to the tribe of

1 Ziyad Ibn Abih; Ziyad son of his father, that is, the *bastard*. He was son of Abu Sufyan. His history may be collected from D'Herbelot and Abu 1-Fida: *Annales*, years 44 and 53.

2 See No. 77, note on *Khutbah*

Kinanah, and that she was al-Hajjaj's paternal grandmother.--It is related by Abu Ahmad al-'Askari, in his *Kitab al-Tashif*, that the people passed upwards of forty years regarding the *Qur'an* from 'Uthman's copy<sup>1</sup>, but, in the days of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, the erroneous readings had become numerous and has spread through Iraq; this obliged al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf to have recourse to his *katibs*<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of putting distinctive marks on the words of uncertain pronunciation<sup>3</sup>; and it is said that Nasr Ibn 'Asim undertook that duty and imagined single and double points (*nuqat*) which he placed in different manners.<sup>4</sup> The people then passed some time without making any copies of the *Qur'an* but with points, the usage of which did not, however prevent some false readings from taking place, and for this reason they invented the *ij'am* (points serving to distinguish the letters of a similar form one from another), and they (the people) thus placed the *ij'am* posteriorly to the *nuqat*; but yet when, by neglect, a word (of the *Qur'an*) was written with its full accompaniment (of distinctive marks), and was thus deprived of its requisites, erroneous readings occurred; for this they endeavoured in vain to find a remedy, and they were obliged to recur to oral tradition and learn (the true readings) from the mouths of men.<sup>5</sup> On the whole, the anecdotes concerning al-Hajjaj are numerous and would take long to relate.<sup>6</sup> It was he who founded the city of Wasit; he commenced it A.H. 84 (A.C. 703) and finished it in 86. He named it Wasit (intermediate,) because it lay between Basrah and Kufah, and might thus be said to lie between (*tawassat*) these two capitals. Ibn al-Jawzi states, however, in his historical annals, entitled *Shuzur al-'Uqud*, that al-Hajjaj began to build Wasit in the year 47, and terminated it in

1 See Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*, year 30.

2 See No. 10, on *al-'Akr*.

3 The word حرف in the plural حروف is employed by the *Quranists* to designate a group of letters (or word) which may be read in different manners. See, for instance, the marginal notes of the *Qur'an* printed at Casan.

4 It is necessary for me to observe that the vowel-signs and diacritical points now in use, were invented, as is generally stated, by Khalil Ibn Ahmad, who died in the second century to the Hijrah, and that they are totally different from those imagined by Zalim al-Du'all (see his life), and by the secretaries of al-Hajjaj. The points introduced by the latter were similar to those of the specimens given by M. de Sacy in his Arabic grammar, plate III, tom. I and Dr. Pusey in the *Catal. Bib. Bod.*, tom. II, tab. I.

5 M. de Sacy has given a translation of this passage in his *Memoire sur la litterature des Arabes*; it may be observed that I differ totally with him respecting the meaning of the words *huruf*, *nuqat*, and *ij'am*.

6 Consult D'Herbelot, Abu 'l-Fida, al-Makin, and Price's *Retrospect of Mahammadan History*, Vol. I.

78. When al-Hajjaj felt his death approach, he called in an astrologer and asked him if he knew of any prince who was to die (*at that time*), and the astrologer replied: "Yes, I do; but you are not the person." "How know you that?" said al-Hajjaj. "Because the name of him who is to die is Kulayb." "It is I, by Allah!" exclaimed al-Hajjaj "for such was the name by which my mother called me." He then made his will. One thing puts in mind of another.<sup>1</sup> This is like the words of the missionary<sup>2</sup> 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Sulayhi (of whom mention will be made hereafter). A simple missionary in Yemen,<sup>3</sup> he became sovereign of all that country, and held its princes in subjection till the period which God had assigned to his life had expired, when he left San'a to make the pilgrimage to Makkah in A.H. 472 (A.C. 1081). On arriving at al-Mahjam,<sup>4</sup> he encamped without the town, at a farm called Umm al-Duhaym,<sup>5</sup> or Bir Umm Ma'bad (*the well of Ma'bad's mother*), and was there attacked unawares by Sa'id al-Ahwal, son of Najah. This Najah was lord of the province of Tahamah, and had been deprived of his life and kingdom by al-Sulayhi, but Sa'id and his other sons had escaped. Sa'id arrived with a few partisans and entered the camp of al-Sulayhi, where they were mistaken for followers of the army; none discovered their real character but 'Abd Allah the brother of al-Sulayhi, who immediately got on horseback and said to his brother: "To horse! for, by Allah! here is al-Ahwal with his men, of whose coming we were warned yesterday by the letter which As'ad Ibn Shihab wrote us from Zabid." "Calm your mind," replied al-Sulayhi; "it is only at al-Duhaym and the well of Umm Ma'bad that I am to die;" thinking that it was of that Umm Ma'bad the *Khuza'tie*, at whose dwelling the blessed Prophet and Abu Bakr stopped on their retreat from Makkah<sup>6</sup> this

---

1 Ibn Khalikan gives a second time the anecdote which follows; it will be found, with some slight difference, in the life of 'Ali al-Sulayhi; and this induces me to think that the author intended to suppress it here, where it is totally misplaced.

It is inserted here from some other hand, Vide No. 457—Ed.

2 Missionary; see No. 10 note on *da'is*.

3 Consult, on the events which follow, Abu 'I-Fida's *Annals*, year 203 and 412; Johannsen's *Historian Yrmana*, pp. 121 *at seq.* In the three relations, a number of differences will be observed, which it is needless to notice here.

4 The town of al-Mahjam lay a the distance of three days' journey to the north-east of Zabid, and six days' journey from San'a.—(Abu 'I-Fida's *Geography*.)

5 This name is sometimes written simply *al-Duhaim*.

6 Muhammad and Abu Bakr, on their *hijrah* (*departure, emigration*) from

(Cont. on page 155)

place lies near Makkah, on the road from it to Madinah, and is in the neighbourhood of al-Iuhfah<sup>1</sup>. On this, some of al-Sulayhi's companions called to him, saying: "Defend your life! for, by Allah! this is the well of al-Duhaym Ibn 'Isa, and this mosque is built on the spot where the tent of Umm Ma'bad Ibn al-Harith al-'Absi was situated. On hearing these words, he was seized with terror, and, despairing of his life, he remained fixed to the spot, where he was immediately slain with his brother and his family. Sa'id al-Ahwal then brought the army of al-Sulayhi under his own command and took possession of his kingdom. Sa'id was brother of the illustrious and eminent prince Jayyash: his father, the prince Najah, had been a slave to the prince Marjan, who himself had been a slave to Husayn Ibn Salamah; Husayn had been enfranchised by Rushd al-Ustad<sup>2</sup> the Abyssinian. These two, Husayn, and Rushd before him, ruled the kingdom with absolute authority, although they were only ostensibly vizirs in the service of the last prince of the Ziyadite family, the sovereigns of Yemen. Their pupil was son to Abu al-Jaysh Ishaq Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ziyad, and his name was 'Abd Allah; some say Ibrahim or Ziyad. It was in his reign that the Ziyadite dynasty was overthrown by Qays, who had been a slave to the Marjan above-mentioned. On the death of Abu al-Jaysh, his child was confided to the care of his (its) aunt and of Marjan, the enfranchised slave of Abu al-Jaysh: Marjan had two slaves, Abu Sa'id Najah and Qays, both of whom became independent of their master; Qays was governor of the capital<sup>3</sup> and Najah ruled the provinces of al-Kadra, the town of al-Mahjam, and other places. A jealousy sprung up between these two, for they both aspired to the vizirat; Qays was a perverse and wicked man, Najah was mild and just. The former, having suspected the aunt of the boy to be more favourably inclined to Najah than to him, made complaints against her and her nephew to his master Marjan, who, in consequence, seized on them both and delivered them up to their enemy Qays and he, headless of their supplications, immured them

---

Makkah to Madinah, stopped at the tent of the Umm Mabad 'Atika عاتكة and asked for food, but she had none to give them. On this Muhammad went to a sheep which was in the tent, and drew from it a great quantity of milk; this was the more extraordinary as that sheep was very old and had ceased to give any for some time before.-(*al-Nuwairi*, M.S. of the Leyden library).

1 *Al-Ustad (the master)*; a title given to eunuchs and tutors of young princes.

2 *The capital, or royal court* الحاضرة literally: The presence.

3 Literally: *Et fuit ex eo quod fuit*, he became what he became.



alive and in an upright position. They thus perished in A.H. 407 (A.C. 1016-17). Najah, on learning the circumstance, hastened to avenge their death. He waged war against Qays, who was defeated, lost his capital Zabid, and subsequently his life in a combat at the gate of that city; this was in A.H. 412 (A.C. 1021-2). Najah, having thus obtained possession of the metropolis, said to Marjan; "What have you done with your and my master and mistress?" "They are in that wall," he replied. Najah then had their bodies taken out, and prayed over them, and buried them in a chapel which he erected to receive them; as for Marjan, he immured him in their place till he died. Najah was poisoned at al-Kadra in A.H. 452 (A.C. 1060), by the treachery of a female slave whom he had received as a present from al-Sulayhi. After the death of Najah, al-sulayhi wrote, in the year 453, to al-Mustansir, the lord of Egypt, demanding authorisation to preach openly in favour of the Fatimite dynasty, and having received that permission, he proceeded (to assert al-Mustansir's authority). His subsequent adventures we may omit.<sup>1</sup> Let us return to al-Hajjaj; during his last illness he used to repeat the following verses. Which were composed by 'Obayd Ibn Sufyan al-'Ukli:

"O Lord! my enemies have sworn, nay sworn positively, that I am one of those who shall dwell in the fire (of hell). Is it (not) from blindness (of heart) that they swear? Unfortunate wretches! what opinion must they have of Him who has always shown mercy and forgiveness?"

He wrote also a letter to al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, informing him of his illness, and concluded it with these lines:

When I meet God and find favour with Him, therein shall be the joy of my soul. The eternity of God sufficeth me, and I therefore place not my hopes on mortals. Those who were before us have tasted of death, and after them we also shall taste it.

His malady was cancer in the stomach, for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a bit of meat to a string and passed it down his throat; after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it; God gave also a cold ague power over him, and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin, he felt them not. He complained of his sufferings to al-Hasan al-Basri, who made answer: "I forbade you to attack me of holiness, but you persisted! "O Hasan," replied al-Hajjaj, "I ask you not to

---

<sup>1</sup> They were governors of provinces, and had therefore the right of saying the *khotba* from the pulpit.

pray to God that he may deliver me from my pains; beg of Him only that He hasten to] take my soul from my body and terminate my tortures." Al-Hasan on this wept bitterly, and al-Hajjaj continued to suffer under his malady for fifteen days; he then expired, in the month of Ramadan, A.H. 95 (May or June, A.C. 714), (some say in Shawwal), at the age of fifty-three, or (which is more correct) fifty-four years. Al-Tabari says, in his great historical work, that al-Hajjaj died on Friday, 21 Ramadan, A.H. 95; and another historian relates that al-Hasan al-Basri, on learning his death, made aprostration in thanks giving to God, saying, "O my God! Thou hast caused him to die; let also his example die from among us. Al-Hajjaj was buried at Wasit, in which city he died; but his tomb was afterwards levelled to the ground and a current of water turned over it. May God pardon him! He once dreamt that his eyes had been plucked out, and he therefore divorced his wives, Hind the daughter of al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufrah, and Hind, the daughter of Asma, Ibn Kharjah; he hoped by that to fulfil his dream; in a short time, however, he received news that his brother Muhammad had died in Yemen, and that, on the same day, his own son Muhammad had died also, on which he said: "This, by Allah! is the fulfilment of my dream; Muhammad and Muhammad! in the same day! We belong to God and to Him we return! He then asked if there was any person who would recite him verses to console him, and al-Farazdaq pronounced the following:

"This misfortune has no misfortune equal to it! to lose such persons as Muhammad and Muhammad! princes who have left the pulpits<sup>1</sup> vacant (*and desolate*)! Death has seized upon them unawares."

His brother Muhammad died some days after the beginning of the month of Rajab, A.H. 91 (May, A.C. 710); he was then governor of the province of Yemen. Al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik sent a letter to al-Hajjaj, consoling him on the loss of his brother, and al-Hajjaj wrote to him in reply: "Commander of the faithful; I and Muhammad never met together during a long period but for one year; and in that absence I never had such hopes of seeing him soon, as I now have of meeting him again in a mansion where two sincere Muslims shall never be disunited." *Thaqafi* means belonging to *Thaqif*, a great and well-known tribe dwelling at Ta'if.

#### 145. AL-MUHASIBI

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Harith Ibn Asad al-Muhasibi, the famous

---

1 Taif; a well-known town lying to the south-east of Makkah.

ascetic and one of the men of the truth<sup>1</sup> drew his origin from a family which inhabited Basrah. He was one of those who possessed both the *science of the exterior and the science of the interior*<sup>2</sup>: he composed some ascetic and dogmatic treatises, and is author of the work (*on Sufism*) entitled *al-Ri'ayah (contemplation)*. Having inherited seventy thousand dirhems from his father, he refused, through religious scruples, to accept them; it is reported that his reason for this was, that his father professed the doctrine of man's free will, and that he made this observation: "The Tradition is authentic which informs us that Muhammad declared: *Persons of different religions cannot inherit, one from the other*:" and he died in want, not possessing a single dirhem. It is related that when he stretched forth his hand to partake of food the purity of which was doubtful, he would be warned from touching it by a pulsation in his finger. Being asked what was intelligence, he answered; "The light of the natural sentiment (*accompanied*) with experience, and which is increased and fortified by science and prudence." He used to say: "There are three things which we find not, beauty with continence, fair words with honesty, and friendship with sincerity." He died A.H. 243 (A.C. 857-8). Al-Sam'ani says that he was named *Muhasibi*, because he frequently called himself to an account for his actions (*yuhasib*). He says also that Ahmad Ibn Hanbal disliked him, and banished him, on account of his speculations in scholastic theology and his works on that subject, he was therefore obliged to seek concealment from public (*indignation*), and on his death, four persons only attended his funeral service. The anecdotes related of what took place between him and al-Junayd are well known.<sup>3</sup>

#### 146. ABU FIRAS AL-HAMDANI

Abu Firas al-Harith Ibn Abi al-'Ala Sa'id Ibn Hamdan Ibn Hamdun al-Hamdani was an uncle's son to Nasir al-Dawlat and Sayf al-Dawlat the sons of Hamdan: in the lives of these two princes, we

1 The man of the truth, the Sufis see note حقیقة No 140.

2 Reiske, in his *Annals* of Abu 'l-Fida, tom. II, p. 698, has translated the same passage; he renders it thus: "Qui simul conjuxit externi (civils) et interni (spiritualis) scientiam." The *science of the interior* means *sufism*, and that of the *exterior*, the ordinary branches of learning.

For further reference, vide *Ansab*, f. 509 b.

3 I have not been able to find any of these anecdotes in the manuscripts which I have consulted. They may probably be given in the *Hilyat al-Awliya*; but the copy of that work in the *Bib. du Roi* is incomplete.

shall give the rest of the genealogy. Al-Tha'alibi, in speaking of Abu Firas, says<sup>1</sup> 'The pearl of his time, the sun of his age in learning, talent, generosity, glory, eloquence, horsemanship, and bravery; his poetry is celebrated and current (*throughout the world*); it combines beauty, merit, ease, depth, softness, sublimity, and sweetness; with him were the brightness of genius, the impress of elegant taste, and the lustre of a princely race; qualities such as were never found before in any poet except 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Mi'tazz, but Abu Firas is considered superior to him by persons of the profession and by critics. The *Sahib* Ibn Abbad used to say: 'Poetry began with a prince and ended with one; meaning 'Imra al-Qays and Abu Firas. Al-Mutanabbi bore testimony to his superiority and pre-eminence; he avoided his contact<sup>2</sup>, neither did he proceed to cope with him nor dare to rival him; and his motive for omitting his praises when he celebrated those of all the rest of the Hamdan family was, to testify his respect for him and to honour him; his silence did not proceed from forgetfulness or contempt. Sayf al-Dawlat highly admired the excellent qualities of Abu Firas, and distinguished him above the rest of the family by the honours he conferred on him, as he took him with him on military expeditions, or left him as his lieutenant over his provinces." "In one of his engagements with the Greeks, Abu Firas was wounded by an arrow, the head of which remained in his thigh and he was made prisoner. They conducted him to *Kharshannah*, and from that to Constantinople; this occurred in A.H. 348 (A.C. 959-60), and in the year 355 he was redeemed from captivity by Sayf al-Dawlat." Such are the words of Abu T-Hasan 'Ali Ibn al-Zarrad al-Daylami; but in this, it is said, he is mistaken, for Abu Firas was made a prisoner twice; the first time at Magharat al-Kuhl in the year 348, but he was then not taken farther than *Kharshannah*, which is a fortress in the country of the Greeks (*Asia Minor*) and situated on the Euphrates;<sup>3</sup> it is said that, when in that fortress, he mounted his horse and spurred him from the top of the wall into the river, but God knows best: the second time that he was made a prisoner by the Greeks was at Manbij in the month of *Shawwal*, 351 (November, A.C. 962); they then took him to Constantinople, where he remained in captivity for four years. During his confinement, he composed a great deal of poetry, which is still extant in the collection

---

1 See the *Yatimah*, No. 1370, fol. 8.

2 Literally: *His side*. This seems to be analogous to the French expression; *Il ne se frota pas a lui*.

3 *Kharshannah*, the *Charisianum Castrum* of Cedrus. A great portion of Cappadocia bore this name. (See St. Martin's note in Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, t. XIII. p. 107.)

of his poems; he held the town of Manbej in fief (*from his cousin Sayf al-Dawlat*). The following verses are of his composition.

"It was from your supply that I drew my force; you were to me a helping hand and an arm in the days of distress! But I since received from you the reverse of my hopes, and a man my be surfeited with fair promises."<sup>1</sup>

By the same:

"She was cruel;<sup>2</sup> yet cruelty only increased my affection for that beloved object, who despite her conduct, shall always be beloved. Her calumniators summed up to me her faults, but can a fair face ever be in fault?"

By the same:

"I am inebriated with her looks, not with wine; the grace of her motions has removed sleep from my eyes. I am not overcome by the pure liquor of the grape, but by the charms of her neck; it is her perfections which subdued me, not wine. When she turns her cheeks away, she makes my resolution yield, and that which her robes cover has ravished away my heart"<sup>3</sup>

His poetry abounds with beauties. He was slain in a combat with some slaves belonging to his own family, in the year 357 (A.C. 967-8). I read in his *diwan*, the following piece which he addressed to his daughter when he was on the point of death:

"Grieve not, my dear girl! all mankind must depart (*this life*); lament me with sighs (*only*), and remain behind thy veil and the curtain of the (*harem*). Say to me, when I am too weak to answer: "The ornament of the youth, Abu Firas, has not enjoyed "youth to the last."

From this it would appear that he was not slain, or else that he lingered for some time of his wounds before he expired. It is related by Ibn Khalawayih that Abu Firas, on the death of Sayf al-Dawlat,

1 Literally: A man may be choked with cool, or refreshing water. These verses were addressed to Sayf al-Dawlat; apparently from Constantinople, where the author was in prison.

2 In these little piece and the one which follows, have substituted the feminine pronoun for the masculine. See my observation on this subject in the Introduction.

3 In the original language this piece is full of *jeux de mots*; which, in Arabic poetry and prose, are considered by rhetoricians as a great beauty.

resolved to take forcible possession of Emessa; but Sayf al-Dawlat, son, Abu T-Ma'ali, and his slave Qarghawayh received information of this project and sent troops to oppose him; (in the action which ensued) he was taken prisoner, after receiving a number of sabre wounds, and he died on the way (When they were bearing him off.) I have read in a collection of loose notes<sup>1</sup> that Abu Firas was slain on Wednesday, 8th of the latter Rabi; A.H. 357 (March, A.C. 968) at a farm called Sadad; and Thabit Ibn Sainan al-Sabi'i says in his history; "On Sunday 2 of the First Jumada, 357, a combat took place between Abu Firas, who was then established at Emessa, and Abu T-Ma'ali, son of Sayf al-Dawlat. The latter was victorious, and slew Abu Firas in the action; he carried away this head and left his body exposed in the plain, till a Desert Arab came, and shorounded it and buried it." Abu Firas was maternal uncle to Abu Ma'ali; when Sakhina, the mother of Abu Firas, was informed of his death, she tore out her eyes; by another account, it is stated that she struck her face with hands, and then tore out her eyes. It is said that he was slain by (Qarghawayh without Abu Ma'ali's knowledge, and that the latter was greatly shocked on learning his death. By one statement; the birth of Abu Firas is placed in A.H. 320 (A.C. 932), and by another, in 321<sup>2</sup>. His father Sa'id was murdered at Mosul in the month of Rajab, A.H. 323, by his nephew Nasir al-Dawlat, who caused his testicles to be pressed till death ensued. The history of this business would be long to relate, but the main point of it is this: The Government of Mosul and Diyar Bakr had been framed out secretly to Sa'id by the khalif al-Radi Billah; Sa'id proceeded thither with fifty mamluks (Ghulam), but on arriving he was arrested and put to death by Nasir al-Dawlat; and the khalif was highly displeased on learning the circumstance. *Kharshanah* is a city on the Syrian coast, belonging to the Greeks<sup>3</sup> *Qustantiniyah* (Constantinople) is one of the greatest cities belonging to the Greeks; it was built by *Qustantin* (Constantine), the first kind of that nation who became a Christian.

---

1 In Arabic, *Ta'liqah*. This word signifies notes taken during the lectures of a professor.

2 Some of the circumstance of Abu Firas's life may be found more fully related in Freytag's *Selecta ex historid Halebi*. Some of his poems are given in the *Yatimah* the most remarkable are his طردية or hunting pieces, and his روميه or pieces composed in the land of the Rum, or Greeks. The latter are full of complanits (like the *Tristia* of Ovid), and the author implores Sayf al-Dawlat, in the most pathetic terms, to pay his ransom and free him from captivity. The latter was not very prompt in acceding to the entreaties of Abu Firas, and for this the poet is continually upbraiding him.

3 This is not only in contradiction with what has been said above, but is also a gross mistake.

## 147. HARMALAH

Abu Hafs\* 'Abd Allah<sup>1</sup> Harmalah Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Harmalah Ibn 'Imran Ibn Qurad al-Tujibi al-Zumayli, was native of Misr. His ancestor Qurad was a slave to Salamah Ibn Makhrumah, who enfranchised him. Harmalah was one of al-Shafil's disciples, and the other disciples of that *imam* used to frequent him and profit by his knowledge. He was well informed in the Traditions and composed (on that subject) the works entitled the *Mabsut* (extensive) and the *Mukhtasar* (abridgement). Muslim Ibn al-Hajjaj cites his name very often in the *Sahih*<sup>2</sup> and gives some Traditions on his authority. Born A.H. 166 (A.C. 782-3): died at Misr on the eve of Thursday, 20 Shawwal, 243 (February, A.C. 858),<sup>3</sup> or, it is said, 244. - Tujibi is derived from Tujib, which is the name of a woman; her children were surnamed Tujibi after her; Zumayli means belonging to Zumayl, a branch of the tribe of Tujib. His great grandfather Harmalah Ibn 'Imran was born A.H. 80 (A.C. 699), and died in the month of Safar, A.H. 160 (A.C. 776).

## 148. AL-HASAN AL-BASRI

Abu Sa'id al-Hasan Ibn Abi'l-Hasan Yasar -al-Basri (*belonging to Basrah*) was one of the most eminent Tabi'is;<sup>3</sup> He possessed all the branches of science and was noted for self-mortification, fear of God, and devotion. His father was a slave who had been enfranchised by Zayd Ibn Thabit al-Ansari<sup>4</sup>, and his mother Kha'yrah was also a slave

1 Al-Yafi'i surnames him Abu Hafs.

2 This is a celebrate collection of Traditions.

3 See note (2) Author's Preface.

\* The autograph also gives his kunyah as Abu Hafs which was omitted in the text by M.de Slane.—Ed.

(For further reference, vide *Ansab* f. 103 b.)

# Correct date should be 21 Shawwal, 10 February, 852.—Ed.

4 Abu Sa'ad Zayd Ibn Thabit Ibn al-Dahhak al-Ansari (*one of Muhammad's Ansars or allies*) belonged to the tribe of Khazraj and was a native of Madinah. He died in that city, A.H. 54 (A.C. 673-4), Muhammad said to his followers: "The most learned among you in the laws of heritage is Zayd." Al-Sh'abi relates that Ibn 'Abbas once held the stirrup of Zayd Ibn Thabit, who said to him: "How! you, who are the uncle of the "Blessed Prophet, hold my stirrup?" "Yes" replied the other, "it is thus we do with the learned." The *khalifs* Umar and 'Uthman considered him without an equal as a judge,

belonging to Umm Salamah, one of the Prophet's wives. (*When he was a child*) it happened occasionally that his mother was kept away by some occupation, and Umm Salamah would give him the breast to prevent him crying and to and to quiet him till her return; to the blessed influence of that milk are attributed the wisdom and eloquence for which he was afterwards distinguished. Abu 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala' having said that the never heard persons speak with more purity and elegance than al-Hasan al-Basri and al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf, he was asked by some person which of the two was the better speaker, and replied that it was al-Hasan. Al-Hasan was brought up at Wadi al-Qura<sup>1</sup> and he was the handsomest person in Basrah till the accident which happened to his nose by a fall from a horse<sup>2</sup>. Al-Asma' relates that he heard his father say: "I never saw a man with broader wrists than Hasan, their breadth was a span." One of al-Hasan al-Basri's words was: "I never saw a certainty of which there is no doubt, bear a great resemblance to a doubtful thing of which there is no certainty, than death does." When 'Umar Ibn Hubairah<sup>3</sup> al-Fazari was appointed to the Government of Iraq in the reign of Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, A.H. 103 (A.C. 721-2), he called for al-Hasan al-Basri, Muhammad Ibn Sirin and al-Sha'bi, to whom he said: "Yaz'd is the *khalif* (*lieutenant*)\* of God, who has chosen him as his lieutenant over his servants and has imposed on them the obligation of obedience unto him he was also received my promise that I will hear and obey him; and he has now appointed me to what you see, and I receive from him written orders; must I obey him in whatever order he takes upon himself to give?" To this Ibn Sirin and al-Sha'bi gave a cautious reply, but al-Hasan al-Basri, being asked his opinion, made this answer: "O Ibn Hubairah! God outweighs Yazid and Yazid cannot outweigh God, God can defend thee Yazid and Yazid cannot

---

a jurisconsult, a calculator in the division of inheritances, and a reader of the *Qur'an*. Some of the chief *Tabi'is* profited by his lessons. He was one of those who wrote down the portions of the *Qur'an* dictated by Muhammad, and he acted afterwards as secretary to the *khalifs* Abu Bakr and 'Umar. When 'Umar made the pilgrimage, he left Zayd Ibn Thabit as lieutenant, and 'Uthman did the same; he was guardian of the public treasury under 'Uthman. Great numbers of the *Companions* and *Tabi'is* taught Traditions on his authority.-(*Tab. al Fuqaha*, f. 3).

1 Wadi al-Qura, a celebrated valley often mentioned by poets, lies at a short distance to the north of Madinah.

2 Literally: From his beast; so it may have been either a horse, an ass, a mule, or a camel, which he was riding when he met with the accident. The precise nature of this accident I have not discovered.

3 See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomatinic*, t. II, p. 293.

\* Vice-gerent is a better word.--Ed.



defend thee from God! He will soon send an angel to take thee from thy throne and send thee from the width of thy palace into the narrowness of the tomb! then thy deeds alone can save thee. (*Reflect.*) O Ibn Hubairah! if thou ever actest in disobedience to God, that he hath only established this *sultan* (*civil power*) for the protection of his religion and his worshippers. Confound not then the civil power established by God with his religion; for no obedience is due to a creature which disobeys its Creator." Ibn Hubairah then rewarded them, but bestowed a double recompence on al-Hasan al-basri; upon which al-Sha'bi said to Ibn Sirin: We give him a poor answer, and he gave us a poor reward." Al-Hasan saw one day a handsome man of fine appearance, and on asking about him, was informed that he was a jester to persons in high rank, and was favoured with their friendship; on which he observed that he was clever fellow<sup>1</sup>, and that he never saw any one but him seek to obtain fortune by means of a thing which resembled her.<sup>2</sup> [His mother was (*by profession*) a storyteller to the women; he went into her house one day and found her eating an onion which she had in her hand: "Throw away that nasty weed, mother!" said he. "O my son" she replied, "you are old and advanced in years, and you dote sometimes." "To which he retorted: "Mother, which of us is the elder?"] Most of his phrases were maxims of wisdom and models of elegance. His father was one of the prisoners taken at Maysan<sup>3</sup> in Iraq. The birth of al-Hasan took place at Madinah two years before the death of the *Khalif* 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, and it is said that he was born a slave; he died at Basrah

---

1 Literally: His father belongs to God! A common mode of expressing admiration.

2 He meant a fair face, which deceive expectation.

3 "Maysan; an extensive tract of country covered with villages and datetrees lying between Basrah and Wasit. Its chief town is Maysan."—(*Marasid*.) Maysan was taken by Khalid Ibn al-Walid, in the *khalifat* of Abu Bakr, A.H. 12. Al-Dhahbi says, in his *Annals* under the year 12: "On the termination of the war with the apostate Arabs, Abu Bakr sent Khalid Ibn al-Walid into the land of Basrah, which was then called the land of al-Hind (*or India*). Khalid proceeded therefore with his troops from al-Yamamah and having entered the land of Basrah he stormed al-Aykah الايك and then penetrated into Maysan, where he plundered and carried off prisoners the people of the villages; he then went towards al-Sawad, etc." MS. No. 626, fol. 117 verso.) Al-Tabari calls al-Hasan al-Basri's father, Habib, and notices the circumstance of his capture. See Kosegartens *Annals* of al-Tabari, tom. II, p. 21.

\* October—Ed.

From "His funeral" to "death did occur page 168 not in the autograph.—Ed.

on the 1 Rajab, 110 A.H. (October, A.C. 728#). [His funeral was most remarkable; Hamid al-Tawil<sup>1</sup> gives the following account (*of it*): "Al-Hasan died on a Thursday evening; the next morning, Friday having finished the requisite ceremonies with the corpse, we bore it off, after the Friday prayer, and we buried it. All the people followed the funeral and were so taken up with it, that no afternoon prayer was said that day in the mosque, for none remained in it to pray; this, I believe, was till then unexampled in Islamism." When al-Hasan was on the point of death, he had a fainting fit, and he said, on coming to himself: "You have awaked me out of *gardens and fountains and honourable place*"<sup>2</sup> Before the death of al-Hasan, a man related to Ibn Sirin that he had a dream in which he saw a bird carry away the finest pebble of the mosque. "Your dream is true," said Ibn Sirin, "it is al-Hasan who is to die;" and a very short time after-wards his death did occur]. Ibn Sirin was not present at his funeral, on account of something which had passed between them; and he survived him one hundred days only. Al-Sam'ani says that Maysan is a village below Basrah.

#### 149. ABU 'ALI AL-ZAFARANI

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Sabbah al-Za'farani, was one of al-Shafi'i's disciples. He attained an eminent rank as a doctor of the law and the Traditions, on which subjects he composed some works, and he acquired an extensive reputation. Having studied with assiduity under al-Shafi'i he became profoundly learned, and he used to say: "The Traditionists were sleeping till al-Shafi'i awoke them; and not a person wears an inkhorn but is under obligations to al-Shafi'i!"<sup>3</sup> His duty was (*at the school*) to read aloud the works of al-Shafi'i in his presence.<sup>4</sup> He learned Traditions from Sufyan Ibn 'Uyaynah and other of the same epoch, such as Waki'

# From "His mother" to "is the elder" not in the autograph.—Ed.

1 See note (1) No. 80.

2 *Qur'an*: surat 26, verses 57 and 58.

For further reference, vide *Tahdhib* vol. II, p. 263, No. 488 and for mother, see *Tahdhib*, vol. II, p. 416 No. 2784.—Ed.

3 These last words were said not by al-Zafarani, but by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal.

4 This was very usual; the student who had made the most progress, read the book aloud, and, as he proceeded, the master made his observations and explained difficulties; these remarks were immediately written down by the rest of the class, and formed *ta'liqahs*.

Ibn al-Jarrah<sup>1</sup>, 'Amr Ibn al-Haytham, Yazid Ibn Harun,<sup>2</sup> etc. He was one of the four persons who handed down the *ancient sayings*<sup>3</sup> taught by al-Shafi'i the others were Abu Thaur, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, and al-Karabisi. The traditionists of the *modern sayings* were six, namely: al-Muzani, al-Rabi' Ibn Sulayman al-Jizi, al-Rabi' al-Muradi, al-Buwayti, Harmalah, and Yunus Ibn 'Abd al-A'la; the lives of some of these doctors have been already given, and mention shall be made of the others hereafter. Al-Bukhari, in his *Sahih*, gives some Traditions on the authority of al-Za'farani, and he is quoted also by Abu Dawud al-Sijistani, al-Tirmidhi, and others. He died on the last day of the month of Sha'ban, A.H. 260 (June, A.C. 874), or in the month of Ramadan, according to Ibn Qani<sup>4</sup> but al-Sam'ani, in his *Ansab*, places

1 Abu Sufayan Waki' Ibn al-Jarrah Ibn 'Adi Ibn Malth, a descendant from the tribe of 'Amir Ibn Sa'sa'ah, a skilful jurisconsult, a Traditionist, and a man of learning, was born in A.H. 129 (A.C. 746-7) at Kufah where his father was keeper of the public treasury. Abu Hanifah was one of the masters under whom he studied; he profited greatly by that imam's tuition, and followed his doctrines in giving *fatwas*, or opinions on points of law. He made the pilgrimage to Makkah seventy times, and on returning from the last, he died at Fayd, a town in Arabia, half-way between Makkah and Kufah, in A.H. 197 (A.C. 812-3). He was remarkable for his mildness and liberality. (*Mirat al-Zaman*, MS. No. 640, fol. 18 verso.)

2 Abu Khalid Yazid Ibn Harun Ibn Dawud Ibn Thabit al-Wasiti (*belonging to Wasit*) was descended from a native of Bukhara, who had been a slave to the tribe of Sulaym and was afterwards enfranchised. Yazid was a man of learning, merit and piety; a *hafiz*, a jurisconsult, and a Traditionist. It was at Baghdad that he taught the Traditions, of which he knew by heart thirty thousand. The esteem in which he was held may be judged from the fact, that through dread of his opposition, the *khalif* al-Mamun hesitated for some time before asserting his favourite opinion, that the *Qur'an* was created; this heretical doctrine was strenuously opposed by Yazid. He was born A.H. 118 (A.C. 736), and died in 206 (A.C. 821-2) (*Mirat al-Zaman*, fol. 54.)

3 Science writing the note on the ancient sayings taught by al-Shafi'i (see No. 1), I have observed that mention is made, in the *Tabaqat al-Fuqaha*, of some works by him, apparently on the same subject. Al-Uthmani, the author of the *Tabaqat*, says: "Al-Shafi'i composed in Iraq his ancient book كتاب القديم "which he entitled *al-Hujjah* (the proof). He then went to Egypt, in A.H. 199, and composed there his new of modern books." (MS. No. 755, fol. 24.) Of the latter, Hajji Khalifah does not speak, but from what he says of the *Hujjah*, it was probably a work of jurisprudence; it may be, therefore, that these ancient sayings were decisions of sentence pronounced on points of law by the Companions of Muhammad, and the modern ones were similar decisions given by the succeeding *imam* and *muftis*. See the life of al-Shafi'i in this work.

4 The *hafiz* Abu 'l-Hasayn 'Abd al-Baqi Ibn Qani' Ibn Marzuq Ibn

(Cont. on page 167)

his death in the month of the latter Rabi', 269 A.H. *Za'farani* is derived from *al-Za'faraniyah* (the saffron-field), which is the name of a village near Baghdad. The *Za'farani* street, in that city, was so called because this doctor had dwelt in it; Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi says, in his *Tabaqat al-Fuqaha*; "And there, in the *Za'farani* street, is the mosque of al-Shafi'i in which I formerly studied."

## 150. AL-ISTAKHRI

Abu Sa'id al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yazid 'Isa Ibn al-Fadi al-Istakhri a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i, was a rival (in talent) to Abu al-Abbas Ibn Surayj<sup>1</sup> and a contemporary (also) of Ibn Abi Hurayrah. He is author of some good works on Jurisprudence, among other, the *Kitab al-Aqdiyyah* (book of legal decisions)<sup>2</sup>. He was *Qadi* at Qumm<sup>3</sup>, and he filled the office of *muhtasib*<sup>4</sup> at Baghdad. His piety and abstinence were great; having been appointed *qadi* of Sijistan by (the *khalif*) al-Muqtadir, he proceeded thither and examined into the marriages contracted by the people of that province; and on finding that, in most of them, the prohibited degrees of relationship had been neglected, he annulled them all. He was born A.H. 244 (A.C. 858-9), and died on Friday, 12th or 14th of the latter Jumada,

---

Wathiq, a client by enfranchisement of the Omayyide family and a native of Baghdad, was born in the year 265 (A.C. 878-9). He learned the Traditions from the most eminent masters of that age, and composed a *Mu'jam al-Sahabat*, or biographical list of Muhammad's companions. His exactitude was not, however, generally admitted, and al-Daraqutni declare that, as a *hafiz*, he committed frequent mistakes. In the last years of his life, his mental faculties were deranged. Died in the month of *Shawwal*, A.H. 351 (November, A.C. 962). Al-Dhahabi's *Annals*, MS. No. 646) Ibn Khallikan cites occasionally an historical work by Ibn Qani' drawn up in the form of *Annals*.

249, A. H. according to the autograph.--Ed.

1 "Abu Ishaq al-Marwazi said: 'When I entered Baghdad there were none in that city worth studying under, except Ibn Surayj and al-Istakhri.'" (*Tab al-Shaf*, fol. 9.)

2 "Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi says, in his *Tabaqat*, that al-Istakhri wrote a large volume on the duties of a *Qadi*; a good work." (*Tab al-Shaf*.)

3 Qumm, a town in Iraq 'Ajami to the south of Teheran.

4 The *Muhtasib* was the magistrate charged with the civil police of the city; he inspected the provisions, weights and measures, suppressed nuisances, etc. In M. de Hammer's *Loederverwaltung*, page 148, will be found an excellent chapter on the subject.

A.H. 328 (March, A.C. 940)\* some say that his death took place in the month of Shā'ban. Istakhri means *native of Istakhar*, a town in Persia which has produced a number of men eminent for learning. It is stated also that the relative adjective derived from Istakhar assumes sometimes a final z and becomes Istakharzi; this is analogous to the formation of Marwazi and Razi, derived from Marwa and Ray.

#### 151. IBN ABI HURAYRAH

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Abi Hurayrah a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i learned jurisprudence from Abu 'I-'Abbas Ibn Surayj and Abu Ishaq al-Marwazi. (*In his lessons*) he explained al-Muzani's Mukhtasir, and this explanation was taken down in writing<sup>1</sup> by Abu 'Ali al-Tabari. He composed some treatises on the secondary points of jurisprudence, and he gave lessons in Baghdad to a great number of students. He became the *imam* (or *president*) of the Shafites in Arabian and Persian Iraq, and continued to be highly respected, both by princes and by subjects, till he died in the month of Rajab, A.H. 345 (A.C. 956-7).

#### 152. ABU 'ALI AL-TABARI.

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn al-Qasim al-Tabari, a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i learned jurisprudence from Ibn Abi Hurayrah (*whose life has been just given*), and drew up, from the remarks made by that master during his lessons, the work which is entitled Ta'liqat al-Tabari.<sup>2</sup> He inhabited Baghdad, where he became professor on the death of Ibn Abi Hurayrah and wrote a number of works, such as the Muharrar fi 'l-Nazar (*the written treatise on disquisition*), which was the first work composed on the science of controversy in the abstract; the Ifsah (*exposition*), a treatise on law; a voluminous work on the 'iddat<sup>3</sup> in ten parts; a treatise on dialectics, and one on the main points

\* Friday fell on 27 March corresponding to 14 Jamadi al-Thani.--Ed.

(For further reference, vide *Ansab*, f. 41 b, where al-Istakhri's full genealogy is traced)--Ed.

1 Or else: Was taken down in the form of a *ta'liqah* etc. See No. 25, note on *ta'liqah* No. 149 and note on *ta'liqah*.

2 The meaning of the word *ta'liqah* explained in note on *ta'liqah* No. 25, and note on *ta'liqah* No. 149.

3 The 'iddat denotes a certain period of time which must elapse before

of the law. He died at Baghdad, A.H. 305 (A.C. 917-8). *Tabari* means *native of Taberestan*, an extensive province containing a great number of towns, the largest of which is 'Amul: this country has produced many learned men. As for *Tabrani*, it means *native of Tiberias*, a town in Syria; of this we shall speak again in its proper place. I have found in some works containing lists of jurisconsults and their biographies, that the real name of Abu 'Ali 'I-Tabari was *Al-Hasan*, as here given, but I perceive that the *Khatib*, in his *History of Baghdad*, places him among the Husayns.

### 153. ABU 'ALI 'L-FARIQI.

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn 'Ali Ibn Barhan<sup>1</sup> al-Fariqi<sup>2</sup> was a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i. He commenced his studies at Mayyafariqin under Abu 'Abd Allah -al-Kazruni<sup>3</sup>, on whose death he proceeded to Baghdad, where he took lessons from Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi, the author of the *Muhammadhab*, and Abu Nasr Ibn al-Sabbagh, the author of the *Shamil*. He then filled the place of qadi in the city of Wasit and it is related by the *hafiz* al-Silafi that when he was at Wasit, he asked *Khamis* Ibn 'Ali al-Huzi<sup>4</sup> about a number of persons, and among the rest, Abu 'Ali al-Fariqi, and obtained this answer: "He is pre-eminent as a jurisconsult and succeeded Abu Taghlib as qadi; his intelligence, justice, and excellent administration surpassed every expectation." He learned Traditions from Abu Bakr the *khatib* and others of the same period, and led a mortified and devout life. He is author of a work entitled *al-Fawa'id*, etc. (*notes on the Muhammadhab*),

a widow or a divorced woman can legally contract a new marriage. (See Hamilton's *Hedayah* vol. I. p. 359, and D'Ohsson's *Emp. Othom.* tom. v. p. 238.

1 Not *Burhun*, as marked by error in the Arabic text.

2 *Al-Fariqi* means *native of Mayyafariqin*.

The Cairo edition (1949) gives *Burhun*; the autograph has *Ed*.

3 The *imam* Abu 'Abd Allah Mahammad Ibn Bayyan al-Kazruni, a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i studied under al-Muhamili<sup>1</sup> and had afterwards for pupils Nasr al-Maqdisi, Abu Bakr al-Shashi, Abu 'Ali 'I-Fariqi, Abu 'I-Mahasin al-Ruyiani and others. He composed a work on jurisprudence, entitled *al-Ibanat* and died A.H. 455 (A. C. 1063)--(*Tab. al-Shaf Tab al-Fuq.*) In these works, his name is spelled *al-Kazruni*, and not *al-Kazrawani* as in the MSS. of Ibn *Khallikan*.

4 Abu 'I-Karam *Khamis* Ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad, a celebrated *hafiz* and Traditionist of Wasit, was a man of learning veracity, and deep acquaintance with Arabic philology. Born A.H. 442 (A.C. 1050--1); died A. H. 501 (A. C. 1107--8). (*Tabaqat al-Huffaz.*)

and Ibn Abi 'Asrun was taught Traditions by him. He gave his lessons out of the *Shamil*, and continued to do so till his death, which took place at Wasit on Wednesday, 22nd Muharram A.H. 528 (November, A.C. 1133)\*. He was interred in the mosque where he taught. Born at Mayyafariqin in the latter Rabi A.H. 433 (December, A.C. 1041).

#### 154. IBN AL-MARZUBAN AL-QADI AL-SIRAFI

Abu Sa'id al-Hasan Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Marzuban al-Sirafi, surnamed al-Qadi (*the Qadi*) was grammarian and an inhabitant of Baghdad, where he acted as deputy of the *Qadi* Abu Muhammad Ibn Ma'ruf.<sup>1</sup> He possessed a superior acquaintance with the system of grammar adopted by the learned men of Basrah<sup>2</sup> and he made a very good commentary on the grammar of Sibawayh; he composed also the following works: a treatise on the *alif* of union and the *alif* of separation<sup>3</sup>; a history of the Basrah grammarians; a work on the final pause and the commencement of phrases<sup>4</sup> كتاب الوقف البلاد a treatise on the art of poetry كتاب صفته الشفر البلاد and eloquence; and a commentary on Ibn Durayd's *Maqsurah*. He learned the reading

\* 22 November.—Ed.

In autograph it is *al-Kazruni*.—Ed.

1 Abu Muhammad 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ma'ruf was *qadi 'I-qudut* (*grand qadi*) of Baghdad. He died in the month of Safar, A.H. 381 (A.C. 991).—MS. No. 634, fol. 127.)

2 On the conquest of Syria and Persia by the Muslims, a number of Muhammad's companions settled at Kufah, Basrah, Mada'in, and other cities in those countries; imbued with the doctrines of Islamism and accustomed to the practical application of the law under the direction of the Prophet, they were considered as the surest guides in the interpretation of *Qur'an*. That book, composed avowedly in the purest Arabic, offered many difficulties to those who were not acquainted with the idiom of the Desert Arabs, a race who alone spoke the language in its perfection. The study of the ancient poets was therefore considered as necessary for the intelligence of the *Qur'an*; and their poems, often obscure from the intricacy of their construction and their absolute terms, required the assistance of grammatical analysis and philology to render them comprehensible. It was particularly at Basarah and Kufah that the culture of these incidental branches of Islamic knowledge was pursued with success, and led to the development, in each city, of a system of *Qur'anic* reading and interpretation, and grammatical analysis, differing in some points from that taught in the other. They varied even in their manner of reading the ancient poems, and the suppressions, additions, and variations peculiar to each school produced two distinct editions of all the anteislamic poets.

3 See M. De Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, t. I. p. 66.

4 See *Grammaire*, t. I. p. 74.

of *Qur'an*<sup>1</sup> from Abu Bakr Ibn Mujahid, philology from Ibn Durayd, and grammar from Abu Bakr Ibn al-Sarraj. He himself had many pupils and gave lessons on a variety of subjects such as the *Qur'an* and its readings, the sciences connected with the *Qur'an*,<sup>2</sup> grammar, philology, jurisprudence, the rules for the sharing of inherited property, arithmetic, metaphysics, poetry, prosody, and rhyme. He was retired and holy in his life, virtuous in his conduct, and gifted with the noblest qualities of mind. In his religious opinions he was a Mutazelite, but did not let it appear, and he supported himself wholly by the labour of his hands, copying books for his livelihood. His father was a Magian and his real name was Behzad, but the said Abu Sai'd his son changed it into 'Abd Allah. He used often to recite these lines in the presence of his assembled auditors:

Seek a calm retreat where you may taste of joy; time passed away, and you will remain companionless. You place your hopes on tomorrow, but tomorrow is like an animal in pregnancy: none knows what it may bring forth.

He and Abu 'I-Faraj al-Ispahani, the author of the *Aghani* were on ill terms through jealousy, as is usually the case with men of talent; and Abu 'I-Faraj composed on him the following verses:

You hold not the first rank, neither did the master under whom you studied; and useless is the stunted flow of your learning. May God curse such grammar, poetry, and prosody as comes from Siraf.

He died at Baghdad on Monday, 2nd of Rajab, A.H. 368 (February, A.C. 979)\*, at the age of eighty four years, and was buried in the cemetery of al-Khayzuran. The following statement was made by his son Abu Muhammad Yusuf: "My father's family inhabited Siraf; he was born in that city, and it was there that he commenced his studies. He was under twenty years of age when he went to 'Uman, where he applied his mind to jurisprudence. He then returned to Siraf and afterwards proceeded to 'Askar Mukram, where he stopped with Abu Muhammad Ibn 'Umar the (*Mutazilite*) Metaphysician, who gave him an honourable reception and showed him a marked preference above his other disciples. He then went to Baghdad and acted as deputy to the qadi Abu Muhammad Ibn Ma'ruf first in that part of the city which lies on the east bank of the Tigris, and afterwards in both divisions".--Sirafi is derived from

1 See No. 68, note on *seven qir'ats*.

2 See Flugel's *Hajji Khalifah*, t. I. p. 37.

\* Sunday fell on 17 Rabi' al-Awwal corresponding to 17 July, while 17 Rabi' al-Thani fell on Tuesday 16 August.--Ed.



Siraf, the name of a city on the sea-coast of Persia, near Kirman; this city has produced a number of learned men. In the life of Yusuf, the son of al-Sirafi, we shall give some additional information respecting Siraf.

#### 155. ABU 'ALI 'L-FARISI

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulayman Ibn Aban al-Farisi, the first grammarian of his time, was born in the town of Fasa and went, in the year 307 (A.C. 919-20), to Baghdada, where he made his studies. He travelled over many countries and stopped for some time with Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Hamdan at Aleppo, to whom he had been presented in A.H. 341 (A.C. 952-3); he had there some conferences with al-Mu'tanabbi. From that he proceeded to Fars, where he was admitted into the society of 'Adud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, and gained his favour and esteem to a high degree; so much so, that 'Adud al-Dawlah said: "In grammar I am the humble servant of Abu 'Ali 'l-Fasawi." Abu 'Ali composed for that prince his grammatical works, the *'Idah* (illustration) and the *Takmilah* (supplement); the history of this circumstance is well known<sup>1</sup>. It is related that he was one day playing at mall<sup>2</sup> with 'Adud al-Dawlah in the Maydan (hippodrome) of Shiraz, and was asked by him why the *exception* is put in the accusative in this expression: *The people came except Zayd* (*venit populus si non Zeidum*)? To which he replied: "It is governed in the accusative by a verb-understood." "How," said Adud al-Dawlah, "is the ellipsis to be filled up?" "Thus," replied Abu 'Ali; "*I except Zayd*." "Why not put it in the nominative," observed the prince and fill the ellipsis thus: *Zayrd kept back* (*abstinuit Zeidus*)?" Abu Ali was silenced by this remark, and at last said: "This is a game of give and take<sup>3</sup>." When he returned home he composed on this subject a treatise, which obtained 'Adud al-Dawlah's approbation; and he mentions, in his *'Idah*, that the *exception* is governed in the accusative by the verb which precedes (*by the verb came*), in consequence of its corroboration by the word *except*.- It is related by Abu 'l-Qasim Ibn Ahmad al-Andalusi (*native of Spain*), that (*at a society*) where he and Abu Ali were present, the conversation fell upon poetry, and Abu Ali said: I envy the faculty of making

1 Have not as yet found any relation of it.

2 Literally: *Racing*.

3 Literally: That answer is hippodromic. He meant that, as the advantages of each adversary are alternate in a well-played game of mall, so it was in the grammatical contest.

verses; as for me, my genius is not favourable to it, although, I am well acquainted with all the sciences which form the basis of poetry." A person then asked him if he had never composed verses, to which he replied: "I know or three verses only made by me; they were composed on gray hair, and run thus:

"I dyed my gray hairs because they were a subject of reproach; but it is rather the dyeing of gray hairs which should deserve reproaches. I did it not through apprehension of being abandoned by my beloved, and it was not censure or reproaches which I dreaded; but because gray hair are blamable, I dyed them as a punishment."

Abu 'Ali cites the following verse of Abu Tammam's as an example of a rule given by him in his *'Idah*, in the chapter which treats of the verb -ud- (*to be*). "He, of whose resolutions and intentions the meadow of vain desire is the pastureground, will ever remain poor."

On this it has been remarked that he did not cite the verse because Abu Tammam was an author whose compositions might be quoted as authorities, but because 'Adud al-Dawlah liked it and fond of repeating it. Abu 'Ali 'I-Farisi is author of the following works: The *Tadhkirah* (*remembrance*), a large volume; a treatise on the short and the long *Alif* the *Hujjah* (*proof*) on reading of the *Qur'an*<sup>2</sup> the *Aghfal* (*negligences*), treating of the omissions made by al-Zajaj in his *Ma'ani*; the Hundred Agents (*or governing parts of speech*); Questions discussed at Aleppo, Baghdad, Shiraz, and Basrah, each forming a separate work; Questions discussed at Conferences, etc.--In the year 648 (A.C. 1250), I was at Cairo, and I had a dream<sup>3</sup> in which, methought, I went out to the village of Qalyub and there entered a funeral chapel. I found it to be an old building discoloured with (*the*) dust (*of age*), and in it I met three persons who were stopping there from religious motives.<sup>4</sup> As I admired the beauty of the edifice and the solidity of its construction, I said to them: "By whom was this erected<sup>5</sup>?" but they could not inform me, and afterwards one of them said that the *Shaykh* Abu 'Ali 'I-Farisi had sojourned in that chapel for many years; we then had a conversation about him, in

1 See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, t. I. pp. 60, 64.

2 See No. 68, note on *seven qir'ats*.

3 See No. 19 note on *dreams*.

4 In Arabic, *Mujawirun* the *Mujawirat* means a religious retreat or residence at a mosque or a chapel built over the tomb of a holy man.

5 Literally; *Vide* (*aut quæso*) *eajus constructio* (est) hac?

the course of which, the person with whom I was speaking said: "And with his other talents, he possessed that of poetry;" to which I replied: I never met any of his poetry."—"I shall recite to you some of it: said he, and he then, with a sweet voice, pronounced three verses, When he had ended, I awoke, and the charming sound of his voice still rung in my ears, but the last verse alone remained in my recollection; it was as follows:

"People in prosperity are pleased with no one; what must they be when they suffer affliction or afflict others?"

To conclude, his merits are too well known to be mentioned or enumerate, (*but*) he was suspected of being a *Mutazilite*<sup>1</sup>. He was born in A.H. 288 (A.C. 901) and died at Baghdad on Sunday, the 17th of the latter Rabi (some say of the first), A.H. 377 (August, A.C. 987): he was interred in the cemetery called the *Shunizi*. *Fasawi* is derived from Fasa, which is the name of a city in the province of Fars; we have already spoken of it in the life of al-Basasiri<sup>2</sup>. *Qalyub* is a little village with numerous gardens, at two or three parasangs' distance from Cairo.

#### 156. ABU AHMAD AL-'ASKARI

Abu Ahmad al-Hasan Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'id al-'Askari, one of the great masters in general literature and a *hafiz*<sup>3</sup> of the first rank, was a narrator of historical facts and anecdotes; he taught also from memory a great quantity of ancient poetry.

Among the instructive works composed by him, is the voluminous compilation entitled the *Kitab al-Tashif* (*book of logogriphes*)<sup>4</sup>. The *Sahib* Ibn 'Abbad wished to see him, and not finding any other means of meeting him, he represented to Muwayyad al Dawlat Ibn Buwayh, the prince in whose service he acted as vizir, that the affairs of 'Askar Mukram had got into disorder, and that his (*vizir's*) presence was necessary to set them right; and by this statement, he obtained his sovereign's authorisation to proceed to that city. He had hoped that (*on his arrival*) Abu Ahmad would wait upon him, but, being disappointed in this expectation, he wrote him the following lines:

1 See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Arab.*

2 See No. 78.

3 See No. 27. note *Hafiz*.

4 Flugel's *Hajji Khalifah*, t. II, p. 301.

"When you refused to visit us and said: 'I am weak and cannot bear the trot of the camel;' We came from a distant land to visit you, and many were the nights we halted, at stations of which some had been already frequented, and others never before. We now ask you if there be good cheer for your guest; we mean not well filled dishes; we wish only to fill our eyes (*with your presence*)."

To those verses were joined some lines in prose, and abu Ahmad, in his answer, replied to the prose with prose and to the poetry with this well-known verse:

"I resolve on doing a determined act, had I force enough; but the wild ass is prevented from making his spring."<sup>1</sup>

When the *Sahib* read the answer, he was astonished at the appropriateness of the verse to his own case<sup>2</sup> and exclaimed: "By Allah! had I known that he would have thought of this verse, I should have written those I sent to him in a different rhyme."

The verse itself is by Sakhr Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Sharid, brother of (*the poetess*) al-Khansa, and belongs to a celebrated piece composed by him under the following circumstance: He was present at a combat against the tribe of Asad, and received a spearwound from Rabi'ah Ibn Thawr al-Asadi, and some of the rings which formed his coat of mail were driven into his side by the force of the blow; during the space of a year he continued most dangerously ill, and was attended by his mother and his wife Sulaymah. Sulaymah, however, got tired of him, and said to a woman who asked her how her husband was: "He is not alive so as to give hopes; neither is he dead, so as to be forgotten." These words were overheard by Sakhr, who said:

"I see that the mother of Sakhr is not fatigued with attending me, but Sulaymah dislikes my couch and my presence. I had never apprehended being irksome to thee, (*O Sulaymah*) but who has (*not*) been deceived by fortune! By my life! you have awakened one that step, and caused one to hear that had two ears. Is there a man who showed his wife the same affection which he showed his mother? that man must have led a life of misery and contempt. I resolve on doing a determined act, had I force enough; but the wild ass is

---

1 The poem from which this verse is taken, is in the same measure and rhyme as the lines written by the *Sahib*.

2 This verse was often cited sarcastically to persons who met with a disappointment when they least expected it.

prevented from making his spring.<sup>1</sup> Death is better than a life of (of suffering), in which the couch of the chieftain is (painful) as the point of the spear."<sup>2</sup>

Abu Ahmad al-'Askari was born on Thursday, 16th Shawwal, 293 (August, A.C. 906), and died on Friday, the 7th of Dhu al-Hijjah, 382 (February, A.C. 993). He studied under Ibn Durayd, and composed the following works: *al-Mukhtalif wa 'I-Mutalif* (the dissimilar and similar)<sup>3</sup>; a treatise on the Science of Logic; Maxims, and Proverbs; on Auguries, etc. - 'Askari is derived from 'Askar; there are a number of places bearing this name, but the best known is 'Askar Mukram (Mukram's camp), a city in the province of Ahwaz: the Mukram whose name it bears is Mukram al-Bahili, its founder.<sup>4</sup> Abu Ahmad was a native of this place. In another part of this work we shall notice the relative adjective 'Askari with a different derivation.

### 157. IBN RASHIQ AL-QAYRAWANI

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Rashīq surnamed al-Qayrawani (the native of Qayrawan)<sup>5</sup>, was a writer distinguished for his talents and eloquence, and the author of the following fine works: The 'Umadah, or column, on the art of poetry, and poetical criticism; the *Anmudhaj* (specimen)<sup>6</sup>, and a collection of elegant epistles and poetry. Ibn Bassam

---

1 He intended to kill his wife, but was unable to rise. See Freytag's *Meidani*, Vol. II, p. 251.

2 Literally: Then a life like the *bivouac* of a chieftain on the head of a lance. A similar idea is expressed by Imrau 'I-Qays is one of his poems; see *Diwan d' Amro 'I-Kais*, p. 28, line 7.

3 This appears to be a sort of gazetteer, in which are indicated the different palces bearing the same name.

4 See no. 62.

5 He was probably so named to distinguish him from Ibn Rashīq al-Katib, Abu'l-Abbas Ahmad, who studied at Cordova, and attained eminence by his knowledge of general literature, jurisprudence, and Traditions. He was highly patronised by Abu 'I-Jaysh Mujahid Ibn 'Abd Allah al-'Amiri, who appointed him governor of the isle of Majorca, in which place he acted with exemplary justice. He died at an advanced age, a short time posterior to A.H. 440 (A.C. 1049). His epistles were collected and published. *Al-Hillat al-Siyarah*, p. 69.

6 This is a philological work; see Flüge's *Hajji Khalifah*, No. 1392. He composed also a history of Qayrawan, often quoted by historians; this work is also noticed by Hajji *Khalifah*, see No. 2285.

says of him, in the *Dhakhirah*: "I have been informed that he was born at Masilah, where he studied for a short time, and then in A.H. 406, removed to Qayrawan." Another historian says that he was born in 390 (A.C. 1000), at Mahdiyyah, and that his father was a Greek *mamluk* (*white slave*), a client of the tribe of Azd. Ibn Rashīq died A.H. 463 (A.C. 1070-1); his father was a goldsmith in the town of Muhammadiyah<sup>1</sup>, and instructed him in the same art. After studying belles-lettres at Muhammadiyah, he began to compose poetry, and conceived a strong desire to augment that talent and meet with literary men; he, in consequence, proceeded to Qayrawan, where he got into reputation, and composed poems in honour of the ruling prince (*al-Mu'izz Ibn Badis*), who attached him to his service. He continued in that city till it was carried and destroyed by the Arabs, and its inhabitants massacred<sup>2</sup>; on which he passed over to Sicily and settled at Mazar (*Mazzara*), where he died. In a note written by one of learned, I find his death placed in 456 (A.C. 1064), but the date previously given is the correct one. Mazar is a town in the island of Sicily; we shall mention it in the life of al-Mazari. According to another statement, he died on the eve of Sunday, the 1st of *Dhu T-Qa'dah*, 456, at Mazar.--The following are specimens at his poetry.

"I love my brother, though I turn away from him, and though my words rarely strike his ear. At the sight of his face I frown with pleasure, as you frown at the aspect of generous wine. Frowns do not always proceed from hatred, and secret hatred is often concealed by smiles.

O Lord! I am not able to repel this evil, and to thee do I apply for succour again this feeble worker of evil. Why hast thou sent against me a thousand gnats, whilst thou didst send only one against Nimrod<sup>3</sup>"

According to Ibn Bassam's statement in the *Dhakhirah* he is the author of this piece:

"Love for your Sulayman has delivered me up to a passion of which the slightest pains are mortal. When the host of his charms

1 This city of Masilah was rebuilt, A.H. 315 (A.C. 927-8), by al-Qa'im Billah, the Fatimite, who then named it Mulammadiyah Abu 'I-Fida's Geography).

2 This occurred in A.H. 449 (A.C. 1057-8). See Abu 'I-Fida's *Annals*, year 443.

3 According to the Muslim tradition, Nimrod was killed by a gnat which entered into his brain. See Sale's note on the subject in the *Qur'an*, surat 21, v. 70.

appears, they say to us in the words of the ant: "Enter into your abodes, lest he crush you with (*the magic power of*) his large dark eyes."<sup>1</sup>

When he was advanced in age and faultered in his gait, he composed the following lines, which express an original thought:

"When I wish to be light and gay as in the days of my youth, five and forty (*years*) refuse their consent. My steps faulter, not with age, but with the years which I train after me."

By the same.

"She said: "What means that melancholy and sickly air? To which I returned the answer which is made by a captivated admirer: 'Love (*for you*) came to me; he was a guest whom I cherished, and I gave him my flesh as nourishment and my blood as drink."

Another of his productions is the *Quradat al-Dhahab* (*grains of gold*), a work small in compass, but highly instructive<sup>2</sup>; he composed also a philological treatise, entitled *al-Shudhudh* containing a list of those words which are employed with a rare or exceptional signification. Were concision not our object, we should give an account of his alterations and adventures with Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi Sa'id Ibn Ahmad, surnamed Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawani. Mention has been already made of Masilah.<sup>3</sup>

#### 158. AL-MUJID AL-'ASQALANI

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn 'Abd al-Samad Ibn al-Shakhla al-'Asqalani (*native of Asqalan*)<sup>4</sup>, surnamed al-Shaykh al-Mujid (*the talented*<sup>5</sup> *Shaykh*), is author of the (*khutbahs*)<sup>6</sup> which are so celebrated, and of the enistles so remarkable for their elegance. He was a most distinguished prose-writer, and displayed superior talents in that

1 An allusion to the *Qur'an*, surat 27, v. 18: "O ants! enter into your abodes, lest Sulayman (Solomon), "and his troops crush you, and perceive it not."

2 This is a collection of ancient poetry.--(*Hajji Khalifah*).

3 See No. 133.

4 A rather incomplete note on this poet has been given by inadvertence in No. 101, note 6.

5 The word *Mujid*, here rendered by *talented*, means more exactly *one who executes well whatever he undertakes*.

6 See No. 79, note on *khutbah*.

species of composition<sup>1</sup>. It is related that al-Qadi al-Fadil exerted all his efforts in acquiring a perfect knowledge of his phraseology, and was able to recall nearly the whole of it to memory. The *Katib* 'Imad al-din speaks of him in the *Kharidah* in these terms: "*Al-Mujid (the talented) was really talented, as his surname implies; and capable of composing with originality, and shaping language (to the just expressing of his thoughts)*"<sup>2</sup> he is the author of admirable *khutbahs*, and of the ingenious beauties (*by which his compositions are adorned*)."<sup>3</sup> Ibn Bassam also make mention of him in the *Dhakhirah*, and cites the following verses of his composition, which are a fragment of a long poem:

"Time ceases not to choose (*and essay*) princes it produces, till at length it finds the excellent, the chosen one. Bid those who governed mankind and held exalted rank in days of old come forth and see the latest (*of princes*); they will find him nobler<sup>2</sup> in rule than they were, and more fortunate in the results of his enterprises. If advice be needed, let them take counsel from him, they will find him, an Ahnaf<sup>4</sup>; if they meet him hand to hand, they will find him an 'Antar in bravery. He fasts, yet the book of his actions is (*already*) filled with pious deeds; even in the times he fasts not, his (*abstemiousness*) is like fasting. (*Prince!*) the enemy essayed to daunt thee he thought he could compel fate to withdraw its decrees. When you sent not against him (*courasers*) sleek and fleet, you sent hidden policy to meet him. When your policy goeth forth, your men bear not the sword, neither are your warriors shrouded in coats of mail. The enemies hastened to you, but they hastened to their fate; and you ordered your sword to vibrate among them. They were amazed how your mildness was changed into aggression, and how the sweetness of your nature had (*for them*) become bitter. Tenderness joined to firmness should not, however, seem a subject of wonder; fire can be produced by a green reed<sup>5</sup>"

---

1 Literally; He was a cavalier in praise, and in it he had (*was*) an able hand.

2 Literally: Capable of originality in language and of carving it out.— This is the usual style of 'Imad al-Din, who, in his works, seldom deigned to write phrase of plain intelligible prose.

3 Literally: Ampler in breast.

4 Al-Ahnaf was famed for his prudence; his life is given in this work.

5 An allusion to the mode of producing fire by means of two pieces of wood, one hard and the other soft, rubbed together. The poem from which these were taken, was probably composed in honour of the Fatimite *khalif* al-Mustansir.



Not to be prolix, I shall confine myself to his citation. He was put to death in the *Khizanat al-Bunud*,<sup>1</sup> a prison at Cairo, in the year 482 (A.C. 1089).--The following verses are also attributed to him:<sup>2</sup>

"O thou who art a sword to assist me where the sword (*of the enemy*) is red (*with blood*)<sup>3</sup>! thou who art a springtide-shower for my country when the rain-clouds are withheld! why doth thy clear and exalted mind entertain the vile calumnies of (*my*) traducers? that mind which is so pure! No falsehood can lie concealed in thy thoughts for thou art pellucid as the crystal of the rock".

I found also, in the collection of his poetical works, these two well-known verses:

"The curtain (*of the audience-chamber which debar solicitors*), the pride (*of the patron*), the excess of (*his*) haughtiness, and the (*humiliation of*) stretching an eager hand towards a superior<sup>4</sup>, (*Such are the pains which await him who courts the great*). Did these obstacles debar (*us*) from (*a man of*) talent, we should think lightly of them<sup>5</sup> but (*here*) they are (*placed*) before (*a man of*) incapacity."

'*Asqalan* is derived from 'Asqalan (Ascalon), a well-known city on the coast (*of Syria*).

#### 159. IBN ZULAQ AL-MISRI

Abu Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Husayn Ibn al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Khalid Ibn Rashid Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Sulayman Ibn Zulaq a native of Egypt, was descended from a salve affiliated, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Layth. He was eminent for his knowledge of history, on which subject he composed an excellent work<sup>6</sup>; he is also author of a *Khitat* or topographical description (*of*

1 The *Khazanat al-Bunad* (*magazine of standards of flags*) was founded by the Fatimite khalif al-Zahir. In this establishment, three thousand skilful workmen were employed in the fabrication of arms, military machines, etc.--(Al-Maqrizi's *Khitat*).

2 This is evidently a later addition.

3 The word يانع is pointed differently in each of my manuscripts, but none of the readings is plausible. That adopted in the Arabic text is not satisfactory, and if conjectures were permitted, I should be inclined to replace it by نال blunted broken.

4 Literally: Towards exalted rank.

5 Literally: We should excuse.

6 Most probably the second continuation of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi's history of Egypt mentioned by Hajji Khalifah, t. II, p. 148.

*old Cairo*), in which fully treated the subject another of his works is the history of the *qadis* of Misr, designed by him as a continuation to a book of the same title composed by Abu 'Umar Muhammad Ibn Yusuf Ibn Ya'qub al-Kindi<sup>1</sup>, and which reaches to the year 246 of the Hijrah. Ibn Zulaq completed the work (*of al-Kindi*) by a supplement, which commences with the life of Bakkar Ibn Qutaybah, and finishes with that of Muhammad Ibn an-Nu'man. He gives the history of the latter down to the month of Rajab in the year 386 (July, A.C. 996). Al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali, great-grandfather to Abu Muhammad Ibn Zulaq was eminent for his learning. He died (I mean Abu Muhammad) on Tuesday, 25th of Dhu 'T-Qa'adah, A.H. 387 (November, A.C. 997). I have read in his history of the *qadis* of Egypt, in the life of Abu Ubayd (*Ibn Harbawayth*), that Mansur Ibn Isma'il al-Darir died in the month of the first Jumada, A.H. 306 (October, A.C. 918), "about three months," says, he "before I was born." On admitting this as exact Ibn Zulaq's birth took place in the month of Sha'ban 306 (January, A.C. 919). He gave some Traditions on the authority of al-Tahawi.—*Layth* Ibn Kinanah is the name of a great (*Arabian*) tribe. Ibn Yunus al-Misri says that Ibn Zulaq belonged to that tribe by enfranchisement.

#### 160. ABU NIZAR IBN SAFI MALIK AL-NUHAT

Abu Nizar al-Hasan Ibn Abi 'T-Hasan Safi Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Nizar Ibn Abi 'T-Hasan, the grammarian, was surnamed *Malik al-Nuhāt* (*the prince of grammarians*), the *Katib* 'Imad al-Din speaks of him, in the *Kharidah*, as a man of eminent merit, and gives the correspondence which passed between Abu Nizar and himself when at Damascus.<sup>2</sup> He became the ablest grammarian of his time, and was intelligent, eloquent, and acute, but vain and proud: he assumed the title of *prince of grammarians*, and if any other name but this was given to him when addressed, he would fly into a passion. At a period later than the year 520 (A.C. 1126), he proceeded from Baghdad to

---

1 According to al-Suyuti (*Husn al-Muhadarah* MS. No. 632. fol. 147 Iverso), al-Kindi, (who appears to have been a grandson of Ya'qub al-Kindi, the celebrated philosopher), composed also a work on the excellence of Egypt, entitled *Fada'il Misr*, and was contemporary with Kafur.—Hajji *Khalifah*, after al-Maqrizi, places his death in A.H. 246 (A.C. 860-1) Flugel's edition, No. 2312).

2 Arabic epistles generally contain some passages in verse; and it is a few extracts of this kind which 'Imad al-Din gives. See the *Kharidah*, No. 1447, fol. 36.

Wasit, where he took up his residence for a time, and communicated his copious philological information to the people of that city, who profited greatly by his talents and learning. Ibn al-Mustawfi says of him in his History of Arbela: "He visited Arbela and then went to Baghdad, where he learned the Traditions and studied the imam al-Shafi'i's system of jurisprudence and the science of dogmatic theology under Abu 'Abd Allah al-Qayrawani; in controversy he had for master Asa'ad al-Mihani; in the fundamentals of jurisprudence, Abu 'I-Fath Ibn Barhan, the author of the *Waziz*, and the *Wasit*, works which treat on that subject; he studied grammar under al-Fasihi, who himself had learned it from 'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani,<sup>1</sup> the author of the lesser *Mujmil*."<sup>2</sup> Abu Nizar then travelled to Khurasan, Kerman, and Ghaznah, whence he returned to Syria, and settled at Damascus, where he died on Tuesday, 8th Shawwal A.H. 568 (May, A.C. 1173) aged upwards of eighty years. He was interred the next day, Wednesday, in the cemetery, at the city-gate called *Bab al-Saghir*. He is author of many works on jurisprudence and its fundamentals, on the dogmas of religion and on grammar. He composed some poetry, which has been collected into a *diwan*: one of his *qasidahs*, made in honour of the Prophet, contains these lines:

"Praise be to God! I am cured of my passion, and I think of her no more: love calls me towards her, but I answer not to its seductions; and yet I rejoice not if an affliction befall her, neither am I pleased with the traducer who defames her."

He composed many fine passages, and possessed the greatest talents<sup>3</sup>

## 161. THE IMAM AL-HASAN AL-'ASKARI

Abu Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-

1 Abu Bakr 'Abd al-Qahir Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jurjani (native of Jurjan) a celebrated grammarian and a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i was eminent for his piety and talents. He composed the following works the *Mujmil* (or collector), a philological work; a commentary on it, entitled the *Talkhis* (comprehensive view); the *Kitab al-'Amd* المدد (the supporter), treating on grammatical inflexions; the *Miftah* (key), a commentary on the first surat of the *Qur'an*; the *Mughni* (sufficient), a commentary, in thirty volumes, on the 'Idah of Abu 'Ali 'I-Farisi, etc. He made his grammatical studies at Jurjan, under Abu 'I-Husayn Muhammad al-farisi, sister's son to Abu 'Ali. In dogmatical theology, he followed the doctrine of al-Ash'ari. Died A.H. 461 (A.C. 1068-9), or 464.

2 The greater *Mujmil* was composed by Ibn Faris al-Razi.

3 Literally: He was a collection of talents.

Rida Ibn Musa Ibn Ja'far al-Sadiq Ibn Muhammad al-Baqir Ibn 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, was, as his father also, one of the twelve persons who are considered as *imams* by the Immites (or Shiites). He was the father of (Muhammad) al-Muntazir (the expected), called also *Sahib al-Sirdab* (he of the cavern), and was surnamed al-'Askari, which title was borne also by his father 'Ali: we shall speak hereafter of him and the other *imams*. Al-Hasan was born on a Thursday in the year 231 (A.C. 845-6); on the sixth of the month of the first Rabi, it is said; but, according to another account, towards the end of the year 232. He died at Sarr-man-ra'a, on Friday (or Thursday,) 8th of the first Rabi (or of the first Jumada), A.H. 260 (January, A.C. 874) and was interred at the side of his father's tomb. -'Askari means belonging to, or native of Sarr-man-ra'a, which place was called al-'Askar (the camp or the troops), when the Khalif al-'Mu'tasim, who built it, removed thither his troops ('Askar). Al-Hasan and his father 'Ali were both denominated al-'Askari, because the latter had been sent to Sarr-man-ra'a, by the khalif al-Mutawakkil, and resided there for twenty years and nine months.

## 162. ABU NUWAS IBN HANI

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Hani Ibn 'Abd al-Awwal Ibn al-Sabah al-Hakami, surnamed Abu Nuwas, was a poet of great celebrity. His (great) grandfather was an enfranchised slave and client of al-Jarrah Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hakami, governor of Khurasan, and for this reason he bore the title of al-Hakami. Muhammad Ibn Daw'ud Ibn al-Jarrah relates, in his *kitab al-Waraqah*, that Abu Nuwas was born and brought up at Basrah, and that he accompanied Walibah Ibn al-Hubab<sup>1</sup> to Kufah, and from thence went to Baghdad. Another historian says that he was born at al-Ahwaz, and was removed thence at the age of two

<sup>1</sup> Abu 'Usamah Walibah Ibn al-Hubab, a native of Kufah and a celebrated poet, was in great favour at the court of al-Mansur and other Abbasid princes; in praise and satire he displayed abilities of the highest order. It was by him that Abu Nuwas was presented to the Barmekides, and these generous patrons of literature bestowed ample rewards on the rising poet. In the enjoyment of his good fortune, Abu Nuwas disdained to recognise the friend to whom he had been indebted for his success in the world, and Walibah had often reason to regret the service which he had rendered to his ungrateful disciple. Walibah inhabited Baghdad, and most of his poems are consecrated to the praise of wine and of beauty. He composed also some satires against Bashshar Ibn Burd and Abu 'l-'Atahiyah, but being vanquished by them with the same weapon, he withdrew from public life, and sought to conceal the confusion of his defeat by retiring to obscurity in his native town. (*Masalik al-Absar*, MS. No. 1371. *Kitab al-Aghani*, t. IV, fol. 631 verso).

years: his mother Julaban was of that city; his father, who was a native of Damascus and a soldier in the service of Marwan Ibn Muhammad, the last of the Omayyide dynasty, had been sent to keep garrison at al-Ahwaz, and he there espoused Julaban, by whom he had many children and, amongst the rest, Abu Mu'adh and Abu Nuwas. The latter was confided by his mother to a druggist, and (*when in this employment*) he was seen by Abu 'Usamah Walibah, who was pleased with his disposition, and said to him: "I see in you presages (*of success*) which, I am sure, you will not belie: you are to cultivate poetry: be therefore my disciple; I will conduct you to eminence."—"And who are You? said Abu Nuwas.—"I am Abu Usamah Walibah Ibn al-Hubab," replied he.—"I accept," said Abu Nuwas; "and I had already the intention of going to Kufah, that I might receive instruction from you and learn from you your poetical works." He then accompanied him to Baghdad. well-known Abu Nuwas was a boy when he composed these, his first and verses:

"He who bears the weight of love is soon fatigued; he is agitated with joy, but weeping would be fitter for him; his occupation is not a trifling sport. And you (*my fair mistress!*) laugh in wantonness whilst your lover sighs; you marvel at my illness, but my health would be a marvel."

Al-Khasib, the chief of the revenue-office in Egypt, once asked Abu Nuwas, from what family he came; "My talents" replied Abu Nuwas, "stand me in stead of noble birth." Al-Khasib asked him no more questions after that. Isma'il Ibn Nubakht said: "I never saw a man of more extensive leaning than Abu Nuwas, nor one who, with a memory so richly furnished, possessed so few books; after his decease we searched his house, and could only find one book-cover, containing a quire of paper<sup>1</sup> in which was a collection of rare expression and grammatical observations." He was a *muwallad*<sup>2</sup> of the first class, and in the ten different species of poetry which he composed, he displayed equal abilities. A number of eminent men have occupied themselves with making a collection of his poetical works; amongst them were Abu Bakr al-Suli 'Ali Ibn Hamzah, and Ibrahim Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Tabari, surnamed Tuzun; it is for this reason that discrepancies are observable in the collections of his poetry. His compositions are sufficiently known to preclude the necessity of citing any of them.<sup>3</sup> I read in some book that the

1 The word جراز is probably synonymous with كراس

2 See note on *classes of poets*, pages no. 91.

3 The MS. of the *Bib du Roi*, No. 1348, is called the *Diwan of Abu Nuwas*, but this is inexact; the compiler of the catalogue, a man of very little instruction in Arabic literature was deceived by a false title affixed to the work.

*khalif* al-Mamun said; "Were Fortune to describe herself, she could not produce a description equal to the following by Abu Nuwas;

"Is not each living creature mortal, and sprung from a mortal? Is not (*the tree of*) its descent deeply rooted in the dead? When Fortune wishes to prove the sage, it appears to him as an enemy in the disguise of a friend."

The first of these verses is a reminiscence of an Idea thus expressed by Imra al-Qays.<sup>1</sup>

"Woman, reproach me less! my experience and the recollection of my ancestors are for me admonitions sufficient. The roots of my (*family-tree*) are interwoven with the root of the earth':<sup>2</sup> but here comes death to strip me of the robe (*of youth*)."

In the life of al-Hasan al-Basri may be found an idea analogous to this.<sup>3</sup> What a favourable opinion Abu Nuwas must have entertained of this Creator's indulgence, may be learned from the following verses:

"Multiply the sins to the utmost, for thou art to meet an indulgent Lord. When thou comest before Him, thou shalt behold mercy, and meet the great, the powerful King. Then thou shalt gnaw thy hands with regret, for the pleasures which you avoided through fear of hell."

It is a very fine and original thought.<sup>4</sup> The anecdotes related of abu Nuwas are numerous; one of his best pieces is the *qasidah* rhyming in *m*, which excited Abu Tammam's jealousy to such a point that he composed one in the same rhyme and measure: Abu Tammam's commences thus:

"(*The lover*) approached (*after a long journey, the abode of his mistress*), and greeted ruins!<sup>5</sup> How often does such an approach break the firm knot of the lover's endurance."

1 See *le Diwan d' Amro 'l-Kais*, page 50.

2 The root of the earth is supposed by the commentators to mean Adam or Ismail; the poet means that his descent could be traced up to Adam; as for Ismail, it is well known that Imra 'l-Qays' family, the Kindites, were not descended from him, but from Qahtan.

3 The author alludes perhaps to the passage in No. 148, line commencing "I never saw etc:

4 It is not, however, in strict accordance with Muslim morality.

5 The word *نرس* signifies the dung of camels and sheep. When a family of nomadic Arabs removed their dwelling, the spot which they abandoned might be easily recognised afterwards by these marks. The idea is of constant recurrence in the *qasidahs* of the early Arabic poets.

As for the poem of Abu Nuwas, it was in honour of al-Amin Muhammad Ibn Harun al-Rashid, and composed during his khalifat.—It begins with this verse:

"O (*deserted*) mansion! what has the lapse of days wrought upon thee? No longer can we hope to find in thee a smiling face."

It contains also the following description of the camel mounted by the poet:

"She encountered with me the terrors of the desert,—a slender camel, ardent and mettlesome. She outstrips her fellows, (*and they follow her motions*) as a row of worshippers behind their imam (*follow his*). When our camels shall have borne us to Muhammad, let their backs be ever kept sacred from riders!

In the life of the celebrated poet Dhu al-Rummah Ghaylan, we shall mention an observation which has been made on this last verse. The same verse reminds me of a circumstance which passed between me and a talented friend of mine, Jamal al-Din Muhammad Ibn 'Abd, a native of Arabela, who was also a good scholar and an excellent singer: I was at a sitting of the council of state at Cairo, in I forget what month of the year 645, when Ibn 'Abd came to look for me, and he sat down near me for a while, there being a crowd of persons present on account of the great quantity of business to be transacted at the time; he then rose up and withdrew, nor was I aware of his absence, till his boy entered and handed me a note, in which the following lines were inscribed:

"O noble patron, by whose existence Fortune manifests to us her favour! I went on a pilgrimage to thy (*place of*) station,—a pilgrimage of desire, not of obligation; and I left the conveyance which bore me, near the noble sanctuary (*of justice*), but it went astray and was carried off by the people. Whilst I looked for it, I recited this verse of one who is a model in poetry: *When our conveyances shall have borne us to Muhammad, let their backs be ever kept sacred from riders.*

Having read the note, I asked the boy what was the matter, and he informed me that his master, on leaving me, perceived that some person had stolen his shoes<sup>1</sup>; on which I admired the aptness of the quotation, (*as*) the Arabs of the Desert compare shoes to beasts of burden. Examples of this may be found in the poetry both of the ancients and the moderns; the same idea has also been employed by al-Mutanabbi in different places of his poems. Some time after,

---

1 Which had been taken off on entering.

I was visited by Jamal al-Din Ibn 'Abd, an as we happened to speak of these verses, I observed to him that my name was Ahmad, not Muhammad; to which he answered that he knew it, but Ahmad and Muhammad were equivalent.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, be the name what it might, the introduction of the verse was skilfully maragaged.—The khalif al-Amin Muhammad, having been irritated against Abu Nuwas on account of something which passed between them, threatened him with death and had him put in prison; the poet, in his confinement, wrote to him these verses:

"I seek shelter from death under your protection; to you I fly for refuge to avoid your vengeance. I swear by your life<sup>2</sup> that I shall never commit the like again! I swear it by your life! If you kill your Abu Nuwas, where will you find another."

He had numerous adventures with the khalif Amin. In the life of Ibn Darraj al-Qastalli (see no. 55) we have given an extract from a *qasidah* by abu Nuwas, called the *Raiyah* because it hymes in *r*.] The khatib Abu Bakr makes mention of him in the history of Baghdad, and says that he was born in A.H. 145 (A.C. 762-3), (some say 136) and that he died A.H. 195 (A.C. 810-11), or 196, or 198, at Baghdad, where he was buried in the Shunizi cemetery. He was surnamed *Abu Nuwas* from two locks of hair which hung down (*tanus*) on his shoulders.—*Hakami* means *belonging to Hakam Ibn Sa'd al-Ashirah*, a great tribe of Yemen, from which al-Jarrah Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hakami was descended. Al-Jarrah was governor of Khurasan, and it has been already said that Abu Nuwas was one of his *mawlas*<sup>3</sup>, and was therefore denominated after him. [We have spoken of *Sa'd al-Ashirah* in the life of al-Mutanabbi] (see no. 49). As for *Suli*, this name shall be noticed in the life of Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Suli.<sup>4</sup> I have never met with a notice on 'Ali Ibn Hamzah.<sup>5</sup> *Tuzun* studied belles-lettres under Abu 'Umar al-Zahid (*al-Mutarriz*), and became eminent in that branch; he resided at Baghdad, where he died A.H. 355, the month of the first Jumada (May, A.C. 966).

1 *Ahmad* means *praiseworthy*, and *Muhammad*, *deserving of high praise*, or *highly praised*.

2 Literally: By the life of thy head.

3 *Mawla* means a manumitted slave or a person sprung from one. It might be translated *client*, and the reciprocal duties of such clients and their patrons form an important chapter of Muslim Law. *Mawla* signifies also *patron*.

4 This is an oversight of the author's: he has already given the derivation of *Suli* in the life of Ibrahim al-Suli (No. 10); and in the life of Muhammad al-Suli he merely refers the reader to it.

5 He must not of course be confound with 'Ali Ibn Hamzah al-Kisa'i, whose life is given by our author.



## 163. IBN WAKI' AL-TINNISI

Abu Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khalaf Ibn Hayyan Ibn Sadaqah Ibn Ziyad al-Dubbi (*member of the tribe of Dubb*) al-Tinnisi, surnamed Ibn Waki' a celebrated poet, came of a Baghdad family, but was born at Tinnis. He is spoken of in the following terms by al-Tha'alibi in the *Yatimah*. "An eminent poet and a learned compiler; he surpassed every person of his time, and was outdone by none of his contemporaries; his vast originality of thought charmed the reader's mind and captivated his imagination." He then mentions his poems in the form of four-hemistich couplets, which certainly are very good, and he quotes passages from his other productions. His *diwan* is made up of excellent poetry, and another of his works, the *Munsif*, or *impartial*, contains an exposition of al-Mutanabbi's plagiarisms. He had an impediment in his speech, and was (*for that reason*) called *al-'Atis* (*the sneezer*). The following verses are by him:

"My heart, once enamoured, is now delivered from the love, and feels for thee neither inclination nor desire. Thy cruelty reconciled me to thy loss, a parent can cease to regret the death of a froward child."

By the same:

Though the time of our meeting may be distant, our affection shall endure, and we shall be true lovers despite of absence. How many have broken the bonds of love, and yet full confidence had been placed in the sincerity of their attachment! How many faithful lovers who have suffered from suspicion!"

By the same:

"I rejoiced at the suffering of my heart;--may God never grant it relief! How often have I blamed it for loving, and it replied: I cannot help it." Another poet has come near to this idea in the following verses:

"How inconsistent that resolution which inspired my heart with indifference and insensibility towards my beloved. It came to me and, a moment after, it became like my heart and said: I must submit."

Similar to this are the verses of Usamah Ibn Munqidh.

"Assume not a borrowed insensibility when abandoned by those your love; for your force will fail under their protracted aversion. Know that thy heart will return to them, either of its own accord or despite its reluctance."

It is related by a certain jurisconsult, that he repeated the following verses of Ibn Waki's so the shaykh Murtada 'T-Din Abu 'T-Fath Masr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muqallad al-Quda'i, a native of Shayzar and professor at the chapel built over the tomb of al-Shafi'i in the Qurafah:

An obscure position satisfies my wishes, and they are turned away from exalted rank. And yet they are not ignorant how sweet is the taste of greatness, but to that they prefer health."

On this, Murtada 'T-Din pronounced extempore these verses:

"The fall is in proportion to the ascent; avoid therefore exalted rank. Remain in a place where, If you fall, your legs will escape uninjured."<sup>1</sup>

By Ibn Waki':

"The censor of my conduct saw my beloved for the first time and said: If you loved one like her, no person would blame your passion. Say! towards whom is your heart turned, that you neglect her, the sole creature worthy of love?" He continued thus, unwittingly, to incite to love, one whom he had commanded to abstain from it."

I once repeated the above verses to the doctor Shihab al-Din Muhammad, father of Ibn al-Khaymi,\* and he immediately recited to me the following line of his composition:

"Did my monitor see the face of my beloved, he would quarrel with me for that pretty face."<sup>2</sup>

This verse forms part of a poem; it is well turned and the double meaning is prettily imagined. Every fine idea has been expressed by Ibn Waki'; he died on Tuesday, 23rd of the first Jumada, A.H. 393 (March, A. C. 1003),\*\* in the city of Tinnis, and was interred in the chapel built to receive him in the Greater Cemetery. Waki' was the surname given to his great grand-father, Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Khalf, who was deputy to 'Abdan al-Jawaliqi, qadi of al-Ahwaz; he

1 In the original Arabic, these verses rhyme with the preceding, and are terminated by the same words.

\* M. de Slane has omitted the name of the poet, which runs thus: al-Shaykh Taqi al-Din 'Abd al-Munim surnamed Ibn al-Khaymi.—Ed.

2 This is the real meaning of the verse, but the last hemistich seems, at first sight, to signify we should separate in an amicable manner.

\*\* 30 March.—Ed.

was gifted with talents, capacity, and eloquence; learned in the reading of the *Qur'an*, in jurisprudence, in grammar, and in history. He composed many works, amongst others the *Kitab al-Tariq* (book of the path); the *Kitab al-Sharif* (book of the noble);<sup>1</sup> a treatise on the number of verses contained in the *Qur'an* and on the conflicting opinions held on the subject; a treatise on archery; another on weights and measures, etc. He is author of some poetry, such as learned men generally compose. Died at Baghdad on Sunday, 23rd of the first Rabi', 306 (September, A.C. 918).# According to Ibn Qani', the death of 'Abdan al-Ahwazi took place in 307 (A.C. 919-20), at Askar Mukram.<sup>2</sup> Tinnisi is derived from Tinnis, the name of a town in Egypt near Damietta; it was so called after its founder, Tinnis, son of Ham, son of Noah.—Al-Murtada 's-Shayzari died A.H. 598 (A.C. 1201-2), and was interred in the cemetery at the foot of Mount Muqattam (near Cairo).

#### 164. ABU BAKR IBN AL-'ALLAF

Abu Bakr al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Bashshar Ibn Ziyad, surnamed Ibn al-'Allaf (son of the fodder-seller) al-Darir (the blind), a celebrated and able poet, was a native of Nahrawan. He learned the Traditions from Abu 'Umar al-Duri<sup>3</sup> the reader of the *Qur'an*, Humayd

1 These titles are so vague, that it is impossible to say what were the subjects treated of in these two works. Hajji Khalifah does not mention them.

2 The hafiz Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Musa Ibn Ziyad al-Ahwazi al-Jawaliqi, surnamed 'Abdan (a contraction of 'Abd Allah), visited various countries and learned the Traditions from a great number of persons. As a hafiz, he was noted for his exactness, Ibn Qani' taught the Traditions on his authority. He composed a number of works, and died A.H. 306 (A.C. 918-19), aged ninety years and some months.—(Al-Dhahabi's *Tarikh al-Islam*, MS. No. 646, fol. 28.)

# Sunday fell on 6 September corresponding to 26 Rabi' al-Awwal, and the date according to Ibn Khalikan should be 24.—Ed.

3 Abu 'Umar Hafs Ibn al-'Aziz Ibn Suhban سہبان al-Duri, a native of Baghdad and a member of the tribe of Azd, was a grammarian and a Qur'anic reader of the first celebrity in Iraq. He inhabited Sarr-man-ra'a. It is stated that he was the first who collected together the different readings of the *Qur'an* (see No. 68, note on seven readings). Men of the first talent flocked from all countries to his lectures, on account of his extensive learning and the high authority of the traditional information which he transmitted to them. He was a good and pious man. Towards the end of his life, he lost his sight. Died in the month of Shawwal, 246 (beginning of A.C. 861).—Duri means belonging to al-Dur, a well-known quarter of Baghdad on the east bank of the Tigris—(Abridged from the *Tabaqat al-Qurra*, MS. No. 742, fol 51.)

Ibn Mas'adah al-Basri, Nasr Ibn 'Ali al-Jahdami<sup>1</sup> and Muhammad Ibn Isma'il al-Hisabi; and Traditions have been given on his authority by 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan al-Nahhas, the qadi Abu T-Hasan al-Khiraji, Hafis Ibn Shahin,<sup>2</sup> and others. He was one of the Khalif al-Mu'tadid's social companions, and he relates (*of him*) the following anecdote: "I had passed a night at the palace of al-Mu'tadid with a number of his other companions, when a eunuch came to us and said: The Commander of the faithful sends to tell you that, after you withdrew, he did not feel inclined to sleep, and composed this verse:

'When the vision (*of my mistress*), fleeting through the shades of night, awoke me, behold! my chamber was deserted, and far off was the place of (*our*) meeting.'

'He says also,' continued the eunuch, 'that he cannot complete the piece, and will give a rich present to any one who adds to it a second couplet to his satisfaction.' Those who were present failed in accomplishing the task, although they were all poets of talent, on which I hastened to pronounce the following verse:

'On this I said to my eyes: Sleep again; perhaps the vision, in its night visits, may return to me!'

'The eunuch then retired, and having come back, said: The Commander of the faithful declares that your verse is perfect, and he has ordered you a present.' This Abu Bakr had a pet cat, which used to enter into the neighbour's pigeon-houses and eat the young. As this occurred frequently, the owners of the pigeons caught the cat and killed it; and Abu Bakr lamented its fate in the following poem: Some say, however, that the poem was composed on the death of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*of whom we shall give a biographical notice*), and that the poet's apprehension of the khalif al-Muqtadir's vengeance prevented him from openly expressing his ideas in this *qasidah*, and for that reason, he pretended that it was made on his cat; and he alludes to the cat in some passages. He and Ibn al-Mu'tazz were intimate friends. Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadani, in his lesser history, entitleds *al-Ma'rif al-Muta'akhhkirah* (*later information*) says in the life of the vizir abu T-Hasan 'Ali Ibn al-Furat: 'The *sahib* Abu T-Qasim Ibn 'Abbad said 'Abu T-Hasan the son of

1 Nasr Ibn 'Ali al-Jahdami died A.H. 250 (A.C. 864). (*Nujum*.)

2 Abu Hafis Umar Ibn Shahin, a celebrated hafiz, preacher and commentator on the *Qur'an*, was a native of Baghdad. Mention has been already made of him in No. 131, note on *Abu Hafis*.

\* خادم means only servant!—Ed.

Abu Bakr al-'Allaf, surnamed *al-Akul* (*the great eater*), because he was remarkable for the quantity which he ate at the parties given by princes and great men, recited to me the poems composed by his father on the cat, and told me that by the cat, he meant al-Muhassin, son of visir Ibn al-Furat, and that he did not dare, during the disasters of that family, to lament al-Muhassin's fate or pronounce his name."--The history of this event will be found in the life of Abu 'I-Hasan 'Ali Ibn al-Furat.--The philologer Sa'id says, in his *kitab al-Fusus*: "It was related to me by Abu 'I-Hasan al-Marzubani, that a slave girl belonging to 'Ali Ibn 'Isa loved a youth in the service of Abu Bakr Ibn al-'Allaf; but having been discovered, they were both put to death and their skins stuffed with straw; then Abu Bakr, the *maula* or patron of the youth, composed this poem to deplore his loss, and it is he whom he meant by the cat." God knows best the truth! This fine and original poem is composed of sixty-five verses, and its length prevents us from giving the entire; but we shall cite the prettiest passages and the verses containing moral reflexions<sup>1</sup>; it begins thus:

"You have left us, Puss! and will never return! you who were to me as a child! How can we cease to love you? you, who were for us a sure defence. You drove evil away from us, and guarded us, in our absence, from serpent and from cricket. You drove the mice from their hiding places and pursued them from their hole to the hall-door. In meeting them in the house, you found food, and without assistance you went against them. Flocks of them could not escape from you, not even one of the flock. You feared not the mid-day heat of summer, neither did you dread the frost of winter. Your order was uncontrolled in our house, and they could offer no resistance. (*Thus it was*) till you devised evil against our neighbours and thought that you were not working harm. To do them wrong you turned around death; but the (*bird*) which hovers round a pond mus. drink thereof. My heart trembled for you, but you glided forth without fear, and entered the pigeon-house with slow and stealthy step, but you were not slow in eating the young. You threw about the feathers on the path (*of the masters*), and you greedily swallowed the flesh. A wrong action fed you with their flesh but their masters judged that slaying you was a right action. They plotted long against you and exerted their efforts; success crowns the stratagems of him who exerts his efforts. For a long time they used wiles against you, but you fell not (*into the snare*); how often did you, without using any wiles, escape from theirs: but when, with perfidious diligence,

---

<sup>1</sup> This piece is remarkable for its verbal quibbles and far-fetched allusions; the little merit it possesses is lost in the translation.

you went openly to steal (and were then badly directed), they caught you in their angry mood, and inflicted vengeance on you, adding: 'He that hunts is caught in his turn!' Then, with a sharp steel, they cured their hatred towards thee, and hearkened to the intercession of none."

From the same piece.

"You ceased not lurking for the pigeons till death surprised you with an ambushade.<sup>1</sup> They had no compassion on your plaintive cries, as you had none on those of the pigeons. Their master made you taste of death as you made their young ones to taste of it; it was simply retaliation.<sup>2</sup> The cord which his kindness placed round your neck<sup>3</sup> to strangle you, must have been made of the fibres of the palm-tree. Methinks I see you struggling in the noose and foaming at the mouth. You sought means to escape, but no stratagem could avail, neither could you find one. Now that you are no more, we never heard of such a death, or of a life so fatal to others. You lived like a glutton led away by his avidity, and you died a violent death without an avenger.<sup>4</sup> O you whom the love of young pigeons brought to you fall! why were you not satisfied with a piece of camel's fat? Did you not fear that fate would spring upon you, when you sprung like a lion into the pigeon-house? The punishment due to crime sleeps not, though it delay for a time. Ah! you would eat young birds and feared not that misfortune, like a ravenous beast, would eat you? That were far from being just, and you were strangely mistaken as to the nearness and the distance (*of punishment*). May God refuse his blessing to meat, since the belly is the destruction of lives! How often has a sweet bit entered a greedy stomach, and expelled the soul from the body! The possession of Paradise would not have sufficed to turn you from clambering up to the pigeon-house."

From the same *qasidah*:

"The powerful Lord, the Giver of safety, the Eternal had granted you luxurious ease; you ate at will of the mice in our house; (but

1 Literally; Till you were made to drink of death by the liers in ambush.

2 Literally: Hand for hand.

3 This piece is full of puns and quibbles, impossible to be translated. To place a cord round the neck, signifies figuratively, to lay a person under obligations. The word *cord* is often employed with the sense of *obligation* or *favour*.

4 Literally: By a murder, or victim of an assassin.

where are those who are grateful for the comforts of life?) You scattered their bands from time to time, but they met after their dispersion and spared neither cloth nor felted stuff in the house. They emptied it to the bottom, and left not even what our hands had suspended to the walls with hooks; they crumbled the bread in the baskets, and how often did they annoy the family!<sup>1</sup> They tore our new dresses, and all of us were undergoing fresh misfortunes."

We shall confine ourselves to these citations, which are the cream of the piece.—Ibn al-'Allaf died A.H. 318 (A.C. 930), or 319, aged one hundred years.<sup>2</sup> -*Nahrawani* means *belonging to Nahrawan*, an ancient village near Baghdad; al-Sam'ani pronounces it Nahruwan, but that is not exact.

#### 165. ABU'L JAWA'IZ AL-WASITI.

Abu 'I-Jawa'iz al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bari\* al-Wasiti (*native of Wasit*) the *Katib*, was a man of eminent talent. He inhabited Baghdad for a long period, and is spoken of by the *Khatib* in his history of that city. I wrote under his dictation," says this author, "different historical relations, anecdotes, pieces of verse, and philological observations, which, as he declared, were taught to him by Ibn Sukkarah al-Hashimi<sup>3</sup> and others; but his statements do not merit full confidence,<sup>4</sup> for he told me that he heard the lessons of Ibn Sukkarah, which could not be, as he must have been then too young. He was well informed in literature and composed some good poetry, particularly eulogiums and descriptions. Among the verses of his composition which he recited to me, were the following:

1 Literally: How often did they break in pieces the liver of the family.

2 That is, one hundred lunar years, equivalent to about ninety-six solar.

\* In Cairo edition (1968) the name is given as Badi and in the footnote the Editor has given Bari which is corroborated by the autograph.—Ed.

3 Abu 'I-Hasan Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah, surnamed Ibn Sukkarah, a celebrated philologist and poet, was descended from 'Ali, son of the Abbasside *khalif* al-Mahdi, for which reason he was entitled al-'Abbasi. He was also named al-Hashimi, being descended, as all the Abbassides, from Hashim, great-grandfather of Muhammad. His collected poetical works form a mass of fifty thousand verses, the prevailing character of which is gaiety and humour. He and his contemporary Ibn Hajjaj were, by their rivalry, the Jarir and Farazdaq of the epoch. He died A.H. 385 (A.C. 996).—Al-Yafi'i's *Annals*, *Yatimah*, No. 1370, fol. 206. Specimens of his poetry may be found in both works.)

4 Literally. He was not a *thiqat*; see note on *thiqah* No. 48.

"Renounce all mankind and turn your friendship from them, if you cannot have indulgence for human nature. The stream of time is evidently a troubled current; hope not then to find pureness and sincerity in (*men*), the children of time; for their dispositions resist correction.<sup>1</sup> Two things are not to be found on earth, a dirhem gained honestly, and a friend really sincere."

Abu 'T-Jawa'iz is author of some good works; his handwriting was elegant, and his poetry charming; I have met with many of his pieces, but I never saw a complete collection of them, neither do I know if such a collection was ever formed. The following verses of his are currently cited:

"Love has worn me down as a piece of wood is thinned with a knife; and your aversion has melted me away, so that I am become a greater nonentity than the day which is gone by. I am not visible till I see you, for atoms of dust do not appear but in the rays of the sun."

In the piece which follows he has subjected himself to certain rules of compositions not at all necessary in poetry<sup>2</sup>:

"Oh! what sadness was mine when she said: 'He has been false in the promises he made me, and has sported (*with my feelings*)'. By the existence of Him who created me to live for her alone<sup>3</sup>! when her image crosses my mind, I am plunged in despair."<sup>4</sup>

He died A.H. 460 (A.C. 1067-8). The Khatib says: "I heard Abu 'T-Jawa'iz mention that he was born A.H. 382 (A.C. 992-3), and after the year 460, I never heard more of him." It is certain, however, that he died, as we have said, in 460 the Khatib, it is true, does not declare it expressly; he only notices the epoch at which he ceased to hear of him.

#### 166. 'ALAM AL-DIN AL-SHATANI

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Bundar Ibn Ibrahim al-Shatani, surnamed 'Alam al-Din (*the signal of religion*), was

1 I have been obliged to paraphrase this verse, so as to render the author's idea.

2 Literally: In this piece is strict observance of what is not obligatory; *Luzum ma la yalzum*. See note on *luzum* No. 46.

3 Literally; who made me a *waqf* (*settled*) her and for her (*use*) See note.

4 Literally; It clothes me with despair.



a jurisconsult, but the cultivation of poetry became his dominant passion, and by his compositions, in which he displayed great talent, he became known as a poet: he had already left his native town and settled at Mosul, from whence he went occasionally to Baghdad. The wazir abu 'I-Muzaffar Ibn Hubairah treated him with great deference and favour. The *Katib* 'Imad al-Din mentions him in the *Kharidah*, and then gives some of his poetry. "He celebrated," says he, "the praise of Salah al-Din in a poem which begins thus:

"I see victory attached to your yellow standard; proceed then, and conquer the world, for you are worthy of its possession."

The same poem contains this verse:

"Fortune is in your right hand and wealth in your left; joy then to him who hopes for their favours! joy be to him!"

This poet was born A.H. 510 (A.C. 1116-7); he died in the month of *Shā'ban*, 599 (April, or May, A.C. 1203), at Mosul. Ibn al-Dubaythi mentions him with praise in his supplement (to the literary history of Baghdad)<sup>1</sup>. *Shatan* is the name of a town<sup>2</sup> in Diyar Bakr.

#### 167. NASIR AL-DAWLAT IBN HAMDAN.

Abu Muhammd al-Hasan, surnamed *Nasir al-Dawlat* (champion of the empire) was descended from Taghlib (the progenitor of an ancient and illustrious Arabic tribe); his genealogy is as follows; Al-Hasan son of Abu' I-Hayja 'Abd Allah Ibn Hamdan Ibn Hamdun Ibn al-Harith Ibn Luqman Ibn Rashid Ibn al-Mathanna Ibn Rafi' Ibn al-Harith Ibn Ghatif Ibn Mihrabah Ibn Harithah Ibn Malik Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn 'Adi Ibn 'Usamah Ibn malik Ibn Bakr Ibn Habib Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ghanam Ibn Taghlib. He acted as lieutenant to his father in the government of Mosul, and after passing through many vicissitudes of fortune, he became lord of that city and its dependencies. On this occasion he was honoured with the title of *Nasir al-Dawlat*, by the *khalif* al-Muttaqi Billah, who granted also to his brother, on the same day, the title of *Sayf al-Dawlat* (Sword of the empire). This was on the first of the month of *Shā'ban* A.H. 330 (April, A.C. 942). Their influence then became very great. 'Abd Allah Ibn Hamdan, their father, had been appointed governor of Mosul and its dependencies. A.H. 292 (A.C.

1 Ibn al-Dubaythi's literary history of Baghdad; MS. No. 745, fol. 163.

2 Ibn al-Dubaythi says, a castle, قلعة

904-5), by the khalif al-Muktafi Billah, and he made his entry into the city towards the beginning of the year 293. Nasir al-Dawlat was older than his brother Sayf al-Dawlat and in higher favour with the khalifs. The two brothers made the greater part of their literary studies together, and a coolness having once taken place between them, Sayf al-Dawlat addressed these verses to Nasir al-Dawlat.

"Though suffering from your harshness, I shall not act unkindly; neither shall I neglect my duty in whatever state I may be. You are (*to me as*) a parent, and a parent's severity is best repaid with patience and resignation."

Another time, he wrote to him these verses, which are mentioned by al-Tha'alibi in his *Yatimah*:

"I concede to you exalted rank, although I am worthy of it; and I say to (*my advisers*); 'There is a difference between me and my brother. I have no aversion for rank, 'tis true; but I forego my rights, so that you (*my brother*) may enjoy the plenitude of yours. (*But yet in the race of honours*) I must surely hold the second place, if I consent to yield you up the first.'"

On the death of Sayf al-Dawlah (an event of which we shall give the date in his life), a great change was produced in the character and disposition of his brother Nasir al-Dawlah, who loved him dearly; his intellectual faculties became so weak, that his children and domestics no longer retained for him any respect, and he was at length arrested at Mosul by his son Abu Taghlib Fadl Allah, surnamed 'Uddat al-Dawlat (*strength of the empire*), and commonly called *al-Ghadanfar* (*the lion*). Fadl Allah, who in this action was seconded by the approbation of his brothers, sent his father to the castle of al-Salamah in the fortress of Ardumusht<sup>1</sup>. (My professor Ibn al-Athir says, in his History, that this fortress is now called Kawashi.) This event took place on Tuesday,\* the 24th of the first Jumada, A.H. 356 (May, A.D. 697)† Nasir al-Dawlah remained in confinement till his death, which happened on the afternoon of Friday, the second of

1 "Ardumusht, a strong fortress near Jazirah Ibn 'Umar on mount Judi or Ararat, to the east of the Tigris. "Below the fortress lies another fortress, Di'yr al-Za'faran (*saffron convent*), which is also called Lawashi لرواشي. It is one of the dependencies of Mosul." (*Marasid*). In the MS. of Ibn al-Athir, the name of this place is written Kawashi كواشي, see t. II, f. 21 verso, and f. 23, v.

\* In the autograph السبت is written beneath الثلاثاء. -Ed.

† 7 May--Ed.

the first Rabi', 358 (January A.C. 969)\*\*. His corpse was borne to Mosul, and interred at Tall Tawbah,<sup>1</sup> a hill on the east side of the city. Some say that he died in 357. Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadani<sup>2</sup> says, in his *Unwan al-Siyar*, towards the end of the life of Nasir al-Dawlah: "He continued to govern the province of Mosul and others places, till the year 356, when he was arrested by his son al-Ghadanfar; he had been emir over those countries for thirty-two years. He died on Friday, 12th of first Rabi', 357 (February, A.D. 968)\*; "His father Abu 'I-Hajja 'Abd Allah was slain at Baghdad on the 17th Muharram, A.H. 317 (March, A.D. 929)\$ whilst protecting the *khalifah* al-Qahir Billah. The history of this event is well known<sup>3</sup>, When 'Adad al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh slew his cousin Bakhtyar and took possession of Baghdad, Abu Taghlib al-Ghadanfar, who had fought on the side of the latter, was embroiled in an affair with the conqueror, the circumstances of which would be too long to relate; we shall only state in a summary manner, that 'Adud al-Dawlah went to attack him at Mosul, from which al-Ghadanfar retreated and encamped outside of Damascus, which was in the possession of Qassam al'Ayyar<sup>4</sup> (al-Ghadanfar) then wrote to the sovereign of Egypt, al-Aziz Ibn Mu'izz, soliciting the government of Syria, to which al-Aziz gave ostensibly his consent, but secretly opposed obstacles to the fulfilment of his promise. After this, al-Ghadanfar

\*\* 24 January; but the day according to Mahler should be Sunday-Ed.

1 "Tall Tawbah تل توب (the hill of repentance) lies opposite to Mosul on the Ninevah side (of the river Tigris) a chapel is there which is visited by the pious. This place was so named, it is said, because the people at Ninevah went out to it and repented when Jonas threatened them with God's vengeance" (*Marasid*)

2 This writer died A.H. 521 (A.D. 1127).-(Ibn al-Athir, Hajji *Khalifah*).

# 14 February-Ed.

\$ 2 March-Ed.

3 The *khalif* al-Muqtadir had been deposed by Munis the eunuch, Nazuk (نازوك) chief of the police guards (*Sahib al-Shurtah*) and Abu 'I-Hayja Ibn Hamdan, who had come from the province of al-Jabal with a large body of troops to assist the conspirators. On the accession of the new *khalif*, al-Tahir, the imperial guards الرجالة المصانية came in arms to demand the customary donation and an additional year's pay. As they did not obtain immediately what they required, they reinstated al-Muqtadir on the throne, after massacring Nazuk and Abu 'I-Hayja. A full relation of the event is given by Ibn al-Athir in his *Annals*, from which Abu 'I-Fida has extracted his abridged account of the same revolution.

4 This Qassam had succeeded Ifikin as governor of Damascus. He acknowledged the authority of the Fatimite *khalif* al-Aziz, and had prayers said for him in the mosques of that city-(Ibn al-Athir, year 368.)

proceeded to Ramlah, in the month of Muharram A.H. 369 (August, A.D. 979)<sup>1</sup>; but as that place was in the hands of al-Mufrij Ibn al-Jarrah al-Badwi al-Ta'i<sup>2</sup>, he retreated from it, and collected fresh troops to attack the place. He then returned and gave al-Mufrij battle, at the gate of the city, on Monday, 1st of Safar; but his partisans having been defeated, he was made prisoner and put to death on Tuesday, 2nd of the month of Safar of the year (September, A.D. 979).<sup>\*</sup> His birth took place on Tuesday, 11th of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 328 (August, A.D. 940#). I have given the genealogy of this family on the authority of the vizir Abu 'I-Qasim Ibn al-Maghribi, who has inserted it in his work entitled *Anab al-Khawass*. The genealogist Muhammad Ibn Asad al-Asadi says: "Taghlib (the progenitor of the tribe so called) was named Dithar, but he obtained the surname of Taghlib for the following reason: His father Wa'il was beset in his dwelling by (the tribes of) Yemen, who had the intention of making his family prisoners, but he called aloud on his people and companions, and with their assistance he defeated the tribe of Yemen. Taghlib was then a child, and his father prognosticated well of him and said: 'This is Taghlib, (thou shall conquer,) and such was the name by which he was called ever after."

#### 168. RUKN AL-DAWLAH IBN BUWAYH

Abu Ali al-Hasan Ibn Buwayh Ibn Fannakhusraw al-Daylami, surnamed Rukn al-Dawlah (*pillar of the state*): the rest of his genealogy has been already given in the life of his brother, Mu'izz al-Dawlah Ahmad (No. 71, Vol. I). He was lord of Isfahan, Rayy, Hamadan, and all Persian Iraq, and father of the three princes, 'Adud al-Dawlah Fannakhusraw, Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah Abu Mansur Buwayh, and Fakhr al-Dawlah Abu al-Hasan Ali. Rukn al-Dawlah was a powerful

1 The MSS. of Ibn Khallikan have 367, س for س but this is a fault, probably of an early copyist. The facts are fully related and the true dates given in Abu 'I-Fida and Ibn al-Athir.

[In the autograph the date س is given on the margin; the full account appears to be added afterwards—Ed.]

2 This was the phylarch of the Bedwin Arabs. He and his family resided at Ramlah, and were devoted to the Fatimite dynasty of Egypt. Ibn Khaldun, in his notice on the Arabian tribes which settled in Africa, gives this history of this family.

\* 29 August, but the day according to Mahler's calculation was Friday--Ed.

# 18 August--Ed.

and aspiring prince; he had for vizir Ibn al-'Amid<sup>1</sup>, on whose death he appointed Abu al-Fath 'Ali, the son of Ibn al-'Amid, to the same situation. The Sahib Ibn 'Abbad was vizir to his son Mu'ayyad al-Dawlah, and, on that sovereign's death, to Fakhr al-Dawlah; this circumstance we have already mentioned in the life of the Sahib (No. 93, Vol. I). Rukn al-Dawlah reigned prosperously, and was favoured by fortune in possessing three such sons; it was between them that he shared his possessions, and they governed with the greatest ability. He had two brothers; Abu al-Hasan Ali Imad al-Dawlah, who was older than himself, and Abu al-Husayn Ahmad Mu'izz al-Dawlah, who was younger. The life of the latter has been already given. Rukn al-Dawlah died at Rayy on Friday night, 18th of the month of Muharram, A.H. 336 (September, A.C. 976), and was buried in the mausoleum which bears his name. "His birth is placed, by conjecture, in the year 284 (A.C. 897);" such are the words of Abu Ishaq al-Sahib. He reigned forty-four years, one month, and nine days, and was succeeded by his son Muw'ayyad al-Dawlah.

#### 169. AL-HASAN IBN SAHL THE VIZIR

Abu Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Sahl Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Sarakhsi succeeded his brother al-Fadl Dhu 'l-Riyasatayn as vizir to al-Ma'mun, whose favour he thenceforward enjoyed to a high degree. We have already made mention (no. 117) of his daughter, Buran, of her marriage with al-Ma'mun, and of the heavy expense to which her father al-Hasan went on that occasion; we shall therefore abstain from repeating the same account here. Al-ma'mun gave him the government of all the provinces conquered by Tahir Ibn al-Husayn, as we shall mention in the life of the latter. Al-Hasan was of a noble disposition and very generous in his donations to poets and other (literary) men: a poet once went to him and recited in his presence these verses:

"When my wife<sup>2</sup> saw me saddle my camels, although I had just

1 The life of Ibn al-'Amid is given in this work: In the preceding pages I have written the name *Omaid*, in consequence of having misunderstood a grammatical observation made by Ibn Khallikan.

2 Notwithstanding the authority of the MSS. I read خليلتي  
not خليلتي

[For خليلتي ] it is not a correct rendering. It should be *dear* or *darling*. It is true however that the poet had his wife in his mind and refers to her as خليلتي

In the autograph and printed text we have خليلتي which gives better sense —Ed.]

ungirthed them, she said: 'Can a distant journey await camels, now that al-Fadl<sup>1</sup> is no more? 'Yes' I replied, 'they must (*bear me*) to al-Hasan Ibn Sahl.'"

For this piece the poet received a rith present. He went forth, one day, to accompany to some distance al-Ma'mun, who was setting out on a journey; and when they were about separating, al-Ma'mun said to him: "Abu Muhammad! do you desire any thing?"—Yes, Commander of the faithful;" replied al-Hasan, "that you preserve towards me those favourable feelings of your heart, the possession of which I cannot ensure to myself but with your concurrence." One of those (*who knew him*) relates the following anecdote: "I was present at an audience given by al-Hasan Ibn Sahl, and a person came to thank him for a letter of recommendation which he had written in his favour; on this, the vizir replied: 'Why thank me? I consider (*the duty of*) intercession as the legal alms (*which render the capital*) of my honourable feeling (*acceptable of God*).<sup>2</sup> The same narrator says: "I was present, one day, whilst he dictated (*to his secretary*) a letter of recommendation, and he himself wrote at the end of it these words: 'I have been told that, on the day of judgment, a man will be questioned respecting the use he made of the influence given him by his rank in the world, in the same manner as he will be questioned respecting the use he made of the superfluity of this wealth<sup>3</sup>. He said to his sons; 'My sons! learn the use of language; it is by it that man holds his pre-eminence over other animals, the higher the skill which you attain in the use of language, the nearer you approach to the ideal of human nature.' Al-Hasan continued to act as vizir to al-Ma'mun till he had an attack of *black bile* (*melancholy*), caused by excessive grief on learning the murder of his brother al-Fadl; (we shall narrate this event in the life of the latter.) His melancholy overcame him so far, that he had to be confined to his house, and was unable to fulfil the duties of his office.

"In the year 203 (A.D. 818-9)," says al-Tabari in his History, "Al-Hasan Ibn Sahl was overcome by black bile, occasioned by a fit of

1 That is: Why undertake a long journey to solicit favours, now that the best of patrons, the vizir al-Fadl Ibn Sahl is no more?

2 By the Muslim law, property is liable to a yearly tax of 2.5 percent. This tax is called *Zakat* (*alms*), and the payment of it is necessary to render the possession and use of the remaining capital agreeable to God. In Hamilton's *Hidayah*, vol. I, will be found an account of this tax and its primitive object.

3 This phrase in the original Arabic is expressed with singular concision, and is yet perfectly clear.

sickness; this sickness impaired his reason to such a degree, that it was necessary to chain him and confine him a chamber. Al-Ma'mun then took for his vizir Ahmad Ibn Abi Khalid." Al-Hasan died at Sarakhs on the first of Dhu 'T-Hijjah, A.H. 236 (June, A.D. 851)\*, (some say 235). The following verses were made in his praise by Yusuf al-Jawyari:

"Could Zuhayr see Hasan and the manner in which his generosity employs his wealth, Zuhayr would say, at the sight; 'It is he who is the liberal man despite of misfortunes, and not Harim!'"

Towards the end of this work, in the life of Yahya Ibn 'Isa Ibn Matruh, we shall give the anecdote of Zuhayr and Harim Ibn Sinari.<sup>1</sup> In the life of Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Khwarazmi mention is made of al-Hasan Ibn Sahl. Sarakhsi means *belonging to Sarakhs*, which is a city in Kharasan.

#### 170. AL-WAZIR AL-MUHALLABI

Abu Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Harun Ibn Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Yazid Ibn Hatim Ibn Qabisah Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufrah al-Azdi al-Muhallabi al-Wazir (*the vizir descended from al-Muhallab and member of the tribe of Azd*), was appointed vizir by Mu'izz al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh (see his life, no. 71) on Monday, 27th of the first Jumada, A. H. 339 (November, A. D. 950);\*\* his powerful influence, generous disposition, lofty spirit, and firm administration have rendered him celebrated, whilst his acquaintance with literature and his friendship of men of learning reached to an extreme. Previously to the period at which he was attached to the service of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, he had suffered greatly from want and distress: in one of his journeys, after undergoing severe fatigue, he had a longing for flesh-meat, and not being able to procure any, he recited extempore the following verses:

"Where is death sold, that I may buy it? For this life is devoid of good. Oh! let death, whose taste (*to me*) is sweet, come and free me from a detested life! when I see a tomb from afar, I wish to be

\* 5 June-Ed.

<sup>1</sup> Some time anterior to the Islamism, a destructive warfare existed between the tribes of 'Abs and Dhubyān, but the feud was at length appeased by Harim Ibn Sinan and al-Harith Ibn 'Awf, who generously paid the price of blood to the relations of those who had fallen in the contest. For this, Zuhayr Ibn Abi sulma praised them both in his celebrate *Mu'allaqah*.

\*\* 11 November-Ed.

its inhabitant. May the Being who granteth tranquillity, have compassion on the soul of the generous man who will bestow death, as a charity, upon one of his brethren!"

These verses were heard by a person, who was traveling (*in the same caravan*) with him, and whose name was 'Abd Allah al-Sufi, or, by another account, Abu T-Hasan al-'Asqalani; this man bought for him a *dirhim's* worth of meat, and cooked it and gave it to him to eat. They then separated, and al-Muhallabi having experienced a change of fortune, became *vizir* to Mu'izz al-Dawlah at Baghdad, while the person who had travelled with him and purchased the meat for him, was reduced to poverty; having then learned that al-Muhallabi was a *vizir*, he set out to find him and wrote to him these lines:

"Repeat to the *vizir*, for whose life I would sacrifice my own—repeat to him the words of one who reminds him of what he has forgotten. Do you remember when, in a life of misery, you said: *Where is death sold, that I may buy it?*"

The *vizir*, on reading the note, recollected the circumstance, and, moved with the joy of doing a generous action, he ordered seven hundred *dirhims* to be given to the writer, and inscribed these words on the paper: *The similitude of those who lay out their substance in the service of God, is as a grain of corn which has produced seven ears and in every ear a hundred grains; for God giveth many-fold to whom he pleaseth.*<sup>1</sup> He then prayed God's blessing on him and clothed him in a robe of honour, and appointed him to a place under government, so that he might live in easy circumstance. Al-Muhallabi, on being raised from penury to the *vizirat*, composed these lines:

"Fortune pitied (*me*) for my misery, and lamented the length of the sufferings which consumed me; she has granted me what I hoped for, and delivered (*me*) from what I apprehended. I shall therefore pardon her former wrong, and even the crime of turning my hair to gray."

By the same:

"In the haste of our separation, whilst my heart was enflamed (*with anguish*), the person whom I loved said to me: 'What will you do on the way after (*leaving*) me? And I replied: 'I shall weep for your (loss) the length of the way.'

Among the verses said to have been composed by him in the

---

1 Qur'an, surah 2, verse 263.



time of his poverty and addressed to a person in high authority, are the following, which some, however attribute to Abu Nuwas:

"If I asked you to increase my afflictions, such an augmentation would be beyond your power. Were a life such as I have led offered to the dead, they would refuse it."

Abu Ishaq al-Sabi, the author of the epistles,<sup>1</sup> says: "I was one day with the *vizir* al-Muhallabi, and he took a sheet of paper to write, on which I said extempore:

'He has a hand of surpassing liberality by its gifts, and a discourse of which he scatters the pearls upon the paper. Hatim is concealed in his hand,<sup>2</sup> and Sahban in his fingers<sup>3</sup>

Mu'izz al-Dawlah had a Turkish *mamluk* of singular beauty, named Tikin al-Jamdar; <sup>4</sup>he was extremely fond of him and sent him as the commander of a military expedition against one of the Hamdan family. On this, the following lines were made by the *vizir* al-Muhallabi, who found the youth handsome enough to adorn a court,<sup>5</sup> but not suited to sustain the toils of war:

"(There is) a child with the waters (of youth) mantling in his face, and the wood of his (body) yet tender; he is so like a girl that his bosom might be expected soon to swell; yet to his slender waist they have hung a sword, and tied around it a belt which hurts him; they have made him chief of an army, but the troop and the leader of it will both perish."

And so it really was, the *mamluk* being unsuccessful in his expedition. A singularly sentimental line of his is the following:

(My) eye-lids parted when you parted with me, and they met not again but over a flowing tear.

The traits of his generous character abound. He was born at Basrah on Monday\* night, 26th Muharram, A.H. 291 (December,

1 See No. 14.

2 The generosity of Hatim is well known.

3 Sahban was an ancient Arab celebrated for his eloquence. (*Al-Hariri* p. 42; Rasmussen's *Addimenta*, p. 74).

4 *Jamdar*; officer of the wardrobe.-(De Secy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I, p. 135; t. II. p. 186.)

5 The Arabic scholar will perceive that a modification is here made in the sense of the original text.

\* ثلثاء means Tuesday—Ed.

A.D. 903),# and he died on Saturday, 26th *Shā'ban*, A.H. 352 September, A.D. 963),\$ whilst making a journey to Wasit. His body was borne to Baghdad, where it arrived on Wednesday night, 5th *Ramdan*\$\$ of the same year, and was interred in the part of the *Nubakhtiyah* cemetery which is called the burial-ground of the *Quraysh-Muhallabi* means *descended from al-Muhallab*, of whom we shall give the life. On the death of this *vizir*, the following elegy was composed by the poet al-Husayn Ibn al-Hajjaj (whose life will be found farther on):

"People of poets! (*hear*) the cry of one afflicted; of one for whom the joy of consolation can no more be hoped. Give solace to poetry for the loss of the *vizir*; poetry weeps blood over him after (*exhausting*) its tears. He is dead! the man behind whom praise toiled ineffectually, and before whom proceeded clemency (*like*) the clemency of God. In his death, fortune has overthrown the fortress to which we retired for protection against fortune's wrongs. Let the sons of Buwayh know, that the days (*of their prosperity*) are now crossed by affliction.

### 171. THE VIZIR NIZAM AL-MULK

The *vizir* Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ishaq Ibn al-'Abbas al-Tusi (*native of Tus*) was surnamed Nizam al-Mulk, Qawwam al-Din (*the regulator<sup>1</sup> of the state, upholder of religion*). Al-Sam'ani says in his *Kitab Al-Ansab*: "*Radhkan*: a small village near Tus; it is said that Nizam al-Mulk was from its neighbourhood." He was son to a *dihqan*<sup>2</sup> and, after studying the traditions and jurisprudence, he entered as *katib*<sup>3</sup> into the service of 'Ali Ibn *Shadhan*, governor of the city of *Balkh*; but as heavy sums were extorted from him every year by his employer, he abandoned his post and fled to Daw'ud Ibn Mika'il al-Saljuqi, the father of Alp Arslan. This prince received from him such

---

# 19 November; but the day according to Mahler's calculation was Friday--Ed.

\$ 19 September--Ed.

\$\$ 27 September--Ed.

1 The word *nizam*, here rendered by *regulator*, means the thread or string of a pearl necklaec. This title indicated that the existence of the Vizir was as necessary for the maintenance of order in the state, as the string of a necklace is, to hold the pearls together.

2 See no, 34, note on *dihqan*.

3 He appears to have been director of the revenue office, or collector of taxes.

proofs of fidelity and attachment, that he gave him over to his son, Alp Arslan, saying: "Consider him as a parent, and disobey not his counsels." When Alp Arslan succeeded to the empire, Nizam al-Mulk took the direction of affairs, and administered with great talent; he remained in Alp Arslan's services ten years. On the death of the prince, his sons pressed forward to seize on the empire, but Nizam al-Mulk secured it to Malik Shah, son of Alp Arslan. From that period and during twenty years, all the power was concentrated in the hands of the *vizir*, whilst the sultan had nothing more to do than show himself on the throne and enjoy the pleasures of the chase. The khalifah al-Muqtadi Billah, having received a visit from Nizam al-Mulk, allowed him to be seated in his presence, and addressed him in these terms: "O Hasan! May God be pleased with thee in as much as the commander of the faithful is pleased with thee." The court of the *vizir* Nizam al-Mulk was greatly frequented by doctors of the law and *sufis*, towards the latter of whom he was very beneficent. Being asked the reason of the favour which he showed them, he answered: "I was in the service of a certain amir, when a *sufi* came to me and made me a pious exhortation, and said: "Serve Him whose service will be useful to you, and be not taken up with one whom dogs will eat tomorrow." I did not understand his meaning; but the amir used to drink from morning to evening, and had some dogs which were ferocious like beasts of prey, and devoured strangers at night; now, it happened that being once overcome with intoxication, he went out alone, and was torn to pieces by the dogs, which did not recognize him. I then knew that this *sufi* had received a revelation on the subject, and I therefore treat these people with respect, in hopes that I may obtain a similar grace." On hearing the call to prayers, he immediately abandoned whatever occupation he might be engaged in; and when the Imam al-Haramayn Abu T-Ma'ali, and the author of the Epistle,<sup>1</sup> Abu T-Qasim al-Qushayri, came to visit him he treated them with the utmost respect and made them sit down on the sofa with himself. He built a number of colleges, convents, and mosques in different provinces. He was the first who set the example of founding a college,<sup>2</sup> and he commenced, A.H. 457 (A.D. 1065), the construction of that of Damascuss; in the year 459, it was agreed on by every class of persons that Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi should teach therein; but he did not present himself, and Abu Nasr Ibn al-Sabbagh, the author of the Shamil, taught for twenty days in his place, after which, Abu Ishaq accepted.<sup>3</sup> We shall give the full details of

1 This Epistle (al-Risalah) is a treatise on sufism.

2 This, as may be seen in the introduction, is not exact.

3 (جلس) Literally: Sat.

this circumstance in the life of Ibn al-Sabbagh, which see. At the hour of prayer, Abu Ishaq used to quit the college and perform his devotions in a mosque; "Because," said he, "I have been informed that the grater part of the material employed in the constriction of the college has been procured illegally." Nizam al-Mulk learned and taught the traditions, and he used to say: "I am conscious of not deserving that honour, but I wish to establish myself in the series<sup>1</sup> of persons who have transmitted the sayings of the Prophet." The following verses are declared to be his:

"After four-score, strength exists not; and the alacrity of youth is departed. With staff in hand I resemble Moses, but have not the gift of prophecy[ نبوة ].

Some persons say, however, that these verses are by Muhammad Ibn Abi T-Saqr, whose life shall be given farther on.

Nizam al-Mulk was born on Friday, 21st of Dhu'l Qa'dah, A.H. 408 (April, A.D. 1018),\* at Nuqan, one of the two cities of which Tus is composed.<sup>2</sup> In A.H. 485, he set out with Malik Shah for Isfahan, and on Friday# night, 10th of Ramadan (October, A.D. 1092),\$ he broke his fast and mounted in his palanquin; on reaching a village called Sahnah near Nahawand, he remarked that a great number of the companions of the Prophet had been slain at that place in the time of the khalifah Umar Ibn al-Khattab,<sup>3</sup> "and happy," said he, "is the man who is with them!" He was then accosted by a boy of the province of Daylam, in the dress of a *sufi*, who called to him to receive a memorial, and when the *vizir* reached out his hand to take it, he stabbed him to the heart with a dagger. Nizam al-Mulk was borne to his pavilion, where he expired, and the murderer took to flight, but having stumbled over a tent-rope, fell and was immediately taken and put to death. The Sultan rode forth without delay to tranquilize the army and console them. The body of the *vizir* was transported to Isfahan, and there interred. It is said that the assassin was suborned against him by Malik shah, who was fatigued to see him live so long, and coveted the numerous fiefs which he held in his possession. The Sultan survived him for thirty-five days

1 In the Arabic text, for اقطار read قطار

\* 11 April-Ed.

2 See no. 37.

# i.e. the night intervening between Friday and Saturday-Ed.

\$ 15 October-Ed.

3 The battle of Nahawand was fought A.H. 21 (A.D. 642). See Price's Retrospect, vol. I.

only. This vizir was the ornament of the age in which he lived; his son-in-law, Shibl al-Dawlah Abu T-Hayja Muqatil Ibn al-'Atiyyah al-Bakri, whose life will be found farther on, lamented his death in an elegiac poem containing the following passage:

"Nizam al-Mulk was a precious pearl, formed of pure nobleness by the merciful God: it was so fine that the age knew not its worth, and the Maker, jealous for [guarding] its honour, restored it to its shell.

The assassination of Nizam al-Mulk has been attributed also to Taj al-Mulk Abu T-Ghana'im al-Marzuban Ibn Khusrav Firuz, surnamed Ibn Darist; he was an enemy of the vizir and in high favour with his sovereign Malik Shah, who, on the death of Nizam al-Mulk, appointed him to fill the place of vizir. Ibn Darist was himself slain on Monday night, 12th Muharram, 486 (February, A.D. 1093);\* having been attacked and cut to pieces by the young mamluks belonging to the household of Nizam al-Mulk. He was aged forty-seven years: the tomb over the grave of the shaykh Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi was erected by him.

#### 172. FAKHR AL-KUTTAB AL-JUWAYNI

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ibrahim al-Juwayni, surnamed Fakhr al-Kuttab (*pride of the katibs*), was a native of Juwayn, but his family came from Baghdad. This celebrated *katib* (scribe) wrote a great deal, and copied books which are now found in the hands of the public, and for which a high price is asked, on account of the beauty of the writing and the eagerness of purchasers. 'Imad al-Din praises him highly in the *Kharidah* and then says: "He was one of the convivial companions, of the atabek Zinki when that prince was in Syria, and afterwards remained under a shelter of honour near his son Nur al-Din Mahmud. He then travelled to Egypt during the administration of Ibn Ruzzik, and he dwells there till this day. There is not at present, in Misr, a person who writes like him." 'Imad al-Din then cites some passages of a poem addressed by him to al-Qadi T-Fadil, which, were it not so long, we should give here. Fakhr al-Kuttab died at Cairo, A.H. 584 (A.D. 1118-9), or 586. *Juwayni* means *belonging to Juwayn*, which is a large region near Naysabur [Nishapur]: a great number of learned men bore this patronymic. The following

---

\* 12 February; but the day according to Mahler's calculation was Saturday—Ed.

verses, composed by a native of 'Iraq, were often recited by Fakhr al-Kuttab.

"Men feel regret when unable to accomplish their desires and you see them rejoice and look gay when they succeed, (*although their projects are then*) as if they had never been fulfilled.<sup>1</sup> Projects and the dreams of sleep are, in my opinion, nearly related".

### 173. AL-KARABISI

Abu 'Ali al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn Yazid al-Karabisi was a native of Baghdad, and one of the Imam al-Shafi'i's most distinguished disciples, having replaced him occasionally at his course of lectures, and possessing a most extensive knowledge of his doctrine. He composed many works on the main principles of jurisprudence and its particular application; he was skilled in dogmatic theology, and learned in the Traditions. He wrote works on that branch of science which is called *al-Jarh wa'l-Ta'dil* (*impeachment and justification*),<sup>2</sup> and on other subject. A great number of persons were instructed by him in jurisprudence. He died A.H. 245, or, according to a statement which appears more correct, in 248 (A.D. 862-3).

*Karabisi* is formed from *Karabis*, which word designates clothes made of a sort of coarse cloth; the singular is *kirbas*: it is a Persian word, altered in its pronunciation to suit the genius of the Arabic language.<sup>3</sup> This doctor sold cloth of that sort, and was therefor called *al-Karabisi* (*the clothier*),

### 174 ABU 'ALI IBN KHAYRAN

'Abu 'Ali al-Husayn Ibn Salih Ibn Khayran was a jurisconsult of the sect of al-Shafi'i and most eminent for his piety; he was also one of their most talented teachers. The place of *qadi* at Baghdad was

1 He means probably that when a project is executed, it is no longer a project. The verse is very obscure and I may be perhaps mistaken.

2 The science of *al-Jarh wa'l-Ta'dil* treats of the credibility of Traditionists.-See Hajji Khalifah, No. 4009, This term serves also to designate the inquest made by the *qadi* into the character of witness. See Hamilton's *Hidayah*, vol. II, p. 672, In the Arabic text of Ibn Khallikan, for <sup>الجرح</sup> *الحرج* read <sup>الجرح</sup> *الحرج*. I was led into this mistake by a note of Reiske's in the *Annals of Abu 'l-Fida*, vol. II, p. 691, and by a passage in M.de Sacy *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 39. They are both in the wrong.

3 The original Persian word is *Kirpas*.

(For further reference see *Ansab*, f. 476 b)

offered to him in the *khālifāt* of al-Muqtadir, and on his refusal to accept it, he was kept under arrest<sup>1</sup> in his house by order of the vizir 'Alī Ibn 'Isa, who, when remonstrated with on the subject, answered: "My sole intention was to have it said of our epoch, that there existed in it one who was kept under arrest in his house, in order that the might be constrained to accept the place of *qadi*." Ibn Khayran reproached Ibn Surayj his acceptance of that office, and told him that such a thing was not fitted for persons of their sect, but for those of Abu Hanifa's.<sup>2</sup> According to Abu T-'Ala' Ibn al-'Askari, this doctor died on Tuesday, 16th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 320 (December, A.D. 932);\* but the *hafiz* Abu T-Hasan al-Daraqutni places his death in the year 310; this statement is declared by the *Khātib* to be correct, and he pronounces Abu T-'Ala's erroneous.

### 175 THE QADI HUSAYN

Abu 'Alī al-Husayn Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Marwarrudi, a jurisconsult of the *Shafite* sect and known by the title of the *qadi*<sup>3</sup>, was a doctor of high authority and author of the treatise on law, entitled *al-Ta'liqah* (notes). In treating some points of doctrine, he followed a system peculiar to himself, and when the Imam al-Haramayn and al-Ghazzali say (the former in his *Nihayat al-Matlab*, and the latter in his *Basit* and *Tawsit*)\*\*, "The *qadi* says," it is he whom they mean and no other. He learned jurisprudence from al-Qaffal al-Marwazi (whose life will be found among those of the 'Abd Allahs), and he composed works on the main principles of jurisprudence, on its particular applications, and on controverted subject. He continued

1 The word *ترسيم* signifies, to put under arrest. This meaning, though perfectly certain, is not given in the dictionaries.

2 The *Shafite* doctors frequently reproached those of the sect of Abu Hanifa with meddling in worldly matters and accepting places under government.

\* 18 December—Ed.

3 "When the *Shafites* speak of the *qadi*, they mean the Husayn here mentioned, but in treating of the "principles of jurisprudence" *اصول* this denomination is given by the learned in the *sunnah* to Abu Bakr al-Baqilani. When the two *qadis* are spoken of, it is the latter and 'Abd al-Jabbar al-Mu'tazili who are meant; and the *shaykh* is either Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari or Abn Muhammad al-Juwayni; the word *imam* designates either the Imam al-Haramayn or Fakhr al-Din al-Razi." (Al-Yafi'i).

(for further reference see *Ansab*, f. 522 b.)—Ed.

\*\* In autograph *al-Basit wa 'l-Wasit*; Hajji *Khālifah* says *al-Wasit* is an abridgment of *al-Basit* (*Kashf*, col. 2008).

(till his death) to act as judge, professor, and *mufti*, and he taught the science of the law to a number of eminent men, amongst whom were al-Farra al-Baghawi, the author of the *Tahdhib*, the commentary on the *Sunnah*, and other works. The *qadi* Husayn died A. H. 462 (A.D. 1069-70), at Marwarrud, of which place we have already spoken (see page No. 22).

#### 176. ABU 'ALI AL-SINJI

Abu 'Ali al-Husayn Ibn Shu'ayb Ibn Muhammad al-Sinji, a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i and one of their most eminent imams, studied jurisprudence in Khurasan under al-Qaffal al-Marwazi; he had for condisciples the *qadi* Husayn, (see the preceding article,) and Abu Muhammad al-Juwayni, the father of the Imam al-Haramayn (whose lives we shall give later). He wrote a commentary on Abu Bakr Ibn al-Haddad al-Misri's *Furu'* (or development of the *Shafite doctrines*); this commentary has not been equalled, although many others have been composed on the same work, one of which is by his own professor al-Qaffal, and another by the *qadi* Abu 'I-Tayyib al-Tabari. He is also author of a great commentary of the [*Kitab al-*] *Talkhis* of Abu 'I-Abbas Ibn al-Qass; [It is a large commentary and] this work is rare. Another of his productions is the *Majmu'* or collection (containing an exposition of the *Shafite doctrines*)<sup>1</sup> He is cited by Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali in the *Wasit*. Al-Sinji was the first who possessed an equal acquaintance with the system of jurisprudence followed in Iraq and that practised in Khurasan. The people of Marw, at that period, considered him as their chief jurisconsult. He died some time after the four hundred and thirtieth year of the Hijrah (A.D. 1038-9). *Sinji* means belonging to *Sinji* a large village near Marw.\*

#### 177 AL-FARRA AL-BAGHAWI

Abu Muhammad al-Husayn Ibn Mas'ud Ibn Muhammad more generally known by the title of al-Farra al-Baghawi, was doctor of

1 Hajji Khalifah.

(for further reference see *Ansab*, f. 313a)--Ed.

\* [There is an addition of a sentence in the autograph which runs thus; it was said that in his time in Khurasan there were three accomplished scholars, one of them of extensive studies and deep insight and it was Abu 'Ali al-Sinji and another with limited information and deep insight and it was Abu Muhammad al-Juwayni, and the third had extensive studies to his credit but no penetrating insight and it was (the name is illegible)--Ed.



the sect of al-Shafi'i, a Traditionist and a commentator on the *Qur'an*: in the different sciences he was a sea of knowledge. He learned jurisprudence from the *qadi* Husayn (see his life. no 176), and composed a commentary on the Word of God (the *Qur'an*), and an explanation of the obscurities in the sayings of the Prophet (the *Sunnah*); he taught the Traditions and professed (jurisprudence), in which he never gave lessons but in a state of legal purity.<sup>1</sup> He is author of many works, such as the *Tahdhīb* (arrangement) treating of jurisprudence; an explanation of the *Sunnah* or Traditions: The *Ma'alim al-Tanzil* (marks of revelation), which is a commentary on the *Qur'an*: the *Masabih* (lights)<sup>2</sup>; the *Jamu'bayn al-Sahlhayn* (the conjunction of the two *Sahlhs*)<sup>3</sup>; etc. He died in the month of *Shawwal*, A.H. 510 (February, A.D. 1117, at Marwarrud, and was interred in the cemetery of Talaqan, close by the grave of his master the *qadi* Husayn. His tomb is famous among the people of that country. I have read (however) in a work compiled by the *Shaykh* 'Abd al-'Azim al-Mundhiri, and entitled *al-Fawa'id al-Safariyah* (travelling notes?), that al-Farra al-Baghawi died A.H. 316 (A.D. 1122-3); this I found written in his own hand. He relates also; "A wife of this doctor died, and he refused to accept any portion of the inheritance left by her: he used also to live on dry bread, but having been blamed for this (as an affectation of abstinence). He ate his bread with olive oil." *Farra* means a preparer or seller of *furs*.

Al-Sam'ani says in his *Kitab al-Ansab*: "Baghawi is the relative adjective derived from *Bagh* or *Baghshur*, which is the name of a town in *Khurasan*, lying between Marw and Herat; this adjective is formed irregularly".

## 178. AL-HALIMI

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Hysayn Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Halim a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i and known by the name of al-Halimi, was born in Jurjan, A.H. 338 (A.H. 949-50). whence he was carried (when yet a child) to *Bakhara*. He wrote down the Traditions under the dictation of Abu Bark Muhammad Ibn Ahmad

1 See the *Tableau general del' Empire Othoman*, tom. II, p. 7.

2 This is the work which was remodelled by the *shaykh* Wali al-Din Mahmud, and entitled by him *Mishkat al-Masabih*, (the niche for the lights). The *Mishkat* has been translated into English by Capt. Matthews.

3 That is: The union of the Traditions found in *Sahih* of al-Dukhari and in that of Muslim.

(for further reference see *Ansab*, f. 174a)—Ed.

Ibn Habib and other masters. After studying jurisprudence under Abu Bakr al-Udani and al-Qaffal al-Shashi, he became an *imam* on high consideration and authority in Transoxiana. He had an excellent manner of treating points of the *Shafite* doctrine. When at Naysabur, he taught the Tradition and al-Hafiz al-Hakim (Ibn al-Baiyi) and others gave Tradition on his authority. His death took place in the month of first Jumada (some say of the first Rabi'), A.H. 403 (end of A.D. 1012). *Halimi* is derived from *Halim*, which was the name of his great grandfather.

### 179. AL-WANNI AL-FARADI

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn Ibn Muhammad al-Wanni al-Faradi<sup>1</sup> was a skilful accountant, a doctor of the highest authority in the science of partitions, and a composer of many excellent works. He learned the Traditions from the disciples of Abu 'Ali al-Saffar and others, and taught them to the *Khatib* al-Tabrizi, to Abu Hakim, al-Khabri,<sup>2</sup> the author of the *Talkhis fi 'T-Hisab* (*treatise on arithmetic*) and others. He was al-Khabri's master in arithmetic and the science of partitions. His instructions and his books were profitable to great numbers. He died a martyr at Baghdad in the month of *Dhu T-Hijjah*, A.H. 451 (January, A.D. 1060), having been slain in the troubles caused by al-Basasiri (No. 78). *Wanni* means belonging to *Wann*, a village in one of the cantons of *Quhistan*; I imagine that it was his native place.

---

1 *Al-Faradi*; learned in the science of Partitions (*Furud*); by which term is designated that branch of knowledge which is requisite for the solution of questions relative to the partition of inherited property amongst heirs. Those nearest related to the deceased are entitled to a larger share than the others, and the amount of each share depends upon the degree of relationship. As it therefore frequently happened that such questions could not be resolved but by the aid of the arithmetic of fractions and the first principles of algebra, that were then but few doctors capable of treating them, and when they possessed that talent, the honourable title of *al-Faradi* was conferred on them by their contemporaries. the science of partition is coeval with Islamism.

2 Abu Hakim 'Abd Allah Ibn Ibrahim al-Faradi al-Khabri (*native of khabr a place in or near Nishapur*), studied jurisprudence under the *shaykh* Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi, but he became eminent as an arithmetician and a doctor in the science of partitions, on which he wrote some works. He was well acquainted with pure Arabic and composed a commentary on the *Hamasah* and another on the poem of al-Mutanabbi. He had learned a great number of the Traditions, and was a man of holy life. His writing was beautiful and correct. He died suddenly, A.H. 476 (A.D. 1084).—(*Tabaqat al-Shafi'in*.)

[For further reference see *Ansab*, f. 586 b.]—Ed.

## 180 IBN KHAMIS AL-JUHANI

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn Ibn Nasr Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husayn Ibn al-Qasim Ibn Khamis Ibn 'Amir al-Ka'bi al-Juhani was a native of Mosul, and is generally known by the name of Ibn Khamis. This doctor, who belonged to the sect of al-Shafi'i and bore the titles of Taj al-Islam (*crown of Islamism*) and Majd al-Din (*glory of religion*), studied jurisprudence at Baghdad under Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali and other masters; he (*then*) became *qadi* of Rahabat Malik Ibn Tawq,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards returned to Mosul, where he settled. He composed many works, such as the *Manaqib al-Abrar* (*Merits of the saints*), written in the style of al-Qashayri's Epistle<sup>2</sup>; the *Manasik al-Hajj* (*rites of the pilgrimage*); and the *Akhbar al-manamat* (*accounts of dreams*). He is mentioned with commendation by Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ani in his History. He died in the month of the second Rabi', A.H. 552 (May, A.D. 1157). Khamis was the name of this great-grandfather's grandfather. *Juhani* means *belonging to Juhaynah*, a village near Mosul and in the proximity of that other village in which is the celebrated well called 'ayn *Qayyarah*, the waters of which, when taken in baths, are salutary in cases of palsy and scrofula<sup>3</sup>; it lies in the country of Mosul, and lower down than that city, from which it is father off than Juhaynah. *Juhani* is also the relative adjective derived from *Juhaynah*, the name of a great tribe descended from Quda'ah. *Ka'bi* means *belonging to Ka'b*; there are four tribes of this name, but I do not know to which Ibn Khamis belonged.

## 181. AL-HALLAJ

Abu Mughith al-Husayn Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, a celebrated ascetic [ زاهد ], was a native of al-Bayda', a town in the province of Fars, but he passed his youth in Wasit and 'Iraq. He was a disciple

---

1 This town, called also al-Rahabah, was situated on the Euphrates, between al-Raqqa and 'Anah. It is mentioned in the Geography of Abu 'I-Fida.

2 The Epistle (*risalah*) of 'Abd al-Karim al-Qushayri treats of sufism; it is divided into three sections and contains fifty-four chapters. It is considered a work of the highest authority on the subject. A number of doctors have composed commentaries upon it (Hajji Khalifah). A list of the chapters contained in the celebrated *risalah* is given by M. de Hammer, in the Catalogue of his original manuscripts, under the No. 291.

3 Scrofula, so I have translated by conjecture the words *al-riyah al-baridah*, which signify literally cold winds, or perhaps could humours.

of Abu T-Qasim al-Junayd, and people are still at variance respecting his true character; some extolling him to the utmost, whilst others treat him as an infidel. I read in Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali's *Mishkat al-Anwar* a long chapter on him, justifying the singular expressions which he uttered, such as *I am the Truth; there is nought in Paradise\* but God*, and assertions of a similar nature, the very mention of which is shocking to the ears.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ghazzali places all these expressions in a good light, and gives them an interpretation (*by which their impiety is removed*); he says also that he was led into them from excessive love (*towards God*) and extreme desire (*to enjoy His presence*), and that these expressions may be assimilated to the following:


"I am he whom I love, and he whom I love is I; we are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me, thou seest him, thou seest us."

Among the verses attributed to al-Hallaj, and containing allusions expressed in the mystical style of the *sufis*, are the following (which, however, are said to have been written by Abu T-Qasim Samun Ibn Hamzah the ascetic<sup>2</sup> to a person who wrote to inquire from him how he was):

Thou didst send to ask how I was, and what care and sadness I felt in thy absence.<sup>3</sup> *I had not been*, did I know how I was; and there were no *I had not been*, did I know how I was not<sup>4</sup>.

Such also is this verse in the same style.

"He threw him into the ocean with his hands tied behind his back, and said to him; 'Beware' beware! lest thou gettest wet<sup>5</sup>!"

\* Perhaps de Slane's MS. had  in the autograph and published text. Ed.

1 The chief point of the *sufi* doctrine seems to be that the human soul is an emanation, or perhaps a portion of the Divinity. On the death of the body the soul is absorbed into the Creator; and this sometimes happens even in life during the state of excitation called *hal* by the *sufis*. Most of the singular expressions which shocked the orthodox Muslims are easily explained on this principle. One of the clearest accounts of sufism is given by M. de secy in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII.

2 Samnun was a *sufi* and contemporary with al-Junayd. Jami has given a short account of him in the *Nafahat al-Uns*,

3 In the Arabic text, this verse and the foregoing parenthesis are not given till some lines lower down.

4 Such is the literal translation of this strange verse; its meaning is above my comprehension.

5 This is manifestly directed against the doctrine of predestination.

Other verses of the same cast have also been attributed to him. Abu Bakr Ibn Thawab al-Qasri relates that he heard al-Husayn Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj say, when undergoing the torture of the rack<sup>1</sup>:

"I sought through every land a place of repose, but found it not; I obeyed my desires, and they made of me a slave; had I been content (*with my lot*), I had been free."

In a word, the history of al-Hallaj is long to relate, his fate is well known, and God knoweth all secret things! The grandfather of al-Hajjaj was a Magian; he himself was a disciple of al-Junayd and others of that class, and most of the learned doctors of the time gave their formal opinion that it was lawful to put him to death.<sup>2</sup> It said that Abu T'-Abbas Ibn Surayj, on being asked what he thought of him, returned this answer: "He is a man whose true character is hidden from me, and I shall therefore abstain from giving any opinion respecting him". At an assembly held by Hamid Ibn al-'Abbas, vizir to al-Muqtadir, a discourse was held by al-Hallaj, and the qadi Ibn 'Umar, who was present, gave a *Fatwa* (or *Judicial opinion*) that he merited death; this he wrote down with his own hand, and the same declaration was signed by the other doctors who were there. On this, al-Hallaj said to them: "You cannot flog me, neither can you spill my blood<sup>3</sup>; and it is not lawful for you to take hold of a pretext against me so that you may authorize the shedding of my blood my belief is Islamism, founded on the *Sunnah*; I admit the preeminence of the four *Imams*, of the well-directed *Khalifs*<sup>4</sup>, and of the rest of the ten Companions<sup>5</sup>; may the favour of God be upon them! I have besides composed works on the *Sunnah*, which are to be found at the booksellers'. So on God-on God (*ao I call*) that he protect my blood." He continued repeating these words whilst they were writing down their opinions, and when they had finished and withdrawn, al-Hallaj was taken to prison. The vizir then informed al-Muqtadir, by letter, of the result of the meeting, and sent him the decisions of the doctors; to this, answer was made, that since the

---

1 Literally: When on the wood.

2 Some doctors of very high authority have considered him as a great saint, and he was looked on as a martyr by Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali, Abd al-Qadir Muhi al-Din, and Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardt. (Al-Yaff'i.)

3 Literally: My back is under protection and my blood is prohibited.

4 The well-directed *Khalifahs*, *al-Khulafa al-Rashidin*, were Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali.

5 The others were Talhah, Zubayr, Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas. 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf, Abu Ubaydah Ibn al-Jarrah, and Sa'id Ibn Zayd. Muhammad had declared to them that they should enter paradise.

*qadis* had given their opinion that he merited death, he should be handed over to the chief of the police guards, who should inflict on him one thousand strokes of a whip, and another thousand if his death did not ensue, and that he should then behead him. The vizir, in consequence, handed al-Hallaj over to the chief of the police guards, whom he informed of the orders given by al-Muqtadir; he said to him also: "If al-Hallaj does not expire under the bastonnade, cut off one of his hands, then one of his feet, then strike off his head and burn his body. And if he try to beguile you, and say to you that he will make the Euphrates and Tigris run gold and silver, do not hearken to him nor suspend his punishment." The chief of the police received the prisoner that night, and the next morning which was Tuesday, 23rd (or, as some say, 24th) of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 309 (March, A.D. 922)\* he brought him to the *Bab al-Taḡ* (*the gate of the dome*), where an immense multitude of people was assembled. The executioner inflicted one thousand strokes on al-Hallaj, who did not utter a groan, but said to the chief of the police guards, towards the six hundredth: "Let me be brought near you, for I have an advice to give you which will be worth the capture of Constantinople."—"I have been already told," replied the other "that you would say this and more; and it is not in my power to suspend your punishment." After the infliction of the bastinado, his four limbs were cut off; he was then beheaded, his body was consumed by fire, the ashes were cast into the Tigris, and the head was stuck up at Baghdad, on the bridge. His disciples flattered themselves with the hopes of his returning (*on earth*) after forty days and as a great inundation of the Tigris occurred the same year, they pretended that it was produced by the ashes of al-Hallaj which had been thrown into the river. Some of his partisans asserted that he had not been put to death, but that his likeness had been given to one of his enemies (*who thus suffered in his stead.*) It would be too long to enter into a full account of his conduct, but what we have here said may suffice. He received the surname of *al-Hallaj* because he used to sit by the shop of a cotton-carder (*hallaj*) whom he one (*one day*) asked to do some business for him. "But I myself am busy carding;" answered the other. "Do my business," said al-Hallaj, "and I will card for you." The man then went off, leaving him there, and on his return he found all his cotton carded.

After finishing this notice, I found in a work on the principles of religion, composed by the Imam al-Haramayn Abu 'I-Ma'ali l'Abd al-Malik b. al-Shaykh Abi Muhammad] al-Juwayni, and entitled al-

---

\* Tuesday, 23 *Dhu'l Qa'dah*, A.H. 309 (26 March)--Ed.

*Shamil*, a passage which it is necessary for me to mention, and in which I am obliged to point out an error. That doctor says: "Some of our best and soundest authorities state that the three persons (*named below*) conspired to overthrow the (*Muslim*) empire, and undertook to disorganise the state and gain over the hearts of the people to themselves. Each of them then proceeded to a particular region: al-Jannabi went to the province of al-Ahsa<sup>1</sup>; Ibn al-Muqaffa' penetrated into the country of the Turks; and al-Hallaj repaired to Baghdad, the sovereign of which city condemned him to death; the failure of the project was caused by the difficulty of seducing the people of 'Iraq. "Now, this statement cannot be received by any historian; for these three persons were not contemporaries; as for al-Hallaj and al-Jannabi, they lived, it is true, at the same period, but I do not know that they ever met<sup>2</sup>. In the following article we shall relate who this al-Jannabi was.

## 182. AL-JANNABI.#

Abu Tahir Sulayman Ibn Abi Sa'id al-Hasan Ibn Bahram al-Qarmati was the chief of the Qarmats, whose wars and revolts against the *khalifs* and (*Muslim*) princes are sufficiently known to dispense with our lengthening this article by giving an account of them<sup>3</sup>; but if God enable me to compose my great history<sup>4</sup>, I shall give a detailed

---

1 Al-Ahsa, called by Europeans Lahsa, is a town in Arabia, to the south-west of the Persian Gulf.

2 The author now proceeds to give the lives of al-Jannabi and Ibn al-Muqaffa', neglecting, in this case, the alphabetical arrangement of his work. In his account of the latter he concludes his refutation of the Imam al-Haramayns' statement.

These are not independent notices in the autograph—Ed.

(For further reference see *Ansab*, (f. 181 b.)—Ed.

# M. de Slane has given the accounts of al-Jannabi and al-Muqaffa' as independent notices against the arrangement of the author who has, however, subjoined them to the notice of al-Hallaj. In the text of Egyptian edition; they have not been splitted.

Ibn *Khallikan* wants to establish that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was put to death about one hundred and sixty-four years before al-Hallaj's execution and so he could not have met al-Hallaj and al-Jannabi.—Ed.

3 For the history of the Qarmats, the reader may consult the *Annals* of Abu al-Fida; Price's *Retrospect of Muhammadan History*; and, above all, M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*.

4 This work was never completed.

narrative of their proceedings. It is incumbent on me, however, since I have spoken of them here, to state briefly what they were; (*as it is my desire*) that some mention of them should be found in this work. My professor 'Izz al-Din 'Ali, surnamed Ibn al-Athir, gives in his great historical work, the *Kamil*, a long account of the origin of this sect, and, under each year, he relates what happened to them during that period. It is this source which supplied me with the following passages, in extracting which, I was attentive to aim at concision. He makes the first mention of them under the year 278 (A.D. 891-2), where he says: "In this year, some people of the Sawad, or cultivated country, around Kufah, and who are called the Qarmats, became disorderly." He then gives the particulars of the rise of this sect, and the following is a summary extract from his relation: "There appeared a man who made an outward show of devotion, self-mortification, and austerity of life; he plaited (*baskets and other objects*) with palm-tree leaves, and subsisted on the produce of their sale. For some time he invited the people to (*join*) an imam belonging to the blessed family of the Prophet and his appeal was answered by great numbers<sup>1</sup>, who were induced, from different circumstances in his conduct, to place a perfect reliance on his sincerity. The report of their proceedings spread throughout the territory of Kufah". He then says under the year 286 (A.D. 899): "In this year appeared, in (*the province of*) al-Bahrayn, a man of the Qarmat sect, who bore the name of Abu Sa'id al-jannabi, and who was joined by a number of Qaramats and of the Arabs of the Desert; his party having thus become strong, he (*attacked and*) slew the people of the neighbouring villages<sup>2</sup>. This Abu Sa'id used to sell food, and he persuaded his purchasers that in buying it, they did an act agreeable to God<sup>3</sup>. Their strength then became great and they approached the region of Basrah, on which the *khalif* al-Mu'tadid billah sent against them an army under the command of al-'Abbas Ibn 'Amr al-Ghanawi. A vigorous action ensued, in which the troops of al-'Abbas were routed and he himself taken prisoner. This happened towards the end of the month of *Sha'ban*, 287, between Basrah and Bahrayn. Abu Sa'id put his prisoners to death and burned their bodies, but he spared the life of al-'Abbas, and dismissed him after a lapse of some days, telling him to go, to his master and inform him of what he had witnessed. Al-'Abbas arrived at Baghdad in the month of Ramadan

---

1 The *Expose de l'Histoire des Druzes* is the best commentary that can be given on these proceedings.

2 This was of course a most agreeable pastime for the nomadic Arabs, who detested, and detest still, the dwellers in towns.

3 Compare this with a passage in the *Expose*, introduction, page 187.



of that year and entered into the presence of the *khalif*, who clothed him in a robe of honour. The Qarmats then penetrated into Syria in A.H. 289, and a number of combats, too long to be related, ensued between the two parties. In the year 301 (A.D. 913-4), Abu Sa'id al-Jannabi was slain in a bath by one of his eunuchs, and was succeeded by his son Abu Tahir Sulayman. At the period of his death, Abu Sa'id was in possession of Hajar, al-Qatif, al-Ta'if, and the rest of the province of Bahrayn. In the month of the second Rabi', A.H. 311 (commencement of August, A.D. 923). Abu Tahir marched his army to Basrah and occupied that city without meeting any serious resistance. They scaled its walls during the night by means of rope-ladders, made of (*camels'*) hair, and having been attacked on the first alarm, they slew the governor of the city and put a part of their adversaries to the sword; the rest took to flight. During the seventeen days that Abu Tahir remained at Basrah, he was occupied in sending off the property taken from the inhabitants, after which he returned to his own country. The Qarmats continued, till the year 317 (A.C. 929), to fill the provinces with devastation, and lay them waste with fire and sword, captivity and pillage. In that year, the pilgrims, arrived safely at Makkah, but they were there attacked on the day of Tarwiyah<sup>1</sup> (8th *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*), by Abu Tahir Qarmat, who plundered their property and slew them even in the precincts of the Sacred Mosque and in the House of God itself. They tore the black stone out of the wall of the Ka'bah and sent it to Hajar; and they slew the emir of Makkah and a number of *Sharifs* who had sallied out to attack them. They broke down the door of the Ka'bah, and one of them mounted up to pull away the water-spout<sup>2</sup>, but he fell and was killed. They threw some of the slain into the well Zamzam, and buried the others in the Sacred Mosque, without winding sheets, or washing or prayers<sup>3</sup>. The cloth covering of the Ka'bah was taken off by their chief and shared among his followers, and they plundered the houses of the people of Makkah. When intelligence of this reached al-Mahdi 'Ubayd Allah lord of Ifriqiyah<sup>4</sup>, he wrote to al-Jannabi, condemning his conduct and reprehending him most severely<sup>5</sup>. *By what you have committed, said he, you have justified the accusation of infidelity brought against our sect, and the title impious given to the missionaries acting for our dynasty; and if you of restore not that*

---

1. See Reiske's Abu 'l-Fida, tom. II p. 643.

2. The celebrated water-spout, or *Mizab*, was of gold.

3. All of which are essential in a Muslim interment.

4. See *Druzes*, introduction, page 218.

5. Literally: He raised up the resurrection upon him. See note on resurrection no. 1.

which you have taken from the inhabitants of Makkah, from the pilgrims, and from others,—if you replace not the black stone and the covering of the Ka'bah, we shall renounce you both in this world and in the next. On the receipt of this letter, he replaced the stone, and restored to the people of Makkah as much of their property as he could get back from his followers. 'We took it,' said they, 'by order, and by order we give it back'" Bajkem<sup>1</sup> al-Turki, who was emir of Bagh<sup>h</sup>dad and 'Ira<sup>q</sup> at that time, had offered them fifty thousand dinars to induce them to restore the black stone, but they [had] refused; now, however, they gave it back. Another historian says: "They restored it to its place in the Ka'bah on the 5th of Dhu 'I-Qa'dah, or "Dhu 'I-Hajjah, of that year (A.H. 339), in the khalifat of al-Muti' lillah. When he (Abu Tahir) carried it off, three strong camels could scarcely bear its weight, but when they restored it, one weak camel bore it back without suffering (from fatigue)<sup>2</sup>."

I must (now) observe that the statement of my master (*Ibn al-Athir*) respecting al-Mahdi's letter to al-Qirmiti on the subject of the black stone and its restoration in consequence, cannot be correct; for al-Mahdi died A.H. 322 (A.D. 934), and the stone was sent back A.H. 339 (A.D. 950-1), seventeen years after his death. A little farther on, my master says; "When they restored the stone, they first carried it to al-Kufah and hung it up in the mosque, for public inspection; and they then bore it to Makkah, after its having remained with them twenty-two year."—It is said, however, by another historian that it was restored by Ibn Shabr, one of Abu Sa'id (*al-Jannabi's*) favourite partisans. My master then says, under the year 360 (A.D. 970-1) "The Qarmats came to Damascus, took it and slew the Egyptian governor, Ja'for Ibn Falah." (We have already made some mention of this in the life of Ja'far No. 134.) "Then the Qarmat army reached 'Ayn Shams near the gates of Cairo and defeated the Egyptian troops, but it subsequently retired, having been vanquished in its turn by the people of Misr" On the whole, no Muslims, either before or after

---

1 Bajkam <sup>بجكم</sup> such is the true orthography of the name, not *Yahkum* <sup>يأحكم</sup> as in the printed text, nor *Bahcam*, as Reiske has it in the *Annals* of Abu 'I-Fida. The autograph MS. of that work, and which is in the *Bib. du Roi*, writes this name correctly, and al-Dhahabi, in his *Annals*, year 391 (MS. No. 646), place it under the letter B, in his alphabetical list of the men of note who died in that year. The letter J <sup>ج</sup> is clearly marked in both MSS.—Bajkam was grand emir of the Khalifat. For his history, see Abu 'I-Fida's *Annals*, years 326, 327, 329. Consult also Price's vol. II page 179 et seq.

2 If this be true, they must have broken off and kept a large portion of the stone, but the fact itself is considered by the Muslims as miraculous.

them, committed such crimes against Islamism as they; most of 'Iraq, and of the land of the East<sup>1</sup>, the province of Hijaz, Syria, and the country up to the gates of Misr fell into their power. When they took away the stone, they left it at Hajar, their headquarters. Abu Tahir was killed A.H. 332 (A.D. 943-4). *Qirmiti* is a relative adjective; the word *qarmata*, when employed as a noun common, signifies *the closeness of one part of a thing to another part*; thus they say of writing and of a mode of walking that they are *muqarmit*, when the letters of the writing are close to each other, and when a person takes short steps in walking<sup>2</sup>; the Abu Sa'id of whom we are speaking was a *short squat man*, of a tawny colour and ill-looking; and for this reason he was called *Qirmiti*. A long chapter on the proceedings of the Qarmats is given by the qadi al-Baqilani in his work, entitled *Asrar al-Batiniyah* (*secrets of the Batinites*). *Jannabi* means *belonging to Jannabah*, which is a town in one of the cantons of Fars, contiguous to Bahrayn, and situated near Siraf; the Qarmats came from this place, and were therefore called *Jannabites*. *Al-Ahsa* is a tract of country in the same region, containing many towns such as Jannabah, Hajar, and al-Qatif. *Ahsa* is the plural of *Hisi*, which word denotes water absorbed by a sandy soil till it reaches a hard stratum by which it is retained; the Arabs dig away the sand till they find the water and extract it. When a place contains much land of this nature, it is called *al-Ahsa* and becomes known by no other name. Relative to *Bohrayn*, al-Jawhari says in his *Sahah*: "*Al-Bahrayn* is a town; the adjective derived from it is *Bahrani*." (Abu Mansur Muhammad) al-Azhari says; "*Al-bahrayn* (the two seas) is in the dual number and it was so named for the reason that in the region where its towns are situated and near the gate of Al-Ahsa and the villages of Hajar lies a lake at ten parasangs' distance from the Great Green Ocean (the Persian Gulf); this lake is three miles long and as many broad; it does not overflow, and its waters are tranquil and salt." All the above-mentioned places are in the part of Arabia which is behind Basrah, and reaches to the confines of Hijaz; they lie on the coast of the sea which touches Yemen and India; and are near the island or Qays Ibn 'Umayrah, called vulgarly *Kaish*; this island is situated between 'Uman and Fars. In the same neighbourhood are Ramhurmuz and other towns.

We shall now speak of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

---

1 The land of the East; that is, Mesopotamia, the land to the east of Syria.

2 I have here paraphrased the original, which merely says when it is so.

'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa', the *Katib* so renowned for the elegance of his style, and the author of admirable Epistles<sup>1</sup>, was native of Fars and a Magian, but he made his profession of Islamism to 'Isa Ibn 'Ali, the uncle of the two first 'Abbasid *khalifs*, al-Saffah and al-Mansur. He then became his secretary and was admitted into his intimacy. One of his sayings was: 'I drank of misfortunes till I was filled, but did not perceive any regularity in their arrival; they disappeared, then they overflowed and although they are not uniform as are the lines of poetry, it is they alone which are (an) instructive discourse.'<sup>2</sup> Al-Haytham Ibn 'Adi relates of him this anecdote: 'Ibn al-Muqaffa' came to 'Isa Ibn 'Ali and said: 'Islamism has entered into my heart, and I wish to make profession of it to you'. 'Isa answered: 'Let it be done in the presence of the leaders, and of the chiefs of the people; come therefore tomorrow.' On the evening of that very day, he went to dine with 'Isa and having sat down, he began to eat and to mutter according to the custom of the Magians. 'How', said 'Isa, 'you mutter (like the magians), although resolved to embrace Islamism?' To this Ibn al-Muqaffa' replied: 'I do not wish to pass a night without being of some religion.' The next morning he made to 'Isa his solemn profession of Islamism.' Notwithstanding the eminent merit of Ibn al-Muqaffa', he was suspected of Zindiqism<sup>3</sup>, and al-Jahiz related that he, Muti' Ibn Iyas<sup>4</sup>

1 These Epistles are not noticed by Hajji *Khalifah*, but the author of the *Fihrist* mentions a *Kitab al-Yatimah fi al-Rasa'il* by Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

2 Such seems to be the idea which Ibn al-Muqaffa' wishes to express in an Arabic phrase of singular obscurity, the word *khutab* خطب signifies misfortunes and pulpit discourses; *rawiya* رويّا which I have paraphrased by *regularity in his arrival*, means also *rhyme* by which seems to be denoted that they come not regularly like rhymes in poetry and elegant prose compositions, but *without rhyme or reason*. The same sentence may, however, signify: "I have been drenched with sermons, and yet have not been able to seize on their *rhyme*; they came and they went, and if not regular in their composition, yet they, and no other were really discourses."

3 See D'Herbelot's *Bib-Orient*, Zendik, and Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II, page 43.

4 Abu Salmah Muti' Ibn Iyas, a member of the tribe of Kinanah and a native of Kufah, His mother was the celebrated Umm *Kharajah*, whose hasty marriages became proverbial (see Freytag's *Proverbs of al-Maydani*, tom. I. p. 636). Accustomed to the favour of the last Umayyad *Khalifahs*, he complained of the neglect with which he was treated by the 'Abbasids. He was a *Zindiq* at heart, and it appears that his irreligion was well known. He died A.H. 168 (A.D. 784), three months after the accession of the *Khalif* al Hadi.-(*Kitab al-Aghani*.)

and Yahya Ibn Ziyad were persons the sincerity of whose religious sentiments was doubted; and one of the learned, on hearing this, said: "How is it that al-Jahiz forgets to count himself,?" The Khalif al-Muhtadi Ibn al-Mansur sometimes said: "I never found a book on Zindiqism which did not owe its origin to Ibn al-Muqaffa'," Al-Asma'i mentions that Ibn al-Muqaffa' composed some fine works, such as the *al-Durrat al-Yatimah* (the precious pearl), a production without a rival on the subject;<sup>1</sup> he says also that Ibn al-Muqaffa', on being asked who was his instructor, answered: "I myself; when I saw any thing good done by another, I did the same, and if I saw what was bad, I avoided it." He and al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad, the inventor of the system of prosody, once met together, and when they had separated, al-Khalil was asked how he found him "His learning," replied al-Khalil, "is greater than his wit." The same question was then addressed to Ibn al-Muqaffa' respecting al-Khalil, and he answered; "His wit is greater than his learning". It was Ibn al-Muqaffa' who composed the book entitled *Kalilah and Dimnah*, but some state that he is not the author of it; this work, they say, was in Pehlavi<sup>2</sup>, and he translated it into Arabic and put it in an elegant style, but the discourse at the beginning of the work is by him. He used to make free with Sufyan Ibn Mu'awiya al-Muhallabi, the governor of Basrah, whom he very frequently addressed by the name of *Ibn al-Mughthalamah* (son of the lascivious female); an appellation injurious to the honour of Sufayn's mother. About that time, Sulayman and 'Tsa, the sons of 'Ali, and the uncles of the Khalif al-Mansur, arrived at Basrah, to have a pardon drawn up for their brother, 'Abd Allah. This 'Abd Allah had revolted against his nephew al-Mansur and aspired to the khalifat, but being defeated by Abu Muslim al-Khurasani, who had been sent against him at the head of an army, he took to flight, and, dreading the vengeance of al-Mansur, lay concealed at the house of his brother. Sulayman and 'Tsa then interceded for him with the Khalif, who consented to forgive what had passed; and it was decided that a letter of pardon should be granted by al-Mansur. (This is an event noticed

---

1 "The *al-Durrat al-Yatimah* has been condensed by one of the *sufis*, and entitled *Izat al-Albab* was *Dhakhirat al-Iktisab* (admonition of hearts and treasure of acquired spiritual merits); which work is arranged in twelve sections, containing the truths and essence of the spiritual life, and the history of 'the principal saints.'" (Hajji Khalifah)—M. de Sacy speaks of Ibn al-Muqaffa' in the preface to his edition of *Kalilah and Dimnah*. In the *Notices et Extraits*, t. I, he gives a list of his works, taken from the *Fihrist*.

2 I have rendered the word الفارسی by Pahlavi, because the works translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa' were written in that language. Had they been in Persian, Ibn Khalikan would have said المعبی!

in historical works<sup>1</sup> and generally known, but I shall give here some particulars of it, as they are necessary for establishing a regular connection in this relation.) On coming to Basrah, the two brothers told Ibn al-Muqaffa', who, as we have said, was secretary to 'Isa, that he should draw up the letter of pardon and word it in the strongest terms, so as to leave no pretext to al-Mansur for making an attempt against 'Abd Allah's life. Ibn al-Muqaffa' obeyed their directions and drew up the letter in the most binding terms, having even inserted in it the following clause, amongst others: *And if at any time the Commander of the faithful act perfidiously towards his uncle 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ali, his wives shall be divorced from him, his horses shall be confiscated for the service of God (in war), his slaves shall become free, and the Muslims loosed from their allegiance towards him.* The other conditions of the deed were expressed in a manner equally strict. Al-Mansur, having read the paper, was highly displeased, and asked who wrote it, and on being informed that it was a person called 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa', who acted as secretary to his uncles, he sent a letter to Sufyan, the governor of Basrah (him of whom we have spoken above), ordering him to put Ibn al-Muqaffa' to death. Sufyan was already filled with rancour against Ibn al-Muqaffa' for the motive we have mentioned, and the latter having, some time after, asked to see him, he did not allow him to enter till every person present had withdrawn. He then took him apart into another room and put him to death.

Al-Mada'ini<sup>2</sup> says: 'Ibn al-Muqaffa', on appearing before Sufyan, was addressed by him in these terms; 'Do you remember what you used to say of my mother?' 'Emir!' exclaimed Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'I implore you in the name of God to spare my life!' 'May my mother,'

---

1 See Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*, A.H. 137; al-Makin, p. 100; Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II, p. 7.

2 Abu 'Hassan 'Ali Ibn Muhammed Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Mada'ini (*native of Mada'in*) was a client by enfranchisement (*mawla*) to the family of ('*Abd*) *Shams* Ibn 'Abd Manaf. He was born A.H. 135 (A.D. 752-3) and died at the residence of Ishaq Ibn Ibrahim al-Mausili, to whom he was most particularly attached, A.H. 225 (A.D. 839-40) or 228. He was disciple of the Mu'tazilite doctor Ma'mar Ibn al-Ash'ath. He wrote upwards of twenty works on Muhammad; nearly as many on the history of the tribe of Quraysh; a great number on the matrimonial alliances *مناجات* of the descendants of Muhammad; a series of works on the history of the Umayyad and Abbassid *Khalifs*; a miscellany of various treatises; the victories and conquests of the Muslims, in many volumes and other works besides; the titles of them all are given in the *Fihrist*, from which this notice also has been extracted. (MS. No. 874, fol. 139 *et seq.*)

replied Sufyan, 'be really *mughtalamah* (lascivious,) if I do not kill thee in a manner such as none were ever killed in before! On this, he ordered an oven to be heated, and the limbs of Ibn al-Muqaffa' to be cut off joint by joint; these he cast into the oven before his eyes, and he then threw him in bodily, and closed the oven on him, saying: 'It is not a crime in me to punish you thus, for you are a Zindiq who corrupted the people.'" Sulayman and 'Isa having made inquiries about their secretary, were informed that he had gone into the palace of sufyan in good health, and that he had not come out. They therefore cited Sufyan before al-Mansur, and brought him with them in chains; witnesses were produced, who declared that they saw Ibn al-Muqaffa' enter Sufyan's palace and that he never came out after; and al-Mansur promised to examine into the matter. He then said to them; 'Suppose that I put Sufyan to death in retaliation for the death of Ibn al-Muqaffa', and that Ibn al-Muqaffa' himself then come forth from the door (pointing to one which was behind him), and speak to you; what should I do to you in that case? I should put you to death in retaliation for the death of Sufyan.' On this, the witnesses retracted their evidence, and 'Isa and Sulayman ceased to speak of their secretary, knowing that he had been killed with al-Mansur's approbation. Ibn al-Muqaffa' lived (it is said) thirty-six years.

Al-Haytham Ibn 'Adi says; 'Ibn al-Muqaffa' treated Sufyan with great contempt, and as Sufyan had a large nose, he used to say to him on going to see him; 'How are you both?' meaning him and his nose. One day he said to him 'Your opinion is requested respecting a person who died and left a husband and a wife;<sup>1</sup> meaning to turn him into ridicule before the company. Sufyan once said: 'I had never reason to repent keeping silence;' and Ibn al-Muqaffa' replied; 'Dumbness becomes you; why then should you repent of it?' Sufyan frequently threatened to cut him limb from limb whilst his eyes looked on<sup>2</sup>, and he had resolved to attack him by surprise, when he received the letter from al-Mansur with orders to put him to death, which he did.

---

1 This is parody on a very common form of question addressed to a *mufti*. For instance, a man dies leaving a wife and collateral heirs: they disagree respecting the division of the property left by the deceased, and they apply to the *mufti* for his opinion. This application is worded nearly as follows: *Your opinion is requested respecting a man who died and left a wife and a certain number of collateral heirs, etc. How is the inheritance to be shared between them?* See similar questions in the English translation of Muhammad Ibn Musa's Algebra.

2 That is: And he alive.

Al-Baladhuri<sup>1</sup> says: "When 'Tsa Ibn 'Ali came to Basrah for the affair of his brother 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ali, he said to Ibn al-Muqaffa'; 'Go to Sufyan on such and such a business.' 'Send some other person,' answered he, 'for I am afraid of him'. 'Go,' replied 'Tsa, 'you are under my safeguard!' " Ibn al-Muqaffa then went, and Sufyan did with him what we have related. According to another account, he threw him into the well of the privy, and replaced the flagstone which covered it; others again say that he sent him into the bath and kept the door locked till he was suffocated. My master Shams al-Din Abu T-Muzaffar Yusuf, the grandson of Abu T-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi and the famous preacher<sup>2</sup>, relates the adventures and death of Ibn al-Muqaffa' in his great historical work, entitled *Mir'at al-Zaman* (the mirror of time), under the year 145 (A.D. 762-3); and it is his custom to mention each occurrence under the year in which it happened; this would seem to indicate that Ibn al-Muqaffa' was put

1 "Abu Ja'far, or Abu 'I-Hasan, Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Jabir al-Baladhuri was a native of Baghdad, His grandfather Jabir was secretary to al-Khasib, minister of the finances of Egypt (for the khalif al-Rashid). He himself was a poet and a transmitter of historical information رايه. Towards the end of his life he went deranged and was confined and chained in the hospital, and died there" in the Khalifat of al-Mu'tamid, between A.H. 256 (A.D., 870) and 279 (A.D. 892.) "He composed many satires, and was one of those who translated (works) from the Pahlavi الفارسي into Arabic."—(Fihrist, fol. 157. See Hamaker's Specimen cod, Lugd Bat. for more ample details.

2 The learned professor, imam, preacher, and historian, Shams al-Din (sun of religion) Abu 'I-Muzaffar Yusuf Ibn Qizaghli قزاعلي was grandson by the mother's side of the hafiz Abu T-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi (Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi) His father Qizaghli was a mamluk belonging to the vizir 'Aun al-Din Yahya Ibn Hubayrah by whom he was treated like a son and to whose affection he was indebted for his liberty and education. Shams al-Din Yusuf was born at Baghdad, A.H. 587 (A.D. 1200-1), and made his studies in that city. He was follower of the sect of Abu Hanifah. As a preacher, his talent, unction, and delivery gained him universal admiration. He began to preach in his native place, but removed later to Damascus, where he fixed his residence. He there taught in the 'Izziyah and Shibliyah college, and was treated with great favour by persons of the highest rank, and especially by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa. He then travelled into different countries to learn the Traditions and to preach. He died in Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 654 (January, A.D. 1257). His great historical work, the *Mir'at al-Zaman*, extends to nearly forty volumes, and is highly esteemed: Abu T-Mahasin acknowledges that he was much indebted to it when composing his *al-Nujum al-Zahirah*, and he states that, in his biographical dictionary, the *al-Minhal al-Safi*, he has given the life of Shams al-Din Yusuf with many details; but it unfortunately happens that the last volume of this work, containing, no doubt, the article of which he speaks, is wanting to complete the copy of which five volumes are in the *Bib, du Roi*.—(Abu T-Mahasin's *Nujum*; *Durrat al-Aslak fi Dawlat al-Atrak*, MS. No. 688, Hajji Khalifah)



to death in the year, but it appears from the expressions of 'Umar Ibn Shabbah, in his History of Basrah, that this event took place A.H. 142 or 143; it is besides unanimously admitted that the Sulaman Ibn 'Ali above mentioned died A.H. 142; and we have already said that he joined his brother 'Isa in endeavouring to avenge Ibn al-Muqaffa's murder; this is proof that the date of the latter's death must be A.H. 142 (A.D. 759-60); but God knows best.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' is author of some poetry which is given in the *Hamasah*<sup>1</sup>, and an elegy of his composition, on the death of the *Qur'an*-reader Abu 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala, is inserted by us in the life of the latter, although some attribute it to his son Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa', as shall be there noticed, with other contradictory statements. Be it as it may, his death could not have been posterior to A.H. 145; it must have been either in that year or in one of the preceding years: and this being the case, how can it be supposed that he, al-Hallaj and al-Jannabi met together, as the Imam al-Haramayn has stated?<sup>2</sup> To this we may add another observation; Ibn al-Muqaffa' never left Iraq; how then could any person say that he penetrated into the country of the Turks? He dwelt at Basrah and visited occasionally different provinces of Iraq (*it is true*), but Baghdad was not then in existence (*although the words of the Imam al-Haramayn would denote that it was*). This city was built by al-Mansur when *khalif*; he laid out its foundations in the year 140 (A.D. 757-8), and finished its construction A.H. 146 (A.D. 763-4), in which year he took up his residence there. In the year 149 all its edifices were completed. This was Old Baghdad, situated on the western bank of the Tigris, between that river and the Euphrates, as it has been said by the blessed Prophet, according to a tradition related by the *Khatib* in the beginning of his great history of Baghdad.<sup>3</sup> The city which now exists on the east bank of the Tigris is New Baghdad. It contains the palaces of the *Khalifs* and continues, till the present time, to be the seat of government. (*The Khalif*) al-Saffih and his brother al-Mansur at first fixed their residence at Kufah, but al-Saffan then built a town near al-Anbar and called it al-Hashimiyah. To this place he and his brother removed, but they

---

1 I do not find them in Freytag's edition, unless they be those attributed there to al-Muqanna' al-Kindi, whose name may have been confounded with that of Ibn al-Muqaffa'.

2 See no. 181. I suppress the next words of the text as they are evidently out of their place; they are these; *and from this the error has arisen.*

3 This tradition is not in the *Mishkat al-Masabih*, neither is it to be found in the Abridgement of the *Khatib's* History of Baghdad, MS. No.-634.

left it for al-Anbar, in which city al-Saffah died: his tomb is still to be seen there. Al-Mansur remained at al-Anbar till Baghdad was built, and then removed thither.--The real name of Ibn al-Muqaffa's father was Daduyeh:\* al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf, when governor of Iraq, appointed him as receiver of the revenue of Fars, but having discovered that he embezzled the public money, he put him to the torture. Daduyeh's hand was shrivelled up (*from the tortures he underwent*), and he was then called *al-Muqaffa'* (*the shrivelled*). Some say, however, that this is not exact, but that he was appointed receiver by Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qasri, and punished by Yusuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi when the latter succeeded Khalid as governor of Iraq: God knows best which statement is true. Ibn Makki says, in his *Tathqif al-Lisan*<sup>1</sup> (*rectification of the tongue*); "People say *Ibn al-Muqaffa'*, but the right pronunciation is *Ibn al-Muqaffi'*; for he was a maker and seller of baskets (*qifa'*), and *muqaffi'* has that signification. *Qifa'* is the plural of *qafa'h*, which is a thing made of palmleaves, like a basket but without a handle.--"But the pronunciation *Muqaffa'* is that which is current among the learned."--After reading the words of the Imam al-Haramayn<sup>2</sup>, and being convinced that Ibn al-Muqaffa' could not have been one of the three persons of whom he there speaks, I said to myself that it might be al-Muqanna' al-Khurasani whom he meant; that impostor who pretended to be the Divinity and caused the moon to appear, as we shall relate in his life (which will be found under the letter 'Ayn ( ع ) his name being 'Ata); and I thought that the copyist might have altered the Imam's words and written unintentionally al-Muqaffa' for al-Muqanna'; but on reflection, I found that it could not be so, for al-Muqanna' al-Khurasani poisoned himself in the year 163 (A.D. 79-80. as we shall mention in his life, and he could not therefore have been contemporary with al-Hallaj and al-Jannabi. But if we are to admit as true what the Imam says of three persons having met together and made the agreement of which he speaks, the third person can be no other than Ibn al-Shalmaghani, who lived at the same time as al-Hallaj and al-Jannabi, and whose whole conduct was a tissue of deceptions. A number of historians speak of him, and our *shaykh* 'Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir has a long chapter on him in his great history (the *Kamil*, under the year 322 (A.D. 934); this chapter we here give with some abridgements: 'In this year was put to death Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-

\* It should be Dadawayh--Ed.

1 There is a work of this name by Ibn al-Qatta; but that by Ibn Makki is not noticed by Hajji Khalifah. I have not yet been able to discover any thing respecting the author mentioned here by Ibn Khallikan,

2 See no. 181

Shalmaghani, generally known by the name of Ibn 'Abi T-'Azaqir,<sup>1</sup> the reason of this was, that he introduced a doctrine in which the Shi'ite poinions were carried to an excess<sup>2</sup>, and taught the transmigration of souls and the residence of the Divinity in himself," (with other opinions which are state by Ibn al-A'hir.) "Abu T-Qasim al-Husayn Ibn Ruh<sup>3</sup> who was called by Imamites *al-Bab* (the door), manifested by his conduct that he held the same doctrines. Search was therefore made after Ibn al-Shalmaghani, who was obliged to conceal himself; he then fled to Mosul, where he sojourned some years, after which he descended (by the river) to Baghdad, where it was discovered that he declared himself to be the Divinity. It is said that he had amongst his disciples al-Husayn Ibn al-Qasim Ibn 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Sulayman Ibn Wahb (the same who was vizir to al-Muqtadir), the two sons of Bistam, and Ibrahim Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abi 'Awn. When Ibn Muqlah was vizir to al-Muqtadir, efforts were made to discover Ibn al-Shalmaghani, but without success; however, in the month of Shawwal, A.H. 322, he appeared in public, and was seized on and imprisoned by Ibn Muqlah. On making perquisitions in his house, papers and letters were discovered, written by persons who stated that they were believers in his doctrine, and in which they addressed him with titles such as are not given by one mortal to another. Those letters were produced to Ibn al-Shalmaghani, who admitted that they were in the hand-writing of the persons, but

---

1 This is also the orthography of al-Dhahabi's *Tarikh al-Islam*, MS no. 646.

2 See Druzes, introduction 1.

3 Abu T-Qasim al-Husayn Ibn Ruh was a holy *shaykh* and one of the doors lending to the *Sahib al-Zaman* the lord of the time, or last grand Imam, according to the Shi'ite doctrine; see Druzes introd. Vol. I. p. 31n. 1) He was chosen by Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn 'Uthman al-'Umari as his lieutenant, and when the latter classed the Shi'ites according to their degrees (of initiation), Abu T-Qasim was authorised to enter into his presence the first of them all. He then went to see Ibn al-Shalmaghani, and gained over so many proselytes, that the vizirs, ex-vizirs, and other persons of high rank crode (*publiely*) to visit him. He continued to be treated with the greatest deference till Hamid Ibn Abbas became vizir (to al-Muqtadir) and ordered him to be arrested. He remained in prison for five years, but was liberated immediately after the deposition of al-Muqtadir, A.H. 317 (A.D. 929). From that time till his death, which took place A.H. 326 (A.D. 937-38), he never ceased to be highly respected but at the moment in which his influence had attained its utmost pitch, and his plans were ripe for execution, God preserved (the *Khalifat*) from his evil designs. He had been accused of inviting the Qarmats by letter to lay siege to Baghdad, but he defended himself with great ability, presence of mind, and learning. He was benefactor to the Shi'ites, and held a very high rank among them.-(*Al-Dhahabi's Tarikh al-Islam*, No. 646, in anno.)

denied that he held the doctrines of which he was accused, and he professed his belief in the Muslim faith. Ibn Abi 'Awn and Ibn 'Abdus were then brought with him before the Khalif, and these two persons were ordered to strike Ibn al-Shalmaghani on the cheek, but they refused; being forced however to do so, Ibn 'Abdus stretched forth his hand and struck him, but Ibn Abi 'Awn's hand trembled violently as he reached it forth towards Ibn al-Shalmaghani's head and beard, on which he kissed them and called him *my God! my Lord thou who givest me sustenance!* The Khalif al-Radi Bi'llah then said; 'You pretend that you did not pass yourself for the Divinity; what then does this mean? Ibn al-Shalmaghani replied: 'I am not responsible for the words of Ibn Abi 'Awn; God knows that I never told him I was god.' Here Ibn 'Abdus said; 'He did not pass himself for the Divinity; he only said that he was *the door* which led to *al-Imam al-Muntazar* (the expected imam).' They were afterwards brought forth a number of times, and examined in the presence of the doctors of the law and the qadis; the result was that the doctors declared Ibn al-Shalmaghani worthy of death, and he was burned by fire in the month of Dhu T-Qa'dah, A.H. 322 (October, A.D. 934)."

Ibn al-Najjar makes mention of him in the History of Baghdad, in the life of Ibn Abi 'Awn; he says; 'Ibn Abi 'Awn was severely scourged, and then beheaded for being a follower of Ibn al-Shalmaghani; his body was exposed on a cross and afterwards burned; this was on Tuesday, 1st of Dhu T-Qa'dah' (of the above mentioned year). This Ibn Abi 'Awn is author of some fine works, such as the *Tashbihat* (comparisons), *al-Ajwibat al-Muskitah* (silencing answers), and some others; he was a *kitab* of eminence--Shalmaghani means belonging to Shalmaghan, which is a town near Wasit; the same remark is made also by al-Sam'ani in his *Kitab al-Ansab*.

#### 184 AL-RA'IS IBN SINA (AVICENA)<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ra'is (the chief)<sup>2</sup> Abu 'Ali al-Husayn Ibn 'Abd Allah In Sina, a celebrated physician: his father was a native of Balkh, but he removed from that city to Bukhara; and having displayed great

1 The life of Avicena is given in the *Tarikh al-Hukama'*. The commencement is in Avicena's own words, and contains his history up to the time of his arrival at Jurjan. He there met with Abu 'Ubayd 'Abd al-Wahid, by whom the remainder of his life is related.

2 This title was probably given to him in his official capacity as vizir, or as *'amil*: see next note.

abilities as an 'amil,<sup>1</sup> he was appointed to fill that office in\* (a town called Kharmaythin), one of the government estates (*diya'*) in the dependencies of Bukhara, and a place of great antiquity.<sup>2</sup> It was there that Abu 'Ali and his brother were born: their mother, Sattarah, was a native of Afshanah, a village near Kharmaythin. They afterwards went to inhabit Bukhara, and Abu 'Ali then travelled abroad to study the sciences and acquire a knowledge of their different branches. # At the age of ten years, he was a perfect master of the *Qur'an* and general literature, and had attained a certain degree of information in dogmatic theology, the Indian calculus (*arithmetic*), and algebra. The *hakim* (*physician*) Abu Abd Allah al-Natili<sup>3</sup> having visited them about that time, Abu 'Ali's father lodged him in his own house, and Abu 'Ali studied, under his tuition, the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, mastered the art of logic, the *Elements* of Euclid, and the *Almagest*; he even far surpassed his master, and explained to him difficulties and obscurities in these works which he, al-Natili, had not comprehended. Besides these studies, he frequented the lessons of Isma'il the Sufi,<sup>4</sup> from whom he learned jurisprudence, and he exercised himself in acquiring the readings of the *Qur'an*<sup>5</sup> making learned researches and holding discussions. On the departure of al-Natiri, who went to visit Khawarazm Shah Mamun Ibn Muhammad<sup>6</sup> Abu 'Ali laboured in the acquisition of

1 The 'amil (agent) was an officer to whom the governor of a province delegated the executive authority in one of the cantons under his jurisdiction. His chief duty was to collect the poll-tax, the revenues arising from tithes, government lands and houses, etc.

\* In a town called Kharmaythin, is not in the autograph—Ed.

2 Literally: one of the mothers of its (*Bukhara's*) towns. It is thus that Makkah, for its antiquity, is called *Umm al-Qur'* (*mother of the towns*).

# From 'At the age' to 'proci-gy of his age' on p. 258, l. 25, not in autograph.—Ed.

3 The *Turikh al-Hukama'* writes this name التالي al-Nail; some of the MSS. of Ibn Khallikan have al-Bibili. I find in the *Marasid*: "Natilah, a city in Tabaristan at five parasangs from 'Amul."

4 The Sufi (*al-Zahid*). This ascetic is not noticed by Jami in his lives of the Sufis.

5 See no. 68, note (1)

6 Mamun Ibn Muhammad was prince of Jurjanah and Nasa; which latter city was given to him by Nuh Ibn Mansur the Samanid. In the year 386 (A.D. 996) he took prisoner Abu 'Abd Allah, prince of Khawarazm, and having put him to death, he united the province of Khawarazm to his empire. He died A.H. 387 (A.D. 997) (*Kitab Yamini*.) in the Notices at Extraits, vol. IV.; *Mirkhawnd's History of the Samanids*, by Wilkens; Prices Retrospect, Vol. II, page 249.

natural philosophy, divinity, and other sciences; he read the texts with the commentaries, and God opened for him the gates of knowledge. He then felt an inclination to learn medicine, and studied the works composed on that subject; he also treated patients, not for emolument but for instruction, and in a very short time he surpassed in that art the ancients and moderns, and remained without a rival or an equal. In the sixteenth year of his age, physicians of the highest eminence came to read, under his tuition, the works which treat of the different branches of medicine, and learn from him those modes of treatment which he had discovered by his practice. During the period of his studies he never slept an entire night, nor passed a day in any other occupation but study; and when he met with an obscure point, he used to perform a total ablution and proceed to the great mosque, where he would pray Almighty God to facilitate its comprehension to him and unlock the gate of the difficulty. The emir Nuh Ibn Mansur al-Samani<sup>1</sup>, prince of Khurasan, having heard, during a fit of sickness, of Abu 'ali Avicena's talent, sent for him and was restored to health under his treatment. Abu 'Ali was then received into the favour of that prince and he frequented his library, which was of incomparable richness<sup>2</sup>, as it contained not only all the celebrated works which are found in the hands of the public, but others not to be met with any where else, and of which not only the titles but the contents were unknown. Here Abu 'Ali discovered treatises on the sciences of the ancients<sup>3</sup> and other subjects, the essence of which he extracted and with the greater part of which science he became acquainted. It happened, some time afterwards, that this library was consumed by fire, and Abu 'Ali remained the sole depository of the knowledge which it contained. Some persons even said that it was he who set fire to the library, being induced to do so for the reason that he alone was acquainted with the contents, and that he wished to pass off as his own the information which he had there acquired.

1 Ibn Khallikan has Nuh Ibn Nasr, but this is a mistake; as that prince died twenthy-seven years before Avicena's birth.

2 Here is Avicena's own account of this library; "Having requested and obtained permission from Nuh Ibn Mansur to visit his library, I went there and found a great number of rooms filled with books packed up in trunks. One room contained philological and poetical works; another, jurisprudence, and so on, each particular science being kept in a room by themselves. I then read the catalogue of the ancient (Greek) authors الأوائل and found therein all I required: I saw many books, the very titles of which were unknown to most persons, and others which I never met with before nor science." *Tarikh al-Hukama'*) Avicena was not then eighteen years of age.

3 See no. 101, note on *The Sciences of the ancients*.

He had not reached his eighteenth year when he had completely mastered all the sciences to the attainment of which he had directed his studies. At the age of twenty-two, he lost his father, in the vicissitudes of whose fortune he had partaken, and with whom he acted as 'amil for the Sultan. When the affairs of the Samanid dynasty fell into disorder, Abu 'Ali left Bukhara and proceeded to Kurkanj, the capital [a town?] of Khwarizm, where he frequented the court of Khawarazm Shah 'Ali Ibn Mamun Ibn Muhammad<sup>1</sup>: he wore the dress of a jurisconsult with the *taylasan*<sup>2</sup>, and obtained a monthly stipend for this support. He afterwards departed from Kurkanj and visited Nasa, Abiward, Tus, and other cities during which period he paid his court to the emir Shams al-Ma'ali Qabus Ibn Washmakir. When Qabus was arrested and confined in the castle where he died, (a circumstance of which we shall give the particulars in his life), Abu 'Ali went to Dihistan, where he had a severe illness, and then returned to Jurjan, where he composed his *kitab al-Awsat* (*medium treatise*)<sup>3</sup> and which is called for that reason *al-Awsat al-Jurjani* (*the Jurjanian Medium*). It was there that the doctor (Abu 'Ubayd 'Abd al-Wahid al-Jurjani<sup>4</sup>) made his acquaintance. From Jurjan, Abu 'Ali proceeded to Ray and was attached to the court (of Majd al-Dawlah, son of Fakhr al-Dawlah); he afterwards went to Qazwin, and thence to Hamadan, where he became vizir to Shams al-Dawlah<sup>5</sup>, but the troops having revolted against him, they pillaged his house, arrested him, and required Shams al-Dawlah to put him to death. This, however, the prince refused to do, and Abu 'Ali effected his escape and concealed himself. Some time afterwards, a violent attack of colic obliged Shams al-Dawlah to have recourse to his medical skill, and therefore recalled him and re-appointed him to the vizirat, after having made excuses to him for what had happened. On the death of this prince, his son

---

1 Khawarazm Shah succeeded his father Mamun as prince of Kurkanj or Jurjaniah and Khawarizm, in the year 387 (A. D. 997).

2 The *taylasan* seems to have been a short hooded cloak, or else a simple hood which was hung down the back. It was generally worn by men of the learned profession.

3 Hajji Khalifah notices this work without specifying its contents. The author of Avicenna's life, given in the *Tarikh al-Hukama'*, only mentions it incidentally, without any observation: It treated perhaps of mathematics or philosophy.

4 'Abd al-Wahid al-Jurjani (not al-Jurjani as Ibn Khalikan has it) was Avicenna's disciple, and remained with him for twenty-five years.—(*Tarikh al-Hukama'*.)

5 Shams al-Dawlah Abu Tahir, amir of Hamadan, was son of Fakhr al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh. He became master of Ray A.H. 405 (A.D. 1014-5). (Ibn al-Athir. *Murkhwand*.)

and successor Taj al-Dawlah (*crown of the empire*) refused Abu 'Ali's services as vizir. He therefore went to Isbahan where he met with a kind reception from 'Ala' al-Dawlah Abu Ja'far Ibn Kakuyah<sup>1</sup> Avicena's constitution was naturally strong, but he mined and weakened it by his extreme addiction to sexual pleasure, and as he was never careful of his health, he was seized with a colic for which he took eight injections حقن in a day: the result was an excoriation of the intestines and a dysentery. It happened also that he had to make a journey with 'Ala' al-Dawlah, during which he experienced that prostration (*of strength*)<sup>2</sup> which attends colic; to relieve himself, he ordered the third of a drachm of parsley (*or parsley seed*) to be put into the mixture which he employed for injections; but the physician who attended him put in five drachms, and the result was that the dysentery increased from the acrid nature of the parsley. A great quantity of opium was also thrown into one of his medicines by his boys<sup>3</sup> who had deceived him

1 'Ala' al-Dawlah Abu ja'far (and not *Ibn Ja'far*, as erroneously printed in the Arabic text) *Shahryar*, and surnamed Ibn Kakuyah, because his *father* was *maternal uncle* to Majd al-Dawlah, was appointed governor of Isbahan by the mother of that prince; but during the dissensions which arose between her and her son (see Price's *Retrospect*. vol. II, page 266), he was obliged to take refuge under the protection of Baha' al-Dawlah. He afterwards conquered Hamadan. A.H. 414 (A.D. 1023-4); he entered Ray in 420; in 421 he took possession of Isbahan and other cities; in 422 he was confirmed in the government of Isbahan by the Sultan Ma'sud Ibn Mahmud the *Ghaznawid*; the next year he revolted and was defeated by that prince; he continued the war, and was again defeated by Abu 'I-Sahl al-Hamduni, the governor of Persian Iraq, who took Isbahan in 425; in 427 he made an unsuccessful attack against Abu Sahl at Isbahan; he gained possession of that city at a later period and died A. H. 433 (A.D. 1041-2).--(Ibn al-Athir, Abu 'I Fida, Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II, p. 228). The following passage is extracted from the life of Avicena given in the *Tarikh al-Hukama'*: "One evening in 'Ala' al-Dawlah's presence, the conversation turned on the errors which had crept into the astronomical tables drawn up after ancient observations; and he ordered Avicena to observe the stars, and provided him with the requisite funds. Avicena began by constructing instruments and hiring artists, and he succeeded in clearing up many doubtful points, although the series of his observations was frequently interrupted by the journeys which he was obliged to undertake; some of the instruments he employed were of his own invention. "This work which he composed at Isbahan, and named the *Kitab al-Ala'i* العلانى in honour of his sovereign 'Ala' al-Dawlah, contained probably the results of his observations.

2 Such is the true meaning of the word صرع in this case, and not epilepsy, as it has been rendered by some orientalist, Reiske among others in his Abu 'I Fida, tom. II. p. 95. It is singular enough that Reiske, who was well acquainted with medicine, could have made such a blunder.

3 Boys; in Arabic غلمان perhaps slaves.



in some manner<sup>1</sup> and were apprehensive of being punished by him if he recovered. From the commencement of his illness he continued to support the burden of business<sup>2</sup> and give public audiences from time to time; he neglected the necessary regimen, and did not even abstain from intercourse with the other sex. One week, he was well: the next, ill. At this period, 'Ala' al-Dawlah left Isbahan for Hamadan and took Abu Ali with him; during the journey, the colic returned, and on arriving at the latter place, Abu 'Ali was in a state of extreme weakness, and his strength was almost totally prostrated. He now discontinued every medical application, and said: "The director which is in my body is unable to control it any longer, and no treatment can avail." He then made his ablutions *غتسل* turned himself to God *تاب* gave his wealth in alms to the poor, and redressed the grievances of all those whom he could recollect; he manumitted also his mamluks, [slaves] and read the *Qur'an* through once every three days till he expired. The date of this event we shall give at the end of this article. By his learning, penetration, and writings, he was the prodigy of his age: he composed a treatise on philosophy, entitled *al-Shifa'* (the remedy)<sup>3</sup>; and is the author of the *Najat* (or preservative)<sup>4</sup>; the *Isharat* (or indications)<sup>5</sup>; the *Qanun* (canon medicinae), and other works, both short and long, amounting to nearly one hundred; besides epistles are beautifully written, such as *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*, *Salaman and Absal*<sup>6</sup>, and the *Rsalat al-Tayr* (epistle of the bird)<sup>7</sup> Great profit has been derived from his writings. He was one of the

1 From the life given in the *Tarikh al-Hukama'*, and which Ibn Khallikan has here abridged, it appears that one of his servants embezzled a sum of money.

2 Such seems to be the meaning of the verb *تحامل* but it may perhaps signify: To be obliged to be carried.

3 The *Shifa'* is a large work in eighteen volumes, on physics metaphysics and mathematics.—(See Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, Vol. II. p 581)

4 This medical treatise has been inserted at the end of the Arabic editions the *Qanun*; printed at Rome, A.D. 1593.

5 The *Isharat* is a treatise on logic and philosophy. See Hajji Khalifah, No. 743.

6 Pocock says in his edition of *Hai Ebn Yokdhan*; Elenchus, p. 3: "Epistolae seu libellos quosdam elegantes ab eo (Avicena) compositos recenset Ibn Chalecan: atque inter eos Epistolam Hai Ebn Yokdhan et Epistolam Absal et Epistolam Salaman. (Pocock should have said Epistolam Salaman et Abasal; Hajji Khalifah mentions a work bearing this title.)" Dubito an haec tre (*duae*) epistolae fuerint, an una quae trium istorum historiam contineret, ut haec nostri authoris ad ipsius imitationem composita." The doubt here expressed by Pocock I am unable to resolve.

7 There is a senonce in the autograph which is omitted by de Slane

(Cont. on page 237)

philosophers of the Muslims. There exists some poetry composed by him; among the rest, the following piece on the soul<sup>1</sup>:

"It descended upon thee from the lofty station (*heaven*); a dove rare and uncaptured, curtained from the eyes of every knowing (*creature*); yet 'tis it which is manifest and never wore a veil<sup>2</sup>. It came to thee unwillingly, and it may perhaps be unwilling to abandon thee, although it complain of its sufferings. It resisted (*at first*) and would not become familiar, but when it was in friendly union (*with the body*), it grew accustomed to the desert waste (*the world*). Methinks it then forgot the recollections of the protected park (*heaven*) and of those abodes which it left with regret; but when, in the spiral descent, it arrived at the centre of its circle in the terrestrial (*world*), it was united to the infirmity of the material (*body*)<sup>3</sup> and remained amongst the monuments and prostrate ruins<sup>4</sup>. It hath now forgotten the remembrance of the protected park and weepeth with tears which flow and cease not, till the time for setting out towards the protected park approacheth; till the instant of departure for the vast plain (*the spiritual world*) draweth nigh. It then cooeth on the top of a lofty

and which runs thus. He was nonoured by kings and 'Ala al-Din Ibn Kakuyah conferred a robe of honour on him and he was held in high esteem.—Ed.

This is probably the same work which is mentioned in the *Tarikh al-Hukama'* under the title of *al-Shabakat was 'I-Tayr* (*the net and the bird*); it was perhaps a mystical treatise, descriptive of the bird detained in the net (*the body*).

1 This little piece, of which only some ill-joined fragments are here given by Ibn Khallikan, is founded on the Sufi doctrine that the soul pre-existed in union with the Divinity, that it comes down reluctantly from heaven to be united to the body, and that it returns after death to the happy seat it left. The poet represents the soul metaphorically by a dove, and his images and expressions are borrowed from the pastoral poetry of the ancient Arabs. It would require a long commentary to elucidate the allusions and mysticisms with which it abounds, but such a task is inconsistent with the duty of mere translator. An edition of this poem with some additions, and the verses arranged in a different order, has been given with a translation by von Hammer Purgastall in the *Wiener Zeitschrift* for 1837, No. 94.

2 This probably means that the existence of the soul, although not to be perceived by the senses, is yet too manifest to leave any doubt.

3 This verse runs literally thus: So that when it was united by the h (ه) of its hubut هبوط (*descent*) with the m م of markaz مركز (*centre*) in the terrestrial; then the th ث of thaqil ثَقِيل (*heavy material*) was attached to it, etc. The spiral form of ه represents its descent, the form of the ث indicated the central point to which it tended; the word ث signifies infirmity; it is also the name of the first letter (th) in the word ثَقِيل (*the material body*) I have given the sense of the verse as I understand it: but it may most likely contain some mystic illusions above my comprehension.

4 He means the world, which is a place of desolation.

(*pinnacle of heaven*); (for knowledge can exalt all who were not exalted); and it has come to the knowledge of every mystery in the universe, while yet her tattered vest hath not been mended<sup>1</sup>. Its descent was predestined, so that it might hear what it had not heard; but why then did it descend from the high and lofty (*heaven*) to the depth of the low and humble (*earth*)? If God sent it down by a decision of his will, his motive is concealed from the intelligence of man. (*Why did it descend*) to be withheld from the spacious, exalted summit (*heaven*) by the course net (*of the body*), and to be detained in a cage? It is like a flash of lightning shining over the meadow, and disappearing as if it had never gleamed."

The following lines are attributed to him, but I am unable to verify their origin:

"Take one meal each day, and avoid food till your food be digested. Preserve with care the seminal liquid; it is the water of life, to be poured into the womb."

Two verses mentioned by al-Shahrastani in the beginning of the *Nihayat al-Iqdam*, and which we here give are attributed to Avicenna:

"I have roamed through all these memorials, and glanced my eyes through these monuments<sup>2</sup> and I have only seen wretches clasp their beards with the hand of despair, or gnash their teeth with remorse."

The great merit of Avicenna is well known; he was born in the month of Safar, A.H. 370 (August or September, A.D. 980), and he died at Hamadan on a Friday, in the month of Ramadan, 428 (June or July, A.D. 1037): he was buried in that city. My *shaykh* Ibn al-Athir states in his great historical work (*the Kamil*), that he died at Isbahan; but the first is the more general opinion. It is stated by the *shaykh* Kamal al-Din Ibn Yunus, that the prince in whose service Avicenna was employed, having been irritated against him, caused him to be imprisoned till he died; and he recited the following verses in proof of his statement:

"I saw Ibn Sina take mankind in hatred and die miserably in a prison. His *Shifa*<sup>3</sup> could not cure the misfortune which befel him, neither could his *Najat*<sup>4</sup> preserve him from death."

1 The tottered vest of the soul, or the body destroyed by death, is not mended till the day of resurrection; and yet the soul is in heaven and in the enjoyment of all knowledge.

2 He means probably the world; see the preceding piece on the soul."

3 Or *remedy*; the book so called.

4 Or *preservative*; another work of Avicenna's.

## 185 AL-HUSAYN IBN AL-DAHHAH AL-KHALI'

The poet Abu 'Ali al-Husayn Ibn al-Dahhak Ibn 'Asir, generally known by the appellation of al-Khali' (the liberatine),\* was born at Basrah; he descended from a native of Khurasan, who was an enfranchised slave to Salman Ibn Rabi'ah al-Bahili, one of the *Companions* of Muhammad. This author had a natural talent for pleasantries, but he composed equally well in all the different styles of poetry. He was admitted into the society of the *khalifs*, and enjoyed their intimacy to a higher degree than any other poet, with the exception of Ishaq Ibn Ibrahim al-Nadim al-Mausili, and even by him he was hardly surpassed in favour. The first of the *khalifs* whom he frequented was Muhammad al-Amin, son of Harun al-Rashid, with whom he became acquainted in the 198th year of the *Hijrah* (A.D. 813-4), which was also the year of al-Amin's death; he then attached himself to the succeeding *khalifs*, and continued to be a favourite with them till the reign of al-Musta'in. He was an able poet of the first class, and had some diverting adventures with Abu Nuwas al-Hakami. The surname of al-Khali' was given to him for his gay and licentious humour (*khala'at*). Mention is made of him by Ibn al-Munajjim in the work called *al-Kitab al-Bari'*, and by Abu 'I-Faraj al-Isbahani [d. 966] in the *Kitab al-Aghani*: both these writers quote some fine passages from his poetry, out of which we select the following lines:

"Join thy cheek to mine, and thou wilt then understand a novel idea which perplexes intelligence; the vernal roses on thy cheeks render them a garden, and tears render mine a lake."

*By the same:*

"O thou whose looks are magic and whose lips are wine! thou wert a tyrant to me; and, when my patience was overcome, I revealed to the world that thou wert the object of my love. It is however right that the veil which conceals thee should be torn away; for if people blame my fondness, thy face will be my excuse."

*By the same:*

"I swear by my love for thee, that I will not turn away my face, to conceal my tears. Grief, however painful, is allayed by weeping. My heart, through love for thee, is too enfeebled to be broken. The violence of my malady hath left no room in me for sickness."

\* In autograph: Abu 'Ali al-Husayn b. al-Dahhak al-Sha'ir al-Basri a ma'ruf bi'l Khali--Ed.

It is state in the *Kitab al-Aghani* that Abu'l-'Abbas Tha'lab, the grammarian, (see his life no. 42) in reciting the preceding verses, attributed them to al-Khali', observing that there was not then a person in existence capable of expressing the thought so well:

*By the same:*

Since you have been unfaithful during my absence, why act as the maid who, though sincere in her attachment, treats her lover with affected scorn? Love me, and then trifle with my affections: or else reject me, and then act as one who loves me not.

*One of his qasidahs contains this line:*

"What a happy time<sup>1</sup> was that in which I never spent a night without expecting from my beloved the fulfilment of her promise (to visit me)".

This poet died A.H. 250 (A.D. 864), having nearly attained his hundredth year: the *Khatib* says, in his History of Baghdad, that he was born A.H. 162 (A.D. 778-9).

#### 186 IB AL-HAJJAJ THE POET

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hajjaj, the *Katib* and poet, was noted for the licentiousness, humour, and gaiety<sup>2</sup> of his poetical productions. In this branch he was without a rival, and he had no predecessor in the style of composition which he cultivated, embellished as it was by the beauty of the expressions and the easy turn of the verses. He celebrated the praises of the *khalif* al-Ma'mun,\* the emirs, vizirs, and men of rank: the collection of his poetical works is so great, that it is generally found in ten volumes. The prevailing character of his writings is gaiety, but some good pieces of a grave cast have been composed by him. He was for some time *muhtasib* or police-magistrate<sup>3</sup> at Baghdad, and was superseded, it is said, by Abu Sa'id

1 Literally; Mad God shed his blessings on the time.

2 The words *سُخْف* and *مَزَل* resemble each other in their primitive and secondary significations: the primitive is leanness, and the secondary gaiety.

\* This name is not mentioned in the autograph, nor in the published texts: they have simply *الملوك والامراء والوزراء والروساء*

3 See note 4 under no. 150.

al-Istakhri, the Shafi'ite doctor. His *ghazals*, or amatory pieces, are so well known that it is needless to insert any of them here. As a poet, he has been put on a rank with Imru 'I-Qays, for each of them introduced an original species of composition, and, in the intervening time, none existed to equal them. The following verses are a good specimen of his graver styles:

"Awake, my two friends<sup>1</sup>, from your slumber! slumber degrades the mind of the sage and ingenious. There are the Milky Way and the pleiades; it is like a rivulet flowing through a garden of lilies. I perceive the zephyr<sup>2</sup> arriving as the shades of night withdraw; why then should the wine-cup not arrive when darkness retires? Ariste, and pour me out me Grecian liquor نحوه روميه drawn from a cask which has not been touched since the days of the Caesar! a pure liquor of which the powerful effect gives death to the reason and life to the heart."

*By the same:*

"People said (to me): "You pay constant court to Hamd, and neglect the other "princes." And I answered in the words of a poet who, long before my time, has well expressed my thought<sup>3</sup>: *The bird alights where it can pick up the grain, and the dwellings of the generous are visited (by the needy)."*

The verse\* which he here inserts was composed by Bashshar Ibn Burd. Ibn al-Hajjaj died on Tuesday, 27th of the latter Jumada, A.H. 391 (May, A.D., 1001), at the town of al-Nil, whence his body was transported to Baghdad. He was interred near the sepulchral chapel of Musa Ibn Ja'far and he had directed by his will that he should be buried at the feet of that *imam*, and that the following words should be inscribed on his tomb: *And their dog lay with his fore legs stretched forth at the entrance of the cave.*<sup>4</sup> He was one of the greatest poets among the Shi'ites, and after his death, he appeared in a dream to one of his companions, and recited these lines on being asked what was his state in the other world;

1 See page 115, note I under no. 52.

2 The zephyr, literally the east wind; it is highly celebrated by Arabian poets for its mildness.

3 Literally; Who obtained (that is, who attained) the thought.

\* In autograph, 'the third couplet' البيت الثالث

4 *Al-Qur'an*, surah 18, verse 17. He compares himself to the dog of the seven sleepers; the Muslims believe that this faithful dog was admitted into paradise with his masters.

The evil cast of my religious principles ruined the excellence of my poetry; my lord ['Ali]# was displeased that I reviled the *Companions* of his Prophet<sup>1</sup>.

Sharif al-Rida deplored his death in a *qasidah* containing this passage:

"They brought tidings of his death when I had still good hopes; how excellent was he whose death was announced by these two harbingers.<sup>2</sup> He was my foster-brother by friendship, and he possessed a portion of my heart as if he were really my foster brother.<sup>3</sup> I did not think that time could blunt the edge of that (cutting) tongue. I weep for thee and for those verses, fugitives throughout the world, in which the words give immortality to the thoughts. Let time itself long deplore thy loss, for by thee was enlivened the spirit of (thy) time."

Al-Nil is a town on the Euphrates, between Baghdad and Kufah; it has produced a number of learned and of eminent men. This place owes its origin to a canal excavated by al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf from the Euphrates to this spot, and called by him al-Nil (*the Nile*) after the river of Egypt. There were numerous villages on its banks.

#### 187 AL-WAZIR AL-MAGHRIBI

Abu T-Qasim al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yusuf Ibn Bahram Ibn al-Marzuban Ibn Mahan Ibn Badhan Ibn Sasan Ibn al-Harun Ibn Balash Ibn Jamas Ibn Firuz Ibn Yazdajard Ibn Bahram Jur (i.e. Gur); (*such is the genealogy of the person generally*) known by the appellation of al-Wazir al-Maghribi (*the Maghribite vizir*). I have heard it said by many persons of erudition, that Abu 'Ali Harun Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Awariji,<sup>4</sup> he in whose honour al-Mu'anabbi composed the *qasidah* beginning thus:

# See printed text, p. 144; also see Tehran ed, p. 171—Ed.

1 It was quite natural, however, for a Shi'ite to revile those *Companions* of Muhammad who abandoned and betrayed 'Ali.

2 See no. 25, note 1.

3 Literally: foster-brother by milk.

4 The *Katib* Abu 'Ali Harun Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Awariji (*the book-keeper*) died A.H. 364 (A.D. 975) aged 66 years. He was receiver of the land tax in some important districts. A written collection of the traditions was made by him. He frequented the society of the *Sufis* and of al-Hallaj, but on discovering the real religious opinions of the latter, he informed the vizir Ali Ibn 'Isa and Abu Bakr Ibn Mujahid (*of his pernicious doctrines*).—(*Al-Dhahabi's Tarikh al-Islam*.)

Maiden! the watchmen well know that thou canst not visit me by night, for wherever thou art, in the darkness, light is there.<sup>1</sup>

(*These persons, I say, pretend*) that this Abu 'Ali was his maternal uncle but, on examination, I discovered that he was a maternal uncle to al-Wazir al-Maghribi's father. As for al-Wazir al-Maghribi, he himself mentions, in his *Adab al-Khawass* (*Instruction for those intimate with princes*), that his mother was daughter to Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Ja'far al-Nu'mani, and that the al-Awariji above mentioned died in the month of the first Jumada, A.H. 344 (September, A.D. 995).

Al-Wazir al-Maghribi is the author of a *diwan* containing pieces in verse and prose; he composed also an abridgement of the *Isikh al-Maatiq*<sup>2</sup>; the *Kitab al-Inas* (*familiar discourses*), a small but very instructive work, and a proof of the extensive information of its author; the *Adab al-Khawass*; the *Kitab al-Mathur fi Mulahal-Khudur*,<sup>3</sup> etc. I read the following passage in a collection of divers pieces:

"These words were found written in the handwriting of al-Wazir al-Maghribi's father, on the cover of the abridgment of the *Islah al-Mantiq*: 'He (my son) (may God preserve him and enable him to attain the rank of the Saints!) was born at first dawn of day, on Sunday, 13th Dhu l-Hijjah 370 (June A.D. 981.) He learned by heart the *Qur'an*, a number of grammatical and philological text-books without the comments, and about fifteen thousand verses selected from the composition of the ancient Arabic poets. He composed poetry, was skilled in prose-writing, and surpassed all his contemporaries in penmanship, in the calculation of nativities *حساب الولد* and in algebra, with other accomplishments of which even an inferior portion would suffice for any *Katib*: and all this was before he had completed his fourteenth year. He abridged this work with superior judgment; having given every explanation contained in it, and not omitting a single word (*of those which are therein explained*); he changed also the order of the chapters as far as was necessary to suit the plan of his abridgment, and classed the matters under their proper heads. When he had finished his abridgment, I proposed to him that

---

1 That is: By thy presence, thou turnest darkness into light, and thou wilt then be surely discovered.

2 According to Hajji Khalifah, this philological work was composed by Abu Hanifah Ahmad Ibn Dawud al-Dinwati, who died A.H. 290 (A.D. 903).

3 This title signifies literally. *The memorable, treating of curtain-anecdotes*. Probably a philological work: as fair ladies are always concealed by a curtain or a veil, so the beauties of Arabic style are hidden under the veil of allusion.



he should put it into verse, and he accordingly began that undertaking and composed a number of sheets in a single night. All this was before the completion of his seventeenth year; and I beseech Almighty God to spare him and to prolong his health."

The following is a specimen of the vizir's poetry:

"Whilst the camels were saddling for their journey, I said to my mistress: Prepare all your firmness to support my absence. I shall spend, with unconcern, the best of my youth and renounce the pursuit of rank and fortune. Is it not a serious loss that our days should pass away without profit, and yet be reckoned as a portion of our lives?"

*By the same:*

"I look on man in this world as a shepherd by whom every pasture-ground is rejected, and who at last finds none to feed his flock. Here is water, but no herbage; there, herbage, but no water; and where thou seest water and herbage, that is the haunt of beasts of prey."

On a handsome youth whose hair was cut off:

"They cut off his hair to render him ugly; jealous as they were (*to save him from being admired*). (*In face*) he was a morning covered by the dark night (*of his hair*); they dispelled the night, but left him the morning."

*By the same:*

"I shall relate to you my adventure, and adventures are of various kinds. I one night changed my bed and was abandoned by repose; tell me then how I shall be on the first night which was in the grave?"

As birth of Abu Yahya 'Abd al-Hamid, the son of al-wazir al-Mughribi, the following lines were addressed to the father by Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, chief of the army office at Cairo:

"In him appears an omen of which the meaning cannot escape the learned and intelligent: seeing that the child's grandfather (*jadd*) was 'Ali, I said: the fortune (*jadd*) of the child shall be exalted ('*ali*')."

This vizir was a man of great shrewdness and abilities. When his father, unluckily, and two brothers were put to death by al-Hakim, the sovereign of Egypt<sup>1</sup>, he fled to Ramlah and joined Hassan Ibn

---

1 See M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, tom. I. page 350.

Mufrij\* Ibn Dagħfal Ibn al-Jarrah of the tribe of Tai, who assisted by his sons and cousins, had seized on that city; these he succeeded in inspiring with hostile designs against al-Hakim. He then proceeded to Hajaz and excited the ambition of the governor of Makkah, giving him hopes of overthrowing al-Hakim and conquering Egypt. These intrigues gave great uneasiness to the prince of Egypt and awoke his apprehensions for the safety of his empire. It would be too long to relate the conduct of al-Hakim under these circumstances, but the result was, that, by a large donation of money, he gained over the family of al-Jarrah, who had already, by the management of the vizir, drawn to Ramlah Abu T-Futuh al-Hasan Ibn Ja'far al-'Alawi<sup>1</sup>, the sovereign of Makkah, and proclaimed him khalif under the title of al-Rashid. By his unremitting efforts, al-Hakim succeeded in conciliating the family of al-Jarrah; and Abu T-Futuh, being frustrated in his projects, fled to Makkah, whilst the vizir, to avoid al-Hakim's vengeance, retired to Traq and broke off his intercourse with the Jarrah family. Al-Wazir al-Maghribi then visited the vizir Fakhr al-Mulk Abu Ghalib Ibn Khalif<sup>2</sup> [Khalaf?]; but the Khalif al-Qadir Bi'llah, having received intelligence of the circumstance, and suspecting that he had come to plot against the 'Abbasid dynasty, wrote to Fakhr al-Mulk, ordering him to expel al-Wazir al-Maghribi from the states of the khalifat, Fakhr al-Mulk did not, however, withdraw his support from al-Maghribi; and he succeeded in obtaining for him al-Qadir's indulgence. Happening afterwards to go down from Baghdad to Wasit, he took al-Wazir al-

---

\* Mufarrij in autograph—Ed.

1 He returned to Makkah and, having made his submission to al-Hakim, he was reinstated in his government, and died there A. H. 430 (A.D. 1038-9), the forty-sixth year of his administration. Ibn Khaldun. M.S. of the Bib du Roi, No. d'entrec. 2402C (fol. 44.)

2 Abu Ghalib Fakhr al-Mulk Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Khalif was vizir to the Daylamite prince Baha' al-Dawlah and to his son Sultan al-Dawlah. His talents, liberality, and noble character entitled him to be considered as the greatest vizir who ever served the Buwayh dynasty, with the exception of Abu T-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid and the Sahib Ibn 'Abbad. His father was a money changer, and he himself underwent many vicissitudes of fortune before he was raised to the vizirate. He was put to death A.H. 407 (A.D. 1016-7) by his sovereign Sultan al-Dawlah, for some reason or other (Al-Yafi'i's *Mirat*; Abu T Mahasin's *al-Nujum al-Zahirah*.) Ibn al-Athir says in his *Kamil*, In the year 412 the *Khutbah* was said throughout Traq with the substitution of Musharraff al-Dawlah's name for Sultan al-Dawlah's. The Davlamite troops (in the service of the latter) then obtained permission from Musharraff al-Dawlah to return to their homes in Khuzistan. He ordered his vizir Abu Ghalib to accompany them; but on arriving at al-Ahwaz, they murdered him. I should suppose this not to be the same person as the preceding.

Maghribi in his suite: during his stay at Wasit he treated his guest with every attention, and did not discontinue his protection till he himself was put to death. Al-Wazir al-Maghribi then endeavoured to conciliate the khalif al-Qadir Bi'llah and disculpate himself from the imputations cast upon him; in this he succeeded to a certain degree, and he returned to Baghdad. Having made a short stay in that city, he proceeded to Mosul, where he was chosen by Abu 'T-Muni' Qirwash Mu'tamid al-Dawlah, prince of the 'Uqaylite dynasty<sup>1</sup>, to fill the place of secretary of state, which had become vacant by the death of Abu 'T-Hasan Ibn Abi 'T-Wazir. He afterwards directed his intrigues بسی to obtain the post of vizir under the Daylamite sovereign Musharraf ad-Dawlah<sup>2</sup>, and he did not cease his machinations until that prince arrested his vizir Mu'ayyad al-Mulk Abu 'Ali. Al-Maghribi then received a letter from Musharraf al-Dawlah, by which he was invited to leave Mosul and come to court; (*he in consequence proceeded to Baghdad, where Musharraf al-Dawlah was Amir al-Umara'*) and was installed in the vizirate, but did not receive either the title of honour or the pelisse, neither was he allowed to discontinue wearing the *durra'ah*.<sup>3</sup> He continued to fill this office till circumstances obliged Musharraf al-Dawlah to quit Baghdad,<sup>4</sup> when they both went to Awana<sup>5</sup> and stopped with Abu Sanan Gharib Ibn Muhammad Ibn Maqn.<sup>6</sup> Whilst things were in this state, al-Wazir al-Maghribi was induced to quit the service of Musharraf al-Dawlah by his apprehension of that prince's dissatisfaction, and he went to reside with Abu 'T-Muni' Qirwash at Mosul. About this period, the dislike

---

1 Qirwash Ibn al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyib succeeded his father as sovereign of Mosul, A.H. 391 (A.D. 1000-1). He died A.H. 444 (A.D. 1052-3). His history may be traced in Abu 'I-Fida, tom II p. 603, and tom. III, pp. 5, 51, 53, 141. For the pronunciation of his name, I have followed the MS of Ibn al-Athir; it is found written with the vowel points in Vol. III, fol. 24. Ibn Khaldun has a long chapter on the history of the Uqaylite dynasty, (MS. No. 2402 C, fol. 116 verses.)

2 See Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II, p. 269, and Abu 'I-Fida's *Annals*, tom. III, pp. 51, 65, 69.

3 According to al-Maqrizi, the *Durra'ah* was a sort of vest in woollen cloth worn by vizirs *Chrestomathic*, t. I p. 125). I do not understand, however, why al-Maghribi was obliged to wear it constantly.

4 He left Baghdad through apprehension of the turbulent spirit of the Turkish troops, to whom large arrears of pay were owing.

5 Awana lay at ten parasangs from Baghdad, higher up the river, — (*Marasid*)

6 Ibn Maqn; such is the orthography of the MSS, and of Ibn al-Athir in the *Kamil*. Mention is made of this amir by Abu 'I-Fida' in his *Annals*, A.H. 411.

which al-Qadir had borne towards him was again excited, and the letters written (by that *khalif*) to Qirwash and Gharib respecting him, put him under the necessity of quitting his protector. He then went to Abu Nasr (Ahmad) Ibn Marwan<sup>1</sup> at Mayyafariqin, and during the rest of his life, he remained with him as a guest. But according to another account, when he proceeded to Diyar Bakr, he became vizir to Ahmad Ibn Marwan, the sultan of that province, and died in office the 13th Ramadan, (October, A.D. 1027). Some say that his death happened 428: but the first statement is more correct. He died at Mayyafariqin and his body was transported to Kufah in pursuance of an injunction contained in his will. There is an anecdote on this subject which is too long to be related here.<sup>2</sup> He was interred in a tomb near the chapel of 'Ali Ibn 'Abi Talib; and on it the following verses were inscribed by his own directions:

"I had long travelled in the path of error and ignorance; it was time for me to arrive at my journey's end. I have repented of all my sins, and this last part of my conduct may perhaps efface the former. After five and forty years, I had hoped for longer respite. did not know that my creditor is generous."

His son, his uncle, and his two brothers were put to death on the 3rd of *Dhu T-Qa'dah*, A.H. 400 (June, A.D. 1010).

I have read in some compilation that he was not a native of Maghrib (*Maghribi*), but that one of his ancestors, Abu T-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Muhammad, filled a place under government in that part of Baghdad which lies on the west side of the Tigris (in *Karkh*): and he was named al-Maghribi (*the Western*) for that reason: this title then continued to be given to his descendants. I have also heard a great number of persons make the same observation, but I since found the following passage at the beginning of the work composed by the vizir, and entitled *Adab al-Khawass*: "Al-Mutanabbi, the poet whom our

1 His life, no. 72.

2 When al-Wazir al-Maghribi felt that his death was inevitable, he wrote to all the amirs and chiefs of his acquaintance who were (*living*) between Mayyafariqin and Kufah. In these letters, he informed them that one of his concubines had died, and that he intended sending the coffin to the chapel of 'Ali; he therefore asked their protection for the persons who accompaniend the body, and desired them, on no account, to stop it or the escort. When he expired, his people proceeded with his body to the place of burial; the amirs thought that it was the body of the concubine, and none attempted to stop it on its progress. The truth was not discovered till after his interment.-(Ibn al-Athir).

\* مجاوره lit. neighbourhood.

brothers of Maghrib call all-Mutanabbih (*the wide awake*), says with elegance:

"When Time was in his youth, his children came and he made them happy, but we came to him his old age."

This seems to prove that he was in reality a native of Maghrib. Further on, when speaking of al-Nabigha al-Ja'di<sup>1</sup> and his poetry, he makes use of the very same expression, when quoting this verse of al-Mutanabbi's:

"In my body is soul which has not, like it, become decrepit; although grayness has ruined (*the dark honours*) of my face."

His genealogy, as given at the commencement of this notice, was taken by me from a note in the handwriting of Abu 'I-Qasim 'Ali Ibn Munjib Ibn Sulayman al-Misri, surnamed Ibn al-Sirafi,\* who mentions that he copied it from the handwriting of the vizir himself.

#### 188 IBN KHALAWAYH

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn Ibn Ahmad Ibn Khalawayh, the grammarian and philoger, was a native of Hamadan, but (*when still a youth*) he went to Baghdad and frequented some of the eminent scholars who then inhabited that city. Among the number were Abu Bakr Ibn al-Anbari, Ibn Mujahid al-Maqqari, Abu 'Umar al-Zahid and Ibn Durayd. He also learned the readings of the *Qur'an* from Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi, and having removed to Syria, he took up his abode at Aleppo. He then became unrivalled by his acquirements in every branch of literature; (*students*) journeyed to him from all countries, and the members of the Hamdan family (*which then reigned at Aleppo*), treated him with honour, studied under his direction, and profited by his tuition. It was he who related the following (*well known*) anecdote: "I one day went to see Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Hamdan, and

\* In autograph: العروف بابن الصمير في المصري

1 Hassan Ibn Qays, a descendant of 'Amir Ibn Sa'sa'ah, a member of the tribe of Ja'd Ibn Ka'b, and generally known by the name of al-Nabighah al-Ja'di, was one of the most celebrated of the poets contemporary with Muhammad. He was born before the promulgation of Islamism, to which he became a convert, and was devoted partisan to 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, on whose side he fought at the battle of Siffin. He died during the period in which 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr, the anti-Khalif, ruled at Makkah. It is to his song that he is chiefly indebted for his reputation. He did not give any proof of possessing a talent for poetry, till after his thirteenth year, and it was for this reason that he received the surname of al-Nabighah. (See *Chrestomothic*, tom. II. p. 410.). (al-Suyti; *Sharh Shawahid al-Mughni*, MS. No. 1238, fol. 133).

when I stood up before him (*after making my salutation*), he said to me: Sit down, making use of the word *uq'ud*, and not *ijlis*: from this I perceived that he was an amateur of philological studies<sup>1</sup> and well acquainted with the secrets of the language spoken by the desert Arabs."

Ibn Khalawayh made this observation because philologists consider it preferable to say *uq'ud* to a person who is standing up, and *ijlis* to a person who is lying down or making a prostration;<sup>2</sup> and some of the learned give the following reason for making the distinction: the verb *qa'da*\* implies the idea of passing from up to down (and it is for this reason that a person deprived of the use of his limbs is called *muq'ud* (seated), but the verb *jalas*# denotes the action of passing from down to up, (for which reason it is that the high land of Najd is called *Jalsa* (*the seated up*) or that they say of a person who goes to that country: he is a *jalas* (*sits up*). It is thus that Marwan Ibn al-Hakam, when governor of Medina, addressed the poet al-Farazdaq (in these terms).

"Say to the idiot al-Farazdaq<sup>3</sup>: Proceed to Najd (*ujlus*)" if you obey not my orders."

This is taken from a piece of verse relative to which a long anecdote is related<sup>4</sup>. The foregoing observations are not here in their

1 Literally: I was aware of his attachment to the fringe (*of the robe*) of philology.

2 From this it would appear that the verb *قامد* *qa'da* signifies to sit down, and *جلس* *jalasa* to sit up. This distinction is now neglected in common discourse.

\* In autograph: *qu'ud*—Ed.

# In autograph: *julus*—Ed.

3 Literally: Say to al-Farazdaq, (and folly is as hateful as its name). The expression between parentheses was used by the ancients to denote that the person of whom they were speaking was a blockhead. The poet al-Nabighah al-Dubyani has used it in this sense at the commencement of his fifth *qasidah*. (see Yusuf al-Shantmari's Commentary on the *Diwan of the six Poets*; MS, of the *Bib du Roi*.)

\*\* In autograph: *fa ajlis*—Ed.

4 This anecdote is given by M. Caussin de Perceval in his life of al-Farazdaq, *Journal Asiatique*, t. XIII. pp. 516, 517, and 518. The verse mentioned here by Ibn Khallikan was composed by Marwan in answer to that recited by the poet, and which is mentioned in page 518 of that periodical. Ibn Khallikan has omitted the next verse of the piece composed by Marwan; and I give it here after the *Kitab al-Aghani*:

دع المدينة انما حظرة . والحق بكه لوبيت القدس

"Quit Medina; it is for thee a forbidden city, and go to Makkah or Jerusalem."

proper place, but discourse will run into digression. Ibn Khalawayh is author of a large philological work, entitled *Kitab lays* (the book of *lays non east*), which is a proof of his vast erudition; from the beginning to the end it is drawn up in this manner. *In the language of the pure Arabic race* there is not (*lays*) such and such an expression, etc.; whence its name. He composed also a little book which he called *al-Al<sup>1</sup>*, and in the beginning of it he says: The *Al* is of twenty-five divisions (or sorts). This treatise is composed with no inferior talent. He mentions in it the twelve *imams*, the dates of their birth and death, and the names of their mother; what induced him to speak of them was, that in describing the different sorts of *Al* (or *mirage*), he came to speak of the *al* (or *family*) of Muhammad, the Banu Hashim. His other works are the *Kitab al-Ishtiqaq* (book of derivations), the *Kitab al-Jumal fi'l-Nahw* (the grammatical summary), a treatise on the readings of the *Qur'an*, the parsing of thirty *surahs* of the *Qur'an*, the *Kitab al-'Aziz<sup>2</sup>*, a treatise on the short and the long final *alif*, another on the two genders, one on the different kinds of *alif*, a commentary on Ibn Durayd's poem the *Maqsurah*; a work (containing pieces descriptive) of the lion, etc. Ibn Khalawayh had some conferences and discussions with al-Mutanabbi at the court of Sayf al-Dawlah, and were I not desirous of avoiding prolixity, I should give an account of them. He composed some good poetry, and the following verses were written by him, as it appears by al-Tha'libi's statement in the *Yatimah*:

"If the president of an assembly be not a man of family, he whom the assembly have chosen for president is good for nothing. How often has it been said to me; 'Why do I see thee on foot?' And I replied: 'Because you are on horseback.'"

Ibn Khalawayh died at Aleppo, A.H. 370 (A.D. 980-1.)

#### 189. ABU 'ALI AL-GHASSANI

Abu 'Ali al-Husayn Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Ghassani (descended from the tribe of Ghassan) al-Jayyani (a native of Jaen in Spain) was a tradionist of the first authority and a philoger. He is the author of the *Taqyid al-Muhmal* (fixation of doubtful orthographies), a book in which he gives the right spelling of all

---

1 This word signifies *family*, and *mirage*. I am inclined to think that the latter meaning is here intended.

2 This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifah.

the names of Traditionists cited in the Sihah [*Sahihayn* in autograph] of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, when these names are liable to be pronounced erroneously; in this work, which forms two volumes, he has treated the subject with no inferior talent. He was an able critic in judging of the authenticity of traditions, and one of those great men of learning whose labours have been useful to the public. His handwriting was good, his orthography correct, and he was acquainted with the rare and elegant expressions of the Arabic language, and with poetry and genealogy. When teaching the Traditions, he used to sit in the mosque of Cordova, and there had the most eminent men of that city for auditors. I have not met with the particulars of his life<sup>1</sup>, or I should mention them. He was born in the month of Muharram, A.H. 427 (A.D. 1035); in the year 444, he began his travels for the purpose of learning the Traditions, and he died on Thursday night, the 12th of Sha'ban, 498 (April, A.D. 1105). Jayyani means belonging to Jayyan (Jaen), a large city in Spain. There is another place of this name in the dependencies of Rayy.

## 190 AL-BARĪ

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn was son to Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Ubayd Allah Ibn al-Qasim Ibn 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Sulayman Ibn Wahb al-Harithi: this Sulayman Ibn Wahb was a vizir and a descendent of Harith: Ibn Ka'b Ibn 'Amr.<sup>2</sup> This celebrated poet bore the surnames of al-Dabbas, al-Badri, al-Barī' (*the pre-eminent*), and al-Nadim al-Baghdadi (*the boon-companion from Baghdad*); he was also a learned grammarian, a philologist, and a teacher of the *Qur'anic* readings; he possessed besides a good acquaintance with the various branches of polite literature. Great numbers profited under his tuition, and particularly in the reading of the *Qur'an*. He descended from a family conspicuous in the vizirate, as his ancestor al-Qasim was vizir to the *khalif* al-Mu'tadid and to al-Muktafi his successor; this was the vizir who poisoned Ibn al-Rumi, as we shall relate in that poet's life; 'Ubayd Allah, the father of al-Qasim, had been already vizir to al-Mu'tadid; and as for Sulayman Ibn Wahb, his celebrity is such that it is needless

---

1 I hoped to have found some further particulars respecting al-Ghassani in the *Silah* or *gift*, the celebrated biographical dictionary composed by Ibn Bashkuwal, and of which a copy is preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Paris. His life is indeed given in that work, but I perceived that Ibn Khallikan had already extracted from it every interesting fact.

2 This 'Amr was son of 'Ullah بن ابن Khald Ibn Malik ibn 'Udad, the descendant of Kahlan.



to speak of him here; we shall merely refer the reader to his work. Al-Bari was gifted with diversified talents and is that author of some good works, such as compositions in the lofty style<sup>1</sup> an poetical pices. He was an intimate companion and friend of the Sharif Abu Ya'la Ibn al-Habbariyah, and the pleasantries which passed between them are most amusing لطيف. It happened that al-Bari' entered 'into the service of a certain amir and made the pilgrimage to Makkah; on his return, the Sharif went, at different times, to see him, but did not find him at home; he in consequence addressed to him a long *qasidah*, in which he reproached him for his conduct, and hinted that the place which he had obtained caused him to disdain his old acquaintance. This poem begins thus:

"O son of my affection! but alas, how far (estranged) from me is the son of my affection; This place of authority, obtained since my departure, has altered the (kind) looks (with which he once received me)."

I should give this piece here, were it not for the ribaldry and obscenity of some passages. It was answered by al-Bari' in a long epistle containing also some indelicate expressions, and beginning thus:

"The Sharif Abu Ya'la's letter has arrived, and it has met with as kind a reception as would be given to himself. I received it with a hearty welcome, and I applied it to my eyes and to my cheek.<sup>2</sup> I broke the seal and found—what think you of honey mixed wormood? Kind reproaches tinctured with bitterness, such as he better deserved: folly and seriousness: false accusations against me who have committed no crime, and blame such as nearly consumes my heart. He pretends that ha came to visit me many times, and that I refused to admit him: may he never meet with a foul repulse! Cease then to accuse the place I fill, and lay not the fault on my pilgrimage; can a person, (*frank*) like me, effect condescendence or disdain?<sup>3</sup> I implore you, by Allah! tell me how you can perceive that I forget you or that my affection is altered? Such as you see me, whether acting as an'*amil*<sup>4</sup> or a vizir to a prince, or passing troops in review, I am still that libertine (*khall*) whom you knew, and whom you yet might easily

1 *Compositions in the lofty style*; this is not the literal translation, but it expresses the sense tolerably well, the origianl word is غريبه which means rare or strange expressions, such as are used by the Arabs of the desert, but unintelligible for towns-people.

2 In sign of honour.

3 Literally: An mihiest solutio dedignations aut constrictio ejus?

4 See note 3, under no. 184.

recongnize.<sup>1</sup> When a handsome (girl) is true to (her promise and visits) me, that day is my holiday, (as if) the prince himself came to my house. Were I in the garden of eternal happiness and you in the fire of hell with Haman,<sup>2</sup> do you think I could forget you? were my head encircled with a diadem and you a prisoner in chains, could I fell indifferent for you? I fulfil manifold my promised affection to you, but you do not repay my friendship. (*Do you reproach me*) because I am solely devoted to one single person among men, the first among the generous: one who has spared my self-respect the humiliation of (*soliciting succour from*) the vile, and has loaded me with unbounded favours? I desire no more: I let my days glide smoothly away, and adopt the maxim of keeping within bounds. And you I am not too proud to beg; but where are the generous men whose bounty I implore?"

We shall confine ourselves to the foregoing citation, as the *qasidah* from which it is taken contains obscene passages not fit to be given, and others unsuited to our purpose.

The following piece is by the same author:

"I have lost my self-respect<sup>3</sup> from having long solicited the favours of a man devoid of self-respect. I sent to him a statement of my misery, would that I had died before I sent it. His gifts brought me no honour, and I could hardly recover from his contumelious treatment. Death is better than (*to live in*) an age when men of talent must hold out their hands to blockheads."

Al-Bari' was born at Baghdad on the 10th of Safar, A.H. 443 (A.d. 1061), and he died on Tuesday, 17th of the latter Jumada; some say the first, A.H. 524 (April, A.D. 1130).

*Dabbas* means a maker or seler of *dibs*.<sup>4</sup>

1 Literally: Whose country you might know were it even by the manner in which his camels ruminate. This seems to be a proverbial expression, but I have not been able to find it in al-Maydani. It may be, however, that I have misunderstood the words, as the last hemistich of the verse many very well signify: Who, as thou knowest, is easily pleased, were it even with a flask of muddy wine.

2 Haman was the chief minister of Pharaoh. The *Qur'an* says: "Verily Fir'awn and Hamna were sinners."

3 Literally: I have spent the water of my face; see note under no. 49.

4 The inspissated juice of the ripe grape is much used by the natives (*of Aleppo*). It is named *dibs*, and has much the appearance of coarse honey, but is of a firmer consistence. It is brought to town in goat-skins and retailed in small quantities in the bazars, serving for the common people instead of honey. (Russell's *Aleppo*, Vol. 1. p. 82, quarto edition.)

Badri signifies belonging to al-Badriyah, a part of Baghdad so called, and in which al-Bari' resided; for which reason he obtained this surname.

## 191 AL-TUGHRAI

Abu Isma'il al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Samad, surnamed al-'Amid (or '*Amid al-Dawlah, pillar of the state*'), Fakhr al-Kuttab (*the glory of the Katibs*),<sup>1</sup> Mu'ayyad al-Din (*sustained in religion*), and generally known by the name of al-Tughra'i, was a celebrated *munshi*<sup>2</sup> and a native of Isbadan. He possessed great talents, a subtle genius, and surpassed all his contemporaries in the art of composing in prose and verse, Al-Sam'ari speaks of him in the *Kitab al-Ansab* under the article, *munshi*, and after making his eulogium, he gives an extract from one of his poems descriptive of a wax-light, and states that he was put to death in the year 515 (A.D. 1121-2). Al-Tughra'i has left behind him a *diwan* (or *collection*) of good poetry, and one of his finest pieces is the *qasidah* entitled the *Lamiyat al'Ajam*,<sup>3</sup> which he composed at Baghdad in the year 505 (A.D. 1111-2). In this poem he describes his own situation and complains of the time in which he lived. It begins thus:

"My strength of mind has preserved me from frivolity, and I was adorned by my talents, though decked with no other ornament."

This *qasidah*, which consists of more than sixty verses,<sup>4</sup> contains every beauty of style<sup>5</sup> and is the very essence and excellence of poetry; it is too long to be given here, but it is generally known and in the hands of the public.\*

One of his sentimental pieces is as follows:

"O my heart: what hast thou to do with love? It is long since indifference had settled in thee, and since the lover's ardour has been restrained. Dost thou not feel pleasure in repose, now that those with whom you passed round the cup of burning passion have

1 See note under no. 10.

2 *Munshi*, a person employed by government to draw up state papers.

3 This poem is well known to European readers, having been repeatedly published, but the edition given by the illustrious Pocock is decidedly the best.

4 Fifty-nine in the printed editions. [In the autograph; sixty couplets.]

5 In Arabic غريبة see note 2, under no. 190.

\* In the printed texts (Cairo and Tehran eds) the entire *qasidah* has been reproduced—Ed.

recovered their reason? The zephyr fell into langour and revived again, but from the malady of which thou complainest, no deliverance can be hoped. I behold the wavering of the lightning flash, and the heart within my bosom wavers and beats.<sup>1</sup>

*By the same:*

"Eyes! treasure up your tears; it will surely come, the threatened moment of separation (*from my beloved*). If tomorrow unite (*us*) lovers, shame then be on the eyes which have not been fatigued with weeping."<sup>2</sup>

Abu T-Ma'ali mentions al-Taghra'i in his *Zinat al-Dahr* and cites some fragments of his poetry; he is also spoken of by (Abu T-Barakat Ibn al-Mustawfi), in his *History of Arbela*, who says that he acted for some time as vizir in that city; and the *katib* Tmad al-Din states, in his history of the Saljuqs, entitled *Nusrat al-Fatrah wa 'Usrat al-Fitrah*, that al-Tughra'i was styled *al-Ustad* (*the master*) and that he was vizir at Mosul to the Saljuq sultan Mas'ud Ibn Muhammad; "When this prince," he continues, "gave battle to his brother the sultan Mahmud near Hamadan, he was defeated, and among the first prisoners taken, was the ustad Abu Isma'il, Mas'ud's vizir. News of this circumstance was brought to Kamal al-Mulk Nizam al-Din Abu Talib 'Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Harb al-Sumayrami, the vizir to Mahmud, on which Shihab al-Din Asa'd (who was then deputy *tughra*-writer to al-Nusayr the *kitab*), made the remark that the man, meaning the *ustad*, was an atheist; and the vizir here observed that atheists should be put to death. Al-Tughra'i was thus slain unjustly; they dreaded his superior abilities, and put him to death on this pretext, without having any regard for his personal merit. This was in A.H. 513 (A.D. 1119-20)." But other accounts assign his death to the years 514 and 518. He was then aged upwards of sixty years, and in his poetry are found these two verses, composed on a new born son who had been brought to him, and which indicate that he had then attained his fifty-seventh years:

---

1 In the poems of the ancient Arabs, the lover frequently describes his joy in watching the lightning, which presages a fertilising shower to the plains where his mistress dwells. See the *Diwan Imru' al Qays*, p. 93, notes Al-Tushra'i here reproduces that idea, which was quite classical; and says that the lightning makes him think of his mistress, and that this recollection causes his heart to beat.

2 Because true lovers should be always weeping when separated.

\* In autograph: Kamal Nizam al-Din Abu Talib 'Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Harb al-Sumayram.

"This little one has come in my old age; it rejoices my sight, but increases my pensiveness; a lapse of seven and fifty years would make impression even on a rock."

How long he lived after composing these verses, God knows best. The vizir al-Kamal al-Sumayrami was killed on Tuesday, the last day of the month of Safar, A.H. 516 (May, A.D. 1122), in the bazar (*suq*) of Baghdad near the Nizamiyah college; it is said that he fell by the hand of a black slave who had belonged to al-Tughra'i<sup>1</sup>, and who slew him to revenge his master's death. Tughra'i means a Tughra-writer; the Tughra is the flourish written with a broad-nibbed pen, at the beginning of (*official*) papers, over the *Bismi'llah*, and containing the titles of the prince from whom the document emanates. Tughra is a Persian word.

Sumayrami means belonging to Sumayram, a town between Isbahan and Shiraz, on the extreme limit of the Isbahan district.

## 192 IBN AL-KHAZIN THE KATIB

Abu T-Fawaris al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali al-Husayn, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Khazin the katib, was the first copyist of his time: he surpassed all others by the quantity of his transcriptions, having made five hundred copies of the *Qur'an* some of a compact form and some of a folio size. He composed also some good poetry, of which we may cite the following specimen:

"Fortune torments him who pursues her, but the man of prudence despises the world and enjoys repose. The prince who obtains her delusive favours must at last be contented with a shroud. He gathers wealth with pain, and with pain he leaves it after him. My only wish is to feel assured that I shall meet God. I detest the world, and why should I love it, since its gifts are lethargy (*to the soul*)? It has not endured for any man before me; why them this care and sadness?"

The historian Muhammad Ibn Abi T-Fadl ('*Abd al-Malik*) al-Hamadani says, in his supplement to the *Tajarib al-Umam* of (Ibn)

---

1 Ibn al-Athir, in his *Annals*, notices the death of al-Tudhra'i, and says that he composed some alchemical works which have been the ruin of many. One of these works, entitled *Sirr al-Hikmah* (*the secret of philosophy*), and containing a commentary on a treatise of Jabir Ibn Hayyar, entitled *Al-Rahmah* (*mercy*), is in the Bib, du Roi, fonds Asselin.

Miskawayh,<sup>1</sup> that Ibn al-Khazin died suddenly in the month of Dhu T-Hijjah, A.H. 502 (July, A.D. 1109), and the Sharif Abu Ma'mar al-Mubarak Ibn Ahmad al-Ansari states that his death took place on Monday night, and that he was buried the next day, Tuesday, the 26th of the above month.

### 193 ABU 'ABD ALLAH THE SHI'ITE

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Zakariya, surnamed al-Shi'i (the Shi'ite), was the assertor of the rights<sup>2</sup> of 'Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi, the ancestor of the (*Fatimid*) sovereigns of Egypt. His revolt in Maghrib is a celebrated event, and works have been specially composed on that subject. We shall give an account of some of his proceedings in the life of 'Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi.

Abu 'Abd Allah the Shi'ite, a native of San'a' in Yaman, was one of those crafty men who knew how to regulate their conduct so as to obtain their ends; for he entered Ifriqiyah alone, without money and without men, yet by his unremitting efforts, he succeeded in obtaining possession of that kingdom and expelling its sovereign 'Abu Mudar Ziyadat Allah, the last of the Aghlabid princes, who fled to the East and there died. The history of these events would be long to relate. When he had established the affairs of al-Mahdi on a solid foundation, and reduced the country under his authority and made it ready for his reception, al-Mahdi set out from the East, but being unable to join the Shi'i, he proceeded to Sijilmasah, where he was discovered and thrown into prison by the sovereign of that city, al-Yasa', the last of the Midrar, dynasty. Abu 'Abd Allah the Shi'ite' having marched thither, delivered him from confinement and placed the supreme authority in his hands. Abu T-'Abbas Ahmad, the Shi'i elder brother, then arrived and reproached him for what he had done: "How!" said he to the Shi'i, "you were master of the country, and

1 According to Hajji Khalifah Abu 'Ali Ahmad Ibn Miskawayh, the author of the *Tajarib al-Umam*, or *experience of nations*, died A.H. 421 (A.D. 1030). Abu T-Faraj gives a short account of him in the *Historia Dynastiarum*, p.216 of the translation.

2 The assertor of the rights; literally: The establisher of the mission. Mention has been already made of the missions established for political purposes. See note 9. under no. 10. A full account of Abu 'Abd Allah's proceedings will be found in Made Sacy's *Expose de l'histoire des Druzes*, t. I. p. 237.

In autograph Abu T-Mu'ammam-Ed.

uncontrolled arbiter of its affairs, yet you have delivered it over to another, and consent to remain in the rank of an inferior!" By a repetition of such discourses, he induced his brother to repent of his conduct, and to meditate treason, but al-Mahdi's apprehensions were awakened, and he suborned persons who murdered them both at the same time. This event happened in the middle of the latter Jumada, A.H. 296 (February, A.D. 911), at al-Raqqadah, between the two castles.<sup>1</sup>

Shi'i is the denomination given to the partisans of the Imam 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib. Raqqadah was a town in the dependencies of Qayrawan in Ifriqiyah. As for Ziyadat Allah, mention is made of him in these terms by al-Hafiz Ibn 'Asakir, in his history of Damascus: "Abu Mudar Ziyadat Allah Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Aghlab Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Salim Ibn 'Iqal Ibn Khafajah: this is Ziyadat Allah the less", the last of the princes descended from al-Aghlab al-Tamimi. He came to Damascus in the year 302 (A.D. 914-5), on his way to Baghdad, after his defeat in Ifriqiyah and the loss of his kingdom." He then says at the end of the article:

"I have been informed that Ziyadat Allah died at Ramlah, in the month of the first Jumada, A.H. 304 (November, A.D. 916); he was buried at Ramlah, and his grave having sunk in, it was covered over (*with boards*) and left so. He was descendant of al-Aghlab Ibn 'Amr al-Mazini al-Basri:<sup>2</sup> 'Amr had been appointed governor of Maghrib by al-Rashid, on the death of Idris Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib. He continued in Maghrib till his death, and had for successor his son, al-Aghlab, who was succeeded by his descendants, till at last the authority devolved to this Ziyadat Allah."

His genealogy is again given in the life of 'Ali Ibn al-Qatta'; there is some slight difference between it and that mentioned here by Ibn 'Asakir and I have set them down just as I found them. Another historian says:

"Abu Mudar Ziyadat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-

1 Between the two castles; perhaps the author means the place called *al-Qasr al-Qadim* (the old castle) and al-Raqqadah. Ibn Khaldun merely states that he was slain at al-Qasr (the castle). The Two castles are mentioned by at-Nuwayri, MS. No. 702, f. 28 v, but he does [not?] say where they lay.

\* In original Arabic: زيادة الله الأصغر [Ziyadat Allah, the junior]-Ed.

2 This and what follows is quite erroneous; Ibn 'Asakir must have been very badly informed respecting the origin and history of the Aghlabites.

Aghlab died at Raqqah: his body was borne in a bier to Jerusalem and there interred in the year 296 (A.D. 908-9). A space of five years, nine months, and fifteen days elapsed from the time of his accession till he abandoned Qayrawan, when (his general) Ibrahim Ibn al-Aghlab was defeated by Abu Abd Allah al-Sh'i. On learning this event, he packed up his wealth, and taking with him the principal ladies of his harem, he left Raqqadah during the night. Ibrahim Ibn al-Aghlab was then proclaimed sovereign. The Aghlabid dynasty reigned two hundred and twelve years, five months, and fourteen days".

Such is the summary of these events which it would be too long to relate in full.<sup>1</sup>

#### 194 ABU SALAMAH HAFS AL-KHALLAL

Abu Salamah Hafs Ibn Sulayman al-Khallal al-Hamdani was a client, by enfranchisement, to al-Sab' (*a branch of the great tribe of Hamdan*), and vizir to Abu T-'Abbas al-Saffah, the first of the 'Abbasid Khalifs. Abu Salamah was the first person under the 'Abbasids who received the name of vizir and was publicly addressed as such; for this appellation was not known before, either under the Umayyad dynasty or any other. Being versed in literature and skilled in politics and government, his conversation was both amusing and instructive, for which reason Al-Saffah took pleasure in his society. He possessed a large fortune, having followed the profession of money-changer at Kufah; and he spent great sums in support of (*the cause of*) the 'Abbasids. He went to Khiurasan for that object with Abu Muslim to second him, and he there called<sup>2</sup> the people to support the cause of Ibrahim, al-Saffah's brother. When Ibrahim was put to death at Harran by Marwan Ibn Muhammad the last of the Umayyads, the call was made in favour of al-Saffah, and Abu Salamah became suspected of a leaning towards the descendants of 'Ali. When al-Saffah on his accession to the Khalifat, nominated Abu Salamah as vizir, he still retained some doubts of his fidelity; and it is said that he sent to Abu Muslim in Khurasan, informing him of Abu Salamah's

1 In my translation of al-Nuwayri's history of Maghrib, will be found a fuller account of the Aghlabid dynasty.

2 The *da'wat* دعوة or call was an invitation to espouse the party of the person who pretended to be the true *imam*, and who, as such, claimed spiritual and civil authority over the Muslims. The call was made by those agents or missionaries *du'at*, of whom mention has been made in note 9, under no. 13.



evil intentions, and urging him to put him to death. But according to another account, it was Abu Muslim who discovered the vizir's perfidy, and informed al-Saffah, by letter, of the circumstance, advising him at the same time, not to let him live. This, however, the khalif refused to do, saying: "That man has spent his wealth in our service and has hitherto served us faithfully; wherefore we pardon him this slip." On perceiving al-Saffah's unwillingness to follow the counsel given him, Abu Muslim sent a band of men to lie in wait, during the night, for Abu Salamah, who used to pass the evening in conversation with the khalif. When the vizir was retiring home unaccompanied, the assassins set upon him and cut him down with their swords; this was at al-Anbar, the khalif's capital; the next morning the public said that he had been murdered by the Kharijites. This event happened four months after the accession of al-Saffah to the khalifat; he had been proclaimed khalif on the eve of Friday, 13th of the latter Rabi' A. H. 132 (November, A.D. 749). When al-Saffah was informed of his death, he pronounced this verse:

"To hell with him and those who resemble him; we should regret that, in any point, he escaped our vengeance."<sup>1</sup>

It is stated in the History of the Vizirs,<sup>2</sup> that Abu Salamah was murdered in the month of Rajab, A. H. 132 (February or March, A.D. 750). He was styled *the vizir of the family of Muhammad*. The following lines were composed on his death by Sulayman Ibn al-Muhajir al-Bajali:

"Crimes are sometimes rejoiced at, but joy were fitter for that which you disliked. The vizir has perished, the vizir of the family of Muhammad, and one who detests you now fills his place."<sup>3</sup>

Abu Salamah was not a khallal (*vinegar-maker*), but his house in Kufah was situated in the street of the vinegar-makers, and he used to sit with them as neighbours; it was for this reason that he received the surname of al-khallal.

1 This verse is not reconcilable with what is stated above of al-Saffah's indulgence towards Abu Salamah.

2 Hajji Khalifah mentions several works bearing this title.

3 This piece seems intended as a reproach to al-Saffah; the poet gives him to understand that he should not rejoice at the murder of Abu Salamah, and that it had been better for him to have allowed him to live, although he disliked him. A devoted friend to the family of Muhammad had perished, and was now replaced by a man who detests it; meaning Khalid Ibn Barmak, sprung from a race of fire-worshippers.

Hamdani means belonging to Hamdan, a great tribe in Yaman. We shall speak of Sabi' in the life of Abu Ishaq al-Sabi'i.

Philologists disagree respecting the derivation of the word *wizarat* (vizirate): some derive it from *wizr*, a burden, because the vizir relieves the prince from the burden of affairs; this is also the opinion of Ibn Qutaybah; but others say that it comes from *wazar* a mountain, to which people fly for refuge from danger. According to this, the vizir is one to whom the spiritual or temporal prince has recourse, and to whom he betakes himself for advice; this is the opinion of Abu Ishaq al-Zajjaj.

### 195 HAMMAD IBN ABI HANIFAH

Abu Isma'il Hammad, son of the Imam Abu Hanifah al-Na'man Ibn Thabit, followed the sect<sup>1</sup> established by his father, and was highly venerated for his holy life. His father, in dying, had in his possession a great quantity of precious objects in gold, silver, etc., which had been confided to his care, and the proprietors of which ware, some absent, and the others, orphans under age. All those objects were brought by Hammad to the *qadi* that he might receive them, but he refused to accept them, saying that they could not be in better hand than those in which they then were. On this, Hammad begged of him to weigh them and set down the weight in writing, so as to the disengage Abu Hanifah's responsibility, "and then," said he, "you may do as you please." The *qadi* consented, and passed some days in weighing these deposits; but when he had done, Hammad was not to be found, neither did he quit his place of concealment till they had been given in care to another person. His son Isma'il was *qadi* of Basrah till replaced by Yahya Ibn Aktham. I have read in the history of Abu Hanifah كتاب اخبار ابي حنيفة that when the *qadi* Yahya Ibn Aktham arrived at Basrah, Isma'il Ibn Hammad left the city and was accompanied by him to some distance, and the people implored blessings on Isma'il, saying: "You abstained from our wealth and from our blood;" to which Isma'il rejoined: "and from your sons;" making a sarcastic allusion to the suspicions which had been cast on Yahya's character. The following fact is related by Isma'il: "One of our neighbours, a heretic<sup>1</sup> miller, had two mules, which he called Abu Bakr and 'Umar; a certain night he received

\* كان على مذهب ابيه رضي الله عنه  
rendering of *madhhah* than sect.--Ed.

: School would be a better

1 Literally: a Rafidi; a name given to all the Shi'i sects.

a kick from one of these animals and died, and my grandfather Abu Hanifah said, when he heard it: 'See into it, for I suspect that it was the mule he called 'Umar by which he was killed.'"<sup>1</sup> and this was found to be the case."

Hammad died in the month of Dhu 'I-Qa'dah, A.H. 176 (February or March, A.D. 793). We shall give the life of his father.

### 196 HAMMAD AL-RAWYAH

Abu 'I-Qasim Hammad Ibn Abi Layla Sabur (or Maysarah) Ibn al-Mubarak Ibn 'Ubayd al-Daylami al-Kufi (*descended from a native of Daylam and born at Kufah*) was client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wa'il, and is generally known by the surname of al-Rawiyah (*the narrator*). Ibn Qutaybah mentions in his *Kitab al-Ma'arif* and *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara'* that Hammad was client to Muknif, son of Zayd al-Khayl, of the tribe of Ta'i, the *Companion* of the Prophet. Hammad was one of the best-informed of men respecting the *days*, or adventures of the desert Arabs, their history, poetry, genealogy, and idioms; and according to Abu Ja'far Ibn (*Muhammad*) al-Nahhas, it was he who united in one collection the *seven long poems* (or *Mu'allaqahs*). The princes of the Umayyad family treated him with marked preference and honour; they invited him to visit them, and when he waited on them, they gave him tokens of their favour, and questioned him respecting the adventures and sciences of the desert Arabs. Being one day present at a public audience given by the Khalif al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, he was asked by that prince in what way he merited the surname of al-Rawiyah, and he returned this answer: "Because I can recite the poems of every poet whom you, O Commander of the faithful! have ever known or heard of; and I can rehearse moreover the compositions of many poets whom you will acknowledge that you did not know, neither did you hear of; and no one can quote to me passages of ancient and modern poetry without my being able to tell the ancient from the modern. Al-Walid then asked him how much poetry he knew by heart, and Hammad replied: "A great deal (*more than I can tell*); but I can recite to you, for each letter of the alphabet, one hundred long opens rhyming in that letter, without taking into count the short pieces; and all that letter, without taking into count the short pieces; and all that composed exclusively by poets who lived before the promulgation

1 The severity of the Khalif 'Umar against infidels is well known.

\* In autograph: "who lived in the days of *jahiliyah* besides the poets of Islam" (من شعراء الجاهليت دون شعراء الاسلام)

of Islamism." On this al-Walid told him that he intended to make a trial of his talent, and he ordered him therefore to begin his recitations. Hammad commenced, and continued till the khalif, having grown fatigued, withdrew, after leaving a person in his place to verify the truth of the assertion and hear him to the last. In that sitting, he recited two thousand nine hundred *qasidahs* by poets who flourished before Muhammad, and al-Walid, on being informed of the fact, ordered him a present of one hundred thousand *dirhams*. The following anecdote is related in the *Durrat al-Ghawwas* by Abu Muhammad al-Hariri, the author of the *Kitab al-Maqamat*:

"Hammad al-Rawiyah said<sup>1</sup>: I attached myself exclusively to Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik whilst he was khalif and his brother Hisham used to treat me harshly for that reason. On the accession of Hisham, I apprehended his resentment, and remained in my house during a year without stirring out, unless privately to visit a trusty friend. Not hearing any one mention my name during that year, I took confidence and went out one day to say me [Jum'ah] prayers in the mosque at Rusafah,<sup>2</sup> when I was suddenly accosted by two soldiers of the police guards, who said: 'Hammad! answer the summons of the Amir Yusuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi.' (Yusuf was then governor of Iraq). And I said to myself: This is the very thing I dreaded. I then asked them permission to go home to my family and bid them an everlasting adieu, after which I should accompany them, but to this they refused positively to accede; and I delivered myself up into their hands. I was then brought before Yusuf Ibn 'Umar in his audience hall, named *al-Ahmar (the red)*, and having made him my salutation he returned it and handed me a letter, containing these words: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement: Hisham, the servant of God and the Commander of the faithful, to Yusuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi. When you have read this, send a person to bring you Hammad without putting him in fear, and give him five hundred *dinars* with a Mahrah<sup>3</sup> camel, so that he may arrive at Damascus in twelve days. I took the money, and looking out, I saw a camel ready saddled, on which I mounted and set off. Twelve nights afterwards I arrived at Damascus, and alighted at the door of Hisham's palace, where I asked admittance. I was let in, and I found him in a large hall paved with marble, each flag of which was separated from the

---

1 This anecdote is given in the extract from the *Durrat* published by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologic Grammaticale*. See page 107.

2 See De Sacy's *Anthologie*, page 147.

3 Mahra was a province in south Arabia, celebrated for its breed of camels.

other by a band of gold: Hisham was seated on a red carpet, dressed in red silk and perfumed with musk and amber. I saluted him, and he returned my salutation, and told me to draw near, on which I went up and kissed his foot. I then remarked two slave-girls, the like of whom I had never before seen; each of them wore double ear-rings, and in each ear-ring were two effulgent pearls. 'How art thou, Hammad?' said he, and how is thy health? 'Well, Commander of the faithful', I replied. 'Dost thou know,' said he 'why I sent for thee?' 'No', said I. 'I sent for thee', said he, 'on account of a verse which came to my mind, and the author of which I do not know.' I asked to hear it, and he recited to me this line:

'One day, they called for their morning draught, and a mind came, bearing a ewer.'

'That verse,' said I, 'belongs to a *qasidah* by 'Adi Ibn Zayd al-Tbadi'.<sup>1</sup> He then ordered me to recite it, and I began:

'From the very dawn of morning, the friends, who blame my conduct, say: Wilt thou never return to reason? They blame me for the love I bear you, O daughter of 'Abd Allah! you who hold my heart enchained! They censure me so often on your account, that I doubt whether those who reproach me be enemies or friends.'

I continued then till I came to these verses:

'One day, they called for their morning draught, and a maid came, bearing an ewer. She held it out to be filled with wine bright as the eye of a cock, and clarified by the filter; rough till mixed with water, but, when mixed, delicious to the taste of the drinker. On its surface floated bubbles, like rubies which, as it was poured out, received fresh lustre. With it was then mixed the water of the clouds, no stagnant, foul, nor troubled water' Here Hisham was in an ecstasy of delight and said, 'Bravo!'

Some other circumstances are now mentioned in the narration; for instance, that the khalif told the slave-girl to pour out a drink (of wine) for Hammad, which she did: this however, is not true, for Hisham never drank wine; it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them.<sup>2</sup> The prince then told me," continued Hammad, "to ask for what I liked. 'May I ask for it,' said I, 'be it what it may?' 'Yes,' he replied. I then asked for one of the slave-girls, and he gave them both to

1 The life of 'Adi Ibn Zayd, translated from the Arabic of the *Kitab al-Ashani*, will be found in the *journal Asiatique*.

2 The anecdote will be found entire in the *Anthologic Grammaticale*.

me, with what they wore, and all that belonged to them" Hisham then lodged Hammad in his palace, and the next morning he sent him to a dwelling which had been prepared for him, and in which he found the two slave-girls with all they possessed, and ever thing which he required. He then prolonged his stay, and received one hundred thousand *dirhams* from the *khalif*.

Such is the story as related by al-Hariri; but the fact could not have happened with Yusuf Ibn 'Umar al-Jhaqafi, for it was not he, but Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qasri (see his life, no. 204), who governed 'Iraq at the time; this results from the dates of Khalid's appointment and removal, and the nomination of Yusuf. Hammad's adventures and the anecdotes related of him are very numerous. He was born A.H. 95 (A.D. 713-4), and his death took place in the year 155 (A.D. 772): Some say, however, that he died during the *khalifat* of al-Mahdi, who was inaugurated on Sunday, 6th *Dhu 'l-Hijrah*, A.H. 158 (October, A.D. 775), and who died on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd *Muharram*, A.H. 169 (August, A.D. 785), at a village called al-Radhah in the dependencies of Masa badhan;<sup>1</sup> a fact to which Marwan Ibn Abi al-Hafsa<sup>2</sup> alludes in the following verses:

"The noblest tomb after that of Muhammad, the prophet of the true direction, is a tomb at Masabadhan. I wonder how the hand which filled it with earth did not lose its fingers!"

The death of Hammad was lamented in the following verses by the poet surnamed Abu Yahya Muhammad Ibn Kunasah,<sup>3</sup> but whose real name was 'Abd al-A'la Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Khalifah Ibn Nadiah Ibn Unayf Ibn Mazin Ibn Dhuwaybah Ibn Usamah Ibn Nasr Ibn Qu'ayn:

1 Masabadhan or Sirwan, a town in Persian 'Iraq. (Abu 'l-Fida').

2 M de Sacy has given a short account of this poet in the *Chrestomathic*, tom. III, p. 318.

3 The poet surnamed Ibn Kunasah and respecting who real names great uncertainty prevails, was a member of the Arabic tribe of As'ad, and born at Kufah, A.H. 123 (A.D. 740-1). From that place he removed to Baghdad, where he settled. He had studied under the most eminent philologists of the school of Kufah, and learned by heart the poems and pieces of eloquence composed by the tribe of As'ad. He was a sister's son to the celebrated ascetic, Ibrahim Ibn Adham ادهم. Died at Kufah, the 3rd *Shawwal*, A.H. 207 (February, A.D. 823). The *Fihrist* gives the titles of three of his works; one treats of the influence of the stars on the weather, *Kitab al-Anwa*; another on the ideas usually reproduced in poetry; and the third on the poet al-Kumay's plagiarisms from the *Qur'an* and other sources. (*Fihrist*, fol. 98).

"Could precaution suffice against death, precaution had saved thee from what befel thee. May God have mercy on thee, trusty friend! the sincerity of whose affection was never sullied. It is thus that time works ruin; by it knowledge is destroyed and the memorials of history are effaced."

Hammad possessed but a slight acquaintance with the true genius of the Arabic language, and it is said, that having learned the *Qur'an* by heart from a written copy, he mistook the pronunciation of upwards of thirty words (*harf*).<sup>1</sup>

### 197 HAMMAD 'AJRAD THE POET

Abu 'Amr (or Abu Yahya) Hammad Ibn 'Amr Ibn Yunus Ibn Kulayb was a native of Kufah, or of Wasit by some accounts, and a client by enfranchisement to the family of Suwat بنی سواة a descendant of 'Amir Ibn Sa'sa'ah.<sup>2</sup> This Hammad, who is better known by this surname of 'Ajrad, was a celebrate poet and one of those, called Mukhadrams who flourished under the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid dynasties. He did not, however, attain his reputation till after the accession of the 'Abbasids; before that, he had been a boon companion to the Umayyad prince al-Walid Ibn Yazid. (نادم الوليد) and it was only in the reign of al-Mahdi that he went to Baghdad. 'Ali Ibn al-Ja'd<sup>3</sup> relates as follows: "In the reign of al-Mahdi, the following persons came to Baghdad: Hammad 'Ajrad, Muti' Ibn Ilyas al-Kinani<sup>4</sup>, and Yahya Ibn Ziyad. They stopped in our neighbourhood and were in tolerabel for their wickedness and profligacy." Hammad 'Ajrad was a poet of a superior order; he and Bashshar Ibn Burd composed satires of flagitious nature, one against the other; the pieces which he made on Bashshar abound in originality of thought, but their indecency will not allow me to insert any of them. Bashshar was so much annoyed by Hammad, that he composed on him these lines:

"On going to his tribe, you will find his door locked<sup>5</sup>, and it is

1 See note 13, under no. 144.

2 See Eichhorn's *Monumenta Hist. Ar.* Tab. VII.

3 'Ali Ibn al-Ja'd, a *hafiz*, a traditionist, a *mawla* to the family of Hashim and a native of Baghdad, died A.H. 230 (A. D. 844-5), aged ninety six years. During the last sixty years of his life, he fasted every second day. (Al-Yafi'i; Al-Dhahabi, *Tabaqat al-Huffaz*.)

4 See note 4, under no. 185.

5 He locked his door to avoid giving hospitality to the strangers who might arrive.

only by lying concealed that you can meet him. Ask Abu Yahya how he can obtain glory, he who has taken an oath against every generous deed."

The following verses also were made on him by Bashshar.

"An excellent man that Hammad, did he but adore his Lord and say his prayers. His face is pale<sup>1</sup> from drinking wine, but on the day of judgement, that whiteness shall become black."<sup>2</sup>

He was an arrow-maker by trade; some say, however, that he followed no profession, and that it was his father who made arrows. Gay and witty in his humour, licentious in his conduct, he was suspected to be a *zindiq*<sup>3</sup> in religion. It is related that an intimacy subsisted between him and an eminent *imam* whose name it is not right to mention, and that they afterwards quarrelled; he then learned that the *imam* spoke of him contemptuously, on which he wrote him these lines:

"If you cannot complete your devotions without reviling me, go toil with restless animosity before friends and strangers. Yet for a long time you gave me a good character, although I persisted in disobedience to God's law; it was in those days when we passed something about in leaden ewers.<sup>4</sup>

*By the same:*

"You swore, (*my friendly monitor,*) that if I again became love's prisoner, you would blame me no more, but strive to excuse me. But what annoys me in you is this: you give counsel without being aware that you know not (*the person whom I love*)."

The poetry and the adventures of Hammad 'Ajrād are well known. He died A.H. 161 (A.D. 777-8). (*Accounts vary as to the manner and time of his death*). Some say that he was a native of Wasit, and that he was put to death, as a *zindiq*, outside the gate of Kufah, by Muhammad Ibn Sulayman Ibn 'Ali, the governor عامل of

1 Literally: white [ ابيض ]—Ed.

2 That is: he will be punished as an infidel, See *al-Qur'an*, surah 3, verse 102.

3 *Zindiq*, synonymous with atheist.

4 That something was wine, and they drank it out of leaden ewers lest it should be seen.

[In Tehran ed. (p. 182) it is added on the authority of Ibn Qutaybah that the *imam* referred to was Abu Hanifah. It would however be absurd to think that he drank wine, and had intimacy with a confirmed *zindiq*.]—Ed.



Basrah, in the year 155 (A.D. 772). Others state that as he was going from al-Ahwaz to Basrah, he died on the way, and was buried on a hill near the spot. By another account, his death is placed in the year 168 (A.D. 784-5). When Bashshar Ibn Burd, whose life has been already given (no. 110), was put to death\* in the Batihah, his body was removed and interred in the tomb of Hammad 'Ajrād, and the following lines were inscribed on the grave-stone by Abu Hishām al-Bahili, who happened to pass that way:

"The blind followed the naked ('*ajrad*), and they therefore sojourn in the same abode. They are both in the hands of Malik<sup>1</sup> and in hell; infidels go to hell. The regions of the earth said: How unwelcome to us is the neighbourhood of Hammad and Bashshar!"

He received the surname of 'Ajrād from the following circumstances: When a boy, he was playing on a very cold day, quite naked, with some other children, and an Arab of the desert, who was passing by, said: "My boy! you are "*ajrad*." This word means *naked*.

Mukhadram, or mukhadrim, is a term generally employed to designate a poet who, like Labid, al-Nabighah al-Ja'di, and others, lived before and after the promulgation of Islamism. It is sometimes made use of in a more general sense, and applied to poets who flourished under two different dynasties. (*Arabs of the desert*) have been heard to pronounce this word *muhadram* and *muhadrim* (and their example is a good authority).

## 198 ABU SULAYMAN AL-KHATTABI

Abu Sulayman Hamd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Khattabi al-Busti was a jurisconsult, a philologist, and a traditionist. He is the author of some clever works التصانيف البديعة such as the Gharib al-Hadith (explanation of the difficult expressions found in the Traditions Muhammad); Ma'alim al-Sunan (the distinctive marks of the Traditions), being a commentary on the Sunan, or body of Traditions compiled by Abu Da'wud; the A'lam al-Sunan (signs of the Traditions), containing an explanation of al-Bukhari's collection of Traditions; the Kitab al-Shahah<sup>2</sup>: a treatise on the object of prayer كتاب شان الدعاء

\* In autograph and printed texts: 'When al-Mahdi had Bashshar killed.

1 Malik is the name of the angel who guards hell.

2 This word is pointed differently in each manuscript, and the work itself is not noticed by Hajji Khalifah. I suspect that not being able to read the title, he omitted it. In the autograph MS. it is written

الشجاع الشجاع

in autograph]—Ed.

a work in which he corrects the mistakes of Traditionists كتاب اصلاح غلط المحدثين etc. When in 'Iraq, he learned the Traditions from Abu 'Ali al-Saffar, Abu Ja'far al-Razzaz, and others, and his own authority was cited for Traditions by al-Hakim Ibn al-Bayy', 'Abd al-Ghaffar Ibn Muhammad al-farisi, Abu 'I-Qasim 'Abd Al-Wahhab Ibn Abi Sahl al-Khattabi, etc. (Al-Tha'libi) mentions him in the *Yatimah*, and gives the following verses of his composition:

"It is not the pains of absence, but the want of a sympathizing friend, which is the greatest affliction man can suffer. I am as a stranger to Bust and its people, yet Bust is my birthplace and the residence of my family."

He gives also as his, the fragments which follow:

"Man may find a refuge from the most ferocious beasts, but there is no refuge from the wickedness of men. How many have escaped the lion, and yet you will not see one man uninjured by another."

"Be indulgent, and exact not the whole amount of that which is your due. Spare the unfortunate; for the generous man never requires full payment. Avoid excess in every thing and keep a medium; efforts well directed, are fortunate in their commencement and their end."

Other verses of his are quoted by the same author.

Abu Sulayman al-Khattabi was the Ibn Sallam<sup>1</sup> of his time for learning, philology, rigid devotion, and fear of God; he resembled him also as a professor and an author. He died at the town of Bust, in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 388 (March, A.D. 998).

Khattabi is derived from the name of his ancestor al-Khattab; but some say that he was descended from Zayd Ibn al-Khattab<sup>2</sup> for which reason it was that he bore this surname. *Busti* means *belonging to Busi*, a well-watered and wooded city in Kabul مدينة من بلاد كابل between Herat and Ghaznah. Some persons have been heard pronounce Abu Sulayman's name of *Hamd* as if it were *Ahmad*, but in this they are wrong. Al-Hakim Ibn T-Bayy' says: "I asked a native of Bust, the doctor Abu 'I-Qasim al-Maza'far Ibn Tahir Ibn Muhammad whether Abu Sulaman's name was Ahmad or Hamd, some persons having said it was Ahmad; to which he replied that he heard Abu Sulayman

\* In autograph: الحاكم لبو عبدالله ابن البيه نيسابوري

1 The life of Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim Ibn Sallam is given in this work.

2 See note 1. under no. 112.

himself say: 'Hamd is the name by which I was called, but as people wrote it Ahmad, I gave it up. 'Abu T-Qasim said also; 'He recited to me these verses of his own composition:

"Whilst you live, flatter all men, for you are in the abode of deceit. He who knows my dwelling, and he who knows it not, will soon be seen with repentance for their companion."<sup>1</sup>

### 199 HAMZAH IBN HABIB AL-ZAYYAT

Abu 'Umar al-Hamzah Ibn Habib Ibn 'Umarah Ibn Isma'il a native of Kufah, and a client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Tkramah Ibn Rab'i al-Taymi, is more generally known by the surname of al-Zayyat. He was one of the seven *readers* of the *Qur'an* and had Abu T-Hasan al-Kisai for a pupil; he himself had been taught to read the *Qur'an* by al-A'mash. The appellation of al-Zayyat (*the oil-man*) was given to him because he used to transport oil from Kufah to Hulwan, and bring back cheese and walnuts. He died at Hulwan A.H. 156 (A.D. 772-3), aged seventy-six years.

Hulwan is a city at the farther extremity of Babylonian Iraq, on the borders of Persian Iraq (*Bilad al-Jabal*, in autograph).

### 200 HUNAYN IBN ISHAQ AL-TBADI

Abu Zayd Hunayn Ibn Ishaq al-Tbadi, the celebrated physician, was the most eminent man of his time in the art of medicine. He possessed a perfect acquaintance with the language of the Yunanis (Greeks), and it was by him that the work of Euclid was translated into Arabic. Thabit Ibn Qurrah,\* who came after him, cleared up the difficulties of this work and put it into better order و نقحه هذب. This was also the case with the *Almagest* البسطى # and the greater part of those books, composed in Greek by physicians and philosophers, which have been rendered into Arabic. Hunayn was the most laborious of all those who were engaged in this business of translating; some works (*it is true*) were executed by others. Were it not for this, persons unacquainted with Greek could have derived no benefit from such works, and it is certain that those which remain

1 The sole merit of the original lines consists in alliteration.

\* In autograph: notice has been given earlier. See no. 125.

# Ptolemy's well-known work on astronomy.

untranslated are useless except to him who understands that language. Al-Ma'mun was particularly anxious to have books of this kind turned into Arabic, written out and corrected; before him, Ia'far and other members of the Barmak family had encouraged the undertaking, but the efforts of al-Ma'mun were much more successful than theirs. Hunayn himself composed a great number of useful treatises on medical subjects. The life of his son Ishaq has been already given (no. 85). I have read in the History of the physicians

اخبار الاطباء that Hunayn went to the bath every day after his ride, and had water poured on himself; he would then come out, wrapped up in a bed-gown, and after taking a cup of wine with a biscuit, lie down, and sometimes fall asleep, till such time as perspiration should cease; he would then get up, burn perfumes to fumigate his person, and have dinner brought in; this consisted in a large fattened pullet stewed in its gravy and cake of bread two hundred drachms in weight: after supping the gravy and eating the fowl and the bread, he took a sleep, and on awaking he drank four pints (*rattl*)\* of old wine; if he felt a desire for fruit freshly gathered, he took Syrian apples and quinces. This was his habit till the end of his life. He died on Tuesday, 7th Safar, A.H. 260 (December, A.D. 873).

In the life of his son, the meaning of the word *'Ibadi* has been already given.

The Yunanites were physicians who lived before the time of Islamism; they were sons of Yunan,<sup>1</sup> the son of Yafith (*Jephet*), the son of Nuh (*Noah*).

## 201 IBN HAYYAN

Abu Marwan Hayyan, a native of Cordova, was the son of Khalaf Ibn Husayn Ibn Hayyan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hayyan Ibn Wahb Ibn Hayyan; this last was a slave enfranchised by the emir (and Spanish *Umayyaid* prince), 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan. This Ibn Hayyan is the author of the work entitled *Kitab al-Muqtabis fi Ta'rikh al-Andalus* (the book of him who desires information respecting the history of Spain), and forming ten volumes: he composed also, on the same subject, the *Kitab al-Mubin* (the

\* If we read it as *ritle* it might mean four coups of wine, which is more probable—Ed.

1 Yonan is most probably an altered form of Ionla.

discloser)<sup>1</sup> in sixty volumes. Abu 'Ali al-Ghassani speaks of him in these terms:

"He was a man advanced in age, profound in knowledge, eminent by his information in polite literature wherein he was deeply versed, the standard-bearer of history in Spain, the most elegant writer, and the ablest composer on that subject. He was an assiduous disciple of the *shaykh* Abu 'Amri Ibn Abi T-Hubab,<sup>2</sup> the grammarian and pupil of Abu Ali T-Qali, and Abu T-'Ala Sa'id [Ibn al-Hasan al-Rab'i] al-Baghdadi, whose work, the *Fusus*, he got by heart under this tuition. He learned also the Traditions, and I heard from him this one: 'To felicitate, three (days) after the occurrence of a fortunate event, is to make light of friendship; and to offer consolation, three (days) after a misfortune, is to encourage ill luck, to come'. He died on Sunday, 27th of the first Rabi' A.H. 469 (October, A.D. 2076), and was buried, on the same day after evening *عصر* prayers,<sup>3</sup> in the cemetery of *al-Rabad* (the suburb). He was born in 377 (A.D. 987-8)."

Al-Ghassani calls him a faithful historian, and Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Awn<sup>4</sup> mentions him in these terms: "Ibn Hayyan spoke with elegance and wrote with precision; he never intentionally admitted a false statement or narration into his history. After his death, I had a dream in which I saw him come towards me; and I rose up and made him my salutation, which he returned

1 For the title of this work, I followed the orthography of my manuscripts and of Hajji Khalifah's Bibliographical Dictionary, but the autograph manuscript writes it *الستين* *al-Matin*,

2 Abu 'Umar Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Ibn Faraj Ibn 'Abi T-Habib the grammarian and native of Cordova, was the favourite pupil of Abu 'Ali al-Qali. His information in the sciences of philology, grammar, history and the Traditions placed him in the first rank among the most eminent of *shaykhs*, and he merited general esteem by his piety and virtue. He died at Cordova on the eve of Friday the 30th of Muharram, A.H. 400 (September, A.D. 1009), aged nearly ninety years. He was buried the next day in the Rusafah cemetery, and the funeral service was said over him by the Qadi Ahmad Ibn Zikwan. He drew his origin from the Berber tribe of Masmuda. (*Ibn Bushkuwal's Silat.*)

\* As in autograph—Ed.

3 Literally: After the 'asr' See note 11, under no. 141.

4 Abu 'abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Awn al-Ma'afiri, born at Cordova, A.H. 440 (A.D. 1048-9), was celebrated as a Traditionist and a jurisconsult; pious and humble, he avoided society and passed most of his time in prayer at the great mosque of Cordova; and ardently devoted to the study of the different branches of science, he spared no pains in augmenting his library and searching for rare books. He died A.H. 512 (A.D. 1119) (*Ibn Bushkuwal's Silat.*)

in smiling. I then said to him: 'What has thy lord done to thee'<sup>1</sup> To which he answered: 'He has had mercy on me.' 'And the history,' said I, 'which you wrote: did you repent of it?' 'It is true,' he replied, 'I repented of it, but the Almighty received my excuses with kindness, and pardoned me.'

Mention is made of Ibn Hayyan by Abu 'Abd Allah al-Humaydi in his *Jidhwat al-Muqtabis*, and Ibn Bashkuwal in his *al-Sila*].

ح

## 202 KHARIJAH THE JURISCONSULT

Abu Zayd Kharijah Ibn Zayd Ibn Thabit al-Ansari was one of the seven jurisconsults of Madinah; in the life of another of them, Abu Bakr Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman, we have given two verses which contain the names of all these doctors (see no. 114). Kharijah was a *tabi'i*,<sup>3</sup> of high eminence; he was a child in the latter days of the khalif Uthman, and his father Zayd Ibn Thabit<sup>4</sup> was one of the greatest among the *Companions* of Muhammad. The Prophet said, in speaking of Zayd: The most skilful among you in calculating the shares of property to which heirs are entitled is Zayd (*afradukum Zaydu*),

Kharijah died at Madinah, A.H. 99 (A.D. 717-8), or 100. It is mentioned by Muhammad Ibn Sa'd (Katib) al-Waqidi, in his *Tabaqat*, that Kharijah said: "I had a dream and methought I built up a flight of stairs containing seventy steps, and when I had finished, it fell down, and I am now in my seventieth year:" and that very year he did. al-Zuhri has given Traditions on his authority.<sup>5</sup>

1 The usual question in such cases.

2 His history was merely a wordly book, and such compositions might not be acceptable in the eyes of God.

3 See note 2, under no. 3.

4 See note 2, under no. 148.

5 The *Tabaqat al-Fuqaha* gives a short notice on Kharijah containing some facts not mentioned by Ibn Khallikan, for which reason it may find a place here: 'Abu Zayd Kharijah Ibn Zayd Ibn Thabit, one of the seven jurisconsults of Madinah, was an imam whose authority and eminence were universally admitted. He died at Madinah, A.H. 100, aged seventy years. As a *mufti* he gave opinions on points of law; he drew up also bonds and conveyances and was consulted on questions relative to the division of inherited property, such as houses, date-trees, and money اموال. This last word may perhaps here signify flocks.

## 203 KHALID IBN YAZID THE Umayyad

Abu Hashim Khalid Ibn Yazid Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan al-Umawi (*member of the Umayyad family*), was the most learned of the tribe of Quraysh in all the different branches of knowledge. He wrote a discourse on chemistry and on medicine, in which sciences he possessed great skill and solid information, and (*on which*) he composed some epistles رسائل which show his profound instruction and superior talent. He learned the art (*of chemistry*) from a Greek monk (*al-Rahib al-Rumi*), whose name was Maryanus, and he treated of it in three epistles, one of which contains the relation of what passed between Maryanus and himself, the manner in which he learned the science, and the enigmatical allusions employed by his master. On this art he composed numerous pieces of verse, both long and short, which testify his abilities (*as a poet*) and his capacity (*as a chemist*); besides which he wrote some good poetry on other subjects, as, for instance, the following:

"The bracelets which ornament the ankles of other females, play loosely around the leg; but I see that the bracelets of Ramlah move not, neither doth her heart. I love the family of al 'Awwam for the love I bear her, an for her sake, I love her maternal uncles of the tribe of Kalb."

The poem from which these verses are taken is of considerable length; there is an anecdote told about Ramlah and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, which is so well known that I abstain from relating it.<sup>1</sup>

---

1 Ramla etait fille de Zobayr Ibn Elawwam Ibn Khouwaylid et d'Oumm Errebad, femme Kelbite; elle etait soeur-germaine de Mossab Ibn Zobayr. Ramla fue d'abord epousee par un Coraychite nomme Othman fils d'Abdallah dont elle eut un fils nomme Abdullah Ibn Othman qui devint l'epoux de Soucayna fille de Hossayn fils d'Ali. Apres la defaite et la mort d'Abdallah Ibn Zonayr, qui disputait le califat a Abdelmalik fils de Merwan, Khalid fils de Yazid ayant etc. en pelerinage a la Mekke, dont Hadjadj etait gouverneur, y epousa Ramla alors venue. Soucayna se montrait fort indocile a son mari Abdullah fils de Ramla. Un jour Ramla se present a au calife Abdelmelik, se plaignit vivement de l' humeur de Soucayna et dermadna au calife qu'il employat son autorite pour la rendre plus soumise a son mari. Abdelmalik refuse et dit: "Que veux-tuy fair? "C'est Soucayns "fille de Housayn. Que ce soit Soucayns, repliqua Raml, je la vauz been. My famille (la maison de Khouwaylid) a donne le jour a la plus noble fille (Fatima), un meri (Elawwam) a la plus illustre femme (Safiyya fille d'Abdelmottatib), une femme (Khadidja) al'homme le plus eminent (Mahomet), que la famille de Soucayna (la maison de Haehim) puisse se giorifier d'avoir produits." Abdelmelik, surpris de sa

Khalid had a brother called 'Abd Allah, who came to him one day and complained that he had been treated with contempt and insult by al-Walid, son of 'Abd al-Malik. Khalid went immediately to 'Abd al-Malik. [and Walid was there] and said: "Commander of the faithful! al-Walid, the Commander of the faithful's son, has treated his cousin 'Abd Allah with contempt and spoken disdainfully of him." 'Abd al-Malik reflected a moment, and then held up his head and said: "Verily kings, when they enter a city (by force), waste the same and a base the most powerful of the inhabitants thereof, and so will these do."<sup>1</sup> To this Khalid replied: "And when we resolved to destroy a city, we commanded the inhabitants thereof, who lived in affluence, (*to obey our Apostle*); but they acted corruptly therein: wherefore the sentence was justly pronounced against that (city); and we destroyed it with an utter destruction"<sup>2</sup> "Is it of 'Abd Allah that you are speaking?" said 'Abd al-Malik; "by Allah! he came into my presence just now, and he did not open his mouth to utter a single fault of language." "Is it of al-Walid that you are speaking?"<sup>3</sup> retorted Khalid. "If al-Walid speak badly," replied the Khalif, "his brother Sulayman does not." "And if 'Abd Allah speak badly," answered the other, "his brother Khalid does not." Here al-Walid said: "Be silent, Khalid! for, by Allah! you are not counted as one of the caravan or one of the troop."<sup>4</sup> "Hearken, O Commander of the faithful!" said Khalid; and turning then towards al-Walid, he addressed him thus: "Fie upon thee! and who more than I is of the caravan and the troop? My grandfather Abu Sufyan commanded the caravan,<sup>5</sup> and my grandfather 'Utbah Ibn Rabi'ah commanded the troop. Hadst thou spoken of little sheep and little mountains, and Ta'f, and said: 'God have mercy on Uthman!'<sup>6</sup> we had acknowledged that thou wast in the right."

---

fierte, lui dit: 'Ramla, je vois qu' Orwa fils de Zobayr m'a trompe a ton egard (en m' engageant a per-mettre ton mariage avec Khalid). Il t'a donne au contraire un avis until, reprit Ramla; car tu as tue mon frere germain Moss b, et Orwa pensait avec raison que (sans le lien que mu'unit maintenant a ta famille) je saurais me venger de toi." (Aghani IV, f. 35 vo et 36.) Note communicated by M. Gaussin de Perceval.

\* As in autograph—Ed.

1 *Al-Qur'an* surah 27, verse 34.

2 *Ibid.*, surah 17, verse 17.

3 Alluding to al-Walid's well-known importance of pure Arabic, See Abu 'Fid's Annals, A.H. 96.

4 A proverbial expression, signifying, That is none of your business, you are not considered as one of us or of our family.

5 At Badr in A, H. 2.

6 This will be explained further on.



This requires some explanation: the *caravan* was that of the Quraysh, which Abu Sufyan was conducting from Syria when the blessed Prophet marched out with his *Companions* to seize on it; the news of this reached the inhabitants of Makkah, and they went forth to defend the caravan, having at their head 'Utbah Ibn Rabiah. On reaching the Muslims, the combat of Badr ensued. Abu Sufyan and 'Utbah were both ancestors to Khalid; Abu Sufyan by the father's side, and 'Utbah by the mother's for Hind, 'Utbah's daughter, was the mother of Mu'awiyah, Khalid's grandfather. The words *little sheep* and *little mountains*, etc. are an allusion to al-Hakam Ibn Abi-'I-'As, the grandfather of 'Abd al-Malik, who had been banished to Ta'if by the blessed Prophet; he there kept a flock of sheep and took refuge in a little mountain called al-Karmah, where he remained, till 'Uthman, on his accession to the khalifat, recalled him; for al-Hakam was 'Uthman's uncle. It is said that the blessed Prophet [had] authorised 'Uthman to do so as soon as he came to power. Numerous anecdotes are related of Khalid, but what is here given may suffice. He died A.H. 85 (A.D. 704).

#### 204 KHALID IBN 'ABD ALLAH (AL-BAJALI) AL-QASRI

Khalid al-Qasri, surnamed Abu Yazid and Abu T-Haytham also, was son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Yazid Ibn Asad Ibn Kurz, a descendant of the tribe of Bajilah through that of Qasr. Ibn al-Kalbi mentions him in the *Jamharat al-Nisab*, (and traces up his genealogy) thus: Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Yazid Ibn Asad Ibn Kurz Ibn 'Amir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn Ghamghamah Ibn Jarir Ibn Shiqq Ibn Sa'b Ibn Yashkur Ibn Ruhum Ibn Afrak Ibn Afsa Ibn Nudhayr Ibn Qasr Malik Ibn 'Abqar Ibn Anmar Ibn Arash Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ghawth Ibn Nabt Ibn Malik Ibn Zayd Ibn Kahlān Ibn Saba Ibn Yashjub<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ya'rub Ibn Qahtan.

Khalid was appointed governor أمير of Arabian and Persian Iraq [the two Iraqs in autograph] by Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik the Umayyad; [before that, in the year 89 (A.D. 707-8), he was governor of Makkah]. His mother was a Christian, and his grandfather Yazid was one of the *Companions* of Muhammad. Khalid was counted among the most elegant and correct pulpitorators of the Arabian nation: he

1 Arabian genealogists are not agreed respecting the pronounce action of this name; some say it is Yashjub.

\* In autograph: كان خالد معوداً من خطباء العرب المشهورين بالفتوحات

-Ed. البلاغة

was also very beneficent and generous to profusion in his donations. On one of the days in which he gave public audience to poets, a person who had composed two verses in his praise entered the hall, but on hearing the long poems which the others recited, he thought his own too trifling, and therefore remained silent till they had withdrawn. Being then asked by Khalid what he wanted, he replied: "I composed a piece in praise of the Amir, but on hearing those of the others, I considered my own two verses as an unworthy tribute." On this, Khalid asked to hear them, and the poet recited these lines:

"You showered gifts upon me till you restored me new life; you bestowed on me with such abundance, that I thought you were in jest. But you are beneficence itself; you are the son of beneficence and its father! Sworn brother to beneficence! that quality cannot abandon you."

Khalid then asked him what he required, and on learning from him that he was oppressed with debts, he ordered them to be paid and made him a present to a similar amount. (*The Khalif*) Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him a letter, in which he said: "I am told that a man stood up in your presence and spoke these words: 'God is beneficent, and so art thou! God is generous, and so art thou! and that he thus summed up ten qualities common to you and God. Now, I swear by Allah! that if you do not exculpate yourself, I shall declare it lawful to shed your blood.'" To this Khalid wrote in reply: "It is true, O Commander of the faithful! that a man stood up before me and said: *God loves the generous, and I love thee for the love God bears thee*. But there is something worse than this: Ibn Shaqi T-Bajali<sup>1</sup> stood up before the Commander of the faithful and said: 'Which do you like best, your lieutenant (*khalif*) or your ambassador (*apostle*)?' to which you replied: 'My lieutenant, most certainly.' And then that man said: 'You are the *khalif* (*lieutenant*) of God, and Muhammad is his apostle (*ambassador*).'<sup>2</sup> Now the punishment of death, inflicted on a (*poor*) man of the tribe of Bajalah (*such as I am*), is a less grievous thing to the world at large than hat the Commander of the faithful should be an infidel." It is al-Tabari who relates this anecdote in his History. Doubts were cast on the sincerity of Khalid's religious belief, as he had built a church for his mother to pray in: it was alluding to this, that al-Farazdaq said:

"God curse the camel which came with swinging trot, and bore

1 I have been unable to procure any information respecting this person; and I doubt if this be a proper name. It may signify the son of the wretched Bajalite and that the writer of the letter meant his own son.

2 Consequently, God loves you better than Muhammad.

to us Khalid from Damascus! How can he be an *imam*<sup>1</sup> to the people, he whose mother believes not in the unity of God? He has built for his mother a convent, wherein is a cross; and through hatred, he has destroyed the minarets of mosques."

In the month of first Jumada, A.H. 120 (May, A.D. 733), Hisham deposed Khalid from the government of the two 'Iraqs; al-Tabari says in his History: "Hisham deposed 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah, governor of 'Iraq, and confided the administration of that province to khalid, in the month of Shawwal, A.H. 105 (March, A.D. 724): he afterwards replaced Khalid by Yusuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi, cousin to al-Hajjaj. He deprived Khalid of his office for the following reason: A woman went to him (Khalid) one day and said: 'May God direct the amir! I am a Muslim woman, and your '*amil*<sup>2</sup> such and such a one, the Magian, seized upon me and forced me to the evil deed, and has made me hateful to myself.' To this Khalid said: 'How did you find his prepuce?'"<sup>3</sup> Hassan al-Nabati (the Nabatean) wrote to Hisham informing him of the circumstance, and at the moment (*the letter came*), Hisham had with him an envoy sent to him on business by Yusuf Ibn 'Umar, the governor of Yaman: he detained him till night had set in, and then called for him and gave him a writing, by which (*his master*) Yusuf was named governor of 'Iraq, empowered to exact from Khalid and his agents a strict account of their administration, and authorised to leave behind him his son al-Salt to govern the province of Yaman. On receipt of this document, Yusuf set out from San'a', accompanied by a few persons, and proceeded, on the camels (*of the post establishment*) to Kufah; where he arrived on the morning of the seventeenth day. He immediately seized on Khalid and his '*amils*, cast him into prison, examined into his conduct, tortured him, and finally put him to death in the reign of al-Walid Ibn Yazid. It is said that he placed the feet of his prisoner between two pieces of wood, which he then forced together until the feet were crushed to pieces; he next placed the pieces of wood on the legs, which he broke in the same manner; then on the things; and lastly on the back; when the back was broken, his victim died. During these tortures, Khalid neither uttered a groan nor spoke a word."

He was put to death at Hirah, in the month of Muharram, A.H. 126 (October-November, A.D. 743); some say, however, in the month

1 The *imam* presided at public prayers; and governors of provinces, such as Khalid was, acted as *imams* by virtue of their office.

2 See note 3, under no. 184'

3 It is needless to call to the reader's recollection that Muslims are circumcised.

of Dhu T-Qa'dah, 125 (September, A.D. 743). He was buried during the night somewhere in Hiraḥ. This city lies at one *parasang's* distance from Kufah; and was the residence of the Mundhir family, the kings of the Arabs. When Khalid was in Yusuf al-Thaqafi's prison, the poet Abu T-Shaghb al-'Absi composed in his praise the following verses, which are to be found in the *Hamasah*.<sup>1</sup>

"Lo! the best of men, living or dead, is a prisoner to a Thaqafite, and kept by them in bonds! By Allah! though you make Khalid inhabit a prison, in which you allow him to walk but as one oppressed with the burden (*of his chains*); yet 'was he who dispelled the misfortunes of the wretched, and poured forth his donations copious as a torrent. He erected for his family an edifice of honourable deeds, and bestowed his gift on the worthy and the undeserving. Though you imprison al-Qasari, you cannot imprison his name; you cannot imprison the bounty which he shows towards the Arabian tribes."

"[Yusuf required of Khalid the daily payment of a fixed sum, and he put him to the torture when he did not comply. Abu T-Shaghb having composed these laudatory verses, transmitted them to Khalid, and received in return seventy thousand dirhams, which sum the prisoner was holding in readiness for the payment he had to make that day. At the same time, Khalid excused himself for the inadequacy of the present, saying, "You see what state I am in;" and the poet returned the gift, with these words: "It is not for money that I celebrated your praises whilst you were in this state, but through gratitude for your kindness and your bounty." Khalid sent it back to him conjuring him to accept of it, and Abu T-Shaghb at length consented to receive it. When Yusuf was informed of this, he called in Khalid and said: "What induced you to do so? are you not afraid of the torture?" "It is easier for me," replied Khalid, "to die under the torture, than to abstain from lavishing wealth, especially on those who celebrate my praise."]

Abu T-Faraj al-Isbahani says that Khalid was a descendant of *Shiqq al-Kahin* (the diviner), and that he was the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Asad Ibn Yazid Ibn Kurz. "Kurz," says he, "was a (mere) pretender (to an Arabic descent); he was in reality a Jew, but, on the commission of some crime, he fled to the tribe of Bajilān, and then entitled himself a Bajalite. Some say that he was a slave to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays and a son of 'Amir Dhu T-Ruq'ah ('Amir with the patch'), who was so called because he had lost the sight of one eye,

1 See *Hamasah*, page 419.

\* This paragraph is not given in the autograph.

and covered it with a patch. 'Amir was son to 'Abd Shams, the son of Juwayn, the son of Shiqq, the diviner, the son of Ka'b." Shiqq was son to the aunt of Satih the diviner, who foretold the coming of the Prophet: a full account of his interpretation of the dream relative to that event is given in (*ibn Hisham's*) *Sirat al-Rasul* (*life of the Prophet*).<sup>1</sup> Shiqq and Satih were two of the wonders of the world: Satih's form was that of a human body deprived of its members and lying prostrate on the ground; his face was in his breast, and he had neither head nor neck.<sup>2</sup> He could not sit up except when angry; he then swelled and took a sitting posture. Shiqq was half a man, for which reason he was named Shiqq (*half*); he had only one arm and one leg. Those two beings were empowered to make the predictions which are so celebrated.<sup>3</sup> They were both born on the day in which *Tarifah* the divineress died; *Tarifah* was the daughter of al-Khayr al-Himyarî and wife of 'Amr Muzayqia<sup>4</sup> the son of al-'Amir Ma's-Sama'.<sup>5</sup> On their birth, she had them brought to her and spat in their mouths pretending that she thus made them the heirs of her knowledge and her art of divination. She died immediately after, and was buried at al-Juhfah.<sup>6</sup> Shiqq and Satih both lived six hundred years.<sup>7</sup> *Qasri* means belonging to *Qasr* Ibn 'Abqar, a branch of the tribe of Bajilah.

## 205 AL-KHIDR IBN 'AQIL AL-ARBILI

Abu 'T-Abbas al-Khidr Ibn Nasr Ibn 'Aqil Ibn Nasr al-Arbili (*native of Aabela*) was a Shafi'ite doctor, eminent for his knowledge of the law and of the doctrines peculiar to his sect; he was skilled

1 This most veracious narrative is reproduced by Abu 'T-Fida' in his *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 5 et seq.

2 Ibn Khalikan inserts these absurd fables, because they were currently believed by the Muslims, and are gravely related by their ancient authors as circumstances corroborative of the divine mission of Muhammad.

3 Those were predictions relative to the coming of Muhammad, as has been already said, and the rupture of the dike of Mareb. see M. de Sacy's *Memoire sur divers Evenemens de l'Histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, page 165.

4 See the extract from al-Mas'udi given in the Memoir just cited, page 151 and 208.

5 See Rasmussen's *Hist. arab. ante Islam.* p. 43.

6 This place is situated between Madinah and Makkah.

7 This could not be otherwise if they foretold the rupture of the dike of Mareb; and were still living at the time of Muhammad's birth, as grave doctors say.

in controversy and in the art of calculating the shares of inherited property to which each heir is entitled. He studied at Baghdad under al-Kiya al-Harrasi (*Abu 'I-Hasan 'Ali*) and Ibn al-Shashi (*Abu Bakr*), and he there became acquainted with a number of the chief doctors  
مشايوخها

He then returned to Arbela, where a college was built for him to profess in by Abu Mansur Saraftikin al-Zayni, the lieutenant-governor of that city نائب صاحب اربيل. This college is the one called Madrasat al-Qal'ah (*the college of the fortress*). It was founded in the year 533 (A.D. 1138-9). He gave lessons in it for some time, and was the first who ever professed at Arbela. A great number of excellent works were composed by him on the interpretation of the al-Qur'an, jurisprudence [*al-tafsir wa 'I-fiqh*], and other sciences. One of his works contains six and twenty sermons, stated to have been pronounced by the Apostle of God (*Muhammad*), and all of them supported by good authorities.<sup>1</sup> Great numbers studied under him and derived profit from his tuition. He was a man of holiness, mortified life, devotion, and piety; careless of worldly goods, and animated with a soul sanctified by God. Ibn 'Asakir mentions him with high commendation in his History of Damascus; he had visited that city and resided in it for some time, but returned afterwards to Arbela. Amongst those who finished their education under him was the doctor Dia'al-Din [Abu] 'Uthman [Ibn 'Isa Ibn Dirbas], al-Hadhbani<sup>2</sup> the expositor of (*Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi's work*) the *Muhadhdhab*. (His life will be found in the letter 'ayn). Another of his pupils who attained eminence was his brother's son, 'Izz al-Din Abu 'I-Qasim Nasr Ibn 'Aqil Ibn Nasr. Al-Khidr was born A.H. 478 (A.D. 1085-6); he died at Arbela on the eve of Friday, 14th of the latter Jumada, A.H. 567 (February. A.D. 1172) and was buried in his own college situated in the suburb. His tomb stands there alone and is an object of pilgrimage: I have visited it frequently. On his death, the vacant professorships in the two colleges were filled by his nephew 'Izz al-Din (*glory of religion*); a man of talent, born at Arbela in the year 534 (A.D. 1139-40). He was banished from that city by the Sovereign al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Muzaffar al-Din, whose displeasure he had incurred, and proceeded to Mosul, where the following lines were addressed to him from Baghdad by his friend Yaquf al-Rumi (*whose life shall be given later*):

"O son of 'Aqil! dread not the violence of the enemies, though

1. Supported by good authorities; that is, accompanied with the names of the Traditionists by whom they had been handed down.

2. Hadbani is correct, not Hadiani, as in the Arabic text. [Hadhbani, in autograph]—Ed.

they betray that hatred which was hidden in their bosoms. The day has come in which some men oblige thee to depart thy land, because they see in thee such merit as their own land never possessed. It is thus that the ravens detest the presence of the white falcon, whose plumage appears to advantage when contrasted with the darkness of their own."

In this he alluded to the persons who traduced him and turned the sovereign against him. This occurred, as far as I know, in the year 602 or 603 (A.D. 1206-7), but Ibn Batish says that it took place in 606. That same year, the Georgians sallied forth and took Marand, a city in the dependencies of Adharbayjan, near Arbela; they plundered it, massacred part of the inhabitants, and led the rest into captivity. As this happened at the time of 'Izz al-Din's expulsion from Arbela; his son Sharaf al-Din (*nobleness of religion*) Muhammad was induced by the circumstance to compose the following verses:

"If (*those of Arbela*) drive unjustly (*our*) females from their homes and act with an excess of tyranny, we have before us a similar example, in those whom the Georgians treated with cruelty and drove from Marand.

This Sharaf al-Din had a great talent for the *dubayt* (or *couplet*); I should give here some specimens of his composition, were I not afraid of lengthening this notice too much. 'Izz al-Din dwelt outside of Mosul in the convent of Ibn al-Shahrzuri and received a pension from the lord of that city صاحب الموصل. He remained there till his death, which happened on Friday, 13th of the latter Rabi' or of the latter Jumada, A.H. 619 (May or July, A.D. 1222), and was interred at Tall Tawbah.<sup>1</sup> His mother was aunt to 'Imad al-Din Muhammad Ibn Yunus;<sup>2</sup> his son Sharaf al-Din died at Damascus on the eve of Sunday, 28th Muharram, A.H. 633 (October A.D. 1235), and was interred in the cemetery of the *sufis*: he was born at Arbela, in the month of Rajab, A.H. 572, (January, A.D. 1177). He studied jurisprudence under his father and 'Imad al-Din Ibn Yunus, and was taught belles-lettres by Abu 'I-Haram Makki, Sarafikin was a *mamluk* belonging to Zayn al-Din 'Ali, the lord of Arbela and the father of Muzaffar al-Din; he was an Armenian by birth, and a virtuous man, for which reason his master gave him his liberty, took him into favour, placed the highest confidence in him, and made him his lieutenant

1 See note 2, under no. 167.

2 His life is given in this work.

• [Abi 'I-Hazm, in autograph]—Ed.

in the government. He built a number of mosques in Arbela and the neighbouring villages, and founded the college of which we have spoken: he raised also the walls of the town of Fayd, situated on the road from Baghdad to Makkah,<sup>1</sup> and left many other monuments of his piety, all erected at his own expense. He died in the month of Ramadan, A.H. 559 (August, A.D. 1164).

## 206 IBN BASHKUWAL

Abu T-Qasim Khalaf Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Mas'ud Ibn Bashkuwal Ibn Yusuf Ibn Dahah Ibn Dakah Ibn Nasr Ibn 'Abd al-Karim Ibn Wafid al-Khazraji al-Ansari al-Qurtubi (*descended from the Ansars of the tribe of Khazraj and a native of Cordova*), was one of the great learned men of Spain. He composed a number of useful works, amongst others, the *Silat* (*gift*), intended by him as a continuation to Ibn al-Faradi's<sup>2</sup> history of the learned of Spain, and in which He has collected (*the lives of*) a great many persons. he composed also a short history of Spain, in which he displayed his usual ability, and a work called the *Kitab al-Ghawamid wa 'I-Mubhamat* (*book of obscure and doubtful allusions*), in which he mentions and specifies the names of the persons to whom allusion is made in the Traditions: in this work he followed the plan adopted by the Khatib of Baghdad in his treatise written on the same subject. He is also the author of a little volume, in which he mentions those Traditionists who handed down the *Muwatta'* (*when yet unpublished*), on the authority of (*their master*) Malik [Ibn Anas] (*who composed it*). He has classed their names in alphabetical order, to the number of seventy-three. Another small volume of his is entitled: The suppliants for God's assistance under trouble, those humbly resigned to him in their wishes and desires, and those to whose prayers he hearkened, and whom he blessed with miraculous favours. Besides the above, he composed other works. Abu T-Khattab Ibn Dihyah says: "I learned from a note in the handwriting of my master", meaning Ibn Bashkuwal, "that he finished his *Silat* in the month of the first Jumada, A.H. 534 (January, A.D. 1140), and that he came into the world on Monday, the 3rd (some say the 8th) of Dhu'l-Hijjah, A.H. 494 (October, A.D. 1101). He died at Cordova on the eve of Wednesday, 8th Ramadan, A.H. 573 (January, A.D. 1183), and was buried on that Wednesday, when the afternoon prayers were over, in the cemetery of Ibn 'Abbas, near the tomb of

1 This place, which lies half-way between Kufah and Makkah, is noticed by Abu 'I-Fida' in his Geography.

2 His life is given by Ibn Khalikan.



Yahya Ibn Yahya<sup>1</sup>. His father Abu Marwan 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Mas'ud died on the morning of Sunday, and was buried on the evening of the next day, Monday 25th of the latter Jumada, A.H. 533 (February, A.D. 1139), at about the age of eighty.<sup>2</sup>

## 207 KHALIFAH IBN KHAYYAT

Abu 'Amr Khalifah Ibn Khayyat Ibn Abi Hubayrah Khalifah Ibn Khayyat al-'Usfuri, surnamed Shabab, a member of the tribe of Shayban a native of Basrah, and the author of the Tabaqat,<sup>3</sup> was a hafiz versed in history acquainted with the adventures of the ancient Arabs, and gifted with great talents. Al-Bukhari gives traditions on his authority in the Sahih and in his historical work,<sup>4</sup> and he is cited also by 'Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, Abu Ya'la of Mosul,<sup>5</sup> al-Hasan Ibn Sufyan al-Nasawi<sup>6</sup>, and others في الآخرين he himself quoted as his authorities Sufyan Ibn 'Uyaynah, Yazid Ibn Zuray',<sup>7</sup> Abu Dawud al-Tayalist,<sup>8</sup> Durust Ibn Hamzah, and others of the same

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 Abd al-Malik was a Traditionist, jurisconsult of the sect of Malik, and an assiduous reader of the Qur'an—(Ibn Bashkuwal't Silat.)

3 This is probably the work mentioned by Hajji Khalifah under the title of Tabaqat al-Ruwat (Classification of the historical Traditionists); a sort of Biographical dictionary.

4 Noticed by Hajji Khalifah in his Bibliography. see no. 2174.

5 See note 2, under no. 92.

6 The hafiz Abu 'I-'Abbas al-Hasan Ibn Sufyan Ibn 'A. nir al-Shaybani al-Nasawi (of the tribe of Shayban and native of Nasa in Khurasan), studied jurisprudence under Abu Thawr (see no. 2), and learned the Traditions from Ibn Hanbal and others. He was chief Traditionist of Khurasan while he lived, and he composed a celebrated Musnad (see note 7 under no. 130). Died in Ramadan 303 (Marth, A.H. 916), at Balouz بالوز a village situated at three miles from Nasa. (Al-Dhahabi's Ta'rikh al-Islam: MS. No. 646.) In the printed Arabic text of Ibn Khallikan, the hafiz Abu 'I-'Abbas is surnamed al-Nasri, not al-Nasawi; the autograph manuscript has also al-Nasri, but this reading, I am inclined to think, is erroneous.

7 Abu Mu'awiyah Yazid Ibn Zuray' al-'Absi (member of the tribe of 'Abs) al-Basri (native of Basrah) was a Traditionist of great exactitude and information, learned, talented, and varacious. On the death of his father, who was governor of Basrah, he refused (through religious scruples) to accept any part of the inheritance which devolved to him, and supported himself by making baskets. He died A.H. 172 (A.D. 788-9). (Al-Nujum al-Zahirah).

8 The hafiz Abu Dawud Sulayman Ibn Dawud Ibn al-Jarud of Tayalisi was born at Basrah, A.H. 121 (A.D. 739). He possessed a high reputation as a Traditionist. Died A.A. 203 (A. D. 818-9) (Tabaqat al-Buffer).

class. He died in the month of Ramadan, A.H. 230 (May, A.D. 845). Ibn 'Asakir says, in his *Ma'jam*, or alphabetical list of the great jurisconsults who followed the doctorines of the six *imams*,<sup>1</sup> that he died A.H. 240 (A.D. 854-5) or 246.

The relative adjective 'Usfuri is derived from 'Usfur (*carthamus tinctorum*), a substance used for dyeing cloth red.

It is not known with certainty for what reason he was surnamed *Shabab*. His grandfather Abu Hubayrah *Khalifah* Ibn *Khayyat* died in the month of Rajab, A.H. 160 (April-May, A.D. 777). Abu 'Amr himself said that his grandfather *Khalifah* and *Shu'bah* Ibn al-Hajjaj<sup>2</sup> died in the same month.

### 208 AL-KHALIL IBN AHMAD

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Amr Ibn Tamim al-Farahidi, or al-Furhudi al-Azdi al-Yahmadi was one of the great masters in the art of grammar, and the discoverer of the rules of prosody, which art owes to him its creation. These rules he included in five circles *دوائر* (or *classes*), from which he deduced fifteen seas (or *measures*);<sup>3</sup> to these was added a sixteenth by al-Akhfash (*Sa'id Ibn Masada*), who named it *al-khabab*. It is related that al-Khalil, when at Makkah, prayed God to bestow on him a science hitherto undiscovered, and which none were to learn but from him; and that on his return from the pilgrimage, the science of prosody was

1 The six *imams*, founders of the six orthodox sects, were Abu Hanifah, al-Shafi'i, Malik, Ibn Hanbal, Sufyan al-Thawil, and Abu Sulayman Dawud al-Zahiri.

2 The *imam* Abu Bistam *بسطام* *Shu'bah* Ibn al-Hajjaj Ibn al-Ward, surnamed the Amir al-Mu'minin (or commander of the faithful) in the science of Traditions, was a *mawla* to the tribe 'Atik *عتيك* a branch of that of al-Azd; his patron 'Abd al-Ataki *عبد العتكي* having been himself a *mawla* to Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab the Azdite. He learned the Traditions from Mu'awiyah Ibn Qurra and a great number of the Tabi'is. *Shafi'i* said of him, Were it not for *Shu'bah*, the Traditions extant in Iraq had remained unknown. Al-Madini stated that he knew two thousand of them, and Sufyan declared that the death of *Shu'bah* was fatal to the Traditions. He was a man of great learning, piety self-denial, tenderness of heart, and holy life; a master of the elegancies of pure Arabic, and a poet. Died A.H. 160 (A.D. 776-7), aged 73 years. (*Al-Yafi'i, Tabaqat al-Muhaddithin*)

3 These technicalities will be better understood from a perusal of the chapter. page 147, of Freytag's *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, or Samuel Clerke's *Prosodia Arabica*.

revealed to him. The knowledge which he possessed of musical rhythm and harmony must, however, have led him to the discovery of prosody, in consequence of the close analogy which exists between them, Hamzah Ibn al-Isbahani<sup>1</sup> speaks of al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad in his *Tanbih 'al Huduth al-Tashif*,<sup>2</sup> and expresses his opinion respecting him in these terms:

"To enter now into the subject we intend to treat, it must be observed that Islamism never produced a more active spirit than al-Khalil for the discovery of sciences which were unknown, even in their first principles, to the learned among the Arabs. Of this, no clearer proof can be adduced than the science of prosody: a science not taught to him by any philosopher, nor drawn up by him on the model of some other previously known, but invented as he walked past a coppersmith's, on hearing the strokes of a hammer upon a basin; two objects devoid of every quality which could serve as a proof and illustration of anything else than their own form and shape, and incapable of leading to any other knowledge than that of their own.

1 Hamzah son of al-Hasan (or of al-Husayn, according to Hajji Khalifah) was a native of Isbahan, as appears by his surname. The best known of his works, entitled *Ta'rikh al-Umam* (History of Peoples), was composed, according to his own statement, in the year 330 of the Hijrah (A.D. 961-2). His other works were, a History of Isbahan *Ta'rikh Isbahan* (see Hajji Khalifah, No. 2142), a History of great men (*Tarikh Kibar al-Umam*), and the *Tanbih*, here mentioned by Ibn Khallikan. None of the Arabic authors whom I have consulted, furnish any additional information respecting him, the author of the *Fihrist* excepted. We read in that work; Hamzah Ibn al-Hasan, a native of Isbahan, was كان

a man of learning and an author, He then gives the list of his works, eight in number; three of which were collections of proverbs, the fourth contained similes: the fifth was a treatise on prayers or imprecations, كتاب انواع الدعاء the sixth, a collection of epistles; the seventh, a History of Isbahan, and the eighth, a treatise on the words in the *Al-Qur'an* which may be read in different manners: كتاب التفسير على حروف المصحف This last is probably the work from which the passage on al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad is taken. It would appear, from what the author of the *Fihrist* says, that at the period in which he composed his work. Hamzah was no longer living, and as we know that the *Fihrist* was written A.H. 377, we must suppose that Hbmzah, died before that year. M.de Sacy, in the 10th volume of the *Memoires de l'Institut, Academic des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, has inserted a memoir on the first of the works above mentioned.

2 This work is not mentioned by Hajji Khalifah. Its title signifies. The warning respecting the novelty of the Tashif. The last word bears the signification of logograph and false reading of the *al-Qur'an*. The three manuscripts which gives this passage—for the autograph does not—all agree in the orthography of the title, which seems, however, to be an alteration of that which is indicated in the preceding note.

nature. Had he lived in days of old and were the traces of his existence distant from observation persons would have doubted that such a man had been: one who effected what none had ever done since God created the world; the production, namely, of the science just mentioned; the foundation laid by him for that structure, the *Kitab al-'Ayn*, which contains the language of a whole people, and the aid which he gave to Sibawayh by furnishing him with that grammatical information of which he composed the celebrated book (*Kitab*) which is the ornament of Islamism."

Al-Khalil was a holy, sagacious, sage, and grave man; one of his sayings was: "A man knoweth not wherein his preceptor is wrong, till he taketh the lessons of another." It is related by [his pupil] al-Nadr Ibn Shumayl that al-Khalil dwelt in one of the (*common*) reed-cabins of Basrah without having two pence فلين at his command, whilst his scholars اصحابه were gaining wealth by the science he had taught them. He states also, that one day he heard him say: "I lock the door upon myself, so that my thoughts wander not abroad. He used also to remark that a man's reason and intelligence reach perfection, when he attains the age of forty, the age of Muhammad when God sent him forth on his mission; but that they undergo alteration and diminution when the man reaches sixty; the age in which God took the Prophet's soul to himself. He said again, that the intelligence is clearest at the dawn of day. Sulayman Ibn Habib Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufrah, [al-Azdi] the governor of Fars and Ahwaz, settled a pension on him and invited him by letter to come and see him, to which al-Khalil wrote in reply:

"Let Sulayman know that I can dispense with his assistance; that I am rich, though possessing no wealth: the treasure which I husband is my honest pride; believing, as I do, that none ever die of mere poverty, and that no state of life can continue unchanged. (*True*) wealth comes from a power subject to no weakness: and with all the craft of the cunning, you cannot increase your store. Poverty consists not in (*the want of*) money, but of soul; that we well know: and riches are in the mind, not in the purse." Sulayman having, on this, stopped al-Khalil's pension, the latter said:

"He, who formed me with a mouth, engaged to give me nourishment till such time as he takes me to himself. Thou hast refused me a trifling sum, but that refusal will not increase thy wealth."

These lines gave Sulayman great uneasiness, and induced him to write an apology to al-Khalil and double his pension; the poet then pronounced these lines:

"Sulayman has committed a slip which would fill Satan with amazement, did he hear it. Marvel not, if by chance a good deed comes from him; an inauspicious constellation sometimes sheds on the earth a genial shower."

Al-Khalil and 'Abd al-Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa' once met together and passed the night in conversation; the next morning they separated, and al-Khalil was asked what he thought of his companion ابن السقفة. His learning is greater than his wit عقل was the reply. A similar question was then addressed to Ibn al-Muqaffa', who answered: "His wit is greater than his learning."

Among the works composed by al-Khalil must be noticed the celebrated *Kitab al-'Ayn*, of which the subject is philology;<sup>1</sup> the *Kitab al-'Arud* (his treatise on prosody); the *Kitab al-Shawahid* (examples of grammatical rules) the *Kitab al-Nuqat wa 'I-Shakl* (treatise on the diacritical points and the vowel-signs); the *Kitab al-Nagham* (on musical intonation), and the [*Kitab fi al-'Awamil*] (treatise on those parts of speech which govern others). The great majority of the learned in philology say that the *Kitab al-'Ayn* was not composed by al-Khalil, although it bears his name; he merely began it, and having drawn up a portion of the commencement, he named it the 'Ayn, [and then he died] but its completion was due to his pupils, al-Nadr Ibn Shumayl, al-Mu'rij al Sadusi, Nasr Ibn 'Ali al-Jahdami<sup>2</sup>, and others of the same class; but the learning of which they there made proof was by no means proportionate to that displayed by al-Khalil in the beginning of the work; they in consequence suppressed that portion, and replaced it by a new one of their own composition. To this must be attributed certain mistakes into which al-Khalil could hardly have fallen. This has been fully treated of by Ibn Durustuwayh, in an instructive work which he wrote on the subject. Al-Khalil had a son whose intellect was very backward; this boy went one day into the room where his father was, and on finding him scanning a piece of verse by the rules of prosody, he ran out and told the people that his father had lost his wits. They went in immediately and related to al-Khalil what they had heard, on which he addressed his son in these terms:

1 A copy of this celebrated lexicon is in the Escorial library. It begins with the letter 'ayn ع whence its name.

2 Abu 'Amr Nasr Ibn 'Ali al-Jahdami, a celebrated hafiz and a vase of science, was a native of Basrah. The Khalif al-Musta'in having sent for him with the intention of naming him qadi, he obtained permission of the governor to confer with God about it. Having withdrawn, he offered up a prayer of two rakahs and said: "O my God! if I have any value in thy sight, take me to thyself." He then went to sleep and never woke again. This happened in the year 250 (A.D. 864). (Al-Yafi'i).

"Had you known what I was saying, you would have excused me; and had you known what you said, I should have blamed you. But you did not understand me, so you blamed me; and I knew that you were a fool *جامل* so I pardoned you."

It is said that he frequently recited the following verses, but without stating whether they were his own or not:

"The mansion of your friends is near," said they, "how strange then that you should be in sorrow!" 'What avail the mansion and their nearness,' I replied, 'if the hearts themselves draw not near?'"

The following anecdote, related by himself, has been handed down to us: "A person of a slow understanding came to me during some time to take lessons in prosody, but I could not impress any portion of it on his mind; so I said to him one day; "Scan this verse:

'If you cannot accomplish a thing, leave it and pass to another which you can accomplish.' And he began to scan it to the best of his abilities, but he then went away, and never came back. I was quite astonished that, with all his stupidity, he perceived my drift in proposing to him that verse."

Numerous anecdotes are related of al-Khalil; it was from him that ('*Amr Ibn 'Uthman*) Sibawayh, whose life we shall give in the letter 'ayn ع received his knowledge of the different branches of philology. It is said that al-Khalil's father was the first person, after the time of the Prophet, who bore the name of Ahmad; al-Marzubani, in his work called the *Kitab al-Muqtabis*, makes a similar statement on the authority of Ahmad Ibn Abi Khaythamah. Al-Khalil was born A.H. 100 (A.D. 718-9), and died at Basrah, A.H. 170 (A.D. 786-7), or 175; at the age, it is [also] said, of seventy-four years. It is mentioned, however, by Ibn Qani', in his *Annals*, that he died in year 160; and Ibn al-Jawzi, in his *Shudhur al-Uqud*, gives the year 130 as that of his death; this flagrant error has been copied by al-Waqidi. He came by his death in the following manner. Having resolved on inventing a method of calculation so simple, that any servant-girl (*who knew it*) could go to a shopkeeper's without incurring the least possible risk of being deceived by him in the sum she would have to pay, he entered the mosque with his thoughts occupied on the subject, and he there struck against a pillar, which his preoccupation hindered him from perceiving; the violence of the shock threw him on his back, and death was the result. Some say, however, that he was scanning verses when the accident happened.

*Farahidi* means *belonging to Farahid*, a branch of the tribe of Azd. *Farahid* is the plural of *furhud*, a word which signifies a lion's whelp

in the dialect of the Azd Shanuwah tribe.<sup>1</sup> Some say that *farahid* means *little sheep*.

*Yahmadi* is derived from *Yahmid*, the name of another branch of the tribe of Azd, from which great numbers have sprung.

Al-Khalil frequently repeated this verse of al-Akhtal's:

"If thou wantest treasures, thou wilt find none equal to a virtuous conduct."

#### 209 KHUMARAWAYH [IBN TULUN]

Abu T-Jaysh Khumarawayh was the son of Ahmad Ibn Tulun, whose life we have already given (no. 70) with some account of his father Tulun. On the death of Ahmad, he was unanimously chosen by the troops as his successor, and he thus became governor (of Egypt) at the age of twenty years. His appointment took place in the days of the Khalif al-Mu'tamid. In the year 276 (A.D. 889-90) a-Ifshin Muhammad Ibn Abi T-Saj Diwdad Ibn Yusuf marched a large army from Armenia and Persian Iraq against Egypt;<sup>2</sup> but Khumarawayh gave his battle in the neighbourhood of Damascus and put him to flight. The greater part of the invading army surrendered, and Khumarawayh advanced to Euphrates, (*over which*); some of his troops (*passed*) and took possession of Raqqah. He then returned to Egypt, master of all that tract of country which extends from the Euphrates to Nubia. On the death of al-Mu'tamid and the accession of al-Mu'tadid, Khumarawayh hastened to conciliate the new khalif by rich presents, and he thus obtained the confirmation of his appointment as governor of Egypt. He then expressed the wish that his daughter Qatr al-Nada (*dew-drop*) [and her name was Asma'] should marry the khalif's son, al-Muktafi Bi'llah, who was then khalif elect; but al-Mu'tadid said that he would marry her himself, and she became his wife in the year 281 (A.D. 894-5). Towards the end of that year, or, as some say, in the next, he consummated his marriage; the dowry settled on her by her father amounted to one million of dirhams.<sup>3</sup> It is stated that she possessed wit and beauty to an extreme

1 See M. de Sacy's *Memoire sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, p. 157.

2 For the history of al-Ifghin, see Freytag's *Selecta ex Historia* p. 24 et seq.

3 The manuscripts of Ibn Khalikan and Abu T-Mahasin have *dirhame* in this place, but *dinars* is probably the right reading.

degree: one day, whilst al-Mu'tadid was enjoying the pleasures of her society in a saloon specially reserved for her used and into which no other dare enter, he handed her the wine-cup and fell asleep on her lap *فخذ*. To relieve herself from his weight, she placed a cushion under his head, and went into the court of the palace, where she sat down. When he awoke and perceived her absence, he got into a passion and called her by name; her answer proved that she was not far off, and (*when she entered*) he addressed her thus: "Have I not given you a mark of honour in choosing you for the companion of my private moments? Have I not given you the surest tokens of my affection and withheld it from the other females of my harem? and yet you place a pillow under my head and leave me thus." To this she made answer: "Commander of the faithful! I am fully sensible of the high favour you conferred on me; but one of the lessons given me by my father was, not to sleep with those who sit, or sit with those who sleep."

It is related that al-Mu'tadid, in marrying her, had the intention of reducing the Tulun family to poverty, and such was in fact the result, for her father made her marriage-present the like of which had never been given before; it is said that (*amongst other objects*) she received one thousand mortars of gold.<sup>1</sup> Al-Mu'tadid required of him also to pay an annual tribute of hundred thousand dinars<sup>2</sup> after defraying the salaries of all the government officers in Egypt and the pay of the troops. He continued to fulfil this obligation till the year 282, when his pages murdered him in his bed at Damascus, on Saturday night, the 27th of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* (January, A.D. 896). He was then thirty-two years of age. The assassins were all put to death, and his body was borne in a bier to Egypt and deposited in the tomb of his father near the foot of mount Muqattam. His penmanship was most beautiful. He had for vizir Abu bakr Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Maridani, of whom we shall have again occasion to speak. When his daughter Qatr al-Nada was conducted to al-Mu'tadid, she was accompanied as far as the Syrian frontier by her aunt al-'Abbasah, the daughter of Ahmad Ibn Tulun. They made a halt there, and their tents having been set up, a town was built on the same spot and received the name of al-Abbasah. It is still inhabited and possessed a handsome mosque and a well-frequented market-place. This statement is given on the authority of many well informed persons.

1 Mortars were an important article of the female toilet; they were used for pounding perfumes.

2 The dinar of that period had an intrinsic value of about ten shillings British.



Qatr al-Nada died on the 9th of Rajab, A.H. 227 (July, A.D. 900), and was buried in the Rusafah palace at Baghdad.

Al-Ifshin, the son of Abi T-Saj, died in the month of the first Rabi', 288 (March, A.D. 901), at Barda'ah, the capital of one of the provinces of Adharbayjan; Arran, it is said. His father, Abu T-Saj, after whom the Sajite junds (or troops) were so called.<sup>1</sup> died A.H. 226 (A.D. 879-80: at Jundi Sabur, in the province of Khuzistan.

## 210 KHAYR AL-NASSAJ AL-SUFI

Abu T-Hasan Khayr al-Nassaj al-Sufi lived a long life, He was known as *al-Nassaj* although weaving was not his profession, because, as he has related himself, 'I had taken a vow never to eat dates, but once strong desire (*nafs*) overpowered me and I procured half a pound رطل (of dates). I had taken only one, when a man looked at me and said: 'O Khayr, you have run away from me.' He had a slave named Khayr to whose appearance I seemed to resemble. In the meantime people had assembled there; they said: 'This is your slave, Khayr.' I was wonderstruck and realized (the reason) for which I was condemned, and I knew my sin. He caught hold of me and carried me to his shop where his slave used to do weaving. He said to me, 'O wicked slave, you escaped from me?' For a number of months I stayed with him weaving for him. One night I rose to offer my morning prayers and while prostrating I said: 'O God: I shall not repeat what I did.' The resemblance vanished from me and I regained my old appearance. Then I was set free, but this appellation (*nassaj*) became a part of my name. That man said to me: 'Neither you are my slave nor is your name Khayr,' and then he went away." He (Al-

1 The historians whom I have consulted furnish no information respecting these troops. I learn only from Ibn al-Athir that Abu T-Saj was appointed by al-Mutawakkil to guard the road leading from Iraq to Makkah, A.H. 244 (A.D. 858-9). He was consequently protector of the pilgrim caravans. In 253 he received the command of the province of Kufah; in 261 that of al-Ahwaz, where he was defeated by the Zanj (see Abu T-Fida's *Annals*'s, A.A. 255); he then proceeded to Askar Mukram, and died at Jundisapur (A.H. 266) on his return from the camp of 'Amr Ibn al-Layth, to whom he had been probably sent by the khalif with letters of investiture. (Ibn al-Athir).

\* This notice is not to be found in de Slane, nor in autograph; but it is given in the Cairo (1299 H.; 1948) and Tehran editions. We have translated it from the Cairo ed. and included it in our text.

For further information see Al-Sulami, *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-Sufiyyah* (iden, 1960), pp. 324-27—Ed.

Nassaaj) also said to himself; "I shall not change the name given to me by a Muslim."

He used to say: "No birth — is nobler than one created by God with his own hand. But he did not remain innocent. No one is a greater 'alim than the person whom Allah taught the names of all things, but this did not benefit him when fate (i.e., death) overtook him.

In his old age he had become hump-backed but when he heard (adhan) his back used to straighten and he regained his strength.

He lived for 120 years and died in A.H. 322 (A.D. 932); when he was on the point of death he fell in a swoon at the time of *Maghrib* (sun-set) prayers; when he regained his consciousness, looking to a side of the door he said; "Wait, may God give you comfort! you are a commissioned slave and I am also a commissioned slave, let me carry out what I am commanded to do; then you should carry out what you are commanded to do." Then he asked for water and made ablutions for offering prayers. Then he began his prayers and prolonged them; he recited *tashahhud* (the concluding part of the prayers) and then he breathed his last.

One of his friends saw him in a dream and asked him, "How did God treat you?" He replied, "Do not put this question to me; but I am comfortable as far as your trouble-giving world is concerned." [Some additional information is given in the Tehran ed.]

## 211 ABU SULAYMAN DAWUD AL-ZAHIRI

Abu Sulayman Dawud Ibn 'Ali Ibn Khalaf al-Isbahani (native of *Isbahan*), generally known by the surname of al-Zahiri,<sup>1</sup> was a man of great piety and self-mortification. He learned the science (*jurisprudence*) from Ishaq Ibn Rahawayh and Abu Thawr, and was a most ardent partisan of the Imam al-Shafi'i whose merits and praise he celebrated in two works. He was the founder of a particular sect<sup>2</sup>,

1 Al-Zahiri (the exteriorist); he was so called because he founded his system of jurisprudence on the exterior, or literal meaning of the Qur'anic text and the Traditions; he thus rejected the *jam* (general consent of the ancient imams), and the *qiyas*, or analogical deductions. See note 2 under no. 2. In this, he and his followers incurred the disapprobation of the most eminent doctors of the other orthodox sects. *Tabaqat, al-Hukama*, fol. 50 etc.)

2 This was one of the six orthodox sects already mentioned in note 7. under no. 207.

and had many followers, who received the name of Zahirites: his son Abu Bakr Muhammad, whose life shall be given, professed the same doctrines. Abu Sulayman was nominated chief professor at Baghdad,<sup>1</sup> and it is said that he had among his auditors four hundred wearers of green hoods.<sup>2</sup> The following anecdote so related by himself: "There came one day to my public conferences a native of Basrah, whose name was Abu Ya'qub al-Shariti; he was dressed in two ragged cloaks,<sup>3</sup> and having advanced of his own accord to the place of honour, without being invited to take it, he sat down by my side and said: 'Question me about what you please.' As I was almost provoked by his conduct, I told him, sneeringly, to treat of cupping.<sup>4</sup> He immediately invoked the benediction of God, and related the mode in which this Tradition had been handed down; He who cups and he who is cupped (in the month of Ramadan) have broken the fast.<sup>5</sup> He then gave the names of the Traditionists who traced it up as far as the Tabi'is;<sup>6</sup> of those who traced it up through an uninterrupted succession of narrators to Muhammad himself, of those who explained it, and of the jurisconsults who cited it as an authority for their doctrines. He then stated the various channels through which the following Tradition has passed down: The blessed Prophet was cupped, and he gave the cupper his pay; and were cupping a thing forbidden, he had not given it to him.<sup>7</sup> He next related the different modes of transmission by which this Tradition was received: The Prophet was cupped with a horn. He mentioned also other genuine Traditions respecting cupping, and some of middling authenticity,

1 رياسة العلم

See note 1, under no. 25.

2 Hoods were generally worn by doctors of the law- Al Sharishi says however, in his commentary on the *Maqamats* to al-Hariri, p. 236, that the green *taylasan*, or hood, was worn by persons, of respectability خراس

3 This was a proof of his being a *sufi*, and that two great *shayks* of that sect had left him their cloaks, science, and authority as legacies. The transmission of the cloak by the master to the disciple is a custom of great antiquity. The cloak worn by the *sufis* was called by them *ldirqaq* (rag),

4 He told him to treat of cupping, because he thought him mad; and a madman should know well what that operation was.

5 The rest of the Tradition is as follows. The one, on account of weakness which will arise from loss of blood: and the cupper because he is not safe from some of it going into his mouth: (Al-Bukhari's *Sahih*, MS. No. 244, fol. 78 verse.

The ancient Arabs performed cupping by scarifying the part and sucking out the blood by means of a horn. This Tradition is given in Matthew's *Mishkat* at *Mosabih*, vol. I. p. 474.

6 See note 2, under no. 3.

7 Al-Bukhari's *Sahih*, fol. 72.

such as these: I passed not by any band of the angels without their saying: Order thy people to use cupping:<sup>1</sup> The healing of my people is by three means; cupping, drinking honey, and cauterizing with fire,<sup>2</sup> and others of a like import. He then gave the Traditions of feeble authenticity, as, for instance: Be not cupped on such and such a day; at such and such an hour; after which he mentioned the opinions expressed by physicians of every age on the subject, and he concluded his discourse with the remark that the use of cupping originated at Isbahan. I then said to him: 'By Allah! I shall never scorn any person again.'

Dawud was a man of a powerful mind, and it was said of him by Abu 'I-'Abbas [Ahmad Ibn Yahya known as] Tha'lab, that his intellect was greater than his learning. His birth took place at Kufah, A.H. 202 (A.D. 817-8); some say, however, 201 or 200; he was brought up at Baghdad, and died there in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 270 (May. A.D. 884), or by another account, in Ramadan of that year. He was buried in the Shunizi cemetery; but some state, however, that he was interred in (*the court before*) his house.

His son Abu Bakr Muhammad related that he saw his father in a dream, and asked him what God had done to him, and that he replied: "He hath shown mercy to me and indulgence." He then asked him if God had shown him mercy for the faults which He (God) had treated with indulgence? and his father answered: "O my son! the case of him who hath not obtained God's indulgence is terrible; it is the greatest of woes!" His family was of Isbahan. We have already spoken of this place and of the Shunizi cemetery in some of the preceding articles (see nos. 32 and 140).

\*[Abu 'Abd Allah al-Mahamili narrates: "I offered my 'Id 'l-Fitr prayers at the jami' Mosque of Madinah and said to myself that I should go to Dawud Ibn 'Ali to offer ('Id) greetings. I went to him and found that he had a tray of endive leaves and chaff before him and he was eating from it I greeted him, but I was surprised to see him in this condition and thought to myself that worldly possessions

---

1 I give here the whole tradition, of which the first words alone are mentioned by Ibn Khallikan. It was handed down by Ibn Mas'ud, who stated that the Prophet said so when relating his night-journey to heaven. See *Masabih*, MS. fonds Ducaurrci. No. 5 fol. 291.

2 The Khallikan gives the first words only of this Tradition, The *Masabih* enables me to complete it.

\* This anecdote is not included in M. de Slane's edition nor is it to be found in the autograph. It is included in the Cairo (1940 ed. Vol. II, p. 209) and Tehran editions--Ed.

were worthless. When I emerged from there I went straight to a philanthropist known as al-Jurjani. He received me bare-footed and bare headed and said to me; 'Qadi! what has brought you here?' to which I replied, 'an important affair.' He asked me, 'What is that?' I said: 'Dawud is living in your neighbourhood; you know about his erudition and you happen to be philanthropist but you take no care of him.' Then I related to him what I had seen. Then he said: 'Dawud is extremely ill-tempered. Only last night I sent one thousand *dirhams* for his expenses; he returned the amount and said to my slave: Go and ask him with what eyes he looked at me and how could he know my requirements that he sent this money to me' I was surprised at this and said to him: 'Bring the money, and I shall carry it to him.' He gave the money to me and asked his slave to bring another purse of equal amount, and said to me: 'This is for the kindness of the Qadi. I took the amount of two thousand *dirhams* from him and went to Dawud. I knocked at his door and I was admitted. I sat before him for a short while; then I placed the money before him. He said: 'Is this the reward for one who trusted you with one's secret? I admitted you to my presence because of your erudition. I am not in need of what you have brought, so take it back.'

Al-Mahamili adds; 'I returned from there, and the world had become a trifling in my eyes. In informed al-Jurjani accordingly and he said to me: 'I have dedicated this money to "God, so do not return it to me, you should spend it on pious people."']

## 212 AL-MALIK AL-ZAHIR MUJIR AL-DIN

Abu Sulayman Dawud, surnamed al-Malik al-Zahir Mujir al-Din (*the brilliant prince, the protector of the faith*),<sup>1</sup> was a son of the Sultan Salah al-Din Ibn Ayyub, and lord of al-Birah, a fortress situated on the Euphrates. Men of talents and learning travelled from all parts to visit him, in consequence of this predilection for their company. He was the twelfth son of Salah al-Din, and came into the world at Cairo. His father, who was then in Syria, was congratulated by al-Qadi al-Fadil on the happy event in a letter which contained the following passage: 'This child, whom the blessing of God has brought into the world, completes the number of twelve sons, or rather twelve brilliant stars; God has thus presented to you,<sup>2</sup> one star more than to the patriarch Joseph; your majesty saw them and you awake,

1 This fortress lies to take north-est of Aleppo.

2 Literally: To him. The third person was generally used in addressing princes.

whilst Jacob only saw his in a dream;\* he saw them making obeisance unto him, but your majesty saw them making obeisance unto you, whilst the people bowed down before them. And He, may He be extolled! has the power of augmenting your majesty's happiness in making you live to see them fathers and grandfathers." In these last words, al-Qadi al-Fadil expresses a thought which coincides with that contained in the following verse, taken from a poem composed by al-Buhturi in praise of [caliph] al-Mutawakkil, just after the birth of al-Mu'tazz, that Khalif's son:

"May you live to obtain the light of his counsels, and see his children grey and aged men."

It has been handed down by a number of persons that he used to say: "If any one has a wish to see Salah al-Din, let him look at me, for I resemble him more than any of his other sons."

Al-Malik al-Zahir was born on the 22nd of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 573 (June, A.D. 1178), or, by another account, in the Dhu 'l-Qa'dah of that year. He and his brother, al-Malik al-Zahir<sup>1</sup> (Ghazi), of whom we shall make mention under the letter *ghayn* غ were sons of the same mother. He died at al-Birah on the eve of the ninth day of Safar, A.H. 632 (November, A.D. 1234). I was at Aleppo when the news of his death arrived, and al-Malik al-'Aziz, the son of his brother al-Malik al-Zahir, set out immediately and took possession of the castle of al-Birah. This place is situated on the Mesopotamian side of the Euphrates, and lies near Somaysat, a fortress on the Greek confines. Sumaysat is on the Syrian side, between Qal'at al-Rum and Malatyah; it is separated from al-Birah by the river.

## 213 DAWUD AL-TA'L<sup>2</sup>

Abu Sulayman Dawud Ibn Nasr<sup>3</sup> al-Ta'i (*belonging to the tribe of*

1 Ghazi's surname is written الظاهر and that of his brother الراهر. The pronunciation of both is nearly the same; it is only a practised ear which can perceive the difference between them.

\* [In autograph: وراي نلك الا نجم حلسا راهم السولى يقظه -Ed.]

It may be noted that according to the verses of the *Qur'an* it was Joseph and not his father Jacob who saw eleven stars in a dream which were interpreted to mean his eleven brother. Thus Jacob also had twelve sons. See *al-Qur'an*, 12:4.

2 This notice is not to be found in de Saine's trans. nor in the autograph. It is, however, given in other printed editions.—Ed.

3 Tehran edition gives *Nussayr* in the text and Nasr on the Margin—Ed.

Tayy) al-Kufi engaged himself in the pursuit of knowledge and acquiring proficiency in jurisprudence.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards he took to a life of retirement, solitude and loneliness, and devoted himself to prayers. He used to visit Abu Hanifah (may God be pleased with him). One day in the course of discussions he took pebbles and threw them at a man. Thereupon he (Abu Hanifah) said, "O Abu Sulayman? your tongue has been sharp, and now you have stretched your hand." After that he continued visiting him for a year but he did not put any question nor answered one. Subsequently when he realised that he had acquired proficiency (in jurisprudence) he threw his books in the Euphrates and retired to solitude for prayers. Dawud<sup>2</sup> had three hundred *dirhams* on which he lived for twenty years spending them on himself. He had inherited a house from his mother, which he never repaired, but kept on shifting from one room to the other until it became uninhabitable. Finally he had to live in the courtyard of the house.

When Muhammad Ibn Qahtabah came to Kufah he said; "For my children I want a tutor who must be well versed in the Book of God, the Sunnah of the Prophet (*May God bless him*), jurisprudence, syntax and poetry. He was informed that none possessed all these qualities except Dawud al-Ta'i. Thereupon he sent to Dawud a purse containing ten thousand *dirhams* with the message: 'Spend this money on your maintenance'. Dawud returned the same. Then he (*Ibn Qahtabah*) sent two purses with two slaves who were promised freedom if they succeeded in making Dawud accept the money. They went to him with that money, which however, he declined to accept. The slaves then said: "In the acceptance of these two purses lies our freedom from slavery." He replied: "In returning them lies my deliverance from the fire of hell. Tell your master to pay this money to one who will accept it more readily."<sup>3</sup> He was informed<sup>4</sup> that his

1 Tehran edition gives the names of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr, Hasb Ibn Abi 'Umrah, Syalayman al-A'mash and Muhammad and Abu Nu'aym 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Abi Layla as his masters; and the names of the Isma'il Ibn 'Uyaynah, Mus'ab Ibn al-Muqaddam and Abu Nu'aym Fadl Ibn Dukayn as his disciples.—Ed.

2 In Tehran edition this statement has been ascribed to 'Ubayd Ibn Janad.—Ed.

3 In the Tehran edition, the anecdote is given on the margin and a note is prefixed to it. It runs thus; "In the manuscripts of this book there are many differences. The portions common to all the manuscripts (before me) have been incorporated in the body of the text but I have given on the margin what is found in some manuscripts only e.g., the anecdote of Muhammad Ibn Qahtabah and Dawud.—Ed.

4 Tehran edition ascribes it to 'Abd Allah Ibn Mubarak.—Ed.

wall had cracked, and he could order (its repairs). He replied: "Unnecessary use of glances is disliked."<sup>\*</sup>

It is related<sup>1</sup> that he fasted for forty years, and the members of his family did not know it. (During this time) he worked as a cobbler and carried his meals with him which he distributed in alms on the way and returned in the evening to break his fast; so they did not know that he was fasting.

A man said to him:<sup>2</sup> "Why do you not comb your beard?" He replied: "I am too busy."

Abu 'I-Rabi' al-A'raj (*the lame*) relates; "I entered the house of Dawud al-Ta'i; he entertained me with dry crumbs; (*after eating which*) I felt thirsty and came by a vessel containing hot water. I said to him: 'May God pardon you! can't you have another vessel?' He replied: 'If I do not drink but cool water, nor eat other than dainty food, and do not wear but fine clothes, then what shall I preserve for the next world.' He (Abu 'I-Rabi') said 'I asked him to give me a piece of advice,' (Dawud) said to him 'Keep fast (abstain) from world and break it at the time of your death and escape from people as you escape from beasts, keep company with the pious who are less troublesome and of great assistance, and do not secede from the community and this is enough if you act on it."

Once Harun al-Rashid came to Kufah and cause the names of the readers of the *Qur'an* including Dawud al-Ta'i to be written down; he ordered two thousand *dirhams* to be given to every one of them. Harun called Dawud by name but he was informed that Dawud did not know it. He ordered the money to be sent him. Ibn al-Simak and Hammad Ibn Abi Hanifah said: "we will carry the money to offer it to him." On the way, Ibn al-Simak said to Hammad: "Scatter this money before him so that the eye may be delighted by it and there is no one who would decline to accept two thousand *dirhams*." When they were admitted before him they scattered the money before him. Thereupon Dawud said: "This is done with the children." He then declined to accept it.

A maid servant serving Dawud once said to him: "If I prepare food cooked in fat will you eat it?" He replied: "I like it" She prepared food in fat and served it before him. Then he said: "What is the

---

\* i.e. people are not supposed to look at what does not concern them.

1 Tehran edition ascribes this anecdote to Ibn 'Abi 'Adi.--Ed.

2 Tehran edition ascribes it to Abu 'I-Walid Ibn 'Uqba: Ed.



condition of such and such orphan?" She said: "They are in their usual condition." Then he said to her: "Take this to them." Thereupon she said: "You have not taken food cooked in fat for such and such time." Then he said: "If those orphans take this food it will be raised to the Throne (*'Arsh*) and if I take it, it will pass to a lavatory." Then she said to him: "Don't you like bread?" He said: "O Madam, fifty verses (of the *Qur'an*) can be recited during the time one chews a piece of bread and drinks water."

Muharib Ibn Daththar<sup>1</sup> says: "Had Dawud been among the past peoples, God would have spoken of him."<sup>1</sup>

Dawud died in A.H. 160 or 165 (A.D. 772 or 782).

## 214 DUBAYS IBN SADAQAH

Abu 'I-A'azz Dubays Ibn Sayf al-Dawlah Abu 'I-Hasan Sadaqah Ibn Mansur Ibn Dubays Ibn 'Ali Ibn Mazyad al-Asadi 'al- Nashiri, surnamed Nur al-Dawlah (*light of the state*), was prince of the Arbas,<sup>2</sup> and lord of the city called al-Hillah al-Mazyadiyah (*the mansion of the Mazyad family*).<sup>3</sup> Dubays was distinguished for his munificence, generous character, and profound knowledge of belles-letters and poetry. He consolidated his authority during the *khalifat* of al-Mustashid, and obtained possession of many cities in 'Iraq. The family to which he belonged was of the first rank, his father and his ancestros (*having possessed great power, as*) we shall mention hereafter under the letter sad -ud- (see Sadaqah). This is the person whom al-Hariri meant, in his thirty-ninth *maqamat*, by the words: Or else Dubays of the tribe of Asad<sup>4</sup>. They were contemporaries, and al-Hariri's object was not only to gain his favour by mentioning his name in the *Maqamat*, but also to render homage to his merit.<sup>5</sup> Dubais

1 In the Tehran edition there are additional anecdotes after this.—Ed.

2 See note 3, under no. 78.

3 The town of al-Hillah lies between Baghdad and Kufah.

4 The following is the passage from which these words are taken; "The crowd surrounded Abu Zayd and extolled him; they kissed his hands and thought to gain a blessing by touching his tattered raiment; this made it seem to me that I had Uways al-Qarani before my eyes, or else Dubays of the tribe of Asad. See M. de Sacy's *Hariri*, page 439. Uways was one of the *Tabi is*, and noted for his piety.

5 It is related by al-Sharishi, that Dubays, on hearing the compliments paid him by al-Hariri, sent to him a great quantity of rich robes and presents to an immense value (De Sacy's *Hariri*, page 440).

composed some good poetry, and I have read in 'Imad al-Din's *Kharidah*, in the History of Arbela by Ibn al-Mustawfi, and in other works besides, that he was the author of the piece of verse rhyming in *e*,<sup>\*</sup> which contains this line:

"The love he bears your Sulayman has made him the slave of a passion, the slightest pains of which are mortal.

I have found, however, that Ibn Bassam, in his *al-Dhakhirah*, attributes this poem to Ibn Rashīq, of Qayrawan, and we have already spoken of it in that person's life; it also seems evident that it was composed by Ibn Rashīq, for he is stated in the *Dhakhirah* to have written it in the year 502, and it is improbable that Dubays, who was at that time a youth, could have produced verses of sufficient merit to become known in Spain and to be attributed to so eminent an author as Ibn Rashīq: it is also to be observed that Ibn Bassam was perfectly well acquainted with the poetry of the western Arabs. Ibn al-Mustawfi relates, in his History, that Dubays received the following lines from his brother Badran, who was then far away from him:

"Tell Mansur,<sup>1</sup> Musayyab,<sup>2</sup> and Dubays that I am stranger in a distant land. May they enjoy the Euphrates and the sweetness of its waters, since a share of it is withheld from me!"

To which he returned this answer:

"Tell Badran, who now, in a distant country, sighs for his native land (and the man of noble soul is never disappointed in his wishes)--tell him to enjoy the pleasures of the moment, for care turneth grey the dark ringlets of hope. God holdeth control over the events which afflict mankind, and the (*parched*) earth itself obtains a libation from the cup of the generous man."

Another historian informs us that Badran, the son of Sadaqah, bore the honorary title of *Taj al-Muluk* (*the diadem of princes*), and that he left Baghdad when his father was put to death, and retired into Syria, where he resided for some time; from thence he removed to Egypt, and died there in the year 502 (A.D. 1108-9). He possessed a talent for poetry, and the *Katib* 'Imad al-Din has mentioned him in the *Kharidah*. Dubays was in the service of the Saljuq Sultan,

---

\* <sup>e</sup> seems to be a misprint for I J as is from the autograph and the couplet quoted in the text--Ed.

1 Man us was grandfather to Dubays and Badran.

2 Musayyab was probably a near relative to Badran.

Mas'ud Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malik Shah, when that sovereign was encamped outside of the town of al-Maraghah in Adharbayjan; the khalif al-Mustarshid Bi'illah was then with them, having been obliged to accompany the Sultan for reasons which we shall explain in the life of al-Mas'ud. On Thursday the 28th, or according to Ibn al-Mustawfi, the 14th of Dhu T-Qa'dah, A.H. 529 (A.D. 1135), a band of assassins broke into the khalif's tent and murdered him. Apprehensive of incurring the odium excited by this event, the Sultan resolved on representing Dubays as the author of the crime; he therefore waited till the latter came to present his respects, and was seated at the entrance of the imperial tent; he then gave directions to one of his mamluks, who immediately slipped up behind Dubays and struck off his head with a sword. After this execution, the Sultan endeavoured to persuade the public that Dubays was the author of the khalif's death, and had therefore drawn on himself the just vengeance of his sovereign. Dubays was murdered one month after the assassination of the khalif.

(*Abu Muhammad Harun Ibn al-'Abbas*) al-Ma'muni says in his History: "Dubays was put to death on the 14th of Dhu T-Hijjah of that year, at the Gate of Khuwayy.<sup>1</sup> He had perceived a change in the Sultan's conduct towards him since the murder of al-Mustarshid, and was frequently inclined to take to flight; but his destiny prevented him."

It is stated, however, by Ibn al-Azraq in his History (*of Mayyafariqin*) that he was slain at the Tabriz Gate, and that his body was borne in a bier to his wife Kuhar Khatusun, who was then at Maridin. This princess had it interred close to the tomb of her father, Naim al-Din al-Ghazi, sovereign صاحب of Maridin, in the funeral chapel erected over his remains in that city. The Sultan then married the daughter of Dubays; her mother, Sharaf Khatusun, was daughter to 'Amid al-Dawlah Ibn Fakh al-din Muhammad Ibn Jahir by his wife Zubaydah, the daughter of the vizir Nizam al-Mulk; of this we shall again speak in the life of Ibn Jahir. Al-Nashiri means descended from Nashirah Ibn Nasr, the chief of a branch sprung from the tribe of Asad Ibn Khuzaimah. هذالنبته الى ناشرة بن نصر بطن اسد بن خزيمه

## 215 DI'BIL IBN 'ALI AL-KHUZA'I

Abu 'Ali Di'bil Ibn Razin Ibn Sulayman, the celebrated poet, was

<sup>1</sup> This was one of the gates of Marashah; the road from that city to the town of Khuwayy passed through it, whence its name.

a member of the tribe of Khuza'ah. The author of the *Aghani* [Abu al-Faraj al-Isbahani] gives his genealogy as follows: "Di'bil, surnamed Abu 'Ali, was son to 'Ali Ibn Razin Ibn Sulayman Ibn Tamim Ibn Nahshal, or Nahbas,<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khuras Ibn Khalid Ibn Di'bil Ibn Anas Ibn Khuzaimah Ibn Salaman Ibn Aslam Ibn Afsa Ibn Harithah Ibn 'Amr Muzaiqyya."<sup>2</sup> The *khatib* al-Baghdadi says, however, that he was the son of 'Ali Ibn Razin Ibn 'Uthman Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Budayl Ibn Warqa' al-Khaza'i. His family, which had settled at Baghdad, was originally from Kufah, or, by another account, from Qarqisiya. It is again said that Di'bil was a nickname لقب his real name being al-Hasan, or, according to others, 'Abd al-Rahman, or Muhammad, and that his surname كنية was Abu Ja'far. It is stated also that he was deaf and had a scrofulous swelling on the back of his neck. Di'bil was a good poet, but scurrilous and addicted to satire; always ready to slander men of merit, and sparing none, not even the *khalifs*. He lived (*however*) to an advanced age, and he used to say: "For fifty years past I have gone about with my cross on my shoulder, but could find none to crucify me on it." When he composed on Ibrahim Ibn al-Mahdi the piece of verse which we have inserted in that prince's life and which begins thus, 'The son of Shiklah' and his gang', etc. (see no. 8); Ibrahim waited on al-Ma'mun and complained to him, saying: "Commander of the faithful! Almighty God hath favoured thee above me, and inspired thee to show compassion and mercy unto me; we are both of the same family, yet Di'bil insults me in his satires; I therefore pray thee to avenge me." "And what has he said," replied al-Ma'mun; "perhaps, *The son of Shiklah, etc.*?" repeating the verses. "That is only part of his aspersions," answered Ibrahim, "he has made on me worse than that." "Take example by me," replied al-Ma'mun, 'I have borne in patience a satire made by him against myself, in which he said:

"Does al-Ma'mun take me for a fool? Did he not see, the other night, the head of Muhammad? I belong to the same tribe as those whose swords slew thy brother and ennobled thee with the throne. They raised thy reputation long abased, and drew thee forth from the depth of thy abjectness."

To this Ibrahim replied: "Commander of the faithful! God hath

1 In the autograph MS. this name is written نهنس Nahnas.

\* In autograph: *Khiraah*-Ed.

2 'Amr ['Amir] Muzayqiya was the ancestor of the tribe of Khuza'ah. (De Sacy's *Memoire sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant Muhammad*, page 188; Rasmussen's *Hist. Ar. anteislam.* p. 42.

\*\* In autograph and published texts: Ibn Shaklah--Ed.

given thee increase of forbearance and knowledge; none of us speak but out of the superabundance of thy knowledge, and it is in following thy example that we show forbearance."

In the preceding verses, Di'bil alludes to the conduct of Tahir Ibn al-Husayn, of the tribe of Khuza'ah in besieging Baghdad and killing al-Amin Muhammad, the son of al-Rashid, by which he secured the khalifat to al-Ma'mun. The history of this event is well known. It must be recollected also that Di'bil himself belonged to the tribe of Khuza'ah. When these verses came to al-Ma'mun's knowledge, he exclaimed: "May the course of God fall on Di'bil! how impudent he must be to say such a thing of me, who was born in the bosom of the khalifat, suckled at its breast, and brought up in its cradle!"

A close friendship subsisted between Di'bil and Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Ansari,<sup>1</sup> under whose instruction he had attained proficiency in the art of poetry; and it happened that al-Fadl Ibn Sahl (*Whose life we shall give*), nominated Muslim to a place under government in a certain town in Khurasan or in Fars, called Jurjan. Di'bil went then to visit him, trusting to their mutual friendship for a good reception; but as Muslim took no notice of him, he left him and composed these verses:

"You were false in your friendship and it fell to ruin; you exposed the ties of our mutual attachment till they were broken asunder. Yet I had lodged between my bosom and my heart a treasure of affection which long remained untouched. Spare me your reproaches; I expect nought of you! your honour is lost and can never be retrieved.<sup>2</sup> Consider yourself as a gangrened right hand, which I have cut off; I bear its loss with firmness and my heart has taken courage."

He is the author of the following amatory piece (*ghazal*):

"Marvel not, (*fair*) Salma (Salmah)! at a man who weeps (*from love*) although grey hairs cover his head<sup>3</sup> O my friends! how will you sleep when once my blood is shed? Blame none then for the wrongs I suffered; it was my heart and my eyes which conspired against my life!"

---

1 See note 3. under no. 10.

2 Literally: You are torn to pieces, and I see no means of mending you.

3 Literally: Whilst grayness smiles (or is bright) on his head. The Arabic poets associate with smiles the idea of brightness, because the brightness of the teeth appears in smiling.

A poem of his composition in honour of al-Muttalib Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Malik al-Khuza'i,<sup>1</sup> the amir of Egypt, contains this passage:

"O for the days I passed with al-Muttalib! days on which I pray heaven to shower its blessings! They were to me as a meadow and a paradise. All other favours but yours were ungrateful to me; of all who existed, you alone were my delight. You bettered me, or rather spoiled me, by your kindness; for you caused me to detest the kindness of others."

One of his sayings was: "If a man tell a lie, he incurs public abhorrence; but it is the advantage of poetry, that the more the poet lies, the more he is praised: that is even not sufficient; the auditors swear: 'By Allah! you have done well! So that each false witness borne in his favour is accompanied with a solemn oath.'"

He related also the following anecdote: "Sahl Ibn Harun,<sup>2</sup> the eloquent *Katib*, was excessively avaricious; we were one day with him at his house, and we kept up the conversation so long that hunger forced him to call for his dinner. A dish was brought up, containing an old dry cock, which no knife could carve and on which the teeth could make no impression. He took a piece of bread, and dipped it in the gravy, and turned over all the contents of the dish, but the cock's head was absent. He reflected some time; then, looking up, he said to the cook: 'Where is the head?' 'I threw it away,' replied the other. 'Why so?' 'Because I thought that you would not eat it.' 'Thou didst think wrong, thou scoundrel,' said Sahl. 'By Allah! I hate the man who would throw away the claws; judge then how I must

---

1 Al-Muttalib was appointed governor of Egypt by al-Ma'mun, A.H., 198 (A.D. 813-4); he was deposed seven months afterwards, but was reinstated in his office the same year. Nineteen months later he was driven out of Egypt by al-Sari Ibn al-Hakam. The country was then in a very unsettled state, in consequence of the civil war between al-Ma'mun and his brother al-Amin. (*Nufus*.)

2 Sahl Ibn Harun was born in Dastamisan دستیمان an extensive province lying between Wasit, al-Ahwaz, and Basrah. He entered into the service of al-Ma'mun and served him with fidelity as librarian صاحب خزانه الحکمت. By his wisdom and prudence, his talent for poetry, and his literary information, he acquired great celebrity. He composed a number of works on different subjects, the titles of which are given in the *Fihrist* and the '*Uyun al-Tawa'rikh*'; one of them was an imitation of *Kalidjah* and *Dimnoh*, and another a treatise in praise of avarice, his ruling passion. He was of a Persian family and showed a strong prejudice against Arabs. Died A.H. 245 (A. D. 859-60). He was equally remarkable for the elegance of his style and the merit of his poetry. (*Marasid; Fihrist; 'Uyun al-Tawa'rikh*, tom VIII),

feel towards him who through away the head. The head is the chief part of the body; in it are four of the senses; by means of it the animal croweth, and were it not for his crowing he would have no merit. The head beareth the comb on which the cock prideth himself; it containeth the two eyes which have given rise to the proverb: Wine bright as the eye of the cock. Moreover the brain is a marvellous specific for pain in the kidneys [kidneys], and never was a softer bone seen than that of the head; didst thou not know that it is better than the pinion of the wings, better than the leg, better than the neck? If it be the result of thy sapient judgement that thou hast not eaten it, go and look for it.' 'By Allah!' exclaimed the cook, 'I know not where it is; I threw it away.' But I know where it is,' said Sahl; 'thou hast thrown it down thy throat; but God shall call thee to an account for it.'

Di'bil was cousin to the celebrated poet Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Razin al-Khuza'i, surnamed Abu 'I-Shis,<sup>1</sup> who was one of those who celebrated the praises of al-Rashid and composed elegies on his death; he made also poems in honour of al-Amin, that khalif's son and successor. Di'bil was born A.H. 148 (A.D. 765); he died A.H. 246 (A.D. 860-1), at Tib, a town situated between Wasit in Iraq and the provinces كور of al-Ahwaz. His grandfather Razin was a mawla belonging to 'Ubayd Allah.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khalaf Khuza'i, the father of Talhat al-Talahat.<sup>3</sup> 'Ubayd Allah ['Abd Allah] was a *katib* in the service of the khalif 'Umar Ibn al-khattab and chief of the government office<sup>4</sup> at Kufah. Talhat was governor of Sijistan and died in that province. The death of Di'bil was preceded by that of Abu Tammam (*Habib*), whose life has been given (no. 143): his friend, the poet al-Buhturi, lamented his loss in an elegy which contains the following passage ابيات

"The abode of death, the dwelling of Habib and of Di'bil, has increased my sadness and inflated my grief. Dearest brothers, may the heavens never withhold from your tombs their genial rains; may they overshadow you with a dark cloud, shedding grateful showers. Long was the journey of him who announced to me your death; a tomb is in distant Ahwaz, and mouldering bones repose at Mosul."

1 The printed text has al-Shis, not Abu al-Shis. The letter is the true reading. This poet died A.H. 196 (*Mira'at al Zaman*) [In autograph--ابوالشيمس Abu al-ghis]-Ed.

2 'Ubayd Allah; not 'Abd Allah, as in the printed text. ['Abd Allah in autograph.]-Ed.

3 See in the life of 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir.

4 See note 17, under no. 117.

Di'bil means a tall camel. He used to relate that one day as he was passing along, he saw a man is a fit of epilepsy; on which he went up and shouted in his ear, as loud as he could, the word Di'bil, and that the man rose up and walked away as if nothing had happened.<sup>1</sup>

## 216 \*DA'LAJ IBN AHMAD AL-SIJISTANI

Da'laj Ibn Ahmad Ibn Da'laj Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sijistani was the master of riches and so he dedicated a large portion of his wealth for alms.<sup>2</sup> A person narrates: "One Friday I entered the Mosque in the city of al-Mansur and saw a man in front of me, looking respectable, humble and regular in prayers: he did not cease offering supererogatory prayers from the moment of his entering the mosque to the time of the Imam's standing to lead the prayers; then he sat down. The prayers were offered and he did not join the congregation. this action of his appeared to be strange and I was surprised at it, It annoyed me.

"When the prayers were over I said to him: 'I have not seen a thing stranger than your affair; you offered supererogatory prayers very nicely for a long time but you missed the prescribed prayers and lost them.'" Thereupon he said: 'I have an excuse which prevented me from offering prayers. I said, 'what is that?' He said: 'I owe money to a person for which reason I remained concealed in my house; today I came to the Jami' mosque to offer prayers, but I saw my creditor before the starting of prayers. Fearing him I made my clothes soiled, so I ask you to keep it a secret, for God's sake.' Then I asked who was the person to whom he owed money He said: 'Da'laj Ibn Ahmad.' By his side was an acquaintance of Da'laj whom he did not know. He heard these words and went immediately to Da'laj and related the story before him. Then Da'laj said to him: 'Go to the man and make him enter the bath and cover him with

---

1 This is note very intelligible; it means, perhaps that Di'bil's satirical character rendered him an object of general apprehension, and that the terror inspired by his name was sufficient to compel the evil spirit with which the epileptic man was possessed.

\* This notice is note given in de slane, nor is it to be found in the autograph. The printed editions have it.

2 In Tehran edition this anecdote is given on the authority of Al-Khatib who narrated it on the authority of Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'abd Allah al-Haddad, Our rendering is based on Cairo (1948) edition



clothes from me,' and made him sit. He showed him his account and said that he owed 5000 *dirhams* to him. Then he said to him: 'Examine it, if there is any error in it, or if you have paid any thing.' He said: 'No. The account is correct.' Then Da'laj crossed his accounts and noted clearance of the amount. He weighed 5000 *dirhams* and said to him: 'I offer (lit. make lawful) this to you and request you to accept this money and relieve me of the responsibility of that fear which prevented you from offering congregational prayers.'" Da'laj died in A.H. 351 (A.D. 953).

## 217 ABU BAKR DULAF AL-SHIBLI

Abu Bakr Dulaf Ibn Jahdar (or Ja'far) Ibn Yunus, (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb), surnamed al-Shibi, a celebrated saint, <sup>الصالح</sup> was born and brought up at Baghdad, but his family belonged to Khurasan <sup>الخراساني</sup>. This highly respected *sufi*\* followed the doctrines of the sect of malik and had for masters (in the spiritual life) [Abu al-Qasim] al-Junayd\* and other holy men of that epoch <sup>رضي الله عنهم</sup>. He renounced the world at one of Khayr al-Nassaj's<sup>1</sup> assemblies, and then proceeded to Dunbawand (Demavend), of which he was governor at the time, and asked of the inhabitants immunity for his past conduct; (*he then gave in his dismission*). The mortifications

\* [In autograph the term *sufi* is not mentioned].--Ed.

# [In autograph and published texts: He was extremely particular about respecting Shari'ah <sup>كان يبالغ في تعظيم الشرع الطهره</sup> ]--Ed.

1 The celebrated ascete and great *sufi* doctor. Abu 'I-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Isma'il, more generally known by the name of Khayr al-Nassaj, was a native of Sammara, and an inhabitant of Baghdad. He had for masters in the spiritual life Sari al-Saqati and the famous Abu Hamzah Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim. Many anecdotes are related of his miraculous gifts. He died A.H. 322 (A.D. 934), aged upwards of one hundred years. (Al-Dhahabi; *Ta'rikh al-Islam*, MS No: 646.). Khayr al-Nassaj as al-Dhahabi pronounces it, means Khayr or Good, the weaver. This historian related that he came by his name in the following manner. On his return from a pilgrimage to Makkah, he passed through Kufah, where, as his complexion was very dark, a man stopped him and said: "Thou art my negro slave --arbi-- and thy name is Khayr." He remained in captivity for some years and worked as a silk weaver, whence his name. His master at length relented and gave him his liberty, saying: "Thou wast not slave," But Jami, in his lives of the Sufis [*Nafahat*] (MS. fonds Anquetil, No. 115), gives a different account of the origin of this appellation according to him, our doctor was named Khayr al-Nussaj (excellent among weavers), because he had been obliged to take to weaving in order to gain his livelihood, and his first essays proved him to be already--by a miraculous interference of Providence--an able workman at the trade. [See no. 210].--Ed.

مجاهداته which he practised at the outset (*of his religious career*) surpassed all bounds: he used to apply a certain quantity of salt to his eyes in place of *kuhl* or antimony,<sup>1</sup> so as to accustom himself to waking and to aid in keeping away sleep. He held the pure and holy law (*the Qur'an*) in extreme reverence, and at the beginning of the blessed month of Ramadan he renewed his devotional practices with increased fervour. "This," he would say, "is a month which my Lord hath honoured; how much more therefore should I honour it!" Towards the close of his life, he frequently recited this verse:

"There are many stations in life, in which, had I filled them, my death would have been considered by the (*sufi*) brethren (*not as a reward but*) as a punishment."<sup>2</sup>

He went in one day to al-Junayd and, standing before him, clapped his hands (*with grief*) and spoke these verses:

"The objects of my love accustomed me to union with them, and union is sweet; but they have since repelled my advances, and a repulse is painful. When they resolved (*to reject me*), they pretended that my crime was my extreme love for them; but that is not a crime. No! as true as the submission (*of the lover*) when he meets his mistress! No! the beloved can only repay (*the lover's passion*) by loving (him)."

To this Al-Junayd replied:

"I longed to see thee, (*O my beloved!*) but when I saw thee, sudden joy overcame me, and I could not refrain from tears."

The Khatib relates in his History that Abu 'I-Hasan al-Tamimi said: "I went one day into the house of Abu Bakr al-Shibli and found him in a state of excitation, reciting these verses:

1 See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*: vol. I, p. 41.

2 Death is considered by the *sufis* as the greatest blessing which can happen to him who loves God, or, as they express themselves (*to the lover*); his soul is then delivered from the prison of the body, and obtains at length its long-sought union *وصل* with the beloved. Had al-Shibli therefore filled an eminent place *موضع* in the world, his love for the Creator would have been less fervent, and his recompense in after-life less ample. Such appears to me to be the meaning of this very obscure verse. I must observe also, for the intelligence of the lines which follow, that the *sufis* admit two modes of union with the beloved; the one temporary and the other eternal. The temporary union takes place during the ecstatic fits *حال* which the lover experiences, from time to time, in the practice of his devotional exercises; but these are mere transient favours, which the beloved sometimes grants and often withholds, whilst the union effected by death remains unbroken and eternal.

"He who was accustomed to be near thee, cannot support thy absence. The slave of love cannot sustain thy estrangement. His heart sees thee, though his eye does not."

In the life ترجمه of the preacher Abu Sa'id Isma'il Ibn 'Ali the Khatib speaks as follows: "Abu Sa'id repeated to me the following lines which, by his account, he had heard from Tahir al-Khath'amī who mentioned that they had been recited to him by their author, al-Shibli:

"Youth abandoned me; my beloved also departed; and a double flow of tears gushed from my eyes. Fortune was unjust towards thee, (unfortunate lover)! two (friends) bade thee farewell, but thou hadst only one heart (to support the pains)."

Al-Shibli himself relates that, one Friday, he perceived a man out of his senses standing naked in [ عند or near] the mosque of al-Rusafah<sup>1</sup> and crying out: 'I am mad through love of God أنا مجنون الله. On which he said to him: "Why dost thou not go into the mosque and keep out of the sight and say thy prayers?" To which the mad man answered:

"They say to me: 'Visit us and pay us the homage to which we are entitled.' But my present state dispenses me from all such obligations. Those who see the state in which I am, and feel for it neither desire<sup>2</sup> nor dislike;--to love such persons I should consent even to hate myself."

Al-Shibli died at Baghdad on Friday, the 27th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 334 (July, A.D. 946), aged eighty-seven years, and was interred in the cemetery of al-Khayzuran: some say, however, that his death took place in the year 335, but the former is the correct date. It is stated also, that he was born at Surra-man-ra'a.

Shibli means belonging to Shiblih, a village in the despatches of Ushrushnah, a large town beyond Samarqand, in Transoxiana.--Dunbawand is a place situated in the canton of Rayy in Persian 'Iraq: some call it Dimawands [Damawand], but the first orthography is more correct.

1 Al-Rusafah was the name of a quarter in the city of Baghdad.

2 The expression يا شرأنا seems equivalent to لم يأتوا من الشرأنا who detest not their own state through the desire of being in Nine.

## 218 ABU'L-MUTA' DHU'L-QARNAYN IBN HAMDAN

Abu'l-Muta'dhu'l-Qarnayn al-Taghlibi (*belonging to the tribe of Taghlib*) was son to Abu'l-Muzaffar Hamdan, the son of Nasir al-Dawlah Abu Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Hamdan [al-Taghlibi]. He bore the surname of Wajih al-Dawlah (*honourable in the empire*). We have already given the genealogy of the family in the life of his grandfather Nasir al-Dawlah (no. 167), and shall not therefore repeat it here. As a poet, Abu'l-Muta' was distinguished by the grace, expression and elegant turn of his ideas. The following verses are of his composition.

"When I see the letters *i* and *a* entwined in a close embrace, the word *la* (-ur-) excites my envy. To embrace so closely, they must have felt, methinks, the pains of love.<sup>1</sup>

Another of his pieces runs thus:

"I am ready to sacrifice my life for her whom I visited (*in private*); I was then armed with my sword (*to protect me against jealous keepers*), and her glances were sharper than its edge. I embraced her, and when my neck was encircled with her ringlets, then only did I (*dare to disram and*) free it from the sword-belt. In that moment, the happiest of us two in the enjoyment of our wishes, was the one who had suffered the greatest affliction from the cruelty of the other."

Al-Tha'libi, in his *Yatimah*, attributes to him the piece which we have given in the life of [Abi'l-Qasim Ahmad] Ibn Tabataba [al-'Alawi] (no. 52), and which begins thus:

"She said to fleeting image which visited me, etc."

But in his notice on Abu'l-Muta', he states that these verses were composed by Ibn Tabatabah; God knows best. Abu'l-Muta' is the author of the following lines:

---

1 I have read many couplets on this subject, and must acknowledge that Abu'l Muta' 's is decidedly the worst.

"When we met together, and the hour of midnight cast over us a veil of obscurity which shed pleasure when unfolded, none ever passed a chaster night than we; no witnesses were there except our eyes and our honour. No vile delator betrayed us to our foes; no traitor ran with active foot to denounce us."

By the same:

"When my mistress saw me as thin as a toothpick, she said: 'This meeting is but a dream, and thou art merely a fleeting image.'--'Not so, I replied; 'it is thy absence which altered my health so that thou canst not distinguish the reality of my appearance from a false illusion'."

The celebrated poet 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Nubatah composed a great number of pieces in honour of (*Hamadan*) Abu'l-Muta's father. Abu'l-Muta' died in the month of Safar, A.H. 428 (December, A.D. 1036). He visited Egypt according to al-Musabbihi in his History, during the reign of al-Zahir al-'Ubaydi, the son of al-Hakim, and was appointed by him to the government of Alexandria and its dependencies, in the month of Rajab, 414; he remained there a year, and then returned to Damascus.

## 219 RABI'AH AL-'ADAWIAH

'Umm al-Khayr<sup>1</sup> Rabi'ah, the daughter of Isma'il, a woman celebrated for her holy life and a native of Basrah, belonged to the tribe of 'Adi (*'Adawiah*), and was allied by enfranchisement to the family of 'Atik. She was one of the most eminent among the holy persons of the time, and the anecdotes related of her sanctity and piety are generally known. Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushayri says, in his treatise (on sufism)<sup>2</sup>: "She used to say, when holding converse with God: 'Consume with fire, O God, a (*presumptuous*) heart which loveth thee!' and on one of these occasions, a voice spoke to her and said: 'That we shall not do! think not of us an ill thought.' Sufyan al-Thawri exclaimed one day in her presence: 'O, what anguish is mine!' on which she said: 'Speak not a lie, but rather say: O, how little anguish is mine. If thou wert really in affliction, thou couldst not sigh.' One of the sufi brethren relates as follows: 'In my prayers I used to invoke

1 Umm al-Khayr means the mother of *Khayr* or of good.

2 See note, under no. 180.

Rabī'ah al-Adawiah, and she appeared to me in a vision and spake: 'Thy offerings were presented to us on trays of light and covered with napkins of light. 'She often said: 'If my (good) works appear (to the world), I count them as nought.' And one of her counsels was: 'Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou wouldst hide thy sins.' The Shaykh Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi quotes the following verses of hers in the '*Awarif al-Ma'arif*:

"I reserve my heart for thy converse, (O Lord!) and leave my body to keep company with those who desire my society. My body is thus the companion of the visitor, but my dearly beloved is the companion of my heart."

She died A.H. 135 (A.D. 752-3), according to Ibn al-Jawzi in the *Shu'ub al-Uqud* but in A.H. 185 (A.D. 801), according to another authority. Her tomb, which is situated on the mount of Tor [named, al-Tur] on the eastern side of Jerusalem, is an object of pilgrimage. Ibn al-Jawzi has an article on Rabī'ah in his *Safwat al-Safwah*, and he there gives the following anecdotes respecting her, the authenticity of which is certified by a list prefixed to them, in which he enumerates the names of the persons through whom they passed down successively from 'Abdah the daughter of Abi Shawwal to himself. He says: (Abdah), one of God's excellent handmaids and the servant of Rabī'ah relates as follows: 'Rabī'ah used to pass the whole night in prayer, and at morning dawn she took a slight sleep in her oratory till daylight: and I have heard her say, when she sprang in dread from her couch: O my soul! how long wilt thou sleep? When wilt thou awake? Soon thou shalt sleep to rise no more, till the call shall summon thee on the day of resurrection! This was her constant custom till the time of her death. On its approach she called me and said: O 'Abdah! inform none of my death and shroud me in this gown. This was a gown of hair-cloth which she wore when praying, at the time in which the eyes of others were closed in sleep. I shrouded her in that gown and in a woollen veil which she used to wear; and about a year afterwards, I saw her in a dream clothed in a gown of green satin and a veil of green silk, the like of which for beauty I never beheld. And I said: 'O Rabī'ah! what has become of the gown in which I shrouded thee, and of the woollen veil?' To which she answered: 'By Allah! it was taken off me and I received in exchange what thou seest on me; my shroud was folded up, a sea was put upon it and it was taken up to the highest heaven, that by it my reward might be complete on the day of resurrection. "It was for this," I observed, 'that thou didst work when in the world.' 'And what is this,' she rejoined, 'compared with what I saw of Almighty God's bounty to his saints!' I then asked her in what state

was 'Ubaydah,<sup>3</sup> the daughter of Abu Kallab, and she replied: 'It cannot be described! by Allah! she has surpassed us, and reached the highest place in paradise.' 'And how so?' said I, 'When the people considered thee far, far above her.' To which she answered: 'Because, when in the world, she cared not what her state might be on the next morning or the next night.' 'And what doeth Abu Malik Daigham?' 'He visiteth Almighty God when he pleaseth.' 'And Bishr Ibn Mansur?'<sup>4</sup> 'Admirable! admirable! he hath received a recompense far beyond his hopes.' I then said to her: 'Tell me a means by which I may approach nearer to Almighty God.' And she answered: 'Think on Him often, and by that thou wilt, after a little while, be happy in thy tomb.'

## 220 RABI'AH AL-RAI

Abu 'Uthman Rabi'ah Ibn Abi 'Abd Rahman Farrukh, a *mawla'* of the Munkadir family which belongs to the tribe of Temim, and afterwards a *mawla'* of the tribe of Quraysh, was the great jurisconsult of Medinah (in the second century of Islamism), and is generally known by the surname of Rabi' al-Rai (*Faqih ahl al-Madina*).<sup>1</sup> In his youth he met a number of the Prophet's Companions (and received instruction from them in Traditions and legal matters); and from him Malik Ibn Anas drew some of his information. The following anecdote is related of him by Bakr Ibn 'Abd Allah al-San'ani (a native of San'a'): "Malik Ibn Anas came to our (town) and began to teach to us Traditions learned by him from Rabi'ah al-Rai; for we were desirous of obtaining from him as many as possible, founded on so good an authority as that

3 'Ubaydah, the daughter of Kallab, a celebrated saint, wept for her sins during forty years, and then lost her sight.--(*Siyar al-Salihat* M.S. No. 855, f. 28).

4 Abu Muhammad Bishr Ibn Mansur al-Sulaymi (belonging to the tribe of Sulaym) was celebrated for his intense application to the practice of devotion. As a Traditionist he is considered a sure authority, and is cited as such by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. He died A.H. 209 (A.D. 824)--(*Mira'at al-Zaman*, No. 640, fol. 69).

1 Rabi'ah. al-Rai, or more regularly Rabi'at al-Rai, means private judgment Rabi'ah. He was so called because he draw many of his legal decisions from the fourth source of Muhammadan law, and which is entitled *rai* (view, private judgment) or *qias* (analogy). (See note, under No. 2. The same system was followed later by Abu Hanifah, whence the followers of his sect were called the partisans of private judgment (*Ashab al-Rai*).

of Rabi'ah. One day, he said to us: 'Why (*then*) do you leave Rabi'ah sleeping in that arcade over there?' We immediately went to a Rabi'ah, and having awaked him, we said: 'Art thou Rabi'ah?' 'Yes,' was the reply. 'Art thou the person on whose authority Malik Ibn Anas gives Traditions?' 'Yes,' 'How then does Malik enjoy (*public*) favour through thy means, although thou hast not acquired it for thyself?' 'Know ye not,' replied he, 'that an ounce of worldly wit goes farther than a camel-load of learning?'

Rabi'ah was a great talker, and he used to say that he who keeps silent should be classed between him who is asleep and him who is dumb. Whilst he was one day speaking at one of his public conferences<sup>2</sup> مجلس an Arab, fresh from the desert, came in and stood for a long time before him, listening to his words; Rabi'ah who thought that the stranger was in admiration at what he heard, said to him: "O Arab! how do your people define eloquence?" "The other answered: 'Brevity combined with precision.' And what is incorrection?"<sup>3</sup> "That which thou hast been engaged in all day." This answer covered Rabi'ah with confusion.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Farrukh, the father of Rabi'ah, went on a military expedition to Khurasan in the time of the Umayyad Rule. Rabi'ah's mother had conceived him; he left thirty thousand dinars with his wife. He came back to Madinah after twenty-seven years on a horse with a spear in his hand. He reached his home and knocked the door with his spear. Rabi'ah came out and said to him: 'O enemy of God! Do you enter my house?' Farrukh said: 'O enemy of God, you have entered my house.' Both of them grappled with each other till the neighbours assembled. The report reached Malik Ibn Anas. They (Malik with his disciples) came to help Rabi'ah and there was much noise. Each one of the two was saying: "I shall not spare you." But when they saw Malik they became quiet. Malik said: "O old man, there is room for you in a house besides this." The old man replied: "This is my house and I am Farrukh." His wife heard his words; she came out and said: "This is my husband, and this is my son who was in my womb and was born when he (Farrukh) had left." Both of them embraced each other and wept. Then Farrukh entered the house and said: "Is he my son?" She replied: "Yes". He said! "Bring out the money that is with you". She said: "I have

---

2 Literally: At one of his sittings.

3 The word عي here translated by incorrections, is employed to denote the contrary of eloquence; it consists in verbosity and ideas inadequately expressed.



buried it and now I shall dig it out." Rabi'ah went to the mosque and sat in his circle (*halqah*).

Then Malik, Hasan<sup>4</sup> and other respectable persons of Madinah came to him and benefited by his talk. (In the meantime) his mother said to her husband, Farrukh: "Go and offer prayers in the mosque of the Prophet." Then he went there and noticed a great circle; he went there and stood nearby. Rabi'ah bent his head in a manner as if he had not seen him; he (Rabi'ah) had a long cap on his head. His father began to doubt about him, and said: 'who is this man?'. He was told that it was Rabi'ah Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman. Then he said: "God has exalted my son," and returned to his house. He said: "I have seen your son in a position which is not held by any scholar of Faqih." His mother said to him: "Which is dearer to you, 30000 dinars or this son?" He replied: "By God, this son". She said: 'I spent all the money on him,' to which he replied: "By God, you have not wasted it."

Sawwar Ibn 'Abd-Allah said, "I have not seen a scholar greater than Rabi'ah al-Rai," I said: "Neither Hasan, nor Ibn Sirin?" He replied: "no neither Hasan, nor Ibn Sirin."

There was none more generous than Rabi'ah towards his friends and others in Madinah; he spent 40000 dirhems on his brethren; then he begged them something. He was told that he had wasted his wealth and wanted to aspire for a position. He replied: "This condition of mine shall not last long, and I never found among them anyone envying my position."<sup>5</sup>

He died A.H. 136 (A.D. 753-4), some say 130, at al-Hashimiyah, a city built in the province *ارض* of al-Anbar by al-Saffah, who made it his place of residence, but afterwards removed to al-Anbar. It was said by Malik Ibn Anas, that the science of jurisprudence had lost its sweetness since the death of Rabi'ah al-Rai. I must observe that it is impossible to conciliate the statement made by some, that he died A.H. 130, with the fact of his burial at al-Hashimiyah, the city founded by (*the khalif*) al-Saffah; for that price, as it is agreed by all historians, did not obtain the khalifat till Friday, 13th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 132 (29th November, A.D. 749).

4 The famous scholar Shaykh Hasan Basri.

5 This anecdote is not given in the autograph, nor in de slane's translation. It has however been included in the published texts of the Cairo and Tehran editions and has been translated and added here by the editor-Ed.

## 221 AL-RABI' IBN SULAYMAN AL-MURADI

The *mua'dhdhin* Abū Muhammad al-Rabi' Ibn Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar Ibn Kamīl, a native of Basrah, and allied by enfranchisement to the tribe of Murad (Muradi), was a disciple of al-Shafi'i, and through him, most of the works composed by that *imam* were handed down by oral dictation.<sup>1</sup> Al-Shafi'i said of him: "Al Rabi' is the special traditionist of my words and works."<sup>2</sup> He said again, that none ever served him (*so dutifully*) as al-Rabi';<sup>3</sup> and he sometimes addressed him in these words: "O Rabi' could I feed thee with science, علم I should do it." The following narration is attributed to al-Rabi' on good authority: "When al-Shafi'i was near his death, I went in and found with him al-Buwayti al-Muzani and Ibn al-Hakam.<sup>4</sup> He looked to us and then said: 'As for thee, Abu Ya'qub! (*meaning al-Buwayti*) thou shalt die in chains<sup>5</sup>; thou, Muzani! shalt meet with various adventures in Egypt, and shalt make the time be remembered in which thou wert the ablest reasoner of the age;<sup>6</sup> thou, O Muhammad! (*addressing himself to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam*) wilt pass over to sect of Malik; and thou, O Rabi'! shalt be to me the most useful of all, in propagating the knowledge of the works which I have composed. Arise Abu Ya'qub! and take charge of my class." Al-Rabi' then related that all which al-Shafi'i foretold to them came to pass, and that he might be said to have looked, at that moment, through a transparent veil into futurity. In the History of Baghdad by the *Khatib*, (*the same anecdote*) is thus related, in the life of al-Buwayti: Al-Rabi' Ibn Sulayman said: We were sitting in the presence of al-Shafi'i, I, al-Buwayti and al-Muzani, when he looked at al-Buwayti and spoke these words: 'Observe this person; he will die in chains.' He then cast his eyes on al-Muzani and said: 'Look at this man; the time will be wherein he shall never explain a difficulty and be mistaken.' Turning then to me, he spoke thus: 'By Allah! there is not one of the fraternity more useful to me than he. I should like to fill him to the utmost with knowledge.'" This Rabi' was the last

---

1 This is an additional proof of a circumstance already known, that in the first ages of Islamism, many authors never put their work in writing, but taught them to their scholars *viva voce*.

2 Literally: Al-Rabi' is my *rawi* (or traditionist).

3 The disciples of learned men frequently filled the duties of servants of them.

4 The lives of these doctors are given by Ibn *Khallikan*.

5 Literally: In thy iron; that is, in the irons which shall bind thee.

6 Or the most skilful in making analogical deductions.

of those auditors of al-Shafi'i who handed down, in Egypt the sayings of their master. I found in the hand-writing of the Hafiz [Zaki al-Din] 'Abd al-'Azim al-Mundhiri, the following verses, which he gives as al-Rabi's:

“(Let thy) patience be exemplary (*under misfortune*), and how quick shall be thy deliverance! He shall be saved who, in all his actions, seventh God with a sincere heart. He who feareth God shall not be afflicted, and he who hopeth in God shall go to that place (*heaven*) for which he hoped”.

Al-Rabi' died in Egypt on Monday, the 19th of Shawwal, A.H. 270 (April, A.D. 884), and was interred in the Qarafah, near the north side, hard by (*the mosque of*) al-Fuqqa'i.<sup>7</sup> His tomb is surrounded by a railing, and at the head of grave there is a marble slab, bearing his name and the date of his death.

Muradi means belonging to Murad, a great tribe in Yaman from which many persons have sprung.

## 222 AL-RABI' AL-JIZI

Abu Muhammad al-Rabi' Ibn Sulayman Ibn Dawud Ibn al-A'raj al-Jizi, a native of Egypt and a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Azd, was one of al-Shafi'i's disciples, but handed down very little of his master's doctrines: numerous traditions are given by him, however, on the authority of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. His veracity as a traditionist is universally admitted, and he is quoted by Abu Dawud (*the author of the Sunan*) and by al-Nasai. “He died in the month of Dhu'i-Hijjah, A.D. 256 (November, A.D. 870), at Jizah, where his tomb is still to be seen.” Such are the words of al-Quda'i in his *Khitat*.

Jizi means belonging to Jizah; this is a village opposite to Cairo, from which it is separated by the Nile. In the canton of Jizah, and near to the village, are situated those stupendous erections, the pyramids.

---

7 The mosque of al-Fuqqa'i, a large edifice built by Kafur, bears the name of Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn al-Hasan al-Fuqqa'i (*over whose tomb it was probably erected*). His father al-Hasan was a brewer (Fuqqa'i). (Al-Maqarizi.)

"(It has been stated that he passed one day through Egypt, ashes were poured on him from an urn. He got down from his beast and began to shake it off from his clothes, but did not utter a word. It was said to him; "Why do you not reproach them." He said: "He who deserves (*hell*) fire and he is made to reconcile with the ashes, really gains (something).

\*\* (One of the sages says; "There is not a single edifice on the face of the earth on which I have not composed an elegy because of (the cruelty of) days and night except two pyramids from (the cruelty of which) I compose the elegy of days and nights.\*\*\*

Abu'l-Tayyib al-Mutanabi says about them:

"Where is the person whose constructions are the two pyramids? Where is his abode? What about his time and resting-place? Sometimes relics survive their owners, and some times ruination overtakes them immediately after them."

It has been stated that the pyramids are the tomb of great kings, who wanted to be distinguished from all other kings after their death as they were in their life. They wanted that their memory should live on account of their pyramids, even after the lapse of long period and spans of ages. "When Caliph al-Ma'mun al-Rashid came to Egypt, he ordered (*his architects*) to pierce one of the two pyramids with holes. After hard labour and crushing toil one of them was pierced through. They found that inside it were ladders and awe-inspiring chasms. It was very difficult to walk through them, and above it they found a cubical construction, each side of which was about eight cubits. In the centre of it was a cistern of marble covered with decaying and wornout bones on which several ages had passed. Then he stopped the piercing of other pyramids; the expenditure incurred on piercing was excessive and toil very great.

It is stated that Hermes I who possessed the three attributes of prophet, kings and sages, and who is identified as the Propoet Henoah and he, in his turn, is Idris, inferred the coming of a deluge from the position of the stars. So he ordered the construction of the

---

\* The statement is not found in the autograph or in de Slane's edition. It however, is included in subsequent editions--Ed.

\*\* This anecdote is not to be found in the autograph or de Slane's edition. It is however, included in subsequent edition--Ed.

\*\*\* He refers to the fact that the passage of time brings decay and ruin to constructions however strong, they be; only the two pyramids defy the effects of weather--Ed.

pyramids and depositing there (*the objects*) the loss of which was feared. It is stated that he built them during a period of six months and covered them with *dibaj* (veriegated brocade), and inscribed there, "We have constructed them in a period of six months. Say to one who comes after us to demolish them in six hundred years (*if he can*), although demolition is easier than construction. We have covered them with *dibaj*, let him (*who comes after us*) cover them with mat; and it is easier to find mat than *dibaj*)." <sup>1</sup>

## 223 AL-RABI' IBN YUNUS

Abu'l-Fadl al-Rabi' was the son of Yunus Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Farwah al-Haffar. This last, whose real name was Kaysan, had been a slave (*mawla'*) to al-Harith, by whom he was sold to (*the Khalif*) 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan. Al-Rabi' served (*the Khalif*) Abu Ja'far al-Mansur in the capacity of *hajib*,<sup>1</sup> and later, in that of a vizir on the deposition of Abu Ayyub al-Muriyani (*whose life we shall give*). Al-Mansur placed great confidence in him and treated him with signal favour; he said to him one day: "Ask me, Rabi! Whatever you please;" and al-Rabi' answered: "I should wish you to feel friendship for my son al-Fadl." "Alas!" replied al-Mansur, "know you not that friendship must have motives?" "But it depends on yourself," said al-Rabi', to have motives for loving him." "And how so?" asked the khalif. "Treat him with kindness," replied the other, "and he will love you; and when he loves you, you will love him." "By Allah!" exclaimed the prince, "I shall love him even before I have motives for doing so: but tell me why you asked for him my friendship rather than any thing else?" "For this reason:" replied al-Rabi' "when you bear him friendship, the slightest services he renders you will appear great in your eyes; and his greatest delinquencies will be looked on by you as slight errors; his faults will be (*considered by you*) as the faults of a child, and your protection will be for him as the naked intercessor." In this last expression, he alluded to the words of the poet al-Farazdaq":

---

1 The *hajib* was one of the principal officers at the courts of princes. He sat at the door of the great hall when his master gave audiences, and he might admit or exclude (*hajib*) whom he pleased. A curtain (*hijab*) was hung across the entrance of the hall, and the *hajib* merely raised the corner of it up, when he chose to let an applicant enter.

"The intercessor who goeth to thee clothed is not like the one who goeth to thee naked."

This verse belongs to a poem composed on 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwam, at the period in which he aspired to the khalifat and gained possession of Hijaz and Traq: this was in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan the Umayyad. Al-Farazdaq had then quarrelled with his wife al-Nawar<sup>2</sup>, and they both set out from Basrah and proceeded to Makkah, in order that 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr might decide between them. Al-Farazdaq, on arriving, went to stop with Hamzah, the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr, and al-Nawar with Ibn al-Zubayr's wife. The two hosts used their influence in favour of their guests, but Ibn al-Zubayr (*yielded to that of his wife and*) decided in favour of al-Nawar against al-Farazdaq. The poet then made the verses of which we have spoken, and his words, the naked intercessor, became proverbial to denote any person whose intercession cannot be withstood.

Al-Mansur said one day to al-Rabi': "How sweet should be the world, O Rabi'? were it not for death." "Say rather," replied al-Rabi', "that the world had not been sweet were it not for death." "And how so?" "Because were it not for death, you would never have been sitting on that throne." "You are right," replied the khalif. On the approach of death, al-Mansur said to him: "O Rabi'! we have sacrificed the life to come for a mere dream!" The following anecdote is related by al-Rabi': "We were one day standing behind al-Mansur (*who was seated in his hall of audience*), and a cushion had been placed on the floor for al-Mahdi, who had been nominated successor to the khalifat; at that moment entered Salih, another of al-Mansur's sons, who had been endeavouring to obtain from his father the concession of some post of authority for himself. He advanced between the double rank of courtiers which extended from the throne to the entrance of the hall<sup>3</sup>, and in which they all held places corresponding to the nobleness of their descent and the eminence of the posts they filled; he then stopped and addressed the khalif in elegant terms. When he had finished, al-Mansur held forth his hand and said: 'Come to me, my dear son!' He then took him to his arms, and looked towards the principal persons present, expecting to hear one of them celebrate the praises of his son and the high favour which his parent had shown him, but this none of them dare to do through dread

2 See the life of al-Farazdaq, inserted by M. Caussian de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1834.

3 It was here necessary, for the sake of clearness, to paraphrase the text.

of al-Mahdi. Then Shabbah Ibn 'Iqal al-Tamimi rose up and said: 'Admirable is the flow of words which preceded from the orator who stood before thee, O Commander of the faithful! How eloquent a tongue! What fine expression! What sharpness of intelligence! What copiousness of language! and what an elegant turn of thought! But could it be otherwise in one whose father is the commander of the faithful, and who has al-Mahdi for brother? We must say of him in the words of the poet:

"That noble courser may, by exertions, come up with his two competitors; for a steed like him can keep pace with the best. Those two may outrun him if he abates his speed; but the excellent (*Salih*) horse such as they outrun, is able to distance all other rivals.'

The company were filled with admiration at the address displayed by the speaker in making simultaneously the eulogium of the two brothers, and by this means not only satisfying the desires of al-Mansur, but avoiding to offend al-Mahdi. Then, said al-Rabi', "the khalif told me not to suffer al-Tamimi to withdraw till he received a gift of thirty thousand dirhems, and this order I obeyed."

It is said that none knew who al-Rabi's father was, and that one day, a member of the Hashimite (*imperial*) family entered into the presence of al-Mansur and said repeatedly, whilst conversing with him: "My father, may God be merciful to him! did so and so." on which al-Rabi' said to him: "How often wilt thou implore God's mercy on thy father? Consider that thou art in the presence of the Commander of the faithful"<sup>4</sup> To this the other replied; "I can excuse thee, O Rabi'! for thou knowest not the value of ancestors." This retort covered him with confusion.

("The khalif) Abu Ja'far al-Mansur visited Madinah and said to al-Rabi' on entering the city: "Find me some learned and intelligent person who can point out to me the (*chief*) mansions of the place; It is now so long since I saw the dwellings of my family." A most intelligent and well informed youth was discovered by al-Rabi' and presented to the khalif; (*during their excursion*), the guide did not make any observations unless asked by al-Mansur to do so; but he then proceeded, with great precision and beauty of expression, to furnish every requisite information. Al-Mansur was so highly pleased with him, that he ordered him a considerable sum of money, but the payment was delayed so long, that the youth found himself under

---

4 Politeness and court etiquette required that no words should be uttered before the sovereign which might call to his mind the idea of death.

the necessity of asking for it, (*and this he did in the following manner*): As they passed by the house which belonged to 'Atikah, the daughter of 'Abd Allah and grand daughter of Abu Sufyan, the young man said. "This O Commander of the faithful! is the house of that 'Atikah to whom al-Ahwas Ibn Muhammad al-Ansari<sup>5</sup> alluded in these lines:

'Dwelling of 'Atikah! mansion which I avoid through dread of foes, although my heart be fixed on thee! I turn away and fly thee; but yet unconsciously I turn towards thee again."

Those words caused al-Mansur to reflect, and he said to himself that the youth must have here some reason for giving his information, without being asked for it. He therefore turned over the leaves of the poem from which the verses were taken, and examined it, passage by passage, till he came to the following line:

"We see that you do what you promise, but there are persons, with deceitful tongue, who promise, but never perform."

He immediately asked al-Rabi' if he had given the youth what had been awarded him, and was informed by him, that a particular circumstance, which he mentioned, had caused a delay in the payment. The khalif then ordered him to give him immediately the double of what had been promised. The youth had certainly taken a most delicate manner of hinting the circumstance, and al-Mansur showed great penetration in perceiving it.

The following anecdote is related by Faiqah, the daughter of 'Abd Allah and mother of 'Abd al-Wahid Ibn Ja'far Ibn Sulayman: "We were one day with the khalif al-Mahdi, who had just returned from al-Anbar, to which he had made an excursion for pleasure, when al-Rabi' came in, holding a piece of leather, on which some words were written in charcoal and to which was attached a seal composed of clay mixed with ashes and bearing the impression of the khalif's signet-ring. 'Commander of the faithful!' said al-Rabi', 'I never saw anything more extraordinary than this document; I received it from

---

5 'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Ansari, surnamed al-Ahwas <sup>الحوص</sup> and not al-Akhwas, as all the MSS of Ibn Khallikan have it, was a descendant, as his name indicates, of one of the Ansars. He cultivated poetry and such was the virulence of his satire, that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al 'Aziz banished him to the island of Dahlak, in the Red Sea, on the death of 'Umar, his successor Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik recalled him and he died A.H. 179 (A.D. 795--6), '*Uyun al-Tawa'rikh*. I perceive that in the autograph MS. his name is written correctly.



an Arab of the Desert who was crying out: This is the Commander of the faithfull's letter! show me where to find the man who is called al-Rabi', for it is to him that he told me to deliver it! Al-Mahdi took letter and laughed; 'It is true; this is my writting and this is my seal; shall I relate how it happened?' To this we replied: 'If it please the Commander of the faithful<sup>6</sup>. And he spoke thus: I, went out to hunt yesterday evening when the shower was over; the next morning a thick mist overwhelmed us and I lost sight of my companions; I then suffered such cold, hunger, and thirst as God only know, and I lost my way besides. At that moment came to my mind a form of prayer which my father (*al-Mansur*) had taught me, saying that his father (*Muhammad*) had learned it from his grandfather ('*Ali*'), who had been taught it by (his father '*Abd 'Allah*') the son of '*Abbas*'. It was this: He who sayeth morning and evening: In the name of God! and by the might of God! We have no power of force but in God! I fly to God for protection! I confide in God! God sufficeth me! we have no Power or force but in God, the High! the Mighty! He protecteth sufficeth, directeth, and healeth-from fire and flood; from the fall of house and from evil death! When I had uttered these words, God raised up a light before me, and I went towards it, and lo! I found this very Arab of the Desert in his tent, with a fire which he had been just lighting up.<sup>7</sup> 'Arab of the Desert,' said I, 'hast thou withal to treat a guest?' 'Dismount,' said he. And I dismounted, and he said to his wife: 'Bring here that barley.' And she brought it. 'Grind it,' said he; and she began to grind it. I then said to him. 'Give me a drink of water;' and he brought me a skin in which was a little milk, mixed with more water; and I drank thereof a drink such as I had never drunk before, it was so sweet! and he gave me one of his saddlecloths and I laid my head upon it. And never did I sleep a sounder or a sweeter sleep. On awaking, I saw him seize on a poor miserable sheep, and kill it, when his wife said to him; 'Beware, wretched man"! thou that hast slain thyself and thy children; your nourishment came from this sheep and yet thou hast killed it! What then have we to live on'? On this I said: 'Do not mind! bring the sheep here; 'and I opened it with the knife I wore in my boot and I took out the liver, and having split it open I placed it upon the fire, and I ate thereof. I then said to him: 'Dost thou want any thing? I shall give thee a written order for it.' On this he brought me that piece of leather, and I wrote on it with a bit of burnt wood

6 Literally: The Commander of the faithful is predominant in opinion on the subject.

7 According to the old Arabic custom. The dwellers in the Desert lit fires at night to guide travellers to their hospitable tents.

which I picked up at his feet, that very note; I then set this seal on it, and told him to go and ask for one al-Rabi', to whom he was to give it. This note contained, an order for five hundred thousand dirhems and al-Mahdi exclaimed, on learning it: 'By Allah! I meant only fifty thousand, but since five hundred thousand are written in it, I shall not diminish the sum one single dirhem; and were there no more in the treasury, he should have it. So give him beasts of burden and let him take it away.' In a very short time, that Arab had numerous flocks of camels and sheep, and this mansion became a halting-place for those who were going on the pilgrimage, and it received the name of the Dwelling of 'the host of al-Mahdi منزل شيخ امير المؤمنين المهدي the Commander of the faithful.<sup>8</sup> al-Rabi' died towards the beginning of the year 170 (July, A.D. 786), but al-Tabari places his death in the year 169. Some say that he was poisoned by (the new *khalif*) al-Hadi; but, according to another statement, he was ill for eight days and then expired. His ancestor was called Abu Farwah because he wore a furred cloak (*farwah*) when brought to Madinah, where he was purchased by Uthman; having received his liberty from that khalif, he turned grave-digger (*haffar*). He was one of the captives taken at Jabal al-Khalil (the mountain of al-Khalil).<sup>9</sup> As for al-Fadl, the son of al-Rabi', we shall give his life. The great and well known quarter of Baghdad, the Grant of al-Rabi', was so called because the possession of it had been conceded to al-Rabi' by (the *Khalif*) al-Mansur.

\*And he used to say, "He who has to talk to the kings, should choose such time that he can succeed in attaining his object, other wise he should not (talk to them).

## 224 RIB'I IBN KHIRASH AL-KUFI\*\*

Rib'i Ibn Khirash al-Kufi Ibn Jahsh Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Abd Allah al-

8 Ten thousand pounds sterling, at the lowest estimation:

9 According to Abu 'l-Fida, the river Abu Fators or Auja has its source in the mountain of al-Khalil, which must therefore lie to the north of Jerusalem. The town of al-Khalil or Herbon is situated to the south of that city.

\* This statement is not found in the autograph or in de Slane's edition. It is however, included in subsequent editions--Ed.

\*\* This notice is not given by de Slane, nor is it to be found in the autograph. We are giving here the English rendering of the notice in the published text.--Ed.

'Abasi al-Kufi is reported never to have spoken a lie. He had two sons who had revolted against al-Hajjaj. It was as reported to Hajjaj that their father had never spoken a lie; he should be summoned and asked about them. He sent for him and asked him about his sons. "Both are in the house" was the reply. Thereupon al-Hajjaj said: "I forgive them for your veracity."

Rib'i Ibn Khirash had taken a vow not to show his teeth in smiling until he knew his last resting place. He smiled but after his death. Like-wise his brother had vowed not to smile unless he knew whether his abode was in heaven or in hell. The man who washed his corpse related: "He continued smiling till his body, was washed."

(Rib'i) died in A.H. 400 (A.D. 1009-1010).

## 225 RAJA' IBN HAYAT

Abu Miqdam Raja Ibn Hayat Ibn Jarwal al-Kindi (*of the tribe of Kindah*) was one of the learned (*in the law*), and the intimate companion of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. "I was one night with 'Umar", said he, "and the candle was just going out, when I stood up to trim it; but the khalif insisted on my remaining seated, and he himself rose up to put it in order. On this I said: 'How, Commander of the faithful! thou doest it thyself?' 'I do it,' replied he, (*not as the Commander of the faithful but*) as 'Umar; and as 'Umar I return to my place.' "He related also the following circumstance "(One day), when 'Umar was preaching from the pulpit, I estimated that his dress was not worth more than twelve dirhems;<sup>1</sup> and he had on a waistcoat, a turban, a shirt, trousers, a mantle, a pair of boots, and a scull-cap." Many anecdotes are related respecting his intimacy with 'Umar. He was once with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan when a person was spoken ill of in that khalif's presence: "By Allah!" said the prince. "if God deliver him up to me, I shall make him feel the weight of my anger!"<sup>2</sup> When he got the man into his power, he was about to wreak his vengeance on him, but Raja Ibn Hayat rose up and said to him: "Commander of the faithful! God has done what

1 About seven shillings.

2 Literally: I shall do and act. See note 13, under No. 31.

was pleasing to thee, so do thou what is pleasing to God and grant pardon." On hearing these words, the khalif not only pardoned the prisoner, but treated him with particular favour. Raja Ibn Hayat died A.H. 112 (A.D. 730-1). The colour of his hair was red and that of his beard white.<sup>3</sup>

"(Raja) says "Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz asked me to purchase cloth worth six dirhams for him. When I brought it, he examined it and said; 'I would have preferred it if there had been no softness in it.'" (Raja) says: (*Hearing this remark*) I wept. 'Umar said to me; 'what makes you weep?' I replied: "When you were a governor I brought a piece of cloth worth six hundred dirhems and after examination you had said, 'I would have preferred it if it had not been coarse'; and now when you are Amir al-Muminin, and, I brought a piece of cloth worth six dirhams and after examination you remarked, 'I would have preferred it if it had not been soft.' Thereupon 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz said: 'O Raja! I have an ambitious soul which once desired (*to possess*) Fatimah Bint 'Abd al-Malik whom I married,; again it desired to have governorship (*amarat*) which I got; subsequently it desired caliphate which I obtained; and not it desired to attain paradise which I hope I'll get if God will."

"\*When Ayyub the son and heir-apparent of Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik was on the point of death, his father entered (*the bedroom*) in the company of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Sa'id Ibn 'Uqbah and Raja' Ibn Haywah, and he was ready to offer himself to death (*to save his son*). Sulayman began to look into the face of Ayyub and his tears choked (*his sobs in his throat*); then he said; 'A servant cannot have self-control when grief over-takes him in the face of misfortune. But people are of several kinds, some of them are balanced; some

---

3 Raja Ibn Hayat was one of the most eminent doctors of the law in the days of primitive Islamism. He taught traditions on the authority of some of the principal Tabi'is, and others such as al Zuhri and Qatadah gave some traditions on his authority. All the doctors are unanimous in extolling his science and merits and it is the quite sufficient to say in his praise, that he was the companion, night and day of the virtuous 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. The family of Raja inhabited Palestine, to which country they had removed from Maysan.--(*Tab al-Fuqaha*, fol. 29).

\* This anecdote is not found in the autograph nor in de Slane's edition; it is however included in subsequent editions. The translation of the portions giving additional information is based on the Cairo edition.

\*\* This anecdote is not found in the autograph nor in de Slane's edition; it is included in subsequent editions-Tr. is based on Cairo ed.--Ed.

others are those whose forbearance controls their grief, they are sturdy and self-confident; while in others grief dominates forbearance; they are weak and like 'to be controlled; but as far as I am concerned I find in my heart such pangs of fear that I do not soothe them, my liver will split because of pain'. 'Umar said to him: 'O Amir al-Muminin! forbearance is worthy of you so that you may not lose your reward. Sa'id Ibn 'Uqbah says; "Then he looked towards me and Raja Ibn Haymah with the looks of one seeking succor, so that we may help him as weeping had overtaken him. I declined from giving him permission or otherwise. But Raja said: 'O Amir al-Muminin there is no harm unless it goes to excess, and I have been informed that the Prophet, may God bless him! had tears in his eyes when his son Ibrahim died, and he (the Prophet) said; 'The eye sheds tears and the heart is afflicted' with grief, but we do not utter what does not please God and we are, O Ibrahim! afflicted with grief because of you' Thereupon Sulayman wept violently and we thought that the arteries of his heart were broken. Then 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz said to Raja Ibn Haywah: 'you have done an injury to the Amir al-Muminin.' He replied, 'O Abu Hafa! let him weep, this will relieve him (*of his pangs*). If what you see (coming out of his breast) does not emerge (fully), I am afraid, he will be ruined.' Then he ceased weeping and asked for water and washed his face (*In the meantime*) the youth (Ayyub) passed away and he ordered for his burial and walked in the company of his bier. When he had been interred he looked at his grave said:

'I am standing on the grave of one settled in a desolate land; he parted from a friend with little provision!'

Then he said, 'Ayyub peace be on you'; and added:

'You were associated with us, but now you have parted, so life after you is sour in taste.'

Then he said to his slave to fetch his horse on which he rode and turned towards the grave and said:

'If I have borne *with patience* (*your separation it is not that*) I have laid you to rest here because I had many children (*lit: I have not ejected you because of satiation*); and if I have expressed my grief (*it is because*) I have lost a valuable precious thing.'

Thereupon 'Umar said; 'Nay! forbearance is in close proximity with God.' He replied; 'it is true', and returned.

## 226 RU'BAH IBN AL-'AJJAJ

Abu Muhammad Ru'bah Ibn Abi'l Sh'a'tha 'Abd Allah Ibn Ru'bah\* was a member of the tribe of Sa'd (*al-Sa'di*), which is a branch of that of Tamim (*al-Tamimi*), and a native of Basrah. He and his father (*who was surnamed al-'Ajjaj*) were both celebrated for their poetical pieces in that style of composition called *rajas*,<sup>1</sup> the production of each, forming two separate volumes, are all of the *rajas* class and testify the great abilities of their authors. Ru'bah was an able critic in philology and possessed a perfect acquaintance with the rare and obsolete terms of the language. The following anecdote is related by the grammarian Yunus Ibn Habib<sup>2</sup>: "I was at Abu 'Amr Ibn al-Ala's, when Shubayl Ibn 'Urwah al-Dabu'i entered. Abu 'Amr rose up to receive him, and having placed on the floor the saddle-cloth of his mule that his visitor might sit down on it, he entered into conversation with him. During their discourse, Shubayl said to Abu 'Amr: 'I asked your friend Ru'bah the derivation of his name, but he did not know it.' On hearing Ru'bah spoken of in this manner, I could not refrain from saying: 'You must (*at least*) suppose that Ma'd the son of Adnan spoke better Arabic than Ru'bah or his father<sup>3</sup>: now, do you know what four things are called *ru'bah* and that I am the humble disciple of Ru'bah?' Shubayl was unable to reply, and retired highly offended; on which Abu 'Amr turned to me and said: 'There is a respectable man who comes to our conferences and shows us due reference, yet you have offended him by the manner in which you addressed him.' 'But I could not contain myself,' replied I, 'on hearing him speak of Ru'bah as he did.' 'And are you authorised', said Abu 'Amr, 'to correct the faults of others?' Yunus then gave the four meanings of the word Ru'bah, which are: Any substance employed as rennet to coagulate milk; A portion of the night. The wants of a person, ex: *He cannot supply the wants (ru'bah) of his*

---

\* According to the autograph his name was Sh'a'tha while 'Ajjaj was only an epithet--Ed.

1 "Cemetre et de tous les metres celui qui offre le plus de facilite et qui se rapproche le plus de la prose."--(de Sacy's *Traite sur la Prosodie arabe*). Its rules and decision may be found in Freytag's *Arabische Verskunst* and Samuel Clark's *Prosodia Arabic*.

2 His life is given in this work,

3 Ma'd Ibn 'Adnan was the progenitor of the tribes of Azd, Quraysh and Tamim. None ever spoke or understood Arabic better than he and his talent became proverbial. As Ru'bah descended from the tribe of Tamim, Ma'd was in his ancestor.--It appears from *Qamus* that Shubayl Ibn 'Urwah was son-in law to Qatadah Ibn Diama.

family, that is, things of which they stand in need and which they rely on him to procure; *Semen admissari*. The same word with a *hamza* on the second radical letter means, a patch put on a skin carrying water.

Ru'bah resided at Basrah till the revolt of Ibrahīm Ibn 'Abd Allah, the descendant of 'Alī,<sup>4</sup> against al-Mansur, an enterprise of which the results are well known: having then conceived apprehensions for his own safety, he withdrew into the Desert to avoid the scene of warfare, but died on reaching the very place which he had chosen as a refuge. This was in the year 145 (A.D. 762-3); he was the advanced in age.

When the word *Ru'bah* with a *hamza* on the second radical, serves as an appellative noun, it means wooden plug used to stop up a hole in a water-pot;<sup>5</sup> its plural is *Ri'yab* as a proper name, it designates the poet whose life is here given.

\*Ru'bah used to eat the mice. When he was reproached for that, he replied; "The mice are cleaner than your domestic fowls and chicken which live on excrements. *As regards the mice* do they take any thing except clean wheat or pith of food." When he passed away *Khalil* said: We have buried (the embodiment of) poetry, philology and rhetoric."

## 227 RAWH IBN HATIM AL-MUHALLABI

Abu Hatim Rawh was the son of Hatim, the son of Qabisah, the son of al-Muhallab, the son of Abu Sufrah, of the tribe of Azd: the remainder of the genealogy shall be given in the life of his great grandfather al-Muhallab. Rawh was renowned for his nobleness of soul and his generosity. He served under five khalifs, namely: al-Saffah, al-Mansur, al-Mahdi, al-Hadi, and al-Rashid. There is no other example, it is said, of such a circumstance having occurred except

---

4 This revolt took place in A.H. 145. See Abu'l-Fida's *Annals*; Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II page 16.

5 It means also a wooden skewer employed to pin up a rent in water skin.

\* This information, which is not to be found in the autograph, or in de Slane's edition, is subjoined to the notice in subsequent editions.

in the case of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, who acted as governor for the Prophet, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Uthman, and 'Ali رضي الله عنهم. In the beginning of his reign, al-Mahdi conferred the government of Kufah on Rawh Ibn Hatim, and afterwards, in the year 159 (A.D. 775-6), he confided to him that of Sind. It is stated however by some, that Rawh was nominated to the government of Sind in the year 160. Al-Mahdi recalled him in 161 and named him governor of Basrah, at the very time in which his brother Yazid Ibn Hatim was acting as that khalif's lieutenant in Ifriqiyah. Yazid died at Qayrawan on Tuesday, the 18th Ramadan, A.H. 170 (March, A.D. 787), after a government of fifteen years and three months, and was interred outside Bab Salm, one of the city-gates. The people of Ifriqiah then said; 'How far apart will the tombs of these two brothers be! The one is now governor in Sind and the other is here.' It so happened, however, that al-Rashid removed Rawh from the government of Sind and sent him to fill the place left vacant by the death of Yazid: he arrived in Ifriqiyah on the first of Rajab, A.H. 171, and continued to govern that province till his death, which took place on the 19th of Ramadan, A.H. 174 (end of January, A.D. 791). He was interred in the same tomb قبر with his brother, and people were much struck with the singularity of their meeting at last, after having been so far asunder. Rabi'ah Ibn Thabit al-Asadi al-Raqqi<sup>1</sup> went to Yazid and recited to him a poem in his honour, for which he was generously rewarded; he had also celebrated the praises of Yazid Ibn Usayd al-Sulami,<sup>2</sup> by whom he was treated in a manner inadequate to his merits: this induced him to compose a poem containing an eulogium on Yazid Ibn Hatim and a satire on Yazid Ibn al-Sulami; from this poem we extract the following passages:

---

1 Ilya dans l'Aghani, Vol. III, fol. 427, un article, our Rabia, fils de Thabit. Co pete etait appeal Communement Erraki Rabi'at prace qu'il etaitne a Rakka الرقة on le qualifie aussi d'Elansari, comme appartenate une famille de Medine. Rabia ful appele par le kalife Mahdi a la cour; it recut because up de presen de ce prince, qu'il loua dans un grand nombre de pieces de vers Ensuite quitta la cour, s'eloinna de l'Irak n' eut plus aucun commerce avec les autres poetes et tomba dans unsorted'oubli. Il etait aveugle. Sous le califat de Haroun Rabia fit un eloge d'Abbas fils de Mohammad fils d'Ali fils d'Abdallah fils d'Abbas fils d'Abdelmottalib. Cet Abbas lui envoya deux dinars. Rabia, irrite d'une telle parsimonie, s'en vengea par deus vers satyriques. Abbas se plaignit au calife, qui fit venier Rabia a avant lui. Instruit de la honteuse lesineric d'Abbas, Haroonile blama vivement, renonca a un-project qu'il avait alore d, epouser sa fille et renvonya Rabia comble de presens. A. CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL.

2 This is probably the Ibn Usayd al-Sulami mentioned by Ibn el-Athir as having commended an expedition into Armenia in the year 162 (A.D. 778-9).



"How different in generosity are the two Yazids--he of the tribe of Sulaym and the illustrious son of Hatim. Profusion is the Azdite's only aim, but the Qaysite's<sup>3</sup> passion is to gather up dirhams. Let him not think, the dunce! that I design to make a satire on him; I am only extolling the men of generous deeds.

Son of Usayd! strive not to rivalize with the son of Hatim, or thou shalt gnash thy teeth with repentance, His generosity is an ocean, and if you dare to enter it, thou, shalt be overwhelmed by its impetuous waves. Fool that I was! I hoped to find honour in the tribe of Sulaym! What an idle, what a visionary thought! But the family of al-Muhallab is a brilliant constellation, and on the day of battle they lead them of Sulaym (*into captivity*) as camels are led by the halter fixed in their nose."

We shall confine ourselves to these extracts, as the poem is of a considerable length. Yazid had at first paid little regard to this poet, and was therefore attacked by him in a piece containing this verse:

"I render God due things; but here I am returning with the boots of Hunayn,<sup>4</sup> as a gift from the son of Hatim."

On his second visit to Yazid, he was received with extreme favour and attention. This Yazid was the ancestor of al-Wazir al-Muhallabi (see his life, no. 170).

The following passage, is in the autograph, but has not been included in de Slane's Translation, nor in Cairo and Teheran edition\* However in no. 232 a different version if it is given.

[Abu Dulamah Zand Ibn al-Jawn, whose life-sketch will be given under latter, went on a military expedition with Ruh\*\* Ibn Hatim against the Kharijites. (*When the armies confronted each other*) a Kharijite combatant came out of the file and challenged his adversary. Thereupon Ruh asked Abu Dulamah to accept his challenge: he declined saying:

3 The tribe of Sulaym was descended from that of Qays.

4 This is a common proverbial expression, it means: to be disappointed in one's expectations. Its origin and explanation are to be found in al-Maydani's Proverbs; Freytag's edition, tom.I. p. 539. See also De Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 104.

\* Ruh laughed and excused him from the combat.

\*\* There is a pun upon the word *ruh*, meaning, soul it was also the name of the commander.

"I take refuge with Ruh from sending me to combat as a consequence of which I will bring disgrace to Banu Ass verily, Muhallab left as a legacy for you the love of death; but such a legacy as that. I did not inherit from one.

I apprise him that my proximity with the enemy will make separate my soul from the body."

And this I apprise. That the act of my drawing near to enemies will produce a separation between souls and bodies.

## 228 AL-ZUBAYR IBN BAKKAR

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Zubayr Ibn Abi Bakr [Ibn] Bakkar Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Mus'ab Ibn Thabit Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-'Awwam, sprung from Asad (al-Asadi),<sup>1</sup> a member of the tribe of Quraysh, and a descendant of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr, was one of the most learned men of his time. He filled the place of *qadi* at Makkah and composed some useful works, such as the Genealogies of the tribe of Quraysh; a most comprehensive treatise and a standing authority on the subject. His other writings display the extensive information and superior abilities of their author. He taught the traditions which he had received from (Sufayan) Ibn 'Uyaynah and others of the same class, and his own authority was cited for traditions by Ibn Majah al-Qazwini, Ibn Abi'd-Duyya<sup>2</sup> and others. He continued to act as *qadi*

---

1 'Abd Allah fils de Zobayr fils d'Ellawwam est qualifié d' Acapi, parce qu'il appartenait, ainsi que Khadidja, première femme de Mahomet et sœur d'Elawwam, à la famille d' Abdelozza fils de Cossai, branche de Corach. A.C. DE PERCEVAL.

2 Abu Bakr 'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Ubayd, a member by adaptation of the tribe of Quraysh, a client (*mawla*) of the Umayyad family and surnamed Ibn Abi'd - Dunya composed some works on ascetic and other subjects. He learned the traditions from a great number of traditionists and taught them to others. He was preceptor to some of the young princes of the 'Abbasid family, and one of his pupils obtained later the khalifat and was surnamed al-Multadid. He received for his services a pension of fifteen dinars a month. Died A.H. 281 (A.D. 894) (*History of Baghdad* by the Khatib, MS fonds Asseline, No. 541, fol. 72).

at Makkah till his death, which took place on the eve of Sunday the 23rd (or according to others, the 21st of Dhu'i-Qa'dah, A.H. 256 (October, A.D. 870) aged 84 year. His father Bakkar Ibn 'Abd Allah died A.H. 195 (A.D. 810-1).

#### Zubayr Ibn Bakr

\*[Jahazah narrates: "I was in the presence of the Amir Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir, when al-Zubayr Ibn (Bakr Ibn?) Bakkar, on his arrival from Hijaz, asked permission; he entered. (The Amir) received him with honour and respect, and said to him, "Although our descent is distant (*not common*) yet our training is related (*similar*), and verily the Amir al-Muminin has selected you as tutor for his son. He has ordered—ten thousand dirhams to be paid to you ten ward-ropes of clothes, and ten mules to carry your luggage to Surra Man Ra'a" He thanked him and accepted the offer. When he bade him farewell, he said to the shaykh: 'Speak something to us for which we may remember you.' He said; 'Should I relate what I have heard or what I have witnessed?' He (*Amir*) said; 'Nay! what you have witnessed. Thereupon he related: In the course of this journey of mine I was between two mosques.\*\* I saw a dead antelope tied in a rope and in front of it a coffin with the dead body of a man, and by their side an afflicted woman running and saying.

The young maid of Banu Nahd exposed herself while her husband was given in the grip of death;

I liked to be tenacious about him, but from the side of white antelope death overtook him.'

Then he (the Shaykh) went out and Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir said 'How have we been benefited from this Shaykh?' We replied: The Amir knows better. He said; 'By his words in which he used علايه for ظاهره (meaning) and I never heard this word in the speech of Arab before."

Al-Zubayr (*Ibn Bakr*) Ibn Bakkar said: My niece (*my sister's daughter*) said to my wife; 'my uncle is very considerate to his wife since he does not marry a second wife nor purchases a maid-servant.' The women replied; 'His books are more trying than three fellow-wives.'" ]

---

\* This anecdote is not in the autograph nor in the de Slane's edition. It is, however, included in subsequent edition—Ed.

\*\* He means the Haramayn ie, the Ka'bah and the Mosque of the Prophet.

## 229 ABU 'ABD ALLAH AL-ZUBAYR

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Zubayr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sulayman Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Asim Ibn al-Mundhir Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwam, surnamed al-Zubayri, was a jurisconsult of the sect of al-Shafi'i, and the chief imam and professor of that time at Basrah his native city. Perfectly acquainted with the legal doctrines of his sect, he possessed besides some knowledge of belles-letters. Having removed to Baghdad, he thought the traditions on the authority of Dawud Ibn Sulayman al-Muwaddib, Muhammad Ibn Sinan al-Qazzaz<sup>1</sup>, Ibrahim Ibn al-Walid, and others of the same class: his veracity and exactitude were universally acknowledged, and his own authority was given for traditions by Al-Naqqash the author of the Commentary on the *Qur'an* by 'Umar Ibn Bishran al-Sukkari, 'Ali Ibn Harun al-Simsar, and others. This doctor, who was deprived of the sense of sight, composed many works, such as the *Kafi* (sufficient) on jurisprudence, the *Kitab al-Naiyat* (liber intentionis), the *Kitab Satr il-Awrah* (liber de tegendis pudendis), the *Hidayah* (guide), the *Kitab al-Istisharah wa'l-Istikharah* (on taking advice and gaining favour) the *Kitab Riadat il-Muta'allim* (instructions for a pupil), the *Kitab al-Imarat* (the signal), etc<sup>2</sup>. He treated some points of doctrine in a manner peculiar to himself. His death took place earlier than A.H. 320 (A.D. 932).

## 230 ZUBAYDAH THE WIFE AL-RASHID

Zubaydah, surnamed Umm Ja'far (mother of Ja'far), was daughter to Ja'far the son of (the *khalif*) Abu Ja'far al-Mansur 'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Abbas al-Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib Ibn Hashim. She was the mother of Muhammad al-Amin, the son of Harun al-Rashid. Her charity was ample, her conduct virtuous, and the history of her pilgrimage to Makkah and what she undertook to execute on the way is so well known, that it is useless to repeat

---

1 Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Sinan, a traditionist and native of Baghdad died A.H. 223 (A.D. 838) (*Tab. al-Muhaddithin*).

2 Those works treated, most probably, some of jurisprudence and others of Traditions.

it.<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi says in his *kitab al-Alqab* (book of surnames), that she furnished the city of Makkah with water, the scarcity of which had been so great some time before, that the contents of a water skin cost a gold piece (*dinar*). She had it brought thither from a distance of ten miles; this was effected by levelling hills and hewing through rocks, by which means a stream, situated without the sacred territory, was led into the precincts of it.<sup>2</sup> She constructed also the 'Aqabat al-Bustan,<sup>3</sup> and when her intendant observed her that the expense would be very great, she replied that she was decided to have it executed, were every stroke of a hatchet (*given during the work*) to cost a *dinar*. The same writer says that she had one hundred slave girls, who all knew the *Qur'an* by heart, and that each of them had the task of repeating one tenth of it daily; so that her place resounded with a continual humming like that of bees. He states also that her name was Amat al- 'Aziz (*hand maid of the Almighty*), and that, on account of her plumpness and freshness, the surname of Zubaydah was given her by her grandfather al-Mansur<sup>4</sup>. Al-Tabari says, in his History, that Harun al-Rashid expoused her in the year 165 (A.D. 781-2) and that she died at Baghdad in the month of the first Jumada, A.H. 216 (June, or July, A.D. 834). Her father Ja'far died in the year 186 A.D. 802).

### 231 ZUFAR IBN AL-HUDHAYL AL-HANAFI

Abu'l-Hudhayl Zufar Ibn al-Hudhayl Ibn Qays Ibn Sulaym Ibn Qais Ibn Mukammal Ibn Dhuhl Ibn Dhu'ayb Ibn Jadhimah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Hunjur Ibn Jundub Ibn al-'Anbar Ibn 'Amr Ibn Tamim Ibn Ma'dd Ibn Murr Ibn Udd Ibn Tahikah Ibn al-Yas Ibn Mudhar Ibn Nizar Ibn 'Adnan, surnamed al-'Anyari (*the descendant of 'Al-Anbar*) was a doctor of the sect of Abu Hanifah, and as pious as learned. He is

---

1 The historian Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzi says in his *Mir'at al-Zaman*, year 216, that Zubaydah spent one million of dinars in her pilgrimage, and that her gifts to the learned in Makkah and Madinah and the expense of the works executed by her orders in these two cities, amounted to two millions of dinars.

2 See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, Vol. p. 195.

3 'Aqabat al-Bustan means the ascent to the garden. It is not mentioned in any of the historical and geographical works which I have consulted.

4 Zubaydah is the diminutive of *zubdah*, cream, or *fresh* butter.

considered as one of the great Traditionists, but he devoted himself principally to the solution of legal questions by means of private judgment (*ra'i*), which, with the Hanifites, holds the place of analogical deduction (*Qiyas*).<sup>1</sup> His father al-Hadhayl was governor of Isbahan. Zufar was born in the year 110 (A.D. 728-29), and died in the month of *Sha'ban*, A.H. 159 (June, A.D. 775).

## 232 ABU DULAMAH

Abu Dulamah Zand Ibn al-Jawn was a person celebrated for his wit, his amusing adventures, his acquaintance with general literature, and his talent for poetry. The *hafiz* Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi says in his *Tanwir al-Ghabash* (*darkness lighted up*):<sup>1</sup> "Abu Dulamah was a black slave from Abyssinia, and one of his witty sayings is thus related: (The *khalif*) Abu Ja'far al-Mansur had a female cousin who died and whom he accompanied to the grave. He there sat down to preside at her burial and showed deep affliction at her loss. At that moment, Abu Dulamah went forward and sat down near him: 'Fellow! said al-Mansur, 'what canst thou have suited for this place?' pointing to the grave. The Commander of the faithful's cousin'; replied the other. On this the *khalif* was seized with such a fit of laughter that he fell backwards, and he said, on recovering: 'Fellow! thou hast exposed up to shame before the people! The *Khatib* says, in his history of Baghdad, that the deceased was Hammadah, wife of al-Mansur, and daughter of 'Isa, one of al-Mansur's uncles.-'Umar Ibn *Shabbah* relates, in his History of Basrah, that Abu Dulamah sent one of his

---

1 It has been already observed that the orthodox sects deduce the articles of the law from four sources; the *Qur'an*, the *Sunnah* or traditions of the Prophet, the common consent (*Ijma*) of the ancient imams, and analogical reasoning (*qyas*) founded on the principles furnished by the first three sources. The doctors of the school of Abu Hanifah had such a predilection for the *qiyas*, and went to such lengths in its application, that those of the other three sects often accused them of sacrificing the authority of the *Qur'an*, of the *Sunnah*, and of the ancient imams to that of their own private judgement (*ra'i*). We here find the *Shafite* Ibn *Khallikan* declare positively that, in place of the *qiyas*, or analogical deductions they substituted the Principle of private judgment, or as the word (*ra'i*) may well signify, of mere speculation.

1 According to Hajji *Khalifah*, the remainder of the title is as follows: *fi fadl il-Sudan wa'l Habsh* (being a treatise on the amimeni meri of the Negro and Abyssinian races).

cousins with the following lines to Sa'id Ibn Da'laj who was then employed as director of the *Ahadth*<sup>2</sup> at Basrah:

"When you meet the Amir greet him with a salutation, and pray that the mercy of God be upon him. Tell him then, that I have a credit or among the Arabs of the desert, a detested wretch<sup>3</sup> who has an old receipt of mine for one thousand dirhims and the half of a thousand and the half of that; a sum which served not for my use, but for gifts which I bestowed on the *Shaykhs* of the tribe of Tamim"<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Da'laj<sup>5</sup> sent him immediately the sum for which he asked.\* When Ruh Ibn Hatim al-Muhallabi was governor of Basrah, he marched out to attack the *Khurasanite* troops<sup>6</sup>, and was accompanied by Abu Dulamah. (*When the two armies were in presence of each other*), a warrior sallied forth from the ranks of the enemy and slew successively a number of Ruh's soldiers in single combat. Ruh then ordered Abu Dulamah to go and fight him; his refusals and supplications were of no avail; Ruh insisted, and Abu Dulamah then pronounced these verses:

"I fly to Ruh for refuge; let him not send me to a combat in which I shall bring disgrace upon the tribe of Asad.<sup>7</sup> Your father al-

2 The word *Ahdath* is employed by the Arabic historians of the crusades in the sense of *new levies*, or *recruits*; but it seems to bear here a different signification. Ibn al-Athir says, under the year 257 (A.D. 870-1), that Sa'id Ibn Da'laj was at that time. *والى الاحداث والجوالى والشرط* at Basrah. As the word *جوالى* means *tribute*, or *capitation tax*, I am inclined to think that the *شرط* and the *-ud-* were some other species of revenue. Sa'id was deposed from his place in A.H. 259 (A.D. 872-3).

3 Literally: May be, as a creditor; be covered with ignominy.

4 Ibn Da'laj was a member of that tribe by enfranchisement (*Kitab al-Aghani*.)

5 All manuscripts have here *Da'laj*, not *Ibn Da'laj*.

6 According to Ibn al-Athir, Ruh, Ibn Hatim was appointed governor of Basrah. A.H. 165; and filled that place till 167, and before that, in A.H. 161 according to Ibn Khallikan; but none of the historians whom I have consulted, speak of this affair between Ruh and the *Khurasanite*. In the autograph MS. this anecdote and the preceding one are not to be found.

7 Abu Dulamah was *mawla*, or member by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Asad.-(*Kitab al-Aghani*.)

\* This anecdote is given in the autograph in the notice on Ruh No. 227. There he says that Ruh laughed and excused Abu Dulamah.

Muhallab left you as a legacy the love of death, but such a legacy as that I have inherited from none. And then I know well, that the act of drawing near to enemies produces a separation between souls and bodies".

Ruh positively declared, however, that he should go forth and fight. "Why," said he to Abu Dulamah, "do you receive pay from the sultan"?--"To fight for him."--"And why not go forth and attack that enemy of God"? "If I go forth to him, O amir! I shall be sent to join those who are (*dead and*) gone; and the condition I made with the sultan was, to fight for him, but not to die for him."--"By Allah! you shall go and kill him, or take him prisoner, or be killed yourself"! Perceiving him to be in earnest, Abu Dulamah said: "You know that this day will be the first of (*my*) days in the next world; I must therefore have a stock of provisions for so long a journey." Ruh gave orders in consequence, and had him supplied with a pasty containing a fowl, with a piece of meat, a skin filled with wine, and some comfits for the dessert. Being thus well provided, Abu Dulamah sallied forth, sword in hand, on a noble charge; and being an excellent horseman in the hippodrome, he wheeled him about in different directions and brandished him about in different directions and brandished his lance with great skill. His adversary watched him for some time, spying a favourable moment to attack him, and then rushed in on him whilst a cloud of dust (*dark*) as night (*overshadowed the combatants*). Abu Dulamah then sheathed his sword and said to the man: "God forgive you! be not too hasty, but hear what I have to say; I come to you on important business."--"What business?" asked the other, who now stopped facing him. "I am Abu Dulamah."--"I have heard speak of you; but, God preserve you, what can have induced you to come out against me? Why hope to conquer me after seeing so many of your "people fall by my hand"?--"I come neither to kill you nor to fight with you, "but having observed your skill and activity, I longed to make you my friend; and I shall now point out to you what is better than fighting."--"Go on, with the blessing of God!"--"I see that you are tired, and must be both hungry and thirsty."--"That is the fact."--"What are Khurasan and Iraq to us? I have here some bread, meat, wine, and a dessert such as a man could desire, and there is not far off a pond of pure water: let us go there and breakfast, and I shall let you hear some of the songs which the Arabs of the Desert sing to their camels."--"I desire nothing better." "Here goes then; I shall retreat, and do you pursue, till we got out of the crowd of combatants." They both started off, and Ruh looked about for Abu Dulamah, but in vain; and the Khurasanites sought their valiant horseman, but found him not. (*When the two worthies had taken their repast*) (Abu Dulamah



said to his new friend, who had now got into the best humour possible: "You known that Ruh is a most generous man; it is enough to say that Ruh is a most generous man: it is enough to say that he is descended from al-Muhallab; now he intends to give you a magnificent pelisse, a fine horse, a saddle<sup>8</sup> plate with silver, a sword mounted with precious stones, a long lance, a Berber girl, and other gifts in abundance; as a proof of what I say, I here given you his signet-ring which he sends to you." "How can you make me such a proposal? What am I to do with my family?" "Let God's will be done, and come with me? Leave your family there and God will give you another in its stead." "Well, let us go, with the blessing of God." They then entered at the rear of the army, and galloped up to Ruh, who exclaimed: "Abu Dulamah! and where were you?" "On business of yours. As for killing the man, I could not do it, and as for having my own blood split, I felt no inclination for it, and yet I dared not return without doing something: so I employed gentle means and have brought you the man (*as a prisoner*), captivated by your generosity; for I promised him, in your name, such and such things." "That promise shall be executed," said Ruh, "provided he give me security for his fidelity." "In what manner?" He asked: "Let him bring his family with him." he replied: On this the man said: "My family are far away, and it is impossible for me to bring them here now; but stretch forth your hand, I will place mine in it, and of my own free accord, make an oath to divorce my wife if I prove a traitor to you. Now if I do not act with good faith towards you, she is divorced by the very fact, and it would then be useless for you to have her in your power." "Your remark is true," said Ruh, who immediately received his oath and entered into a pact with him, after which he fulfilled the promises made to him by Abu Dulamah, and conferred on him, moreover, additional favours. The Khurasanite then fought on their side against his countrymen, and the extreme bravery which they displayed mainly contributed to the success of Ruh.

[Al-Mansur having once give orders to demolish a number of houses, among which was that of Abu Dulamah, the latter addressed to him these lines:

"Cousin of the Prophet! (*hear*) the prayer of one who is on the verge of death and whose dwelling is on the point of being destroyed. As she suffers calmly whom repeated pregnancies have

8 This signification of the word مركب has been omitted in the dictionaries. Other examples of this signification will be found in the course of this work. In Ibn Khaldun's History of the Berbers, MS. No. 2402, fol. 63, we find this passage. *حدد على قصر بانه بالسراكب الشقيقة*

destroyed. As she suffers calmly whom repeated pregnancies have accustomed to the pains of parturition, so he is clam, but his tranquillity is affected. The whole earth belongs to you; lend then to your save that portion of it which is enclosed by the wall of his house."

\*[Al-Mahdi ordered Abu Dulamah to go on an expedition against 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ali. Abu Dulamah said, "O Amir al-Mu'minin! I beseech thee by God, not to send me with your armies because I was present with nine armines; all the nine armies were defeated: and I am afraid your army may be the tenth." He (*al-Mahdi*) laughed and excused him.

Once Abu Dulamah came before al-Mahdi. He said, "Ask for what you require". "Give me a dog," said Abu Dulamah. He (*al-Mehdi*) got angry and said: "I told you as to what you require and you have asked for a dog to be given to you?" He replied. "O Amir al-Mu'minin! Is it my requirement or yours?" He (*al-Mahdi*) said: "Of course it is yours." "Then," he said "I ask you to give me a hound. "He ordered a hound to be given to him. Then he said, "O Amir al-Mu'minin! suppose I go a hunting, should I run on my legs?" He ordered a beast to be given to him. Then he said, "O Amir al-Mu'minin who will look after it?" He, then, ordered a slave to be given to him. Then he said: "O Amir al-Mu'minin! suppose I succeed in hunting a prey and bring it to my home; who will cook it?" He ordered a maid servant to be given to him. Then he said: "O Amir al-Mu'minin! will they live in wilderness?" He ordered a house to be given to him. Then he said: "O Amir al-Mu'minin! you attached them to my neck as members of a family; from where shall I feed them?" He said, "I assign to you one thousand *Jarib* of arable land and another one thousand waste land." Then he said: "I know what is --ud-- (*arable land*), but what is --ud-- (*waste land*)? He (*al-Mahdi*) said: "It is barren land which cannot produce anything." He (*Abu Dulamah*) said, I assign to the Amir al-Mu'minin one hundred thousand *jaribs* of desert, and I ask you to grant a *jarib* of arable land for every one thousand *jaribs*. He (*al-Mahdi*) said to him: "Where (do you want such land)? He replied, "Where your treasury (*Bayt al-mal*) is (*situated*)." Al-Mahdi said: "Shift the treasury from there and give him a *jarib* of land there." He (*Abu Dulamah*) said: "O Amir al-Mu'minin! when the treasury will be shifted, it will become a waste land." Al-Mahdi laughed and said: "Is there any more requirement?" He said: "Yes, permit me to kiss your hand." He said: "There is no

---

\* From here to "his quick repartee" on p. 392, not in de Slane.

way for you to it." He (Abu Dulamah) said, "By God have you not refused any requirement of mine which is easier than this?"

By chance Abu Dulamah remained absent from attending at the door of Abu Ja'far (*al-Mansur*); then he attended; so he (*the Caliph*) ordered him to remain in his palace, and obliged him to offer prayers in his mosque and appointed a person to watch him. One day Abu Ja'far's Wazir, Abu Ayyub al-Marzubani, passed by Abu Dulamah who handed over to him a sealed letter saying, "This is a petition to the Amir al-Mu'minin. Kindly deliver it" So he (*Abu Ayyub*) delivered it to him (*the Caliph*) sealed. It contained the following:

"Don't you know that the Caliph has fastened me to his mosque and palace: and I have nothing to do with the palace.

I always offer my after-noon prayers with that of *'asr*; so woe to me from the after-noon and woe to me from the *'asr*.

And by God I have no faith in these prayers, so there accrues no virtue, nor beneficence and benefit in my affair."

May God set his (*caliph's*) affairs right! What is his harm, if the sins of both the worlds are put on my back."

Al-Mansur burst into laughter and ordered him to be presented and said; "What is your affair?" He said; "I handed a piece of sealed paper to Abu Ayyub asking you to excuse me from the obligation which you have placed on me. Then Abu Ja'far said to him; "Read it?" He said: "I cannot read it nicely." He knew that he would be punished if he read it, because it contained (an adverse) remark against prayers. When he (*the Caliph*) noticed that he hesitated, he said to him: "I liked to inflict punishment on you if you had admitted." Then he added: "I excuse you from your compulsory attendance at the mosque." Thereupon Abu Dulamah said: "O Amir al-Mu'minin! if I had admitted would you have inflicted punishment on me?" He said: "Yes", Then he said: "In spite of God's saying: "That (poets) utter what they do not do." "He burst into laughter and was surprised at his quick repartee.]

\*When al-Mahdi, the son of al-Mansur, returned to Baghdad

---

\* (Al-Mahdi and 'Ali Ibn Sulaymah went a hunting; Abu Dulamah was with them. Al-Mahdi aimed at an antelope, and his arrow hit the target. 'Ali Ibn Abu Sulayman aimed at an antelope; but his arrow missed, and hit a dog. Al-Mahdi burst into laughter and said: "Abu Dulamah say something about it."

from Ray<sup>9</sup> Abu Dulamah went to salute him and congratulate him on his arrival. Al-Mahdi turned towards him and said: "How are you, Abu Dulamah?" "Commander of the faithful!" replied the other: 'I made an oath that if you returned in health and with riches to the abodes of 'Iraq, you should implore God's blessing on the Prophet and fill my lap with dirhams."

"For the first part, willingly" answered al-Mahdi, "but for the second, not "at all." "May I die to save you!" replied Abu Dulamah, "but the two parts cannot be separated." "Let Abu Dulamah's lap be filled with dirhams," said al-Mahdi. Abu Dulamah then sat down and spread out his knees till his lap was filled with dirhams. "Get up now," said al-Mahdi. "Commander of the faithful!" answered the other, "my robe will be torn with the weight; "allow me first to replace the money in the bags; then I shall be able to rise."

Abu Dulaamah composed a great deal of poetry, and mention is made of him by (Harun) Ibn (Ali) al-Munajjim, in his work entitled *al-Bari*, which contains a selection of pieces composed by poets who lived subsequently to the introduction of Islamism. He died A.H. 161 (A.D. 777-8); some say, however, that he lived till the reign of al-Rashid, who succeeded to the *Khalifat*, A.H. 170. It is said that his real name was *Zabd*, not *Zand*; but the latter is supported by better authority. The following is one of the numerous anecdotes related of him: He once called in a physician to attend his son who had fallen sick, and he agreed to pay him a certain sum of money in the event of the patient's recovery. When his son was restored to health, Abu Dulamah said to the physician: "By Allah! we have nothing to give you, but cite the rich jew (*naming him*) before the judge, for a sum equal to that which I promised you, and I and my son will serve as witnesses to prove the debt." The physician immediately took the Jew before the qadi of Kufah, Ibn Abi Layla<sup>10</sup> or, it is said Ibn *Shuburmah*<sup>11</sup> and claimed of him that sum. As the Jew denied the

9 This was perhaps in A.H. 166; Ibn al-A<sup>thir</sup> says that al-Mahdi visited Jurijan in that year.

10 His life will be found in this work.

11 'Abd Allah Ibn *Shuburmah* Ibn al-Tufail <sup>النفيل</sup> al-Dubbi, a celebrated imam and *tabi'i*, was an eminent jurisconsult of Kufa. He learned the Traditions from Anas, al-Sha'bi, and Ibn Sirin, and his own authority was cited for Traditions by Sufyan al-Thawri, Sufyan Ibn 'Uyaynah, and others. His veracity and his eminence as a doctor of the law were universally acknowledged. He was an abstemious man, intelligent, devout, generous, of a handsome countenance and possessing a talent for poetry. He acted under the *Khalif* al-Mamun, as qadi of the cultivated country (*Sawad*) around Kufah. Born A.H. 92 (A.D. 710-1) died A.H. 144 (A.D. 761-2). (*Tab al-Fuq. Al-Yafi't*).

debt, his adversary said: "I shall go and bring my proofs." He then brought Abu Dulamah and his son into court. As Abu Dulamah apprehended that the qadi would make an inquest into his character as a witness<sup>12</sup> he recited the following verses when in the anteroom, and pronounced them loud enough to be heard by the Qadi:

"If people wish to expose me, I shall expose them; if they search into my conduct, I shall search into theirs; If they remove the rubbish out of my well, I shall do the same to theirs, and let the public know what that rubbish is."

He then entered, and having given his evidence, the qadi said: "I have received your declaration and admitted your evidence." (*Being convinced, however, that they were false witnesses*), he paid the money out of his own purse and dismissed the Jew; but he did not dare to refuse Abu Dulamah's testimony through dread of his evil tongue. He thus quieted at the same time his fears and his conscience.

### 233 'IMAD AL-DIN ZANKI

Abu I-Jawd Zanki, surnamed *al-Malik al-Mansur 'Imad al-Din* (the victorious prince, the column of religion) was son to Aq Sunqur Ibn 'Abd Allah, generally known by the title of *al-Hajib*, and lord of Mosul. (The life of his father has been already given, no. 99) Zanki was one of the most eminent amirs under the Seljukides, and had been appointed governor of Baghdad in the year 521 (A.D. 1127), by Mahmud Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malik Shah, the reigning sultan of that dynasty. (At a later period, the city of Mosul was granted to him as a fief under the following circumstances). After the assassination of Aq Sunqur al-Bursuqi and the death of his son Mas'ud, which events we have already noticed (no. 99), a decree was issued by the sultan Mahmud, who was then in *Khurasan*, directing that the city of Mosul should be delivered over to Dubays Ibn Sadaqah al-Asadi, the lord of al-Hillah, who immediately prepared to proceed to his new government. (The life of Dubays will be found, no. 214). The citadel of Mosul was then in the hands of a powerful amir, named Jawili,

---

12 The inquest into the character of witnesses is an important part of the Muslim trial. It is called *Tazkiyat* (purification), and is instituted by the qadi when he has any doubts respecting the morality of the person who gives evidence. See Hamilton's *Hedayah*, chapter on Evidence.

who had been entrusted by al-Bursuqi with the command of the place. Promoted by the desire of obtaining the government of Mosul for himself, Jawili dispatched to Baghdad two emissaries, Baha' al-Din Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn al-Qasim al-Shahruzuri and Salah al-Din Muhammad al-Yaghisani,<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of effecting that arrangement. On their arrival, they found that the khalif al-Mustashid was decidedly adverse to the nomination of Dubays, and would by no means give his consent to it; and a number of letters passed between him and the sultan Mahmud on the subject. He finally made choice of Zanki as a proper candidate for that office, and having called in the two emissaries sent from Mosul, he made an agreement with them that means should be taken to influence public opinion in favour of Zanki. To obtain this nomination, the khalif himself offered the sultan one hundred thousand dinars, and the two deputies also engaged to pay him a certain sum of money. The consequence was that the nomination of Dubays was annulled. Zanki then set out and obtained possession of Mosul on the 10th of Muharram, A.H. 521 (27th Januray, A.D. 1127). Such is the statement made by Ibn al-'Uqaymi in his History,<sup>2</sup> but some say that Zanki proceeded to Mosul in the year 522; this, however, is not exact. When Zanki was established in his government, the sultan Mahumud (whose life we shall give) confided to him his two sons Alp Arsilan and Farrukh Shah al-Khafaji<sup>3</sup> that they might be brought up under his care, and it was for this reason that he received the title of Atabek, which as we have already observed in the life of Jaqar (no. 137), means a *bringer up of princes*. Zanki then became master of all the country around Mosul, and took Edessa from Joscelin the Armenian<sup>4</sup>, on Saturday, 25th of the latter Jumada, A.H. 539 (23rd December, A.D. 1144). He afterwards marched against Qal'ah Ja'bar<sup>5</sup>, which was then in the possession of Sayf al-Dawlat Ibu al-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Malik, and having laid siege to it, he was on the point of taking

---

1 Fuller details of these proceedings are given by Ibn al-Athir in his Annals. This portion of Ibn al-Athir's work will be found, text and translation, in the first volume of the collection published by the *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, and entitled *Extraits des Histriens arabes relatifs aux Croisades*.

2 This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifah, and I have not been able to procure any information respecting its author.

3 In the life of Ghazi, the son of Zanki Ibn Khallikhan gives the title of al-Khafaji to Alp Arsilan. In so doing he must have followed the authority of Ibn al-Athir. See no. 137.

4 It is singular that Ibn Khallikhan should give the title of the Armenian to Joscelin count of Edessa.

5 The castle of Ja'bar. See no. 137.

it, when, on the morning of Wednesday, the 15th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 541 (22nd September, A.D. 1146), he was found dead in his bed; having been assassinated that night in his sleep by one of his eunuchs.<sup>6</sup> He was interred at Siffin. My preceptor 'Izz al-Din Ibn al-Athir says, in his History of the Atabeks, that Zanki was about ten years of age when his father was slain, and as this event happened in the year 487, as we have already said (no. 99), he must have been born about 477 (A.D. 1084-5). Siffin is a tract of land on the border of the Euphrates, at the distance of a parasang, or less, from Qal'ah Ja'bar; it is situated on the Syrian side of the Euphrates, and Qal'at Ja'bar on the Mesopotamian. At Siffin is a chapel erected on the spot where the celebrated battle was fought between 'Ali and Ma'awiyah (in the year 37 of the Hijrah); it contains also the tombs of a number of those Companions (of Muhammad) who fell in the action; that of 'Ammar Ibn Yasir, for instance. The qadi Baha' al-Din al-Shahrazuri died on Saturday, the 16th Ramadan,\* A.H. 532 (28th May, A.D. 1138) at Aleppo, whence his body was borne to Siffin and there interred.

### 234 ZANKI IBN MAWDUD

Abu 'I-Fath Zanki, the son of Qutb al-Din Mawdud and grandson of Zanki (*Ibn Aq Sunqur*), whose life has been just given, was surnamed (like him) 'Imad al-Din and was usually entitled the Lord of Sinjar. He received the sovereignty of Aleppo on the death of his cousin al-Malik al-Salih Nur al-Din Isma'il Ibn Mahmud Ibn Zanki, in the year 577 (A. D. 1181-2). The sultan Salah al-Din Yusuf Ibn Ayyub then laid siege to Aleppo, A.H. 579, and obtained possession of it in the month of Safar of the same year (June, A.D. 1182): an arrangement having been made between him and Zanki, who received in exchange the city of Sinjar and its dependencies<sup>1</sup>. Zanki removed to Sinjar and remained there till his death which took place in the month of Muharram, A.H. 594 (November, A.D. 1197).

---

6 For a fuller account of Zanki and his enterprises, see M. Reinaud's *Extraits des Historiens arabes relatifs aux Guerres des Croisades*.

\* M. de Slane gives 6th Ramadan—Ed.

1 Some account of the conquest of Aleppo is given by M. Reinaud in His *Extraits des Auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades*.

## 235 BAHĀ AL-DĪN ZUHAYR AL-MUHALLABĪ

Abū'l-Faḍl Zuhayr Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yahyā Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ja'far Ibn Mansur Ibn 'Asim al-Muhallabī al-'Atakī<sup>1</sup>, surnamed the *katib* Bha al-Dīn (*splendour of religion*) was one of the most eminent men of the age for his talent in prose, verse, and penmanship, and the nobleness of his character. Having entered into the service of al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faṭh Ayyub, the son of al-Malik al-Kamīl and (afterwards) sultan (of Egypt), he accompanied him from Egypt to the *Eastern Countries* (*Mesopotamia*), where he remained for some time and then followed him to Damascus, of which he had obtained possession. He continued to reside at Damascus till his master lost that city under the circumstances which are so well known<sup>2</sup>. Soon after, when al-Malik al-Salih was at Nablus (*Naplous*), his troops treacherously deserted him, and he was taken prisoner by '[his cousin] al-Malik al-Nasir Da'wud, prince of Karak, and imprisoned in the citadel of that place. As for Baha' al-Din Zuhayr, he remained at Nablus through respect for his patron, and abstained from entering into the service of another. When al-Malik al-Salih obtained possession of Egypt, Zuhayr accompanied him to that kingdom in the same capacity as before, and arrived there towards the end of the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 637 (June, A.D. 1240). We shall speak again of these events in the life of his father al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad, to which article we therefore refer the reader. I was then dwelling at Cairo, and having felt a strong desire of meeting Baha'al-Din from what I had heard respecting him, I obtained an interview with him after his arrival, and I found that his noble character, profound instruction, and mildness of manners far surpassed what I had been told. He was in high favour with his master, by whom he was esteemed to such a degree, that he became the sole confidant of his secret thoughts, and with all this, he never employed his influence but to do good: many were the persons whom he obliged by his recommendations and protection. He often recited to me fragments of his own poetry, one of which was as follows:

"O thou (*who art a*) garden of beauty! take me to thee; thou shalt suffer no wrong. Didst thou ever see a garden without a little flower (*Zuhayr*)?"

1 Al-'Atakī means descended from al-'Atik, a member of the tribe of Azd.

2 See the *Annals* of Abū 'l-Fida under the year 637 of the Hijrah.

\* This word not in the autograph. Ed.



\*He recited to me also this piece, as being of his own composition:

"How can I be delivered from love, which is mixed and combined with my soul? I strived to control my passion for that fickle nymph, who never yielded me a favour. Did the moon wish to equal her (*in beauty*), I should say to the moon: 'Thy wish is vain.' And thou, pliant branch waving over the sands of the desert! (*think not to rival the thinness of her waist*); between her and thee how wide a difference! When my friends blamed the folly of my love, her face was for me an ample excuse. What divine pen hath traced on that neck the letter *waw*, 'with her ringlets! How express my admiration for the dimples on those cheeks! On passing by me, she turns round her head-didst thou ever see a gazelle<sup>3</sup>? There is nothing faulty in her but the lang or<sup>4</sup> of her eyes. O moon of happiness, at whose aspect my star has set! O thou who refusest me the sweetness of thy favour, and grantest me the bitterness of thy dislike! O desire not my death! and yet, if by chance thou showest me love, I die."

\*\* I heard also from him these lines, which he told me were his own:

"I am truly your Zuhayr, for the *Muzaynah*<sup>5</sup> to whom I owe my existence is the liberality of your hand. I like to hear handsome (*jamil*) mention made of you; that is for me as a (*beloved*) *Buthaynah*.<sup>6</sup> Ask your recollection concerning my affection towards you; for therein your recollection is a *Juhaynah*<sup>7</sup>."

He recited to me also another of his pieces, but I recollect only two lines of it; they are as follows:

\* The order of the Passages in the autograph is a bit different. The passage commencing with 'I heard' and ending with 'Juhaynah' comes here and this passage follows it.—Ed.

3 By this apostrophe he means that his mistress turned round her head with the grace of a gazelle. This is a very common image in Arabic poetry.

4 See no. 11, note on eyes.

\*\* This passage precedes the fore-going passage.—Ed.

5 Zuhayr the author of the *Mu'allafs*, descended from Muzayna Ibn Udd Ibn Tabikhah.

6 *Buthaynah* was the mistress of *Jamil*. See the life of latter, no. 140.

7 An allusion to the ancient Proverb عند جهينة الخير اليقين Exact information may be had from *Juhaynah*. See Pocock's *Specimen*, p. 329.

"Narcissus of his eyes<sup>8</sup>! how long wilt thou drain my heart's blood? O, how thou art languishing! In beauty nothing resembles thee; nought in the world can equal thy perfection."

All his poetry is remarkable for its delicate turn of thought, and the graceful ease of its composition may be really called unattainable.<sup>9</sup> He gave me a certificate declaring that I was perfectly master of the poems contained in his *diwan*; but as this collection is of frequent occurrence in the hands of the public, I shall abstain from citing any further extracts. I was informed by an intimate friend of his, Jamal al-Din Yahya Ibn Matruh, (whose list shall be given in this work,) that he once addressed the *katib* in the following lines:

"When the marks of your kindness and favour came to me in a constant succession, I exclaimed: 'Mayest thou live for ever to do good.' Speak no more of Hatim's generosity; Zuhayr is more generous than he.<sup>10</sup>"

Baha' al-Din Zuhayr informed me that his master al-Malik al-Salih once sent him from the Eastern countries to Mosul on a mission, and that he there met with my friend the amir Sharaf al-Din Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Wafa, Ibn Khattab, surnamed Ibn al-Halawi, whose family were originally of that city, but who himself was born and resided at Damascus. This amir having gone to pay his respects to him, recited in his presence a long and most beautiful poem, of which one of the verses was:

"You compose in verse and you reward those who praise you in verse; tell us then whether you are Zuhayr of Harim."

"On my return from Mosul," said Zuhayr, "I met Jamal al-Din Ibn Matruh, to whom I gave the poem to read. He was much struck with this verse, and he afterwards wrote to me these two lines, *When the marks of your kindness, etc.*" Ibn al-Halawi's verse is an imitation of the following, which were composed by Abu 'l-Qasim, an excellent poet, in honour of the missionary and prince of Yamen, Saba Ibn Ahmad al-Sulayhi<sup>11</sup>.

8 See Introduction.

9 This seems to be idea which the author meant to express by the words السهل المتنوع but some doubts remain on the translator's mind.

10 The poet Zuhayr celebrated in his *Mo'allaqah* the generosity of Harim. This is another play on the similitude of names.

11 Sketch of this prince's history is given in Johannsen's *Historia Yemanaeae*. p. 131.

"When I praise the noble chief Ibn Ahmad, he rewards me and gives me praise in return. For my poetry he gives me his, and presents bed-sides; so he repays me my capital with interest."

I learned from Baha al-Din that his birth took place at Makkah on the 5th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 581 (February, A.D. 1186;\* and he informed me, on another occasion, that he was born at Wadi Nakhlah, a valley near that city. It was from his own mouth that I received the genealogy inserted above, and he told me that he descended from al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufrah. I had sketched out the foregoing notice whilst he was yet alive and confined to his house (from grief) after the death of his master (A.H. 647); but he was carried off later, by the dreadful sickness which prevailed in Egypt and Cairo, A.H. 656, and from which very few recovered. It began on Thursday, the 24th of Shawwal,\*\* and Baha al-Din was one of those who were taken ill; he suffered a few days and then expired towards the afternoon of Sunday,

\*\*\* (He composed excellent poetry. It includes a piece which he composed when his boat capsized; he lost his belongings but he remained safe:

"Do not frown at the Time which put you in distress, because during the long period that has passed, it bestowed much upon you.

Take stock of your time in the condition of its true changes, you will find that it bestowed on you multiples of what it seized from you.

God has made time a changing (phenomenon) and so you will not perceive pain or pleasure permanently.

Your capital (property) is your soul which is safe, do not feel sorry for any thing that is lost besides.

You are not the first to be crushed by a calamity, the time is passing in the same way and it is not new or stable.

Many a property has increased after its diminution; have you not seen the candle blazing after its which is trimmed."

\* 27 February Ed.

\*\* 24 October 1258.—Ed.

\*\*\* [ ] This additional information, (from here to 'nor ear' on p. 400) is given in subsequent editions, but it is not in the autograph nor in de Slane's edition.—Ed.

He wrote to Fakhr al-Din Ibn Qadi Dariya complaining of bad manners of his slaves:

"My love to any one besides you is lost, and my effort for any one except you is liked.

By God, I do not come to you but out of love, although I am liked by virtuous people.

I disseminate your fame, and its dissemination is agreeable; I lavish praises on you and enjoy them.

What is with me that I am turned away from your door, out of cruelty, the origin of which should be traced to others and the same should not be ascribed to you.

If I come to visit you I am refused (admission) by the banging of the door; I wish I had known where I will be called and welcome.

I am not he who does not know the times of visit, and I am not he whose coming close is avoided.

In the servant of a man are reflected type habits of him who taught him manners.

And why the manner you taught them did not make them good? Is it not that your servants have not imbibed the spirit of your politeness".

At the time of parting it is hard for me (to see you) but separation from you is harder still.

I abstain myself unwillingly from meeting you, and I struggle with my desire for you and my desire overpowers me.

I am angry with you for the sake of the eminence you possess, and it is in your interest and I do not feel angry with you for myself.

I abstain because of the honour I received from you and I feel angry because of the grace.

I had not enumerated these minor errors to you then the shame at my going back would have been sufficient for me. He has composed an enigma referring to lock:

"A black naked (object) whose body has been made lean by cold; but its qualities of greed and denial persist. The most strange thing is, that it always keeps watch, although it has neither eye nor ear."]

4th of 'l-Qa'dah of that year (November, A.D. 1258).<sup>\*</sup> The next day, after the prayer of noon, his corpse was borne to the Lesser Qarafah and interred near the south side of the chapel which covers the imam al-Shafi'i's tomb. I was not able to attend his funeral service, being then confined with the epidemic; but on my recovery, I visited his grave, on account of our mutual friendship, and I prayed to God to have mercy on him; after which I read over him a portion of the Qur'an.

### 236 ZIYAD IBN 'ABD ALLAH AL-BAKKA'I

Abu Muhammad Ziyad al-'Amiri was the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Tufayl Ibn 'Amir al-Qaysi,<sup>1</sup> and descended from the family of al-Bakka, a branch of the tribe of 'Amir Ibn Sa'sa'ah. Ziyad knew by heart the *Sirat al-Rasul*, or History of the Prophet by Muhammad Ibn Ishaq and taught it with the permission of the author, and it is his authority which is cited by 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hisham in the remodelled edition of that work, entitled *Sirat Ibn Hisham*. Al-Bakka'i was born at Kufah; his veracity and exactitude as a traditionist are well established, having been cited by al-Bukhari, in that chapter of the *Sahih* which treats on war with infidels, and by Muslim in different places of his work bearing the same title. Al-Bukhari mentions in his History this saying of Waki' (*Ibn al-Jarrah*): *Ziyad is too eminent to have his veracity as a traditionist impeached*: and al-Tirmidhi, having misunderstood it, wrote in his collection of Traditions; "Al-Bukhari states that Waki' said: *Ziyad Ibn 'Abd Allah, notwithstanding his eminence, has had his veracity as a Traditionist impeached*." This is, however, a mistake, as Waki' said nothing more of him than what al-Bukhari mentions, and had Waki' impugned his veracity, neither al-Bukhari nor Muslim would have cited a single Tradition on his authority; since they rejected that of al-Harith al-A'war and Abban Ibn 'Ayyash because al-Sha'bi accused them of

\* 3 November--Ed.

1 M.de Slane gives al-'Absi, It is strange that he did not change his mind even after the perusal of the autograph. Vide his note. Ed.

It is impossible that Ziyad could have belonged to the tibe of 'Abs, as the surname here given him seems to indicate. There is every reason to think that, for 'Absi البسي we must read Qaysi القيسي (descended from Qais Ghaylan). The latter, as I have since discovered, is the reading of the anthograph MS.

falsehood. Ziyad received his Traditions from al-A'mash and transmitted them to Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and others, by whom his authority is cited. He died at Kufah, A.H. 183 (A.D. 799). *Bakka'i* is derived from *Bakka* (the weeper), a surname given to his ancestor Rabi'ah Ibn 'Amir Ibn Sa'sa'ah on account of a circumstance too improper to be mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

## 237 TAJ AL-DIN AL-KINDI

Abu 'l-Yamn Zaid Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Zaid Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Sa'id al-Kindi (*belonging to the tribe of Kindah*), surnamed *Taj al-Din* (*the crown of religion*), was born and brought up at Baghdad, but he fixed his residence at Damascus and died in that city. He was a *Qur'an-reader*, a grammarian, and a man of letters; the first of his age in all the branches of erudition, deeply imbued with traditional information received from the best authorities, and so illustrious by his reputation that it is useless for us to expatiate on his merits. Having studied under the most eminent masters, and among the rest, Abul Sa'adat Ibn al-Shajari, Abu Muhammad Ibn al-Khashshab, and Abu Mansur al-Jawaliqi<sup>1</sup>, he left Baghdad when yet a youth, and he revisited it for the last time in the year 563 (A.D. 1167-8). Having fixed his residence at Aleppo, he traded in old clothes, which he took to sell in Asia Minor. He afterwards removed to Damascus, where he gained the friendship and special favour of the Amir 'Izz al-Din Farrukh Shah, son to Shahan Shah and nephew to the sultan Salah al-Din Yusuf Ibn Ayyub. Having accompanied his patron to Egypt, he got into his possession the most valuable works preserved in the libraries of that country, and then returned to Damascus, where he settled. He was visited by numbers for the purpose of studying under his tuition, and the list of (*his own*) masters, drawn up by himself in alphabetical order, forms a large volume. One of his scholars related to me the following circumstance: "I was sitting at the door of the grammarian Abu Muhammad Ibn al-Khashshab, when the celebrated imam, al-Zamakhshar, came out and advanced towards me. He supported himself on a crutch in walking, (having lost one of his feet, which had been frost-bitten); and the people said: *There is al-*

---

2 This circumstance is not mentioned in the *Kitab al-Aghani*, the only work in which there was any probability of finding it.

1 The lives of these three persons will be found in this work.

Zamakhshari. The same person furnished (*me with a note copied by him*) from (*a paper in*) the handwriting of Taj al-Din, and which I here give; "Al- Zamakhshari was the most learned Persian of his time in the Arabic language, having surpassed them all by the knowledge which he obtained of it (*by practice*) and by the study of works treating on the subject. He was the last of their men of talent, and was well known to be a *Motazelite*. He came to us at Baghdad in the year 533 (A.D. 1138-9), and I saw him twice at the house of my master Abu T-Mansur al-Jawaliqi, under whose tuition he was reading some introductory works on philology,<sup>2</sup> with the design of procuring from him a licence to teach them; for al-Zama Khshari, with all his learning, had never met (*with masters of repute so as to study under them*), neither had he received any oral information (*which he was authorised to communicate to others*).<sup>3</sup> When I was at Cairo, the shaykh Muhadhdhab al-Din Abu Talib Muhammad, surnamed Ibn al-Khaymi, related to me this anecdote: "The shaykh Taj al-Din al-Kindi wrote to me, from Damascus, a poem containing these lines:

"O my friend, you so sedulous to fulfil the duties of friendship! you have kept your promise towards us and laid upon us a heavy debt (*of gratitude*). We are here in Syria, possessed with the desire of seeing you;<sup>3</sup> do you, in Egypt, feel desire to see us? In withholding from you the respect due to your merit, there we held the first rank; but you hold the first rank in the bestowing of favour upon us. It is out of our power that you should see us with you, and it is out of yours that we should see you with us. May God fulfil His promise towards those who keep theirs; may He grant (*to our friend*) as full a recompense as fidelity we have shown."

To this, "said Ibn al-Khaymi," I replied in a piece of verse which contained these lines:

"O you, descendants of Kindah who inhabit Syria we have failed in our duty towards you. To fulfil the obligations of friendship, we should have died on your departure from us."

Ibn al-Khaymi recited to me also the following verses as Taj al-Din's:

---

2 The word من فواتحها are so vague in their meaning, that the phrase to which they belong may be translated thus: Under whose tuition he was reading the introductions of some philological works, or under whose tuition he was reading some philological works, from beginning to end.

3 Literally: Pledges in the possession of desire towards thee.

"Let the astrologer grovel in his delusion, if he pretend to the knowledge of events brought round by the revolution of the sphere. To God alone pertains eternal knowledge, and neither man nor angel shares with Him therein. Astrologers make of their impiety a net to catch wealth; what evil means they employ, a net and infidelity!"

The following lines were written to Taj al-Din by Abu Shuja' Ibn al-Dahhan al-Faradi, whose life shall be given later:

"May the Lord in His bounty grant thee, Zayd! such additional favours as may surpass thy utmost hopes! May God never work a *change* in thy happy *state* as long as *state* and *change* shall be discussed by grammarians<sup>4</sup>. It is to thee, above all men, that a grammatical allusion should be addressed; have not grammatical examples been formed with the name?"<sup>5</sup>

When the shaykh Taj al-Din was far advanced in years, he composed these lines:

"I see men desire long life, but length of life proves only the nothingness of the past, and bringeth with it misery. In the season of youth I wished that Go might lengthen my days, and truly such a gift is a favour. But when I obtained my wish, that age which I desired so much became an affliction. When alone, my imagination sets before my mind the image of myself borne on the shoulders of men who walk with rapid pace<sup>6</sup>. When the Zephyr flits past me, its breath reminds me (*not of garden but,*) of those excavations which are covered with earth<sup>7</sup>. Here I am now, exposed to the fearful thunders and lightnings<sup>8</sup> of one and ninety years. People say: 'Medicine will do the good; but for me there is one medicine only the mercy of God.'"

4 *State and change*, or, as the original words are sometime translated, *the terms of circumstance* and *the exchange or permutative*, are two subjects which the Arabian grammarians have treated with great ability.

5 Alluding to the usual example قام زيد *stetit Zeidus*  
 ضرب زيد عمرا زناك *verberavit Zeidus Amrum, etc.*

6 That is: The image of his own funeral. The rapid march of Muslim funeral procession is well known.

7 He means *the graves*, but is unwilling to pronounce a word of such sinister meaning.

8 A metaphor for *threats*. It is employed in the Qur'an.



Taj al-Din was born at Baghdad on the morning of Wednesday, 25th Sha'ban, A.H. 520 (September, A.D. 1126);\* he died at Damascus on Monday, the 6th of Shawwal, 613 (January, A.D. 1217)\*\* and was interred the same day at Mount Qasiyun. As for the *shaykh* Muhammad al-Din (*Ibn al-Khaymi*), he told me himself that his genealogy was as follows: Abu Talib Muhammad Ibn Abi 'I-Hasan 'Ali Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Mufaddal Ibn al-Tamaughaz. He recited to me a great deal of poetry composed by himself and by others. I got acquainted with him at our assemblies in Cairo, and was informed by him that he was born at al-Hillah al-Mizyadiyah<sup>9</sup> on the 28th of Shawwal, A.H. 549 (January, A.D. 1155).\*\*\* He died (at Cairo) on Wednesday, 20th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 642 (May, A.D. 1245),\*\*\*\* and was interred the next morning in the cemetery of the Lesser Qarafah. I attended his funeral service. He was considered to be a perfect master of (the pure Arabic) language, and a correct transmitter of poetical pieces and of (phrases illustrative of) philology. *Qasiyun* is a mountain which overlooks Damascus; it contains the tombs and mausoleums of the inhabitants, with a mosque, a number of colleges and Muslim monasteries. (Two of the rivers which water Damascus,) the Thaura and the Yazid have their sources in this mountain.

### 238 ZIRI IBN MANAD

The amir Ziri Ibn Manad, a member of the tribe of *Sinhajah*<sup>1</sup> and sprung from Himyar, was the ancestor of al-Mu'izz Ibn Badis (whose life will be found in another part of this work). Mention has been already made of his son Bulukkin (no. 118), of his great-grandson Badis (no. 107), and of his descendant Tamim (no. 125): in this last article, we have traced up, in the fullest manner, the descent of the family; Ziri was the first of them who attained supreme power. It

\* 15 September--Ed.

\*\* 17 January--Ed.

\*\*\* 5 January--Ed.

\*\*\*\* 17 May--Ed.

<sup>9</sup> See n. 211.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khalikan pronounces this word *sunhajah*, or *sinhaja*, but the manuscripts of the History of the Berbers by Ibn Khaldun write it *Sanhajah*. It is an Arabic corruption of the Berber name *Zanak* زناك or *Sanak* صناك

was he who founded and fortified the city of Ashir; he commenced that undertaking during the revolt of Abu Yazid against al-Qa'im Ibn al-Mahdi and his son Isma'il al-Mansur (no. 95). Ziri having established his power at Ashir and subdued the surrounding country, received from al-Mansur the gift of the town of Taharat and its dependencies. He was an able ruler, brave and enterprising. The secret jealousy and hatred which subsisted between him and Ja'far al-Andalusi (no. 135) led to a battle which terminated by the death of Ziri. This event occurred in the month of Ramadan, A.H. 360 (July, A.D. 971); it is said that his horse having stumbled, he was thrown to the ground and then killed. His reign lasted twenty-six years. We have already spoken of Ashir in the life of Ibn Qurqul (no. 18 note<sup>2</sup>). Tahart is a city in North Africa: there are two places which bear this name, one *Old Tahart*, and the other *New Tahart*, but I do not know which of them it was that came into the possession of Ziri.<sup>3</sup>

### 239 ZAYNAB THE DAUGHTER OF AL-SHA'RI

Zaynab, called also Hurrah, and surnamed Omm al-Muwayyad, was the daughter of Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sahl Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Ubdus\* the Sufi, a native of Jurjan and an inhabitant of Naysapur, who was generally known by the surname of al-Sha'ri. His daughter Zaynab was a woman of great instruction, having met (*and studied under*) a number of persons eminent for their learning, and from whom she obtained certificates authorising her to teach that information and traditional knowledge which she had acquired under their tuition. Among those from whom she took lessons were Abu Muhammad Isma'il Ibn Abi 'l-Qasim Ibn Abi Bakr the *Qur'an reader* and a native of Naysapur, Abu 'l-Qasim Zahir al-Shahhami and Abu Bakr Wajih al-Shahhami the sons of Abu Tahir, 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Qushayri, and Abu 'l-Futuh 'Abd al-Wahhab

---

2 This is an oversight; the author merely refers back to the present article. In my translation of the Arabic historians, who treat of the dynasties of North Africa, will be found a note on the precise situation of Ashir, a point which had not been hitherto ascertained. It is sufficient to state here that this city was built on the range of those precipitous hills to the south of Algeria, which are named in modern maps *Tittery Doch*.

3 New Tahart was founded by 'Abd al-Rahman the Rustemide, A.H. 144. It was this city which was given to Ziri by al-Mansur.

\* M. de Slane gives 'Ahdus.--Ed.

Ibn Shah al-Shadiyaikhi\* (native of Shadhiya kh near Naysapur). She received also licences to teach from the hafiz 'Abd al-Ghafir al-Farisi, the very learned al-Zamakhshari, author of the *Kashshaf*, and other masters of traditional learning. I possess a licence which she granted me in the year 610 (A.D. 1213-4; I was then little more than two years of age,) as, my birth took place on Thursday afternoon, 11th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 608) 22nd September, A.D. 1211).<sup>1</sup> I was born at Arbela, in the college founded by the sultan of that city, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Muzaffar al-Din, the son of Zayn al-Din. Zaynab was born at Naysapur, A.H. 524 (A.D. 1130), and died in the same city, in the month of the latter Jumada, A.H. 615 (A.D. 1218-9). *Sha'ri* means one who prepares or sells camels hair; I do not know, however, which of her ancestors it was who, by following this profession, obtained that surname.

س

## 240 SALIM IBN 'ABD ALLAH AL-'ADAWI

Salim, the son of 'Abd Allah and surnamed Abu 'Amr\*\* or Abu 'Abd Allah, was grandson to the Khalif 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab (through whom he descended from 'Adi Ibn Ka'b Ibn Luwa'i, for which reason he bore the surname of) Al-'Adawi. He was one of the chief jurisconsults of Madinah and also one of the principal *Tubi*'s his birth, his learning and by his veracity as a Traditionist. He gave the Traditions on the authority of his father and others, and his own authority was cited by al-Zuhri and by Nafi'. He died towards the end of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 106 (May A.D. 725), or 108 according to another statement. The khalif Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik had presided at the pilgrim age that year, and on his return from Makkah, he entered Madinah at the moment of Salim's death. It was he who pronounced the funeral service over the body, and he proceeded to the burying-ground of al-Baqi' for that purpose: the crowd being so great (that it was impossible to perform it at the house of the deceased). Hisham, on

\* M.de Slane gives Shadhiyaji-Ed.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible for a child of that age to learn by heart some of the shorter Traditions, some of which consist only in a few words.

\*\* H. de Slane gives 'Umar.--Ed.

seeing the multitude of people which had assembled there, said to Ibrahim Ibn Hisham al-Makhzumi: "Make a levy of four thousand men from among these people, to serve me as soldiers;" and for this reason it was, that the year of Salim's death was called *the year of the four thousand*. Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, the author of the work entitled *al-Maghuzi wa 6'l-Siyar*, relates as follows: "I saw Salim the son of 'Abd Allah and the grandson of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab; he always wore woollen.<sup>1</sup> he was a corpulent man and lived by the labour of his own hands. (*The khalif*) Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik entered one day into the Ka'abah, and seeing Salim, told him to ask whatever he desired, on which Salim answered: 'By Allah! I shall ask of God only, when I am in God's house."

\*\*[Salim narrates: "I presented myself before al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik who said to me: "How beautiful is your body! What is your diet?' 'Cake and olive oil', said I. Then he said: 'will you like to have them?' I said: 'I abstain till I have an urge for them. When I have a desire I eat them."

He used to say: "Beware of constantly taking meat because it (produces) strong desire like that for drink."

'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote to Salim Ibn 'Abd Allah to transcribe a few epistles of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab. He wrote (in reply): "O 'Umar [I remind you of the kings whose eyes were taken out, which had never been satisfied with what they enjoyed; and their bellies were struck off, which were never satiated; and they became carcasses, buried under mounds of earth; and if they had been near our residence their stink smell must have caused us trouble.]

## 241\* SALIM AL-KHASIR

\*\*Salim Ibn 'Amr Ibn Hammad Ibn 'Ata was surnamed 'al-Khasir' (a loser) because of the following circumstance. He sold (a copy of)

1 This would seem to prove that he belonged to the fraternity of the Sufis.

\* This notice is not to be found in the autograph, nor in de Slane's edition. It is, however, included in subsequent editions.--Ed.

\*\* The editor of the Cairo (1948) edition says in a foot-note that his name was Salm and not Salim.--Ed.

the *Qur'an* and bought a harp with that money. He publicly committed carnal acts, debauchery, and shameless deeds. He wrote an eulogium on Caliph al-Mahdi in which the following verses occur:

"The hour of departure has arrived and the camel litters are packed, and (the camel-driver who is) hard working, ever ready to travel causing inconvenience, has by singing urged the camels to proceed. I drank pure unadulterated water of prophet-hood at the peaks of Meccan hills."

He (*al-Mahdi*) wanted to reduce his reward. So Salim took an oath not to accept but a reward greater than that of Ibn Abu Hafsah. Al-Mahdi had rewarded a sum of one hundred thousand dirhams to Ibn Abi Hafsah for presenting a *qasidah* the opening line of which runs thus.

"Her phantom passes visiting you on the way".

Then Salim took an oath not to accept but a reward of one hundred and one thousands of dirhams. He said (to the Caliph): "Place the two *qasidahs* before the scholars to judge if mine is superior or his." Then al-Mahdi ordered a reward of one hundred and one thousands of dirhams for him. This became his capital.

When al-Rashid took the oath of allegiance for Muhammad Ibn Zubaydah, he said:

"Tell the abodes by twany dunes which have been watered by morning clouds full of showers.

All the people have taken oath of allegiance to Muhammad Ibn Zubayda Bint Ja'far who is rightly guided leader."

Zubaydah filled his mouth with pearls which he sold for twenty thousand dinars.

Salim died during the reign of al-Rashid and left behind thirty-six thousand dinars which he had entrusted to Abu al-Shimr al-Ghassani. By chance Ibrahim al-Mawsili once sang before al-Rashid who was much delighted. He said: "O Ibrahim! Ask for what you like." He said "O my Chief! I ask you for a thing which will not trouble you in the least." He said, "what is that?" He replied: "Salim has died without leaving an heir; he has left a sum of thirty-six thousand dinars with Abu T-Shimr al-Ghassani. So order him to pay this amount to me. He ordered accordingly. After this al-Jammaz and his father claimed this amount as inheritance, being his relatives.

When Abu T-Atahiyyah said (this verse):

"May God make you high, O Salim Ibn 'Amr!, Greed has humiliated the necks of people."

Thereupon Salim got angry and said: "He considers me to be greedy"; and he retorted:

What bad piety it is, that he preaches piety to others and does not put it into practice himself.

Had he been true in his piety, his house must have been a mosque in the noon and the evening.

He abandons the world which he had not possessed nor had he made an effort to gain it.

He fears that his sustenance will exhaust and the sustenance that is with God will never exhaust.

Sustenance is destined for whom sooner you see and reaches every white and coloured person.

Every one gets sustenance whether he strives for it or not."

Salim was one of the pupils of Bashshar (Ibn Burd). Then he began to boast that his own verses were more tender than those of Bashshar. He became angry and said:

"He who takes care of people dies not get his objective and he succeeds who slanders and deceives."

Salim retorted:

"He who cares for people dies of grief; and he who is courageous succeeds and enjoys. "Thereupon Bashshar got furious and said: "My verse is taken away and by God I did not eat any thing today, nor have I slept. "He added: "He has plagiarised my ideas for which I had toiled and clothed them in words more appropriate than mine. I shall never reconcile with him."

Then (people) continued asking him to reconcile with him and subsequently he yielded.

Salim died in A.H. 186/A.D. 802.

## 242 ABU BAKR IBN 'AYYASH

Abu Bakr Salim Ibn 'Ayyash Ibn Salim al-Khayyat al-Asadi al-Kufi (a member of the tribe of Asad, a native of Kufah), an eminent

Traditionist and celebrated for his learning, was one of those who received from 'Asim the readings of the *Qur'an*, and handed them down. He had been enfranchised by Wasil Ibn Hayyan al-Ahadab. The following anecdote respecting him is related by al-Mubarrad in his *Kamil*: Abu Bakr Ibn Ayyash said: "I was suffering from an anxious desire (*of meeting one whom I loved*), when I called to mind the verse of Dhu 'l-Rummah's:

'Perhaps a flow of tears will give me ease from pain; perhaps it may cure a heart whose sole companion is sad thoughts.'

"On this I withdrew to a private place and wept, by which means my sufferings were calmed." A number of other anecdotes are related concerning him. Some say that Abu Bakr was his real name and not a surname, but other mention that he was called Shu'bah. The following relation has been handed down in his own words: "When a misfortune befel me in my youth, I bore it with firmness and kept form weeping by strength of endurance;<sup>1</sup> this however was hurtful to me, and I suffered much from it; but one day, being at al-Kunasah,<sup>2</sup> I saw an Arab of the Desert mounted on a camel, who stopped and recited these lines:

"My two friends!<sup>3</sup> (*rein over your camels and*) turn their breasts towards Huzwa, that spot so long abandoned. There we shall weep over the abodes (*of our friends, now in ruins*)! Perhaps a flow of tears may give me ease from pain; perhaps it may cure a heart whose sole companion is sad thoughts."

I asked who he was, and they told me he was Dhu 'l-Rummah. Some time after, misfortunes fell upon me, and having wept, I obtained relief. On this I said: 'That scoundrel of a wild Arab! how knowing he was.' Eighteen days after the death of al-Rashid, Ibn 'Ayyash died at Kufah, A.H. 193 (April, A.D. 809), at the age of ninety-eight years. Al-Rashid died at Tus on the eve of Saturday, the 3rd of the latter Jumada of that year (23rd March, A.D. 809). It is also said that Ibn 'Ayyash was a *nawla* to the tribe of Kahil Ibn Asad Ibn Khuzaymah.

---

1 Here the author relates, perhaps through inadvertence, another version of the same anecdote.

2 Al-Kunasah, a village near Kufah, (*Qamus. Marasid*).

3 See no. 52, note 1.

## 243 SABUR IBN ARDASHIR THE WAZIR

Abu Nasr Sabur Ibn Ardashir, wazir to the Daylamite sultan Baha al-Dawlah Abu Nasr son of 'Adad al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, was illustrious as a powerful chief and eminent as a wazir, equally remarkable for his abilities and for his learning. His palace was the constant resort of the poets of the day. Al-Tha'libi mentions him in the *Yatimah*, and devotes a special chapter of that work to the poets who celebrated his praise. Among the number was Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ba bbagha,' who composed these lines in his honour:

"I blamed Fortune for withholding the accomplishment of my desires, and she answered: 'Your reproaches are unreasonable; that which you ask cannot be granted. I replied: 'It depends on you that my hopes of riches be not frustrated. 'You are mistaken,' said she, 'it depends upon Sabur. Apply to the Wazir Abu Nasr and make an exorbitant demand; the extravagance of your suit will be easily pardoned.' I followed the advice which Fortune gave me; and good advice, even from an enemy, deserves thanks."

Another of those poets, Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Harun, addressed him in a poem containing this passage:

"O thou who ensures the repose of the empire in those days of trouble! thou who art firm in heart when fate itself trembles! Why does the world treat me so cruelly? I cannot obtain therein a place of abode, and I (*wander from one country to another*) like a novel thought when it passes into a proverb. Were fortune just, were she indulgent, I should have possessed, under thy protection, horses and servants. For how admirable are the words which I have scattered abroad! those precious pearls! did maidens possess them, they would not consent to remain without necklaces; and those brilliant thoughts! did maidens read them, their eyes would require no *kuhl* to increase their brightness."<sup>1</sup>

The wazir having been deposed and afterwards reinstated, Abu Ishaq al-Sabi wrote to him these lines.

---

1 Such is the real meaning of a verse containing a series of quibbles impossible to be translated. In the Arabic text we find the word عيون with the sense of *eyes*, of *excellent things*, and of *essence of constituent substance*; in the two last cases it is opposed to the word معان which means *reality and thoughts*.



"Wedded to the wazirat, you divorced her<sup>2</sup> from you when she was in fault and acted wrong. It was then necessary that she should belong to another before she could legally return to you.<sup>3</sup> She is now yours again, and she made an oath that no bridegroom, excepting you, should pass a night with her and live."

He founded at Baghdad a *house of learning* (or college) and the poet Abu 'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri alludes to it in this passage from one of his most celebrated *qasidahs*:

"And in the house of Sabur, a sprightly songstress enlivened our evenings with a voice melodious as the dove's."

Sabur died at Baghdad, A.H. 416 (A.D. 1025-6); he was born at Shiraz on the eve of Saturday, the 15th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah A.H. 336 (May, A.D. 948). His sovereign Baha' al-Din died at Arrajan in the month of the first Jumada, A.H. 403 (November-December, A.D. 1012), aged forty-two years, nine months add twenty days. Sabur is an Arabic alteration of the Persian words *shah pur*, the king's son. Here, according to the custom of the Persians, the noun governed in the genitive is placed before the governing noun (*which is not the case in Arabic*). The first who bore this name was Sapur Ibn Ardashir Ibn Babek Ibn Sasan, one of the kings of Persia. Al-Daraqutni says that we must pronounce *Ardashir*; a second author states that this word means in Persian *flour*, *milk*, but another says *flour*, *sweet*. *Ard* signifies *flour*, *shir* *milk*, and *shirin* *sweet*. Some pronounce this name *Azdashir*<sup>4</sup>.

## 244 SARI AL-SAQATI

Abu 'l-Hasan Sari Ibn al-Mughallis al-Saqati (*the seller of cast clothes*), was one of the *men of the path*<sup>1</sup>, (*tariqah*) and of the *masters*

2 To maintain the propriety of the metaphor, it was necessary, in making the translation, to consider *wazirat* as of the feminine gender.

3 It is well known that by the Muslim law, a man cannot take back his wife, when he has repudiated her by an absolute divorce, until she has been married and divorced by another.

4 In Arabic manuscripts, this name is generally written in the last manner. See additions and corrections.

1 See no. 111 note (3).

of the truth; ارباب الحقيقة the first person of his time by his devotion and his acquaintance with the doctrines of Sufism<sup>3</sup>. He was maternal uncle to Abu 'l-Qasim al-Junayd and his master (in Sufism); his own master was Ma'ruf al-Karkhi. It is said that al-Saqati one day in his shop, when Ma'ruf came to him with an orphan boy and said: Clothe this orphan." "I clothed the boy," said al-Saqati, "and Ma'ruf was rejoiced thereat and said; 'May God render the world hateful to thee and grant thee repose from all the cares!' I immediately left my shop, hating nothing so much as the world; and I owe my present state (of quietude) to the blessed merits of Ma'ruf." The following anecdote is related on good authority: Sari said that for thirty years he never ceased imploring divine pardon for having once exclaimed: (Praise be to God! and on being asked the reason, he said: "A fire broke out in Baghdad, and a person came up to me and told me that my shop had escaped, on which I uttered those words; and even to this moment I repent of having said so, because it showed that I wished better to myself than to others." Al-Junayd related as follows: "I went one day to see my uncle al-Saqati and found him in tears. 'What causeth thee to weep?' said I. 'Yesterday,' replied al-Saqati, 'my little girl came and said to me: Father! the night is warm and I have brought a pitcher (of water) to hang it up here for thee.<sup>4</sup> A heaviness then came over my eyes and I fell into a sleep, during which I saw the most beauteous maid of God's creation descend from heaven. 'For whom art thou destined?' said I. 'For him,' she replied, 'who drinketh not of water cooled in a pitcher.' I immediately took the pitcher and dashed it to the ground." Al-Junayd said that he saw the fragments lying about and that al-Saqati left them there till they were covered by the accumulation of dust. Sari al-Saqati died at Baghdad, A.H. 251; or, by another account, on Wednesday, the 6th of Ramadan, after day-break, A.H. 256 (August, A.D. 870)\*; but some place his death in the year 257. He was interred in the *Shunizi cemetery*. The *Khatib* says in his history of Baghdad; "The *Shunizi* burying-ground is situated behind the place called at-Tuthah and near the canal made by 'Isa Ibn 'Ali the Hashimite, and called after him the river Isa. I heard one of my masters says that the Koraish grave yard (at Baghdad) was known in old times by the name of the

2 See no. 142, note truth.

3 Literally: "With the sciences of the profession of the divine unity." Every necessary information on this abstruse subject will be found in M.de Sacy's analysis of Jamil's lives of the Sufis; *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XII. page 345.

4 Water placed in a porous earthen jar cools by evaporation.

\* 9 August.--Ed.

lasser *Shunizi*, and that the cemetery at the back of al-Tuthah bore that of the greater *Shunizi*. They were so called after two brothers, one of whom was buried in each.' The tomb of Sari al-Saqati is a conspicuous and well-known object; close beside it is that of al-Junayd. Al-Saqati used frequently to recite these lines;

"When I complained of the pains of love, my mistress said: 'Thou tellest me a falsehood; why do I see thy bones clothed with flesh? There can be no love (*in a man*) unless his skin cleave to his entrails, and his mind be so greatly troubled, that he answers not when called.'"

## 245 AL-SARI AL-RAFFA

Abu 'l-Hasan al-Sari Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Sari al-Kindi al-Mawsili (*member of the tribe of Kindah and native of Mosul*), surnamed al-Raffa (*the danner*), was a poet of celebrity. In his youth, he wrought as a lace-maker at a shop in Baghdad, but at the same time, he composed poetry and cultivated belles-lettres with assiduity. By his perseverance he succeeded in attaining great proficiency as a poet, and having visited Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Hamdan at Aleppo, he made poems in his honour and remained there for some time. After the death of that prince, he proceeded to Baghdad and celebrated the praises of al-Wazir al-Muhallabi and other persons of eminence, by whom his poetic talents were highly appreciated and generously rewarded. The enmity which he bore towards the two Khalidites, Abu Bakr Muhammad and Abu 'Uthman Sa'id was so great that he accused them of stealing his verses and those of others; he even went so far that, in transcribing the *diwan* of Kushajim, the celebrated poet,<sup>1</sup> who was then considered in those countries as the pink of excellence in literature, and whose compositions al-Sari took as models for his own, he inserted, in the copies which he wrote out, the best of the poems made him and by the Khalidites: in this, his object was not only to augment the size of the book so as to get a higher price for it, but also to give value to his own poetry and to cast discredit on the Khalidites, by making it appear that what he had said of their plagiarisms was true. To this circumstance must be attributed the interpolated pieces in Kushajim's *diwan*, and which are not to be found in the original copies. Al-Sari was by nature a poet; his style

1 See note on Kushajim, under Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (no. 128).

is sweet, his thoughts are elegant, and he is particularly copious in the variety of his comparisons and descriptions. But he had neither a pleasing countenance nor a graceful figure; he did not possess even a tolerable skill in any other science but poetry. Previously to his death, his poetical composition filled nearly three hundred leaves, but since that, the collection has increased, and a philologist of later times has arranged it in alphabetical order, Al-Sari mentions his (former) profession in a piece of verse, from which we extract these lines:

"By means of my needle I formerly preserved my self-respect, and avoided the prostitution of my poetic talent. It furnished me with sustenance, so slight indeed, that it seemed to come to me through the needle's eye."

The following verses, taken from one of his *qasidahs* are among the best specimens of his talent for eulogy:

"When he pours forth his liberality, his looks are mild and his face beams with pleasure, but in the shock of adverse hosts, they become stern. When he halts, his dwelling is spacious (*for his guests are many*), but when he marches to battle with his squadrons, he makes the plain (*too*) narrow for the enemy."<sup>2</sup>

Al-Tha'labi, in the *Muntakhil*, cites these verses by al-Sari: "Thou hast conferred on me such a favour, that thy beneficence makes the darkness seem to me as light; to me who before found the brightness of day obscure (*and cheerless*). Now I am the envy of my friends; and before, I was the pity of my enemies."

One of his finest passages on the beauty of his mistress is the following:

"I should lay down my life for her who costs me my life and yet refuses me a simple salutation! The death which awaits me lies in ambush in those eyes! it is thus that death lies hid in the sharp edge of the sword."

Al-Sari's collected poetry is all very good: he composed also the works entitled: *al-Muhibb wa 'l-Mahbub* (*the lover and the beloved*), *al-Mashmum wa 'l-Mashrub* (*perfumes and liquors*), and the *Kitab al-Dirah*<sup>3</sup>.

2 That is, he reduces his enemies to the last extremity. This verse reproduces the idea which is expressed in the Qu'ran, surah 9, verse 119.

3 The word *Dirah* ديرة is so uncertain in its signification that it is impossible, without having examined the work itself, to explain its title. Hajji Khali'ah does not mention it in his Bibliographical dictionary.

He died at Baghdad between the years 360 and 370, according to the *Khatib* in his History of that city; and others state that the year of his death was A.H. 364. Ibn al-A<sup>th</sup>ir says in his Annals that he died A.H. 366 (A.D. 976-7).

## 246 HAYS-BAYS AL-SAYFI<sup>1</sup>

Abu 'l-Fawaris Sa'd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sa'd Ibn al-Sayfi, a celebrated poet and a member of the tribe of Tamim, bore the surname of *Shihab al-Din* (*flambeau of religion*), and was generally known by the appellation of Hays-Bays. He was a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i, having studied jurisprudence at Ray under the Qadi Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-karim al-Wazzan and maintained (*the usual*) discussions on points of controversy. He yielded, however, to his passion for literature and composed verses of which the merit was enhanced by a dignified style; he drew up also some epistles remarkable for their precision and elegance of expression. The *hafiz* Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ani mentions him with high commendation in the *Kitab al-Dhayl* and gives some of the pieces (*or sentences*) which he, Hays-Bays, had learned by oral transmission; the same *hafiz* had read the collected poetical works and the epistles of Hays-Bays, under the direction of their author. By his learning and talent Abu 'l-Fawaris contributed to the instruction of many, and by his acquaintance with the poetry and the various dialects of the desert Arabs, he held the first place amongst his contemporaries; but it is said that he was full of arrogance and presumption. He never addressed any person but in the purest Arabic;<sup>2</sup> having once obtained an order for a sum of money payable in the city of Hillah, he proceeded thither to receive the amount of the bill, which was drawn on the farmer of the revenues in that district. On his arrival he sent his boy to this person, who not only refused listening to his claim, but called his master a scoundrel. On this Hays-Bays went to the governor of the town, Diya al-Din Muhallil Ibn Abi 'l-Askar al-Jawami, an old and intimate friend of his, and the latter sent one of the ushers of his court with Hays-Bays to enforce payment. Abu 'l-Fawaris was not satisfied, however, with what his friend the governor had done for him, and he

---

1 [Al-Sha'ir, in Tehran edition--Ed.]

2 Literally: *In the Arabic language*; that is to say, in the dialect of the desert Arabs.

reproached him with his conduct in the following letter: "I did not imagine that an acquaintance and a friendship of so many years could have left on the heart that (*slight*) degree of impression which I have here discovered; nay, I even thought that, were the mightiest army to bear hostile design against me, warriors in armour, thick-necked lions of the family of Abu 'l-'Askar, had risen to my assistance; how then should it not be with an agent who levies taxes on poor market-people?. With one who farms the revenues of that miserable place Hillah and of its petty circumscription?<sup>3</sup> Yet the only answer which I received to my complaint was this: he sent, forsooth, a hireling to reprimand him and exact from him a payment which he was bound to make: So shall it not be, by Allah!

The lions, the lions of the forest think not of spoil in the day of battle, but of him whose spoils they are to win."

And I swear by Allah, and by his Prophet, and by the Prophet's household! that if thou givest me not such a token of respect as shall be a subject of conversation for the females of Hillah at their weddings and assemblies, thy friend shall not remain in this, thy Hillah should he be even obliged to pass the night on the causeway or on the bridges. Suppose that I did lose my money;<sup>4</sup> must I then lose my honest pride! O whot an insult! what an insult! Adieu!"

He always wore the Bedwin dress with a sword suspended from his shoulder. this circumstance induced Abu 'l-Qasim (*Hibat Allah*) Ibn al-Fadl, whose life shall be given later, to compose on him the lines which follow; we must however observe that 'Imad al-Din in his *Kharidah*, attributes them to the *Ra'is*<sup>5</sup> 'Ali Ibn al-A'rabi, who died, according to him, in the year 547 (A.D. 1152-3):

"Affect as you may the manners of the desert Arabs and wear (*like them*) a high-peaked cap, there is not in you a single hair of the tribe of Tamim. Eat the lizard which burrows in the samds, cut up

3 This passage is incorrectly given in all the copies. The true reading exists in the autograph alone; it is as follows.

فكّين بعامل سويقة و ضامن حليّة و حليقه

[\*This verse was composed by Abu Zamima in the praise of al-Mu'tasim on his victory a 'Amuriyah. Ed.]

4 The expression حمر النعيم signifies literally. rubre deliciarum which, in Arabic, is equivalent to *deliciae rubrae* or *deliciae aurae*.

5 The word *rais* (chief) was the title usually given to persons holding a high rank in the civil service. See no 184, note on *ra'is*.

the dried fruit of the colocynth,<sup>6</sup> and drink as you please of the urine of the accustomed to give hospitality, and ready to protect his honour from insult."

When these verses came to the knowledge of Abu I-Fawaris, he composed the following in reply:

"Strive not to abase exalted worth, when you yourself are pointed at with respectful admiration. The noble and generous man injures his character by hostility towards one who is equally noble and generous. Wine *though it possesses good qualities* was declared impure, and forbidden because it attacked the reason."

Al-Bujayri,\* the *khatib*, or public preacher at the town of al-Huwayzah, addressed him in these lines:

"It is true, Hays Bays, that we are not of the true Arabic race, yet you belied the family of Bujayr as you have already belied the tribe of Tamim."<sup>7</sup>

The following relation was made by the *Shaykh* Nasr Allah Ibn Mujalli, inspector of the arsenal<sup>8</sup> (at Baghdad), a man of unimpeached veracity and a strict *sunnite*: I saw in a dream 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, and I said to him; 'Commander of the faithful! you\*\* (and Muhammad) took Makkah and proclaimed that whoever entered the house of Abu Safyan should be in safety, yet you know what happened to your son al-Husayn<sup>9</sup> on the (fatal) day of al-Taff.<sup>10</sup> To this he replied: 'Did you hear Ibn al-Sayfi's verses on this subject?.' 'No,' said I. 'Go then,' he rejoined, 'and hear them from him!' On awaking, I hastened to the house of Hays-Bays, and having called him out, I told him my dream, on which he sobbed aloud and began to shed tears. 'By

6 The colocynth was much used as a medicine by the Arabs of the desert, but the poet here pretends that they made it into soup.

\* The Cairo and Tehran edition give Buhari-Ed.

7 The author should have given a word of explanation relative to these verses of al-Bujayri, and stated the reason which induced him to compose them; their drift would then be understood. It is necessary to observe that the autography writes البجشري (al-Bujayri) بجشري and (Bujayr).

8 Literally: Inspector of the manufactory at the magazine.

\*\* [ Evidently a historical blunder-Ed. ]

9 Literally: And was consummated on your son al-Husayn what was consummated. He alluded to his murder, but did not choose to pronounce the word, lest he should hurt still more the parental feelings of Ali.

10 Al-Taff, a region in the open country near Ku'fa; it was there that al-Hussain was slain. (Mara'sid.)

Allah! he exclaimed, 'I never communicated these verses by word or writing to any human being, and it was only this very night that I composed them!' He then recited them to me, and they were as follows:

"When we ruled, mercy was our very nature; but when you came to power, the palins flowed with blood. You declared it lawful to massacre your prisoners; but we were always human and pardoned ours. Therein lies the difference between us; but each vase can exude only the liquor it contains."

Abu 'l-Fawaris having one day remarked a great commotion among the people, he asked what had brought them into such confusion (or *hays-bays*, as he called it) and *state this expression considered most singular*) it continued ever after to be given him as a nickname. These two words (*when thus united*) signify trouble or calamity: it is thus that the Arabs of the Desert say, in speaking of persons under misfortune, that they have fallen in to *hays-bays*. He died at Baghdad on the eve of Wednesday, the 6th of *Sha'ban*, A.H. 574 (January, A.D. 1179), and was buried the next morning in the cemetery of the Quraysh, situated on the west side (of the Tigris). When asked concerning his age, he would reply that he was living in the world at random; the fact being, that he did not know the date of his birth. He used to assert that he descended from Aktham Ibn Sayfi al-Tamimi, the philosopher of the Arabs.<sup>11</sup> He left no posterity. *Al-Huwayzah* is a village in the province of *Khuzistan*, twelve miles distant from al-Ahwaz.

## 247 ABU 'L-MA'ALI AL-HAZIRI

Abu 'l-Ma'ali Sa'd Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Qasim Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Qasim al-Ansari al-Khazraji (*descended from the Ansars of the tribe of Khazraj*) al-Warraaq al-Haziri (*the book-copyist of al-Hazirah*), and generally known

---

<sup>11</sup> Aktham Ibn Sayfi, the philosopher or the judge of the Arabs, was one of the most influential men of the tribe of Tamim. When Muhammad announced his doctrines, Aktham recommended his people to adopt them, but he did not set them the example. He died at one of the stations of his tribe in the desert, towards A.H. 44. - See Rasmussen's *Historia Ante-islamica*, p. 116.



by the appellation of *Dallal al-Kutub* (the book-broker), was a man possessed of considerable information and a good talent for poetry. He compiled a number of works in which he displayed no inferior abilities, particularly his *Zinat al-Dahr*, etc. (ornament of the age, refuge of contemporaries, and citation of the beauties contained in modern poetry). In this work, which he designed as a continuation to Abu 'l-Hasan al-Bakharzi's *Dumyat al-Qasr*, he mentions a great number of his contemporaries and predecessors, with a sketch of their lives and some extract from their poetry. The *katib* 'Imad al-Din speaks of him in the *Kharidah* and gives numerous pieces of verse which he had learned from him; some of these were by Abu 'l-Ma'ali himself and the rest by other persons, for he was particularly diligent in collecting the poetry of others and inquiring into their history. His *Lumah al-Mulah* (flash of anecdote, or rather flashes of anecdotes) is a proof of his extensive acquirements.<sup>1</sup> The following verses are by Abu 'l-Ma'ali:<sup>2</sup>

"Seape evenit ut juvenis, in cujus gena rosa fuit et in cujus ore vinum, haud mihi mitem se preaberet donec super auroram faciei ejus errepuissent tenbrea. Pulli equini ad instar refractarius fuit donec um compescuisset frenum."<sup>\*</sup>

By the same:

"Tenebrea lanuginin circumdederunt genas ejus et amore ejus captus suspiria duxi, dicens; Aqua vitea in ore ejus dulci sita est; sinite me in tenebras ingredi."

This idea bears some resemblance to that which Ibn Rashīq has expressed in the following piece;

"Seape juvenis fuscus, aureo colore, ex oculis siccis imbres eliciens (*crudelitate sua*) firenum lanuginis sustinere nesciens, sicut pullus equinus habenam adhuc insuetam repellens, opinatus est

1 According to Hajji Khalīfrah al this work is a collection of pieces in prose and verse.

2 The pieces which Ibn Khalīkan has here inserted would not have been reproduced in this translation, did they not serve to prove either the extreme corruption of the age in which he lived, or the singular influence which the platonic fancies of the Sufis exerted over the poetry of the period.

\* English version:

"And he with beard has a rose in his cheek and liquor in his mouth. He did not yield to me till the morning of his post (beauty) turned into darkness. (He is) like the colt which colts under the rider and is controlled by the bridle.--Ed.

lanuginem illam e corpore meo eagritudinem expellere posse, et caput avertit me videns, prea molestia et pudore. Sed nescivit illam (*lanuginem*) viridarium esse in corde meo cupidinem germinare faciens. Videsne genam ejus nil aliud ess quam balteum cui ensis appensus est?"

In the life of Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, the author of the *'Iqd*, we have given a passage which contains an idea similar to that expressed in this last verse (see page 92). The following lines are by al-Haziri:

"Pons lanuginis extensus super aquam juventutis quæa genas suas permeat, mihi vlam preabuit ad obliviscendum amorem, cum jam essem vinctus et captivus."

By the same:

"I complained of the pains I suffered for the love of one whose absence tortured my heart; (*pains like*) a glowing fire not to be extinguished! My absence, replied she, can best give you respite from your sufferings; did the sun not retire, his light would burn (*the world*)."

The compositions of this poet abound with graceful thoughts expressed with great elegance. He died at Baghdad on Monday the 25th (some say the 15th) of Safar, A.H. 568 (October A.D. 1172)\* Monday fell on 25 afar 16 October. On 15 Safar it was Friday. Ed: and was buried in the cemetery at the Gate of Harm. - *Haziri* means *belonging to Hazirah*, a place higher up (*the river*) than Baghdad; it has produced many learned men, who all bore this surname, and it gives its name to the *Hazirahcloth*.

## 248 SA'ID IBN JUBAYR

Abu 'Abd Allah (some say Abu Muhammad) Sa'id Ibn Jubayr Ibn Hisham, surnamed al-Asadi, was a black and a client by enfranchisement to the tribe of Walibah Ibn al-Harith, a branch of that of Asad Ibn *Khuzaymah*. This eminent *Tabi'i* was a native of Kufah; he acquired his learning under the tuition of Ibn 'Abbas and

---

\* Monday fell on 25 Safar, 16 October. On 5 Safar it was the day.--  
Ed.

'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar,<sup>1</sup> the former of whom told him one day to teach the Traditions. "I teach the Traditions?" exclaimed Sa'id, "and you here!" "Is it not a favour which God grants you," replied Ibn Abbas, "in procuring you the opportunity of teaching them in my presence? For if you do it right, it is well; and if you make mistakes, I correct you." When Ibn 'Abbas lost his sight, Sa'id was inscribed on the list of the *muftis*, an honour which he had always refused to accept, and which now gave him great dissatisfaction.

\*He learned the *reading* of the Qur'an from Ibn 'Abbas, not directly (*from himself, but from one of his disciples*);<sup>2</sup> he received from him also the explanation of the Qur'an an most of the Traditions which he transmitted to others. His own authority was cited for the *reading* of the Qur'an by al-Minhal Ibn 'Amr<sup>3</sup> and Abu 'Amir Ibn al-'Ala, who had learned it from him, but indirectly, Wafa Ibn Ilyas relates that Sa'id once asked him, during the month of Ramadan, to hold the Qur'an for him till he read it, and that he did not rise

1 Abu 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd Allah, son of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, was one of the most eminent among the companions of Muhammad by his piety, his generosity, his contempt of the world, his learning and his virtues. Though entitled by birth to aspire to the highest places in the empire, he never hearkened to the dictates of ambition; possessing a vast influence over the Muslims by his rank, his instruction, and his holy life, he neither employed nor abused it in favour of any party, and during the civil wars which raged among the followers of Islamism, he remained neutral, solely occupied with the duties of religion. For a period of sixty years, persons came from all parts to consult him and learn from him the Traditions. His generosity was equal to his piety, and it is stated that he would frequently distribute thirty thousand dirhams in charity on the days in which he gave audience. His slaves well knew the extent of his kindness, and many of them affected an extreme devotion with the well-grounded hopes of obtaining their liberty. When his friends remonstrated with him on the subject, telling him that his slaves were only deceiving him, he used to answer, "I let myself be deceived by him who essays to do it in pretexting God's name." He died at Makkah. A.H. 73 (A.D. 692-3), aged 84 years. Al-Bukhari says: "The most authentic Traditions are those given by Malik, after Nafi', on the authority of Ibn 'Umar. (*Tab. al-Fuqaha*, fol.5.)

\* From: "He learned" to "best known" not in the autograph.—Ed.

2 In the style of the Traditionists and Qur'an-readers, the word *عرضا* is opposed to *سألا*

3 The author of the *Tabaqat al-Muhaddithin* gives a short account of al-Minhal Ibn 'Amr. According to his statement, al-Minhal was a client by enfranchisement to the tribe of Asad Ibn Khuzaymah and a native of Kufah. He then mentions the names of the doctors under whom he studied and those of his pupils, but he does not give the date of his death.

from his place till he had read it through: Sa'id himself mentioned that he once recited the whole of it in one of the *raka'as*<sup>4</sup> which he made in the temple of Makkah. It is related by Isma'il Ibn 'Abd al-Malik<sup>5</sup> that Sa'id Ibn Jubayr once acted for them as imam in the month of Ramadan, and that one night he recited the Qur'an according to the *reading* of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Utbah Ibn Mas'ud;<sup>6</sup> another night, according to that of Zayd Ibn Thabit; following this, each successive night, a different mode of *reading*. A person having once asked Sa'id to put down for him in writing the explanation of the Qur'an, he flew into a passions and exclaimed: "I should rather be palsied in one half of my body than do so." It was said by *Khasif* that the best acquainted among the *Tabi'is* with the laws of divorce was Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab, - with the rites of the Pilgrimage, 'Ata,<sup>7</sup> with the distinction between what was lawful and what was forbidden, Tawus, and with the interpretation of the Qur'an, Abu 'l-Hajjaj Mujahid Ibn Jubayr,<sup>8</sup> but he observed that Sa'id Ibn Jubayr had a more general knowledge than all of the whole of these sciences. Sa'id began the world as a secretary to 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Utbah Ibn Mas'ud and then served Abu Burdah Ibn Abi Musa al-Ash'ari<sup>9</sup> in the same capacity. Abu Nu'aym<sup>10</sup> says, in his History of Isphahan: "Sa'id came to this city and sojourned in it for a time, after which he went to 'Iraq and took up his residence in the village of Sunbulan."<sup>11</sup> It is related by Muhammad Ibn Habib that when Sa'id Ibn Jubayr was at Isphahan, they asked to hear from him the Traditions, but he would not communicate any to them. Yet when

4 For the pronunciation of this word I follow the *Qamus*.

5 This Isma'il was probably a son of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, the fifth Umayyad *khalif*.

6 This was nephew of the celebrated *Qur'an reader* 'Abd Allah Ibn Mas'ud. His father, 'Utbah, was one of the Ansar. (*Talqih*.)

7 There were two celebrated *Tabi'is* who bore this name; the most eminent was 'Ata Ibn Abi Rabah, whose life is given in this work. The other, named 'Ata Ibn Yasaar, is noticed in the life of his brother Sulayman; no. 258.

8 The celebrated Imam and *Tabi'i* Abu al-Hajjaj Mujahid Ibn Jubayr was a doctor of the highest authority in jurisprudence and explanation of the Qur'an. He received his instruction from some of the principal Companions of Muhammad. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar respected him to such a degree that he held his stirrup when he was getting on horseback and arranged his clothes. He died A.H. 101 (A.D. 719-20 or 111 (*Tab al-Fuqaha*.)

9 The life of Abu Burdah is given in this work.

10 The life of Abu Nu'aym has been already given, no. 32.

11 Sunbulan, a place at Isphahan. (*Marasid*)

he returned to Kufah he taught them publicly; on this some one said to him: "Abu Muhammad! you would not teach the Traditions when at Isphahan, and here you are now, teaching them in Kufah! Sa'id replied: "*Set forth your wares where you are best known.*"<sup>12</sup> Sa'id joined 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays in his revolt against 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan.<sup>13</sup> When Ibn al-Ash'ath lost his life after the defeat of his partisans at Dayr al-Jamajim,<sup>14</sup> Sa'id fled to Makkah, but was arrested by Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qasri,<sup>15</sup> the governor of that city, and sent to al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf with Isma'il Ibn Awsat\* al-Bajali.<sup>16</sup> Al-Hajjaj, on seeing him, said: Wretch, son of Wretched! didst thou not come to Kufah when a vile Arab of the desert was imam there,<sup>17</sup> and did I not put thee in his place?" "Yes," "And did I not appoint thee qadi? and when the people of Kufah murmured and said that none but an Arab of the desert was fit for that office, did I not replace thee by Abu Burdah Ibn Abi Musa, ordering him, however, not to decide any question without consulting thee?" "Yes." "Did I not admit thee to my evening parties as a companion, though the company were all Arab chieftains?" "Yes." "The first time I saw thee, did I not give thee one hundred thousand dirhams to distribute among the needy, without questioning thee afterwards about the manner in which the money was employed?" "Yes." What then made thee revolt against me?" "An oath which bound me to Ibn al-Ash'ath." Here al-Hajjaj grew angry and said, after a pause: "And before that wert thou not bound by an oath to the Commander of the faithful, 'Abd al-Malik? By Allah! I shall put thee to death; guard, strike off his head." This passed in the month of Sha'ban, A.H. 95 (April-May, A.D. 714), or 94, at Wasit, outside of which place Sa'id was interred; his tomb is still visited by pilgrims. He was forty-nine years of age at the time of his execution. On the day in which he was arrested, he said: "An informer has denounced

12 Literally: Spread open your cloth where you are known. This is evidently a proverbial expression, but I do not find it in al-Maydani.

13 See Price's (Retrospect,) tom. I, p. 455; Abu'l-Fida, year 77; al-Makin, p. 65, etd.

14 Dayr Al-Jamajim lies at seven parasangs from Kufah, on the road leading to Basrah. This convent or *dayr*, received its name from the wooden cups, or drinking-vessels (jamajim), which were made there (*Marasid*.)

15 His life has been already given, no. 2.4

\* Cairo edition gives wasit and it is written in the marginal note that Awsat is a corruption.—Ed.

16 This Isma'il was probably sent with the prisoner to guard him.

17 Al-Hajjaj alluded to Shabib Ibn Yazid; see his life in this volume.

me in God's holy city, but I call him to an account for it before God?" The person whom he meant was Khalid al-Qasri.<sup>18</sup> Ahmad Ibn Hanbal said: Al-Hajjaj killed Sa'id Ibn Jubayr, yet there was not a man on the face of the earth who did not stand in need of (Sa'id and) his learning." Al-Hajjaj died the same year in the month of Ramdan, or, by another account, six months after Sa'id, and during that interval, God did not put it in his power to slay another human being. When Sa'id was decapitated, a great quantity of blood flowed from the trunk, and al-Hajjaj called in physicians to consult them about it, and to know why all the other persons whom he had executed before that, bled very little; to this they made answer: "When you put this man to death, his soul was still in his body, and the blood follows the soul; but as for the others, their soul was gone with fright before you killed them, and therefore their blood was diminished." - (*The khalif*) 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan having dreamt that he made water four times in the *mihrab*<sup>19</sup> of the mosque, he sent for Sa'id and having spoken to him about it, he received this answer: "Four sons, sprung from your loins, shall govern the empire." This prediction was fulfilled by the accession of his sons al-Walid, Sulayman Yazid, and Hisham. - When al-Hasan al-Basri was informed that Sa'id Ibn Jubayr had been put to death by al-Hajjaj, he exclaimed: "O God! be (*turnea*) against this reprobate of (*the tribe of*) Thaqif! Almighty God! if there be any persons on earth, from east to west, who were accessory to his death, lay them prostrate into the fires of hell! "It is related that al-Hajjaj, when on the point of death, would faint away, and on recovering, cry out. "But what business has Sa'id Ibn Jubayr with me? The report was, that whenever he fell asleep during his last illness, he saw Sa'id come up and seize him by the girdle, saying "Enemy of God, arise! why didst thou murder me?" On which he would awake in terror and exclaim; "What business has Sa'id Ibn Jubayr with me?" It is related also that a person saw al-Hajjaj in a dream, after his death, and asked him what God had done to him. "He put me to death," replied al-Hajjaj, 'once, for each person whom I put to death, and seventy times for Sa'id Ibn Jubayr." - The shaykh Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi mentions in his book, entitled *al-Muhadhdhab*, that Sa'id Ibn Jubayr could play at chess with his back turned to the chess-board, and in the chapter on evidence, he cites this fact under the head of chess-playing, (*it being questioned whether a chess-player's evidence could be received in a court of law*).

---

18 See the account of khalid's death, no. 204.

19 See the no. 16, note on *mihrab*.

## 249 SA'ID IBN AL-MUSAYYAB

Abu Muhammad Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab Ibn Hazn Ibn Abi Wahb Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'A'idh Ibn 'Imran Ibn Makhzum, a member of the tribe of Quraysh and a native of Madinah, was one of the seven great jurisconsults of that city. We have already given the lives of two; that of Abu Bakr (no. 114) and that of Kharijah (no. 202). This Sa'id was the chief of the first series of the *Tabi'is* and united to the knowledge of the Traditions and of jurisprudence, the fear of God, profound piety, and contempt for worldly goods. He received instruction from the limp of Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas<sup>1</sup> and Abu Hurayrah. 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar<sup>2</sup> once said to a person who questioned him (*on a point of religion*): "Go and ask that man about it" meaning Sa'id, "and then come and relate to me his answer." The other obeyed his orders and Ibn 'Umar said: "Did I not tell thee that he was one of the learned?" Another time, when speaking of him, he observed to his disciples that if the Prophet were to see Sa'id, he would feel joy at the sight. This doctor met a number of Muhammad's companions and learned (*Traditions*) from them; he visited also the Prophet's widows and gathered from them information. The greater part of the authenticated Traditions given on his authority were received by him from

---

1 Abu Ishaq Sad Ibn Abi Waqqas Malik Ibn Wahib, descendant of 'Abd Manat, was, by his own account, the third person whom Muhammad converted to Islamism, being then seventeen years of age. He fought in all the Prophet's battles, and was employed as governor by 'Umar and Uthman. He died at his castle in 'Aqiq, a town ten miles from Madinah, and was interred at the Baqi' or cemetery of this latter city. His death occurred between A.H. 50 and 58 (*Majma al-Ahbab*, 2 and 3. See on p. 437 MS. fonds St. Gormain, no. 131.)

'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Sakhr al-Dawzi (member of the tribe of Daws, a branch of that of Azd), and surnamed Abu Hurayrah (the man with the kitten), was a contemporary of Muhammad and one of his most devoted followers. He bore the name of 'Abd Shams before his conversion. The surname of Abu Hurayrah was given him by his people because he brought them home one day, in the sleeve of his cloak, the young of a wild cat which he had found whilst tending his flocks. Muhammad sometimes called him Abu Hirr (the man with the cat). It is related that his mother resisted all his efforts to convert her to Islamism, on which he begged of the Prophet to pray that her heart might be opened to the truth; the prayer was effectual; on returning home, he was informed by her that she now acknowledged only one God and his apostate Muhammad. He embraced Islamism, A.H. 7 and died at Madinah. A.H. 57 (A.D. 676-7), at the age of 78. (*Siyar al-Salaf*. Mathew's *Mishcat al-Masabih*,).

2 See no. 249, note on 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar.

Abu Hurayrah, whose daughter he had married, Al-Zuhri and Makhul being asked who was the ablest jurisconsult they had ever met, they replied that it was Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab. By his own declaration, he performed the pilgrimage forty times, and it is stated that he said: "For the last fifty years I have not missed the first *Takbir*<sup>3</sup> nor seen the back of a man during the public prayer;" such was his punctuality in arriving sufficiently early to obtain a place in the first rank of the congregation. It is related also that during the space of fifty years he said the morning prayer without making any ablution since that of the preceding evening (*when he said the last prayer of the day*)<sup>4</sup> Sa'id was born in the third year of the *khalifat* of 'Umar (A.H. 15-16, A.D. 636-7); he came to manhood during the *khalifat* of 'Uthman, and died at Madinah, A.H. 91 (A.D. 709-10), or, by other accounts, A.H. 95, or one of the intervening years; some even say that his death did not take place till the year 105. His father's name must be pronounced *Musayyab* (*as being the passive participle of the verb Sayyab*), but it is related that Sa'id himself pronounced it *Musayyib* (*as the active participle*) because he had said: "May God reward (*sayyab*) him who pronounces my father's name *Musayyib*."<sup>5</sup>

## 250 ABU ZAYD AL-ANSARI

Abu Zayd Sa'id was son to Aws Ibn *Thabit* Ibn Zayd Ibn Qays Ibn Zayd Ibn al-Nu'man Ibn Malik Ibn *Tha'labah* Ibn Ka'b Ibn al-*Khazraj*; but Muhammad Ibn Sa'id says, in his *Tabaqat*, that *Thabit*, Abu Zayd's grandfather, was the son of *Bashir* Ibn Abi Zayd *Thabit*

---

3 The *takbir* consists in the repetition of the *adhan* immediately before the prayer.

4 This is a proof that he did not take any sleep during the interval; for, in that case, the ablution would have been encessary. He most probably passed the night in devotional exercises.

*Takhir* means to say Allahu Akbar. But here it refers to the opening *takhir* repeated at the commencement of the prayers.

5 There is here a grammatical quibble in the original text which disappears in the translation. Indeed on examining the passage attentively I think it may very well signify: May God reward him who rewards my father! In which case his father's name should be pronounced *Musayyab*, for this word means rewarded. Ibn *Khallikan*'s statement is confirmed, however, by the author of the *Tabaqat al-Fuqaha*, who says that Sa'id was well pleased when he heard his father's name pronounced *Musayyib*.



Ibn Zayd Ibn Qays; the former genealogy is given by the *Khatib* in his History, and God knows which of the two is correct. Abu Zayd, surnamed al-Ansari,<sup>1</sup> was a native of Basrah and a philologist: he held the first rank among the literary men of that time, and devoted his attention principally to the study of the philology of the Arabic language, its singular terms and rare expression. In his religious opinions he was a Qadarite,<sup>2</sup> but his authority as a correct transmitter of pieces preserved by tradition is admitted. Abu 'Uthman al-Mazini related that he was once present when al-Asma'i went up to Abu Zayd who was then surrounded by his pupils, and after kissing him on the head,<sup>3</sup> sat down among them and said: "Thou hast been our lord and master for the last fifty years." Al-Thawri relates that Ibn Munadh<sup>hir</sup> said to him: "Shall I give you the characters of your pupils? Al-Asma'i has the best-stocked memory of them all; Abu 'Ubaydah surpasses them in general information; and Abu Zayd al-Ansari is the surest authority in traditional knowledge." Al-Nadr Ibn Shumayl mentions that he, Abu Zayd al-Ansari and Abu Muhammad al-Yazidi studied all three together in the same book. The following anecdote is told by Abu Zayd, to whom it was related by Khalaf al-Ahmar;<sup>4</sup> "I went to Kufah," said Khalaf, "to take down in writing whatever pieces of (ancient) poetry the learned men of that city might communicate to me (by oral tradition); but as they were very tenacious of their information, I offered them forged pieces, and obtained from them genuine ones in exchange. Some time after, I had a severe sickness and (repenting of my imposture) I said to them: 'Alas, sirs! I have now turned myself wholly to God, and I must confess that the verses which I gave you were made by myself.' They would not, however, believe me, and these pieces still continue to be attributed

---

1 He was so called because he drew his descent from the *Ansars*.

2 The Qadarites held the heretical doctrine of man's free-will. See Pocock's *Specimen* and M. de Sacy's *Eposse de l'Histoire des Druzes*, Introduction, page x, note.

3 It must be recollected that the master and the scholars were seated on the ground.

4 Abu Muhriz محرز Khalaf al-Ahmad Ibn Hayyan was a descendant from one of the prisoners whom Qutaybah Ibn Muslim carried off from *Khurasan* on conquering that province. He was a poet of some talent, and made verses which he attributed to the Arabs of the desert; he composed also a work treating of them and containing poems descriptive of their manners. (*Fihrist*, fol. 66). The year of his death is not given, but, by what Ibn Khalikan says, he must have lived in the latter half of the second century of the Hijrah. In the *Hamasah*, p. 382, is a poem attributed to *Ta'babata Sharran*, but in reality composed by Khalaf al-Ahmar.

to the Arabs of the desert." Abu Zayd composed a number of useful philological works, which as his treatises on the bow and the shield, on camels, on the natural constitution of man, on springs of water, on the dialects, on rare expressions, on the plural and dual, on milk, on the tents of the Arabs, on the softened pronunciation of *hamzah* on the (*shepherd's*) rod, on wild animals, on the difference (*between the parts of the human body and those of animals*),<sup>5</sup> on the first and fourth forms of certain verbs, on names rarely borne, on the *hamaza*, on nouns of action,<sup>6</sup> etc. I have seen a fine work of his, a treatise on plants, which contained a number of curious passages. It is related of *Shubah Ibn al-Hajjaj* that, as he was one day dictating Traditions to a circle of pupils, he got fatigued with his occupation, and looking around, he saw Abu Zayd al-Ansari in the last rank of his auditors and called to him, saying. "O Abu Zaid":

"It is dumb, the dwelling of (*my beloved*) Mayya, and answers us not! Could it speak, it would give us news in abundance."<sup>7</sup>

"Come here to me, Abu Zayd!" The disciple then drew near to his master, and they began to converse together and recite poems, on which one of the students who were learning the Traditions said to him: "O Abu Bistam! we wear the skin off the backs of our camels in journeying hither, that we may learn from your mouth the Traditions respecting the blessed Prophet, and yet you neglect us and amuse yourself with poetry." *Shu'bah*, on hearing this reproach, flew into a rage and exclaimed: "I know best, fellow! what is fitted for me; and I swear by the one only God! that I have a sounder knowledge of this (*meaning poetry*) than of that (*meaning the Traditions*)."<sup>8</sup> Abu Zayd lived to a very advanced age, having nearly attained his hundredth year; he died at Basrah, A.H. 215 (A.D. 830-1), or by other accounts in 214 or 216; aged, it is said, 93 years; some say 95 or 96.

---

5 See the *Aandschriften*, or catalogue of M. de Hammer's manuscripts, page 50.

6 The greater part of these treatises were only collections of passages in prose and verse, composed by celebrated authors and selected by the compiler as applicable to his subject. M. de Hammer possesses a volume of *Asma,as* works containing six pamphlets of this kind. See his *Handschriften*, No. 61.

7 This is the beginning of some ancient poem.

## 251 AL-AKHFASH AL-AWSAT

Abu I-Hasan Sa'id Ibn Mas'adah, surnamed al-Akhfash al-Awsat (or the second), was a client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Mujashi' and a native of Balkh. He and al-Akhfash al-Akbar (Akhfash major) Abu 'l-Khattab were both grammarians of the school of Basrah: Abu 'l-Khattab was a native of Hajar (or Bahrayn) and a client to one of the tribes of that country; his real name was 'Abd al-Hamid Ibn 'Abd al-Majid, and he had Abu 'Ubaydah and Sibawayh among his pupils. Al-Akhfash al-Awsat was one of the greatest Arabic grammarians; though older than Sibawayh, he had studied grammar under him,\* and he used to say: Sibawayh did not insert a single passage in his *Book*<sup>1</sup> till he had submitted it to my examination: he then showed that he understood the subject better than I; now, however I know it better than he." The following anecdote was related by the family of Sa'id Ibn Salim<sup>2</sup> to Abu 'l-Abbas Tha'lab, by whom it has been handed down; "Sa'id, having one day received the visit of al-Farra, said to us. 'Here is the chief of the philologists and of the grammarians who is come to our house. To which al-Farra replied: 'Not so, whilst al-Akhfash lives.'" It was this al-Akhfash who added a new measure, called al-Khabab, to those already known in prosody; a circumstance noticed by us in the life of al-Khalil (no. 208). He is author of the following works:<sup>3</sup> The *Awsat*, or *medium treatise*, on grammar, Explanation of the figures of rhetoric employed in the Qur'an; on analogical deductions, a grammatical work; on Derivation; on Prosody on Rhyme; on the Thoughts which usually occur in Poetry; the Book of Kings; a treatise on Interjections; the Great Collection of (Philological and grammatical) Questions; the Lesser Collection of Questions etc. He was (*what the Arabs call*) *ʔn ajla'*; that

---

\* There is a discrepancy here. In the foregoing sentence he includes Sibawayh in Akhfash's pupils and here he says him to be his master--Ed.

1 The celebrated treatise on Arabic grammar by Sibawayh is generally called the *Book* (*Kitab*).

2 Sa'id Ibn Salim (or Salm سلم according to the MS. No. 634) Ibn Qutaybah Ibn Muslim Ibn 'Amr was a resident in Khurasan, where he governed some cantons near Marw under the authority of the Khalif. He taught the Traditions in that province, to which he had gone during the reign of al-Ma'mun. He was learned in the grammar of the Arabic language and in the Traditions, but was very reserved in communicating his information to others. (The *Khatibis History of Baghdad*, fol. 108.)

3 The works of the old philologists and grammarians formed two classes, the *book* (*Kutub*) and *composed books* (*Kutub musannafah*). See Introduction.

is, one who cannot close his lips over his teeth. The word *akhfash* means *having little eyes and a bad sight*. He died A.H. 215 (A.D. 830), but some say A.H. 221. The name of al-Akhfash al-Asghar (*Akhfash minor*) was given to him till 'Ali Ibn Sulayman, another *Akhfash*, came into notice; it was then changed into al-Akhfash al-Awsat (*Akhfash*). *Mujashi* Ibn Darim is a branch of the tribe of Tamim.

## 252 SA'ID IBN AL-MUBARAK AL-DAHMAN

Abu Muhammad Sa'id Ibn al-Mubarak, a grammarian and native of Baghdad, is generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Dahman. He descended from Abu Yasar Ka'b al-Ansari,<sup>1</sup> as may be seen from the following genealogy: Sa'id Ibn al-Mubarak Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Sa'id Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn 'Asim Ibn 'Abbad Ibn Tsam Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Zafar Ibn Ghallab Ibn Hamd Ibn Shakir Ibn 'Iyad Ibn Hisn Ibn Raja Ibn Ubayyi Ibn Shibl Ibn Abi 'I-Yasar Ka'b al-Ansari. Ibn al-Dahman learned the Traditions from Abu al-Qasim Hibat Allah Ibn al-Hasin, Abu Ghaliib Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Banna, and others; by his knowledge of grammar he was the Sibawayh of that time, and he composed on this subject many instructive works, amongst others, a commentary in about forty-three volumes on the *'Idah* and *Takmilah* (of Abu 'Ali 'I-Farisi) a greater and a less work both entitled *al-Fusul* (chapters) a large commentary in two volumes on Ibn Jinni's grammatical treatise, the *Luma'*, and entitled by him *al-Ghurrah* (the bright star); this is the best of all the numerous commentaries on the *Luma'* which I have seen. His other works are; a treatise on Prosody, in one volume; lectures on Grammar, in one volume likewise; the *Sa'idian epistle on the Kindian plagiarisms*, in which he exposes the stolen thoughts of al-Mutanabbi (*al-Kindi*), in one volume; a common-place book in seven volumes entitled *Zahr al-Riyad* (flowers of the meadows), the *Kitab al-Ghuniyah* (the abundant aid, an orthographical work) treating of the letters *d* ض and *z* ظ the *'Uqud* (collars) on the long and short *alif* and on the letter *r*; another, *Ghuniyah*, on those words which bear opposite significations, etc. When Ibn al-Dahman was at Baghdad, a number of other

---

1 Abu 'I-Yasar Ka'b Ibn 'Amr, a member of the tribe of Khazraj, and a native of Madinah, was one of the Ansars. He was present at all the battles fought by Muhammad, and at that of Badr he took al-'Abbas Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib prisoner. Died at Madinah, A.H. 55 (A.D. 674-5)-(Siyar al-Lalaf, Talqia).

grammarians, such as Ibn al-Jawaliqi, Ibn al Khashshab, and Ibn al-Shajari,<sup>2</sup> all of them great masters in their art, were residing in that city, yet the public considered him as their superior in talent. He after-wards left Baghdad and proceeded to Mosul with the intention of visiting the Vazir Jamal al-Din al-Isbahani, surnamed al-Jawwad (whose life we intend to give under letter M.), and being received by him with great favour, he remained for a considerable period under his protection. The same year an inundation of the river occurred at Baghdad, and as he had left his books behind him in that city, he despatched a person thither to bring them to him, in case they had escaped injury. This collection, in the formation of which he had passed his life, had been entirely submerged, but the greatest damage which it had suffered was caused by the waters of a tanyard situated behind his house, which overflowed at the same time and entered into the room where the books were deposited. They were brought to him in that state, and being advised to fumigate them and save as many as he could, employed upward of thirty pounds weight of *ladanum*<sup>3</sup> for that purpose, but the smoke affected his head and eyes to such degree that he lost his sight. Numbers have profited under his tuition and I saw the people of Mosul and the neighbouring countries study with great assiduity the works of which the titles have been given above. He died at Mosul on a Sunday in the month of Shawwal, A.H. 569 (May, A.D. 1174), or 566 according to Ibn al-Mustawfi, and was buried near the Maydan Gate, cemetery which is named after al-Mu'afa Ibn Imran. He was born on Thursday evening, the 26th Rajab, A.H. 494 (May, A.D. 1101),\* in a part of Baghdad called *Nahr Tabiq*. Some say, however, that his birth took place on Friday. He composed some good poetry of which we may cite the following passages:

"Avoid levity of conduct-it discredits a man's character; but gravity exalts him in public estimation. Be not deceived by the smiles; the cloud utters not its thunder but when it smiles forth (*the lightning-flash*)."

By the same:\*\*

"Think not, with your talent for poetry, to become our equals; the hen has feathers, yet she cannot fly."

2 The lives of these three grammarians are given by Ibn Khallikan.

3 *Ladanum* is a gum which exudes from a species *cistus*.

\* According to Eduard Mahler it was Monday the 27th May, Ed.

\*\* These words are omitted by de Slane--Ed.

By the same:

"Think it not strange that I should dread the day of my separation from you; I, of whom lions stand in dread. Did you never remark that a new garment cries aloud when a piece is (torn away and) separated from it?"

The *katib* 'Imad al-Din mentions him with commendation in the *Kharidah* and gives (slight) sketch of his life.<sup>4</sup> It is related by Abu Sa'id al-Sam'ani that the *hafiz* Ibn 'Asakir of Damascus told him that he had heard Sa'id Ibn al-Mubarak Ibn al-Dahhan say: "I saw in a dream a person of my acquaintance who seemed to address these lines to his beloved.

'O thou who deferrest to pay the debt towards me; is this procrastination and delay to endure for ever? Soothe my heart with the most trifling favour; a nothing from thee will suffice it.'

'When I saw Ibn al-Dahhan,' continues al-Sam'ani, 'I repeated to him the circumstance, but it was quite unknown to him; he might probably have let it slip from his memory, for Ibn 'Asakir is a narrator of acknowledged veracity.' Ibn al-Dahhan then asked al-Sam'ani to dictate it to him, and having written it down, he headed it with these words: *I was informed by al-Sam'ani, on the authority of 'ibn 'Asakir, who cited mine, that, etc.* A relation thus given on the authority of two persons who therein cite that narrator's own, is a fact of great singularity.' He had a son called Abu Zakariya Yahya Ibn Sa'id who cultivated literature and poetry; Abu Zakariya was born at Mosul towards the beginning of the year 569 (A.D. 1173), and died in the same city, A.H. 616 (A.D. 1219-20). He was interred in his father's tomb. The following lines were composed by him.

"If I praise obscurity of life, those whose attention I have awakened will rush on before me to enjoy it. By it I was led to happiness, why should I point out thy way to others?"

The following passage is attributed to him:

'I remember that in the days of my youth, my stature was erect like the letter *alif* (I) traced in a *Qur'an* by the hand of Ibn Muqlah.<sup>5</sup> But now I am bent down and seem as if I were seeking in the dust for my lost youth.'

4 See *Kharidah*, Man. No. 1447, fol. 33 v.

5 The life of Ibn Muqlah, the celebrated penman, will found in this work.

## 253 SUFYAN AL-THAWRI

Abu 'Abd Allah Sufyan al-Thawri was the son of Sa'id Ibn Masruq Ibn Habib Ibn Rafi' Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Mawhibah Ibn Ubayy Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Munqidh Ibn Nasr Ibn al-Hakam Ibn al-Harith Ibn Thajlabah Ibn Malkan Ibn Thawr Ibn 'Abd Manat Ibn Udd Ibn Tabikhah Ibn al-Yas Ibn Mudar Ibn Nizar Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnan. Sufyan al-Thawri was a native of Kufah and a master of the highest authority in the Traditions and other sciences: his piety, devotion, veracity, and contempt for worldly goods were universally acknowledged, and as an imam, he is counted among the *Mujtahids*. It is said that the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Qasim Junayd followed his system of doctrine; this, however, is a point on which different opinions are held, as has already been mentioned (no. 142). Sufyan Ibn 'Uyaynah declared that he did not know a man better informed than Sufyan al-Thawri respecting what was permitted and what was forbidden by the law. It was also said that 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab was the greatest man of the age in which he lived; after him, 'Abd Allah Ibn al-'Abbas; next came al-Sha'bi, al-A'amash, and their contemporaries; then Sufyan al-Thawri. This doctor learned the Traditions from Abu Ishaq al-Sabi'i, al-A'amash, and others of the same eminence; he taught the Traditions to al-Awza'i, Ibn Jurayj, Muhammad Ibn Ishaq,<sup>1</sup> and others of that class. Al-Mas'udi gives the following anecdote in his *Muruj al-Dhahab*, in the same terms as it was related to him by al-Qa'qa'a Ibn Hakim: "I was one day at the court of al-Mahdi when Sufyan al-Thawri came in and addressed him with the common salutation which one Muslim makes to another, and not with that to which he was entitled as *Khalif*: during this interview, (*the vazir*) al-Rabi' (*Ibn Yunus*) was standing behind the prince and learning on his sword, ready to execute whatever orders he might receive. Al-Mahdi then turned with a smiling face towards Sufyan and said: 'You are much mistaken in some of your ideas respecting me: you imagine that if I wished to do you ill, I could not execute my intention; but now, that you are in my power, do you not fear that I may award you whatever punishment my caprice may dictate? 'If you pass sentence on me,' replied Sufyan, "a powerful sovereign who knoweth right from wrong will pass sentence on you' 'Commander of the faithful!' exclaimed al-Rabi', 'shall this rude fellow be allowed to address you thus? Let me strike off his head'. 'Nay, silence!' replied al-Mahdi, 'he and the like of him would desire nothing better than

---

<sup>1</sup> The lives of all the doctors above-mentioned will be found in this work.

to die by our hands, so as to make us wretched (*in the next life*) whilst they would enjoy eternal happiness: draw up an act nominating him qadi of Kufah and forbidding any person to control his decision. The paper was written out immediately and handed to Sufyan, who withdrew, but then flung it into the Tigris and took to flight.<sup>2</sup> An active search was made after him in all the towns (*of the empire*) but without success." The place was then given to Sharik Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Nakh'ai, and a poet said on the subject:

"Sufyan avoided temptation and saved his piety by flight,  
whilst Sharik lay in wait to catch the dirhams."

It is related of Abu Salih Shu'ayb Ibn Harb al-Mada'ini,<sup>3</sup> a *hafiz* of the first rank and a man of pre-eminent piety, that he said: "I imagine that Sufyan al-Thawri will be brought forth on the day of resurrection and placed by God before His creatures to confound them; it will then be said to them; 'you did not see the Prophet when in the world, but you saw Sufyan al-Thawri; why then did you not take him as a model?' Sufyan was born A.H. 95 (A.D. 713-4); A.H. 161 (A.D. 77-8), at Basrah, where he had concealed himself from the civil authority,<sup>4</sup> and was interred towards nightfall. He left no posterity. - Thawri means *descended from Thwar*, son of 'Abd Manat. There is another Thawri in the tribe of Tamim, and a third which is a branch of the tribe of Hamdan. It has been stated by some that Sufyan died A.H. 162, but the first is the true date.

## 254 SUFYAN IBN 'UYAYNAH

Abu Muhammad Sufyan Ibn 'Uyaynah Ibn Abi 'Imran Maymun al-Hilali was *mawla* to a woman of the tribe of Hilal Ibn 'Amir, who

2 See note (3), under no. 102.

3 Shu'ayb Ibn Harb learned the Traditions from Sakhr Ibn Juwayriyah جویریة who had received them from Nafi' and others. He died al Mada'in, his native place--Tab (al-Muhaddithin). The year of his death is not mentioned, but we know that his master Nafi' died A.H. 196 (A.D. 811-2).

4 It has been already mentioned that he concealed himself to avoid accepting the place of qadi.



belonged to the same family as Maymunah,<sup>1</sup> one of the Prophet's wives; it is stated, however, that he was *mawla* to the Banu Hashim, or to al-Dahhak Ibn Muzahim,<sup>2</sup> or to Mis'ar Ibn Kudam.<sup>3</sup> His parents dwelt at Kufah, where it is said he himself was born, and whence he was taken by his father to Makkah. (Muhammad) Ibn Sa'd mentions him in the *Tabaqat* and places him in the fifth class of the learned men of Makkah. Sufyan was an imam, a man of learning, piety, and mortified life, firm (in controlling his passions), and unanimously appreciated for the exactitude of the Traditions and other relations which he handed down. He made the pilgrimage seventy times, and taught the Traditions and on the authority of (Muhammad Ibn Muslim) al-Zuhri, Abu Ishaq al-Sabi'i, 'Amr Ibn Dinar,<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Ibn Munkadir,<sup>5</sup> Abu l-'Zinad<sup>6</sup> 'Asim Ibn Abi l-'Najud, al-A'amah, 'Abd

1 Maymunah, daughter of al-Harith Ibn al-Hazn and member of the tribe of Hilal, was married to Mas'ud Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi in the time anterior to the announcement of Islamism. Divorced by the husband, she became the wife of Abu Ruhm l' Abd al-'Uzzah, and on his death she was espoused by the Prophet, A.H. 5, (A.H. 7-Ed.). She was the last of his wives. Her death took place A.H. 61, or 36 by another account.-(*Talqih*.)

2 Abu l-Qasim al-Dahhak Ibn Muzahim, a member of the tribe of Hilal, a native of Kufah, and a relation to Zaynab, one of the Prophet's wives, was a *Tabi'i* of the third class. He died (A.D. 720-1)-(Nujum).

3 Abu Salamah Mis'ar Ibn Kidam Ibn Zahir ظاهر a member of the tribe of Hilal and a native of Kufah, is known as a *hafiz* and a devout ascetic. He died A.H. 55 (A.D. 675). (Nujum.)

4 Abu Muhammad 'Amr Ibn Dinar was a *mawla* and a native of Makkah. He is counted among the most eminent of the *Tabi'is* and considered as a Traditionists of the very highest authority. He was one of the *mujtahid* imams, died A.H. 126 (A.D. 743-4), aged 80 years, *Tab. (al-Fuqaha)*.

5 Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Munkadir, a member of the tribe of Quraysh and of the family of Taim Allah, was a Traditionist of good authority. He died A.H. 130 (A.D. 747-8), or 131. (*Tab al-Muhaddithin*.)

6 Abu l-Zinad 'Abd Allah Ibn Dhikwan ذكران a native of Madinah and a *mawla* to the tribe of Quraysh, was a doctor of the law and one of the *Tabi'is*. His varied information, his talents, and his veracity as a traditionists entitled him to a high pre-eminence among the learned of that day. It is related by (Muhammad) Ibn Sa'd that he saw Abu l-Zinad enter into the mosque of the Prophet (*al Madinah*), with as many followers as a prince; some wishing to consult him on questions relative to inherited property, some on arithmetical questions, some on the meaning of obscure verses in the poems of the desert Arabs, some to learn traditions and some to have other difficulties solved. He died suddenly in the month of Ramadan, A.H. 130 (A.D. 748) aged sixty-six years. (*Tab, al-Fuqaha*.)

al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr<sup>7</sup> and other learned men. His own authority as a Traditionist was cited by the imam al-Shafi'i, Shu'bah Ibn al-Hajjaj Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Jurayj, al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkar, Mus'ab Ibn Bakkar's uncle,<sup>8</sup> 'Abd al-Razzaq Ibn Hamam al-San'ani,<sup>9</sup> Yahya Ibn Aktham the qadi,<sup>10</sup> and a great number of others. I read in a collection of anecdotes that Sufyan one day came out of his house to some persons who had come to learn the Traditions from him, and exclaimed, in a fit of ill humour: "Is it not an unfortunate case that I who sat with (and studied under) Damrah Ibn Sa'id which doctor sat with Abu Sa'id al-Khudri who sat with 'Amr Ibn Dinar who sat with Ibn 'Umar that I who sat with al-Zuhri who sat with Anas Ibn Malik, - "naming many others," should now be obliged to sit with you and give you lessons?" On this, a youth who was in the assembly said to him: "Are you in earnest, Abu Muhammad?" "Yes". "Then the misfortune which the disciples of Muhammad's companions underwent in having you for a pupil was greater than yours in having us." On this, Sufyan cast down his eyes and recited these lines of Abu Nuwas:

"Expose yourself to the aim of the archer, you may yet escape unharmed. (*Fear most your own tongue!*) better to die of the malady of silence than (*live with*) the malady of talking."

When the assembly broke up, they began to speak of the cleverness of the lad, who was no other than Yahya Ibn Aktham al-Tamimi,<sup>11</sup> and Sufyan said: "This boy is well fitted for the company of those other people," meaning the persons high in rank and power. It was said by the imam al-Shafi'i that he never saw a person more

7 Abu 'Umar 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr, surnamed al-Qibti التبطي a member of the tribe of Quraysh, or, by another account, of that of Lakhm, was a Traditionist and a native of Kufah, where he succeeded al-Sha'bi in the post of Qadi. He died in or about the year 130 (A.D. 747-8) (*Tab, al-Muhaddithin.*)

8 This doctor's life is given page 136, note (1).

9 Abd al-Razzaq Ibn Hammam al-San'ani (*native of the city of San'a in Yemen*) al-Himyari (*member of the tribe of Himyar*) was one of the most celebrated Traditionists of the age. People travelled to Yamen from all parts of the empire to study under him. He was a very learned man and composed some works. Died A.H. 211 (A.D. 826-7). (*Al-Yafi'i*)

10 The lives of the doctors which have not been given in the preceding notes will be found in other parts of this work.

11 The life of the celebrated qadi Yahya Ibn Aktham will be found in this work.

capable than Sufyan of giving an opinion on a point of law, nor one more averse to doing so. Abu 'Imran, Sufyan's grandfather, was a native of Kufah and had been employed as an *'amil*<sup>12</sup> by Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qasri<sup>13</sup>, but when the latter was deposed from the government of 'Iraq, his successor Yusuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi ordered all his *'amils* to be arrested, and Abu 'Imran then fled to Makkah, where he settled. Sufyan said that he himself was hardly twenty years old when he went to (*reside at*) Kufah, and that (*on his arrival*) Abu Hanifah told his pupils and the people of the city that a *hafiz* who had known 'Amir Ibn Dinar was come among them. "On this," said Sufyan, "I was visited by persons who wished to speak to me about Ibn Dinar, and it was Abu Hanifah who thus made of me a Traditionist. I once questioned Abu Hanifah about Ibn Dinar and he answered; "My son! I never learned but three Traditions from him, and have a very confused recollection of them." Sufyan was born at Kufah on the 15th of *Sha'ban*, A.H. 107 (December, A.D. 725)\* and died at Makkah on Saturday, the last day of the latter Jumada, A.H. 198 (February, A.D. 814);\*\* but some place his death on the first of the month of Rajab. He was buried at al-Hajun, a hill towards the upper part of Makkah, near which the inhabitants of that city are interred: it is often mentioned by poets in their verses.

## 255 AL-SAYYIDAH SUKAYNAH

Al-Sayyidah<sup>1</sup> Sukaynah, the daughter of al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn Talib, was the first among the women of her time by birth, beauty, wit, and virtue. Left a widow by Mus'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, she became the wife of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Uthman Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Hakim Ibn Hizam, to whom she bore a son named Qurayn.\* Her third husband,

---

12 See no. 184, note *'amil*.

13 See his life, no. 204.

\* 26 December Ed.

\*\* 25 February Ed.

1 The titles of *Sayyid* (*lord*) and *Sayyidah* (*lady*) are given to the descendants of 'Ali and Fatimah, the daughter of Muhammad. *Sayyid* has become *Sidi* or *Si* in the vulgar pronunciation, and *Sayyidah* is usually changed into *Sidah* or *Sit*.

\* Cairo edition gives Qurayb--Ed.

husband, al-Asbagh Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwan divorced her before the consummation of their marriage; she was then espoused by Zayd Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan, who also was obliged to divorce her by order of-Ed. (*the khalif*) Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. In another statement, the order of her successive husbands differs from that which we have here given. It was after he that the head-dress *al-turrah al-Sukayniyah* was so called.<sup>2</sup> Many amusing anecdotes are related of her witty sallies and repartees to poets and other persons: meeting one day with 'Urwah Ibn 'Udhaynah<sup>3</sup>, a man eminent for his learning and piety, and author of some pretty poetry, she said to him: "Was it you who made these verses:

"When I feel in my heart the flames of love, I try to cool its ardour by draughts of water. Could I even succeed in cooling with water the exterior of my heart, how should I extinguish the fire which rages in its interior?"

On his answer that they were composed by him, she asked him again if he was the author of the following piece:

"When I revealed to her the secret of my love, she replied, 'You used to desire (*secrecy and*) concealment when with me; be veiled then (*as to your passion*; see you not how many are around us? To this I answered, The love I bear you and the (*pains*) I feel have already cast a veil over my sight."

He admitted that these verses were also his, on which she said to the slave-girls who were (*standing*) around her: "You are free if such verses ever came from a heart wounded by love!" 'Urwah had a brother called Bakr,\* whose death he lamented in the following lines:

"Cares have come to visit me: 'it is thus with the cares of man. The Pleiades are within a span's breadth of setting. I watch the stars as they culminate in the Milky Way of travel on in their course. (*I cannot sleep*) for the sadness of which I am the constant companion; my heart seems to contain a fire of burning coals. (*My sorrow is*) for Bakr, my brother! Bakr has departed from me! what life can now be pleasing after (*the loss of*) Bakr?"

2 Sukaynah was one of the most brilliant women of her epoch. Her rank, learning, wit, and good taste entitle her to general admiration, and her judgment was consulted by the first poets of the day.

3 Abu 'Amir 'Urwah, Ibn Udhaynah, a member of the tribe of Layth, a poet and a Traditionist, died A.H. 118 (A.D. 736). ('*Uyun al-Tawarikh*.).

\* M.de Slane gives Abu Bakr--Ed.

When Sukaynah heard these verses, she asked who was Bakr? and on being informed, she exclaimed: "What! that little blackamoor who used to run past us? Why, every thing is pleasing after the loss of Bakr, even (*the common necessities of life*) bread and oil!" It is related that a musician once sung these verses to al-Walid Ibn Yazid the Umayyad during a social party, and the prince said, on learning from him that they were by 'Urwa Ibn Udhaynah: "*What life can be pleasing after the loss of Bakr? Why, the life we are now leading. The poet has left us room enough to answer his question.*"<sup>4</sup> 'Urwah was extremely moderate in his desires, and he composed poems on contentment which have circulated widely. He once set off from Hijaz with a number of other poets to visit (*the court of*) Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik in Syria. When they were introduced, the *khaliḥ* recognised 'Urwah and said to him: "Are you not the author of these lines:

I am not inclined to prodigality, and I know that He who is my purveyor will come to my assistance. If I strive attain his favours, my efforts fatigue me; and if I abstain from seeing them, I receive them without undergoing any toil?

I do not see that you act in conformity to your words, for you have now come from Hijaz to Syria in search of favours." "Commander of the faithful," replied 'Urwah, "You have given me a good lesson and reminded me of that which the lapse of time had caused me to forget." He then withdrew immediately, and mounting his camel, set off for Hijaz. During the remainder of the day, Hisham did not perceive his absence, but that night he awoke from his sleep, and recollecting the poet, he said to himself: "That man is a member of the tribe of Quraysh and his words are wisdom; he came to see me, but I repulsed him and refused to grant what he required; he is also a poet and I shall be exposed to his satires" The next morning, he asked about him and learned that he had returned home, on which he exclaimed: "Well! I shall show him that favours can find him out." He then called one of his *mawlas*, and giving him two thousand dinars, he told him to bear them to 'Urwah Ibn Udhaynah. The poet had just entered his house when the *mawla* arrived and knocked at the door; 'Urwah came out to him and said, on receiving the money: "Give my salutation to the Commander of the faithful, and ask him what he now thinks of my verses: I toiled for favours and was called a liar;" "I then returned home and they came to me."

---

4 Literally: He has enclosed in a wide (*extent of ground*).

\* According to the autograph it should be rendered: I toiled for farmers which I was denied—Ed.

This anecdote has no connexion with the present article, but having made mention of 'Urwah, we were induced to insert it. The ideas contained in the verses composed by 'Urwah have been expressed in the following terms by Muhammad Ibn Idris, surnamed Marj Kuhl, a Spanish poet:

"The favours which you pursue are like your own shadow; follow them, you cannot catch them; turn away from them, they will follow you."

Sukaynah died at Madinah on Thursday, the 5th of the first Rabi', A.H. 117 (April, A.D. 735)\*. Some say that *Sukaynah* was a surname given to her by her mother al-Rabab, daughter of 'Amra 'l-Kais Ibn 'Adi, and that her true name was 'Aminah: but others say it was 'Umaynah or 'Umaymah. The genealogist Muhammad Ibn al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi<sup>5</sup> relates as follows: "I was asked by 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib what was the real name of Sukaynah, the daughter of al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali, and on my answering that it was 'Umaymah, he told me I was right." Marj Kuhl died A.H. 634 (A.D. 1236-7), in his native place, the island of *Shuqr* (*Xucar*) in Spain. He was born A.H. 554 (A.D. 1159).

## 256 SULAYM AL-RAZI

Abu 'l-Fath Sulaym Ibn Ayyub Ibn Sulaym al-Razi, a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i, was eminent by his learning and noted for his talents and piety. He composed a great number of works, such as the *Isharah* (indication),<sup>1</sup> an explanation of the obscure terms occurring in the Traditions, and the *Taqrib* (simplification),<sup>2</sup> which must not be confounded with a work bearing the same title, cited by the imam al-Haramayn in his *Nihayat* and by al-Ghazzali in his *Basit* and *Wasit*;

---

\* The day, and date do not tally. According to Mahler's calculation Monday 4 April corresponded to 5 Rabi al-Awwal. If Ibn Khallikan has given the day correctly it should be 7 April.--Ed.

5 Abu 'l-Nadr Muhammad Ibn al-Sa'ib, a member of the tribe of Kalb and one of the learned men of Kufah, was a genealogist, a historian, and an interpreter of the Qur'an. He composed works on the subjects, and died at Kufah. A.H. 146 (A.D. 763-4). *Fihrest*, fol. 131.

1 This work is a development of the principles of jurisprudence.

2 This also is a treatise on the secondary points of the law.

this latter being composed by al-Qasim Ibn al-Qaffal al-Shashi. Sulaym's *Taqrib* is cited, however, in the *Wasit*, chap. II. of the section on pledges and mortgages. He learned jurisprudence from Abu Hamid al-Isfara'ini and instructed Abu 'l-Fath Nasr al-Maqdisi in that science. "I entered Baghdad when a mere youth," says Sulaym, "for the purpose of studying philology, and I used to go to a *shaykh*"—naming him who taught there. One morning I went to his house rather early, and was told that he had gone to the bath. I directed my steps thither, but passing by the mosque where Abu Hamid al-Isfara'ini was giving his lessons, I went in and sat down among the scholars. He was then explaining the laws on fasting and treating this question: In one of the rights of Ramadan, a man embraces a woman, but ceases before accomplishing his desires on perceiving that it is daybreak; has that man broken the fast?<sup>3</sup> Pleased with what I heard, I took down notes of the lecture on a blank leaf of a book which I had with me, and on returning to the house where I was stopping, I repeated the lesson to my fellow-lodgers, and resolved on hearing the book of fasting explained to the end, and on nothing it down; I therefore went assiduously to Abu Hamid's course of lessons till I had completed my task."<sup>4</sup> Sulaym never let an instant of time pass unemployed, and therefore a portion of the Qur'an or of the rosary when mending his red pens, when passing thorough the streets, and during those moments which he could not devote to study. Animated with the desire of propagating knowledge and of communicating his information to others, he settled at Sur (Tyre), a city of Syria but he made the remark that his reputation fell at Sur whilst that of Abu 'l-Hasan al-Mahamili rose at Baghdad. He was drowned in the Red Sea near Jiddah, on the last day of the month of Safar, A.H. 447 (May, A.D. 1055),\* on his return from the pilgrimage; he had then passed his eightieth year. His body was interred in an island near al-Jar, not far from the ferry established between the Arabic coast and 'Aydhab (on the Egyptian side). Razi means native of Ray, a large city in Daylam between Qumis and

---

3 During the fast of Ramadan, the Muslim must not only abstain from all nourishment during the interval between daybreak and sunset, but also avoid intercourse with the other sex during the same period. It need scarcely be observed that in the original Arabic this question is expressed in the crudest terms, the Muslim law not allowing circumlocutions of any kind, but requiring that every action and every thing should be designated by its right name.

4 This passage fixes clearly the meaning of the word *Ta'liqah*, which is the term employed here in the original Arabic to designate those notes of which Sulaym speaks.

\* 30 May.—Ed.

Persian 'Iraq. This relative adjective receives the addition of the letter *z*, as is the case with Marwazi (see no. 3). Al-Jar is a village on the coast of the Red Sea at the distance of a day and night from Madinah; this place gives its name to the *Jarian* wheat. Abu 'I-Qasim al-Zamakhshari says, in his geographical dictionary under the letter *shin*,<sup>5</sup> that al-Jar is a village on the sea-coast, at which the vessels<sup>6</sup> coming from Qulzum (*Suez*), "Aydhab. and the sea of al-Naam<sup>7</sup> coast anchor. Ibn Hawqal states, in his geography, that al-Jar, the port of Madinah, is situated on the sea-coast at the distance of three stations from that city. *Jiddah* is another port on the same sea. Abu Sa'id Ibrahim, the son of Sulaym, died on Tuesday the 26th of *Dhu 'I-Hijjah*, A.H. 491 (November, A.D. 1098).<sup>\*</sup> He is spoken of by Ibn 'Asakir, in his History of Damascus who mentions that he learned the Traditions from a number of the most eminent *shaykhs*, who also received some from him. His veracity (*as a Traditionist*) is well established.

## 257 SULAYMAN IBN YASAR

Abu Ayyub (or Abu 'Abd al-Rahman or Abu 'Abd Allah) Sulayman Ibn Yasar, a *mawla* to Maymunah,<sup>1</sup> one of the Prophet's

5 Al-Zamakhshari had the strange idea of placing under the letter *shin* a list of all the places between Yanbu' and Makkah.

6 Vessels مطايا the ordinary signification of the word is *beasts of burden*, but as it possesses the same primitive signification as *مراكب* (1. *beasts of burden*, 2. *ships*), it may also bear the secondary one.

7 This extracted literally from the work of al-Zamakhshari, but the sea of al-Na'am بحر النعمان is not mentioned again by him, neither is it to be found in the works of other Arabic geographers; it is perhaps a mistake of al-Zamakhshari, who might have intended to write بحر عمان *the sea of Oman*, or the Indian Ocean; or else بحر النعمان *the sea of al-Nu'man*: an island bearing this name lies near the Arabian coast at about one degree south of the gulf of Ayla. See the charts of Niebuhr and Berghaus, and the French translation of al-Edrisi's Geography, tom. I, p. 332.

\* 23 November, Ed.

1 See note (1), no. 255.



wives, and brother to 'Ata Ibn Yasar,<sup>2</sup> was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Madinah, three of whom have been already mentioned in this work. He was learned (*in the law*, a sure authority (*in the Traditions*), devout, pious, and an example set up by God for general limitation<sup>3</sup>. Al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad<sup>4</sup> said: "We consider Sulayman Ibn Yasar as more intelligent than Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab;" but he did not say that he was a more learned man or an abler jurisconsult. He taught the Traditions on the authority of Ibn 'Abbas, Abu Hurayrah, and Umm Salamah;<sup>5</sup> al-Zuhri and other great Traditionists taught Traditions on his authority. When ever Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab was asked for a *fatwa*, or opinion on a legal question, he used to tell the applicant to go to Sulayman Ibn Yasar, whom he declared to be the most learned (*doctor*) then living. It is related by Qatadah (*Ibn Di'ama*) that on arriving at Madinah, he asked who was the most learned of the inhabitants without exception, and received for answer; Sulayman Ibn Yasar. He died at the age of seventy-three, in the year 107 (A.D. 725), or, according to other statements, in A.H. 100, or 94.

## 258 AL-A'MASH

Abu Muhammad Sulayman Ibn Mihran, a native of Kufah and generally known by the name of al-'amash (*the blear-eyed*), was a

---

2 'Ata Ibn Yasar, a *mawla* to Maymuna, wife of the Prophet, was a *Tabi'i* of the first class. His authority as Traditionist and jurisconsult is admitted by all the doctors. He died A.H. 94 (A.D. 712-2). (*Tab. al-Fuqaha.*)

3 The word *حجة* means a *convincing proof*, a *confutation*. Pious men are so denominated because God will bring them forward on the day of judgement to confute such sinner as pretend that they had no person to set them the example of holiness. See no. 254.

4 Al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiyyah, a native of Madinah and *Tabi'i* is considered as a good authority for Traditions. His pupils were very numerous. He died A.H. 100 (A.D. 718-20). (*Tab. al-Fuqaha.*)

5 'Umm Salamah was daughter to Abu 'l-Salt Sahl, surnamed for his hospitality, *Zad al-Rakk* (*the provision of the caravan*), and member of the tribe of Makhzum. During the first persecutions against Islamism, she and her husband Abu Salamah fled to Abyssinia, where she bore him Salamah. She became a widow A.H. 4, and the same year the Prophet took her as a wife. She died at Madinah, A.H. 59 (A.D. 678-9), and was interred in the Baqi' cemetery near that city. *Talqih*, MS. No. 634, fol. 7.)

*mawla* to the family of Kahil, a branch of the tribe of Asad. This celebrated imam was gifted with superior abilities; he was learned (*in the law*), and esteemed an exact and trustworthy Traditionist. His father inhabited Dunbawend, from which he removed to Kufah, accompanied by his wife who was then pregnant, and she was there delivered of al-A'mash. - Al-Sam'ani observes that he was known, not as a native of Dunbawend, but as a native of Kufah. Al-'amash and his contemporary al-Zuhri were both in the province of Hijaz at the same epoch; he saw also Anas Ibn Malik and conversed with him, but had not the good fortune to hear from him any of the Traditions; those which he gave on the authority of Anas came to him from the disciples of that imam, and he attributes them directly to Anas without citing the names of those through whom they passed from 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Awfa.<sup>1</sup> He had met and conversed with the most eminent among the *Tabi'is*, and his authority was cited for Traditions by Sufyan al-Thawri, Shu'bah Ibn al-Hajjaj, Hafs Ibn Ghiyath<sup>2</sup> and a number of other great doctors. He possessed a subtle wit and was inclined to pleasantry: some students having gone to him one day to learn Traditions, he said to them on coming out of his house: "Were there not in the house a person" (*meaning his wife*) - "whom I detest more than I do you, I should not have come out to you." Having one day quarrelled with his wife, he called in a man to effect a reconciliation, and this mediator addressed the woman in the following terms: "Do not mind his bleary eyes and his thin legs, but consider that he is an imam and that he is in high estimation." On this al-A'mash exclaimed: "God confound thee! thy sole intention is to point out my defects to her." Being asked by Dawud Ibn 'Umar al-Ha'ik (*the tailor*) if the prayer was valid at which a tailor presided as imam, he replied: "That cannot invalidate the prayer if no ablution has been made previously<sup>3</sup>," Dawud then asked him if the evidence of a tailor was receivable in a court of law and got this answer: "It is receivable when accompanied with the

---

1 Abu Ibrahim 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Awfa surnamed Abu Mu'awiya al-Darir (*the blind*) al-Aslami الأسلمى was a Traditionist of great reputation, having known and conversed with Muhammad. He died at Kufah his native place, A.H. 87 (A.D. 706). (*Tab. al-Muhad.*)

2 Abu 'Umar Hafs Ibn Ghiyath, a member of the tribe of Nakha'ah and a native of Kufah, in which place he filled the duties of a qadi, is known as a Traditionist. Born A.H. 117 (A.D. 735); died A.H. 196 (A.D. 811-2), (*Tab. al-Muhad.*)

3 Prayer is not valid unless preceded by an ablution. From 'his it may be perceived that al-A'mash pretended to consider the prayer invalid if the imam was a tailor.

testimony of two respectable witnesses."<sup>4</sup> It is said that the imam Abu Hanifah went to see him during a fit of illness, and having sat by him for a long time, he said, when about to retire: "It seems to me that my presence is irksome to you." "By Allah!" replied the other, "you are irksome to me even when you are in your own house." Another time, a party of friends came to visit him and sat a long while with him; he at length lost patience, and taking hold of his pillow, he rose up and exclaimed: "May God restore to health one whom you have made sick by your wishes for his recovery." It was one day mentioned in his presence that the Prophet said: "If a man oversleeps himself when he should have risen in the night (*to pray*), it is because Satan has made water in his ear." On this al-A'mash observed that the soreness of his own eyes must have been produced by Satan's urine. Numerous other anecdotes of a similar kind are told of him.

"It is related by Abu Mu'awiyah al-Darir that Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik wrote to al-A'mash, requiring him to compose a book on the virtues of 'Uthman and the crimes of 'Ali. When al-A'mash read the letter, he put it into the mouth of a sheep which ate it up<sup>5</sup>, and then said to the bearer: "Tell him that I answer it thus." On this, the messenger informed him that unless he brought back a written answer, he should lose his life, the khalif having sworn to put him to death if he returned without one: (*findig, however, that al-A'mash was inflexible*), he begged of the doctor's friends to interfere, and they at length prevailed on him to send a written reply; it was worded in these terms: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement! Commander of the faithful! had 'Uthman possessed all the virtues in the world, they had been of no utility to you; and if 'Ali committed all the crimes of which the human race were guilty, they had done you no injury. Mind the qualities of your own little self, and adieu!"

Al-A'mash was born, A.H. 60; some say however that he came into the world on the same day. In which al-Husayn was killed: this was the day of 'Ashurah,<sup>6</sup> A.H. 61 (10th October, A.D. 680). The

4 To establish a point before the qadi, the evidence of two respectable witnesses is necessary.

\* From. 'It is' to 'adieu' not in the autograph.—Ed.

5 It may be perceived from this that the letter was written on papyrus.

6 The tenth day of the month of Muharram is called the day of 'Ashurah. It is held sacred by the Muslims. For the manner in which this festival is celebrated in Egypt, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II, p. 166.

father of al-A'mash was present when al-Husayn lost his life. Ibn Qutaybah, in his *Kitab al-Ma'arif*, counts al-A'mash among those persons who were born two months before their time. He died in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 148 (May, A.D. 765), but some accounts place his death in 147 or 149. - Za'idah Ibn Qudamah<sup>7</sup> related that he one day followed al-A'mash and saw him enter the cemetery and lie down in a newly made grave; he then came out of it, and shaking the earth off his head, he exclaimed "O! how narrow a dwelling!" Dumawand is a place situated in the province of Ray in Persian Iraq. Some call it *Dumawand*, but incorrectly. We have already spoken of it (no. 217).

## 259 ABU DAWUD AL-SIJISTANI

Abu Dawud Sulayman Ibn al-Ash'ath Ibn Ishaq Ibn Bashir Ibn Shaddad Ibn 'Amr Ibn Imran al-Azdi (of the tribe of Azd), al-Sijistani, was a *hafiz* learned in the Traditions and the sciences connected with them, skilful in discerning those of feeble authority, and eminent for this piety and holy life. He travelled to various countries to learn the Traditions and he took them down in writing from the mouths of the doctors in Iraq, Khurasan, Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. He was one of the earliest authors who compiled a book of Traditions (*Kitab al-Sunan*), and this work he presented to Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, by whom it was admired and approved: the *shaykh* Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi, in his *Tabaqat al-Fuqaha*, counts Abu Dawud among the disciples of that imam. When Abu Dawud composed his *Kitab al-Sunan*, it was said by Ibrahim al-Harbi<sup>1</sup> that the Traditions had been rendered easy to Abu Dawud as iron was rendered soft to Dawud.<sup>2</sup> "I wrote down," says Abu Dawud, "five hundred thousand Traditions respecting the Prophet, from which I selected those, to the number of four thousand eight hundred, which are contained in this book (*the sunan*). I have mentioned herein the authentic, those which seem

---

7 Abu l-Salt Za'idah Ibn Qudamah, a member of the tribe of Thaqif and a native of Kufah, held an eminent rank among the traditionists. He died in Asia Minor (*Rum*), A.H. 161 (A.D. 777-8. *Tab. al-Muhaadithin*. Ibn al-Athir's *Kamil*).

1 See no. 19, note al-Harbi.

2 According to the Muslims, Dawud or David, the son of Solomon, made coats of mail, and by divine favour the iron was wrought by him with as much ease as if it had been wax.

to be so,<sup>3</sup> and those which are nearly so; but of them all, a man only requires four for his religious conduct: the first, those words of the Prophet: "*Deeds are to be judged by the intentions*"; the second, by the same: *A proof of man's sincerity in Islamism is his abstaining from what concerns him not*; the third, by the same: *The believer is not truly a believer until he desireth for his brother that which he desireth for himself*; and the fourth, by the same: *The Lawful is clear and the Unlawful is clear, but between them are things doubtful*, etc."<sup>4</sup> Sahl Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Tustari went to see Abu Dawud, who was highly pleased on learning his arrival, and made him sit down. "I have a service to ask of you, Abu Dawud!" said Sahl. "Name it," replied the other. "Not till you promise to do it in case it be a thing possible." "If it be possible I shall grant it." Then put out that tongue with which you related the Traditions concerning the blessed Prophet, so that I may kiss it." Abu Dawud granted his request. He was born A.H. 202 (A.D. 817-8). After visiting Baghdad several times, he went down to Basrah, where he continued to reside till his death. He expired on Friday, the 15th of Shawwal, A.H. 275 (February, A.D. 889).<sup>\*</sup> His son Abu Bakr "Abd Allah Ibn Abi Dawud was hafiz of the first eminence at Baghdad, a man of acknowledged superiority for learning, an imam and the son of an imam. He composed the *Kitab al-Masabih*<sup>5</sup>, and studied in Egypt and Syria under the same masters as his father; he learned the Traditions in Baghdad, Khurasan, Ispahan, Sijistan, and Shiraz. His death took place A.H. 316 (A.D. 928-9). The hafiz Abu 'Ali al-Naysaburi<sup>6</sup> and Ibn Hamzah al-Isbahani<sup>7</sup>

3 In the Arabic text, read شيء

4 The rest of the Tradition is as follows: *Which most men do not understand; and he who avoids the things which are doubtful preserves his honour and his religion*. For the text of this Tradition, See Hamaker's *Wakidde Expugnatioe Memphis*, etc. p. 120 notes.

\* 22 February--Ed.

5 The subject of this work was unknown to Hajji Khalifah.

6 Abu 'Ali al-Hasayn Ibn 'Ali al-Naysaburi (*native of Naisapur*), a hafiz celebrated for the extent and correctness of the information which he had received from the most eminent Traditionists of his time, was equally illustrious for his piety and holy life. He inhabited Baghdad. Born A.H. 277 (A.D. 890-1), died in the month of the first Jumada, A.H. 349 (A.D. 960). (*Al-Dhahabi's Annals*, MS. No. 646).

7 Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hamzah Ibn 'Umarah al-Isbahani (*native of Isbahani*) was a hafiz of great celebrity. He died A.H. 353 (A.D. 964). (*Al-Dhahabi's Annals*, No. 646).

cite his authority.<sup>8</sup> *Sijistani* is derived from *Sijistan*, the name of a well known province; but some say that (*in the present case*) it comes from *Sijistan* or *Sijistanah*, a village in the dependencies of Basrah.

## 260 AL-HAMID THE GRAMMARIAN

The grammarian Abu Musa Sulayman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, a native of Baghdad and surnamed al-Hamid, is noted as one of those persons who were versed in the system of grammar drawn up by the learned men of Iraq. He had for master in that science Abu 'l-'Abbas Tha'lab, and was the most eminent of his pupils; he replaced him when absent and succeeded him on his death. Some good works on philological subjects were composed by him and other information was obtained from him and handed down by Abu 'Umar al-Zahid (*al-Mutarriz*) and by Niftawayh's boy, Abu Ja'afar al-Isbahani, surnamed Barzawayh.<sup>1</sup> Al-Hamid was a man of piety and virtue, and pre-eminent by his knowledge of rhetoric, grammar, philology, and poetry. He had studied also under the grammarians of Basrah, and combined their doctrines with those which he had learned from the Kufah grammarians, but he testified a strong prejudice against the former on the subject of the grammatical doctrines which they had taught him. He copied books with great correctness, and composed himself a number of works, such as (*collections of passages in prose and verse composed by the Arabs of the desert and relating to*) the human frame, bets and archery, plants, and wild animals; he wrote also an abridgment of grammar. He died at Baghdad on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 305 (June, A.D. 918),\* and was interred in the cemetery outside the gate called the *Bab al-Tin*. He was surnamed *al-Hamid (the sour)* on account of his malignant disposition: on his death-bed, he left his books to Abu Fatik

---

8 The inability of the translator to ascertain what is meant in this phrase by the words من صنف الصحيح obliges him to pass them over. The printed Arabic text corresponds exactly with that of the autograph M.S.

1 The author of the *Fihrist*, MS. No. 874, fol. 121 says nothing more of Barzawayh than this: "Barzawayh برزويه no mention is made of any works composed by him."<sup>10</sup>

\* 4 June--Ed.

al-Muqtadiri<sup>2</sup> to prevent them from falling into that hands of literary men, to whom they might have been serviceable.

## 261 ABU 'LQASIM AL-TABARANI

Abu 'l-Qasim Sulayman Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ayyub Ibn Mutayr al-Lakhmi al-Tabrani was the chief *hafiz* of his time. Having set out from Syria to collect Traditions relative to the Prophet, he spent thirty-three years in visiting 'Iraq, Hijaz, Yaman, Egypt, and the cities of Mesopotamia. The quantity of Traditions which he learned by oral transmission was very great, and the number of persons from whom he received them amounted to one thousand. He wrote some useful and curious books, replete with information, amongst the rest, his large, small, and medium editions of the *Mu'jam* (*alphabetical dictionary of Traditionists*), which are the best known of his works. The *hafiz* Abu Nu'aym and many others cited him as an authority. He was born at Tabariyah (*Tiberias*) in Syria, and having settled at Isbahan, he continued there till his death, which took place on Saturday, the 28th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 360 (September, A.D. 971),\* at about the age of one hundred years. Some state, however, that he died in the month, of Shawwal. He was buried close to the grave of Humamah al-Dawsi,<sup>1</sup> one of the Prophet's companions. *Tabarani* means *native of Tabariyah (Tiberias)*; as for *Tabari*, we have already mentioned that it is derived from *Tabaristan*. *Lakhmi* means *descended from Lakhmi*, whose real name was Malik Ibn 'Adi. (under no. 65) we have related the origin of his surname and that of his brother Judham.

## 262 ABU 'L-WALID AL-BAJI

Abu 'l-Walid Sulayman Ibn Khalaf Ibn Sa'd Ibn Ayyub Ibn Warith al-Tujibi al-Andalusi al-Baji was a member of the sect of Malik and

---

2 This Abu 'l-Fatik appears to have been a slave enfranchised by the *khalif* al-Muqtadir.

\* 23 September--Ed.

1 Humamah al-Dawsi died at Isbahan, to which place he had accompanied Abu Musa 'al-Ash'ari on a military expedition. (*Siyar al-Salaf*.)

one of the most eminent men in Spain as a *Hafiz* and a learned scholar. He lived in the eastern part of that peninsula, and travelled to the East about the year 426 (A.D. 1034-5), when he stopped three years at Makkah with Abu 'l-Dharr al-Harawi,<sup>1</sup> and made the pilgrimage four times. From thence he went to Baghdad, where he resided for three years, during which time he studied jurisprudence, read the Traditions, and made acquaintance with the learned men of the first rank, such as Abu 'l-Tayyib al-Tabari, the Shafite doctor, and Abu Is'haq al-Shirazi, the author of the *Muhadhdhab*. He passed a year at Mosul with Abu Ja'afar al-Simnani,<sup>2</sup> and pursued his studies in jurisprudence under that doctor's tuition. He continued in the East nearly thirteen years. The *khatib* Abu Bakr (al-Baghdadi) is cited by him as an authority for some of his information, and the same *hafiz* has also cited the authority of al-Baji, thus, he says; "Al-Baji recited to me these verses, composed by himself:

'Since I have learned for a certainty that the sum of my life is but an hour, why should I not be sparing of it, and devote it to piety and virtue?'

He composed a great number of works, such as the *Kitab al-Muntaqi* (choice selection),<sup>3</sup> the *Ihkam al-Fusul fi-Ahkam al-Usul* chapters

1 Abu 'l-Dharr 'Abd Ibn Ahmad al-Harawi (native of Herat) was a doctor of the sect of Ma'lik and *shaykh* of the *Haram*, or sacred territory of Makkah. He learned the Traditions of Herat, Baghdad, Damascus and other cities, and composed some works, such as *Sahih*, or collection of genuine Traditions, a *Mu'jam*, or biographical dictionary of his own masters, etc. In points of belief he followed the doctrines of al-Ash'ari, in which he had been instructed by the qadi Abu Bakr al-Baqillani. He was a *hafiz*, and ascetic, and had been noted for his *sufism*; but he afterwards married an Arab wife and went to dwell among that people in the desert. Born A.H. 356 (A.D. 967); died at Makkah A.H. 433 (A.D. 1041-2). (*Iqd al-Tamim*, MS. No. 721, fol. 161).

2 The qadi Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Simnani inhabited Baghdad and taught the Traditions there. His veracity, learning, talents, and elegant language acquired him general favour. In religion he was a Hanafite, and he composed some works on jurisprudence. Assemblies were regularly held by him at his house, and in those meetings the jurisconsults and the theologians debated different questions in his presence. He was qadi of Mosul and remained there till his death, which happened in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 444 (July, A.D. 1052). His birth took place in the year 361 (A.D. 971-2) *Simnan* is a town in the province of Qumis, but Abu Ja'far drew his origin from a Simnan in 'Iraq. (*Najm al-Mubtadi* MS. fonds St. Germain, No. 85, fol. 93 *Tabaqat al-Hanafiyah* MS. St-Germain, No. 132, fol. 161.)

3 This work appears to have consisted of Traditions, servig as basis to the legal doctrines of the sect to which Abu 'l-Walid belonged.



of established authority on the maxims of dogmatic theology), a *Ta'dil wa Tajrih*,<sup>4</sup> containing an inquiry into the credibility of the Traditionists whose authority is cited by al-Bukhari in his *sahid*, etc. He was one of the great Muslim imams. It is mentioned by him that he heard Abu 'l-Dharr 'Abd Ibn Ahmad al-Harawi say: "Were certificates of capacity valid, travelling in search of learning would be useless." On his return to Spain, he exercised the functions of a qadi; it is even stated that he acted as such at Aleppo. He was born at Batalyaws (*Badajos*) on Tuesday, the 15th of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 403 (May, A.D. 1013),\* and died at al-Mariya, A.H. 474, on the eve of Thursday, the 19th of Rajab (December, A.D. 1081),\*\* between the first and second hours of prayer.<sup>5</sup> He was interred at the *Ribat* by the sea-side, and the funeral service was said over him by his son Abu 'l-Qasim. Abu 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the author of the *Isti'ab*, studied under him, and Abu Muhammad Ibn Hazm al-Zahiri had with him some conferences and discussions, the exposition of which would here occupy too much space. - *Bajii* means native of *Bajah* (*Beja*), a city in the Spanish peninsula. There is another *Bajah* in the province of Africa, and a village bearing the same name lies near *Isbahan*. - *Batalyaws* shall be noticed hereafter: as for al-Mariya (*Almeria*), we have already spoken of it (no. 18).

## 263 ABU AYYUB AL-MURIYANI

Abu Ayyub Sulayman Ibn Abi Sulayman Makhlad<sup>1</sup> (or Dawud) al-Muriyani al-Khuzi was a Wazir to Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, having succeeded to Khalid Ibn Barmak, the grandfather of the Barmekides. He enjoyed the highest favour with the *khalif* by reason of a service which he had rendered him on a former occasion. It was this: Sulayman Ibn Habib Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Suffah to whom Abu

4 *Ta'dil wa Tajrih* signifies justification and impugning. Works bearing this title treat of the credibility of Traditionists.

\* 26 May--Ed.

\*\* 23 December--Ed.

5 The first time of prayer is the *Maghrib*, or sunset, the Muhammedan day commencing at the moment; the second is the '*Isha*', when the evening has closed and it is quite dark; the third is the *Subh*, or *Fajr*, day break; the fourth the *Zuhr*, a little after noon; the fifth the '*Asr*', mid-time between noon and nightfall. See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. I, page 82.

1 This name should perhaps be pronounced Mukhallad.

Ayyub acted as secretary previously to the khalifat of al-Mansur, had nominated that prince as his deputy in one of the cantons of Fars; but afterwards, on suspicion of his having embezzled the public money. He had him severely flogged and then obliged him to pay a heavy fine: it was even his intention to disgrace him publicly after having subjected him to bodily punishment, but Abu Ayyub aided the prince to make his escape. Al-Mansur on his accession to the khalifat, beheaded Sulayman Ibn Habib and chose Abu Ayyub as his Wazir in gratitude for his conduct. At a later period, the Khalif's feelings towards his minister underwent an entire change; he reproached him with peculation, and had even some thoughts of making him feel the weight of his vengeance. During the long period that this enmity subsisted, Abu Ayyub never went into al-Mansur's presence without apprehensions for his life; and as he always with drew unharmed, it was said that he had an ointment, prepared by a magical operation, with which he rubbed his eyebrows before he entered. This idea got such credence among the common people, that *Abu Ayyub's ointment* became a current expression. One of his ingenious parables is thus related by Khalid Ibn Yazid al-Arqat: "Abu Ayyub was one day holding a public sitting to issue his commands and his prohibitions, when a messenger came to him from al-Mansur. On seeing him, he turned pale, and when the man had retired, we expressed our astonishment at his apprehensions. On this, he repeated to us the following fable: 'It is related that the falcon said to the cock: There is not on earth a more ungrateful animal than you are. Why so?' said the cock. 'Because your masters took you when yet in the shell and had you hatched, bringing you thus into the world; they fed you with their hands and you remained among them till you grew up; but now, not one of them can go near you without your flying to this side and that side and screaming out. As for me, I was taken from the mountains when already aged, and they instructed me and tamed me; then they let me go, and I catch game in the air which I bring to my master. To this the cock answered: Had you seen as many falcons on the spit and ready for rousting as I have seen cocks, you would be even more fearful than I. And you, my friends', continued the Wazir, 'did you know what I know, you would not wonder at my being afraid even in the height of the favour which you see me enjoy;'" "The khalif's vengeance fell at length upon Abu Ayyub in the year 153 (A.D. 770); he was tortured, deprived of all his property, and he died A.H. 154. *Muriyani* means *belonging to Muriyan*, a village in the province of al-Ahwaz, or of Khuzistan, according to Ibn Nuqtah.<sup>2</sup> *Kh*uzi means *belonging to*

2 The life of Ibn Nuqtah will be found in this work.

*Khuzistan*, a country between Basrah and Fars. Some say, however, that this surname was given to him for his avarice, because he took up his residence in the valley of *al-Khuz* when at Makkah.<sup>3</sup>

## 264 SULAYMAN IBN WAHB

Abu Ayyub Sulayman was the son of Wahb<sup>1</sup> Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Amr Ibn Husayn<sup>2</sup> Ibn Qays Ibn Qital.\*<sup>3</sup> When Yazid Ibn Abi Sufyan became governor of Syria, Qital was employed by him as a secretary, and he afterwards served Mu'awiyah in the same capacity; Mu'awiyah passed him over to his son Yazid, and it was in the reign of this *khalif* that he died. Qays, Qital's son, was nominated by Yazid to the vacant place, and having served successively Yazid, Marwan Ibn al-Hakam, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan and Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, he died in the reign of the last. Al-Husayn, the son of Qays, was then appointed secretary by Hisham, and after him he served Marwan Ibn Muhammad al-Ja'di, the last of the Umayyads; he was then employed by Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah, who, on joining the party of Abu Ja'far al-Mansur,<sup>4</sup> procured for him a full pardon from the conqueror. Al-Husayn was then employed as a secretary by al-Mansur and by al-Mahdi, in whose reign he died, on a journey to Ray. Al-Mahdi then nominated 'Amr, al-Husayn's son, to the vacant place 'Amr passed subsequently into the service of Khalid Ibn Barmak and died, leaving a son named Sa'id, who remained

---

3 *Shib'b al-Khuz* (the valley of *al-Khuz*) is the name of a place near Makkah. He perhaps chose this retired place for his habitation, to avoid receiving company.

1 The family of Sulayman was originally Christian, but had embraced Islamism. (*Fakhr al-Din*), MS. No. 895, fol. 228). The father of his ancestor Qital bore the name of Matta (*Mathew*).

2 This name is written with the vowel-points in the *Fihrist*. The beginning of this article to the words *We have already stated* is copied *verbatim* from that work.

3 The orthography and true pronunciation of this name are uncertain.

\* The Cario edition gives Qihab which is not legible in the autograph—Ed.

4 Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah, governor of 'Iraq for Marwan Ibn Muhammad, fought for his master till the last, and held out in Wasit eleven months against Abu Ja'far al-Mnsur. It was only on learning the death of his sovereign that he surrendered. (See Price's *Retrospect*.)

constantly with the Barmak family. Wahb, the son of Sa'id, entered into the service of Ja'far Ibn Yahya (*the Barmakid*), and afterwards passed into that of al-Fadl Ibn Sahl, surnamed Dhu 'l-Riyasatayn. Al-Fadl used to say of him: "I wonder how any person can keep company with Wahb, and not feel seriously affected at his own inferiority." On the death of al-Fadl, his brother al-Hasan took Wahb as his secretary, and confided to him the government of Kirman and Fars, both of which provinces prospered under his administration, Wahb was drowned on his way from Fam al-Silh to Baghdad, whither he had been sent by al-Hasan with a letter for al-Mamun. Sulayman, the son of Wahb, was only fourteen years of age when he became secretary to al-Mamun; he afterwards entered into the service of Ityakh,<sup>5</sup> from which he passed into that

5 Ityakh, when a boy, was a slave to Sallam al-Abrash, by whom he was employed as a cook, and who sold him to al-Mu'tasim in the year 199 (A.D. 814-5). Being possessed of great courage, he was raised to places of the highest authority by that prince and by his successor al-Wathiq. He was named commander of the the household troops السعونه at Sarra-man-r'aa, and it was by his hand and in his house that persons condemned to death by al-Mu'tasim were executed. Under al-Mutawakkil he held the rank of commander-in-chief, general of the Maghribin and Turkish guard, grand-treasurer, postmaster-general, grand-chamberlain, and governor of Baghdad; but a circumstance happened which inspired the khalif with the utmost dread of his powerful favourite. They had been both drinking together, and al-Mutawakkil, heated with wine, insulted Ityakh so grossly, that the offended officer threatened to take his life. The next morning the khalif was reminded of the scene, and offered an apology for what had passed, but some time after, he procured a person who suggested to Ityakh the propriety of making the pilgrimage to Makkah. The permission of al-Mutawakkil having been obtained, he left Baghdad preceded by all the troops, clothed in a pelisse of honour, and authorised to exercise the supreme authority in every town through which he passed. On his return, in the month of Dhu al-Qa'dah A.H. 230 (July, A.D. 845), he was received with great honour at Baghdad by Ishaq Ibn Ibrahim, who had been nominated governor of that city in the interval, and who now invited him, had been nominated governor of that city in the interval, and who now invited him, in the most pressing manner, to come and stop at his palace. Ityakh hesitated, but yielded at length to Ibn Ibrahim's solicitations, he went in, and at the same moment the guard of four hundred young slaves who always accompanied him were shut out. Ityakh was immediately cast into chains and deprived of every nourishment till he expired, after which witnesses were brought into examine his body and depose that he had died unnatural death.--(Ibn al-Athir; Ibn Shuq.) The latter historian call slyakh the sword of the khalif's vengeance: سيف القتل للخلفاء a little similar to that already noticed, page 347, and which is now sufficiently explained by the observation of Ibn al-Athir in the foregoing extract. At the

(Continued on next page)

of Ashnas<sup>6</sup> being then raised to the Wazirate by al-Muhtadi, he was employed by al-Mu'tamid in the same capacity. He has left a collection of epistles. His brother al-Hasan Ibn Wahb was secretary to (*the Wazir*) Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyat, and director of the chancery office.<sup>7</sup> He was an able poet and an elegant writer of epistles, a collection of which he published. These two brothers were among the most distinguished men of the time. We have already stated in the life of Abu Tammam (no. 145), that al-Hasan Ibn Wahb conferred on him the place of postmaster at Mosul, and that he composed some elegiac lines on the poet's death; these we have there inserted (no. 145). I cannot give a separate notice on al-Hasan in consequence of my inability to discover the date of his death; for, as I have already observed in my preface, this book is solely intended as an obituary, and when I enter into the particulars of any individual's life, it is not because they are required by the design of the work, but merely because they may furnish instruction and amusement to the reader. The principal poets of the time, such as Abu Tammam al-Buhturi, and others of the same class, composed poems in honour of these two brothers: one of Abu Tammam's finest passages is the following, from a *qasidah* addressed to Sulayman:

"Family of Wahb! I and every man of education shall follow the path in which you tread. For you my heart (*longeth*), as the liver parched with thirst (*longeth for water*); but for the rest of men, my heart is as the hearts of others."

A man of great merit said on hearing these lines, that it would have been more appropriate to address them to the descendants of the Prophet, who alone were worthy of being praised in such terms. Sulayman Ibn Wahb died in prison, on Sunday the 15th of Safar, A.H. 272 (August, A.D. 885),\* or by another account in 271. Al-Tabari

---

siege of 'Ammuriyah, A.H. 223, *Ityakh* commanded the right wing of the Muslim army, and in the year 225 he was appointed governor of Yaman.-(Ibn al-A<sup>th</sup>ir.) His name is differently pointed in the MSS., it is found written

ايتاخ *Atyakh*, ايتاخ *Itakh*, and اماح M. Hamaker suggests, in his work entitled *Expositio adversus Dymyathm*, p. 125, that the true reading may be '*Inakh*', a word still employed by the Uzbeks to signify prince or amir. In the autograph MS. it is written ايتاخ

6 Ashnas, one of al-Mu'tasim's generals, commanden the Van of the Muslims at the sieae of 'Ammuriyah. In the year 225, he married his daughter to Afshin, the General who conquered Babak al-Khurrami. He died A.H. 230 (A.D. 844-5).-(Ibn al-A<sup>th</sup>ir).--See also Freytag's *Selecie ex Historia Halebi*, p. 84.

7 See note on chancery No. 14.

\* 1 August.--Ed.

Al-Tabari says in his History that he died on Tuesday, the 17th of the month,\* in the prison where he was confined by the order of al-Muwaffaq Talhah, the father of the Khalif al-Mu'tadid. The poet al-Buhtari composed the following verses on Sulayman:

"His resolutions are following by a prompt execution, and his intelligence discovers plainly to him all things hidden. That which is out of his sight is held present in his mind, and when his eyes slumber, his mind is awake."

This idea has been frequently employed by poets; it is thus that Aws Ibn Hajar al-Tamimi,<sup>8</sup> an ante-islamic poet, has said:

"When the man of penetration thinks of you, he may be said to see and to hear you."

The same idea has been thus variously expressed by different poets:

"He foresees so well the results of an affair, that they might be thought to have already informed him (*of their coming*).

He foresees so well the results of an affair, that by his good judgment he might be said to witness occurrences before they come to pass.

He knows so well the course of events, that he may be said to have his eye fixed upon to-morrow.

When hearts hold secret converse, (*you know what passes in them*) as if you saw them plainly."

The different manners of expressing this single idea would form a long chapter, and we shall not expatiate farther on the subject. Sulayman filled successively different places in the public offices of government, and was raised to the Wazirate, which he occupied till the time of his imprisonment and death.

\*\*It is related that khalif al-Wathiq once turned towards Ahmad Ibn al-Khasib<sup>9</sup> the *katib*, and recited to him these lines of an ancient poet:

\* 3 August.--Ed.

<sup>8</sup> Aws Ibn Hajar was a contemporary of al-Hutay'ah and Nabighah al-Ja'di.

\*\* From 'It is' to end not in the autograph.--Ed.

<sup>9</sup> Ahmad Ibn al-Khasib became Wazir to al-Munastir: A.H. 248 (A.D. 862-3).

"Two persons, both of them rich, are my debtors, and had God so willed, they had paid me before this. One of them, O my friends! is Umm 'Amr; as for the other, ask me not her name."

Sulayman, on being informed of the circumstance, exclaimed: "May God protect me! by *Umm 'Amr* is meant Ahmad Ibn al-Khasim, and by *the other* it is I who am designated." And such was really the case, the *khalif* having confiscated their property a few days afterwards.<sup>10</sup> When Sulayman was promoted to the Wazirate, (or by another account, when his son 'Ubayd Allah was raised to that post), the following verses were written to him by 'Ubayd Allah, the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir (whose life will be found farther on):

"Fortune refused us her favour, but showed her kindness for us in granting them to those whom we love and esteem. And I said to her: 'Complete thy beneficence towards them, and leave us in neglect; important business should be done first.'"

## 265 SANJAR IBN MALIKSHAH

Abu 'l-Harith Sanjar Ibn Malikshah Ibn Alp-Arslan Ibn Dawud Ibn Mika'il Ibn Saljuq Ibn Daqqaq was sultan of *Khurasan*, *Ghaznah*, and *Mawara-al-Nahr* (*Transoxiana*); prayers were offered up for him from the pulpits of Arabian and Persian Iraq, Adharbijan, Arran, Armenia, Syria, Mosul, Diyar Bakr, Diyar Rabi'ah and the two sacred cities (*Makkah and Madinah*); money was struck in his name from one extremity of the Muslim empire to the other, and the titles of al-Sultan al-A'azam (*the powerful sultan*) Mu'izz al-Din (*the exalter of the faith*) were conferred upon him. His noble spirit and his liberality ranked him among the greatest of princes; it is said that, during five

---

10 At that time the governors of the provinces confided, to their *Katibs*, or secretaries, the duty of collecting the public revenue, and the enormous fortunes which some of them acquired in the exercise of this office excited, more than once, the avidity of the court of Baghdad. The speculators were then cast into prison, put to the torture, and obliged to pay heavy sums before recovering their liberty. An instance of this may be found in the *Annals* of Abu 'l-Fida under the year 230. Sulayman Ibn Wahb was one of the *Katibs* imprisoned that very year, and he had to pay four hundred thousand dinars for his deliverance. He was then in the service of Itakh. His brother al-Hasan was confined with him, but obtained his liberty at a much cheaper rate; fourteen thousand dinars were all he was obliged to refund (Ibn al-Athir.) See also Ibn Shuqr, vol. VIII. p. 55.

successive mornings, he launched into every species of beneficence and gave away seven hundred thousand dinars,<sup>1</sup> besides horses, pelisses, and other valuable objects. His treasurer stated his conviction that the riches contained in his master's treasury surpassed what had ever been possessed by any of the Persian kings (*Chosroes*): "I one day told him" said he, "that among his stores were one thousand satin dresses, and I requested him to look at them: taking his silence for a proof of his consent, I displayed them all before him, saying: 'Why not look at what belongs to you? why not praise Almighty God for the favours and bounties he has conferred upon you?' On this he extolled his Creator, and observed that it would be disgraceful for a prince like him to have it said (*that he hoarded*) riches on riches. He then gave orders to introduce his amirs, and he shared all the dresses among them. He possessed also one thousand and thirty pounds weight (*ratl*) of precious stones; a thing unheard of in the history of any other prince." The authority of Sanjar and his good fortune kept constantly increasing till the year 548 (A.D. 1153-4), when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the *Ghuzz*<sup>2</sup> a people of Turkish origin. The history of this event is well-known.<sup>3</sup> It was then that the jurisconsult Muhammad Ibn Yahya, Whose life will be found in this work, fell a martyr. The power of Sanjar was broken by these invaders; they tore his kingdom asunder, obtained possession of Naysapur and massacred a countless multitude of the inhabitants. Sanjar remained with them a prisoner for five years, and during the interval, the kingdom of *Khurasan* was dissolved and the city of Marw fell into the power of *Khwarazm Shah*.<sup>4</sup> He at length effected his escape, and having returned to *Khurasan*,\* he collected his partisans at Marw, and was on the point of recovering his throne when the term prescribed to his life came to its expiration.

He was born on Friday, the 25th of Rajab, A.H. 479 (November, A.D. 1086,\*\* in the environs of Sanjar, and it was on account of this circumstance that he received his name. His father, the Sultan Malik

1 The dinar of that time may possess an intrinsic value of about nine of ten shillings.

2 Ibn *Khallikan* calls them the *Aghzaz*; this is the singular of the word; *Ghuzz* is the plural. Ibn *Khalidun* names them the *Aghzaz*, which word is the plural of the plural form *ghuzz*.

3 See Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*, year 548.

4 For the history of *Khwarazm Shah* Atsiz Ibn Muhammad Ibn *Auusshtikin*, see *Prices (Retrospect)*, vol. II, page 390.

\* 6 November.—Ed.

\*\* From 'he collected' to 'expiration' not in the autograph.



Shah, happened to stop at that city on his passage through Diyar Rabi'ah, when he received intelligence of the birth of a son; on which he ordered him to be called Sanjar. In the year 490 (A.D. 1097), Sanjar became the lieutenant of his brother Barkyaruq (*see his life no. 109*), and in 512 (A.D. 1118-9) he obtained the sovereignty of the empire. Having escaped from his captivity among the Ghuzz, he died at Marw on Monday, the 14th of the first Rabi', A.D. 552 (April, A.D. 1157\* and was interred in that city. The Saljuq dynasty in Khurasan ceased with his existence, and most of his kingdom fell into the possession of Khawarazm Shahl Atsiz Ibn Muhammad Ibn Anushtikin, the grandfather of Tukush Khwarazm Shah. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fariqi (*native and historian of Mayyafariqin*) states, in his History, that Sanjar died in the year 555 (A.D. 1160): God knows best!

## 266 SAHL AL-TUSTARI

Abu Muhammad Sahl Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Yunus Ibn Tsa Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Rafi' al-Tustari, a celebrated saint, gifted with miraculous powers, surpassed all (*the sufis*) of his time in the practices (*of sufi devotion*). He became acquainted with the shaykh Dhu 'l-Nun<sup>1</sup> at Makkah. The mortifications (*ijihad wariyadat*) which he practised were excessive, and the command which he acquired (*over his passions and worldly inclinations*) was extreme. From the following relation, made by himself, it appears that it was his maternal uncle Muhammad Ibn Sawwar who was the cause of his entering on the path of the devout life "My uncle said to me one day, 'Why dost thou not call to mind God thy creator?' 'How,' said I, 'must I call him to mind?' On rolling thyself up in thy clothes (*when going to sleep*), say three times with thy heart: "God is with me! God is looking on me! God is witnessing my conduct! and let not thy tongue move to pronounce these words." For some nights I did as he told me and I then informed him of it. 'Repeat the words seven times every night,' was his answer. This I did and I informed him again. 'Repeat them eleven times every night,' said he. I followed his advice, and a sweetness fell into my heart. A year afterwards my uncle said to me: 'keep in mind what I taught thee and persevere in it till thou enterest into the grave; for it will profit thee in this world and in the next.' During some years I continued

---

\* According to Edward Mahler's calculation 14 Rabi' al-Awwal fell or Friday 26 April.—Ed.

1 See his life No, 128.

the practice and found the reform, a sweetness in my inmost self. Then one day my uncle said to me: 'O Sahl! he with whom God is, on whom God looketh, and whose conduct God witnesseth, He witnesseth his disobedience unto Him! beware of disobedience.' "Such was the commencement of his devotional career. He dwelt for some time at 'Abbadan and also at Basrah, in which city he died in the month of Muharram, A.H. 283 (February-March, A.D. 896), or 293 by another account. Our *Shaykh* Ibn al-Athir mentions, in his History, that Sahl was born A.H. 200 (A.D. 815-6); others say 201, at Tustar. *Tustari* means *belonging to Tustar*, which is a town of the canton of al-Ahwaz in *Khuzistan*. This place, which is some times called *Shushtar*, contains the tomb of al-Bara' Ibn Malik.<sup>2</sup>

## 267 ABU HATIM AL-SIJISTANI

Abu Hatim Sahl Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Uthman Ibn Yazid al-Jushami al-Sijistani a grammarian, philologist, and reader (i.e. *hafiz*) of the Qur'an, was the most learned man of Basrah, in which city he had settled. Master of all the branches of belles-lettres, he had for pupils (such scholars as) Ibn Duraya, al-Mubarrad, and others, (who were afterwards) the most eminent scholars of the age. He read twice through Sibawayh's *Book*, under the tuition of al-Akhafsh; this he mentioned to al-Mubarrad, who declared that he heard him say so. Much of the oral information which he communicated to his pupils had been received by him from Abu Zayd al-Ansari, Abu 'Ubaydah, and al-Asma'i. He was versed in philology and poetry, skilled in prosody, and an able elucidator of obscure expressions. In

---

2 Al-Bara' Ibn Malik Ibn al-Nadr النضر the brother of Anas Ibn Malik, was camel-leader (*hadi*) to the Prophet, and extemporized to him scraps of poetry (*rajaz*) when on his journeys and military expeditions. He fought at all his battle and signalized himself by his bravery, having killed, in single combat, during the course of his life, one hundred infidel warriors. He fell a martyr to the cause of Islamism at a battle fought near Tustar A.H. 20-1, (Abu 'l-Mahasin's *Nujum*, *Siyar al-Salaf*). Al-Bara' was one of the *ahl al-Suffah*.- (See Abu 'l-Fida *Annals*, year 11; De Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 328.) The *hadi* جاد or camel-driver, encourages them by his song, and al-Bara' had so sweet a voice that on passing through places where there were women, the Prophet used to silence him, saying: *Take care of the glass phials*, اياك والقوارير alluding probably to the supposed frailty of the female sex.

the composition of poetry he displayed considerable talent, but his acuteness as a grammarian was so inferior that, whenever he met Abu 'Uthman al-Mazini at the house of 'Isa Ibn Ja'far al-Hashimi, he either pretended business or hurried out of the room to avoid answering any grammatical questions which the other might propose to him. He led a chaste and holy life; every day he gave a dinar in alms, and every week he read the Qur'an through. Some of his poetical pieces are very good, such, for instance, as the lines addressed by him to Abu T-'Abbas al-Mubarrad, who frequented his lessons and studied assiduously under him. Al-Mubarrad was then a youth of great beauty.<sup>1</sup> Abu Hatim said to his pupils: "If you wish to commit a secret to paper, write it down with new milk; the words will appear when the hot ashes of burnt paper are sprinkled over them. Or write with a solution of white *zaj* (*sulphate of iron*); the words will become visible when the paper is sprinkled with an infusion of nutgalls. Or else write with the latter, and you may revive the writing by means of the *zaj*." The following is a list of his works: The *Qur'an* analysed grammatically; on the faulty expressions employed by the vulgar; on birds; on the genders; on plants; on the words terminated by a long or by a short *alif*; on the difference between the names given to the members of the human frame and those of animals;<sup>2</sup> on the *readings* of the *Qur'an* a work called *al-Maqati' wa 'l-Mabadi'*;<sup>3</sup> on elegance of expression; on the date-tree; on those words which have contrary significations; on the bow, arrow, and dart; on the sword; on the spear: on the coat of mail; on the horse; on wild beasts: on reptiles; satirical pieces: on the grain when growing up; on the human frame; on the cases in which two letters must be united into one;<sup>4</sup> on biestings and new milk; on the vine; on winter and summer; on bees and honey; on camels; on herbage; on abundance and sterility; on the differences which existed between the first copies of the *Qur'an*, etc. The following is a specimen of his poetry:

"They let that handsome face appear, and then blame those who are tempted. If they wish us to be continent, let them veil that handsome face."

---

1 The original text contains here some verses composed by Sahl on al-Mubarrad. They contain the expression of a strong platonic affection, but they cannot with propriety be translated.

2 See No. 251, note.

3 The title means *stops and commencements*. Hajji Khalifah does not notice the work, and mere conjectures respecting its subject would be useless.

4 See M.de Sacy's *Grammaire arabe*, tom. I pages 23 et 53, etc.

He died in the month of Muharram (or of Rajab), A.H. 248 (March-April, A.D. 862),\* at Basrah, and was interred in the centre of the *Musalla*;<sup>5</sup> the funeral service was said over him by Sulayman Ibn Ja'afar Ibn Sulayman Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-'Abbas Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Hashimi, who was at that time governor of the city.--*Jushami* is derived from *Jusham*; there are a number of tribes bearing this name, and I do not know to which of them Abu Hatim belonged.

## 268 ABU 'L-FATH SAHL AL-ARGHIYANI

Abu 'L-Fath Sahl Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Ali al-Arg<sup>h</sup>iyani, a doctor of the sect of al-Shahfi'i, highly respected for his learning and mortified life, studied jurisprudence at Marw under the *shaykh* Abu 'Ali 'L-Sinji,<sup>1</sup> and then received lessons from the qadi Husayn al-Marwarudi,<sup>2</sup> with whose system of doctrine he became so well acquainted, that his master declared that no one knew it better. He then went to Naysapur and read over the principles of jurisprudence under the tuition of the Imam al-Haramayn Abu 'L-Ma'ali 'L-Juwayni, at whose assemblies he maintained discussions with general approbation. Having then returned to Arg<sup>h</sup>iyani, he filled the place of qadi for some years, holding at the same time a most exemplary conduct and walking in the path of righteousness. He then made the pilgrimage and became acquainted with the great doctors of 'Iraq Hijaz, and al-Jibal (*Persian 'Iraq*), from whom he received some Traditions and to whom he communicated others. On quitting Makkah, he went to visit the Sufi<sup>3</sup> *shaykh* al-Husan al-Simnani, by whom he was advised to

---

\* The autograph adds the following information; It is said that he died in 250/864, by another account 254/898 and yet by another account year 255/869.--Ed.

5 The *Musalla* (place of prayer) is a place in the open air where public prayers are said on the two great Muslim festivals.--See M.de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tome I, page 191.

1 See his life, No. 179.

2 See his life, No. 178.

3 The word 'arif عارف (*the knowing*), here rendered by Sufi is a technical term of mystic theology. It signifies one who has attained to the knowledge of the divine essence and attributes.--See the *vies des Sufis* per Djami, in the *Notices et Extratis*, tom. XII. No. 323.

discontinue the practice of discussing points of the law; he followed this confined himself to his house and lived in solitude. He then built with his own money a little Sufi convent, in which he went to reside and where he remained, composing works and practising devotion till his death. He expired on the first day of Muharram, A.H. 499 (September, A.D. 1105),\* as he was just awaking from one of his ecstasies.<sup>4</sup> He is the author of that collection of legal decisions which is called the *Fatawa Arghiyaniyah*.<sup>5</sup> He had heard the lessons of some eminent doctors, such as Abu Bakr al-Bayhaqi,<sup>6</sup> Nasir al-Marwazi,<sup>7</sup> and 'Abd al-Ghafir Isma'il al-Farisi, the author of the *Majma' al-Ghara'ib*, the supplement to the History of Naysapur and other works. *Arghiyani* means *belonging to Arghiyān*, which is tract of country in the dependencies of Naysapur, containing a number of villages.

## 269 ABU 'L-TAYYIB SAHL AL-S'ULUKI

Abu 'L-Tayyib Sahl Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulayman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sulayman al-Su'luki, a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i was a native of Naysapur. We shall give the life of his father and the rest of his genealogy under the letter M. Abu 'L-Tayyib was *mufti* of Naysapur and son of the (former *mufti* of that city; he studied jurisprudence under his father Abu Sahl al-Su'luki, who was still living when he received the title of chief doctor of the law (*imam*). It is universally allowed that for learning and the strict observance

---

\* 13 September--Ed.

4 See the meaning of the word *hal* explained in No. 16.

5 See however what our author says on the subject in the life of Abu Nasr Muhammad al-Arghiyani.

6 See his life, No. 27.

7 Abu 'L-Fath Nasir Ibn al-Husain al-'Qmari al-Marwazi, an eminent professor and dectos of the sect of as-Shafi'i was member of the tribe of Quraysh, and deseendant from the Khalif 'Umar Ibn al-Khhttab. The celebrated hafiz al-Bayhaqi was one of his disciples. He himself stuided at Marw under al-Qaffa, and at Naysapur under abu 'L-Tayyib al-Su'luki. He was an excellent professor, *mufti*, and controvertist. He terminated a life of modest poverty and virtue in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 44 (March, A.D. 1053)-(*Tab. al-Shafi in*).

of religion he stood without a rival. He received Traditions from his father, from Muhammad Ibn Ya'qub al-Asamm, from Ibn Musattir, and from others of the same class; he was also a profound jurisconsult, a learned philologist, and an able dogmatic theologian. His disciples gained much instruction from the traditional learning which he imparted to them, and it is said that when he made his course of lectures, upwards of five hundred inkhorns were in service (*the number of those who took notes being so great*). He was the most eminent professor and imam<sup>1</sup> of the age, and it was from him that the doctors of Naysapur received their information. His death took place in the month of Muharram, A.H. 387 (Jan.-Feb. A.D. 997); it is stated, however, by Abu Ya'la al-Khalili in his *Irshad*, that he died in the beginning of the year 402.<sup>2</sup> "*Su'luki* is derived from *Su'luk*" - such is the sole observation made on this word by al-Sam'ani (*in his Ansab*):

\*It is related by Abd al-Wahid al-Lakhmi that a soreness having fallen on Sahl's eyes, his friends used to go and recite places of poetry and relate historical anecdotes in his presence, a thing customary in such cases, and that the *Shaykh* Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami<sup>3</sup> said to him: Imam! if your eyes could see your face, they would be healed<sup>4</sup>. "With this compliment Sahl was highly pleased, and observed that he had never received one more flattering. On the death of his father Muhammad Ibn Sulayman, the following verses of condolence were addressed to him by Abu 'l-Nasr Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar:

"Who will hear from me, afflicted and lamenting, a message to one who, by his learning, is the first of all, (*Tell him*) that patience under affliction best becomes the man whose legal decisions are (*just*) as the judgments of God."

1 See No. 26, note رياسة الدين والدين

2 Al-Yafi'i and al-'Othmani place his death in: A.H. 404.

\* From 'It' to the end not in the autograph.--Ed.

3 This person must not be confounded with a celebrated Qur'an-reader of the same name, noticed in the life of 'Asim Ibn Abi Nujud.-See vol.II. of this work.

4 This is some what analogous to the expressed: A sight of you is good for your eyes.

## 270 SHAWAR

Abu Shuja' Shawar<sup>1</sup> al-Sa'di (*member of the tribe of Sa'd*) was the son of Mujir Ibn Nizar Ibn 'Asha'ir Ibn Shas Ibn Mughith Ibn Habib Ibn al-Harith Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Yakhnas<sup>2</sup> Ibn Abi Duwayb 'Abd Allah. Ibn Abi Dhuwayb was the father of Halimah\*\* who nursed the Prophet on the same milk with her daughter al-Shayma. The father of al-Shayma was al-Harith Ibn 'Abd al-'uzza Ibn Rifa'ah Ibn Mallah:\*\*\* it was she who was carrying Muhammad in her arms when he bit her, and she showed him the mark, (*many years later*), when she went to see him. Some say the real name of Ibn Abi Dhuwayb was Abd Allah Ibn al-Harith Ibn Shajinah<sup>§</sup> Ibn Jabir Ibn Rizam Ibn Nasirah Ibn Qusah Ibn Nasar Ibn Sa'd Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawazin. The government of Upper Egypt had been confided to Shawar by al-Salih Ibn Ruzzik 'al-'Adid's wazir, who when wounded<sup>§</sup> and on the point of death, reproached himself with three faults; the first, his nomination of Shawar; the second,<sup>§§</sup> his having built the mosque which bears his own name, and is situated at the Zawilah Gate, because it might be employed with advantage in the defence of Cairo against a besieger; and the third, his having led his troops as far as Bilbays and returning back after spending upwards of two hundred thousand dinars upon them, instead of marching into Syria, taking Jerusalem and eradicating the power of the Franks.

1 It appears from the autograph MS. that his name must be pronounced *Shawie*, and not *Shawir*, as I have hitherto written it. Indeed, William of Tyre calls him *Sauar*, and he should have prevented me from falling into any mistake on the subject.

\* The Cairo edition gives Mukhayyi; the autograph 'gives the correct form, Zakhries; de Salve however has read it as Yakhnas--Ed.

2 The printed text has Mukhis, which is a fault.

\*\* The autograph gives this further information: Ibn al-Kalbi says in the *gamharat* at Nafab that the foster father of the Prophet Abu Dhuwayb was at Harith Ibn Abd Allah Ibn at Shajnah Ibn Nasirah.--Ed.

\*\*\* M.de. Slave gives Shihannah.--Ed.

§ The autograph adds: It was he who fostered him when he was with Halimah and it was Shayma who was carrying him (the prophet) in her arms etc.--Ed.

3 The autograph MS. has خرج all the others have خرج

§§ From 'The second' to 'Franks' not in the autograph.--Ed.

Shawar then established his authority in Upper Egypt, and as his ambition, noble spirit, and bravery equally conspicuous, Salih's last advice to his son (*and successor*) al-'Adil Ruzzik was that he should neither attempt to molest him nor let any change appear in his conduct towards him; Shawar being a person whose fidelity could not be trusted, and who might revolt when it was least expected. It would be too long to relate how Salih's apprehensions were justified; (*we shall merely state that*) Shawar left Upper Egypt, and traversing the Oasis and deserts, he appeared suddenly at Tarajah, a village near Alexandria, whence he marched to Cairo. He entered that city on Sunday the 22nd of Muharram, A.H. 558 (January, A.D. 1163),\* and having put al-'Adil to death, he took possession of the wazirate which had thus become vacant, and got all the authority into his own hands. Al-'Adil had fled from Cairo with his family on the 20th of Muharram, during the night (*but had been pursued and made prisoner.*) The same year, in the month of Ramadan, Shawar proceeded to Syria with the intention of soliciting succour from (Nur al-Din) Mahmud Ibn Zanki, the sovereign of that country; he had been driven from Cairo by Abu 'l-Ashbal Dirgham Ibn 'Amir Ibn Siwar al-Lakhmi al-Mundhiri,<sup>4</sup> surnamed Faris al-Muslimin (*the cavalier of the Muslims*). This Arab, who was prefect of the palace,<sup>5</sup> had assembled a great number of adherents and having attacked and defeated Shawar, he obliged him to fly from Cairo, and slew his son Tajy. He then installed himself in the wazirat; it having become the custom of the Egypt that the victor should take the place of the vanquished. It is well-known that Nur al-Din sent the Amir Asad al-Din Shayrkuh to assist Shawar; we need not therefore enter into the longer details on the subject<sup>6</sup> and it finally occurred that Nur al-Din after having entered Egypt three times, as may be seen in his life, slew Shawar on Wednesday, the 17th or 18th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 564 (January, A.D. 1169.)\*\*. Shawar was interred in the funeral chapel

---

\* 30 December 1162.--Ed.

4 The titles al-Lakhmi al-Mundhiri given to this Arab chief, prove that he drew his descent from the ancient princes of Hirah.

5 *Prefect of the palace*; literally, *Lietutenant of the door*. This was one of the highest dignities under the Fatimids of Egypt. The officer who filled this place went to meet the foreign ambassadors and introduced them to the khalif.- (Al-Maqrizi. MS. St. Germain, No. 106, fhl. 343 v.)

6 For these events consult the *Annals* of Abu 'l-Fida, and M. Reinaud's Extraits etc.

\*\* According to Edward Mahler's calculation Wednesday could not fall on 17 or 18 Rabi al-Awwal. It could be Saturday 18 January or Sunday 19 January.--Ed.



erected over his son Taj; and which is situated in the lesser Qarafah, near the tomb of al-Qadi al-Fadil. He fell by the hand of the amir 'Izz al-Din Jurdik, an enfranchised slave of Nur al-Din's. Al-Ruhi<sup>7</sup> states, in his (*Tuhfat al Khulafa*, that he was slain by the sultan Salah al-Din, who was then accompanying his uncle Asad al-Din, and that this event took place on Saturday, the 15th of the first Jumada, in the year above mentioned; and Ibn Shaddad says in his *Sirat Salah al-Din*:<sup>8</sup> "When Shavar rode forth with his suite to meet Asad al-Din, none dared to attack him except Salah al-Din, who went up to him, and riding beside him, seized him by the collar and ordered his men to fall on. The troops of Shavar took to flight and their camp was plundered; as for himself, he was taken to an isolated tent, and immediately after, there arrived a note in the handwriting of the chief eunuch, by which the Egyptians demanded the prisoner's head in conformity to their usual mode of treating fallen wazirs. His head was therefore cut off and forwarded to them of which they sent to Asad al-Din the pelisse (*investiture*) of the wazirate. Having put it on, he entered the city and was inaugurated as wazir. This passed on the 17th of the latter Rabi' of the same year. "The hafiz Ibn 'Asakir says in his History: "Shavar came to solicit Nur al-Din's protections, and was received by him with high honour and respect; that prince sent an army with him into Egypt, and by its aid Shavar slew his rival (*Dirgham*); he did not however fulfil any of his engagements, and he subsequently sent to the king of the Franks, offering a sum of money for assistance. The troops of Nur al-Din had now returned to Syria, and the king of the Franks, animated with the secret hope of getting Egypt into his power, marched as far as Bilbays, of which city he took possession in his own name. Nur al-Din having received intelligence of this event, dispatched (*Asad al-Din Shirkuh with*) an army into the country, and the enemy, frustrated in their projects, retired on this approach. Shavar's perversity now became evident; he wrote to the enemy for assistance, and Shirkuh, struck with the danger to which perversity exposed him, pretended to be unwell, on which Shavar went to see him, but was attacked and killed by Jurdik and Burghush, both *mawlas* to Nur al-Din. The death of Shavar was certainly planned by Salah al-Din; it was he who first

---

7 The full names of this writer are Abu 'Abd Allah 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ruhi. He must have written his *Tuhfat al-Khulfa* (present for khalifa) subsequently to A.H. 564. Another of his works, the *Bulghat al-Zutafa*, is noticed in the Bib. Bodl Catal.

\* 15 February.--Ed.

8 See Schulten's *Saladini vita et res gestae*, p. 34.

laid violent hands on him. Asad al-Din then remained in undisputed possession of the supreme authority; the doctrines of the *sunnah* were again openly professed in Egypt, and the *khutbah* was made in the name of the Abbasids after a lapse of time which precluded all hopes of its re-establishment." The doctor 'Umarah al-Yamani, whose life shall come later, composed some poems in honour of Shawar, and the following lines are taken from one of them:

Iron recoils from iron, but Shawar never recoils from defending the religion of Muhammad. Time made an oath to produce another man like Shawar; thy oath is false, O Time! expiate therefore thy perjury."

'Umarah relates that at the period of Shawar's success and of the fall of the Ruzzik family, a number of their former partisans and of those upon whom they had heaped favours, were assembled around Shawar on one of the days in which he held a public sitting to receive visitors, and that they attacked the character of their former benefactors in the hopes of gaining their new master's favour. On this occasion, 'Umarah, who was present and who had met with great kindness from Salih Ibn Ruzzik and his son al-'Adil on his arrival in Egypt, recited to Shawar the following verses:

"Thy reign has restored health to our feverish times, and the evils which excited the complaints of the epoch have disappeared. The (*briliant*) day of the Ruzzik family have passed away; their praises are heard no longer, but blame ceaseth not (*to pursue them*). (*It is now*) as if the good and the just<sup>9</sup> of that family had never filled younger throne. Here are those who roused against them their evil fortune whilst it still slumbered (and peace maketh leaves to grow on the *salam* tree).<sup>10</sup> We thought-and our thoughts

---

9 There is here a play upon the names of *Salih* and *'Adil*, which mean *good* and *just*.

10 Such is the literal meaning of the original Arabic. There can be no mistake in the printed text, as it agrees exactly with the copy of the same poem contained in 'Umarah's *at-Nukat al-'Asriyat*, or historical anecdotes of the wazirs of Egypt, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 810. fol. 26, which manuscript has been corrected by the author himself. The last word of the verse he has pointed so that it must be pronounced *salam*; yet the autograph of Ibn Khallikan writes it *salim* سليم a word which does not exist in Arabic.

As the leaves of the *salam* tree were used in dyeing, and were therefore frequently stripped off, we may suppose the poet to mean, that as the *salam* tree, if left untouched, is covered with leaves and gives shade to the traveller, so the Ruzzik family, had they enjoyed peace, might have flourished and proteched all those who sought their shelter.

are sometimes mistaken --that the troop of their partisans was invincible; but when you darted upon them like a falcon (*upon his quarry*), that flock of vultures betrayed them (*and took to flight*). Yet they were no despicable foes, but they were overwhelmed by the torrent of your success. In exalting your enemies, I only mean to exalt your own glory; excuse me then, and blame me not. If I feel grateful to them for their kindness in former days, it is because I remember what I experienced, not because I had previously bound myself to praise them. Were I to open my mouth only to blame them, thy magnanimity would shrink and oblige me to close it. God, in his kindness, commands us to good and to avoid saying evil of others."

'Umarah then proceeds to state that Shawar and his sons praised him highly for his gratitude to the family of Ruzzik. As for al-Malik al-Mansur (*the victorious prince*) Abu T-Ashbal Dirgham (*the lion, father of the whelps*) Ibn Siwar al-Lakhmi, he left Cairo on the approach of Shawar with the troops from Syria, and was slain on Friday, the 28th of the latter Jumada,\* or, by another account, in the month of Rajab, A.H. 559 (May A.D. 1164). He fell near the sepulchral chapel of al-Sayyidah Nafisah<sup>11</sup> situated between Old and New Cairo. His head was cut off and borne about on a lance, and his body lay there for three days till it was partly devoured by dogs; it was then interred near the Birkat al-Fil,<sup>12</sup> and cupola was erected near it. This I have read in some histories and there is still a cupola at the Birkat which I am inclined to think is that very one. The word *Wahat* (*Oasis*) serves to designate a long tract of country lying parallel to Upper Egypt, and situated in the deserts which extend to Barqah and are crossed by the road leading to Maghrib. Tarujah is a village near Alexandria; its principal produce is earaway. Shawar's descent, as it is given at the beginning of this notice, was copied by me from a (*genealogical*) tree which was communicated to me by one of his descendants.

---

\* 22 May 1164.--Ed.

<sup>11</sup> Her life will be found in this work.

<sup>12</sup> The Birkat al-Fil, or Elephant's Pond, lay between Cairo and the citadel. (*Al-Maqrizi*)

The correct pronounciation of this name is Mukhayyis.--Ed.

## 271 AL-AFDAL SHAHANSHAH

Abu 'l-Qasim Shahanshah, surnamed al-Malik al-Afdal (*the excellent prince*) was the son of Badr al-Jamali Amir al-Juyush. His father Badr was of Armenian extraction, and had been purchased as a slave by Jamal al-Dawlat Ibn 'Ammar<sup>1</sup>, who brought him up and advanced him in the World. Badr's porudence, perspicacity, and energy of character ranked him among those men of eminent abilities whose number is so few, and he was therefore named lieutenant-governor of Tyre, or perhaps of Acre, by al- Mustansir, the ruler of Egypt. At the period in which the authority of that prince had been greatly enfeebled and the affairs of the empire had fallen into disorder<sup>2</sup>, a state of things which we shall describe in his life, he heard of Badr al-Jamali's merit and called him to his assistance. It was then in the depth of winter, a period in which it is not usual to make a voyage, but Badr embarked and arrived at Cairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 28th of the first Jumada\* some say of the second, A.H. 466 (January, A.D. 1074), and received from al-Mustansir the direction of all the public affairs. By his presence the authority of the prince recovered the respect which it had lost, and order was re-established in the state. Having been named *wazir of the sword and the pen* (*chief of the civil and military*), qadi 'l-qudat (*chief Qadi*) and president of the missionaries,<sup>3</sup> he displayed such talent in his administration, that his arrival in Egypt was generally said to be the commencement of al-Mustansir's good fortune and the end of his abasement. He was surnamed Amir al-Juyush (*commander in chief*). At the moment he first entered into al-Mustansir's presence, a person was reading the Qur'an to that prince and had just pronounced the words: *And God has now assisted you with Badr*<sup>4</sup> but did not finish the verse; on which al-Mustansir declared that had he finished it, he

1 This was probably Abu Talib Ibn 'Ammar, qadi and governor of Tripolis, who died A.H. 464, and whose nephew and successor, 'Jalal al-Mulk Abu 'l-Hasan Ibn 'Ammar, took an active part against the first crusaders.

2 See the *Memoire sur la vie de Mustansir* in M. Quatremere's *Memoires sur l'Egypte*.

\* 27 January.--Ed.

3 The Fatimites kept up till the last their establishment of missionaries, who secretly propagated the Shite doctrines in foreign countries and were their most active political agents.

4 Qur'an, surat 3, verse 119.

would have struck off his head.<sup>5</sup> Badr continued in power till upwards of eighty: his death took place in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'adah, or of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 488 (November, A.D. 1065).<sup>6</sup> It was he who built the great mosque situated in the Suq al-Attarin (*Druggist street*) at Alexandria; he finished its construction in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 479 (June-July, A.D. 1086). He built also the *chapel of the Head* at 'Asqalan.<sup>7</sup> During his last illness he was replaced as wazir by his son al-Afdal Shahanshah, whose conduct towards Nizar the son of al-Mustansir and Iftikin the Afdalite, governor of Alexandria, is so well known.<sup>8</sup> Having made them prisoners, he took them to Cairo, after which they were never more heard of. This was in the year 488 (A.D. 1095), sometime after al-Mustansir's death. He then placed on the throne Ahmad al-Musta'li, that prince's son, and continued to act as Wazir. As for Iftikin, he was executed publicly,<sup>9</sup> and so for Nizar, it is said that he was immured by his brother al-Musta'li's orders, and he thus perished. We have already spoken of him in the life of al-Musta'li (no. 73). Iftikin was one of al-Afdal's mamluks, and Nizar is the person from whom the Ismailite princes, the possessors of the fortress of al-Alamut and other castles in Persia, claim their descent.<sup>10</sup> Al-Afdal was an able ruler and possessed a superior judgment; it was he who, on the death of al-Musta'li, placed al-'Amir, that sovereign's son, on the throne: he then took the direction of public affairs into his own hands, and having confined the prince in his palace, he prevented him from indulging his passion for pleasure and amusements. This treatment induced al-'Amir to plot against his Wazir's life, and on the evening of Sunday, the 30th of Ramdan, A.H. 515 (December, A.D. 1121),\* as al-Afdal rode forth from his habitation in the imperial

5 The rest of the verse is as follows: *When you were despicable (to others); fear therefore God that ye may peradventure be thankful.* Had the reader gone farther, the first part of the verse would have been no longer applicable to Badr, on account of the modification which the sense receives from the sequel. It would then have meant; *And God had already given you the victory at Badr*; besides which the expression, "when you were despicable," would not have been flattering to the ears of the prince.

6 Most historians place Badr's death in A.H. 487.

7 It was at 'Asqalan that the head of al-Husayn, the grandson of Muhammad, was interred before its removal to Egypt. - (Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*, year 61).

8 See the history of this affair, No. 73, note on Nizar.

9 Our author here contradicts what he has just said, a few lines above.

10 See note on Nizar No. 73, towards the end.

\* 11 December.-Ed.

palace (which edifice is on the bank of the Nile and is now called the *Dar al-Wukala*), he was attacked by the conspirators and slain whilst proceeding towards the river. He was the father of Abu 'Ali Ahmad Ibn Shahanshah of whose conduct towards al-Hafiz Abu 'I-Maymun 'Abd al-Hamid al-'Ubaydi,\* sovereign of Egypt, we shall make mention in the life of that prince. In our notices on al-Musta'li and 'Urtuq al-Turkumani (no. 77) we have spoken of al-Afdal and mentioned that he took Jerusalem from Sulkrnan and 'Il-Ghazi, the son of 'Urtuk. Al-Afdal left after him such a quantity of wealth as was never heard of before; the author of the *Du'al al-Munqati'ah*<sup>11</sup> states that it consisted of six hundred millions of dinars<sup>12</sup>; two hundred and fifty bushels of dirhams, all of full weight and coined in Egypt; seventy-five thousand satin robes; thirty camel-loads of (perfume) boxes in 'Iraq gold; a gold inkhorn mounted with a precious stone valued at twelve thousand dinars; one hundred gold nails, each weighing one hundred dinars, ten of which were in each of his ten sitting rooms; and on each nail was hung a turban ready folded and embroidered in gold; each of these turbans was of a different colour, and he selected from among them whichever he was inclined to wear; he possessed besides five hundred chests of clothing for the persons in his service, all of the finest stuffs which Tennis and Damietta could produce: as for the horses, slaves, mules, saddles, perfumes, ornaments for the person, and furniture which he left after him, God alone knew their quantity. Besides all that, were cows, sheep, and buffalows in such an incredible number that no person would dare to mention it; their milk was farmed out, and in the year of his death it brought thousand dinars. Among his effects were found two large trunks containing gold needles for the use of the female slaves and the women.

## 272 NUR AL-DAWLAT SHAHANSHAH

The amir Nur al-Dawlat (*light of the empire*) Shahanshah Ibn Najm al-Din Ayyub Ibn Shadhi Ibn Marwan was the eldest brother of Shah al-Din, and the father of the two princes, 'Izz al-Din Farrukh Shah

\* The Cairo edition gives 'Abd al-Majid for 'Abd al-Hamid.--Ed.

11 See note on *Du'al-Munqati'ah* at No. 68, page 152.

12 This is an absurd exaggeration; 600,000,000 dinars or 300,000,000 pounds sterling!

and al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din 'Umar, the former of whom was father to al-Malik al-Amjad, prince of Ba'albek, and the latter was sovereign of Hamat.<sup>1</sup> We intend to give the life of Taqi al-Din. Shahanshah fell in an engagement with the Franks,<sup>2</sup> who had assembled to the number, of, it is said, seven hundred thousand men, horse and foot, with the intention of invading all the Mulsim countries. They advanced to the gates of Damascus, but by the assistance of God they were defeated. Shahanshah was slain in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 543 (July-August, A.D. 1148). His son 'Izz al-Din (*glory of religion*) Abu Sa'id Farrukh Shah (*fortunate king*) bore the title of al-Malik al-Mansur (*the victorious prince*) and was gifted with a noble, generous, and lofty spirit. When the sultan Salih al-Din returned to Egypt, he left Farrukh Shah as his lieutenant at Damascus, and that city enjoyed great prosperity under the firm and able administration of its new governor. He died there in the year 578, towards the end of the first Jumada (September, A.D. 1182); such is the statement made by the *Katib* 'Imad al-Din in the work entitled *al-Barq al-Shami*, but Ibn Shaddad says, in his History of Salah al-Din, that the sultan received intelligence of his nephew's death in the month of Rajab, 577<sup>3</sup>; this, however, was circumstance with which 'Imad al-Din must have been better acquainted than Ibn Shaddad. Shahanshah had a daughter, named 'Adhra, who founded the college at Damascus which is called after her the '*Adhrawiyah*: she died on the 10th of Muharram, A.H. 593 (December, A.D. 1196).<sup>\*</sup> As for al-Malik al-Amjad (*the illustrious prince*) Majid al-Din (*glory of religion*) Abu 'I-Muzaffar Bahram Shah, the son of Farrukh Shah, he possessed considerable abilities, and was allowed by Salah al-Din to retain the government of Ba'alabek. He is the author of some pieces of poetry which have been collected into a *diwan*. When Ba'alabek was taken from him by al-Ashraf Ibn al-'Adil,<sup>4</sup> he proceeded to Damascus, where he was murdered, in his own residence, by one of his mamluks, on the eve of Wednesday, the 12th of Shawwal, A.H. 628 (August, A.D. 1231).<sup>\*\*</sup>

---

1 Taqi l-Din 'Umar was ancestor to Abu 'I-Fida.

2 See M. Reinaud's *Extraits d'auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades*, o. 93.

3 See Schulten's *Saladini vita et res gestae*, pp. 48, 49.

\* December.—Ed.

4 Al-Ashraf received the principality of Damascus, A.H. 626 (A.D. 1228) and then took possession of Ba'albek.-(Al-Yafi'i),

\*\* 13 August.—Ed.

## 273 SHABIB IBN YAZID AL-KHARIJI

Abu 'l-Dahhak Shabib al-Shaybani was the son of Yazid Ibn Nu'aym Ibn Qays Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Salt Ibn Qays Ibn Sharahil Ibn Murrah Ibn Hammam Ibn Dhul Ibn Shayban Ibn Tha'labah; the remainder of the genealogy is well known.<sup>1</sup> Shabib Ibn Yazid al-Khariji (*the heretic rebel*) revolted at Mosul in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan whilst al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf al-Thhqafi was governor of Iraq. He slew successively five generals whom al-Hajjaj had sent against him, and he then left Mosul with the intention of reaching Kufa and meeting al-Hajjaj on his way from Basrah to that city, but the latter arrived there with his cavalry after a forced march and anticipated his antagonist. This was in the year 77 (A.D. 696-7). He then fortified himself in the citadel<sup>2</sup> and, the next morning, Shabib entered the city with his mother Jahizah and his wife Ghazalah. They immediately proceeded to the mosque accompanied by seventy men, and Ghazalah recited in it the morning prayer, and thus fulfilled a vow which she made of saying a prayer of two *rak'ahs* and of reading the *surats* of the Cow and the Family of 'Imran<sup>3</sup> in that mosque, if ever she entered the city. Her courage and bravery were extreme; she fought in all her brother's battles, and on one of these occasions al-Hajjaj himself fled before her, a mark of cowardice for which a poet reproached him in these lines:

"You are a lion against me, but in battle an ostrich which spreads its wings and hurries and hurries off on hearing the chirping of the sparrow. Why did you not go forth in the conflict and fight with Ghazalah hand to hand? But no! your heart fled from you (*as if*) with the wings of a bird."

Jahizah, Shabib's mother, was also very brave and fought in all his battles. He himself had assumed the title of khalif and was long successful in resisting al-Hajjaj, who was at length assisted by a powerful army, sent to him by 'Abd al-Malik from Syria, under the orders of Sufyan Ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbi. When these troops arrived at Kufah, al-Hajjaj went forth with them against Shabib, who, overpowered by numbers, took to flight after a combat in which he lost his sister, his mother, and the bravest of his partisans. Pursued by Sufyan at the head of the Syrian troops, he was overtaken at

---

1 See Eichhorn's *Monumenta antiq. arabum*, tab. IX.

2 Literally the castle of the government.

3 These are the second and third *suras* of the *Qur'an*.



al-Ahwaz, and unable to resist, he fled before them to the river Dujayl. On crossing the bridge, his horse became unruly and threw him into the river; borne down by the weight of his coat of mail, helmet, and the rest of his armour, he yielded to his fate, and answered to one of his companions who exclaimed: "How! Commander of the faithful! is drowning to be your lot?" "Yes; such is the decision of the Mighty and the All-knowing." His body having been afterwards cast on shore by the river, it was conveyed by the post-horses to al-Hajjaj, who ordered it to be opened and the heart extracted. His commands were obeyed and the heart was found to be as (*hard as*) a stone, rebounding when struck against the ground. Within it was discovered another heart, about the size of a small ball, and this contained the drop of congealed blood (*out of which each man is formed*).<sup>4</sup> An eye-witness relates as follows: "I saw Shabib enter the mosque; he had on a cloak with a hood, spotted over from drops of rain; he was tall and an olive complexion; his hair was curly and of a black colour mixed with gray, and the mosque shook under his weight." He was born on the festival of the Sacrifice (10th of Dhu 'I-Hijjah), A.H. 26 (September, A.D. 647),\* and was drowned in the Dujayl, as we have said, A.H. 77 (A.D. 696-7). Sometime after his death, a Kharijite named 'Itban Ibn Wasilah al-Harari was brought before 'Abd al-Malik; this 'Itban belonged to the tribe of Shayban and was one of the heretics<sup>5</sup> who revolted in Mesopotamia; his mother, whose name was Asilah or Wasilah, was of the tribe of Mahlum. He had composed a long *qasidah*, which is inserted by al-Marzubani in his *Ma'jam*,<sup>\*\*\*</sup> (and which gave great offence to the khalif). 'Abd al-Malik then addressed him in these terms; "Enemy of God! was it not you who said:

"If your family produced Marwan and his son ('*Abd al-Malik*), and 'Amr and Hashim and Habib, ours has given birth to Husayn and al-Batin, and from us sprang Shabib, commander of the faithful?"

To this 'Itban made answer: "Commander of the faithful! I did not say so; my words were: 'and from us, sprang Shabib, Commander of the faithful!'" The khalif was delighted with the answer and

4 See *Qur'an*, Surat 22, verse 5, and s. 96, v. 2.

\* 16 September.--Ed.

5 In the Arabic text, for سراءة read شراءة

\*\* Correct pronunciation is Muhallam.--Ed.

\*\*\* Correct pronunciation is Mu'jam'--Ed.

ordered him to be set at liberty. His reply was certainly admirable, for if the word *amir* (commander) be pronounced *amiru* in the nominative case, it is Shabib who is declared to be the commander of the faithful; but if it be pronounced *amira* in the accusative, the interjection *O* must be understood, and the verse will then mean, *O Commander of the faithful! Shabib sprang from our family, and nothing more.* The passage which follows is extracted from a collection of biographical notices on persons generally known by their surnames; this collection is contained in Ibn 'Asakir's History of Damascus, towards the end of the work: "Abu 'l-Minhal al-Khariji, a poet: he went to ask 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan's pardon for having addressed to him these verses:

"Bear a message to the Commander of the faithful and a prudent counsellor, if sought for, is always to be found. Tell him that no peace can exist as long as an orator of the tribe of Thaqif mounts the pulpits of our land. Give (*that*) satisfaction to the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wa'il,<sup>6</sup> or a fatal day shall await you in 'Iraq'".

(Then follow the two verses given above.) "Abu Minhal was the surname of 'Itban Ibn Wasilah, and by the orator of the tribe of Thaqif he meant al-Hajjaj. *Jahizah* was the person whose silliness gave rise to the proverbial expression, *more foolish than Jahizah*. So says Ibn al-Sikkit in the chapter of *Kitab Islah al-Mantiq* which treats of words to which the vulgar given a wrong application. The father of Shabib was one of the Muslims who fled to Kufah during the persecution against Muhammad and his party. In the year 25 (A.D. 645-6) he accompanied Sulayman Ibn Rabia'ah al-Bahili on a military expedition into Syria, during which they ravaged part of that country and carried off spoil and prisoners. The father of Shabib bought one of the captives, a young girl of a rosy complexion, tall and handsome, and ordered her to become a Muslim. On her refusal, he beat her, but she nevertheless would not consent. He then made her his concubine, and in her pregnancy, when the child quickened, she said that she felt something in her. This gave rise to the proverb of which we have spoken. She afterwards became a convert to Islamism and brought forth Shabib, in the year 26 A.H. on the festival of the Sacrifice 10 dhu al-hijjah. She told her master that before giving birth to the child, she dreamt that she had been delivered of a boy, and that a flame of fire then issued from her and mounted up between the earth and the sky, after which it fell into the water and was

---

6 Bakr Ibn Wa'il was one of Shabib's ancestors: See Richhonor, *Tab*, IX.

extinguished. 'And,' said she, as the day of his birth is a day of bloodshed, I hope my son will reach to eminence and spill much blood;" The *Dujayl* (little Tigris) is a large river in the province of al-Ahwaz, having a number of towns and villages on its banks; it takes its rise near Isbahan, and its bed was dug by Ardashir Ibn Babek, the first of the Sasanite dynasty at al-Madain (*Ctesiphon*). It must not be confounded with the Dujayl of Baghdad which branches off the Tigris opposite to al-Qadisiyah, on the west side of the river, between Tikrit and Baghdad, and waters an extensive territory. *Haruri* means belonging to *Harurah*, a village in the territory of Kufah, where the *Kharijites* first assembled; it was for this reason, that they were called the *Harurites*.

## 274 THE QADI SHURAYH

Abu Umayyah *Shurayh* Ibn Qays Ibn al-Jahm Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn 'Amir Ibn al-Harith Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn Thawr Ibn Muratt<sup>1</sup> belonged to the tribe of Kindah (*al-Kindi*).

*Thawr* Ibn Muratt<sup>1</sup> was the person who bore the appellation of Kindah. Great differences subsist between the genealogies given as those of *Shurayh*, but the preceding is the most correct of any. This eminent Tabi'i came into the world before the promulgation of Islamism, and was appointed qadi of Kufah by 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab. He filled that post seventy-five years, with only one interruption, at the period of Ibn al-Zubayr's revolt, when he obtained the authorisation of al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf to discontinue his services, and did not judge in any cause till three years after, on the death of Ibn al-Zubayr. Gifted with deep intelligence, penetration, knowledge, judgement, and great skill in distinguishing right from wrong, he was the ablest qadi of the age; it is even stated by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, that he possessed considerable talent as a poet. He was one of the four persons who were called the *smooth-faced chiefs* (*al-Sadat al-Tuls*); the other were "Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr, Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ubadah<sup>2</sup>

---

1 In my *Diwan d'Amra 'l-Kais*, page 1, this name is incorrectly transcribed *Murti*.'

2 Abu 'Abd Allah Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ubadan Ibn Daylam was placed by his father in the service of the Prophet, and merited, by his generous character and bravery, the honour of being admitted into his master's

(Contd.. on next page)

and al-Ahnaf Ibn Qays, he whose prudence became proverbial<sup>3</sup>. Shurayh was much inclined to pleasantry; 'Abi Ibn Artah went to his house one day, and the following dialogue ensued: "Where are you qadi? may God direct you!" "I am between you and the wall." "Listen to me." "I can hear very well."- "I am a native of Syria." It is a distant land." "And I have married a wife from your country." "May you live happily and have many children." "And I wanted to take her on a journey." "Each man has the best right over his own family." "But I engaged not to remove her from native place." "Engagements are binding." "Judge then between us." "I have already done so." "And against whom have you given it?" "Against your mother's son." "On whose evidence?" "On the evidence of your maternal aunt's sister's son."

It is related that (*the Khalif*) 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib went before the qadi Shurayh with a tributary subject<sup>5</sup> who was his adverse party in a suity; when he entered, Shurayh stood up (*to salute him*), on which he said: "This is the first time you ever did wrong." He then leant back against the wall, observing that if his adversary had been a Muslim, he would have sat down by his side. It is also stated that 'Ali once convened a meeting of the *Qur'an-readers* in the court of the mosque; when they were assembled, he told them that he should soon quit them, and began to question them on different points. During all the time, Shurayh kept silent, till 'Ali at length asked his opinion. When the consultation was over, 'Ali addressed him in these terms: "You may go; you are the most excellent of men;" or by another relation, "You are the most excellent of Arabs." Shurayh took a wife in the tribe of Tamin, whose name was Zaynab. Being once displeased with her, he beat her, but afterwards repented of his conduct and pronounced these verses:

---

familiarity and of bearing his standard in some of his campaigns. He was appointed governor of Egypt by the *Khalif* 'Ali, A.H. 37 (A.D. 657), but a few months afterwards he lost his place though the machinations of Mu'awiyah (see Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*, year 36). He fought under 'Ali against the *Kharijites* at al-Nahrawan, and against the Syrians commanded by Mu'awiyah, at Siffin. In the year 41 he led the van of al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali's army at al-Mada'in, and when that prince acknowledged the authority of Mu'awiyah, he followed his example and then returned to Madinah, where he finished his days, A.H. 39 (A.D. 678-9).-(Abu 'l-Mahasin's *Nujum* and al-Bahr al-Zakhkhar.)

3 The life of al-Dahhak Ibn Qays, surnamed al-Ahnaf, will be found in this volume.

4 This is a common proverb. See *Freytag's Meidani*, tom I. p. 669.

5 In Arabic *dhimmi*; see No. 117, note 2.

"I have seen men beat their wives; may my right hand be dried up on the day in which I again strike Zaynab. Shall I strike her when she has committed no fault?. It would not be just in me to strike the guiltless. Zaynab is the sun, and the rest of women are stars; when she appears not one them is seen.'.

Such is the manner in which this anecdote is related by (*Ibn 'Abd Rabbih*) the author of the '*Iqd*. It is related that Ziyad Ibn Abih<sup>6</sup> wrote these words to (*the Khalif*) Mu'awiyah Commander of the faithful! My left hand holds 'Iraq in submission unto you, and my right is unoccupied and waits to be employed in your service; appoint me therefore governor of Hijaz. "This request having reached the ears of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Umar,<sup>7</sup> who was residing at Makkah, he exclaimed: "O God! withhold from us the right hand of Ziyad." A pestilential swelling immediately broke out on it, and the assembled physicians having advised amputation, Ziyad called in *Shurayh* and consulted him on the lawfulness of such an operation; *Shurayh* returned this answer; "God's bounty towards you has a certain measure, and your life a fixed limit: if you are to live longer in this world, I should not wish to see you without a right hand<sup>8</sup>; and if the time of your death be now come, you will have to say, when asked by thy Lord how you lost your hand; 'It was through dislike of meeting thee, and to avoid what thou hadst predestined,'" Ziyad died that day, and his enemies having then reproached *Shurayh* with preventing his hand from being cut off, they received from him this answer "He asked counsel from me, and he whose counsel is asked should act with sincerity; were it not so, I should have wished his hand to be cut off one day, and his foot another, and then every limb of his body, day by day." The qadi *Shurayh* died A.H. 87 (A.D. 706); at the age of one hundred years; but other accounts place his death in the years 82, 78, 80, 79, and 76 at the age of one hundred and twenty years, or of one hundred and eight. *Kindi* is the relative adjective derive from *Kindah*, which was the surname of *Thawr* Ibn Muratt' Ibn Malik Ibn Zayd Ibn Kahlan. Some say that *Thawr* was the son of 'Ufayr Ibn al-Harith Ibn Murrah Ibn Udad: he received the name of *Kindah*" because he had been ungrateful (*Kanada*) for his father's kindness.<sup>9</sup>

---

6 See No. 141, note 9.

7 See note (1), No. 249.

8 Amputation of the hand was the punishment inflicted on thieves.

9 The *Qamus* says, that *Kindah* was so called because he had been ungrateful for his fathers's kindness and went to live with his maternal uncles.

## 275 THE QADI SHARIK

Abu 'Abd Allah Sharik al-Nakha'i descended from al-Nakh' by the following line; he was the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Sharik al-Harith Ibn Aus Ibn al-Harith Ibn al-Adhal Ibn Wahbil Ibn Sa'd Ibn al-Malik Ibn al-Nakh'; in the life of Ibrahim al-Nakhai (no: 1) will be found the rest of the genealogy. Sharik filled the place of qadi at Kufah under the reign of al-Mahdi, but was deprived of his situation by the Khalif Musa al-Hadi. He was a man of learning and an able jurisconsult, shrewd, acute, and intelligent. During a discussion which he had with Mas'ab Ibn "Abd Allah al-Zubayri<sup>1</sup> in al-Mahdi's presence, Mus'ab reproached him with depreciating the Khalifs Abu Bakr and 'Umar, and received this answer: "I do not depreciate your ancestor, and yet he was their inferior." In the course of conversation which passed at his house concerning (the khalif) Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan, some person said that he was a man of prudence: on which Sharik observed that he who treated the just rights of others with contempt, and waged war with 'Ali the son of Abu Talib, could not be held as such. Another time, a number of students went to hear Traditions from him, and finding that he smelt of wine (*nabidh*), they observed that if such an odour came from them, they should be ashamed of themselves, to which he replied: " (*Y6lu say that*) because you feel that you might be justly suspected." Having one day gone to see al-Mahdi, that Khalif said to him: "I have three proposals to make to you, and I shall insist on you according to one of them; you must become a qadi,<sup>2</sup> or teach Traditions to my sons and instruct them, or eat amorsel with me. "Sharik, who had not as yet acted as qadi, reflected for sometime, and then answered that of the three things, eating a morsel would be the easiest on his conscience. Al-Mahdi then told him to sit down, and called in his cook, he ordered him to prepare a number of dishes and, the rest, marrow coagulated with sugar-candy and honey. When this collation was set before Sharik, he partook of it, and when he had finished, the cook said to al-Mahdi. "By Allah! Commander of the faithful! now that the Shaykh has eaten of that, he is undone." "And such was in fact the case," said (the *wazir*) al-Fadl Ibn al-'Rabi' "for after that, the Shaykh instructed the Khalif's sons, and taught them the Tradition, and

1 See note on Mus'ab No. 84.

2 The aversion of pious Muslims to fill the place of qadi has been already notified, No. 104. Sharik had another motive for refusing such a post: it would have been necessary for them to take the oath of allegiance to the Umayyides, and to this, as a partisan of 'Alis' family he could not conscientiously assent:

served under the 'Abbasids in the capacity of qadi. "Sometime after having received a draft of the (*court*) banker for his service, he insisted on being paid in coin of full weight, and when the other told him that, after all, (*the difference*) would not suffice to by him a suit of clothes, he answered: "And yet I gave for it something better than a suit of clothes: I gave up for it my religious convictions." Al-Hariri relates in his *Durrat al-Ghawwas*, that Sharik was one day speaking of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib's merits in the presence of a member of the Umayyad family who used to frequent his society, and the latter said: "He was indeed an excellent (*ni'am*) man." "How," exclaimed Sharik, "is it in speaking of 'Ali that it should merely be said, *He was an excellent man?*" The Umayyad remained silent till Sharik's anger cooled and then said. "O Abu 'Abd Allah! did not God say, when speaking of himself, *And we were able to do this; for it is we who are most (ni'am) powerful?*<sup>3</sup> And did he not say of Job, *We found him a patient person: how excellent (ni'am) a servant was he! for he was one who frequently turned himself unto us?*<sup>4</sup> "And of Solomon, *And he gave unto David, Solomon; how excellent (ni'am) a servant!*<sup>5</sup> Who then not be satisfied at 'Ali's being spoken of in the same terms which God was pleased to apply to himself and to his prophets?" Sharik then perceived his mistake and conceived for the Umayyad a higher esteem than ever. As qadi, he judged with strict equity and was almost always in the right. He had an answer ready on every occasion; being asked his opinion concerning a man who intended, at morning prayer, to say the *qunut*<sup>6</sup> before making *ruku's*,<sup>7</sup> but who did not say it till after, he replied: "That man intended to do wrong, but did right." He was born at Bukhara, A.H. 95 (A.D. 713-4); he filled the post of qadi at Kufah and afterwards at al-Ahwaz, and died at the former place on Saturday, the first of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 177 (February, A.D. 974). Khalifah Ibn Khayyat mentions that his death occurred in the year 177 or 178. Harun al-Rashid was then at Hirah, and went to say the funeral service over him, but finding on his arrival that it had been already performed, he returned back. "*Nakha'i* is derived from al-Nakh', which is the name of great branch of the tribe of Madhhij;"

---

3 *Qur'an*, sur. 77, v. 23.

4 *Ibid*, sur. 38, v. 44.

5 *Ibid*, sur. 38, 29.

6 See page 143, note on *qunut*.

7 The form of prayer consists of a number of *ruku's* or inclinations of the body, accompanied with certain pious invocations. See *Lan'e Modern Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 86, and D. Ohlsson's *Tab. gen del'Emp. Othom* tom. II. p. 82.

so I find it stated by Ibn al-Kalbi in his *Jamharat al-Nisab*, and I have read in another copy (of the same work) that Ibn Abi Sharik, Sharik's ancestor, was named Aws, and that he was son to al-Harith Ibn Wahbi (a genealogy different from that given above). God best knows the truth.

### \*276 SHAQIQ AL-BALKHI

Abu 'Ali Ibn Ibrahim al-Balkhi, one of the Shaykhs of Khurasan, was very eloquent about *tawakkul* (trust in God) and used to praise it vehemently. He lived in the company of Ibrahim Ibn Adham and acquired (the principles of) the *Tariqah* from him, and he was (spiritual) guide of Hatim al-Asamm (the Deaf). He visited the land of the Turks for trading, in his youth. He entered their temple and said to a savant; "Verily, whatever you are doing is false. For this creation there is a Creator and there is none like Him; He makes provisions for all." The other replied; "Your actions do not correspond with your statements". Shaqiq said: "How?" He said you believe that there is a Creator, omnipotent, and you have travelled to this place in search of your provision. "Shaqiq stated; "This remark of the Turk was the cause of my abstainence." Then he retired and gave in alms whatever he possessed and engaged himself in the pursuit of knowledge.

He died in the year A.H. 153 (A.D. 774) Ibn al-Jawzi has noticed him *al-Shudhur al-Uqud*.

### 277 SHUHDAH AL-KATIBAH BINT AL-IBARI

Shuhdah Bint (daughter of) Abi Nasr Ahmad Ibn al-Faraj Ibn 'Umar al-Ibari, surnamed Fakhr al-Nisa (glory of women) and *al-Katibah* (the femal scribe,) sprang from a family established at Dinawar; but she herself wa born and died at Baghdad. By her learning she acquired an extensive reputation and ranked among the first scholars of the age; she wrote a beautiful hand and instructed great numbers

---

\* This notice is neither to be found in the autograph nor in de Slane's edition. It is included in subsequent editions.--Ed.



in the traditions, which she had received from the highest authorities: thus connecting the traditionsists of the rising generation with those of the past. She died on the afternoon of Sunday, the 13th of Muharram, A.H. 574 (July, A.D. 1178), aged upwards of ninety years, and was interred in the cemetery outside the Abzar<sup>1</sup> Gate. *Ibari* is derived from *ibar*, the plural of *ibra* (needle,) which is the name of the instrument used in sewing. The person who bore this surname must have made or sold needles. *Dinawar* is a town in Jibal (Persian Iraq) *Dinawari*, the surname derived from it has been borne by many learned men. Abu al-Sa'd al-Sam'ani says that this name is pronounced *Daynawar*, but *Dinawar* is preferable<sup>2</sup>. Her father, Abu Nasr Ahmad died at Baghdad on Saturday, the 23rd of first Jumada, A.H. 506 (November, A.D. 1112\*) and was interred at the Abzar Gate. Ibn al-Najjar says in his History of Baghdad, speaking of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya al-Durayni, who is better known by the name of *Thiqat al-Dawlat*<sup>3</sup> al-Anbari (*al-Durayni*) was a man of eminent rank and a favourite of the *khalif al-Muktafi* (*li amrillah*;) he possessed some instruction and had a talent for poetry. He built a college for Shafi'is on the bank of the Tigris, at the gate of al-Azj, and erected close by it a convent for (*ribai*) Sufis; on these two establishments he settled a handsome property. He studied the Traditions, for al-Sam'ani says that he served (*as a domestic and pupil*) of Abu Nasr Ahmad Ibn al-Faraj al-Ibari and received from him his daughter *Shuhdah al-Katibah* in marriage. He then rose in the world till he became the favourite of al-Muktafi. His birth took place A.H. 475 (A.D. 1082-3) and his death A.H. 549 on Tuesday the 16th of *Sha'ban* October, (A.D.\*\* 1154). He was interred in the court of his house situated in the square before the principal mosque, but on the death of his wife *Shuhdah*, in the month of Muharram, A.H. 574 his body was removed to the Abraz cemetery, and interred, (near her) close to the *Tajiyah* college."

## 278 SHIRKUH IBN SHADHI

Abu 'l-Harith Shirkuh Ibn Shadhi Ibn Marwan, surnamed al-Malik

\* 16 November-Ed.

1 In the autograph this name is written as Abraz.

2 Abu 'l-Feda pronounces this name *Daynawar*.

3 *Thiqat al-Dawlat* is a title of honour, which might be translated: devoted to the dynasty.

\*\* 26 October-Ed.

al-Mansur (*the victorious Prince*) Asad al-Din, *the lion of the faith* was uncle to the sultan Salah al-Din. Some particulars of his life have been already given in the life of Shawar, who (*as we have there said*) went to Syria, A.H. 559 (A.D. 1163-4) to obtain Nur al-Din's assistance against the Franks<sup>1</sup>. It is stated however by Baha al-Din Ibn Shaddad in his History of Salah, al-Din<sup>2</sup> that he proceeded to Syria, A.H. 558 and that they Shirkuh and Shawar entered Egypt on the 2nd of latter Jumada\* of the same year. Nur al-Din sent with him a detachment of troops under the command of Asad al-Din Shirkuh, but on their arrival, Shawar acted with such duplicity and bad faith, that on the 7th of Dhul 'Hijjah in the same year, they set out again for Damascus. In the month of the first Rabi' (January, A.D.) Shirkuh proceeded a second time to Egypt with the design, which he had already formed during his first expedition of getting that country into his own possession. He followed the road which leads through Wadi 'l-Ghizlan<sup>3</sup> and appeared before Itfih.<sup>4</sup> In this expedition he fought the celebrated battle of al-Babayn near 'Ishmunayn<sup>5</sup> Salah al-Din *who accompanied him* then entered Alexandria, where he fortified himself, and had to sustain a siege against Shawar and the Egyptian army. Asad al-Din Shyikuh, who had marched into Upper Egypt, then returned and halted at Bilbays, where he made a peace with the Egyptians. Being there joined by Salah al-Din, whom they escorted to him across the country, he withdrew into Syria. In the year 564 the Franks took Bilbays and massacred the inhabitants, on which the people of Egypt sent to Shirkuh for assistance, promising to accept whatever conditions he might propose. Encouraged by their favourable disposition, he entered Egypt in the month of the first Rabi' of the above year December, A.D. 1168 and delivered them from the Franks. Shawar then formed the design of Shirkuh and his principal officers, but they anticipated his project by putting him to death, as we have already related no. 271; Shirkuh was then raised to the wazirat on Wednesday, the 17th of the latter Rabi' A.H. 564; he filled that post two months and five days when he died suddenly

1 Consult Abu 'l-Fida's *Annal*, and Reinaud's *Extraits d'auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades*

2 *Salarini vita et res gestae*, p. 30.

\* 8 May 1162 A.D.—Ed.

3 I have not been able to determine the precise position of Wadi 'l-Ghizlan, or Gazelle Valley. It lies probably between Atfih and Suez.

4 Atfih is situated on the Nile, above Cairo.

5 In this battle he defeated the combined army of the Franks and Egyptians.

at Cairo, on Saturday the 28th or, according to al-Rawhi, on Sunday the 23rd<sup>6</sup> of the latter Jumada 564 (March, A.D. 1169). He was buried in that city, but afterwards, his body was conveyed to, Madinah, in pursuance to his last wishes. Salah al-din was his successor. Ibn Shaddad says in his History: "Asad al-Din was a great eater, and extremely fond of the coarsest kinds of animal food; this subjected him to indigestions and cholics, from which he did not recover without suffering severely; and he died from a sharp attack of this kind which was followed by a violent quinsy. He left an only son, named Nasir al-Din Muhammad, and surnamed al-Malik al-Qahir (*the powerful prince*). In the month of Rajab which followed Shirkuh's death, his family were deprived of Emessa, which was taken from them by Nur al-Din; but Salah al-Din, on obtaining possession of Syria, restored it to Nasir al-Din, who continued to hold it till his death, which took place on the 9th of Dhu'l Hijjah, A.H. 581 March, A.D. 1186. His body was taken to Damascus by his wife and cousin, Sitt al-Sham, the daughter of Ayyub, who interred it near the tomb of her brother Shams al-Dawlat Turan Shah whose life has been given, no. 126, in the funeral chapel erected by her in the college which she had founded outside the city. The government of Emessa passed to his son (*who was named after his grandfather*) Asad al-Din, Shirkuh. This prince was born A.H. 637 (A.D. 1173-4) and died at Emessa on Tuesday, the 19th of Rajab, A.H. 637 (February, A.D. 1240); he was interred in a funeral chapel within the city walls.\* (Besides Emessa, he possessed Rahabal, Tadmur (*Palmyra*) and Maksin in the province of al-Khabur<sup>7</sup>. He left a number of children and was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Mansur (*the victorious prince*) Nasir al-Din, *the champion of the faith*) Ibrahim, who remained in possession of the government till his death, which took place at Nayrab<sup>8</sup> in the Ghutae<sup>9</sup> of Damascus, on Friday, the 10th of Safar, A.H. 644 (June, A.D. 1246). His body was borne to Emessa and interred in the mosque of al-Khidr<sup>10</sup> which is situated to the south of the city. His

6 *Saladini vita*, p. 34.

\* From 'Besides' to end not in the autograph.—Ed.

7 Al-Khabur is a river in Mesopotamia.

8 Nayrab is situated at half a parasang from Damascus, in the midst of gardens.—(*Marasid*).

9 The Ghutah is the name given to the cultivated country around Damascus.

10 Khidr is considered by the Muslims as one of the ancient patriarchs and prophets. He is the tutelary saint of travellers on land, as Elias is of voyagers. These two meet once a year at Makkah during the pilgrimage. See Reinaud's *Monuments Arabes, Persons et Turcs*, tom. I p. 169.

son, al-Malik al-Ashraf (*the most noble prince*) Muzaffar al-Dawlat (*the victory of the empire*) Abu 'I-Fath Musa succeeded to the throne. When I was in Damascus, towards the end of the year 661 C:tober-A.D. 1263 this prince informed me that he was born in the year of the defeat sustained by the Khwarazmites in the land of Rum<sup>11</sup> and that his father was returning from it with the troops when he received intelligence of the birth of a son; that battle was fought in the month of Ramadan, A.H. 627 (July-August, A.D. 1230) as we have stated in the life of al-Malik al-Ashraf, Musa Ibn al-'Adil, where we have given some account of it. He related to me also that when his father received this pleasing news, he said to al-Malik al-Ashraf Ibn al-'Adil: "My lord, *Ya Akhwand*, the number of your slaves is increased by one." On this the prince ordered the child to be called after himself, Al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa, the son of al-Mansur, died at Emessa on Friday, the 10th of Safar, A.H. 662 (December, A.D. 1263)\* and was interred near the tomb of his grandfather Asad al-Din Shirkuh, inside the city: his birth may be placed by approximation in the month of Shawwal, 627 (August-September, A.D. 1230) Shirkuh is a Persian word, and signifies *the lion of the mountain*; shir means *lion*, and kuh, *mountain*. In the year 555 (A.D. 1162) Shirkuh set out from Damascus for the pilgrimage to Makkah, and took the road leading through Tayma and Hunayn; that same year Zayn al-Din 'Ali Ibn Baktikin set out with the same intention, and proceeded thither by the road of the 'Iraq pilgrim-caravan; the two princes met at al-Hulayfah.<sup>12</sup>

---

11 In A.H. 627 Jalal al-Din, prince of Khwarazm, took the city of Khalat خلاط in which he committed every excess; but al Malik al-Ashraf, the former sovereign of the place, joined his troops to those of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Ibn Kaykhusru, prince of Rum, and assisted by the Syrians under the command of Siwash, he marched against the Khawarazmites, defeated them completely and retook the city.-(Abu 'I-Fida'a *Annals* Price's *Retrospect*, t II. p. 415. Abu 'I-Faraj, *translation*, p. 306. Al-Yafi'i's *Annals*.)

\* 14 December.-Ed.

12 Hulayfah, or Dhu Hulayfah is a village six or seven miles from Madinah. It may be seen that I read واجتمع بالحليف and not واجمعا بالخليف as in the printed text and the manuscripts. This passage and the history of Shirkuh's descendants is not to be found in the autograph MS.

ص

## 279 ABU 'UMAR AL-JARMI

Abu 'Umar Salih Ibn Ishaq al-Jarmi was a jurisconsult, a learned grammarian, and a philologist. Having left Basrah, his native place, he proceeded to Baghdad, where he studied under al-Akhfash and others; he met there also Yunus Ibn Habib, but did not see Sibawayh. In philology he had four masters Abu 'Ubaydah, Abu Zayd al-Ansari, al-Asma'i, and their contemporaries. He was religious, devout, exemplary in his life, and orthodox in his belief. He taught the traditions, and composed a good grammatical treatise, which was entitled *al-Farkh* (the chicken,) because it was hatched from Sibawayh's great work, the *Kitab*. When at Baghdad he had discussions with al-Farra. Abu 'I 'Abbas al-Mubarrad relates as follows; Abu 'Umar al-Jarmi told me that he had read through the *Diwan of the Hudhaylites* under al-Asma'i, who surpassed Abu 'Ubaydah by his superior acquaintance with that work; and he mentioned to me that on finishing, al-Asma'i said to him: 'O Abu 'Umar; if a member of the tribe of Hudhayl happen to be neither a poet, nor an archer, nor a runner, there is no good in him. Speaking also of this passage of the Qur'an: *And follow not that whereof thou hast no knowledge*,<sup>1</sup> he said to me: "Say not, I have heard When you did not hear, or I have seen when you did not see, nor I have known, when you did not know; for the hearing, the sight, and the heart shall all be subjects on which thou wilt have to answer before God" Al-Mubarrad said also: "None knew better than al-Jarmi the *Kitab* of Sibawayh; and it was under him that the great majority studied. He was deeply learned in philology, and knew by heart many illustrative passages and the subject; he wrote also some works of an original cast, and he held a high rank as a traditionist and historian. He is the author of a fine work on the life of Muhammad *Kitab fi 'l-Siyar*, a treatise on the forms of verbs and nouns,<sup>2</sup> another on prosody, an abridgment of grammar, and an explanation of the difficulties in the verses quoted by Sibawayh (in his grammatical work, the *Kitab*). The hafiz Abu Nu'aym mentions him in the history of Isbahan. Al-Jarmi died A.H. 225 A.D. 832-40. The relative adjective *Jarmi* is derived from *Jarm*; there were

---

1 Qur'an, sur. 17, v. 38.

2 See Hajji Khalifah, No. 31.

a number of tribes so called, but I know not which of them it was that gave its name to this Abu 'Umar. He did not belong to the tribe, but had dwelt with them for a time, whence his appellation of al-Jarmi. I have since found in the *Fihrist*<sup>3</sup> a work composed by Abu 'l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, who is generally known by the name of Ibn Abi Ya'qub al-Warraq (*the copyist*) al-Nadim al-Baghdadi: that Abu Umar was a *mawla* to the tribe of Jarm Ibn Rabban and al-Sam'ani says in his genealogical work that Rabban was the son of 'Imran, the son of Alhaf, the son of Quda'ah, the progenitor of a well known tribe. It has been stated, however, that Abu 'Umar was *mawla* to the tribe of Bajilah, a branch of which bears the name of Jarm Ibn 'Alqamah Ibn Anmar. God alone knoweth the truth. What a well-turned satire Ziyad al-A'jam<sup>4</sup> has directed against the tribe of Jarm, where he says:

"Jarm forced me to give him some juice of the vine; and who is Jarm? and what is that juice? He never drank it when it was permitted: never, as long as there was a market<sup>5</sup> did it mount to his head. But when its use was forbidden by a divine revelation, the man of that tribe is never sober."

In these verses, he names the wine, metaphorically, the *juice of the vine*, for a reason too long to be explained, but the sum of what the commentators say is that he called it so from its gliding smoothly (*insiyaaq*) down the throat.

## 280 SALIH IBN MIRDAS

Abu Ali Salih Ibn Mirdas surnamed Asad al-Dawlat, *lion of the empire*, belonged to the tribe of Kilab, his father Mirdas being the son of Idris Ibn Nasir Ibn Humayd Ibn Mudrik Ibn Shaddad Ibn

3 I have given a short account of this ancient and curious work in the *Journal Asiatique* for December, 1839, page 521.

4 The poet Abu Amamah Ziyad Ibn Sulaym, a *mawla* to the tribe of 'Abd Qays, and surnamed al-A'jam (*the foreigner*) on account of certain faults in his pronunciation of Arabic, accompanied Abu Musa al-Ash'ari to the siege of Istakhar, which city was taken, according to al-Dhahabi, MS. No. 626, fol. 158, in the year 28 (A.D. 648-9). He was present at Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's death, which took place at Rusafah A.H. 125. The year of his own death is not given.-(Al-Suyuti's *Sharh Shawahid al-Mughni*, MS. No. 1238, fol. 51.)

5 The poet means that they preferred selling their wine to drinking it, or else that they were too avaricious to lay out their money on it.

'Ubayd Ibn Qays Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Ka'b Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Kilab. Kilab was the son of Rabi'ah Ibn 'Amir Ibn Sa'sa'h Ibn Muawiyah Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawazin Ibn Mansur Ibn Ikrimah Ibn Khasfah<sup>1</sup> Ibn Qaylan<sup>2</sup>\* Ibn Mudar Ibn Nizar, Ibn Ma'd Ibn 'Adnan, Salih Ibn Mirdas (the chief of) a nomadic tribe of Arabs, marched against Aleppo, which was then governed by Murtada 'l-Dawlat Ibn Lulu al-Jarrahi, who had been a slave to Abu 'l-Fadail Ibn Sa'd al-Dawlat Nasr Ibn Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Hamadan and who now acted there as the lieutenant of the *Fatimid* sovereign of Egypt, al-Zahir Ibn al-Hakim al-'Ubaydi. Intrepid, resolute and powerfully supported by the members of his family and tribe, Salih wrested Aleppo from the hands of Murtada 'l-Dawlat on the 13th of dhu 'l-Hijjah A.H. 417 (January, A.D. 1027) and fixed his residence in the city, where he established a regular administration. Al-Zahir then sent against him a numerous army under the command of Amir al-Juyush, *general in chief*, Anushtikin, surnamed al-Dizbiri after Dizbir Ibn Ruwaytam<sup>3</sup> al-Daylami, who was at that time his lieutenant at Damascus, and had acquired a high distinction by his activity, courage, and skill in military affairs. Salih, being informed of this general's approach, went forth to meet him and gave him battle at al-Uqhuwanah. He lost his life in this engagement, which took place in the month of the first Jumada, A.H. 420 (May-June, A.D. 1029,) or 419 by another account. He was the first of the Mirdas dynasty, a series of princes who reigned at Aleppo.<sup>4</sup> We shall make mention of his great-grand-son Nasr in the life of the poet Abu 'l-Fityan Muhammad Ibn Hayyus. *Al-'uqhuwanah*, a village of Syria, is situated in the government of Palestine, near Tiberias. There is another village of the same name in Hijaz, which was the residence of al-Harith Ibn Khalid Ibn al-'Asi Ibn Hisham Ibn al-Mughayrah al-Makhzum<sup>5</sup> who composed on it these verses;

1 This is the true reading, and not حنفة or حصة as in the MSS.

2 The autograph MS. has قيس عيلان

\* M.de slane gives Ghaytan and the cairo editions adds the word - ud- (Ibn) before it.--Ed.

3 In the autograph this name is written اوتيم *Autim*.

4 An abridged account of this dynasty, extracted from Kamal al-Din's History of Aleppo, has been published in Latin By M.J.J. Mueller, 1829. Bonn.

5 Harith fils de Khalid Elmakhzoumi, poete distingue parmi les Coraychites, etait petait petir file de cet Ellassi, qui, ayant perdu toute sa fortune au jue contre contre Aboulahab, oncel de Mahomet, avait ensuite joue et perdue sa liberate. Harith cultive presque exclusivement le fenere erotique. Il florissait sous les Omeyyades, et fut gouverneur de la Makka pour le calife Abdelmalik fils de Merwan. Il etait amoureux Ad'yche fille de Talha et la celebrait dans ses vers - (Aghani, t. I. f. 200 v.) M. Caussin de Perceual.

Tell him who asks where we reside, that "Ughuwanah is our abode and well it suits us. We here enjoy a life of pure felicity, untroubled by calumny, and misfortune afflicts us no longer.

## 281 SA'ID THE PHILOLOGER

Abu 'I-Ala Sa'id Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Isa al-Raba'i,<sup>1</sup> a native of Baghdad and philologist, is the author of the work entitled *Kitab al-Fusus*, *Book of Mottoes or Texts*. Having made his studies in the East under Abu Sa'id al-Sirafi (see no. 156), Abu Ali al-Farisi (no. 157) and Abu Sulayman al-Khattabi (no. 198), he passed into Spain about the year 380/A.D. 990 in the reign of Hisham al-Mu'wayyad Ibn al-Hakam, whose minister al-Mansur Ibn Abi 'Amir then held the direction of the government. Sa'id was born in the province of Mosul, but had removed from thence to Baghdad. He was learned in philology, skilled in general literature and history, prompt in his repartee, an able poet, and an agreeable and instructive companion. By these talents he captivated the attention of al-Mansur, and was treated by him with extreme favour and liberality; notwithstanding which, he always found good pretext for asking more money, and good reason for obtaining it. He composed for al-Mansur the work entitled *al-Fusus*, in which he adopted the plan followed by Abu 'Ali al-Qali in his *Amali*.<sup>2</sup> He received from his patron, in return, a recompense of five thousand dinars, but his book was rejected by the public on account of the false statements which it was suspected to contain. Having gone to the city of Denia, he went to a public audience given by al-Muwaffaq Mujahid al-'Amiri<sup>3</sup> the governor, among the number present was a philologist named Bashshar, a blind man, who (*being informed that Sa'id was there*) asked permission from Mujahid to rally the new-comer, and though the prince advised him not to attack a person who was so prompt in his repartees, he would not renounce his project but cried out; "Abu 'I-Ala!" "At your service," replied Sa'id. "What does the word *jaranful* signify in the dialect of the Desert Arabs?" Sa'id, who knew that he himself had invented the word and that it did not really exist in the language,

---

1 Al-Raba'i means *descended from Rabi'ah*, but as a number of Arabic tribes bore this name, I am unable to indicate that to which Sa'id belonged.

2 See No. 94, note *Amali*.

3 See no. 123, note or Mujahid.



remained silent for sometime, and then replied, but without any equivocation or periphrase: The *jaranful* is one who has commerce with blind men's wives and not with other women: and the *jaranful* is no longer a *jaranful* when he quits them for others.<sup>4</sup> Bashshar, on hearing this, was covered with shame and confusion, whilst every persons present burst into laughter. Mujahid then said to him, I told you to abstain, but you would not take advice." Sa'id died A.H. 417/ A.D. 1026-7 in Sicily.<sup>5</sup> Al-Mansur at length discovered the falsehood of Sa'id as a transmitter of oral information, and being told that the contents of the *Fusus* were forged, he threw it into the river, on which a contemporary poet said:

The *Fusus* sinks in the sea so does every thing heavy.

To which Sa'id replied (*in the same rhyme and measure*).

The *Fusus* has returned to its element; it is from the bottom of the sea that pearls, *fusus*, are taken.

To avoid prolixity, we shall abstain from relating any of the numerous anecdotes told of his ready wit in replying to questions calculated to embarrass him.

## 282 SAYF AL-DAWLAT SADAQAH AL-ASADI

Abu 'I Hasan Sadaqah Nashir al-Asadi (*member of the tribe of Nashirah, a branch of that of Asad*), and surnamed Sayf al-Dawla' Fakhr al-Din (*sword of the empire, glory of the faith*), was the son of Baha al-Dawlat Abu Kamil Mansur Ibn 'Ali Ibn Mazyad. He was lord of al-Hallah al-Sayfiyah and was generally known by the denomination of *the king of the Arabs*. Powerful, enterprising, and formidable to the neighbouring princes, he dared to thwart the projects of the Saljuq Muhammad Ibn Malikshah Ibn Alp Al-Arsalan; and his resistance led to a war. The two armies met near al-Nu'maniyah<sup>1</sup> on Friday, the

4 This is not very intelligible.

5 According to al-Humaydi, cited by Ibn Bashkuwal in his *Silat*, Sa'id had retired to Sicily during the troubles in Spain.

1 Al-Nu'maniyah lay half way between Wasit and Baghdad, on the bank of the Tigris. (*Merasid*.)

29th of the latter Jumada\* some say on the 20th of Rajab\*\* A.H. 501 Feb.,/A.D. 1108 and, in the action which ensued, Sadaqah lost his life.<sup>2</sup> His head was borne to Baghdad. 'Izz al-Din 'Ali Ibn al-Athir says, in his corrections on al-Sam'ani's work, the *Ansab*, that Sadaqah was slain in the year 500: God knows best the truth. It was for this prince that the *sharif* Abu Ya'la Muhammad Ibn al-Habbariyah, whose life will be found farther on, composed his metrical treatise entitled *al-Sadih wa 'l-Baghim*. His father, Abu Kamil Mansur died towards the end of the first Rabi' A.H. 479, beginning of July A.D. 1086. His grandfather, Abu 'l-A'gharr Dubays,<sup>\*\*\*</sup> surnamed Nur al-Dawlat (*light of the state*), died on the eve of Sunday, the 10th *Shawwal*, A.H. 473 (March, A.D. 1081) or 474\*\*\*\* after a rule of sixty-seven years: in the year 408 when he commenced his reign, he was only fourteen years of age. 'Ali Ibn Mazyad, Sadaqah's great-grandfather, died A.H. 408 (A.D. 1017-8). We have already given the life of Dubays, the son of Sadaqah (page 504.) Al-Hillah a town in 'Iraq between Baghdad and Kufah is situated on the Eurphrates, in the territory of Kufah; it was founded in the year 495 (A.D. 1101-2) by Sayf ad-Dawlat Sadaqah, whose life we have just given, and was named *al-Sayfiyah*, after him,<sup>3</sup> *al-Nu'maniyah* is a city lying between al-Hillah and Wasit.

ض

## 283 AL-AHNAF IBN QAYS

Abu Bahr al-Dahhak Ibn Qays<sup>1</sup> Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn Husayn Ibn

\* 14 February.—Ed.

\*\* 6 March.—Ed.

2 For a full account of these events, see the selection from Ibn al-Athir in the first vol. of the *Extraits des historiens arabes relatifs aux Croisades*; a collection now publishing by the *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. See also Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*, year 601.

\*\*\* M.de Sane gives Abu 'l-V'azz. Ed.

\*\*\*\* According to Edward Mahler's calculations Sunday fell on 7 *Shawwal* (21 March)—Ed.

3 There were a number of places in 'Iraq which bore the name of Hillah (*station*).

1 This al-Dahhak Ibn Qays is a different person from the al-Dahhak

(Contd.. on the next page)

'Ubadah Ibn al-Nazal Ibn Murrah Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn al-Harith Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ka'b Ibn Sa'd Ibn Zayd Manat Ibn Tamim, surnamed al-Tamimi, was generally known by the appellation of al-Ahnaf (*club-foot*): it was he whose prudence became proverbial. Some say that his real name was Sakhr. His ancestor al-Harith bore the surname of Muqa'is. Al-Ahnaf was one of the principal *Tabi'is* and had been a contemporary of the Prophet, but did not serve under him. The *hafiz* Abu Nu'aym mentions him in the History of Isbahan, and Ibn Qutaybah speaks of him in the *Kitab al-Ma'arif* in these terms: "When the Prophet went to the tribe of Tamim inviting them to embrace Islamism, al-Ahnaf was among them. As they did not consent to become Muhammad's followers al-Ahnaf said to them: 'He verily invites you to adopt what is honourable for the character and forbids you what is disgraceful to it; become therefore Muslims!'" He then professed Islamism, but did not go to see the Prophet; however, he visited afterwards the *khalif* 'Umar. "From that time he held a high rank among the *Tabi'is*, being the chief of his tribe, and possessing a great reputation for intelligence, acuteness, learning, and prudence. He related Traditions on the authority of (the *Khalifs*) 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali, and his own authority was cited for some Traditions by al-Hasan al-Basri. At the battle of Siffin he fought on the side of 'Ali, but he stayed away from the battle of the Camel and joined neither party. In the reigns of 'Umar and 'Uthman, he had been present at some of the conquests made by the Muslims in *Khurasan*. When the authority of Mu'awiyah was solidly established, al-Ahnaf went one day into his presence: "By Allah!" said the *khalif*, "never till the day of judgment shall I call to mind the battle of Siffin, without feeling my heart glow with anger." "By Allah!" replied al-Ahnaf, "We have still in our bosoms those hearts which detested you, and we still bear in our scabbard the swords with which we fought you; if you advance an inch towards war, we shall advance a foot, and if you walk to (give us) battle, we shall run to meet you!" He then rose up and withdrew. A sister of Mu'awiyah, who had heard the conversation from behind the tapestry, then asked him who was the person who had used such threatening language, and Mu'awiyah answered: "that is the man who, if angered, has one hundred thousand of the tribe of Tamim to share his anger, without asking him the reason of it." It is related

---

Ibn Qays who fell at the battle of Marj Rahit. They were contemporaries. See Reiske's note in the *Annals* of Abu 'l-Feda, tom I. NO. 168 in which it is necessary, however, to rectify a double error. In place of *de quo vid. ann. 127, gens Schaibanita*, read *de quo vid. ann. 67. gente Tamimita*, Tamim, al-Dahhak's ancestor, was son of Murr, son of Udd, son of Tabikhah and descendant of Mudar, but Shayban sprang from Rabi'ah, Mudar's brother.

that when this *khalif* declared his son Yazid as his successor, he seated him in a red<sup>2</sup> pavilion, and those who were present went up successively and saluted Mu'awiyah, after which they bowed towards his son. One of them having performed this ceremony, turned again to Mu'awiyah, and said: "Commander of the faithful! I am well convinced that had you not confided to him the government of the Muslims, you had ruined their affairs." Mu'awiyah then addressed al-Ahnaf who was seated in his presence; "what is the matter with you, Abu Bahr? you say nothing!" "I fear God too much to speak a falsehood," replied he, "and I fear you too much to speak the truth." "Well," said Mu'awiyah, 'may God reward you for your obedience towards him.' He then ordered a present of several thousand (*dirhams*) to be given to (*the other*). When al-Ahnaf was going out, the same man who had spoken to the *khalif* met him at the door, and said: "O, Abu Bahr! I am convinced that, of all God's creatures, this man and his son are the worst; but they keep their money under bolts and locks, and there is no possible means of getting it out but by words such as you have heard." "Keep off!" replied al-Ahnaf, "a double faced man shall have no favour in the sight of God." One of al-Ahnaf's sayings was this: "I have followed three rules of conduct which I now mention merely that the man of reflection may profit by my example: I never interfered between two parties unless invited by them to do so; I never went to the door of these people," meaning princes, "unless sent for by them; and I never rose from my place to obtain a thing when all men were anxious to possess it." Another of his sayings was: "Come! I shall point out to you virtues which none can depreciate:<sup>3</sup> evenness of temper, and the avoiding of what is base. Come! I shall tell you what is the worst of maladies: a low mind and a foul tongue." He also said: "The noble man never use deceit; the wise man never tells a lie, and the true believer never backbits. "Better," said he again, "better than the treasures which parents heap up for children, better than the wealth left by the dead to the living, is the gratitude of the good and the learned for favours conferred upon them." "Excess in laughter," he observed, "drives away respect; excess in jesting drives away politeness, and the man is known by the company he keeps." Hearing a person say one day that he cared neither for praise nor blame, he observed to him: "You repose there, where men of

2 Red was the colour of the 'Umayyads, green that of the 'Alides, and black that of the 'Abbasides. Even before the promulgation of Islamism, red or scarlet tenets indicated that their possessor were princes. See my *Diwan d' Amro 'l-Kais*, p. 8.

3 Here the Arabic text should run thus: المحدة بلاشرية

generous minds labour." He said again: "In our assemblies avoid the mention of women and of food; I detest the man who is always speaking of his belly and of his pleasures; and he who avoids food even when he wishes for it, proves by that, the nobelness of his mind." The following anecdote is told by Hisham Ibn 'Uqbah, the brother of the celebrated poet Dhu'l-Rummah: "I saw al-Ahnaf go up to some persons who were in discussion about the price to be paid for a man's blood who had been killed. He told them to state the sum they required, and they asked the double of that fixed by law.<sup>4</sup> When they had ceased talking, he said: 'I myself will give you what you ask, but I shall make one observation: Almighty God has declared that the price of blood shall be single (*not double*) and his Prophet also has done the same<sup>5</sup> you are plaintiffs to-day, but to-morrow, if you are defendants I fear that your adversaries may require from you the same price which you yourselves have exacted! 'Well!' said they, 'reduce it to the usual sum!' On hearing this, he praised God with thanks, and rode off. Being asked what was prudence, he replied that it consisted in humility joined to patience; and he used to say, when persons were surprised at this mildness; 'I have the same feelings as you, but I am patient.' He observed also that he had derived more help from prudence than from the strength of men.

"It was Qays Ibn 'Asim al-Minqari." said he, "who taught me mildness: one of his nephews killed a son of his, and the murderer was brought before him with his hands tied behind his back. 'Why frighten the youth?' said he. He then turned towards him and spoke thus: 'O, my son! evil is that which thou hast wrought; thou hast lessened the number of thy family, weakened the strength of thy tribe, given joy to thy enemies, and done harm to thy people! Let him go; and bear the price of blood to the mother of the victim, for she is not of our tribe.' The murderer then retired; and all this while Qays remained seated, and did not even change colour."

When Ziyad Ibn Abih was governor of Persian and Arabian Iraq, he treated al-Ahnaf and Harithah Ibn Badr al-Ghudani with great favour and attention; but the latter was so strongly addicted to drinking, that the people of Basrah complained of his conduct to Ziyad, whom they even reproached for admitting such a drunkard

---

4 The legal price of blood, in the case of murder without premeditation is one hundred camels.

5 See *Mishkat al-Masabih*, vol. II. p. 866.

• From 'It was' to 'colour' not in the autograph.—Ed.

into his familiarity. To this remonstrance Ziyad replied: "How, sirs, can I cast off a man who, since I came to 'Iraq, has always ridden by my side and yet never struck his stirrup against mine? neither did he precede me, so as to have his back turned towards me, nor did he remain behind, so that I had to look round after him; in summer, he never sat between me and the zephyr; in winter, he never stood between me and the sun, and I never questioned him on any science without thinking it impossible for him to know another so well." I have since met with this anecdote in al-Zamakhshari's *Rabi' 'l-Abrar*, in the chapter entitled *On Intercourse with Females*, where it is given in precisely the same terms. As for al-Ahnaf, nothing could be said against his conduct. When Ziyad died, his son and successor, 'Ubayd Allah, said to Harithah: "You must either cease drinking or quit me;" "You know," replied Harithah, "on what terms I lived with your father." "As for my father," answered 'Ubayd Allah, "he held a pre-eminence in which no reproach could reach him; but I am a young man, and people will judge of me from those who have influence over me: now you make long potations, and I am afraid that, when I bid you sit near me, the smell of the wine may be thought to come from myself. Give it up then, and be the first of those to be admitted into my presence and the last to quit it." To this Harithah replied; "I should not give it up for Him (God) who is able to do me evil and good; shall I then renounce it to be well with you?" "Leave me then, but choose any government I have it in my power to give." "Let me have Surraq, for its wine has described to me as good, and given me Ram-Hurmuz besides." 'Ubayd Allah granted the request, and harithah proceeded to his government. Whilst they escorted him to some distance on his way the following lines were addressed to him by Anas Ibn Abi Anas<sup>6</sup> or, according to another statement, by al-Aswad al-Du'ali:

"Harithah, son of Badr, you now fill a place of authority; live in it like a rat, to wile and thief. Despise not the smallest sums that you may find; recollect that your share in the wealth of 'Iraq consists in Surraq. Then rival the tribe of Tamim in riches, for riches give a tongue to the most timid of men. All people then shall praise you; some of them liars, and speaking only to please you; the rest sincere in their words, but knowing not what they say, and incapable of proving that what they utter is true."

---

6 Abu Sulayt سلطه Anas Ibn Abi Anas, a member of the Banu Najjar (a family of Madina), was one of Muhammad's Companions and fought on his side at the battle of Badr. (*Asma al-Rijal*, MS. No. 379).

As for al-Ahnaf, he lost 'Ubayd Allah's favour, and persons far inferior to him obtained preference. About this time, 'Ubayd Allah assembled the chief men in 'Iraq, and al-Ahnaf among the rest, and proceeded with them to Syria, for the purpose of paying their salutations to (*the khalif*) Mu'awiyah. On their arrival, 'Ubayd Allah went in to Mu'awiysh, and informed him that the head men of 'Iraq had come. "Bring them in to me," said the *khalif*. "one by one, and according to the degree of estimation in which you hold them." 'Ubayd Allah obeyed, and the last person whom he introduced was al-Ahnaf. Mu'awiyah, who knew his merit, and always treated him with the utmost honour on account of his pre-eminence and high authority as chief (*of the tribe of Tamim*), no sooner saw him than he exclaimed: "Come here to me, Abu Bahr."<sup>7</sup> He then made him sit down beside himself, on the same cushion, and naving asked him how he was, he entered into conversation with him and withdrew his attention from the rest of the company. The members of the deputation then began to extol 'Ubayd Allah, and express their gratitude to the *khalif* for giving them such a governor, but al-Ahnaf remained silent. "Why do you not speak, Abu Bahr?" said Mu'awiyah, "If I speak," replied al-Ahnaf, "I must contradict them." On this Mu'awiyah, said "Bear ye witness that I depose your governor, 'Ubayd Allah; go now and find a fit person whom I may appoint in his stead; and at the expiration of three days I shall expect your presence." On retiring, some hoped to obtain the government for themselves, and others for persons whom they designated; they therefore applied secretly to the intimate friends of Mu'awiyah, in order to procure, through their influence, the accomplishment of their respective projects. When the three days were gone by, they and al-Ahnaf went to Mu'awiyah, and by his directions they took their seats in the audience chamber, according to their ranks as before. The *Khalif* then called al-Ahnaf over to him as usual, and after conversing with him for sometime, he asked the others the result of their deliberation. Each of the deputies then proposed his candidate, and made a long speech in his favour. This led to warm debates and a discussion, during which al-Ahnaf continued silent; he had not even spoken a word on the subject to any person, the three preceding days. "And you, Abu Bahr," said Mu'awiyah, "why do you not speak." "If you intend to nominate a member of your own family," replied al-Ahnaf, "you will not find one equal to 'Ubayd Allah, or capable of replacing him; but if you mean to appoint another person, then do as you please." Whilst the sitting lasted, not one

<sup>7</sup> The *Khalif* here addresses him by his surname; a mark of intimacy and friendship.

of those who had extolled 'Ubayd Allah at their first presentation, ever mentioned his name or asked to have him sent back to them. Mu'awiyah, having listened to al-Ahnaf's observations, said to the assembly: "Bear witness that I restore 'Ubayd Allah to his government." On this, they all repented having proposed any other candidate, and Mu'awiyah perceived that, in thanking him for having given them such a governor as 'Ubayd Allah, they had not been actuated by any love for him, but that they merely acted in the usual way men do when speaking of person under whose authority they are placed. The deputies having retired, Mu'awiyah, took 'Ubayd Allah in private, and said to him: "How could you undervalue such a man as that?" meaning al-Ahnaf; "he has deposed you and reinstated you in your government, although he never uttered a word; whilst those people whom you preferred to him, and on whom you placed your reliance, did not render you the least service or even think of you when I authorised them to nominate your successor. It one like al-Ahnaf that a person should choose, when wants a good supporter and a precious friend." On their return to Iraq 'Ubayd Allah treated al-Ahnaf with great respect, and made him his intimate and confidential friend. It was thus that, in this well-known circumstance, he was abandoned by those in whom he had placed his trust and on whose support he relied, whilst al-Ahnaf alone rendered him any service.

Al-Ahnaf lived till the time of Mus'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, and accompanied him to Kufah,<sup>8</sup> in which city he died. His death is commonly placed in the year 67 (A.D. 686-7), but other accounts assign the year 71, 77, and 68 as the date of that event. He was then seventy years of age, but it is stated by some that he had reached a very advanced age.<sup>9</sup> He was interred at al-Thawiyah, near the tomb of Ziyad.<sup>10</sup> The following anecdote is related by 'abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Umarah Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Abi Mu'ayt: "I attended the

---

8 See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, to. I.; *adnoiat*. hist p. 96 Price's *Retrospect* v. I. p. 440.

9 In the autograph, Ibn Khallikan had originally written this passage as it stands in the other MSS. and in the printed text; but having inserted afterwards in the margin that al-Ahnaf died at the age of seventy, he was obliged to modify the next phrase. In place of ركان (and he) he substituted وقيل انه كان (and it is said that he); but this correction has been neglected by succeeding copyists.

10 According to Abu 'l-Mahasin, in his *al-Bahr al-Zakhir*, Ziyad Ibn Abih died at al-Thawiyah.



funeral of al-Ahnaf, at Kufah, and was one of those who went down into the vault. When I settled the body in its place, it seemed to me that the tomb widened to as great an extent as my sight could reach.<sup>11</sup> I spoke of this to my companions, but they saw not what I saw." This story is mentioned by Ibn Yunus in his Biography of strangers who visited Egypt, in the life of this same 'Abd al-Rahman. Al-Ahnaf was one of those persons surnamed *al-Tuls*, whose names we have mentioned in the life of the qadi Shurayh (No. 275). He was born *natibus cohearentibus*; which rendered a surgical operation necessary. He was *ahnaf* of one foot, that is, he walked on the *wahshi* (or instep) of it; whence his surname. He lost his eye at the taking of Samarqand;<sup>12</sup> but some say by the small pox. His teeth were solidly united together. His head was small, and his beard inclined to one side. His grandfather, Mu'awiyah Ibn Husayn was slain by 'Antarah Ibn Shaddad al-'Absi, the famous cavalier, on the day of al-Faruq, one of the celebrated combats of the ancient Arabs.<sup>13</sup>

In this article are some words which require explanation. *Ahnaf* means *inclined*: the *wahshi* of the foot is the back (or upper part) of it. *Ghudani* is derived from *Ghudan* Ibn Yabru, 'branch of the tribe of Tamim. *Ram-Hurmuz* is a place so well-known that it is not necessary to indicate the pronunciation of its name. It lies in al-Ahwaz, a province of *Khuzistan*, situated between Basrah and Fars, *Surraq* lies also in the province of al-Ahwaz. *Al-Thawiyah*, pronounced also *al-Thuwayyah* is the name of a place outside Kufah; it contains the tombs of some of Muhammad's Companions and of other eminent persons: water is to be found there. Al-Ahnaf had a son called Bahr, and it was for this reason that he bore the surname of Abu Bahr (the father of Barh). Bahr was a weak and indolent<sup>14</sup> boy; when asked why he did not take example of his father, he replied: "From laziness." With him died al-Ahnaf's posterity.

11 This was of course to be considered as a mark of divine favour to the dead man. *May God make thy grave wide for thee* was a common prayer of the ancient Arabs over the tomb of departed friend.

12 According to the *Khulasat al-Akhbar*, cited in *Prince's Retrospect*, Samarqands was taken by Ubaid Allah Ibn Zayd in the year 54. D. Herbelot says that Catiba ben Moslemet, meaning *Qutaybah bin Muslim*, took it in the reign of al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, A.H. 85; but al-Walid did not come to the throne till the year 86. Ibn Khallikan states, in the life of Qutaybah, that this was the general who reduced Samarqand.

13 See Rasmussen's *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 87.

14 All the copies and the printed text have مصروفا but the autograph writes this word نصروفا

## 284 TAWUS

Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Tawus Ibn Kaysan al-Khawlani al-Hamdani al-Yamani, one of the most eminent *Tabi'is*, was of Persian extraction. He received Traditions from Ibn 'Abbas and Abu Hurayrah, and Traditions were given on his authority by Mujahid and 'Amr Ibn Dinar. As a jurisconsult he held a high rank and possessed a great reputation. (*On this subject an anecdote*) is related by Ibn 'Uyaynah: "I asked," said he, "'Abd Allah Ibn Yazid<sup>1</sup> in what class he studied under Ibn 'Abbas. and he replied with 'Ata and his co-disciples. 'And Tawus?" said I. 'O,' exclaimed he, 'that is quite another thing, he was admitted with the chosen few.' 'Amr Ibn Dinar said that he never saw the like of Tawus. When 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz became *khalif*, Tawus wrote to him these words: "If you wish your government to be good in every way, confide the places of authority to virtuous men:" on which 'Umar said: "After that, every other recommendation is useless." He died at Makkah whilst performing the pilgrimage, on the day preceding that of the Tarwiyah (8th of *Dhu 'I Hijjah*), in the year 106 (April, A.D. 725\* or by another account, in 104. Funeral prayers were said over him by Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. It is related by one of the learned that on the death of Tawus at Makkah, it was impossible for the funeral to set out on account of the crowd, and that the governor of Makkah, Ibrahim Ibn Hisham al-Makhzumī, had to send the guard to clear the way. "I saw," says the same person, "'Abd Allah, the son of Hasan, (*the son of Hasan*)<sup>2</sup> the son of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, with his shoulder under the bier; he had already lost the cap off his head and his cloak was torn to pieces on his back;" I saw at Baṭ-bekk, within the town, a tomb to which pilgrimages are made, and the natives pretend that it contains the body of Tawus; this, however, is a mistake. Abu 'I-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi says in his *Kitab al-Alqab* (book of surnames): "Tawus was his surname and his real name wa; *Dhakwan*. He bore the surname of Tawus (*peacock*) because he was the *peacocks* (*chief*) of the *Qur'an-readers*." The general opinion

---

1 Five persons bearing this name are notices in the *Asma al-Rijal*, M.S. No. 379, and two in the *Tabaqat al-Muhaddithin*.

\* 26 April—Ed.

2 This addition is authorized by the autograph.

is that Tawus was his real name. It is related that the khalif al-Mansur sent for Malik Ibn Anas and 'Abd Allah the son of Tawus: when they entered into his presence, he reflected for a short time and then said to 'Abd Allah: "Relate to me some of the Traditions which you learned from your father." On this 'Abd Allah spoke as follows: "My father taught me this Tradition: 'He shall be punished the most severely of all men on the day of resurrection, to whom God has confided a portion of his authority and who allows injustice to enter into his judgments.'" Al-Mansur remained silent for a considerable time, and Malik, in relating the fact afterwards, observed; "I tucked up my clothes lest some of his blood might fall on them,"<sup>3</sup> but al-Mansur then said: 'Hand me that ink-horn.' He repeated the order three times, but 'Abd Allah did not obey. 'Why do you not give it to me?' asked the khalif.- 'Because I fear that you may use it in writing something contrary to God's law, and I should then be your accomplice.'-- 'Up, both of you, and leave me! exclaimed al-Mansur. 'That is just what we desire to do,' replied 'Abd Allah. --From that day," said Malik, "I have never ceased to acknowledge the eminent merit of the son of Tawus."- *Khawlani* means *descended from Khawlan*; *Khawlan*, whose real name was Afkal Ibn 'Amr Ibn Malik, was the progenitor of a great tribe which settled in Syria. We have already spoken of *Hamdani*:<sup>4</sup> Tawus was affiliated to the tribe of Hamdan by enfranchisement.

## 285 ABU 'L-TAYYIB AL-TABARI

Abu 'l Tayyib Tahir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir Ibn 'Umar al-Tabari, a qadi and a jurisconsult of the sect of al-Shafi'i was a high and sure authority as a doctor, veracious, learned, versed in the dogmas and secondary principles of the law, exact in his researches on the principles of jurisprudence, conscientious, virtuous, and holy in his conduct.

---

3 He imagined that al-Mansur would have struck off 'Abd Allah's head.

4 This is a mistake; he has hitherto said nothing of it. *Hamdani* همدانی which must not be confounded with *Hamadani* همدانی (native of Hamadan) means sprung from Hamadan, the ancestor of a great tribe of Yemenite Arabs and the fifth in descent from Kahlan. The surname of *Hamadani* entitled Tawus to that of *al-Yamani* (native of Yemen), which he also bore.

\*He composed poetry as good as might be expected from a jurisconsult: the *hafiz* Abu Tahir al-Silafi, in his life of Abu 'l-Ala al-Marri, gives the following anecdote, which was handed down to him though a series of Traditionists whose names he mentions, as having been related by Abu 'l-Tayyib al-Tabari: "When the celebrated scholar Abu 'l-'Ala al-ma'arri came to Baghdad and took up his residence in the *Suwayqah Ghaliib* (the little bazar of *Ghalib*), I wrote to him these lines:

'What is that which furnishes a liquid not to be drunk by him who draws it, and yet its flesh is allowed. He who pleases may eat the flesh of it living or dead, but if he attempts to drink its milk, he is an erring man. When its produce is full grown, its flesh is good, and he who eats thereof is considered by all the doctors of the law as not deserving any reprehension. But if its produce be eaten when still young, it is stringent, and no reasonable man would partake of it. The word of this enigma can only be divined by a man of eminence, by one who knows the secrets of men's hearts and has acquired extensive knowledge.

Abu'l-'Ala immediately dictated the following answer to my messenger:

Thy question admits of two solutions, both of them suitable; some therefore may answer it and yet be mistaken. He who thinks that *vine* is the word of the enigma is not in the wrong, and he who thinks that it is *date-tree* must not be called a fool. Their flesh is the *grape* and the *date*; both may be lawfully eaten, but their milk is the delicious *wine*. However, the fruit of the palm-tree is bitter when green, and grapes still green are gathered and eaten. Let the highly-respected qadi require from me an answer to questions numerous as the stars,—any more lofty and more difficult to reach,—and if I answer them not, I shall deserve never to know them, but the friend who loves him will encounter every difficulty.

To this I made the following answer:

'One who could hardly find his equal in the world, a man of ample knowledge and perfect every way, has excited me to reflection. His heart is a library of all the sciences, and his mind is active as an ardent fire. He understands equally well the most obscure and the simplest ideas; their difficulties are for him plain

---

\* From 'He composed' to 'his book' not in the autograph.—Ed.

and clear. When he awakes a man's heart to friendship, he leads him though resisting, a prisoner, captivated by the beauty of his eloquence. He explains and exposes so well every point, that it may be perceived and understood by even an inattentive mind. I admire his talent for composing verses so promptly and with so little hesitation. He draws (*his information*) from (*his mind which is*) a sea (*of knowledge*), and his merit exalts him even to the mansion of the planets. May the bounteous God in his mercy grant him the full enjoyment of his talents during a lengthened life!

"On this, Abu 'l-'Ala dictated extempore these lines to the messenger:

'You, O qadi! whose acuteness (*in argument*) is as a drawn sword to confound the adversaries of the truth; your heart is the dwelling of science, and your merit, in every discussion, is admitted as superior. Though possessing little worldly wealth, you are rich in treasured science. When you maintain a controversy, you are a falcon and you opponents are as pigeons; you seem to speak with al-Shafi'i's mouth, and, prompt in replying, to draw your arguments from his mind. Who now can say that the learning of (*al-Shafi'i*) the son of Idris, has been lost, when you undertake to light the (*part of true*) direction. Your kindness was so great, that I could not give you sufficient thanks, and it had been better for me to abstain from replying. (*Let me have*) your pardon; for I answered, confiding in your kindness; human nature is careless and reflects not. You also did wrong in sending me a note which should have been my first and my last title of glory, but, preoccupied by the talents and the kindness of your messenger, I had not time to learn it by heart. That note could have justly claimed the merit of giving fresh perfume to musk, and being deposited in the most exalted place of honour. Let some poets depict themselves in their verses, you depict yourself better than they in your learning and your poetry. The earth is proud to bear you on its surface, and well may it be proud of a such as you."

The following anecdote is related by al-Sam'ani in his *Dhayl*, when giving the life of Abu Ishaq 'Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mahmuyah al-Yazdi:<sup>1</sup> "He (*Ibn Mahmuyah*) and his brother had but a single turban

1 The Imam Abu 'l-Hasan-not Abu Ishaq as the MSS. of Ibn Khallikan have it-'Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husayn Ibn

and a single shirt between them, so that when one of them went out, the other was obliged to stay at home.

"I went to see him one day", continues al-Sarī'ani "and present him my respects, and I had with me 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn al-Ghazanwi the preacher, when, on entering his house, we found him without any clothing except an *izar*<sup>2</sup> tied round his waist. He begged of us to excuse him for appearing in that state, and added: 'When we wash our clothes, we are as the persons whom the qadi Abu 'l-Tayyib al-Tabari describes in this verse:

'People who, when they wash the robes in which they deck themselves, taken the house for a cloak till he that washes has done his task."

Al-Tabari lived to the age of one hundred and two years, without any alteration or decay of his mental faculties; he continued till his death earth to give decisions on points of law, to correct the mistakes of other jurisconsults, to fulfil the duties of qadi at Bagdad, and to attend the *khalif* when he went out in state. He studied the law at 'Amul under the tuition of Abu 'Ali 'l-Zujaji,<sup>3</sup> the disciple of Ibn al-Qass, and he learned the reading of the Qur'an at Jurjan from Abu S'ad al-Isma'ili<sup>4</sup> and Abu 'l-Qasim (Yusuf) Ibn Kaji.<sup>5</sup> He then proceeded to Naysabur, where he met Abu 'l-Hasan (Muhammad) al-Masarijisi<sup>6</sup> under whom he studied jurisprudence for four years.

Mahmuyah al-Qazdi (a native of Yazd in the province of Fars) was an eminent doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i and a Qur'an-reader. He composed a number of works on the law and the Traditions. His life was spent in the practise of devotion and self-mortification, and he died A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156-7) at the age of seventy-eight. His learning was equal to his piety. He had made his studies at Isbahan. (Tab. al-Fuq. fol. 114. Tab. al-Qurra, MS. No. 742, fol. 157, verso).

2 See Introduction note on ثوبان.

3 The qadi Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad al-Zujaji, one of the great jurisconsults of 'Amul and an eminent doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i, was a native of Tabaristan. He composed some works on jurisprudence and died between A.H. 370 (A.D., 980) and 400 (Tab. al-Shaf. Tab. al-Fuq.)

4 Abu Sa'd Isma'il al-Isma'ili, the son of Abu Bakr al-Isma'ili, (see No. 4). studied under his father and became *shaykh* of the Shafites in Jurjan. By his profound knowledge in jurisprudence, dogmatic theology, and Arabic language, and by his skill in drawing up bonds, he obtained the reputation of being the imam of his time. He composed some works on law, and died A.H. 396 (A.D. 1005-6) aged 63. (Tab. al-Shaf.).

5 The life of Ibn Kaji is given by Ibn *Khaltikan*.

6 The life of al-Masarijisi will be found in this work.

From thence he removed to Baghḍad, where he followed the course of lectures given by the Shaykh Abu Hamid al-Isfara'ini. Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi was a pupil of al-Tabari's and he speaks of his master in these terms. "Of all the men I ever saw, not one surpassed him in conscientious efforts to clear up points of law;<sup>7</sup> in his scrupulous verification of authorities, and in the justness of his views." He composed a commentary on al-Mazani's *Mukhtasar* and on Abu Bakr Ibn al-Haddad al-Misri's *Furu'*.<sup>\*</sup> He wrote also a great number of works on the doctrines of the Shafite sect, on the points of controversy between the sects, and on dialectics. The *shaykh* Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi says; "I followed his lessons with assiduity for upwards of ten years, and I acted as a professor, with his authorisation, for two years, during which I instructed his scholars in the mosque where he himself taught. He then confided to me the direction of his whole class." He inhabited Baghḍad and acted as qadi in the suburb of Karkh on the decease of Abu 'Abd Allah al-Saymari; this place he continued to hold till his death. He was born at 'Amul A.H. 348 (A.D. 959-60), and died at Baghḍad on Saturday, the 20th of the first Rabi', A.H. 450 (May, A.D. 1058);<sup>\*</sup> the next morning, he was interred in the cemetery at the Gate of Harb (Bab Harb). The funeral service was said over him in the mosque of al-Mansur. We have already mentioned (No. 154) that Tabari means belonging to Tabaristan. 'Amul (written with a long A.) is the name of a great city, the metropolis of Tabaristan.

## 286 IBN BABSHADH THE GRAMMARIAN

Abu 'l-Hasan Tahir Ibn Ahmad Ibn Babshadh was the greatest grammarian of his time in Egypt; it is said that his family belonged originally to Daylam. He is the author of some instructive works, particularly the celebrated *Muqaddamah*, or introduction to grammar, to which he joined a commentary.

<sup>\*\*</sup>He composed also a commentary on the *Jamal* of al-Zajjaji, and another on the *U'ul* of Ibn al-Sarraj.<sup>1</sup>

7 Literally: Note one was more perfect in injihad (or, as a mujtahab, bi- The meaning of this term has been already explained, No. 92, note on *mujtahid*).

\* 16 May Ed.

\*\* From 'He' to 'al-Sarraj' no. in the autograph.--Ed.

1 The lives of Ibn al-Sarraj and al-Zajjaji will be found in this work.

During his retirement from the world he compiled a copious treatise on grammar (which, however, he left unpublished): it is said that a fair copy of it would have formed nearly fifteen volumes. The grammarians into whose hands it afterwards fell, called it the *Ta'aliq al-Ghurfa*.<sup>2</sup>

It passed first from him to his disciple Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Barakat al-Sa'adi the grammarian and philologist, who replaced him as a professor; it passed then to Ibn Barakat's disciple and successor, the grammarian Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ibn Barri, and from him to his pupil and successor the grammarian Abu 'l-Husayn, who was generally known by the opprobrious surname of *Thalt al-Fil* (*elephant's dung*). It is stated that each of these persons left it to his disciple with the recommendation of keeping it carefully, and students frequently endeavoured to obtain leave to copy it, but without success.\*

By his learning and writings, Ibn Babshadh was highly useful. He held a place at the Chancery-office, at Misr, and no paper went out of it without being submitted to his examination: if he perceived in it any fault of grammar or of style, he had it rectified by the clerk who wrote it out; but if he found it correct, he gave his approval to it and it was then sent off to its address. For this service he received a salary from the treasury, which was paid to him monthly. He filled this post for sometime (*but at length gave it up*). It is said that he was induced to do so from the following circumstance: Being one day on the roof of the mosque at Old Cairo with some other persons, eating a collation, a cat went over to them and they gave it a bit of meat. The animal took it into its mouth and went off, but soon returned again, on which they threw another morsel to it. This it carried off also, and it kept going and coming a great number of times, at each of which it received from them another bit. Struck with this in regularity, and knowing that no single cat could eat all that they had given, they suspected something extraordinary, and followed the animal. They then saw it clamber over a wall on the roof and go down into an empty place like an abandoned room. There they found another cat, but blind, eating of the food which had been brought to it and set before it by its companions. They were much struck with this, and Ibn Babshadh said: "Since God has caused this dumb animal to be served and fed by another cat, and has not

---

2 This title means *notes taken in the garret or attic*. It will be seen farther on, that Ibn Babshadh took up his residence in the attic story, or rather in a small room on the roof of the mosque of Arm.

\* From 'It' to 'success' not in the autograph.--Ed.



withheld from it its nourishment, how could he let a human being such as I am perish of hunger?" He immediately broke off all the ties which bound him to the world; he gave up his place, renounced his salary and shut himself up in a chamber, where he pursued his studies in the full confidence that God would provide for him. His friends then took care of him and supported him till he died. His death took place on the evening of the third day of Rajab, A.H. 469 (January, A.D. 1077).<sup>\*</sup> in Old Cairo, and he was interred in the greater Qarafah cemetery. I have visited his tomb and the date here given I took from the stone at the head of his grave. He came by his death in the following manner: On quitting the world, he collected his property and sold it all, except those articles which he absolutely required; he then took up his abode in an upper room *ghurfah*) of the mosque of 'Amr Ibn al-'As, or, as it is now called *al-Jami 'al-'Atiq* (*the Old Mosque*), at Old Cairo. One night, he went out on the roof of the mosque and having stumbled on one of the openings serving for the admission of light into the interior, he fell thorough, and the next morning he was found dead.-*Babshadh* is a Persian word including the ideas of joy and happiness.<sup>3</sup>

## 287 TAHIR IBN AL-HUSAYN AL-KHUZA'I

Abu 'l-Tayyib Tahir Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Mus'ab Ibn Ruzayq Ibn Mahan (or, as I have read somewhere else: Ruzayq Ibn As'ad Ibn Radhuyan, or, as I have found it in another place: As'ad Ibn Zadan (some say, Mus'ab) Ibn Talhah Ibn Ruzayq) al-Khuza'i, surnamed *Dhu 'l-Yaminayn* (*ambidexter*), was a member, by adoption, of the tribe of *Khuza'ah*: his grandfather Ruzayq Ibn Mahan having been a manumitted slave of Talhat al-Talhat al-Khuza'i,<sup>1</sup> him who was so highly celebrated for his nobleness of soul and his excessive liberality. Tahir was one of al-Mamun's ablest supporters; when that prince was residing at Marw, the capital of *Khurasan*, he revolted against his brother Al-Amin and dispatched Tahir, with an army, to attack him at Baghdad, an event of which the history is well-known.<sup>2</sup> Abu Yahya

\* 31 January--Ed.

3 This derivation does not seem to be perfectly correct.

1 Ibn *Khallikan* speaks again of Talhat al-Talhat in the life of 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir.

2 See any of the works on Muslim history under the year 195 of the Hijrah.

'Ali Ibn 'Isa Ibn Mahan was sent by al-Amin to repel Tahir, but, in the battle which ensued, he lost his life. Ibn al-'Azimi al-Halabi (*the nativus of Aleppo*)<sup>3</sup> says in his History that al-Amin sent 'Ali Ibn 'Isa Ibn Mahan against Tahir Ibn al-Husayn and that they encountered at Ray, where 'Ali was slain on the seventh of Sha'ban, A.H. 795 (May, A.D. 811);\* and al-Tabari, in his History, states that the battle took place in the year 195, without marking in what month; but he then says: "'Ali was slain in battle and Tahir sent a messenger to Marw with the news. These two places are separated by an interval of about two hundred and fifty parasangs; the express was on the way from the eve of Friday till Sunday morning". He does not mention the month "and he arrived with dispatch on Sunday." Further on, he says "'Ali Ibn 'Isa went forth from Baghdad on the seventh of Sha'ban, A.H. 195." It is therefore manifest that Ibn al-'Azimi has confounded the date of 'Ali's death with that of his departure from Baghdad. Al-Tabari then says; "The news of his death arrived at Baghdad on Thursday the 15th of Shawwal\*\* of the same year." It is therefore probable that he lost his life on seventh or ninth of Shawwal, and that the copyist wrote the name of this month, Sha'ban by mistake; and, in that case, he may have left Baghdad in Sha'ban as al-Tabari has said, and his death may have taken place in the month of Shawwal or Ramadan; but this God knows best. Tahir then marched towards Baghdad, taking possession of all the places through which he passed, and having besieged al-Amin in that city, he slew him on Sunday the 6th (or the 4th) or Safar, A.D. 198 (October, A.D. 813).\*\*\* This is the account given by al-Tabari, but another historian says. "Tahir sent to al-Mamun, requesting his permission to do as he pleased with al-Amin in case he took him prisoner, but in reply, al-Mamun sent him a shirt with no opening in it for the head: by this Tahir knew that he wished him to be put to death,<sup>4</sup> and he acted accordingly." He sent al-Amin's head to Khurasan that it might be presented to al-Mamun, who was then declared khalif. Al-Mamun treated Tahir with great respect for the

---

3 Sas No. 78, note on al-'Azimi, the historian Ibn al-'Azimi must have written subsequently to A.H. 527, as he mentions that Zinki attacked Damascus in that year. (*Zubdat al-Halab*, MS. No. J28, f. 160. r. 1, ult.)

\* 5 May.--Ed.

\*\* 10 June A.D. 811.--Ed.

\*\*\* According to Edward Mahler's calculation Sunday fell on 2nd or 9th Safar/2 or 9 October.--Ed.

4 A shirt without an opening for the head could not be of any use except to cover a body without a head.

soundness of his counsels and the services which he had rendered. When Tahir attained the height of his eminence, some one said to him at Baghdad: "May you well enjoy the rank which you now hold and which none of your rivals in *Khurasan* have ever reached!" to which he replied: "That is what I am unable to enjoy, since I cannot see the aged females of *Bushanj* climbing up to the roofs of their houses that they may get a sight of me as I pass by." He said this because he was born at *Bushanj* and had passed his youth there; his grandfather *Mus'ab* having been governor of that place and of *Heart*. Tahir was not only a brave soldier, but an elegant scholar.<sup>5</sup> As he was one day making an excursion in his barge (*on the Tigris*) at *Baghdad*, the poet *Muqaddas Ibn Sayfi al-Khaluqi* went to meet him at the landing - place and said: "O *amir*: will you be pleased to hear some verses of my composition?"

"Let us have them," said he. The poet then recited these lines:

"I wonder how the bark of the son of *al-Husayn* can escape from sinking; and may it never be submerged! It is palaced between two seas; one of them (*a sea of generosity*) is upon it, and the other is beneath it. I wonder how its planks, on being touched by his hand, do not shoot out leaves and flowers."

"Give him three thousand dinars," said Tahir.--\* "Give me more," said *Ibn Sayfi*, "and you shall have more verses."-- "I have got enough," replied Tahir. Similar to this are the following well-turned verses addressed by a poet to a man in high station who had set out on a voyage:

"When he embarked on the sea, I implored God with humility and said: "O thou whose bounty causeth the breezes to blow! let generosity flow from his hands (*as abundant*) as the waves of the ocean; preserve him from danger, and let the waves of the ocean be (*smooth*) like his hand!"

When Tahir was besieging *Baghdad*, he found himself in want of money and wrote for some to *al-Mamun*. The prince, in reply, sent him a letter addressed to *Khalid Ibn Jilawayh* the *katib*, requesting him to lend the sum which Tahir required; this, however,

---

5 Correct the Arabic text and read كان شجاعا ادبيا

\* It appears that *de Slane* has misunderstood the antecedents of pronouns. The correct version should be: He (*Tahir*) said to him (*the poet*), "Add (more verses) so that we may add (more rewards)." He (*the poet*) said 'I have got enough.'--Ed.

Khalid to refused to do. On taking Baghdad, Tahir caused Khalid to be brought before him and declared that he would make him die by the worst of deaths. On this Khalid offered a large sum to save his life, but his proposal was rejected; he then said: "I have composed some verses; "hear them, and after that, do what you will." Tahir, who was fond of poetry, replied: "Let us have them;" and Khalid recited these lines:

"A falcon, they say, once met a sparrow of the plain, driven into danger by the decree of fate. He darted on it and was striking it down with his wing, when it said; "I am not a fit quarry for one like thee; even were I roasted I should be a despicable morsel." The haughty falcon, full of generous pride, contemned his prey, and the sparrow then escaped."

Tahir approved the verses and pardoned him. He had but one eye, and this induced 'Amr Ibn Banah, whose life shall be given later, to compose on him this verse:

"O thou ambidexter! thou hast an eye too little, and a hand too much,"<sup>6</sup>

Isma'il Ibn Jarir al-Bajali was assiduous in his praise of Tahir, and the latter, having been told that the verses Isma'il addressed to him were by some other poet, resolved on putting his talent to the test, and said: "Make a satire on me," This he refused to do, but being forced at length by Tahir's insisting, he wrote down (7) and handed to him the following verses:<sup>7</sup>

"I see thee with but one eye, and that eye seeth but little. Since thou hast lost one, thou shouldst find some person to answer for the safety of the other; for I am certain that thou wilt soon have to thy way".

Tahir, having read these lines, warned him not to repeat them and tore the paper. When al-Mamun obtained the sovereign power on the death of his brother al-Amin, he wrote from Khurasan, where he was residing, to Tahir Ibn al-Husayn who was then at Baghdad. In his letter, he directed him to give up to al-Hasan Ibn Sahl the person of whom we have spoken No. 171,- all the countries which he had subdued, namely: Arabian and Persian 'Iraq, Fars, al-Ahwaz,

---

6 Meaning by this that he deserved to have this hand cut off for robbery.

7 This he did lest the company might hear the verses.

Hijaz, and Yaman, after which he was to proceed to ar-Raqqah and assume the government of Mosul, Mesopotamia, Syria, and the West (*Egypt and North Africa*). This happened towards the close of the year 198 (August, A.D. 814). The particulars of Tahir's proceedings are very numerous (*and may be found in any of the works on general history*). We shall give the life of his son 'Abd Allah and of his grandson 'Ubayd Allah. Tahir was born A.H. 159 (A.D. 775-6), and died on Saturday the 24th of the latter Jumadi A.H. 207 (November, A.D. 822)\* at Marw. "Al-Mamun had conferred on him the government of Khurasan, where he arrived in the month of the latter Rabi', A.H. 206 (September, A.D. 821),\*\* [some say, 205]. He chose for his lieutenant his son Talhah." such are as-Salami's<sup>8</sup> words in his History of the governors of Khurasan. Another writer says "Tahir renounced his allegiance to al-Mamun, who learned the circumstance from Khurasan. This intelligence alarmed him exceedingly but the next day he received other dispatches, by which he was informed that Tahir fell ill of a fever after his revolt and had been found dead in his bed.

\*\*\*Harun Ibn al-'Abbas Ibn al-Mamun relates the following circumstance in his History: "Tahir went one day to ask some favour from al-Mamun; the prince granted it and then wept till his eyes were drowned in tears.' Commander of the faithful! said Tahir, 'why do you weep? May God never cause you to shed a tear! The universe obeys you, and you have obtained your utmost wishes.'- 'I weep not,' replied the khalif, 'from any humiliation which may have befallen me, neither do I weep from grief, but my mind is never free from cares.' "These words gave great uneasiness to Tahir, and (on retiring) he said to Husayn, the eunuch who waited at the door of the khalif's private apartment: "I wish you to ask the Commander of the faithful why he wept on seeing me." He then sent him one hundred thousand dirhams. Some time afterwards, when al-Mamun was alone and in a good humour, Husayn said to him: "Why did you weep when Tahir came to see you?- "What is that to you?" replied the prince.- "It made me sad to see you weep." answered the eunuch, "I shall tell you the reason, but if you ever allow it to pass your lips, I shall have your head taken off." "O, my master! did I ever disclose any of your secrets? "I was thinking of my brother Muhammad (al-Amin)," said the khalif, and of the misfortune which

---

\* 12 November.-Ed.

\*\* 'Some say, 205' not in the autograph.-Ed.

8 This historian's names are Abu 'l-Husayn 'Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Salami.

\*\*\* From 'Harun' to 'Sauce' on p. 348, not in the autograph.-Ed.

befel him, so that I was nearly choked with weeping; but Tahir shall not escape me! I shall make him feel what he will not like. "Husayn related this to Tahir, who immediately rode off to Ahmad Ibn Abi Khalid<sup>9</sup> and said to him: I am not parsimonious in my gratitude, and a service rendered to me is never lost; contrive to have me removed away from al-Mamun." "I shall," replied Ahmad; "come to me tomorrow morning." He then rode off to al-Mamun and said: "I was not able to sleep last night," "Why so?" said the khalif. "Because you have entrusted Ghassan<sup>10</sup> with the government of Khurasan, and his friends are very few<sup>11</sup> and I fear that ruin awaits him." "And whom do you think a proper person for it?" said al-Mamun. "Tahir," replied Ibn Abi Khalid. "He is ambitious<sup>12</sup>" observed the khalif. "I will answer for his conduct," said the other. Al-Mamun then sent for Tahir, and named him governor of Khurasan on the spot; he made him also a present of a eunuch whom he had brought up, and to whom he had just given orders to poison his new master if he remarked anything suspicious in his conduct. When Tahir was solidly established in his government, he ceased making the (*khutbah for al-Mamun*) this event is related in the following terms by Kulthum Ibn Thabit, the director of the post establishment in Khurasan: "Tahir mounted the pulpit on Friday, and pronounced the khutbah; when he came to the part in which the Khalif's name should be mentioned, he stopped short. A despatch was immediately sent off by express to inform al-Mamun of the circumstance, and the next morning, Saturday, Tahir was found dead in his bed. A second despatch containing this intelligence was forwarded to al-Mamun. On receiving the packet containing the first despatch, he called in Ahmad Ibn Abi Khalid, and said. 'Go immediately, and bring here as you promised to do. He even insisted that he should set out that very day, and it was with great difficulty that he consented to his remaining another night. The following day, the second despatch arrived, bringing the news of Tahir's death.'" It is said that the eunuch administered the poison to him in some a sauce.

On his death, his son Talhah was nominated by al-Mamun to the government of Khurasan; but some say that he was merely

9 See No: 8. note Wazir Ibn Abi Khalid.

10 Ghassan Ibn 'Abbad was appointed governor of Sind by al-Mamun "A.H. 213." (Ibn al-Athir).

11 Literally: "He and his (companions) could eat up the head between them." She Freytag's Proverbs of al-Maydani, tom. 1. p. 73, No. 189.

12 Literally: "He is hungry."

appointed to act as the lieutenant of his brother 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir (whose life we intend to give). Talhah died at Balkh, A.H. 213 (A.D. 821-9). Different reasons have been assigned for the origin of Tahir's surname *Dhu 'I-Yaminayn* (*ambidexter*); some say that in the battle with 'Ali Ibn Mahan, he smote a man with a sword which he wielded in his left hand, and cut him in two. On this a poet said:

"When you strike a foe, each of your hands is a right hand!"

It was then that al-Mamun gave him this surname. His grandfather Mus'ab Ibn Ruzayq was secretary to Sulayman Ibn Kathir al-Khuza'i, the chief of the 'Abbasid mission. He expressed his thoughts with great elegance, and one of his sayings was: "How indispensable for a katib is a mind by means of which he may reach the highest rank, and a disposition which may lead him to the acquisition of noble qualities, and a generous pride, which may preserve him from mean desires and base behaviour." - *Bushanj* is a town in *Khurasan*, seven parasangs from Herat. *Khaluqi* means *belonging to Khaluq or Khalukah*, a well-known Arabian tribe.<sup>13</sup> Al-Husayn Ibn Mus'ab, Tahir's father, died in *Khurasan*, A.H. 199 (A.D. 814-5); al-Mamun attended his funeral; and sent a message of consolation to Tahir, who was then in 'Iraq.

## 288 SAYF AL-ISLAM TUCHTIKIN

Sayf al-Islam (*the sword of Islamism*) Abu'l Fawaris Tughtikin, the son of Ayyub Ibn *Shadhi* Ibn Marwan,<sup>1</sup> and surnamed al-Malik al-'Aziz Zahir al-Din (*the great prince, supporter of the faith*), held the sovereignty of Yaman. When his brother, the sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Din, became master of Egypt, he sent his other brother *Shams al-Dawlat Turan Shah*--him whose life has been given, No. 126,--to take possession of Yaman. That prince got the greater part of the country into his power, but then returned from it, as we have already mentioned. In the year 557 (A.D. 1181-2) the sultan sent thither Sayf al-Islam, who was a man of courage and generosity,

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibn *Khallikan* might have mentioned from which of the great Arabian stems the tribe of *Khalukah* branched off. That it was not well-known, is proved by the silence of the best genealogists.

<sup>1</sup> The life of Ayyub has been already given, No. 106.

noted for his talents as an administrator and his justice as a governor. His bounty and beneficence drew poets about him from the most distant lands, and amongst the rest Ibn 'Unayn of Damascus, whose life will be found in this work, and who came to celebrate his praises in some brilliant qasidahs, which procured him rich rewards from the prince's liberality. The favour of his patron then enabled him to acquire a large fortune, and he left Yaman with his riches: On arriving in Egypt, which was now under the rule of al-Malik al-'Aziz 'Imad al-Din 'Uthman, the son of Salah al-Din, he was oblied by the clerks of the Alms-Office to pay the legal alms<sup>2</sup> on all the merchandise which had brought with him. This induced him to compose the following verses:

"All the persons named al-'Aziz (*the great*) are not worthy of such a title: it is not every thundercloud which brings with it a genial shower. How different is the conduct of the two 'Aziz--One bestows alms, the other takes them."

Sayf al-Islam died on the 19th of Shawwal, A.H. 593 (September, A.D. 1197)\* at al-Mansurah, city founded by himself in Yaman. He was succeeded in his government by al-Malik al-Mu'izz Fath al-Din Ismail, the prince for whom Abu 'l-Ghana'im Musallam Ibn Mahmud Ibn Ni'mah Ibn Arsilan al-Shayzari (*native of Shayzar in Syria*) composed his '*Aja'ib al-Asfar wa Ghara'ib al-Akhbar*, (*wonders of travel and singular narratives*), work containing a copious account of his travels\*\* and much information respecting (*the eminent*) men (*whom he had met*). Al-'Izz Ibn 'Asakir<sup>3</sup> says that Sayf al-Islam died at Hamra,<sup>4</sup> a town in Yaman, and Abu 'l-Ghana'im, the writer above mentioned, states in his *Jamharat al-Islam zat al-Nathr wa 'l-Nazm*<sup>5</sup>

2 The legal alms are a property tax of two and a half percent *zakat*--Ed.

\* 4 September.--Ed.

\*\* According to the autograph reading it should be translated: containing a large number of his verses--Ed.

3 This is in the margin of the autograph and not in the author's hand--For 'Asakir I should read al-Athir.

4 The town of al-Hamra lay between Jublah and Ta'izz.

5 The last word of this title is written نظام in the original manuscript and in the hand writing of Ibn Khalikan himself. All the other MSS. have نظم (*nazm*), which is manifestly correct: the first part of the title should rhyme with second. This work, which is not noticed by Hajji Khalifah, was perhaps a penegyric on the prince Sayf al-Islam.



(Collections respecting Islamism - or Islam - containing pieces in prose and verse), that the death of Sayf al-Islam took place at Ta'izz<sup>6</sup> in the college of which town he was interred. He then adds: "His son Fath al-Din Abu 'l-Fida Isma'il was Salin in the month of Rajab, A.H. 598 (April, A.D. 1202), at 'Aji, a place situated to the north of Zabid<sup>7</sup> Fath al-Din was succeeded by his brother al-Malik al-Nasir Ayyub."<sup>8</sup> Abu 'l-Ghana'im, the author of this work, was versed in polite literature and had a talent for poetry; he was still alive A.H. 617 (A.D. 1220-1), but he died in that same year on in one of the years ensuing. His father Abu 'l-Thana Mahmud was a grammarian, and professed that art in the Mosque (jami') at Damascus. The *hafiz* Ibn 'Asakir makes mention of him in the great History (of Damascus), and Tmad al-Din says, in the *Khnridah* that he died A.H. 565 (A.D. 1169-70). Sharaf al-Din 'Unayn relates that this Mahmud recited to him the following lines of his own composing.

"They pretend that the R's requisites in winter are many,<sup>9</sup> but it is not a falsehood to say that there is only one-When you have the K of Kis (*money-bag*), you have them all, in the wild wass is found every sort of game."<sup>10</sup>

\**Tughtikin* is a Turkish name.

6 Ta'izz; as it is written in the Marasid, is the Taas of the gazetteers.

7 Zabid is the same city as the Zebid of the gazetteers.

8 A fuller account of these princes will be found in Johansen's *Historian Iemanae*, p. 150 et seq.

9 This alludes to a couple of verses composed by Sukkara, and inserted by al-Hariri in his twentyfifth Maqamah. (See De Sacy's edition, p. 262.) Their meaning is nearly as follows: Winter is come and I have for it seven things requisite when wet weather keeps me within doors; they are; *kian* (shelter), *kis* (purse), *kanum* (stove) a *kas* (cup) of wine, after some *Kabab* (roasted meat - see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*. v. I. p. 108), a plump *kuss* (girl). and a *Kisa* (warm covering). The *kuss* (*arvum genitile*) was frequently designated by the metonymy of the *sixth kaf* (*Al-Kaf al-Sidisah*).

10 The Arab hunters considered the flesh of the wild ass as preferable to that of all other animals, because it had the taste and qualities of every sort of game. The expression itself is proverbially employed to designate a single object which can replace a number of others.

\* M-de Slame has omitted. And his grandfather Arsilan was mamtuk of Ibn Munqidh, the governor of *Shaylzar*, Ed.

## 289 AL-SALIH IBN RUZZIK

Abu 'I-Gharat Tala 'I Ibn Ruzzik, surnamed al-Malik al-Salih (*the virtuous prince*), was a wazir of Egypt. He had been originally entrusted with the government of Munya Bani Khasib, a place in the province of Upper Egypt (*Sa'id*), but on the assassination of al-Zafir Isma'il (see his life, No. 96), the officers of the palace sent to request his assistance against 'Abbas and his son Nasr, authors of the crime. He immediately proceeded to Cairo at the head of an immense multitude of Arabs from the desert. On his approach, 'Abbas and his son fled with their partisans, amongst whom was Usamah Ibn Murshid Ibn Murqidh, who had been a sharer in their guilt (see his life, No. 81) Salih then made his entry into Cairo and being appointed wazir to (*the khalif*) al-Fa'iz, he became the absolute master of the state and director of the government. This took place on the 19th of the first Rabi', A.H. 549 (June, A.D. 1154).<sup>\*</sup> He was eminent by his personal merit, profuse in his donations, accessible to suitors, a generous parton to me, of talent, and a good poet. I have read his collected poetical works forming two volumes, from which I took the following passages:

'How often does time set before us its vicissitudes, that they may serve our instruction; yet we turn away and heed them not. We forget that the honour of death must come and we never think of it till our maladies remind us.'

There was a youth whose slender form and pliant waist seemed, from their movements to have acquired a portion of the intoxication which his eyes shed around. His glances were so penetrating that, in the morn of battle, I might have drawn them from their eyelids to serve me as a sword, 'The musk of that 'idhar,' I exclaimed, "has a traced double *alif* (-u-) on his cheek, and not double *lam* (-ud-)."<sup>1</sup> It is not down which spreads over his cheeks, but the locks of his hair which have broken loose.' Behold with wonder a Sultan whose justice is universal and who himself suffered from the tyranny of love.<sup>2</sup> By Allah! were it not that flight is a shameful word and shameful in itself, I should have fled to him for protection against his own cruelty."<sup>3</sup>

\* 3 June, Ed.

1 See the observations in the Introduction in this volume.

2 By the sultan, he means himself.

3 I shall henceforward omit every piece similar to this, unless there be means of disguising it offensive character.

The celebrated preacher and native of Damascus Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Naja Ibn Ghana'im al-Ansari (*descended from one of the Ansars*), a member of the Hanbalite sect, and surnamed Zayn al-Din (*the ornament of religion*), but generally known by the appellation of Ibn Nujayyah, gives the following verses as the production of Tala'i' Ibn Ruzzik and mentions that, when he was in Egypt, they were recited to him by their author:

"Your hoary age has cast off the dark tint of youth, and the white falcon has settled in the nest of the crow.<sup>4</sup> You slumber in apathy, but misfortune is awake and the tooth of affliction will wound you and not be repelled. How can you preserve the treasure if you squander it away uncounted?"

The poet 'Abd Allah Ibn As'ad surnamed al-Muhadhdhab.<sup>5</sup> a native of Mosul, but an inhabitant of Emessa celebrated the praises of al-Salih Talai' in a poem rhyming in K, and beginning thus:

"Will it not suffice you that I perish under your correction? You only punish me for the excess of the love I bear you."<sup>6</sup>

It is an excellent qasidah and expresses in these lines the draft of the author:

"Why then be angry if secret foes say, I have forgotten these? knowest thou not that I can never forget these? May the friendship be withheld from me if what they say is true, and may my thirst be never quenched by the generosity of the son of Ruzzik!"

Were I not afraid of lengthening this article too much, I should transcribe here the entire poem, which is both long and instructive.<sup>7</sup> On the death of al-Fa'iz who was succeeded by al-'Adid,, al-Salih not only continued to hold the wazirate, but was treated by the new khalif

4 This mean in simple language; Your grey hairs have taken the place of your black ones.

5 The life of al-Muhadhdhab 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Dahhan will be found in the next volume.

6 The word جسا an incorrect expression, is equivalent to جبي لك The first تلافى comes from the root تلفى and the second from تلف

7 'Imad al-Din gives this poem in his Kharidah; see MS. of the Bib. du Roi, No. 1414, for. 177.

with greater honour than ever: he married his daughter to al-'Adid whom he held in complete subjection (*in the palace*), and, seduced by long prosperity, he neglected the precaution of prudence. Fatigued at length with his thralldom, the prince devised a plan against his wazir's life, and formed a conspiracy for that purpose with the portion of the regular troops called the *Awlad al-Ra'i* (*the sons of the shepherd*).<sup>8</sup> These men were to remain concealed in a part of the palace which he indicated, and on the passage of al-Salih, either by day or by night, they were to kill him. They lay there in wait, and as the wazir was about leaving the palace, they rose to attack him, but the door through which they had to pass was locked by the mistake of one of the band whilst endeavouring to open it, and their design was thus frustrated for that night; 'God having had some motive for allowing their intended victim to live a short time longer. Another day they posted themselves in their place of concealment, and, when al-Salih entered the palace, they sprung upon him and covered him with wounds, some of them in the head. The alarm was immediately given, and the persons, who had accompanied al-Salih came into his assistance and slew the murderers. He was carried home, the blood flowing from his wounds, and he died the same day, Monday, 19th Ramadan, A.H. 556 (September, A.D. 1161).<sup>\*</sup> His birth was in the year 495 (A.D. 1101-2). The pelisses of investiture were then borne to his son Abu Shuja'al-'Adil Muhi al-Din Ruzzik, him of whom we have spoken in the life of Shawar, No. 271. He thus became wazir, on Tuesday, the day after his father's death, and received the honorary title of al-'Adil al-Nasir (*the just, the protector*). The jurisconsult, 'Umarat al-Yamani lamented the death of al-Salih in a long qasidah commencing thus:

"Is there in that assembly a person well informed to whom I may apply? for the grief I feel has troubled and expelled my reason, I have heard a rumour which makes me envy the deaf, which shocks him who hears it and strikes dumb him who relates it. Can I have an answer to encourage my hopes and make the truth of this fatal news appear less probable than its falsehood? The aspect of things only increases my fears; I see the throne set out, but he who filled it is absent! Has he retired (*merely for*

---

8 Ibn al-Athir says in his *Annals*; "Among the Egyptian amirs, he who took the most active part in the murder of al-Salih was the person named *Ibn al-Ra'i* (*the son of the shepherd*)."<sup>\*</sup> Al-Maqrizi, in his *Khirat*, speaks of al-Salih and gives a short account of his death; according to him, he was attacked and wounded by a Batinite. An account! nearly similar is given in the *Nujum*.

<sup>\*</sup> 11 September,—Ed.

a time) and his son is to replace him, or has he departed never to return? I see sadness upon all faces such as shows that the faces (*chiefs of the kingdom*) are orphaned by his loss."

It contains also this passage:

"Leave me! this is not the moment for weeping? Later our tears shall descend as the dew and as the showers. Suspect not the sincerity of my grief; that shower (*of generosity*) in which I placed my hopes has been dissipated from over me. Why should we not weep for him and deplore his loss, now that our children are orphaned and bereft? After a life of beneficence he has vanished from our eyes; O that I knew the fate which God reserves for us! Shall your guest, the stranger whom you protected, find still an honourable treatment and be induced to remain, or must his baggage be packed up for a prompt departure?"

Salih was interred at Cairo in the Palace of the wizarate founded by al-Afdal Shahanshah, whose life we have given, (No. 272;) but on the 19th of the month of Safar, A.H. 557 (February, A.D. 1162),\* his son al-'Adil caused the body to be taken up, and having placed it on a bier, he followed it to the cemetery of the Grearer Qarafah, had it deposited in the tomb which is still called the Mausoleum of al-Salih. 'Umarat al-Yamani composed, on this subject another good qasidah, containing the following passage relate to the bier (*tabut*):

"Like the ark (*tabut*) of Moses, it contained dignity<sup>9</sup> and gravity."

He made also a number of other elegies on his death. This was the Salih who built the mosque outside the Gate of Zawilah<sup>10</sup> at Cairo. In the life of Shawar we mentioned the flight of al-Salih's son, al-'Adil Ibn Ruzzik, from Cairo with the date of that event (see No. 271); he took with him treasures to an immense amount, and accompanied by his family and domestics, he put himself under the

---

\* 7 February--Ed.

9 Dignity; in Arabic, *sakinah*, See M. de Sacy's observations on this word in his *Chrestomathie*, tom II. page 77.

10 According to al-Maqrizi, al-Salih built this mosque for the reception of the mortal remains of al-Husayn, the son of 'Ali, which were at that time interred at 'Asqalan and in constant danger of being profaned by the Frank army.

protection of Sulayman--some say, Ya'qub--Ibn al-Nis'<sup>11</sup> al-Lakhmi, an old friend of the wazir's family and indebted to them for the ample fortune which he then possessed. He received them in his house at Atfih,<sup>12</sup> but immediately went off to Shawar and informed him where they were. Shawar sent back with him a troop (of soldiers) who arrested al-'Adil and brought him to the door of the palace, where he kept him waiting for a long time and then sent him to prison. He afterwards said to Ibn al-Nis; "Al-Salih reserved you for his son as a previous treasure, and I shall reserve you for mine," he then ordered him to be starangled. Al-'Adil remained in prison for some time and was at length put to death by Shawar's orders; his head was then brought forth to the great officers of the empire. It is a singular coincidence that al-Salih was nominated wazir on the nineteenth day of the month, that he was murdered on the nineteenth day of the month, that his body was disinterred and that the authority of the Ruzzik family ceased on days of a similar date. Zayn al-Din Ibn Nujayyah, the preacher above mentioned, was born A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-5) at Damascus; he passed his youth in that city and visited Baghdad a number of times; he married Umm 'Abd al-Karai Fatimah, the daughter of Abu 'I Hasan Sa'd al-Khayr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sahl Ibn Sa'd, descendant from one of the Ansars and a native of Valencia in Spain.<sup>13</sup> Before his death, he removed to Egypt and there taught the Traditions. He died in the country on Wednesday, the 8th of Ramadan, A.H. 599 (May, A.D. 1203).\*

---

\* The editor of Cairo edition gives البيض al-Bid.--Ed.

11 I here follow the reading of the autograph.

12 'Atfih is situated on the east bank of the Nile, about forty miles above Cairo.

13 Abu 'I-Hasan Sa'd al-Khayr Ibn Muhammad the Traditionist descended from a family of the Ansars and was born at Valencia in Spain. He travelled to the East and went as far as Sin (China), for which reason he was surnamed al-Sini al-Balansiyyi. At Baghdad he studied the law under Abu Hamid al-Isfara'ni and learned the traditions from Abu Abd Allah al-Ni'ali النعماني and other doctors. When in Isbahan he took lessons from Abu Sa'd al-Mutarriz, and it was in that city he got married; it was there also that his daughter Fatimah was born. His authority as a hafiz was cited by Ibn 'Asakir, Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ani, Abu Musa al-Madini, and others. He died at Baghdad in the month of Muharram, A.H. 541 (A.D. 1146), and the funeral prayers were said over his corpse by the Qadi 'I-Qudat al-Zayrabi. He was interred near the tomb of 'Abd Allah, the son of the imam Ibn Hanbal.-(Al-Maqari, M.S. No. 704, fol. 288).

\* 21 May, Ed.

## 290. ABU YAZID AL-BASTAMI

Abu Yazid Tayfur al-Bastami the famous ascetic, (زاهد) was the son of 'Isa Ibn Adam Ibn 'Isa Ibn 'Ali. His grandfather was a Magian, but became a convert to Islamisin, and his two brothers, Adam and 'Ali, were, like himself, devout ascetics, but in an inferior degree. Abu Yazid, being asked how he had acquired his knowledge (*of the spiritual world*), answered that it was by means of a hungry belly and a naked body. A person said to him. "What is the greatest suffering which you have undergone in the way of God?" to which he replied: "It cannot be described." He was then asked what was the slightest mortification which he had inflicted on himself?<sup>1</sup> and he said: "As for that question, I can answer it; when I summoned myself to do an act pleasing to God, if I replied not with a good will, I deprived myself of water for a year." He used to say: "When you see a man possessing miraculous powers so as even to mount into the air let not that deceive you, but see if he observes God's commands and prohibitions, if he keeps within the bounds imposed by religion, and if he performs the duties which it prescribes." His sayings are very numerous, his works of mortification and devotion are highly celebrated and his miraculous gifts were clear and evident. He died A.H. 261 (A.D. 874-5); some say, 264. *Bastami* means *belonging to Bastam*, which is a well-known town in the province of Qumis;<sup>2</sup> some persons state it lies just within the frontier of *Khurasan* near the border of 'Iraq.

ط

## 291 ABU 'L-ASWAD AL-DU'WALI

Abu 'l-Aswad Zalim Ibn 'Amr Ibn Sugyan Ibn Jandal Ibn Ya'mar Ibn Hils Ibn Nufathah Ibn 'Adi Ibn al-Din Ibn Bakr was surnamed al-Dili or al-Du'wali, but a great diversity of opinions exists relative to his name, his genealogy and his surname. He was one of the most eminent among the *Tabi'is*, an inhabitant of Basrah, and a partisan

---

1 The word ملك has been omitted by mistake in the Arabic text after نفسك

2 This province lies towards the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian Sea.

of 'Ali Ibn 'Abi Talib, under whom he fought at the battle of Siffin. In intelligence he was one of the most perfect of men and in reason one of the most sagacious. He was the first who invented grammar: it is said that 'Ali laid down for him his principle, the parts of speech are three: the noun, the verb, and the particle, telling him to found a complete treatise upon it. Others say that he was instructor to the children of Zī'ad Ibn Abih, who was then governor of Arabian and Persian 'Iraq, and that he went to him one day and said: "Amīr, may God direct thee! I see that the Arabs have become mingled with these foreign nations and that their tongues are altered (*so that they speak incorrectly*); wilt thou then authorize me to compose for the Arabs something which may enable them to know their language?" or, according to another relation, "to use correctly their language?" Ziyad refused permission, but some time afterwards, a man came to him and said: "Amīr! may God direct thee! *tuwaffia bana wa taraka banun*<sup>1</sup> (*mortuus est patrem nostrum et reliquit filu*);" on this he sent for Abu 'l-Aswad and told him to prepare for the public that which he had previously forbidden him to compose. It is related by others that as he entered his house on a certain day, one of his daughters said to him: "Papa! *ma ahsanu 'l-samani?* (*what is most beautiful in the sky?*)" to which he answered; "Its stars:" but she replied: "Papa I do not mean to say what is the most beautiful object in it; I was only expressing my admiration at its beauty." "You must then say," he observed, "*ma ahsanu al-sama'a* (*how beautiful in the sky*)." He then invented the art of grammar. Abu Harb al-Duwalī's son, related as follows: The first section (of the art of grammar) composed by my father was on the verbs of admiration"<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Aswad having been asked where he had acquired the science of grammar, answered that he had learned the first points of it from 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib. It is said that Abu 'l-Aswad never made known any of the principles which he had received from 'Ali, till Ziyad sent to him the order to compose something which might serve as a guide to the public and enable them to understand the Book of God (*the Qur'an*). He at first asked to be dispensed (*from such a task*), but on hearing a man recite the following passage out of the *Qur'an*; *Anna 'llahu bariyun mina' l-Mushrikina warasuluhu*, which last word the reader pronounced

1 The man should have said *abuna*, not *abana*, and *banin*, not *banun*.

2 See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*, and his edition of the *Alfiyah*, page 66. The best published treatise on this subject is contained in Ibn Aqil's commentary on the *Alfiyah* printed at Bulaq, A.H. 1252; the most satisfactory work on Arabic grammar which we possess. It can be only surpassed by Ibn Hisham's *Mugh Mughni 'l-labibi* a profound and truly philosophical treatise, but not yet printed.



*resulihi*, he exclaimed; "I never thought that things would have come to this."<sup>3</sup> He then returned to Ziyad and said: "I shall do what you ordered; find me an intelligent<sup>4</sup> scribe who will follow my directions." On this a scribe belonging to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qays was brought to him, but did not give him satisfaction; another then came and Abu 'l-Aswad said to him: "When you see me open (*fatah*) my mouth in pronouncing a letter, place a point over it; when I close (*damm*) my mouth, place a point before (or, upon) the letter and when I pucker up (*kasar*) my mouth, place a point under the letter." This the scribe did. The art (of grammar) was called *nahwu* because Abu 'l-Aswad had said: "I asked permission of 'Aqil Ibn Ali Talib to compose in the same way (*nahwa*) as he had done." God knows best, if this be true<sup>6</sup>.

3 This passage is contained in the third verse of the ninth *surat*. If read correctly, it signifies "This is a declaration - that God is clear of the idolaters, and his apostle also, but if the last word be pronounced *rasulihi*, it means, that God, is clear of the idolaters and his apostle also, but if the last word be pronounced *rasulihi*, it means, that God is clear of the idolaters and of his apostle."

4 The autograph has *لنا* in place of *لنا* the sense is the same.

5 These are the red points still found in some of the old Kufic MSS. of the *Qur'an*.

6 The following particulars relative to the origin of Arabic grammar are taken from the notice on Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duwali in Abu 'l-Mahasin's al-Bahr al-Zakhir, year 69. "It once went in," said Abu 'l-Aswad, to the khalif 'Ali and found him in deep reflexion, on which I said to him. 'Commander of the faithful! What are you thinking of? He answered: 'I heard in your town faults of language, and I wish to compose book on the principles of Arabic.' I replied: 'If you do so, you will give us new life. Some days afterwards I went to him and he handed me his book *مصنف* in which was this passage:

The parts of speech are the noun, the verb, and the particle; the noun designates a thing which has a name, the verb indicates the motion of the thing which has name, and the particle is that which is neither noun nor verb. He then told me to follow that up and add to it the observations which might come into my mind; I therefore collected many and submitted them to him.

'Anbasah learned grammar from al-Duwali, Maymun al-Aqran *الاقرن* from Anbasah, 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan al-Hadhrami from Maymun, 'Isa Ibn 'Umar from al-Hadhrami, al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad, the inventor of prosody, from 'Isa, Sibawayh from al-Khalil al-Akhfash Sa'id Ibn Mas'adah from Sibawayh, and the knowledge of it then spread among the public." (MS. No. 659 A.). The author of the *Fihrist* says that Sa'd, a newly converted Persian, happened to walk past Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duwali and was asked by him why he went on foot? To which he replied: "Because my horse is lame," saying *وان فرسى ظالما* instead of *ان فرسى ظالع* Some persons present

(Contd.. on next page)

Abu 'l-Aswad had a house in Basrah, but as he was continually suffering from the maliciousness of a neighbour, he sold it; and some person having said to him: "you have then sold your house?" he replied: "Say rather, I have sold my neighbour;" a saying which

laughed at the mistake, but Abu 'l-Aswad then conceived the project of rendering Arabic of easy acquisition to newly converted Muslims from foreign countries, and he composed the chapter treating of the governing and the governed parts of speech باب الفاعل والمفعول ..... (Fihrist fol: 55) ..... The

following extract from the same work proves that Abu 'l-Aswad did really compose a treatise on grammar bearing this title: it contains some things not relating to the subject, but they are sufficiently curious to merit insertion. Muhammad Ibn Ishaq says: there was a man in the city of al-Hadithah whose name was Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, but was generally known by the surname of Ibn Abi Basrah بصره. He was a book-collector and possessed a

library, the like of which I never saw for its extent. In the division of Arabic books were treatises on grammar, philology, and literature, with some old books besides. I met this man a number of times, and he at length became intimate with me, though he was in general very reserved, and apprehensive that the Hamdan family (the sovereigns of Aleppo) might seize on what he had. He then pulled out a large trunk containing about three hundred pounds weight of parchments folded double, and of Egyptian card paper (*qartas*), Chinese paper (*warraq sinii*), paper of Tehamah, and paper of Khurasan. These contained passages of pure Arabic I learned from the Arabs of the Desert, a few of their qasidahs, and some notes on grammar; with anecdotes, historical relations, stories, genealogies, and other branches of knowledge peculiar to that people. He told me that he had received them from a native of Kufah, whose name I forget, and who was an eager collector of ancient autographs (*al-khutut al-qadimah*). This person, being on the point of death, left these writings to him because he was a Shi'ite and had thus obtained his friendship. I looked at the documents (*said Muhammad*) and was struck with admiration; they were all more or less injured by time, but on each quire or roll was a series of certificates to the number of five or six, all in the handwriting of men eminent for their learning, and each of them declaring the preceding to be really in the handwriting of the person whose signature it bore. Among them I saw written: *Qur'an in the handwriting of Khalid Ibn Abi 'l-Hayyaj, one of 'Ali's partisans*; then followed these words: *This volume came into the possession of Abu 'Abd Allah Ibn Hani*. Among these papers I remarked some in the handwriting of the imams al-Hasan and al-Husayn; others contained protections and charters (*uhud*) in the handwriting of the Khalif 'Ali, etc. Among the autographs of the grammarians and philologists, were those of Abu 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala, Abu 'Amr al-Shaybani, al-Asma'i, Ibn al-'Arabi, Sibawayh, al-Farra, and al-Kisa'i. Among those of Traditionists were some by Sufyan Ibn 'Uyaynah, Sufyan al-Thawri, al-Awza'i etc. And I discovered also in these papers a proof that grammar was invented by Abu 'l-Aswad; it was document in four sheets, on Chinese paper, I believe, and bearing this title:

(Contd.. on next page)

became proverbial.<sup>7</sup> He went in one day to 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Abi Bakrah Nuqay'<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Harith Ibn Kaladah al-Thaqadi; on seeing him clothed in a tattered cloak which he often wore, said to him: "Abu 'l-Aswad, are you not tired of that cloak?" To which he received this answer: "There are tiresome things which it is impossible to quit." When Abu 'l-Aswad withdrew, the other sent to him one hundred coats, on which he recited the lines which follow: (some say, however, that it was between him and al-Mundhir Ibn al-Jarud that this passed):

"A generous brother, prompt to assist (*nasiru*), clothed me when I asked it not, and therefore do I praise him. If you are grateful, that man best deserves your thanks who makes you presents while your self-respect remains undiminished."

\* In this verse, the word *nasiru* is sometimes read *yasiru*; the meaning of the first reading is clear, as it comes from *nusrah* (assistance); the second reading implies pity and compassion; thus they say: "Such a one has compassion (*yasiru*) on such a one."- Abu 'l-Aswad composed a great deal of poetry;<sup>9</sup> one of his pieces is as follows:

"It is not by wishes alone that you can procure your livelihood; you must send your bucket down into the well with those of others; sometimes it will come up full, and sometimes with mud and but little water."

His poetical works have been collected into a volume. He is the author of this verse:

---

*Dicourse on the governing and governed parts of speech, by Abu 'l-Aswad, in the handwriting of Yahya Ibn Ya'mar' one of Abu 'l-Aswad's disciples, (see Fihrist, f. 55 v.) underneath were inscribed in old character (bikhatt 'atiq) these words: This is the handwriting of such a one the grammarian: then followed a note by al-Nadr Ibn 'Shumayl. When the owner of these papers died, the trunk and its contents disappeared and we never heard more of it."- (Fihrist) fol. 54 et seq.*

7 Al-Yafi'i remarks that the proverb is this: I have sold my neighbour, not my house; and that a common saying is. *Al-jar qabl al-dar*, examine the neighbourhood before you buy the house.

8 This is the reading of the autograph.

\* M. de Slane has omitted a sentence which runs thus; For  
ملوك ملوك is a variant reading.-Ed.

9 In the Arabic text read اشعار

"Omayyah dyed our hands with blood, but Omayyah withheld from us their wealth."<sup>10</sup>

It is related that Abu 'l-Aswad had an attack of the palsy, and that he used to go to the market himself although scarcely able to draw his leg after him, and yet he was rich and possessed both male and female slaves: a person who knew this accosted him one day and said: "God has dispensed you from the necessity of moving about on your own business; why do you not remain seated at home?" To which he replied: "No; I go in and out, and the eunuch says; 'He is coming, and the boy says: 'He is coming,' whereas, were I to continue sitting in the house, the sheep might urine upon me without any person's preventing them," -Khalifah Ibn Khayat states that when 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas governed Basrah in the name of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib,<sup>11</sup> he had to make a journey to Hijaz, and left Abu 'l-Aswad to replace him: the latter continued in his post from that time till the death of 'Ali. He was notorious for his avarice, and he used to say: "If we listened to the demands made by the poor for our money, we should soon be worse off than they." He said also to his sons: "Strive not to rival Almighty God in generosity, for He is the most bountiful and the most glorious; had he pleased, he would have given ample wealth to all men; so: strive not to be generous, lest you die of starvation." He once heard a person say: "Who will give a supper to a hungry man,?" "Let him come to me" he replied. When the supper was over, the man left the table and was going out, but his host called after him: "Where are you going?" "To my people;" replied the other "That," exclaimed Abu 'l-Aswad, "I shall by no means allow; when I gave you to sup, my sole motive was to prevent the true believers from being troubled by you for this night at least." He then put him in the stocks and kept him in confinement till this next morning. Abu 'l-Aswad died at Basrah of the plague in the year 69 (A.D. 688-9), aged eighty-five years; some persons mention, however, that he died of the palsy before the plague broke out; others again state that he died in the Khilafat of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz; now this prince came to the throne in the month of Safar A.H. 99 (September-October A.D. 717), and died at Dayr

---

10 Correct the Arabic text and read دينا Ibn Khallikan might have explained this verse and mentioned the fact to which it makes allusion. ALYafi'i says of it; This seems to mean: The Umayyads sent us to fight, but were too avaricious to recompense us.

11 AL-Yafi'i says in his Annals, A.H. 68 that Abu 'l-Aswad was qadi of Basrah.

Sam'an<sup>12</sup> in month of Rajab, A.H. 101 (February, A.D. 720). When Abu 'l-Aswad was on the point of death, someone said to him: "Rejoice, God's forgiveness awaits you;" to which he replied; "But where is the shame which I should feel if any of my deeds required forgiveness?— *Dili* and *Duwali* mean *belonging to Duwil*, which is a branch of tribe of Kinanah. In forming the relative adjective from Duwil, they say *Duwali* and not *Duwili*, so as to avoid a succession of *kesras* or *i's*: it is thus that from *Nomirah*, the name of another tribe, they form *Namari*; this is a general rule. Duwal is the name of an animal between the weasel and the fox.<sup>13</sup> The true pronunciation of the word *Hils* is given by al-Wazir al-Maghribi in his *Kitab al-'Inas*;<sup>14</sup> it is often written incorrectly, and I have found some differences of opinion subsisting respecting it, but *Hils* is right orthography.

## 292 ZAFIR AL-HADDAD

Abu 'l-Mansur Zafir Ibn al-Qasim Ibn Mansur Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Khalaf Ibn 'Abd al-Ghani al-Iskandarani<sup>1</sup> generally known by the surname of al-Haddad (*the blacksmith*), was a poet of talent and celebrity. He celebrated the praises of many eminent persons in Egypt, and greater part of his collected poetical works is very fine. The hafiz al-Silafi and other illustrious men taught, with his authorisation, some of the poems which he had composed. One of his best known pieces is the following:

"Had he taken refuge in an exemplary patience, his tears had not gushed forth in dews and showers. The troops of love ceased not to attack his heart till it was broken and torn to pieces. His passion has not left him any remains of life, except the mere principle of existence contained in the (*sole*) fragment of his heart (*which still remains*). He who desires to live in safety should always avoid the languishing eyes of the fair. Let not that languor deceive you; those glances wound your heart even when they

---

12 Dayr Sam'an lay in the neighbourhood of al-Khunasarah, a town at about two days' journey east of Aleppo.

13 Perhaps a species of ichneumon.

14 See No. 187.

1 The autograph has الاسكندراني (native of Alexandria); most of the other MSS. read الاسكندري, a word bearing the same signification.

give it pleasure. Charming gazelle! thou whose eyes lance arrows which pierce to the inmost heart! who arranged those pearls which shine in thy mouth? who prepared the intoxicating moisture in which those pearls are bathed? what artist gave such straightness to the lance of thy figure? with what steel were pointed the arrows of thy glances? Use thy body gently, lest it melt away; I fear lest thy silken vest (*soft as it is*) may hurt it. The magic effects of thy beauty surpass the enchantments of harut,<sup>2</sup> yet he is the ablest in the art; tell me<sup>3</sup> now who is his master? By Allah! if once a man is captured by thy charms, all human art can scarcely set him free. Thou hast sent love to attack the hearts of men, and they willingly submitted, for its victorious power had already reduced them to the last extremity.

I knocked at every door which leads to fortune, I spared no efforts; why then does she always fly and shun me? Avoid the vain wishes hope inspires; the favourite of fortune is (*as wretched*) as he whom she oppresses, and the man enriched by her favour is still a beggar for more.

A poem<sup>4</sup> of Ibn Durayd gained him the heart of men, when Baghdad, the place of his dwelling, rejected him. Subdued by the charm of his verses, they hoped to retain him among them, and that troop of foes whom he had prostrated by the power of his talent or—rather the enemies who wished to tear him to pieces—disparaged and left him unharmed (5). The Being who hath granted thee His richest favours cannot be offended by thy spending them on others.”<sup>5</sup>

The *qasidah* from which these extracts are taken is of the highest beauty; but I must here notice a singular circumstance: my professor ‘Imad al-Din Ibn Batish<sup>6</sup> has inserted these verses in his work entitled

2. Harut and Marut, two rebel angels, were chained at Babel, where they taught men magic.

3. The autograph has *تری* in place of *یری* the sense is nearly the same.

4. Literally: A poem rhyming in *dh*; (*with a point*). The autograph has *ذالیه* which is no doubt the true reading. The poet here recalls to mind the effects of a poem by Ibn Durayd in the same letter as his own *qasidah*. The fact to which Ibn al-Haddad alludes is not mentioned by Ibn *Khallikan* in the life of Ibn Durayd.

5. I have been obliged to paraphrase a very obscure verse, in order to make its meaning intelligible.

6. See No. 84 note. on Abu ‘l-Majd.

the *Mughni* (sufficient), which contains the explanation of the obscure passages met with in (*Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi's*) treatise on Jurisprudence the *Muhammadhab*, and gives a short account of the persons whose names are mentioned in that work; he then comes to speak of Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Haddad, a doctor of the sect of al-Shafi'i and a native of Egypt, and after giving an account of him, he says: "He composed "some fine poetry, and a certain jurisconsult recited to me a number of verses from a *qasida* which he attributed to him;" he then cites some of the verses, and they are the same as those given above. But this is an error into which he could only have been led from confounding Zafir al-Haddad with the jurisconsult Ibn al-Haddad. The following lines also are by Zafir:

"(The family of my beloved) have departed, and did I not hope for thier return, I should die. By Allah! it was not they, but my own heart from which I then was separated."

Imad al-Din mentions these lines in his *Kharidah* but attributes them to al-'Ayni,<sup>7</sup> and then says: "Al-'Ayni was an able officer and noted for his bravery; he died A.H. 546 (A.D. 1151-2)." But the truth is, that they are by Zafir, and Imad al-Din himself given them again in the life of that person. One of this poet's *qasidahs* contains the following verse:

"Lovers speak ill of the spies who beset them; O that I was in such favour with my mistress as to be in dread of spies!"

He died in Egypt in the month of Muharram, A.H. 529 (October-November, A.D. 1134). We have already spoken of the surname of Judhami (No. 65).

\*The following lines on the weaver's loom were composed by Zafir:

"Look at the beauty of my products, admire my construction and the skill of Him who made me. I resemble the hands of two lovers, clasped in each other on the day of separation, the fingers of one inserted between those of the other."

'Ali Ibn Zafir Ibn Mansur praises him highly in his work entitled *Bada'i' l-Badayah*,<sup>8</sup> and relates the following anecdote respecting him,

7 See *Kharidah*, MS. No. 1374. ff. 58 et 76.

\* From 'The following' to end not, in the autograph.—Ed.

8 This work is noticed by Hajji Khalifah, who states that its author, the playming Wazir Jamal al-Din Abu l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Zafir, a member of the tribe of Azd and native of Egypt, died A.H. 623 (A.D. 1226).

on the authority of the qadi Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Husayn al-Amidi, who had been acting for sometime as deputy to the qadi of Alexandria. "I went," says he, "to see al-Amir al-Sa'd (*the fortunate amir*) Ibn Zufar whilst he was governor of the city, and I found him putting some drops of oil upon his little finger. Having asked him the reason, he answered that the tightness of his ring had caused his finger to swell, on which I observed that it would be best to have the ring cut off before things grew worse. He then asked me who would be a proper person to do it, and I sent for Abu 'l-Mansur Zafir Ibn al-Qasim al-Haddad, who cut the ring, and extemporised these verses:

"The human race could not reckon all thy excellent qualities, even were thier prose-writers and their poets copious in thy praises. A ring must be too small for the finger of him whose generous hand is as ample as the ocean".<sup>9</sup>

"The amir was pleased with the lines, and gave the ring, which was of gold, to their author. There was a tame gazelle lying at the amir's feet with its head on his lap, and Zafir extemporised on it these lines:

"I wondered at the courage of that gazelle and the boldness of its conduct. I marvel to see it crouching down; how can it be tranquil near you who are a lion?"

"The amir and the company present admired this piece even more than the preceding, and Zafir, having then remarked a net placed before the door to keep out the birds, recited as follows:

"I saw a net at your exalted door, and that caused me some embarrassment: but after reflecting in my mind, I said: The sea is the place for nets."<sup>10</sup>

"He then retired and left us in admiration at the readiness of his wit and the elegance of his talent.

---

9 Literally: To whom the sea is a hand.

10 He calls the amir a sea for his vast generosity.



***Ibn Khallikan's***

**WAFAYAT AL-A'YAN**

**WA ANBĀ' ABNA' AL-ZAMĀN**

**(A Biographical Dictionary)**

**Vol. 3**

Eng. Translation  
**M. de Slane**

Edited by  
**Dr. S. Moinul Haq**

## **BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE QUR'AN**

By *MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD*

Translated by *DR. SYED ABDUL LATIF*

Being a Resume of the views advanced by him in his Commentary of the *Surat-ul-Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an

The volume sets out on a brief canvas the ideology of the Qur'an as estimated by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and should serve as an illuminating Introduction to the Study of the Qur'an.

ISBN 81-7151-217-8 23x36/16 pp. 16+118 1996

Book Code No. B00075

**Rs 60/-**

## **AN ORIENTAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY**

*T. W. BEALE*

Thomas Beale's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, revised and edited by H.G. Keene, is still the most comprehensive work of its kind. It provides detailed biographical information on all the main figures in the history of the East from the first century A.D. to the nineteenth century.

The Dictionary is an outstanding work of scholarship and has been highly acclaimed by Oriental scholars and historians all over the world. It is indispensable for scholars and students of the history of Muslim India, consisting as it does material gathered from Persian Arabic, Urdu and European sources. The history of the Maratha and Rajput States and Kingdoms is also covered in full detail. Students of Muslim India's art, music and literature will find much of great interest and use in the volume.

More than 4500 entries are listed according to the English variant of each individual's name together with their Persian form in the parenthesis.

ISBN 81-7151-214-3 20x26/8 pp. 8+432 1996

Book Code No. O00018

**Rs. 300/-**

# **KITAB BHAVAN**

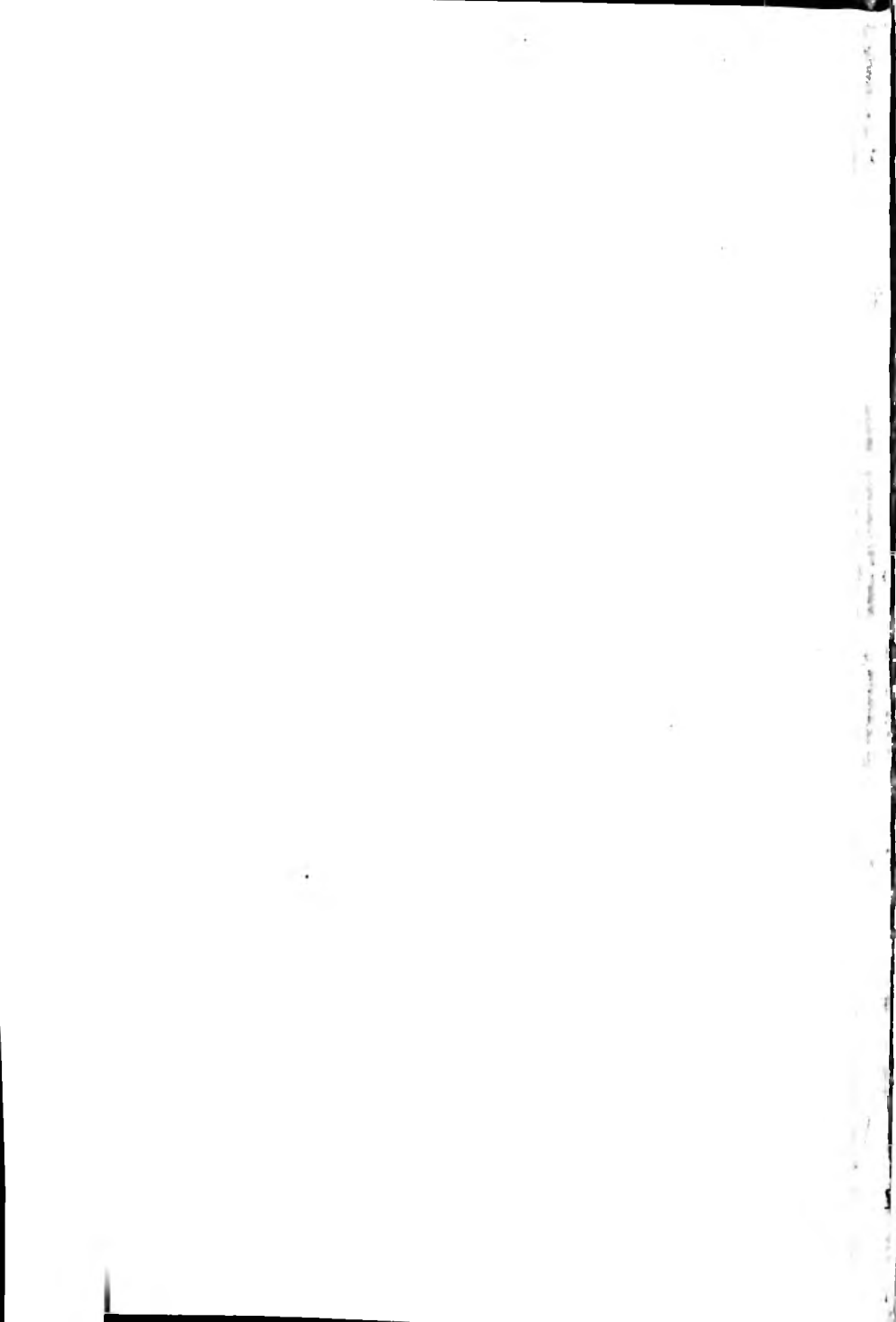
**1784, Kalan Mahal, Darya Ganj**

**New Delhi-110002 (India)**

**Phones : 3274686, 3277392-93**

**Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN**

**Fax : 91-11-3263383**



Ibn Khallikan's  
**Wafayat al-A'yan**

wa  
**Anbā' Abna' al-Zamān**  
(A Biographical Dictionary)

(M. de Slane's English Translation)

**VOLUME III**

*Edited by:*

**S. MOINUL HAQ**

M.A., Ph.D.

**KITAB BHAVAN**

New Delhi - 110002 (India)

**KITAB BHAVAN**

Exporters & Importers  
1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj  
New Delhi-110002, [India]

*Phones* : 3274686, 3277392, 3277393

*Fax* : 91-11-3263383

*Telex* : 31-63106 ALI IN

ISBN 81-7151-170-8 Set  
ISBN 81-7151-173-2 (Vol. III)

First Published in India      1996

*Published by:*

Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan  
1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj  
New Delhi-110002

*Printed in India at:*

Johar Offset Printers  
Maujpur, Ghonda  
Delhi-110053

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	1
294 'Aṣim Ibn Abi 'l-Najūd	13
295 Abū Burdah Ibn Abi Mūsa	13
296 Al-Ṣha'bi	16
297 Al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf	19
298 Al-Riyāshī	23
299 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar	24
300 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak	28
301 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam	31
302 Ibn Wahb	32
303 'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahī ah	35
304 Al-Qa'nabī	37
305 Ibn Kaḥīr the <i>Qur'ān-Reader</i>	38
306 Ibn Qutaybah	40
307 Ibn Durustūyah	43
308 Al-Ka'bī	44
309 Al-Qaṣṣāl al-Marwazī	44
310 Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī	45
311 Abū Zayd al-Dabūsī	47
312 Al-Murtaḍā Ibn al-Ṣhahruzūrī	47
313 Ṣharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abi 'Uṣrūn	52
314 Ibn As'ad al-Mawṣili	56
315 Ibn Ṣhās	60
316 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz	61
317 Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ṭabāṭaba	67
318 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir	70
319 Abu 'l-'Amaythal	76
320 Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Nāshī Ibn Ṣhirshīr	79
321 Ibn Ṣarah al-Ṣhantarīnī	80

**KITAB BHAVAN**

**Exporters & Importers**

**1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj**

**New Delhi-110002, [India]**

*Phones : 3274686, 3277392, 3277393*

*Fax : 91-11-3263383*

*Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN*

**ISBN 81-7151-170-8 Set**

**ISBN 81-7151-173-2 (Vol. III)**

**First Published in India      1996**

*Published by:*

**Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan**

**1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj**

**New Delhi-110002**

*Printed in India at:*

**Johar Offset Printers**

**Maujpur, Ghonda**

**Delhi-110053**

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	1
294 'Aṣim Ibn Abi 'I-Najūd	13
295 Abū Burdah Ibn Abi Mūsa	13
296 Al-Ṣha'bi	16
297 Al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf	19
298 Al-Riyāshī	23
299 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar	24
300 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak	28
301 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam	31
302 Ibn Wahb	32
303 'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahī ah	35
304 Al-Qa'nabi	37
305 Ibn Kathīr the <i>Qur'ān-Reader</i>	38
306 Ibn Qutaybah	40
307 Ibn Durustūyah	43
308 Al-Ka'bi	44
309 Al-Qaṣṣāl al-Marwazī	44
310 Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī	45
311 Abū Zayd al-Dabūsī	47
312 Al-Murtaḍā Ibn al-Shahruzūrī	47
313 Shāraf al-Dīn Ibn Abi 'Uṣrūn	52
314 Ibn As'ad al-Mawṣili	56
315 Ibn Shās	60
316 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz	61
317 Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ṭabāṭaba	67
318 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir	70
319 Abu 'I-'Amaythal	76
320 Abu 'I-'Abbās al-Nāshī Ibn 'Shirshir	79
321 Ibn Ṣārah al-Shāntarīnī	80



		PAGE
322	Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsi ... ..	83
323	Ibn Nāqiyā ... ..	86
324	Abu 'l-Baqa al-'Ukbari ... ..	87
325	Ibn al- <u>Khashshāb</u> ... ..	90
326	Ibn al-Faraḡī ... ..	92
327	Al-Rushāṭī ... ..	94
328	Ibn Barri ... ..	95
329	Al-'Āḍid ... ..	97
330	Abu 'l-Raddād ... ..	99
331	'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh ... ..	103
332	'Ubayd Allāh the Mahdī ... ..	104
333	'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir ... ..	107
334	Abu 'l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī ... ..	110
335	'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Abī Layla ... ..	113
336	Al-Awzā'i ... ..	113
337	Ibn al-Qāsim al-Mālikī ... ..	115
338	Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī ... ..	117
339	Al-Fūrānī ... ..	118
340	Abū Sa'd al-Mutawalli ... ..	119
341	Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir the Jurisconsult ... ..	121
342	Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Zajjāji ... ..	121
343	Ibn Yūnus the Historian ... ..	122
344	Ibn al-Anbārī the Grammarian ... ..	124
345	Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī ... ..	125
346	Al-Suhayli ... ..	128
347	Abū Muslim al- <u>Khurāsānī</u> ... ..	130
348	Ibn Nubātah the <u>Khaṭīb</u> ... ..	140
349	Al-Qāḍī 'l-Faḍīl ... ..	142
350	Ibn Jurayj ... ..	148
351	'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr ... ..	149
352	Ibn al-Mājishūn ... ..	150
353	The Imām al-Ḥaramayn ... ..	152
354	Al-Aṣma'i ... ..	156
355	Ibn Hishām, the Author of the <i>Sīrah</i> ... ..	161
356	Al- <u>Tha'</u> ālībī al-Naysāpūri ... ..	162

		PAGE
357	Suḥnūn ... ..	164
358	Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'i ... ..	166
359	Dik al-Jinn ... ..	167
360	Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Dārakī ... ..	171
361	Ibn Nubātah the Poet ... ..	173
362	Ibn Mughallis al-Andalusī ... ..	177
363	'Abd al-Šamad Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥāshimī ... ..	178
364	Ibn Bābak the Poet ... ..	179
365	Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Rūyānī ... ..	180
366	Al-Babbaghā ... ..	182
367	Abū Maṣṣūr al-Baghdādī ... ..	184
368	Abu 'l-Najīb al-Suhrawardī ... ..	185
369	Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ... ..	187
370	Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī ... ..	191
371	Ibn Ḥamdīs al-Šaqallī ... ..	195
372	Abu Ṭālib al-Ma'āfirī ... ..	198
373	'Abd Al-Razzaq al-Šan'ānī ... ..	199
374	Abū Naṣr Ibn Al-Šabbāgh ... ..	199
375	'Abd Al-Wahhāb Al-Mālikī ... ..	201
376	The Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ḡhanī Ibn Sa'id ... ..	205
377	'Abd al-Ḡhāfir al-Fārisī ... ..	206
378	Abu 'l-Waqt al-Sijazī ... ..	207
379	Ibn Kulayb al-Ḥarrānī ... ..	210
380	The Kātib 'Abd al-Ḥamid ... ..	210
381	'Abd al-Muḥsin Ibn Ḡhalbūn al-Šūrī ... ..	213
382	Al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Ubaydī ... ..	217
383	'Abd al-Mūmin al-Kūmī ... ..	220
384	Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Anmāṭī ... ..	224
385	Ḍiyā al-Dīn al-Hadbānī ... ..	225
386	Taqī al-Dīn Ibn al-Šalāḥ ... ..	226
387	Ibn Jinnī ... ..	230
388	Abū 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥājib ... ..	233
389	Al-Malik al-'Aziz the son of Šalāḥ al-Dīn ... ..	236
390	The <i>Shaykh</i> 'Adī Ibn Musāfir al-Hakkāri ... ..	239
391	'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr ... ..	240

		PAGE
392	Rukn al-Din al-Ṭāwūsī ...	245
393	Shayḍhalah ...	246
394	ʿAṭa Ibn Abi Rabāḥ ...	248
395	Al-Muqanna' al- <u>K</u> hurāsānī ...	250
396	ʿIkrimah ...	252
397	Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ...	255
398	ʿAlī al-Riḍā ...	258
399	Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī ...	261
400	ʿAlī Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-ʿAbbās ...	263
401	The Qāḍī Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Jurjānī ...	268
402	Ibn al-Marzubān ...	271
403	Al-Māwardī ...	272
404	Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-ʿAshʿarī ...	275
405	Al-Kiyā al-Ḥarrāsī ...	277
406	The <i>Ḥāfiẓ</i> Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Maqdisī ...	283
407	Sayf al-Dīn al-ʿĀmidī ...	284
408	Al-Kisāʿī ...	287
409	Al-Dāraqutnī ...	289
410	Al-Rummānī ...	293
411	Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Ḥawfī ...	294
412	Al- <u>A</u> khfash al- <u>A</u> ṣghar ...	295
413	Al-Wāḥidī ...	297
414	Ibn Mākūlā ...	298
415	Abu ʿl-Faraj al-Iṣṣahānī ...	300
416	Ibn ʿAsākir, the Ḥāfiẓ ...	303
417	Al-Simsimānī ...	307
418	The <u>S</u> harīf al-Murtaḍā ...	308
419	Al- <u>K</u> hilaʿī ...	312
420	Al- <u>S</u> hābushī ...	315
421	Ibn al-Qābisī ...	316
422	Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʾ ...	318
423	Ibn Ḥazm al- <u>Z</u> āhiri ...	320
424	Ibn Sidah ...	326

			PAGE
427	Al-Raba'ī the Grammarian	...	332
428	Al-Fasiḥī	...	333
429	Ibn al-'Aṣṣār	...	333
430	<u>Shumaym</u> al-Ḥilli	...	334
431	'Alam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī	...	335
432	Ibn al-Bawwāb the Kātib	...	337
433	<u>Shaykh</u> al-Islām al-Hakkārī	...	342
434	'Alī al-Harawī al-Sā'ih	...	342
435	'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr al-Jazarī	...	346
436	Al-'Akawwak	...	346
437	'Alī Ibn al-Jahm	...	351
438	Ibn al-Rūmi	...	354
339	Al-Bassāmī the Poet	...	359
440	Al-Qāḍī al-Tanūkhī	...	363
441	Al-Nāshī 'l-Aṣghār	...	366
442	Al-Zāhī the Poet	...	369
443	Ibn al-Munajjim al-Nadīm	...	372
444	Ibn al-Munajjim the Poet	...	373
445	Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī	...	375
446	Al-Tihāmi the Poet	—	377
447	Ibn Nūbakht the Poet	...	380
448	Ṣarī' al-Dila	...	381
450	Al-Bākharzi	...	384
451	Ibn Aflaḥ the Poet	...	386
452	Ibn Muṣḥir al-Mawṣilī	...	388
453	Ibn al-Sā'atī	...	390
454	Abu al-'Āmidī the Qāḍī	...	381
455	'Imād al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh	...	396
456	Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān	...	398
457	Al-Zāhir al-'Ubaydī	...	405
458	'Alī Ibn Munqidh	...	407
459	Al-Ṣulayḥī	...	409
460	Al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār	...	416
461	Al-Malik al-Afḍal, the son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn	...	420
462	Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Furāt	...	423

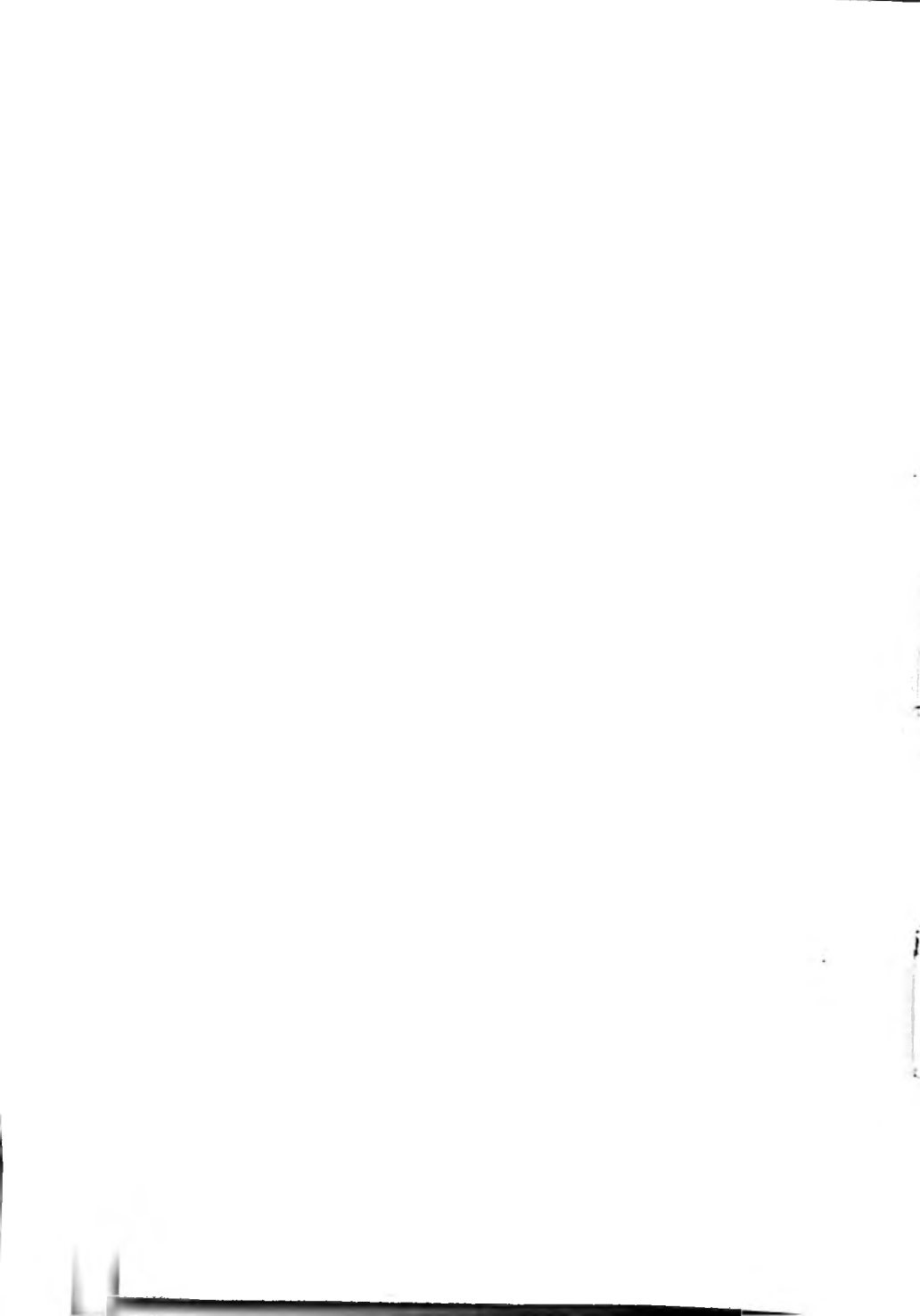
463	'Alī Ibn Yūnus the Astronomer ...	434
464	'Umārat al-Yamāni the Jurisconsult ...	437
465	'Umar Ibn Abī Rabi'ah ...	442
466	'Umar Ibn <u>Shabbah</u> ...	447
467	Al- <u>Khiraqi</u> ...	449
468	'Umar Ibn <u>Dharr</u> ...	450
469	Al- <u>Thamānini</u> ...	451
470	Ibn al-Bazrī ...	451
471	<u>Shihāb</u> al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī ...	454
472	The Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Dihyah ...	457
473	Abu 'Alī al- <u>Shalawbīnī</u> ...	459
474	Ibn Ṭabarzad ...	460
475	Al- <u>Sharaf</u> Ibn al-Fāriḍ ...	461
476	Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar, Prince of Ḥamāt ...	464
477	Abu Ishāq al-Sabī'i ...	466
478	'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd ...	466
479	Sībawah ...	470
480	Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā ...	475
481	Al-Jāhiẓ ...	479
482	'Amr Ibn Mas'adah ...	482
483	Ibn Bānah ...	489
484	Ibn al-Mūṣalāyā ...	490
485	Ibn al-Sawādī ...	491
486	The Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ ...	493
487	'Isā Ibn 'Umar al- <u>Thaqafi</u> ...	495
488	Abū Mūsā 'Isā al-Juzūlī ...	499
489	Al-Fā'iz al-, Ubaydī ...	501
490	Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Ibn al-'Ādil ...	505
491	'Isā al-Hakkāri the Jurisconsult ...	208
492	Fakhr al-Dīn 'Isā Ibn Mawdūd Lord of Tikrit ...	509
493	Al-Ḥājirī al-Irbilī ...	512
494	Ṭuways the Singer ...	517
495	Sayf al-Dīn <u>Ghāzi</u> Ibn Zinki ...	519
496	<u>Ghāzi</u> Ibn Mawdūd ...	520
497	Al-Malik al-Zāhir Sovereign of Aleppo ...	522
498	<u>Dhu</u> 'l-Rummah ...	528

# NOTE ON transliteration

ا	=	a	س	=	s
آ	=	aw	ع	=	ʔ
ای	=	ay	ط	=	t
ب	=	b	ظ	=	z
ت	=	t	ع	=	ʔ
ث	=	th	غ	=	gh
ج	=	j	ف	=	f
ح	=	h	ق	=	q
خ	=	kh	ک	=	k
د	=	d	ل	=	l
ذ	=	dh	م	=	m
ر	=	r	ن	=	n
ز	=	z	و	=	u w; aw
س	=	s	ه	=	h
ش	=	sh	ی	=	i; y

Long vowels : ā, ī, ū

Short vowels : a, i, u



## INTRODUCTION

"It is a curious circumstance that the majority of the learned amongst the Muslims belonged to a foreign race; very few persons of Arabian descent having obtained distinction in the sciences connected with the law or in those based upon human reason: and yet the promulgator of the law was an Arab, and the *Qur'ān*, that source of so many sciences, an Arabic book." The justness of this observation, made by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena*, will be admitted by those who may have occasion to consult Ibn Khallikān's BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY: they cannot have failed to remark that many of the individuals to whom the author has devoted an article are designated by him as *mawlās*, a term denoting their foreign origin and the precise meaning of which shall be given farther on. The reason assigned by Ibn Khaldūn for this peculiarity may not be completely satisfactory, but it is stated in a manner so highly characteristic of that writer that it cannot fail to interest the European reader.

"The (*Muslim*) religion," says he, "when first promulgated, did not include (*the knowledge of*) either science or art; such was the extreme simplicity of that nomadic civilisation (*to which this doctrine was adapted*). The articles of the law, or, in other terms, the commandments and prohibitions of God, were then borne (*not in books but*) in the hearts of men, who knew that these maxims drew their origin from the Book of God and from the practice (*sunnah*) of the Prophet himself. The people, at that time, consisted of Arabs wholly ignorant of the mode by which learning is taught, of the art of composing works and of the means by which knowledge is enregistered; for to these points they had not hitherto directed their attention. Under the *Companions* of Muḥammad and their immediate successors things continued in the same state; and, during that period, the designation of *qurrā* (*readers*) was applied to those who, being not totally devoid of learning, knew by heart and communicated information. Such were the persons who could repeat the *Qur'ān*, relate the sayings of the Prophet, and cite the example of his conduct in different circumstances. (*This was a necessary duty*)



inasmuch as the articles of the law could only be known from the *Qur'an* and from the Traditions which serve to explain it. The blessed Prophet himself said: *I leave with you two things which, as long as you adhere thereto, will preserve you from error: these are, the Book of God and my practice (sunnah).*

But, under the reign of al-Rashīd, this mode of oral transmission, now so long continued, rendered necessary that the (*traditional*) explanation of the *Qur'an* should be set down in writing, and that the text of the Traditions should be secured against alteration, lest they should be corrupted. To distinguish the authentic Traditions from those of less credibility, an exact knowledge of the *isnads*<sup>1</sup> was found necessary, and a close scrutiny was directed into the character of those persons through whom traditional knowledge had passed down.

Whilst the maxims of law deduced from the *Qur'an* and the *sunnah* rapidly augmented in number, the purity of the Arabic tongue underwent a gradual alteration; it therefore became necessary to fix the rules of grammar; and, as none of the sciences connected with the law could be mastered till the mind had acquired the faculties of elicitation, deduction, investigation, and comparison (the attainment of which depended on a prior acquaintance with the principles of the language, the rules of elicitation, those of comparison, and the arguments by which the dogmas of the faith could be defended), the acquisition of these sciences could not be effected without the previous development of certain mental faculties under the tuition of a master. Hence resulted that these sciences took their place among the (*professional*) arts; and, as arts do not flourish but among people settled in fixed abodes (a state of civilisation from which the Arabs were, of all mankind, the farthest removed), science became a product of domiciliation, and the Arabs were therefore averse to its acquisition. But the domiciled people consisted, at that time, of Persians, *mawlas*, and other persons who had adopted the Persian habits of settled life; for them, the arts and the sciences were a customary occupation, these habits having taken root among them at the origin of the Persian empire. Thus Sībawayh,<sup>2</sup> the master in the art of the grammar, al-Fārisi<sup>3</sup>, at a later period, and, after them, al-Zajjaj<sup>4</sup> were natives of Persia; the majority of those

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, Introduction : p. 22.    <sup>2</sup> See no. 479.    <sup>3</sup> See no. 155.

<sup>4</sup> See no. 12—Here Ibn Khaldūn has fallen into a mistake; al-Zajjaj was preceptor to al-Fārisi and died at least fifty years before him.

who (to the great advantage of Islamism) preserved the Traditions (*by learning them by heart*) were Persians or naturalised in Persia; all the learned in the fundamentals of jurisprudence were Persians, a fact of which the reader is well aware; so also were the dogmatic theologians and most of the commentators of the *Qur'an*.

The Arabs who were contemporary with this state of civilisation preferred the customs of nomadic life: under the 'Abbasids, the exercise of military command and their occupations in the service of government diverted their attention from learning and study; attached to the state in the quality of protectors and (*subordinate*) rulers they, were withheld by pride from engaging in literary avocations, which, as we have just remarked, had assumed the rank of arts; and we know that persons accustomed to command others look upon the arts with scorn. They, in consequence, left such studies to the Persians and the mixed race (*sprung from the intermarriage of the conquerors with the conquered*) fully acknowledging their services in the cultivation of science."

The influence of the same principle by which Ibn Khaldun was guided throughout his *Prolegomena* is strongly marked in this passage; led away by his passion for generalizing, he examined every question in the abstract, and always assumed that, for one effect, a single cause was quite sufficient. This rule is by no means so certain as he imagined, and its weakness is manifest in the present case. That the Arabs, when once converted into a people of rulers and occupied in the exercise of power, neglected learning and left its culture to foreigners is a fact attested by history; that they were restrained by pride from such a pursuit is natural enough (not however because they considered it in the light of an art, but because it would have betrayed their own ignorance and incapacity), yet it still remains to be explained why foreigners were induced to devote their minds to the study of Muslim law and Arabic literature.

Though it should appear presumptuous to control the judgments of perhaps the ablest philosophical writer which Islamism ever produced, the attempt may be justified in some cases, and this is one of the number. The question which Ibn Khaldun overlooked admits of an easy solution: learning was the only path by which members of the conquered nations could hope to reach a position which might ensure them the respect of their masters; and

by learning we are to understand such branches of knowledge as could serve to elucidate the doctrines of Islamism and develop the principles of the law: they saw the Arab government unable to apply to the new state of things by which it was surrounded those vague and incoherent maxims of jurisprudence which were furnished by the *Qur'ān*, the Traditions,\* and the practice of the first Muslims; they felt that the faculties of mind which they had themselves derived from an advanced state of civilisation could be applied with advantage to the task of collecting and discussing the Traditions, clearing up the obscurities of the *Qur'ān* by the study of Arabic literature, and moulding into a regular system the ordinances of the law. This they undertook and accomplished; labouring to establish their own right to public respect, they gave consistence to Islamism; and the conquests of the Arabs received stability from the more peaceful occupations of the *mawlās*.

The word *mawlā* (مولى) is derived from the verb *walā* (ولى to be near); its grammatical form shows it to belong to that class of nouns which are called *nouns of place* (اسماء مكان), and serve to designate either the *place* in which the *action* indicated by the verb of the same root takes effect, or the *subject* in which the *state of being* expressed by that verb has its existence. The signification of the word *mawlā* is therefore *the place in which*, or *the person in whom proximity exists*, and, in its ordinary application, it serves to denote the ideas of *master and slave*, *patron and client*, *companion*, *neighbour*, *confederate*, *relation (affinis)*, the *grantor and the receiver of a favour*, etc. It is easy to see that one general idea pervades these various significations, that of *proximity*, either in a physical or a moral sense. The primitive signification of the verb *walā* is also apparent in the derivative *walt* (ولى *propinquus*), which serves to express the idea of *friend*, and that of *saint*, because saints are *near* to God.

The relationship between patron and client is termed *walā* (ولاء) and it implies mutual assistance (*tanāṣur*). This mutual assistance embraces two conditions: 1. The obligation of the patron (*al-Mawla 'l-Awlā*) to pay the *diyyah*, or fine for blood<sup>1</sup> incurred by

<sup>1</sup> The *diyyah* is the penalty imposed on the author of a homicide *per infortunium*. It consists of one hundred camels, or one thousand pieces of gold

(Continued on page 5.)

\* Like most of the western orientalists, de Slane betrays his prejudice against Islam.—Ed.

the client (*al-Mawla 'l-Asfal*); 2. The right of the patron to inherit of the client; or, in other terms, that the patron should become his client's '*aqilah* (عاقلة *ransomer*) and *wārith* (وارث *heir*).

*Walā* results from enfranchisement or from approximation; it is therefore of two kinds, *relationship by enfranchisement* (*walā al-'atāqah*), called also *relationship by favour* (*walā al-ni'mah*) and *relationship by approximation* (*walā al-muwālāt*); terms for which may be substituted in English, *effective patronage* and *adoptive patronage*.

Effective patronage is established by enfranchisement. The enfranchised slave becomes the client of him who enfranchises, and if he die without male heirs, his property is inherited by the enfranchiser or his heirs. Effective patronage is valid not only when the two parties are Muslims, but when they are both infidels, or when one is a Muslim and the other an infidel.

Adoptive patronage is established by a contract made with mutual consent, as when a person makes profession of Islamism to another person, and then says: "Thou art my *mawla* (*patron*), to inherit of me and when I die and to pay the fine for me when I am amerced;" and the other replies: "I accept," or: "I form proximity with thee".

The necessary conditions of this act are that the future client should be without heirs, that he should not be an Arab or a *mawla* to an Arab, that no other person had already engaged to pay the fine for blood in case of his being amerced, and that the right of inheriting and the obligation of paying the fine should be enounced when forming the contract. Islamism in one or both parties is not a necessary condition, according to the majority of the doctors: a *dhimmi* may contract *walā* with a *dhimmi* or with a Muslim, and a Muslim with a *dhimmi*; a man may also contract it with a woman, and a woman with a man; neither is it necessary that the act should pass in a Muslim country. The children of the client (born after the contract, for, before it, he was without heirs), are

(Continued from page 4.)

(*dinārs*), or twelve thousand pieces of silver (*dirhams*). The *diyah* incurred for the homicide of a woman, a Christian, a Jew, or a Magian, is half the ordinary *diyah*. The *diyah* is incurred for having occasioned the loss of the two hands, or of the two feet, or of the two eyes; the loss of a single hand, foot, or eye, requires the penalty of a half *diyah*. The whole *diyah* is incurred for having caused the loss of the nose, or of the hearing, or of the reason, or of the tongue, or of the sexual organs, etc.

bound by that act and benefit by the advantages which it assures them. Adoptive patronage confers on the foreign neophyte all the civil rights possessed by a Muslim, and by it he has the advantage of choosing his *'aḳilah*.

In the eyes of the Muslim law every individual must have an *'aḳilah*, that is, a person or a body of men bound to pay the fine of blood if he be amerced. The *'aḳilah* of a man are all those who are inscribed on the same roll (*diwān*) with him, if he be engaged in military service, or if he receives a pension from the public treasury; otherwise, it is his tribe or family; then his patron, then his clients; and if he have no *'aḳilah*, the public treasury pays for him. If he inhabit a city or its suburb, all the enregistered inhabitants form his *'aḳilah*, and if he exercise a profession there, all the members of the same trade are his *'aḳilah*. Each class of *dhimmis* is the *'aḳilah* of its individual members; the *'aḳilah* of a *mawlā* by enfranchisement are the emancipator and kindred of the emancipator, and the *'aḳilah* of a *mawlā* by approximation are his patron and patron's kindred.

## MUSLIM EDUCATION

The course of study universally followed in Muhammedan countries has been briefly indicated in the first volume of this work,<sup>1</sup> but it is much to be regretted that the information we possess on this subject is very slight, and that the system of mental culture requisite to form a well-educated Muslim is a point on which great obscurity still prevails. And yet the importance of obtaining a clear insight into the causes which gave to the character of a great and polished nation its peculiar cast and form cannot but be deeply felt. Were it possible to dissipate the obscurity in which this question is involved, a more exact idea would then be formed of the Muslim mind and Muslim civilisation. In such an investigation the works of Arabic authors might be expected to afford the highest assistance, but unfortunately the documents which they have left on this subject do not enable us to view it in all its bearings. These indications are not, however, without their value; they aid us to understand some parts of the system, and from the parts we may judge of the whole. One of the most curious is that given by Ibn Khaldun in his *Prolegomena*, where he expresses himself thus:

"To teach children the *Qur'ān* is a sign of religion shown by the Muslims in all their cities, and a duty which they universally fulfil; for by this means the faith is firmly planted in the youthful heart, as also a knowledge of the dogmas which are enounced in the verses of that book. The *Qur'ān* is therefore the basis on which are reared the future faculties of the mind; for that which is learned at an early age remains deeply impressed on the memory and serves as a foundation for what follows, and we know that the form of the edifice is determined by the disposition of the foundations.

The different systems followed in teaching children the *Qur'ān* are distinguished by the peculiar faculties developed by each. In Maḡrib (*Algiers and Morocco*), that book is taught without any accompaniment; they begin by making the scholar read it over; then he learns it by heart from the edition of the text received in that country; and he is instructed, at the same time, in its peculiar orthography, the questions to which it gives rise, and the various

---

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, Introduction, page 31.

readings remarked in the systems of those (*ancient masters*) by whom it was transmitted down. Till this first step be surmounted, every thing else, such as Traditions, jurisprudence, poetry, and the idiom of the desert Arabs, is excluded. It therefore happens that a failure in this early stage of the pupil's progress puts an entire stop to his career.

Such is the mode of instruction followed in the cities of Maghrib and in some Berber towns where the example has been adopted; it applies equally to the scholar who has not attained the age of puberty, and to persons more advanced in years who intend to recommence their studies; the result is, that the Maghribins are more intimately acquainted with the orthography of the *Qur'an*, and know it by heart much better than people of other countries.

In Spain they proceed otherwise; for, whilst they make it a rule to teach the reading of the *Qur'an* and its orthography as actually used (because they consider that book as the foundation of learning, the groundwork of education, and the basis of religion and the sciences), they instruct their children at the same time in poetry, epistolary writing, the principles of grammar, and the art of penmanship. The acquisition of this last accomplishment occupies scholars till the age of puberty, so that whilst youths obtain a knowledge of grammar and an acquaintance with the works of the poets, they become skilful penmen and persevere, nearly all, in the pursuit of learning. But learning subsists by transmission, and, as its transmission has been interrupted in the provinces of Spain, the students of that country can only acquire such portions of knowledge as are accessible from the first steps of their education. This is however sufficient for him whom God directs, and it gives him the means of reaching other branches of learning.

In Ifriqiyah (*the province of Tunis*), they generally instruct their children in the Traditions whilst teaching them the *Qur'an* to which they add the principles of the sciences and some of the questions which they involve; but, as their chief object is to communicate a correct knowledge of the text and various readings of that book, the art of penmanship is neglected.

In the East instruction is also of a mixed nature, but I do not know to what length it is carried; we have been told however that they pay more attention to the culture of penmanship and of the sciences than to the study of the *Qur'an*.

The people of Ifrīqiyah and Maghrib, by confining their application to the *Qur'ān*, can never attain the faculty of mastering the language. The reason of this we shall here explain: No peculiar faculty can be developed in the mind by the study of the *Qur'ān*, because the declaration that it is impossible to produce anything equal to it prevents it from being taken as a model for imitation; so that the student, though he may acquire an ample share of spiritual merit, can neither obtain a good command of Arabic nor a facility of diction. The people of Ifrīqiyah are perhaps more advanced in this last respect than those of Maghrib, because, in studying the *Qur'ān* they learn Traditions and scientific rules; they have therefore a certain command of language, but they do not attain elegance of expression.

The habit of teaching pupils, or repeating poems and epistles, and of studying the rules of grammar is so general in Spain, that the natives of that country have acquired a complete mastery of the Arabic tongue; but in other branches of knowledge their skill is inferior, because they have not paid sufficient attention to the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions, which are the source and basis of the sciences. In grammar, however, and polite literature they excel in a greater or less degree, accordingly as they have devoted more or less time to these occupations on terminating the studies which engaged their youth.

The *qāḍī* Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī<sup>1</sup> has laid down, in his *Riḥlah*, a highly curious and original plan of study. He proposes that youths should be first instructed in grammar and the works of the poets, conformably to the Spanish custom, 'for,' says he, 'language is enregistered in its poetry, and the corruption of the language renders it necessary that you should commence by that and by grammar; you should then pass to arithmetic, and, having acquired an idea of its rules, you may proceed to the study of the *Qur'ān*, which, by means of the preparatory labours, will be found much easier than it generally is. You may then commence dogmatic theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and the fundamentals of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), after which you may proceed to dialectics (*jadāl*), and from that to the Traditions and the sciences connected with them.' He

---

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī will be found in no. 600.



disapproved of teaching two sciences simultaneously, unless the pupil be remarkably intelligent. Such are the counsels of the *qāḍī*, and I acknowledge that the plan laid down by him is excellent; but settled custom, that influential element in the human character, renders it inadmissible. In taking the *Qur'ān* for the basis of education, people are actuated by the desire of meriting the divine favour, as, by this means, they protect youth against its own follies and preserve it from that levity of mind which not only ruins the knowledge already obtained or interrupts its acquisition, but would also prevent the young Muslim from learning the *Qur'ān*. Indeed, whilst under the guardianship of his family, he may be retained in habitual submission, but, when the age of puberty delivers him from control, the storms of passion may soon cast him away on the coast of folly. They therefore take advantage of the time during which he is under command, to teach him the *Qur'ān* so that, at a later period, he may not be entirely ignorant of its contents. However, were it certain that the student would persevere in the pursuit of knowledge and submit to receive instruction, the system proposed by the *qāḍī* would be the best which the people of the East and the West could adopt; but God ordains what He pleaseth, and no change can be effected in His decisions."

To proceed from this first step so well described by Ibn *Khaldūn* and follow the young Muslim in his path through the higher departments of study, we must have recourse to the biographical notices on their learned men. The life of Avicenna offers us a transitory glance at his early education and therefore merits attention, but much fuller information will be obtained from the autobiography of 'Abd al-Laṭīf. In this work, he gives us a perfect outline of his own studies under some of the most distinguished masters of the epoch. Were this treatise less known, I should have felt it indispensable to insert an extract from it here, but it has been rendered fully accessible by two editions, one in Arabic and Latin by Mousley, and the other in Arabic and French by de Sacy; the latter so admirably translated and commented that, were I to undertake a new version of it into English, I feel I should rest far—very far indeed—beneath that illustrious orientalist, my deeply venerated master.

Another contribution to the same stock of documents is furnished by Ibn *Khaldūn* in his autobiography. He informs us that,

having learned to read the *Qur'an* and got it off by heart, he read it again according to each of the seven *readings* or editions, and then combined these various readings in a final repetition of the text. During this occupation he went over the *Qur'an* twenty-one times, and in a twenty-second repetition, he went over all the various readings. He finished by the lecture of the two editions, or systems of readings, taught by Ya'qūb.<sup>1</sup> At this period, two other works occupied his attention: the *Lāmiyah*, a poem of Ibn Fīrrah al-Shaṭībī, on the readings of the *Qur'an*, and the *Rāiyah*, another poem by the same author on the orthography of that book.<sup>2</sup> He next studied the *Takasī*, a treatise composed by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr<sup>3</sup> on the Traditions cited in the *Muwatṭā'*<sup>4</sup> and a great number of other works, such as the *Tashīl*<sup>5</sup> of Ibn Mālik and Ibn al-Hājib's<sup>6</sup> abridgment of jurisprudence, but these last he did not get off by heart. During the same period he cultivated the art of grammar under the tuition of his father and of the first masters. He perused also the *Six Poets*<sup>7</sup> the *Ḥamāsah*, the poems of Abū Tammām<sup>8</sup> part of al-Mutanabbī's<sup>9</sup> poetical works, and some of the pieces preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.<sup>10</sup> Under Shams al-Dīn al-Kisā'i, chief traditionist of Tunis, he perused Muslim's collection of Traditions and received a general licence (*ijāzah*). In law he studied the abridgment of the *Mudawwanah*<sup>11</sup> composed by Abū Sa'īd al-Barada'i, and the exposition of the doctrines held by the sect of Mālik. He followed, besides, a general course of law and learned Mālik's *Muwatṭā'*; certificates were also obtained by him authorizing him to teach that book, the *Sīrat al-Rasūl*<sup>12</sup> the treatise of Ibn Ṣalāḥ on the Traditions, and many

<sup>1</sup> He means Ya'qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī, one of the great readers. His life is given by Ibn Khālikān.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 512. By the *Lāmiyah* Ibn Khaldūn means to designate Ibn Fīrrah's *Hīr al-Amīn*.

<sup>3</sup> In a subsequent volume will be found the life of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr.

<sup>4</sup> See No. 524.

<sup>5</sup> This is a treatise on grammar by Ibn Mālik, the author of the *Alfiyah*, who died A. H. 672 (A. C. 1273-4). M. de Sacy's *Anthologie Grammaticale*, pages 203, 215, and Fluegels' Hājji Khalifah, tom II. page 290.

<sup>6</sup> See No. 388.

<sup>7</sup> The six poets are 'Imrau al-Qays, Nābiḥah, 'Alqamah, Zuhayr, Tarafah, and 'Antarah. See page X of my preface to the *Dīwān d' Amro 'l-Kais*.

<sup>8</sup> See No. 143.

<sup>9</sup> See No. 49.

<sup>10</sup> See No. 415.

<sup>11</sup> See No. 335.

<sup>12</sup> See No. 355.

\*M de Slane has made a mistake in pointing out this *qaṣīdah*. There are numerous *lāmiyah qaṣīdahs* but most noted of them is Shānī'arā's; the opening line of which runs thus:

—Ed. اقيموا بني امي مدور سطيكم \* فاني الى قوم سواكم لاسيل

other works. He obtained access to the library of 'Abd al-Muḥaymin al-Ḥaḍramī, chief traditionist and grammarian of Morocco, who had accompanied to the city of Tunis Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the sovereign of that empire, in the quality of secretary of state. This collection of books consisted of more than three thousand volumes on the Traditions, law, grammar, philology, the intellectual sciences, general literature, and poetry; these manuscripts were all of the highest correctness and their authenticity was guaranteed by certificates annexed to them. Under another master he studied logic, dogmatic theology, jurisprudence, and all the intellectual and philosophical sciences. Whilst pursuing his studies, he followed the public lectures at Tunis, and attended the assemblies held by the first doctors and professors of the place. He finally devoted three years to study under a *shaykh* called Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Abbālī (أبو) "and then," says he, "I felt that I knew something." Ibn Khaldūn terminated his studies in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his age.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This notice was just terminated, when a large manuscript, containing the biography of the doctor and historian Ahmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, by the *Ḥāfiẓ* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, fell into the writer's hands. A chapter of this work is devoted to the history of Ibn Ḥajar's youth travels, studies, etc; but it is drawn up in such a manner that to make an analysis of it would be a very difficult task. We find however that he began by learning the *Qur'ān* by heart, and proceeded to the study of the Traditions and jurisprudence; following, in fact, the same system which has been already indicated in the introduction of our first volume.

# IBN KHALLIKAN'S

## BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

### 294. 'AṢIM IBN ABI 'L-NAJŪD

Abū Bakr 'Aṣim was the son of Abū 'l-Najūd Balīdalah, *mawlā* to the tribe of Jadhīmah Ibn Mālik Ibn Naṣr Ibn Qū'ayn Ibn Asad. His acquaintance with the Qur'anic readings drew upon him general notice and ranked him as one of the seven great masters of that science. He had learnt it from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī<sup>1</sup> and Zirr Ibn Ḥubaysh<sup>2</sup>; he taught it to Abū Bakr Ibn Ayyās<sup>3</sup> (see No. 242) and Abū 'Umar al-Bazzāz<sup>3</sup> but these two varied very much in their manner of reading certain words. 'Aṣim died at Kūfah, A.H. 127 (A.C. 744-5). The word *najūd* signifies a female wild ass not pregnant; others say that she is thus designated when keeping watch on the top of a hill.—Some persons state that *Bahdalah* was his mother's name (not his father's).

### 295. ABŪ BURDAH IBN ABĪ MŪSĀ

Abū Burdah 'Āmir was the son of Abū Musā 'Abd Allāh Ibn Qays al-Ash'arī one of Muḥammad's *Companions*, who had come to him from Yaman with the Asharites when they became converts to Islamism<sup>4</sup>. Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd mentions in his *Ṭabaqāt*

<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥabīb al-Sulamī al-Kūfī (a member of the tribe of Sulaym and a native of Kūfah) was born in the lifetime of Muḥammad. He learned to read the *Qur'ān* under the tuition of the *Khalīfs* 'Uthmān and 'Alī, and then taught the same science in the great mosque of Kūfah. He died A. H. 74 (A. C. 693-4).—(Al-Dhahabī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā*).

<sup>2</sup> Abū Maryam Zirr Ibn Ḥubaysh Ibn Ḥubāsah, a member of the tribe of Asad and a native of Kūfah, was one of the great masters in the art of reading the *Qur'ān*. He was celebrated also as a philologist, and died at a very advanced age, A. H. 82 (A. C. 701).—(Al-Dhahabī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā*, fol. 8.)

<sup>3</sup> Abū 'Umar Ḥafṣ Ibn Abi Dāwūd al-Bazzāz, the disciple of al-'Aṣim, was a native of Kūfah and a *mawlā* to the tribe of Asad. Born A. H. 90 (A. C. 708-9); died A. H. 180 (A. C. 796-7).—*Ṭab. al-Qurrā*.)

<sup>4</sup> The conversion of the Yemenites took place in the tenth year of the Hijrah.

that Abū Burdah succeeded to Shurayh (see No. 275) as *qāḍī* of Kūfah. By the nobleness of his conduct and by his virtues he attained a high reputation. \* [Abū Mūsā, when governor of Baṣrah, married Ṭaniyah the daughter of Dammān, a native of Ṭā'if, and she bore him Abū Burdah; the child was put to nurse with the tribe of Fuqaym, which dwelt at al-Gharq<sup>1</sup>; when grown a boy, he was dressed in two mantles (*burdah*) by (*his foster father*) Abū Shaykh Ibn al-Gharīq and brought to his father, who then surnamed him *Abī Burdah*; from that time his real name ceased to be given him.] Abū Mūsā was *qāḍī* of Baṣrah under the *khalīf* 'Umar and afterwards in the reign of 'Uthmān, he acted as a *qāḍī* of Kūfah; his (*grand*) son Bilāl was also *qāḍī* of Baṣrah: this was the circumstance which gave rise to the saying, *three qāḍīs in succession*.—The poet Dhu 'l-Rummaḥ composed a number of splendid poems in praise of Bilāl, and in the following verse, addressed to his camel, he alludes to him also:

"When thou reachest Bilāl the (*grand*) son of Abū Mūsā (*thy toils are at an end*), and the butcher then may wield his axe to disjoint thy limbs."

He said also of him:

"On hearing that the tribe were roaming through the desert with their flocks in search of pasturage, I said to *Ṣaydah*: 'Seek abundance near Bilāl!'"

*Ṣaydah* was the name of the poet's camel.—Bilāl was one of the deputies in the service of Khalīd al-Qasrī (see *his life*, no. 204); when the latter was deprived of the government of Arabian and Persian 'Irāq, his successor Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī required from him and his agents an account of what had been done with the revenues of these provinces, and employed torture to make them refund; al-Qasrī and Bilāl expired under their sufferings. In a book containing a collection of anecdotes I found the following: At a public assembly Abū Burdah was extolling the virtues of his father, and mentioned that he had been one of Muḥammad's *Companions*; he vaunted also the glory which accrued to himself in being sprung

<sup>1</sup> I am unable to fix with any certainty the situation of this place. The author of the *Marāṣid* merely says: "*al-Gharq*, a village in the dependencies of Marw—*al-Gharq* a village in Yamāmah, and a plantation of date trees belonging to the tribe of 'Adī Ibn Ḥanīfah".

\* [ ] From 'Abū Mūsā' to 'given him' is not included in the autograph.—*Ed.*

from so illustrious a parent. He held a long discourse on this topic, till the poet, al-Farazdaq, who happened to be present and wished to humble his pride, made the remark that, had Abū Mūsā possessed no other merit than that of having cupped the Prophet, such an honour would have been quite sufficient for his reputation. On this, Abū Burdah got angry<sup>1</sup> and replied: "Your observation is true, but he never cupped any person either before or after". — "By Allāh!" exclaimed al-Farazdaq, "Abū Mūsā was too good a man to dare make his first essay in cupping on the person of the Prophet!" This retort silenced Abū Burdah and forced him to smother his anger. The following anecdote is related by Ghārs al-Ni'mah Ibn al-Ṣībī<sup>2</sup> in one of his works: 'Abū Ṣafwān Khalīd Ibn Ṣafwān, a member of the tribe of Tamīm, was celebrated as an eloquent speaker. He used to visit Bilāl Ibn Abī Burdah and converse with him, but his language was frequently ungrammatical. This grew at length so irksome to Bilāl, that he said to him: 'O Khalīd! you make me narrations fit for khalīfs to hear, but you commit as many faults against grammar as the women who carry water in the streets.' Stung with this reproach, Khalīd went to learn grammar at the mosque and some time after he lost his sight. From that period, whenever Bilāl rode by in state, he used to ask who it was, and on being answered that it was the amīr, he would say: 'There goes a summercloud, soon to be dispelled.' When this was told to Bilāl, he exclaimed: 'By Allāh! it shall not be dispelled till he get a full shower from it;' and he then ordered him a whipping of two hundred strokes. This Khalīd was extremely giddy and never paid the slightest attention to what he said. He drew his descent from 'Amr Ibn al-Ahtam<sup>3</sup> one of Muḥammad's *Companions*; his grandfather 'Abd Allāh being that person's son. Al-Ahtam was the son of Sumayy Ibn Sinān Ibn Khalīd Ibn Minqar, of the tribe of Tamīm; and for this reason he bore the surnames of *al-Minqarī* and *al-Tamīmī*.

<sup>1</sup> The profession of a cupper was considered by some jurisconsults as degrading. In one of the Traditions it is said: "The price of a dog is impure, and the wages of fornication are impure, and the pay of a cupper is impure." — Mathew's *Mishkāt*, vol. II, page 2. See also no. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Mention has been made of this historian in No. 125.

<sup>3</sup> 'Amr, the son of Sinān al-Ahtam, an eminent chief of the tribe of Tamīm, an able orator and a good poet, flourished before and after the promulgation of Islamism. He and 'Amr Ibn Zibriqān went together to Muḥammad and embraced his religion. He died A.H. 58 (A.C. 677-8). For further information see Rasmussen's *Historia Anteislamica*, p. 119 note; and his *Additamenta ad Hist. Islam.* p. 33.

His real name was Sinan, but when Qays Ibn 'Aṣim al-Minqarī<sup>1</sup> struck him across the mouth with his bow and broke his front teeth, he was called al-Ahtam (*broken-tooth*).<sup>2</sup> Others say that his teeth were broken on the battle day of al-Kulāb<sup>3</sup>. Shabīb Ibn Shabbah<sup>4</sup> was an uncle of this Khālīd. Abū Burdah died A.H. 103 (A.C. 721-2) but others place this event in the years 104, 106, and 107. (Muḥammād) Ibn Sa'd says that Abū Burdah and al-Sha'bī died in the year 103 and on the same day, which was a Friday. We shall explain the meaning of the surname *al-Ash'arī* in the life of Abū 'l-Ḥasan ('Alī) al-Aṣḥ'arī.

## 296. AL-SHA'BĪ

Abū-'Amr 'Āmir al-Sha'bī was the son of Shārahīl Ibn 'Abd 'lbn<sup>4</sup> Dhī Kibār:—Dhī Kibār was one of the princes of Yaman. Al-Sha'bī sprang from Ḥimyar and was counted as a member of the tribe of Hamdan, but Kufah was the place of his birth. He held a high rank among the *Tābi'īs* and was distinguished also by his profound learning. It is stated that Ibn 'Umar<sup>5</sup> walked past him one day whilst he was relating the history of a victorious campaign made by the first Muslims, and said, on hearing the narration which he made: "He knows what was done at the expedition better than I who was with it." Al-Zuhrī made the remark that the really learned men were four in number: Ibn al-Musayyab<sup>6</sup> at Madinah,

<sup>1</sup> See No. 74, note on Cain fills de Aasim 'Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, p. 67, and *Hist. Antisl.*—Al-Minqarī, the surname borne by Qays, is derived from *Minqar*, the name of one of his ancestors, descended from Tamīm.

<sup>2</sup> For the account of this battle or skirmish see Rasmussen's *Hist. Antislam*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Shabīb Ibn Shabbah, a celebrated preacher (*Fihrist*, fol. 171), was a contemporary of the Khālīf al-Mahdī. That prince had a daughter named al-Yāqūṭah, of whom he was so fond that he could not bear to be separated from her a single instant. He therefore had her attired in the uniform of a page, so that she might accompany him when he rode out. She died before him, and he continued inconsolable for her loss till Shabīb Ibn Shabbah addressed to him a short but most effective exhortation.—(Ibn al-Aṭḥīr's *Kāmil*, year 169).

<sup>4</sup> In the printed text the word *lbn* بن has been left out by mistake.\*

<sup>5</sup> See No. 249, note on 'Abd Allah.

<sup>6</sup> See his life, No. 250.

\* The autograph gives Ibn while the word ابن is omitted in Cairo edition—Ed.

al-Sha'bī at Kūfah, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī<sup>1</sup> at Baṣrah, and Makḥūl<sup>2</sup> in Syria. It is said that he conversed with five hundred of the Prophet's *Companions*. The following anecdote is related by himself: 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān sent me on an embassy to the king of the Greeks; and that prince addressed me a number of questions, to all of which I returned satisfactory answers. It was not customary for ambassadors to make a long stay at his court, but he detained me so many days that I desired impatiently to depart. When on the point of quitting him he said to me: "Are you of a royal family?" to which I replied: "No; I am one of the general class of Arabs." On this he muttered some words and a paper was put in my hand: "When you have given to your master an account of your mission," said he, "present this paper to him." Having returned to 'Abd al-Malik, I informed him of the results of my embassy, but I never thought of the paper, and it was only on passing through another part of the palace with the intention of withdrawing, that I recollected it. I immediately went back and presented it to him. When he had perused it he asked me if the Greek sovereign had said anything to me before he gave me the paper? "Yes", I replied, "he asked me if I was of a royal family, and I answered that I belonged to the general class of the Arabs." I then retired and had reached the door when I was brought back into the Khalīf's presence. "Do you know," said he, "what is in this paper?"—"No," said I; on which he told me to read it. It contained these words: *I am astonished that a people who have among them a man like this could have chosen any other but him for their ruler.* "By Allah!" I exclaimed, "had I known the contents, I should not have taken charge of it; had he ever seen you, he would not have said such a thing!" "Are you aware," said 'Abd al-Malik, "why he wrote it?" "I am not."—"It was because he envied me so able a servant as you, and hoped to incite me by this to put you to death." These words, continues al-Sha'bī, reached at length the ears of the Greek king, who acknowledged that such was really his design. Al-Sha'bī once spoke to 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah, the governor of the two 'Iraqs, in favour of some prisoners, and asked him to set them at liberty;

<sup>1</sup> See No. 148.

<sup>2</sup> The life of Makḥūl and that of al-Zuhri will be given by the author of this work.



but not being able to obtain his consent, he addressed him in these terms: "O amīr! if you have imprisoned them without cause, let your justice deliver them; and if they be guilty, let your clemency be ample enough to reach them." Ibn Hubayrah immediately set them free. It is stated by Qatādah that al-Shā'bī was born four years before the death of the khalīf 'Umar (*which happened* A.H. 23), but Khālīfah Ibn Khayyāt<sup>1</sup> mentions that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and he were born in the year 21, and al-Aṣma'i says that he came into the world at Kūfah, A.H. 17.—Al-Shā'bī was a thin emaciated man, and he once said, on being asked the cause: "I was straitened for room in my mother's womb." The fact was that she had two sons at a birth and (*Ibn Qutaybah*), the author of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārīf* pretends that she was pregnant with him for two years. It is related that al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Ṭḥaqafī said to him one day: "How much is your yearly salary?" (*kam 'aṭā'ak, according to the vulgar pronunciation*), to which al-Shā'bī replied (*in the same jargon*): "Two thousand dinārs" (*alfayn*).—"Tut!" exclaimed al-Ḥajjāj, "*kam 'aṭā'ulka?*" (*repeating the question correctly*), and al-Shā'bī then answered (*grammatically*): *alfāni*. "Why," said al-Ḥajjāj, "did you speak incorrectly at first?"—"The amīr spoke false grammar," replied he, "and I spoke false grammar; and when he spoke with right inflexions, I did the same; for I could not have allowed myself to speak grammatically when the amīr did not." Al-Ḥajjāj was highly pleased with this answer and made him a present. Al-Shā'bī was inclined to pleasantry; he was one day sitting in his house with a female when a person came in and asked: "Which of you two is al-Shā'bī?" To which he replied: "She is the man." He was born in the seventh year of the khalīfat of 'Uṭḥmān, (A.H. 30, A.C. 650-1); others say, however, in A.H. 20 or A.H. 31; but it is related that he himself mentioned that his birth took place the year in which the town of Jalūlā was taken, and this occurred A.H. 19 (A.C. 640)<sup>2</sup>: he died suddenly, A.H. 104 (A.C. 722-3); other

---

<sup>1</sup> His life is given in No. 207 but by a strange mistake his father's name is written throughout that article *Ḥayār*.\*

<sup>2</sup> The celebrated battle of Jalūlā was fought A.H. 16. See Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*; Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I, page 124.

\* The error has been corrected in this edition.—Ed.

accounts say 103, 106, 107 and 105. His mother was one of the captives made at Jalulā. *Sha'bi* means *belonging to Sha'b*, a branch of the tribe of Hamdān. Al-Jawharī says: "This relative adjective is derived from *Dhū-Sha'bayn* (*the double-valleyed*), which is a mountain in Yaman, where Ḥasan Ibn 'Amr the Ḥimyarite<sup>1</sup> and his children took up their residence, and where he was buried. The descendants of that family who inhabit Kafah are called the *Sha'biyān*; those in Egypt and Maḡrib are styled *al-Ush'ab*; in Syria the name of *Sha'bāniyān* is given to them, and in Yaman they are known as *the people of Sha'bayn*."—*Jalulā* is the name of a town in the province of Fārs, where a famous battle was fought in the time of Muḥammad's *Companions*.—Al-*Sha'bi* often cited this verse of Miskīn al-Dārimī<sup>2</sup> :

"To judge of a man's prudence, observe him when provoked, not when pleased."

## 297. AL-'ABBĀS IBN AL-AḤNAF

Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf Ibn al-Aswad Ibn Ṭalḥah Ibn Jarādīn<sup>3</sup> Ibn Kaladah Ibn Khudaym<sup>4</sup> Ibn Shahāb Ibn Sālīm Ibn Ḥayyah† Ibn Kulayb Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Adī Ibn Ḥanīfah Ibn Lujaym al-Ḥanafī al-Yamāmī, a celebrated poet, was gifted with a tender spirit and a subtle wit; all his poems are love pieces, and the *diwān* of his works does not contain any eulogium. The following verses from one of his *qaṣīdahs* may serve as an example of his pathetic style:

"Desist, self-tormentor! thus only can thy woes be healed. Thy eyes have exhausted their tears in weeping; try then to find others

<sup>1</sup> This is the prince who Ḥamzah al-Iṣpāhānī mentions as the immediate predecessor of Dhū Shan tir, the celebrated tyrant of *Yaman*, who was slain by Dhū Nuwās. (See Schulten's *Historia Iocianidarum*, p 37).

<sup>2</sup> M. de Sacy says, in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 399, that this ancient poet's real name was Rabi'ah Ibn 'Amir ibn 'Unayf; but al-Tabrīz says in his commentary on the *Hamisah*, p. 744, that according to Abu 'l-'Alā Miskīn's name was 'Amr.

<sup>3</sup> Jarādīn جرادن in the autograph MS.

<sup>4</sup> Khudaym خديم in the autograph.

\* The Cairo edition gives Ḥardān حردان—Ed.

† The Cairo edition gives Ḥabbah حبه—Ed.

shedding copious drops, and with them recruit the last of thine ' But who would lend thee his eyes that thou mayest weep with them? Were eyes ever lent that their tear might be shed?"

The two next lines, extracted from a piece of verse, are also his, but some attribute them to Bashshar Ibn Burd<sup>2</sup> and Abu 'Alī al-Qālī<sup>3</sup> mentions in his *Amālī* that Bashshar said: "A boy of the tribe of Ḥanīfah<sup>4</sup> kept running in and out of where we were till he at length recited these lines:

"They who caused me to taste their love now make me weep; they awoke my heart to passion, but then their hearts yielded to slumber. They roused me, but when I stood up with the burden which they placed upon me, they sank into repose."

The following verses are also his:

"I prefer love-pains with hope to repose with despair. Did I not love you, I had spared you my reproaches; and you had then been for me as the rest of mortals."

"O Sa'd! thou hast spoken to me of my beloved and increased my folly; speak yet more to me, O Sa'd! My heart shall never know any love but that I bear her! it is a love without beginning and without end.<sup>5</sup>"

"Since thy rigours cannot be softened unless by the intercession of another, I renounce such love as requires a mediator. I swear that indifference or dislike are not the motives which withhold me from reproaching thee thy cruelty; it was the certainty that all complaints were useless. If I cannot bear my pains in patience, I must yet submit to them though unwilling."

All his poetry is good.—He was the maternal uncle of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Sulī, as we have already mentioned (No. 10). His death took place at Baḥdād in the year 192 (A.C. 807-8); but the following anecdote on the subject is given on good authority by

1 In place of لغورك, the autograph has يعينك; the sense is then: try and find other eyes to help you.

2 His life will be found in no. 110.

3 See his life, no. 92.

4 It must be remembered that al-'Abbās himself belonged to that tribe.

5 Literally: It has neither before nor after.

‘Umar Ibn Shabbah: “Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, surnamed al-Nadīm, died in the year 188, on the same day as al-Kisā’ī the grammarian, al-‘Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf and Huṣḥaymah al-Khammarah; (*the khalif*) al-Raṣḥīd, who had been informed of the circumstance, ordered (*his son*) al-Mamūn to say the funeral prayers over them, and the corpses were therefore placed in a line before him. He asked whose body was that which was nearest to him, and on learning that it was Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī’s, he ordered it to be removed and that of al-‘Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf to be put in the first place. When he had finished the prayer and was returning home, Hāshim Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik al-Khuzā’ī went up to him and said: ‘My lord; why did you honour al-‘Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf with the first place?’ to which he replied by repeating these verses:

“Some persons accused thee and said that it was thou who caused my pains and afflictions; but I denied the truth of their words, so that their suspicions might be turned away from thee to another: I like the lover who refuses (*to reveal the name of his beloved*).”

“Al-Mamūn then said: “Can you recollect them?” and Hāshim replied: ‘I can,’ and then repeated them. ‘Well,’ said the prince, ‘is not the author of such verses worthy of the first rank?’ ‘He is, my lord.’”—I must observe that this anecdote is in contradiction with what we shall say farther on, in the life of al-Kisā’ī, as we there mention that he died at Ray (*not at Baghdād*); besides which, much incertitude prevails respecting the year of his death, and moreover, the death of al-‘Abbās has been placed by some in the year 192. Abū Bakar al-Ṣulī says: ‘Awn Ibn Muḥammad informed me that his father said to him: ‘I saw al-‘Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf at Baghdād after the death of al-Raṣḥīd, and his dwelling was near the Syrian gate. He was a friend of mine, and he died before he reached his sixtieth year.’” Here al-Ṣulī remarks that he must have died later than the year 192, since al-Raṣḥīd’s death took place at Ṭus on the third of the latter Jumādā, 193 (24 March, A.C. 809).\*—Al-Aḥnaf, the father of al-‘Abbās, died A.H. 150 (A.C. 757), and was buried at Baṣrah. Al-Mas‘ūdī, in his *Murāj al-Dhahab*, gives the following anecdote on the authority of some natives of Baṣrah:

---

\*M. de Slane omits the name of the day which was *Saturday*.—Ed.

"We set out," said they, "to perform the pilgrimage, and on our way we saw a boy standing by the side of the road, who called out to us to know if any of us were natives of Baṣrah. On this we went over to him and asked what he wanted; to which he made answer: 'My master wishes to give you his dying injunctions.' We then turned off from the road and followed him till, at some distance, we found a man lying under a tree and unable to give us any answer. We seated ourselves around him, and being at length aware of our presence, he looked up at us, but his weakness was so great that he could hardly raise his eyes. He then recited these verses:

'Alas! a stranger, lonely and far from home, is here weeping in affliction! With each fresh burst of grief, illness draweth closer to his enfeebled body!'

He then swooned away, and we remained sitting about him for a long time, till he at length came to himself. At that moment a raven perched on the top of the tree and croaked aloud, on which he opened his eyes and listened to its cry. The boy then pronounced these lines:

'The heart receiveth yet a deeper wound from the cry of that bird which lamenteth on its branch. The same misfortune which has worn us down afflicteth him and he grieveth! each of us are grieving for the loss of a true friend!'

The sick man then heaved a deep sigh and breathed his last, and we did not leave his corpse till we had washed it and shrouded it and said over it the funeral prayer. When we had buried him, we asked the boy who it was, and he said: 'It is al-'Abbas Ibn al-Aḥnaf'. " God best knoweth if this relation be true. *Ḥanafī* means *belonging to the tribe of Ḥanīfah* who was the son of Lujaym Ibn Ṣa'b Ibn 'Alī Ibn Bakr Ibn Wa'il; it is a celebrated tribe. Ḥanīfah's real name was *Uḥāl*, but it was changed for this reason: he and al-Aḥzan Ibn 'Awf al-'Abdī were conversing together on a subject which it would take us too long to relate, when Ḥanīfah struck al-Aḥzan with his sword and cut off (*jadham*) his hand, and al-Aḥzan struck Ḥanīfah on the foot and shattered it (*ḥanaf*); so al-Aḥzan received the surname of *Jadhīmah* (*the one-handed*), and his adversary that of *Ḥanīfah* (*the club-footed*). This Ḥanīfah was the brother of 'Ijl (*the progenitor of a famous tribe*). *Yamāmi* means *belonging to Yamāmah*, a town in the desert which forms part of the

province of Ḥijāz; the greater part of the inhabitants belong to the tribe of Ḥanīfah. It was there that the impostor Musyalamah set up for a prophet and lost his life. His history is well known.

## 298. AL-RIY ĀSHĪ

Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās Ibn Faraj al-Riyāshī, a grammarian, a philologist, and a native of Baṣrah, was a man of great learning and a trustworthy transmitter of oral literature; he knew besides the traditional accounts of the combats and adventures of the desert Arabs, and possessed great general knowledge. The information which he communicated to others was given by him on the authority of al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Ubaydah, and other great masters, and his own authority was cited by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī <sup>1</sup> Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā <sup>2</sup> and others. The following is one of the (*curious philological*) passages which, according to his statement, he had learned from al-Aṣma'ī: "An Arab of the desert," said he, "passed near us in search of his son, and we said to him; 'Describe him'; and he answered: 'He is like a (*pretty*) little piece of gold;' on which we replied that we had not seen him. Soon after, he returned with a swarthy little fellow, as black as a beetle, perched upon his shoulder; and we then said to him: 'Hadst thou asked us about that fellow, we could have directed thee, for he did not stir out of our sight all day.' <sup>3</sup> Al-Aṣma'ī then repeated these lines:

'Any bedfellow is good on the break of day, after a frosty night, when the chilled (*sleeper*) shivers with cold. God makes her as charming to the heart as the son is charming to the eyes of his father!'

Al-Riyāshī was slain at Baṣrah during the insurrection of al-'Alawī al-Baṣrī <sup>4</sup> the chief of the Zenj. He lost his life in the month of Ṣhawwāl, A.H. 257 (September A.C. 871). He had been asked

<sup>1</sup> See No. 19, note on dyeing hair.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 228.

<sup>3</sup> This passage contains some diminutive nouns of rare occurrence, and it was therefore precious for philologists and lexicographers.

<sup>4</sup> Al-'Alawī al-Baṣrī, i.e. the descendant of 'Alī and native of Baṣrah. His real name was 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad; he revolted A.H. 255, and after devastating the southern provinces of the Khilāfat for many years, he was made prisoner

*Continued on page 24.)*

towards the end of Dh. 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 254, how old he was, and he replied: "seventy-seven years, I believe." Our shay'ih Ibn al-Athir mentions, in his historical work (*the Kāmil*), that al-Riyāshī was killed by the Zanj at Baṣrah, A.H. 265, but this is a mistake; for all persons who have studied history unanimously agree that the Zanj entered Baṣrah at the hour of Friday prayer, on the 16th Shaw-wāl, A.H. 257; that night and the following Saturday they ravaged the city with fire and sword, and on Monday they entered it again, after the flight of the garrison, and proclaimed a general amnesty; but when any of the people showed themselves, they massacred them. Very few of the inhabitants escaped, and the great mosque with all who were in it was destroyed by fire. Al-Riyāshī lost his life in one of the above-mentioned days, for he perished in the mosque. *Riyāshī* is derived from *Riyāsh* which was the name of the ancestor of a man who belonged to tribe of Judham; this man possessed as a slave the father of (*al-'Abbās al-Riyāshī*) him who was surnamed after him. The father had (*first*) received this suraname and it never quitted him.

#### \*299. 'ABD ALLĀH IBN 'UMAR

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar (may God be pleased with both of them) Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī al-'Adawī embraced Islām along with his father when young, and had not attained puberty. He migrated to Madīnah with his father and was presented before the Prophet on the day of *Uḥud* (*to be included among the combatants*) but the Prophet did not accept him because of his tender age. Subsequently he was presented on the day of the Battle of the Ditch, when he was fifteen years old; and he was allowed (to

---

\*This notice is not found in the autograph nor is it to be found in de Slane's edition. It is however included in subsequent editions. It has been pointed out by the editor of the Cairo edition of 1948 that the editor of the second edition (1299 A.H.) has stated that this notice might be an exception:

(Continued from page 23.)

and executed, A.H. 270—(See his history in Abulfeda's *Annals*; Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II, page 165; and al-Makin, p. 162. This last writer styles him الخبث صاحب الزنج (*the wicked wretch chief of the Zanj*), which words Erpenius has rendered *Hubibus Rihcrum Dominus*.

(Continued on page 25)

be enrolled). Ibn 'Umar was a man of piety and learning. He tried his best to follow and tread in the footsteps of the Prophet, he was very careful and cautious in pronouncing his *fatwā* and what he adopted for his own practice. During the life of the Prophet he never lagged behind from *sariyyahs*\*. Then after the Prophet's death he became fond of pilgrimage (and undertook it several times) before and after the *fiṭnah*† till his death.

It had been stated that among the *Companions*‡ he had the best knowledge of the rites of pilgrimage. The Prophet (may peace be on him) said to Umm al-Mu'minīn Ḥaḥṣah Bint 'Umar; "Verily your brother 'Abd-Allāh will become a pious man if he offers *tahajjud* prayers‡ (which are offered before dawn)". After that Ibn 'Umar never missed this prayer.

Jabir Ibn 'Abd Allāh said; "There is none amidst us towards whom the world inclined and he did not reciprocate to it except 'Umar and his son 'Aḥd Allāh."

Maymūn Ibn Mahran said: "I have not seen any one more pious than Ibn 'Umar, nor a person more learned than Ibn 'Abbās". Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab said: "If I had had to declare any one to be one of the people of paradise, I would have said so in case of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar."

Aṣma'ī narrates: "Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān i.e. Abū 'l-Zinād, related on the authority of his father, who said, Muṣ'ab, 'Urwah and 'Abd Allāh, sons of Zubayr, along with 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar assembled in Ḥijr (the sanctuary of the Ka'bah) and said: let us express our desires; so 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr said: 'I desire to rule over 'Iraq and have 'Yishah Bint Ṭalḥah and Sukaynah Bint al-Ḥusayn as my wives.' Then 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar said: 'I wish divine forgiveness'. Then he remarked: 'They obtained their wishes

\**Sariyyah*: a military expedition in which the Prophet did not participate.—Ed.

†Period of internecine strife that commenced in the later days of 'Uṭṭimān's Khālifat and came to an end when Mu'awiyah became the sole sovereign of the Islamic world.—Ed.

‡In the text قِيَامُ اللَّيْلِ literary meaning standing in the night.—Ed.

(Continued from page 24.)

because it gives the biography of a *Companion* of the Prophet, against the practice of the author who says that he had not included the biographical notices of the *Companions* of the Prophet (vide the author's preface).—Ed.



and I hope 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar will be forgiven!'<sup>\*</sup> Sufyān al-Thawrī narrates on the authority of Tāriq Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz; he relates on the authority of al-Sha'bī; he said; "I have seen a strange event which was this: I was in the court yard of al-Ka'bah along with 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. After offering their prayers they said, "every one of us should go one by one to the Rukn Yamānī and pray to God to grant his requirements, since prayers at this moment are heard." (They said): 'O 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr! get up, because you are the first male child born after Hijrah'. He stood up and touching the *Rukn Yamānī* said: 'O God! Thou art Great and every great thing is expected from Thee. I ask Thee by the sacredness of Thy Throne, sacredness of Thy Essence and sacredness of Thy Prophet, that Thou shouldst not let me die before I become sovereign of al-Ḥijāz, and before accession to the *Khalīfat*'. Then he came back and sat at his place. Subsequently they said to Muṣ'ab, 'Now you rise'. He got up and touched the *Rukn Yamānī*. Then he said: 'O my God! Thou art the Sustainer of every thing and every thing will return to Thee! I ask Thee by Thy authority over every thing, do not let me die prior to my becoming governor of 'Irāq and my marriage with Sukaynah Bint al-Ḥusayn.' He then retired and took his seat. Then they said 'O 'Abd al-Malik! get up. 'He stood up and said, touching the *Rukn Yamānī*. 'O God! the Sustainer of seven heavens and the Sustainer of desolate earth, I ask Thee by the Grace with which Thy obedient servants have asked, and I ask Thee by the honour of Thy Essence, and I ask Thee by the obligation that is due from all the creatures to Thee and by the honour of the persons circumambulating Thy house that I should not die before possessing the east of the earth and the west of it and if there be any to contest with me, his head should be presented to me.' Then he came back and

---

\* The editor of the Cairo text remarks that the narration of the incident is incomplete because it does not contain the desires expressed by Muṣ'ab and 'Urwah. It appears that the copy before him was defective and a line was omitted. The Teherān edition has given the complete version which runs thus: 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr expressed his desire to rule over the two sanctuaries (of Makkah and Madinah), and 'Urwah desired to learn the Traditions by heart, and Muṣ'ab wanted the governorship of 'Irāq and 'Ayishah Bint Tal'ah and Sukanyah Bint Husayn as his wives, (this desire has been ascribed to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr by mistake—Ed.)

took his seat. They asked 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar who stood up and touching the *Rukn Yamāni* said: 'O God! Thou art the Compassionate, I ask Thee by Thy mercy which precedes Thy wrath and I ask Thee by Thy authority over all the creatures, that I should not die unless thou grantest me a place in paradise.' Al *Shā'bī* added: 'My eyes will not close to the world\* before I have witnessed every one getting what he desired, and that the happy news about his getting an abode in the paradise was revealed to 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar.' "

Ḥamzah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar relates on the authority of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar; he said: "The verse *لن تنالوا البر حتى تنفقوا* (‘*Ye will not attain unto piety until ye spend of that which ye love*’) occurred to my mind and then I took stock of what God had bestowed on me; then I found that a slave girl Rumaynah was very dear to me and I set her free for the sake of Allāh; and fearing that I may change my mind I offered her for *nikāḥ* and Nafi' took her into marriage and she bore him children."

When Ibn 'Umar was much pleased with any of his possessions he used to give it in alms. Nafi' relates that his slaves had known this about him, so whenever any one wanted liberty he went and stayed in the mosque, and when Ibn 'Umar observed him in this pious state, he set him at liberty. His companions said to him: 'O Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, by God they deceive you': to which he replied: 'None deceives in the name of Allāh, but we accept this for His sake.' "

Nafi' says: "Ibn 'Umar did not die until he set one thousand persons or more at liberty. He used to offer prayers throughout the night and when it dawned he used to ask for forgiveness of God till morning."

He died at Makkah in A.H. 63† (A.C. 683), at the age of 84 years. He had left a will that he should be buried in the night but it could not be carried out because of al-Ḥajjāj.

He was buried in the cemetery of the Muhajirīn at *Dhū Ṭuwā*.

---

\* It means 'before my death'.—Ed.

† This is a mistake and the Teherān edition has also given alternative date as 73 A. H. which is correct; because Ibn 'Umar died after the death of Ibn Zubayr, who was killed in 73 A. H.—Ed.

Al-Ḥajjāj had ordered a man who dipped his spear-head in poison and threw it on him when he was on the road and it pierced his foot. The cause of this was that once al-Ḥajjāj recited a (long) sermon and therefore offered prayers very late. Thereupon Ibn 'Umar said: "The sun does not wait for you." Al-Ḥajjāj said: "I am determined to strike to (the head in which) your eyes are placed": to which Ibn 'Umar remarked: "You will be a fool if you do this thing."

It is said that he spoke in a low tone only and did not make al-Ḥajjāj hear these words. But (Ḥajjāj) devised his death because Ibn 'Umar was well acquainted with the rites of 'Arafah and other things, where the Prophet performed the rites of the pilgrimage, and this was unbearable to al-Ḥajjāj (because he was liable to commit mistakes); and so he ordered a man (*to wound him*) with a weapon which was dipped in poison. When people returned from 'Arafah, this man came close to him and pierced it into his foot while he was on his breast. As a consequence to it he fell ill. The ailment prolonged for several days. One day al-Ḥajjāj came to visit him and said to him: "O Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān who poisoned you?" He asked, "What will you do with him?" to which al-Ḥajjāj replied, "May God kill me if I do not kill him." Ibn 'Umar remarked; "I am sure you will not do it, because you are the person who ordered a hireling to prick me with a spear." Then al-Ḥajjāj said: "O Abū 'Abd Al-Raḥmān, do not do it."\* It is also related that in reply to his question about the person who had poisoned him, he said; "You are responsible for it because of permitting the entry of arms within the limits of the Sanctuary." He lived for a few days (*after this*) and then passed away (may God be pleased with him and bless him.) Al-Ḥajjāj offered funeral prayers over him.

### 300. 'ABD ALLAH IBN AL-MUBARAK

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubarak Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Marwazī (*native of Marw*), a *mawlā* to the tribe of Ḥanzalah, was

\*It means, "do not disclose the name of your assailant."—Ed.

a man possessing profound learning combined with great self-mortification. He studied jurisprudence under Sufyan al-Thawrī, and Malik Ibn Anas from whom he learned by heart the *Muwatta*, and then taught it to others. He loved retirement and solitude, and was extremely assiduous in the practice of ascetic devotion. It is related of his father, who, like him, was a man of great piety, that he served a master who employed him to work in his garden; he had passed a considerable time in this occupation, when his master came to him one day and told him to bring him a ripe\* pomegranate, on which he went to a tree and gathered an unripe one. His master having broken it open and found it sour, got angry with him and ordered him to go for a ripe one; he then went and cut one off another tree, but it was also sour, and his master's anger became more violent: "I asked you for a ripe one," he exclaimed, "and you give me a sour one! bring me a ripe one!". He went then for the third time and did as before. on which his master said to him: "Do you not know the difference between a ripe and an unripe pomegranate?"—"No."—"And how does that happen?"—"Because I never tasted of them so as to know the difference."—"And why did you not?"—"Because I had not your permission." His master having found on examination that he had told the truth, conceived the highest respect for him and gave him his daughter in marriage. It is said that God blessed this union with a son, this 'Abd Allāh, to whom were transmitted the divine graces granted to his father. In some historical work I have found the same thing related of the pious and holy Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham<sup>†</sup> (and it is told of him also

---

! I have hitherto transcribed انسى by *Ans*, but the true pronunciation is *Anas* or *Anes*.†

2 Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham Ibn Manṣūr al-Balkhī was celebrated for his holy life. His father Adham was a native of Balkh and belonged to one of the first families in the place. He made the pilgrimage to Makkah with his wife who was then pregnant, and she brought forth Ibrāhīm in that city. His father carried him round the Ka'bah and begged of the assembled multitude to implore God's blessings on the child, and the effect of their prayers was

[Continued on page 30.]

\* Sweet is an appropriate word.—Ed.

† [ ] From ' and ' to ' Mulūk ' on page 30 not in the autograph.—Ed.

‡ The error has been corrected in this edition and the former pronunciation is retained since it is more appropriate.—Ed.

by al-Ṭurṭuṣhī<sup>1</sup> towards the commencement of his work the *Sirāḡ al-Mulūk*. Abū 'Alī al-Ḡhassānī<sup>2</sup> relates the following anecdote: 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak was asked which was the more blessed man of the two, Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abi Sufyān or 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, to which he made answer: "The very dust which entered into Mu'āwiyah's nostrils when accompanying God's blessed Prophet is a thousand times more holy than all 'Umar. Mu'āwiyah was praying behind the Prophet when the latter said: *God hearkeneth to him who speaks his praise*. On which Mu'āwiyah exclaimed: *O Lord! to Thee be praise!*" "Can there be any stronger proof of Mu'āwiyah's blessedness than that?" —Ibn al-Mubārak composed some poetry, from which we will quote the following verses:

"Other men open shops to sell their goods, but you have opened a shop that you may seil religion;—a shop between the columns (of the mosque) and without a lock, where you give religion in exchange for the money of the poor. You have made of religion a falcon wherewith to catch your prey, but falconers never acquire riches by their trade<sup>3</sup>"

One of his sayings was: "We sought learning that we might acquire wordly advantages, and it led us to renounce the world." He died at Hīt, on his return from an expedition against the infidels, in the month of Ramaḡān, A.H. 181 (November, A.C. 797).<sup>\*</sup> He was

<sup>1</sup> The life of Abū Bakr Muḡammad al-Ṭurṭuṣhī will be found in this work.

<sup>2</sup> His life will be found in No. 191.

<sup>3</sup> This is manifestly directed against some teacher of theology who opened a course of lectures in the mosque and required payment from his scholars. Such a proceeding was highly scandalous at that early period, but in later times it was permitted as a necessary evil.—(See d' Ohsson's *Tabi'at generale de l'empire othoman*, tom. VI. page. 143).

The autograph adds 'or 182, the same has been followed by subsequent editions.—Ed.

(Continued from page 29)

manifested many years later. Adham was very rich and possessed numerous slaves, horses, hounds, and falcons; his son Ibrāhīm took the dogs and falcons one day, and rode out to hunt; he was galloping after the game when he heard a voice say: "O Ibrāhīm! what meaneth this sport? dost thou think that we created the in sport! Fear God and make provision for the day of need!" On hearing these words, he got off his horse and renounced the world. His death took place A.H. 160 (A.C. 776-7)—Abu'l-Mahāsīn's *Nujūm*. This author gives him the surnames of al-Tamīmī al-'Ijlī (*belonging to the tribes of Tamim and 'Ijl*), which does not seem to be exact, as those two tribes were quite distinct; that of Tamim drawing its origin from Nizār by Muḡar and Ṭabikḡah, and 'Ijl from Nizār by Rub'ah—Abu'l-Fida gives some account of Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham and places his death in 161; al-Yāfī, who vaunts the high perfection which Ibn Adham had attained by his spiritual exercises, mentions that he died in 162.

born at Marw in the year 118 (A.C. 736).—*Hit* is a town situated on the Euphrates, higher up than al-Anbar; it belongs to the government of 'Iraq, but it lies on the Syrian side of the river, whilst al-Anbār is on the Baḡdād side. The Tigris flows between these two last cities. Ibn al-Mubārak's tomb is still visible at Hit and continues to be a place of pilgrimage. The history of his life has been compiled in two volumes.

### 301. IBN 'ABD AL-ḤAKAM

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam<sup>1</sup> Ibn A'yan Ibn Layth Ibn Rāfi' was a doctor of the sect of Mālik and a native of Egypt. He was the best acquainted of all Mālik's disciples with the various branches of his master's doctrine; and on the death of Aṣḥab<sup>2</sup>, the presidency of the Mālikite sect devolved to him. He transmitted orally to his scholars the contents of Mālik's work, the *Muwatṭā'*, which he himself had learned by heart under that imām's dictation. His riches and the numerous hotels<sup>3</sup> which he possessed enabled him to live in great state, and (*for his virtue*) he was treated with profound respect. He filled the office of *justifier and impugner of witnesses*<sup>4</sup>; but neither he nor any of his sons would ever give evidence in a court of law, on account of a vow which he had previously made against doing so: this particularity is mentioned by al-Qudā'i in his *Khīṭaṭ* (or *topographical history*) of Old Cairo. It is said that on the arrival of al-Shāfi'ī in that city, he gave him one thousand *dīnārs* out of his own money, with two thousand more, one half of which he had obtained for him from a merchant named Ibn Usāmah, and the remainder from two other

<sup>1</sup> In the first volume of this translation, this name has been erroneously transcribed 'Abd al-Ḥukm.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Hotel*; in Arabic *rab'a*. See No. 142, note (2) on *rib'a*.

<sup>4</sup> The *justification and impugning of witnesses* (*tazkiyah wa tajrīh*) is a duty devolved secretly by the qādī on some person of acknowledged probity living in his jurisdiction. The *censor* examines into the moral character of the witnesses and informs the qādī whether their evidence is receivable or not. He is called also the *muzakkī* or *purifier*. Consult on this subject Hamilton's *Hedayah*, chap. on Evidence. Here, in the printed Arabic text of Ibn Kḥalikān, is a repetition of the same fault already noticed, No. 173, note.

men. He was the father of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (*Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam*), the disciple of al-Shāfi'ī, whose life we shall give in the letter M.—Biḥr Ibn Bakr<sup>1</sup> relates that some days after the death of Malik Ibn Anas, he had a dream in which that doctor appeared to him and said: "There is a man in your country called Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam; receive the knowledge he may impart to you, for he is a sure authority." —Abū Muḥammad had another son called 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who studied the Traditions and history, and wrote some works, one of which was on the conquests of the Muslims.—Abū Muḥammad was born A.H. 150 (A.C. 767-8); some say 155; he died at Old Cairo in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 214 (November, A.C. 829). He was buried close to the tomb of the imām al-Shāfi'ī, at the south side of it; his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān died A.H. 257 (A.C. 870-1), and was interred at the south side of his father's grave; so that, of the three tombs, Abū Muḥammad's is in the middle.

### 302. IBN WAHB

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb Ibn Muslim, a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Quraysh, a doctor of the sect of Malik and a native of Egypt, was a *mawlā* to Rayḥanāh \* who was herself a *mawlā* to Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yazīd Ibn Unays, of the tribe of Fihri (or *Quraysh*). He was one of the great imams of that age, and had been a disciple of the imām Malik Ibn Anas during twenty years: he put down in writing (*his master's works*) the greater *Muwatṭa'* and the less. Malik said of him: "'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb is an imām." Abū Ja'far Ibn al-Jazzar<sup>2</sup> mentions that Ibn Wahb set

<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Biḥr Ibn Bakr al-Tinnisi al-ḥāmī: (*a native of Tinnīs and sprung from a family which inhabited Damascus*) is known as a Traditionist. He studied under al-Awzā'i and died towards the end of A.H. 205 (A.C. 821). —(*Tab. al-Muḥaddithin*.)

<sup>2</sup> The physician and historian Abū Ja'far Ibrāhīm Ibn Abi Khālid, surnamed Ibn al-Jazzār, was a native of Qayrawān, where his father and his paternal uncle Abū Bakr practised also the art of medicine. He had studied in that city between A.H. 300 and 320, under Isḥāq Ibn Sulaimān al-Isr'ā'īlī, the physician to Ziyād Allāh Ibrāhīm the Aghlabite. As a teacher, a practitioner, and an author, he attained a high reputation, and disdained courting the favours of the great. The only man of rank whom he visited was an old

(Continued on page 33.)

\* M. de Slane gives Riḥanah.—Ed.

out (*from his native place*) to see the imām Mālik in the year 148 (A.C. 765-6), and never left him till he, Mālik, died. He had commenced his studies under him more than ten years before 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Qāsim<sup>1</sup>. When Mālik wrote to consult him, he addressed his letters thus: *To 'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb the mufti*, an honour which he never conferred on any other of his disciples. Ibn Wahb saw and conversed with upwards of twenty persons who had studied under Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī. His name and that of 'Ibn al-Qāsim were once mentioned in the presence of Mālik<sup>2</sup>, and that imām said: "Ibn Wahb is a learned man, and Ibn al-Qāsim a jurisconsult." Al-Quḍā'i says in his *Khitāt*: "Different opinions are entertained respecting the site of Ibn Wahb's tomb, but in the *Majarr Bant Miskin*<sup>3</sup> there is a small one, much dilapidated, which people call the tomb of 'Abd Allāh; it is a very ancient monument and is probably the tomb of Ibn Wahb". He was born at Old Cairo in the month of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 125 (September, A.C. 743), but some say 124; he died in the same city on Sunday the 24 of Sha'bān, A.H. 197 (April, A.C. 813).<sup>4</sup> He composed a number of well-known works on jurisprudence, and was also a Traditionist. Yūnus Ibn 'Abd al-A'la<sup>4</sup>, one of the imām al-Shāfi'i's disciples, relates as follows: The khalif wrote to Ibn

<sup>1</sup> The life of this celebrated disciple of Mālik will be found in this work.

<sup>2</sup> Some mistakes disfigure this notice in the Printed Arabic text: here *يزيد* has been put for *عند ملك* and in the first line *زيد* for *عند ملك*. In the third line the word *ابي* must be suppressed. A too scrupulous adherence to his manuscript led the editor into these faults and some others, which shall be noticed when met with.

<sup>3</sup> I have not been able to discover any account of this place in al-Maqrizī's *Khitāt*.

<sup>4</sup> His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

<sup>5</sup> 1 May.—Ed.

(Continued from page 32)

friend of his, Abū Tālib, uncle to the Faṭimite prince al-Mu'izz, and him he went to see every Friday. He passed the days of summer, every year, in one of the *ribats* or garrisons on the sea-coast. According to Ibn Abi Usaybiāh, he died, aged upwards of eighty. Hajji Khalifa, in his Bibliography, No. 3090, places his death in A.H. 400, but al-Dahabī conjectures that it took place before A.H. 350. He was a man of great information in various sciences. The list of his medical works is given by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Abi U'ayyān, and may be found in Wustenfeld's *Arabische Aerzte*, His *Z d al-Musāfir* (*provisions for travellers*) has been translated into Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. His historical works are the *Ta'rif Tashih al-Tarikh* the truth of historical statements, which is short treatise; and the *Akhhār al-Dawlat* (*History of the present Empire*), containing an account of the rise and progress of the empire founded by 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī. He left a fortune of twenty-four thousand *dinārs* and twenty five hundred weight *Qintār* of books on medicine and other subjects. (Al-Dhahabī's *Tarikh al-Islām*; Ibn Abi Usaybiāh. This last author cites some verses from a poem composed by Kūsh jīm in praise of Ibn al-Jazz r.)



Wahb, desiring him to accept the place of qāḍī at Old Cairo, on which he concealed himself<sup>1</sup> and avoided stirring from home; but one of his neighbours, Asad<sup>2</sup> Ibn Sa'd, happening to look out, and seeing him making his ablutions in the court-yard of his house, called to him and said: "Why dost thou not go forth to the people and judge between them according to the book of God and the *sunnah* of the Prophet?" On this, Ibn Wahb looked up and replied: "Is that the utmost extent of thy wisdom? Dost thou not know that the learned shall be raised to life with the Prophets, and the qāḍīs with the princes?"<sup>3</sup>—Ibn Wahb was a man of learning and holiness, living in the fear of Almighty God. His death happened in the following manner: A student was reading to him out of his own *Jamī'* or collection of Traditions, an account of the terrible signs which are to precede the day of judgement, when something like a swoon came over him, and he was carried to his house, he remained in that state till he expired. Ibn Yunus al-Miṣrī says in his *History (of Egypt)* that Ibn Wahb was a *mawlā* to Yazīd Ibn Rummanah, who was himself a *mawlā* to Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yazīd Ibn Unays; the statement first given is made by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, and God best knoweth which is the truth.

\* [The following anecdote is related by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb: "When Ḥayyat Ibn *Shurayh*.<sup>4</sup> received his yearly salary of sixty dinars, he used to distribute it all in alms before he went home, but on entering into his house, he would find this money again under his mattress. Ḥayyat had a cousin who, on learning the circumstance, took his salary also and gave it in alms; he

<sup>1</sup> The printed text has فجنبا and the autograph فجنبن. The meaning of both words is the same.

<sup>2</sup> In place of Asad امد the autograph seems to have *Shādīn* شدین.

<sup>3</sup> See an observation on this subject, No. 102, note on qāḍī.

<sup>4</sup> There were two Traditionists of this name, both of whom drew their origin from Ḥādrāmūt. The first, who was probably the same person who is mentioned here, bore the surname of Abū Zar'ah زرعه and was a native of Egypt. He taught the Traditions on the authority of Ibn al-Mubārak, Ibn Wahb, and other doctors. He died A.H. 157 (A.C. 773-4), during the *khālifāt* of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. The other Ḥayyāt Ibn *Shurayh*, was surnamed Abū'l-'Abbās and was a native of Emessa. His authority is cited by al-Bukhārī in that chapter of his work which treats of the prayer to be said in time of danger.—(*Tab. al-Muḥad.*)

\* From 'The' to 'end' on page 35 is not included in the autograph.—Ed.

then sought it under his mattress, but found nothing; and Ḥayyāt, to whom he complained of his disappointment, said to him: 'I gave to the Lord with full confidence, but you gave to him merely to make a trial of His goodness.'"]

### 303. 'ABD ALLĀH IBN LAHĪ'AH

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahī'ah Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Lahī'ah al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ghāfiqī (*member of the tribe of Ghāfiq*)<sup>1</sup>, a native of Egypt, was a narrator of Traditions, historical relations, and pieces in prose and verse, a great quantity of which he transmitted down. Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd states that he was a man of weak memory, and that those who received from him oral information when he first began to give lessons, had most probably acquired more correct versions of the pieces which he taught them, than those who studied under him in the latter period of his life. It sometimes happened that his pupils read to him (*out of their note-books*) passages which he had never taught them<sup>2</sup> and he would make no observation on the subject; being afterwards told of the circumstance, he would reply: "It is not my fault; they come to me with a book and read it in my presence; they then go away. Had they asked me if that was what I taught them, I should have told them that it was not." In the beginning of the year A. H. 155 (A.C. 772), he was appointed qāḍī of Old Cairo by Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, and was the first person raised to the place of qāḍī in that city by direct nomination of the khalīf. He was removed from office in the month of the first Rabī', A.H. 164. He was also the first qāḍī who made it his duty to be present when watch was kept for the first appearance of the new moon in the month of Ramaḍan<sup>3</sup>, and this custom is still continued to the present time<sup>4</sup>. Ibn al-Farrā

<sup>1</sup> According to the author of the *Ansāb*. 'Ghāfiq was the son of al-Shāhid Ibn 'Alqamah Ibn 'Akk, a descendant from Kahlān.

<sup>2</sup> Students took notes of the master's lessons and read them to him the next day.

<sup>3</sup> In those countries where the *Sunni* doctrines are professed, the fast of Ramaḍan is not commenced till the appearance of the new moon has been regularly certified.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khallikān might have observed that it was discontinued under the Fatimite dynasty and had been re-established by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

mentions him in his Annals under the year 152: "In this year," says he, "died the qādī Abū Khuzaymah Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī (*descended from Ḥimyar*)<sup>1</sup>; he was succeeded by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Lahī'ah al-Ḥaḍramī. Ibn Khudayj (Ḥudayj), who was in 'Iraq at that time, relates in the following terms the cause of his nomination: 'I went to see Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, who said to me: Ibn Khudayj! there is a man in your city who has just died and left the people in affliction for his loss—Commander of the faithful! I replied, it must be Ibn Khuzaymah!—It is, said he; 'and whom do you think we should put in his place?' I answered, Commander of the faithful! I suppose Ibn Ma'dan al-Yaḥṣubī—It is not fit that a qādī should be deaf, replied al-Manṣūr, and he is.—It is then Ibn Lahī'ah' said I. The very man answered the khalīf, although his memory be a little weak. He then gave orders for his appointment and settled on him thirty *dinārs* a month'. "H was the first qādī who received a salary, and the first also who was nominated directly by the khalīf; before that, the qādī was chosen by the governor of the city"<sup>2</sup>—Ibn Lahī'ah died at Old Cairo on Sunday, the 15th of the first Rabi', A.H. 174 (August, A.C. 790),\*—or by another account in 170,—aged eighty-one years. Abū Mūsā al-'Anazī<sup>3</sup> says in his History, that al-Layth Ibn Sa'd was one or two years older than Ibn Lahī'ah.

†[Ibn Yūnus also mentions him in his History, in these terms: "Abd Allāh Ibn Lahī'ah, Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Fur'an† Ibn Rabi'ah belonged to the family of U'dūl, one of the first in Ḥaḍramawt. His

<sup>1</sup> Abū Khuzaymah Ibrāhīm Ibn Yazīd, a native of Old Cairo, was appointed qādī of that city by Yazīd Ibn Ḥatīm, A.H. 144 (A.C. 761-2). He continued to fill this place till his death, which took place A.H. 154 (A.C. 770-1). He was a man of great piety and lived by making halters, of which he sold two every day; with the price of one he supported himself, and he gave the price of the other to his brethren in Alexandria.—(*History of the qādīs of Cairo*, by Sibṭ Ibn Hujr. Ms. No. 691).

<sup>2</sup> Sibṭ Ibn Hujr, in *Lives of the Qādīs*, mentions Ibn Lahī'ah and relates the anecdote given here. Ibn Khudayj, or, as he writes the name, 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Ḥudayj, was the son of a qādī of Cairo who had been nominated A.H. 86 and died A. H. 94 (A. C. 712-3).

<sup>3</sup> In the Arabic text this is incorrectly printed العترى.

\* 1 August.—Ed.

† [ ] From 'Ibn' to 'qādī' on page 37 is not included in the autograph.—Ed.

† The editor of Cairo edition observes the correct name is Qur'an and de Salne's reading of Fur'an is an error; but the *Qāmūs* supports de Salne's reading vide قرع.—Ed.

surname was Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān. Traditions were given on his authority by 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥarīth<sup>1</sup>, al-Layth Ibn Sa'd, 'Uthmān Ibn al-Ḥakam al-Judhamī, and Ibn al-Mubarak<sup>2</sup>. He then gives the date of his death and adds: "He was born A.H. 97 (A.C. 715-6);" after which, he mentions the following words, and traces them down, through an uninterrupted series of narrators, from Ibn Lahī'ah to himself: "On going to see Yazīd Ibn Abī Ḥabīb<sup>3</sup>, he said to me: 'I think I see you seated on the cushion, meaning the one on which the qaḍī sits.'" And so it came to pass, for Ibn Lahī'ah did not die before he filled the place of a qaḍī].—*Ḥaḍramt* means belonging to *Ḥaḍramawt*, which is a country in the most distant part of Yaman.

#### 304. AL-QA'NABĪ

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muslamah Ibn Qa'nab al-Ḥarīthī, surnamed al-Qa'nabī, was a native of Madīnah. He received instructions in jurisprudence and the Traditions from the imām Mālik, and was one of his most talented, learned<sup>4</sup> and virtuous disciples. He knew by heart his master's work, the *Muwatṭā*, and taught it to his own pupils from memory; for such was the manner in which this work was transmitted down by a number of Mālik's disciples: Some diversity exists in the texts as thus related by each; but the most perfect copy of it is that given *viva voce* by Yaḥya Ibn Yaḥya's as shall be again remarked in his life. Al-Qa'nabī was

---

<sup>1</sup> Abū Umayyah 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥarīth Ibn Ya'qūb, a native of Egypt and surnamed al-Muwaddib (*the preceptor*), was allied by adoption to the Anṣār. He learned the Traditions from Qatādah and other great masters, and among his own pupils he had Ibn Wahb. His death took place between A.H. 147 (A.C. 764) and 149. He was then upwards of fifty.—(*Tab. al-Muḥad*).

<sup>2</sup> The life of Ibn al-Mubārak is given No. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Abū Rajā Yazīd Ibn Ḥabīb Suwayd, a member by adoption of the tribe of Quraysh and a native of Egypt, studied the Traditions under a number of eminent masters and had al-Layth Ibn Sa'd among his own pupils. He died A.H. 128 (A.C. 745), aged between seventy-five and eighty years.—(*Tab. al-Muḥaddithīn*).

<sup>4</sup> The word *muḥaddith* signifies *esteemed as a sure authority for the exactness of the Traditions which he transmits*. It is here rendered by *learned*.

surnamed al-Rahib (*the monk*) for his devotion and his virtue. 'Abd Allah Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Haytham related that his grandfather had said to him, in speaking of al-Qa'nabī: "When we went to see him he would come out to us with the face of one who had been looking down on (*the terrors of*) hell; may God preserve us from it!" He died at Baṣrah, the city where he resided, on Friday the 6th of Muḥarram, A.H. 221 (January, A.C. 836)\*. Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl mentions, in his list of those who transmitted orally the *Muwaṭṭā* from Malik to their own pupils, that al-Qa'nabī died at Makkah. The surname of Qa'nabī is derived from the name of his grandfather.

### 305. IBN KATHĪR THE QUR'AN-READER

Abu Ma'bad<sup>1</sup> 'Abd Allah Ibn Kathīr, one of the seven great masters in the science of *Qur'ān-reading*, died at Makkah, A.H. 120 (A.C. 737-8). This is the only information I can find respecting him. I have since discovered that he is spoken of in the *Kitāb al-Iqnā*<sup>2</sup>, a work treating of the different readings of the *Qur'ān*. The author of that book says: "Ibn Kathīr al-Makkī (*native of Makkah*), al-Dārī (*belonging to the tribe of al-Dār*), which is a branch of that of Lakhm and produced Tamīm al-Dārī;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has *Abū Sa'id*, but the *Nujūm* writes the name *Abū Ma'bad* as here, and the author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā* states expressly that such was his real surname.

<sup>2</sup> *Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Bādhish* الباذش a descendant from the Anṣārs and a celebrated teacher of the *Qur'ānic readings*, was a native of Granada, and held the office of public preacher in that city. His work, the *Iqnā 'fi'l-Qira'* (the sufficient help, treating of the *Qur'ānic-readings*) is esteemed one of the best treatises on the subject. He was likewise well acquainted with the Traditions. Died A.H. 542 (A.C. 1147-8).—(*Ṭab. al-Qurrā*, fol. 162 verso).

<sup>3</sup> *Abū Ruqayyah Tamīm Ibn Aws al-Dārī* was originally a Christian, but embraced Islamism in the ninth year of the Hijrah and became one of Muḥammad's *Companions*. He was so assiduous in the practice of devotion, that he obtained the appellation of *Rahib al-Ummah* (*the monk of the people*). He possessed a talent for relating stories or histories, and he continued that practice with the permission of the Prophet.—(*Majma' al-Aḥbāb* MS. fonds St. Germain, No. 131; *Siyar al-Salaf*, *ibid.*, No. 133).—See d'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* TAMM.

\*31 December, 835.—Ed.

some say however that he took this surname from Dārīn,<sup>1</sup> because he was a druggist and perfumer, and that is the place where perfumes are procured; this last derivation is the true one. They say that he was a *inawlā* to 'Amr Ibn 'Alqamah al-Kinānī, and that he drew his origin from one of those Persians whom Chosroes had sent by sea to Yaman, when he expelled the Abyssinians from that country<sup>2</sup>. He dyed his beard with *hinnā*<sup>3</sup> and was *qādī* of the community at Makkah<sup>4</sup>. In the classification of the *Tab'is*, he was placed in the second division<sup>5</sup>. He was advanced in years, his hair was white, his beard long, his body large, his complexion tawny, and his eyes dark blue; his grey hair was dyed with *hinnā* or with yellow dye (*sufrah*), and in his conduct he displayed a dignified gravity. He was born at Makkah, A.H. 45 (A.C. 665-6), and he died in that city, A.H. 120". This writer gives here the same date for his death as that mentioned above, and it seems a point on which all the *readers* agree; but, in my opinion, it cannot be exact, for 'Abd Allāh Ibn Idrīs al-Awdī, who learned the *readings* of the Qur'ān under Ibn Kathīr, was born A.H. 115; and how could he have done so, if his master had only lived till A.H. 120? This error originated with Abū Bakr Ibn Mujahid, who was deceived by the fact that 'Abd Allāh Ibn Kathīr of the tribe of Quraysh, but a different person from the *Qur'ān-reader*<sup>6</sup>, died in that year; but God knows best!<sup>7</sup> The system of *reading* followed by Ibn Kathīr was transmitted

1 According to al-Idrīsī, Dārīn is situated in the province of Fārs; and the author of the *Marāṣid* calls it a sea-port where musk was imported from India.

2 According to Abu 'l-Fidā, this occurred in the reign of Anūshīrwān; Sayf Ibn Dhī-Yazan then recovered the throne of his ancestors.

3 See No. 19, note on dyeing hair.

4 *Qādī* of the community قاضي الجماعة this was a title given to the chief *qādī* *Qā'ilī Quḍātī*, more particularly in Africa and Spain. See *Notices of 'Extraits'*, tom. XII, page 578.

5 The *Tābi'is* were classed by the length of time which they had known and frequented the *Companions* of Muḥammad.

6 This Ibn Kathīr is cited in the *Sahīḥ* as an authority for one of the Traditions given in that work. His grandfather's name was al-Muṭṭalib. — (*Tab. al-Qurrā*).

7 On this subject, al-Dhahabī makes the following observations in his *Tabaqāt al-Qurrā*: "Abū Ja'far Ibn al-Bādhīh al-Andalusī is grossly mistaken in saying that 'Abd Allāh Ibn Idrīs al-Awdī studied *Qur'ān-reading* under Ibn Kathīr; a statement on which an opinion has been founded that Ibn Kathīr died later than A.H. 120, which is another mistake." — (MS. No. 742, fol. 17 verso.)

down orally by two persons, Qunbul and al-Bazzi; the former, whose real name was Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khalid Ibn Sa'id Ibn Jurjah al-Makkī al-Makḥzūmī died A.H. 291 (A.C. 903-4), aged ninety-six years; the latter, who bore the name of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Nafi' Ibn Abī 'l-Bazzah-Baḥshar al-Fārī'ī, died A.H. 270 (A. C. 883-4), aged eighty.

### 306. IBN QUTAYBAH

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah al-Dinawarī (*native of Dinawar*).—some say al-Marwazī (*native of Marw*),—the author of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* <sup>2</sup> and the *Adab al-Kātib* <sup>3</sup> was a grammarian and a philologist of eminent talent and noted for the correctness of his information. He resided at Baḡdād and taught the Traditions in that city on the authority of Ishāq Ibn Rāhwayh<sup>4</sup>, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ziyādī<sup>5</sup>, Abū Ḥatīm al-Sijistānī <sup>6</sup> and other masters of the same period; his own authority was cited for Traditions by his son Aḥmad and by Ibn Durustūyah<sup>7</sup>. Besides the works just mentioned, he composed a number of others equally instructive, such as his Explanation of the rare expressions occurring in the Qur'an, Explanation of the rare

<sup>1</sup> Al-Bazzī was a *mawli* to the tribe of Makḥzūm and a *muwadhḥin* in the great mosque of Makkah. Al-Dhahabī has a long article on him in the *Tabaqat al-Qurrā*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, or, as it might be denominated the *Book of Facts*, is a most useful work. Eichhorn extracted from it the genealogies of the Arabs published in his *Monumenta historiae Arabum*. It contains besides a great number of short biographical notices on the early Muslims, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The *Adab al-Kātib*, or *Writer's guide*, is a short work on orthography, philology, synonyms, and grammar. The preface is remarkable for its length.

<sup>4</sup> See No. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Abū Ishāq al-Ziyādī descended from Ziyād Ibn Abih by the following line: His father Sufyān was son to Sulaymān Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ziyād Ibn Abih.

<sup>6</sup> See No. 268.

<sup>7</sup> The life of Ibn Durustūyah comes immediately after this.

expressions occurring in the Traditions, the '*Uyūn al-Akhbār*<sup>1</sup> the *Mushkil al-Qur'ān* (obscurities of the *Qur'ān*), the *Mushkil al-Hadīth* (obscurities of the Traditions), the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* (notices on the poets), the *Kitāb al-Ashribah* (treatise on the different sorts of drinks), the *Islāh al-Ghalaṭ* (faults corrected)<sup>2</sup>, the *Kitāb al-Taḥqīq*<sup>3</sup> (the instructor)<sup>3</sup>, the *Kitāb al-Khayl* (treatise on horses), the seven Readings of the *Qur'ān* analysed grammatically, a work on the *Anwā'* the *Kitāb al-Masā'il*, etc. (book of questions and answers), the *Kitāb al-Maysir wa'l-Qiddāh* (on games of chance)<sup>5</sup>. These books he continued to explain to his pupils at Baghḍād till his death. His father was, it is said, a native of Marw, but he himself was born at Baghḍād, or, according to some, at Kūfah; having acted for some time in the capacity of a qāḍī at Dīnawar, he received the surname of *Dinawarī*. His birth took place A.H. 213 (A.C. 828-9), and his death occurred in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 270 (May, A.C. 884); but this point is not well established, as some say that he died in A.H. 271, and others in A.H. 296, on the first of Rajab, or on the 15 of that month (April, A.C. 909) †; and this last opinion is nearest to the truth. His death happened quite suddenly; he uttered a cry loud enough to be heard at a great distance, and then, falling into a state of insensibility, he expired. Another account says: He had eaten some *harisah* (a sort of pottage so called) which brought on an inflammation<sup>6</sup>; he then uttered a loud cry and fell into a state of insensibility which lasted till the hour of noon; he was then agitated convulsively for some time, after which

1 The '*Uyūn al-Akhbār sources of information*) forms a large volume in ten books, each of which treats of a different subjects. One is on the sultān, another on knowledge, a third on food, a fourth on women, etc.

2 In this work he points out the mistakes into which Abū 'Ubyadah had fallen.

3 The subject of this work is not specified by Ḥājjī Khalīfah.

4 The *anwā'* are the mansions of the moon in the Zodiac. The ancient Arabs imagined that they had great influence on the weather.

5 See Pocock's *Specimen*, p. 315.

6 This significance of the word حرارة is not given in the dictionaries, but it was known to M. de Sacy. See his edition of *Abdallatif*, page 16.

\*The autograph reading is 'Taḥfiyah'—Ed.

†26 March or 9 April—Ed.



he remained quiet, and he continued to utter the profession of faith, till day-break the next morning, when he expired.—His son Abu Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allah was a doctor of the law, and taught also all the works of his father, by whom he had himself been instructed in them. He filled the place of qaḍī in Old Cairo, which city he first entered on the 18th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 321;\* he died there in the exercise of his functions, A.H. 322, in the month of the first Rabi' (February-March, A.C. 934); he was born at Baghḍād.—It is said that most of the learned men (*of that time*) called the *Adab al-Kātib* a preface without a book, and the *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq* (*Ibn al-Sikkī's work*) a book without a preface; but this observation betrays a certain degree of prejudice against Ibn Qutaybah, for his *Adab al-Kātib* contains an abundance of information disposed under regular heads; and I am convinced that their only motive for saying so was, because its preface is very long, whilst the *Iṣlāḥ* has none at all. It is reported that he composed this work for Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Yaḥya Ibn Khāqān<sup>1</sup>, the wazīr of the Abbaside khalif al-Mu'tamid, son of al-Mutawakkil. It has been commented by Abū Muḥammad ('*Abd Allāh*') Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawṣī, whose life will be found farther on. This learned scholar has explained therein the difficulties of the *Adab al-Kātib* in the fullest manner, and pointed out the mistakes into which the author has fallen. His treatise bears the title of *al-Iqtīḍāb fī sharḥ Adab al-Kutīb* (*Extemporizing, being a commentary on the Guide for Kātib*), and is a proof of the extensive information possessed by its author.—*Qutaybah* is the diminutive of *qitbah*, the singular form of the word *aqṭāb*, which signifies *entrails*. It is a common noun, but came to be used as a proper name. From it is formed the relative adjective *Qutabī*.—*Dinawari* (or *Daynawart*, as it is pronounced by al-Sam'ānī, but incorrectly means *belonging to Dinawar*, a town in Persian 'Irāq near Qirmisīn, which has produced a great number of eminent men.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Khāqān was wazīr to al-Mutawakkil and al-Mu'tamid, in whose reign he died. He possessed great abilities as an administrator of public affairs, and by his generous character he gained the favour of the public and the military. He had refused to accept the wazīrat a second time, but the troops insisted so, strongly on his returning to office, that he was obliged to consent.—(See Fakḥr al-Dīn Ibn Ṭabāṭaba's *al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah*, MS. No. 895, fol. 221, 232.)

\* 15 June, A.C. 933.—Ed.

## 307. IBN DURUSTŪYAH

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ja‘far Ibn Durustūyah Ibn al-Murzubān al-Fārisī al-Fasawī (*native of Fasā in the province of Fārs*) was a grammarian of great learning and talent. He studied philology at Bagḥdād under al-Mubarrad, Ibn Qutaybah (him whose life has been just given) and other masters; and a number of eminent men, such as al-Daraqūṇī and others, received lessons from him on the same subject. He was born A.H. 258 (A.C. 871-2), and died at Bagḥdād on Monday, the 20 of Ṣafar,—some say the 23,—A.H. 347 (May, A.C. 958).<sup>\*</sup> His father was an eminent Traditionist. According to al-Sam‘anī, the word درستویه is pronounced *Durustūyah*, but Ibn Maklā says in his *Kitāb al-A‘māl* that *Darastawayh* is the true pronunciation. As for the denominations *Fārisi* and *Fasawi*, we have already explained them in the life of al-Basāsīrī (No. 78).—Ibn Durustūyah’s works are the height of excellence and exactness; they consist in a commentary on al-Jarmī’s work (*the Farḥ*)<sup>1</sup> the *Irshād* (*direction*), a treatise on grammar; a treatise on the alphabet; a commentary on the philological work entitled *al-Faṣiḥ*<sup>2</sup> an answer to al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍubbi’s refutation of al-*Khālil* (*Ibn Aḥmad*); the *Hidāyah* (*direction*);<sup>3</sup> a treatise on the words which end in a long or a short *alif*; an explanation of the rare expressions occurring in the Traditions; a treatise on the ideas and allusions usually met with in poetry; the *Kitāb al-Ḥayyī wa’l-Mayyit*<sup>4</sup>, the *Kitāb al-Tawassuṭ*, or *arbiter* between al-Akhfaṣh and Tha‘lab relative to their explanations of the *Qur’ān*; the History of Quss Ibn Sa‘idah<sup>5</sup>; a treatise on those nouns which have

<sup>1</sup> See No. 280.

<sup>2</sup> The *Faṣiḥ* or *correct speaker* is, as its title implies, a philological work. It is not exactly known who was the author of it; some attribute it to Ibn al-Sikkī, and others to Abu ‘l-‘Abbās Tha‘lab. It has been elucidated by a great number of commentators.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥājji Khālīfah does not specify the subject of this work.

<sup>4</sup> The *Ḥayyī wa’l-Mayyit* (*living and dead*) is mentioned by Ḥājji Khālīfah but without any remark.

<sup>5</sup> Quss Ibn Sa‘idah Ibn ‘Amr al-‘Ibādī (*the Nestorian Christian*) was bishop of Najrān in Yaman and celebrated for his eloquence. Muḥammad met him at ‘Ukāz and heard him preach, some time previously to the promulgation of Islamism. Al-Mas‘ūdī speaks of him in the *Murūj*, see Dr. Sprenger’s translation of that work, vol. I, page. 137.

<sup>\*</sup>14 or 17 May but Monday fell on the latter date, and the date should be rendered as 21 or 24 Ṣafar.—Ed.

each opposite significations; the History of the Grammarians; and a refutation of al-Farra's doctrines in rhetoric. He commenced also a number of other works, but did not finish them.

### 308. AL-KA'BI

Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Maḥmūd al-Ka'bi al-Balkhī, a man celebrated for his learning, was the author of that sect of the Mutazilites, the members of which are called *Ka'bites*. He taught some doctrines peculiar to himself; for instance, that Almighty God has not the faculty of intention, and that all his acts happen without his having any intention or will to produce them. He was one of the great masters in scholastic theology, and held some eclectic opinions in this science. His death took place on the first of Shā'ban, A.H. 317 (September, A.C. 929).\*—*Ka'bi* means *belonging to the tribe of Ka'b*.—*Balkhī* signifies *belonging to Balkh*, one of the great cities of *Khurasān*.

### 309. AL-QAFFAL AL-MARWAZI

Abū Bakr 'Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qaffal al-Marwazī (*native of Marw*), a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i was the paragon of his time for legal knowledge, traditional learning, piety, and self-mortification. The results of his application to the development of the imam al-Shāfi'i's system of doctrine far surpassed those of his contemporaries: all his deductions are sound and his arguments decisive. Great numbers studied with profit under his tuition, and among the number were Abū 'Alī al-Sinji, the qāḍī Ḥusayn (whose life has been already given)<sup>1</sup> and Abū Muḥammad al-Juwayni, the father of the Imam al-Ḥaramayn. All those persons became imams of great note; they composed most

<sup>1</sup> For al-Sinji's life, see No. 176. In No. 175 of the same volume will be found the life of Ḥusayn.

\* 9 September.—Ed.

nstructive works, propagated al-Shāfi'i's doctrines in different countries of the Muslim empire and taught them to others, who, in their turn, became eminent as imams. Al-Qaffal was already advanced in years when he began to study the law; he had spent his youth in making locks (*aqfāl*), an art in which he attained great skill, and it was for this reason that he was surnamed *al-Qaffāl the (locksmith)*. It is said by some that he was thirty years of age when he commenced learning jurisprudence. He composed a commentary on Ibn al-Ḥaddād al-Miṣrī's<sup>1</sup> treatise on the secondary principles of the law, a work which has been commented also by Abū 'Alī al-Sinjī and by Abū Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī; it is a small volume and difficult to be understood; some of the questions treated in it are so obscure<sup>2</sup> and so strange, that none but jurisconsults of superior talent can resolve them and understand their purport: we shall speak of the author of this book when giving the lives of those whose name is Muḥammad. Al-Qaffal died in the year 417 (A.C. 1026-7), at the age of ninety, and was buried in Sijistan, where his tomb is still well known and continues to be visited as a place of sanctity.

### 310. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-JUWAYNĪ

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥayyūyah al-Juwaynī, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and the father of the Imam al-Ḥaramayn (whose life shall be given later), was a great master in the interpretation of the Qur'an, and in law, dogmatic theology, grammar, and general literature. He cultivated this last science at Juwayn under his father Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf and then proceeded to Naysapur, where he studied jurisprudence under Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Sahl al-Ṣu'ūkī (see No. 270). From thence he went to Marw and put himself under the tuition of al-Qaffal al-Marwazī, him whose life had just been given. He followed with great assiduity the lessons of that doctor and derived from them much profit and information; he acquired also under his tuition a solid knowledge

<sup>1</sup> His life will be found in this work.

<sup>2</sup> In the printed Arabic text read عويصة . . .

of the Shāfite doctrines, great skill in controversy, and a perfect acquaintance with the peculiar system followed by him in developing the principles of the law. Having finished his studies under al-Qaṣṣāl, he returned to Naysapur in the year 407 (A.C. 1016-7), and obtained the place of professor and *mufti*. A great number of persons, and amongst them his own son the Imam al-Ḥaramayn, pursued their studies under him. The deepest respect was always shown to him, and no conversation but the most serious was ever held in his presence. He composed a great commentary on the Qur'an, containing much varied information, and also a number of works on jurisprudence, such as the *Tabṣīrah* (elucidator), the *Tadhkirah* (remembrancer), the *Mukhtaṣar al-Mukhtaṣar* (abridgment of the abridgment),<sup>1</sup> the *Farq*,<sup>2</sup> the *Jam'u* the *Silsilah* (chain)<sup>3</sup>, the *Mawqif al-Imām wa 'l-Māmūn* (station of the imām and those over whom he presides), etc. He drew also a number of *Ta'liqahs*,<sup>4</sup> and had besides learned a great quantity of the Traditions. His death took place in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 438 (April-May, A.C. 1047), according to al-Sam'anī in his *Dhayl*; but in his *Ansāb* he says that it happened in the year 434 (A.C. 1042-3) at Naysapur; God best knoweth the truth! The same author mentions that he died at an advanced age, and he gives the following anecdote as it was related by the *Shayḥ* Abū Ṣaliḥ, the *muwaḥḥidhīn*: "The *shayḥ* Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī's illness lasted seventeen days, and he expressed a desire that the washing of his body should be done by me, and that I should preside at his interment. When he died, I washed him and on shrouding him I perceived that his right arm, from the shoulder downwards, was luminous although it bore no traces of injury; it shone with a lustre like that of the moon, at which I was filled with admiration, and I said to myself: 'This is a blessing which his *fatwās* (legal decisions) have drawn down upon him'.—*Juwaynī* means *belonging to Juwayn*, a large territory near Naysapur, crowded with villages.

1 This is an abridgment of al-Muzanī's compendium of the Shāfite doctrines.—(*Tābaqāt al-Shāfi'in*.)

2 This seems to be a mistake of Ibn Khalikān; the author of the *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'in* calls it the *Furūq*, and Hajjī Khalīfah mentions it under this title in his bibliographical dictionary.

3 These works all treat of Shāfite jurisprudence.

4 See No. 311, Note on *Ta'liqah*.

## 311. ABŪ ZAYD AL-DABŪSĪ

Abn Zayd 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Īsā al-Dabūsī, one of the most eminent jurisconsults of the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah, and a doctor of proverbial reputation for his learning, was the first who invented the art of (*Muslim*) dialectics and brought that science into existence. A number of *ta'liqahs*<sup>1</sup> were composed by him; he wrote also other works, such as the *Asrār* (*mysteries*)<sup>2</sup> and the *Taqwīm li'l-Adillah* (*system of demonstrations*).<sup>3</sup> It is related that he once had a discussion with another doctor, who only smiled or laughed when pressed by his arguments, on which he pronounced these verses:

"Why does he answer me by a laugh or a grin when I bring forward a decisive proof? If grinning be the result of legal knowledge, how excellent a jurisconsult is the bear of the desert!"

He died in the city of Bukhara, A.H. 430 (A.C. 1038-9).—*Dabūsī* is derived from *Dabūsiyah*, the name of a town \* between Bukhara and Samarqand, which has produced a number of learned men.

## 312. AL-MURTAḌĀ IBN AL-SHAHRUZŪRĪ.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Qasim Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qasim al-Shahrūzūrī, surnamed al-Murtaḍā (*him in whom God is pleased*), and father of the qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn, was celebrated for his great merit and his piety. (We shall give the life of his father and that of his son.) This fine preacher, who was equally remarkable for the elegance of his figure and the harmony of his style, was qāḍī of Moṣul and taught the Traditions in that city; he had passed some time at Baḡhdād in the study of the latter branch of

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ta'liqahs* were of two kinds; the first consisted of notes taken by the student during the lessons of his professor; and the second, of notes composed to clear up obscure passages in an author and supply his omissions; a sort of commentary, in fact. Al-Dabūsī's were of the latter kind.

<sup>2</sup> This is a treatise on the dogmas and the secondary points of the law.

<sup>3</sup> This work treats of dogmatic theology.

\* According to the autograph it should be rendered as a '*small town*' or rather a '*village*'.—Ed.

learning and the pursuit of legal knowledge. He composed some beautiful poetry, and amongst other pieces a *qaṣidah* of great merit, written in the mystical style peculiar to the Ṣūfis. We shall give it here :<sup>1</sup>

"The light of their fire glimmered (*from afar*), and already the night had darkened (*around us*); the weary camel-driver could no longer continue his song, and our guide stood perplexed and bewildered. I looked at that fire, but the glance of my eye was feeble; my mind also had been weakend by my separation (*from the beloved*); my heart was that afflicted heart (*which you have known so long*); and my passion, that inmost passion (*which has so long been my torment*). I then turned towards the flame and said to my companions: 'That is Laylā's fire; rein over to it.' They directed towards it firm glances from their eyes; glances which were repelled and turned aside. Then (*my companions*) began to reproach (*me*); "Was it not a flash of lightning which you saw, or else a phantom of your imagination?" On this I abandoned them and bent thither my way; desire was the camel which conveyed me, and passion the rider who sat behind me. With me was a companion (*love*) who followed my traces; for it is the nature of love to be importunate. The fire blazed up and we approached nearer, till some time-worn ruins intervened. We went

---

1 All the *ideas* of the *qaṣidah* are borrowed from pastoral life: in the following piece they have a mystic import besides, as shall be here indicated. *The light of their fire*: the presence of the Divinity manifested to the saints. *The night*: moral darkness. *The camel driver*: the preacher. *The guide*: the divine. *The beloved*: God. *Laylā*: the name of the beloved, God. *Desire*: the love of God. *Passion*: The anxious wish to enjoy the divine Presence. *The time-worn ruins*: the world, the seat of desolation in the eyes of the devout, inasmuch as the presence of the Divinity is not always felt in it. *The wounded, the captive, and the victim*: the vanquished by the love of God. *From us a guest never departeth more*: till his soul is released by death. *The people*: the devout, the Ṣūfī brethren. *Wine*: the delight caused by the perception of God's presence. *Stations*: degrees of exaltation attained by the soul through means of spiritual exercises and contemplation. *People of desire*: another name for the lovers of the Divinity. *The warmth of the fire*: the beneficial influence of God's presence. *The morning*: the entrance of the novice into the Ṣūfī life after abandoning the world, which is the seat of darkness. *The gardens*: paradise. *The banner of fulfilment*: the sign that the novice has become an adept and fulfilled all the necessary duties of spiritual life. *The chiefs*, literally, *the people of the truths*: so called because they have obtained a clear insight into the spiritual world, which is the abode of truth as this earth is the abode of illusion. *To charge*: literally, to canter round and round the field of battle and challenge the enemy; it then signifies, to turn round as the dervishes do. *The enemy*: the world and its passions. *The abyss*: the Divine nature. *Thrown back among the ruins*: recovering from an ecstasy of Divine love and finding oneself in the world. *One whom you well know*: the prophet Moses. *The brand*: see *Qur'*: n sūrat 27, verse 7; *Exod.* III.

on to them till our progress was stopped by sighs and sadness. 'Who dwell in these abodes?' I exclaimed, and voices answered: 'A wounded man, a captive in bondage, and a victim slain! what seekest thou here?'—'I am a guest,' was my reply: 'I seek hospitality, where is the stranger's meal of welcome?'—They pointed towards the court of the dwelling: 'Stop there,' said they, 'and kill thy camel for thy food; from us a guest never departeth more! He who comes to us must throw away his staff of travel.'—'But how,' said I, 'can I reach that fire? Where is the way?' We then halted at the habitation of some people whom *the* wine had prostrated even before they had tasted of it. Passion had effaced all traces of their former existence, and had itself become the mere traces of a ruin, in this ruin they had fixed their abode. Among them was one abstracted, in whom neither complaints nor tears found any longer place; his sighs alone denoted his existence, and even of these (*his will*) was guiltless; from these his consciousness was far apart. Among them also was one who made signs that we should observe his passion which, less intense (*than that of the others*), had allowed his consciousness to exist. I saw that each of them had reached *stations* the description of which would require a long epistle. 'People of desire,' said I, 'peace be upon you; I have a heart so preoccupied with you that it perceived you not! my eyes were required to furnish torrents of tears, so great was my wish to meet you. The impulse of desire hurried me towards you through the vicissitudes of events. I should be in fault were I to ask you pardon (*for my boldness*); may I then hope for a kind reception from him who knows what motive I have for not asking pardon? I have come to warm me at the fire; can I find a road to your fire, now that the morning draweth near?' To this they replied not, but their external state gave me answer sufficient, as every veil between my intelligence and it was now rent asunder; here was the reply: 'Let not the beautiful gardens deceive thee; between thee and them are hills and pitfalls. How many have tried to reach that fire by surprise! they strived to attain the object (*of their wishes*), but to approach it was difficult. They stopped to contemplate; but when they had every sign of succeeding, the banner of *fulfilment* appeared, borne in the hand of passion, and the chiefs gave the command to charge. 'Where,' exclaimed they, 'where are they who pretend to resist us in combat? This is the day wherein all



false pretensions shall fade away!' They charged like heroes; and on the day when foes meet in arms, it is the heroes alone who fall. They lavished every effort, whilst the object of their desire avoided their approach and slighted all their endeavours. They plunged into the abyss and disappeared in its waves; the currents then cast them back among the ruins which they now stained with their blood<sup>1</sup> shed, alas! in vain. Such is our fire; it shineth for him who travelleth at night, but it cannot be reached. The share of it which falls to the sight is the utmost which can be obtained; but those able to conceive this are few in number. One whom you well know went towards it, hoping to take from it a brand; he approached with outstretched arms, with wishes and supplications, but it rose far beyond his reach; it was too exalted to abide his proximity, and yet he was a prophet. We therefore rest amazed as thou hast seen; all our efforts to reach it being vain; we pass away the time in *the delusions of* hope, but judge what is the state of that heart whose ailment consists in being tantalised! Each time it tastes the bitter cup of misfortune, another cup is brought to it, sweetened with hope. Each time fancy sets a project before us, we are turned away from it and told that patient resignation befits us best. Such is our state; such is all that our knowledge can attain; but every state must undergo a change."

I give this *qaṣīdah* on account of its rarity and because it is in high request. It is related by a (*Ṣūfī*) *Shaykh* that he had a dream in which he heard a voice say: "Nothing was ever uttered on Sūfism so good as the Mawṣiliyan *qaṣīdah* (*the Mosul qaṣīdah*);" and this is the one which was meant.—The following distich\* was given by Majd al-'Arab (*Glory of the Arabs*)<sup>2</sup> al-'Amirī as having been composed by al-Murtaḍā:

<sup>1</sup> In the Arabic text, for دم read دمه.

<sup>2</sup> The autograph alone has مجد الدين, not مجد العرب, as the other MSS; the first is certainly the right reading. Imād al-Dīn has a notice on this person in the *Khariḍah* the sum of which is: The Amir Majd al-'Arab Muzaffar al-Dawlat Abū Farās 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib al-'Amirī was the wonder of the age for his poetic talent, and his verses were proverbially said to be as fine as those of his namesake Abū Farās (see Ibn Khallikān's Biograph. Dict. No. 146). He was born in the province of 'Iraq and went to Ispahān, A.H. 537 (A.C. 1142-3), where he pronounced his eulogistic *qaṣīdahs* and acquired great reputation. The *kātib* saw him for the last time at Mosul, A.H. 570—(*Khariḍah* MS. No. 1447. fol 27, where some long extracts from his poetry are given.)

\* Du bayt دو بیت is quatrain not distich.—Ed

"O my heart! how long will good advice prove useless? Quit thy sportive humour; how often has thy gaiety brought thee into danger! There is no part of thee without a wound<sup>1</sup>; but thou wilt not feel the bad effects of inebriation till thy reason returneth."

The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn gives the following verses as al-Murtaḍā's in the *Kharidah*:

"I sought my heart, that I might ask of patience the force to sustain, for a moment, the rigours of my beloved; but I neither found my heart nor patience. The sunshine of our fond intercourse was gone; darkness had overshadowed the paths of love, and I stopped amazed and confounded; but a single instant had scarce elapsed when I saw her again a sovereign mistress, and my heart her captive."

These verses also are by the same person:

"Those whom I love departed, and how copious were the tears of blood which they then let lose (*from our eyes*); and how many hearts did they bring back into bondage! Blame me not if grief for their absence make me reject the control of reason; what I have just said will suffice for my excuse."

\* "For them my heart is in affliction; for them I shed tears of blood; for them I am consumed with flames; for them my heart is broken. At their door we are a crowd of suitors; our hearts melting away with apprehension; they have left us scarcely a breath of life; O that they saw our state. Kindness or aversion, sleep or waking, despair or hope, patience or restlessness, these exist for us no longer. O that they had remained even after they had broken the ties of friendship and treated me with cruelty! Were the love I bear them to deprive me of existence, the perfume of that love would yet remain! I am like the taper, useful to those around it, but consuming itself away."

I never went to meet thee, Laylā! without feeling as if the earth were folded up from under me (*so rapid was my pace*;) but when my resolution turned me from thy door, I stumbled over the skirts of my garment."

Most of his poetry is in the same style. He was born in the month of *Shā'ban*, A.H. 465 (April-May, A.C. 1073); he died at Mosul in the month of the first *Rab'ī*, A.H. 511 (July, A.C. 1117), and was interred in the sepulchral chapel of the *Shahruzarī* family. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn says in his *Kharidah*, where he gives a notice on al-Murtaḍā: "Al-Sam'anī mentions having heard that the *qādī* Abū Muḥammad, "— meaning al-Murtaḍā,—"died some time later than the year 520."

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has *منك عداها*; but the sense certainly requires *منك عداها*.

\* "From the same" is omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

## 313. SHARAF AL-DĪN IBN ABĪ 'UṢRŪN

Abū Sa'd 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī 'l-Sarī Mu'ammad Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Muṭahhar Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī 'Uṣrūn Ibn Abī 'l-Sarī al-Tamīmī, surnamed first al-Ḥad̥thī and then *al-Mawḥilī* (*native of Mosul*), entitled also *Sharaf al-Dīn* (*nobleness of religion*), was a doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, and one of the first men of the age by his talents and his learning as a jurisconsult. His reputation spread to distant countries and his influence was most extensive. In his youth he studied the ten *readings*<sup>1</sup> of the Qur'an under Abū 'l-G̥ṭanā'im al-Sulamī al-Sarjī, al-Bāṣī' Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dabbas (*see No. 190*) Abū Bakr al-Mazrafi<sup>2</sup> and other masters. He commenced learning jurisprudence under the qāḍī al-Murtaḍā Ibn al-Shahrūzārī (No. 312), and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, \* Ibn Khamīs al-Mawṣilī (*see No. 180*); he had afterwards, when in Baḥdād, As'ad al-Mihanī (No. 86) for preceptor in that science. He studied dogmatic theology under Ibn Barḥan al-Uṣṭālī (No. 38), and learned there also dialectics. From Baḥdād he proceeded to Wasīṭ and read the Qur'an under the tuition of Abū 'Alī 'l-Farīqī (No. 38), the qāḍī of that city, by whom he was instructed also in the *Fawā'id al-Muḥadḍ-ḥab*. In the year 523 (A.C. 1129) he himself gave public lessons at Moṣul, after which he resided for some time at Sinjār whence he proceeded to Aleppo, A.H. 545: from that he removed to Damascus, when Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zinkī got possession of that city in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 549 (April-May, A.C. 1154). He then opened a class in the western corner of the great mosque, and was appointed administrator of the endowments (*waqf*) possessed by the mosques. He then returned to Aleppo, where he settled. A great number of works were composed by him to elucidate the doctrines of the sect

<sup>1</sup> There are seven authorised *readings* of the Qur'an, named after seven great doctors who first taught them and whose lives are given by Ibn Khalikān; three more *readings* were afterwards admitted, and Yā'qub Ibn Ishāq al-Ḥadramī, the author of one of them, is considered as the eighth *reader*. I have not yet been able to discover the names of the two others.

<sup>2</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mazrafi, a teacher of the Qur'ānic *readings* and a calculator of the division of inheritances (*al-Farāḥ*), inhabited Mazrafiyah, a village lying between Baḥdād and 'Ukbarah. He was born at Baḥdād, A.H. 439 (A.C. 1047-8), and died praying, A.H. 527 (A.C. 1132). —(*Tub al-Qurr*, fol. 145).

\* The editor of *Cairo* edition gives 'al-Ḥasan.'—Ed.

to which he belonged; of these may be mentioned the *Ṣafwat al-Madhhab* (quintessence of the *Shafite* doctrines), extracted from the (*Imām al-Ḥaramayn's*) *Nihāyat al-Maṭlab*, in seven volumes; the *kitāb al-Intiṣār* (vindication of the *Shafites*) in four volumes; the *Kitāb al-Murshid* (the guide, a work on the secondary points of law), in two volumes; and the *Kitāb al-Dī'arī'ah fī Ma'rafat al-Sharī'ah* (means of acquiring a knowledge of the law). He composed also the *Tafsir* (explanation), a work forming four volumes treating of the points in which his sect differs from the others; the *Mā'adḥ al-Nazar* (point of view); a short treatise on the dividing of inherited property; and a work entitled *al-Irshād al-Mughrib fī-Nuṣrati 'l-Madhhab* (plain directions for the defence of the *Shafite* sect); this last however he did not complete, as it was stolen from him with other property at Aleppo. The number of students who followed his lessons and profited by his tuition was very great. His merit having at length rendered him conspicuous, he obtained the esteem and favour of Nūr al-Dīn lord of Syria, who erected colleges in Aleppo, Emessa, Ḥamāt, Ba'labek, and other cities, for the express purpose of having him to teach in these places. (At different periods) he filled the post of qādī at Sinjar, Niṣibīn, Ḥarran, and elsewhere in Diyār Bakr; he then returned to Damascus, A.H. 570 (A.C. 1174-5), and three years afterwards, he was appointed to fill the same functions in that city when the qādī Dīya al-Dīn al-Shahrūzūrī gave in his resignation; an act of which I shall state the motive in the life of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahrūzūrī. Ten years before his death he lost his sight, but continued to hold his office, the duties of which were discharged by his son and deputy Muḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad. At that time, he composed a short treatise to prove that the place of qādī could be lawfully held by a blind man; a point in opposition with the doctrine of al-Shāfi'ī on the subject: I have read, it is true, in the *Kitāb al-Zawā'id*, a work composed by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-'Imrānī<sup>1</sup> the author of the *Kitāb al-Bayān*, that, in one point of view, it is lawful; this is, however,

<sup>1</sup> Sa'd Ibn Yabyā Ibn Abi 'l-Khayr al-'Imrānī, a native of Yaman and the author of the *Bayān*, or *elucidation* of the secondary points of the law, was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, and held a high reputation for his knowledge of the law, dogmatic and scholastic theology, and the science of grammar. None possessed a better acquaintance than he with the work of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, and he was surpassed by none in piety and devotion. Students came

(Continued on page 54.)

quite an extraordinary opinion, and I never found it advanced in any other work but his. (*Speaking of this subject I must mention that*) a letter fell into my hands, addressed to al-Qaḍī al-Faḍīl at Cairo from the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at Damascus; it was wholly in that prince's handwriting and, among other passages, it contained one relative to Ṣharaf al-Dīn's blindness and his opinion that the post of qaḍī could be lawfully filled by a blind man, although all the other jurisconsults declared the contrary—"you will therefore," says the writer, "have an interview with the *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Awf al-Iskandarānī, and ask him what are the traditions on this subject, and if they authorise it or not." But after all, there can be no doubt of his eminent merit. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir mentions him in the History of Damascus, and the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn makes his eulogium in the *Kharidah* and pronounces him the last of the *muftis*: he gives also some verses composed by him. The two which follow were recited to me by one of our *shaykhs*, with the remark that he had heard Ibn Abī 'Uṣṣūn repeat them very often, but that he did not know if they were his own or not; they are given, however, as that doctor's by the *kātib* in the *Kharidah*:

"I hope for a lengthened life; and yet every hour the dead pass by me, as their biers are borne rapidly along. Am I not as they, except that I must pass a few more sad nights to complete the time of my existence?"

The following lines are also quoted as his in the same work:

"I always hope to meet my beloved, and yet I know full well that I must quit her shortly after. Mounted on the steeds of Mortality, we rush, as if with emulation, towards the goal of death. O that we both might expire together! neither of us then would taste the bitter loss of the other."

(Continued from page 52)

from all countries to study under him; but it is said that he sometimes combined with the Shafite doctrines certain principles borrowed from the school of 'Irāq, the great imām of which was Abū Ḥanīfah. He was born A.H. 489 (A.C. 1096), and died A.H. 558 (A.C. 1162-3). The following works were composed by him: the *Bay'ān*, in ten volumes; the *Zawā'id*, or *additions* to Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's *Muḥadḍḥab*, in two volumes; the *Kitāb al-Sawāl*, questions on the obscure points of the *Muḥadḍḥab*, an abridged collection of *fatwas*, an abridgement of al-Ghazzālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, the *Intiṣār*, or *aid*, a refutation of the Qadarites. He composed the *Bay'ān* in somewhat less than four years and the *Zawā'id* in about five.—(*Tab. al-Shāf.*)—In the autograph MS. of Ibn Khallikān, the surname is given as Abu 'l-Ḥusayn; in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfī'īn*, as Abu 'l-Khayr; and in *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, as Abu 'l-Ḥasan, which is also that found in the other manuscripts of Ibn Khallikān's work.

"O thou who askest me how I have been since thy departure? God preserve thee from what my heart has felt since our separation. Tears of grief swore never to cease flowing from my eyes, and sleep swore never to visit them till I met thee again."

"The time which has passed is gone for ever, and that which is to come exists not. Thy life is only the present moment; the days of man form two sums, one increasing, the other diminishing."\*

Ibn Abī 'Uṣṣun was born at Moṣul on Monday, the 22 of the first Rabi', A.H. 492 (February, A.C. 1099)†; he died at Damascus on the eve of Tuesday, the 11 of Ramaḍan, A.H. 585 (October, A.C. 1189). He was buried in the *madrasah* which bears his name and which he himself had founded within that city: I have often visited his tomb.

§ [On his death (*one of his female relatives*) received a letter of condolence from al-Qaḍī al-Faḍīl, in reply to one wherein she announced to him this event: his participation in her grief was expressed in the following terms: "I have received the letter of the honourable lady for whose welfare may God provide! May He preserve her for the happiness of her family; may He smoothen for her the path leading to spiritual welfare, and make her words and action proceed from the wish to gain His favour." It contained also this passage: "I shall only add—and what I mention is diminution in the strength of Islamism, and a breach in the frame of human society, so great as nearly to cause its ruin!—I mean that which God decreed concerning the death of the imam *Sharaf al-Dīn* Ibn Abī 'Uṣṣun, may the divine mercy be upon him!—the loss sustained in him by the world at large; the affliction of the pious—and the joy of the foes to religion. For he was a land-mark set upon the tracts of science, and he counted among the last remnants of a holy race now passed away. And God knoweth my grief for his death, my desolation in the world now deprived of the blessing of his presence, and my sadness in losing the abundant merits of his charitable prayers".]

---

\* These are three different pieces which do not form part of a single poem—Ed.

† 14 February.—Ed.

‡ 24 October.—Ed.

§ This whole paragraph is not included in the autograph.—Ed.

*Ḥadīthi* means belonging to the *Ḥadīthah of Mosul*, a village on the east bank of the Tigris near (*the mouth of*) the Upper Zab. It must not be confounded with another place of the same name, the *Ḥadīthah of al-Nūrah*, which is a fortress on an island in the Euphrates, at some parasangs' distance from al-Anbār. The former lies at the most eastern extremity of the territory called the *Sawād*, and is the one meant by the juriconsults when they say, in their books: "The land of Sawād extends in longitude from the *Ḥadīthah of Mosul* to 'Abbadān, and latitude from al-Qādisiyah to Hulwān."

### 314. IBN AS'AD AL-MAWṢILĪ

Abu 'l-Faraj 'Abd Allāh Ibn As'ad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'ṣā, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Dahhān al-Mawṣilī (*son of the Mosul oil-merchant*), entitled also al-Ḥimṣī (*native of Emessa*) and surnamed al-Muḥadhdhab,<sup>1</sup> was a juriconsult of great abilities, a learned scholar and a fine poet. His verses are remarkable for the elegance of their turn and the beauty of their thoughts. Poetry became his ruling passion, and it was to it that he owed his reputation. His poetical works are all of great merit and form a small volume. Moṣul was his native place, but poverty forced him to take the resolution of going to Egypt, that he might pay his court to al-Ṣalīḥ Ibn Ruzzīk, the lord of that country (*see his life*, No. 290)\*. Obligated by the insufficiency of his means, to leave his wife behind him, he addressed the following lines to the *sharīf* Ḍiyyā al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Zayd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, the *naqīb* or chief of the *sharīfs* at Moṣul:

"An afflicted female, bathed in tears for my departure, helped to detain me by declaring my project the result of folly. Her entreaties were urgent, and when she saw me deaf to her prayers, the tears which fell from her eyes wounded me to the heart. She perceived the camels already loaded,—and the moment of separation had united

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Muḥadhdhab* is probably the equivalent of *Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn*.

\* He was only a minister.—Ed.

the lamenters and those for whom they were lamenting,—when she said: “Who will save me from starvation in thy absence?”—“God”, I replied, “and thy patron Ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh. Fear not for want of sustenance; there is one where beneficence is ample, like the showers of the Pleiades; him I have asked to shed abundance upon thy place of dwelling.”

When the *sharif* read these verses, he immediately undertook to provide for the poet's wife, and he furnished her with every thing she required as long as her husband was absent. As for Ibn As'ad, he went to Egypt and recited to al-Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ruzzik the poem composed in his praise, and rhyming in K, of which some verses have been already given (No. 290). He afterwards underwent various vicissitudes of fortune and became at length a professor at Ḥimṣ (*Emessa*), where he fixed his residence. It was for this reason that he received the surname of *al-Ḥimṣī*. The *kātib* 'Imad al-Dīn speaks of him in the *Kharidah*: “When I was in ‘Iraq,” says he, “my constant desire was to meet him, for I had read his admired *qaṣīdahs* and was struck with the beauty of his ideas; his poem rhyming in K had already circulated throughout all the literary world, and was itself a written proof that none of his contemporaries had attained to such a degree of excellence as he.” After this eulogium he continues: “A slight lisp only served to display the perfection of his style, and the very impediment in his speech only showed off better his command of language.” Farther on he says: “When the sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn arrived at Emessa and encamped outside the city, this Abu 'l-Faraj came out to us, and I presented him to the sultan, saying “This is the man who said in his poem on Ibn Ruzzik:

‘What! shall I praise the Turks in hopes of their bounty? Why! the Turks have always left poetry in neglect!’

On this the sultan made him a present, and observed at the same time that he did so in order to prevent him at least from saying that he was neglected.” The poet then celebrated the praises of the sultan in a *qaṣīdah* of which each verse ends in the letter ‘*ayn*’; it is this poem that we find the following passage:

“I shall say to her<sup>1</sup> whom religious scruples prevented from replying to my salutation: ‘Why then didst thou shed my heart’s

<sup>1</sup> Literally: Say to her, that is, bear this message from me to her.



blood without feeling compunction? Thy promise was to meet me in the coming year; but think not that I shall survive till thy return. Miracle of beauty! thou in whose face alone the Creator employed his utmost care! it could not have harmed thee hadst thou given me, on the day of our separation, a sign of recognition with thy eye or with thy hand. Be assured, however, that I love thee with devotion; so do with me as thou pleasest'."

The *kātib* mentions also that Ibn As'ad recited to him the following lines, and stated that the thought which they contained was perfectly original and had never before been expressed:

"His letters are the destruction of squadrons; and when they go forth, I know not which is most effectual,—their lines or an army. The sand adhering to the writing had not been appropriate, did earth not adhere to the soldier's legs when marching."

These two verses belong to a *qaṣīdah* and the author has displayed in them great originality. But a certain poet has said, in comparing the pen to an army<sup>1</sup>:

"A family who, when they seize their pens in anger and dip them in the ink of fate, inflict with them on their enemies greater harm than with their swords."

I may observe that the idea expressed in Ibn As'ad's first verse resembles that which is contained in the following lines, composed by Abu Tammam, in praise of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyat, al-Mu'tasim's Wazir:

"Prince of the faithful! you have roused Muḥammad, and in your hand he is a lance and a sword. You no sooner direct his thought towards a rebel, than you have directed an army against that foe."

I afterwards discovered an idea similar to that contained in Ibn As'ad's second verse; it is to be found in a *qaṣīdah* composed by al-Tugh̃rā'i (whose life has been given, No. 191), in honour of Niẓām al-Mulk:

"When the day is changed to night by the cloud of dust which shrouds the battle-field, those heroes never cease to wield their

---

<sup>1</sup> The observations which follow are evidently later additions. They are written in the margin of the autograph MS and it may be perceived from a close inspection that they were inserted successively and at three different periods. It may even be remarked that many of the author's later additions, such as these, are of very slight importance.

blood-stained weapons of Indian steel. Lines are traced on their armour by the strokes of the sword; those lines are pointed by the thrust of lances; thus is formed a page of writing for which the dust of the combat serves as sand."

The following verses by Ibn As'ad are currently cited:

"All day she avoids me as she would an enemy; but from evening to morning she bears me company. When she passes by me, she fears discovery and her words are reproaches; but her wanton glance is a salutation."

By the same, on a *girl* whose lip was stung by a bee :

"How dear to me is that maiden stung by the bee. It gave pain to the noblest and most precious of beings. Its sting left a mark on that lip which God had only created to be kissed. It took her mouth for its hive, on finding that the moisture of her lips was like honey."

The apprehension of lengthening this notice too much prevents me from giving more curious passages from his poems. He died at Emessa in the month of Sha'ban, A.H. 581 (November A.C. 1185), but some say, A.H. 582: the latter date is that given in the work entitled *al-Sayl wa'l Dhayl*<sup>1</sup>. But the former is the true one. He was then nearly sixty years of age.—The *sharif* Ibn 'Ubyd Allāh, of whom we have spoken above, died at Mosul in the year 563 (A.C. 1167-8). He was a generous *ra'is*<sup>2</sup>, always ready to do good and possessed of every virtue. He is the author of some poetry, of which we may cite the following lines:

"*My enemies said (to my beloved): 'He is resigned to his loss.' They spoke the truth; I am resigned to the loss of all consolation; not to the loss of her affection. They said: 'Why has he ceased to visit her?' I answered: 'Through fear of censorious spies.' They said: 'How can he live in such a state?' I replied: 'That is really the wonder'.*"

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake, but it is found in all the manuscripts, the autograph included. Ibn Khallikān should have written *al-Sayl 'ala 'l-Dhayl*, which work is a continuation, by the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn, of al-Sam'ānī's supplement to the History of Baḥr al-Dād. See Fluegel's *Hājjl Khaltfah* No. 2179.

<sup>2</sup> The author gives Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh the title of *ra'is*, or *chief*, because he was *naqīb* of the *sharḥ* *fs*.

The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh in the *Khartdah* and, after praising him highly, he says: "When at Baghḍād I heard a piece of verse sung there which some Syrians attributed to the *sharif* Ḍiyā al-Dīn; in it was the following passage:

"O willow of the valley! thou whose glances have shed my heart's blood!—or shall I not rather call thee the slender reed of the plain?—It is mine to disclose to thee what I suffer from the pains of love, and it is thine not to hearken to me. By what means shall I obtain the object of my wishes My hands are unable to grasp it, and I feel like one deprived of them!'"

### 315. IBN SH S

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Najm Ibn Shās Ibn Nizār Ibn 'Ashā'ir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Shās al-Judhāmī al-Sa'dī, surnamed al-Jalāl<sup>2</sup>, was an able jurisconsult of the sect of Mālik, in the principles of which he was profoundly versed: I met a great number of his former pupils at Cairo, and they all spoke of his merit in the highest terms. He composed on the system of doctrine founded by the imām Mālik a valuable work, displaying great originality and entitled *al-Jawāhir al-Thāminah fi Madhḥih 'Ālimi 'l-Madīnah* (*precious gems, being a treatise on the doctrines taught by the learned man of Madīnah*): it is drawn up on the plan of Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī's *Wajiz*, and furnishes many proofs of the vast abilities possessed by its author; the Malikites of Cairo study it with great assiduity on account of its excellence and the rich store of information which they find in it. Ibn Shās was a professor in the college near the Great Mosque of Cairo, but when the fortress of Dimyāṭ (*Damietta*) was taken by the misguided enemy (*the crusaders*), he proceeded thither with the design of fighting in the cause of God, and he died there in the month of the latter Jumādā.

<sup>1</sup> This verse is rather enigmatical, but as the poet has just hinted that his mistress resembled a willow or a reed by the thinness of her waist: he most probably means here that her waist was too thin to be clasped; in short, an evanescent quantity.

<sup>2</sup> The autograph has الجلال —Ed.

• The Cairo edition has الغلال —Ed.

or in that of Rajab, A.H. 616 (Aug.-Sept. A.C. 1219). We have already explained the meaning of the words *Judhāmī* and *Sa'dī* (See No. 65).

### 316. 'ABD ALLĦ IBN AL-MU'TAZZ

Abu 'l-'Abbas 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz Ibn al-Mutawakkil Ibn al-Mu'tasim Ibn Ḥarūn al-Raṣhīd Ibn al-Mahdī Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbas Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Ḥaṣhimī (*a descendant from Ḥaṣhim Ibn 'Abd Manāf*) acquired his knowledge of literature under the tuition of Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad, Abu 'l-'Abbās Tha'lab, and other eminent masters. He was not only well acquainted with the pure Arabic language, but equally skilled in the arts of eloquence and poetry. In his verses he displayed a natural talent and superior abilities; they were clear in their meaning and easy in their style. These qualities joined to a fertile genius, and a mind prompt in conceiving original ideas of great beauty, inclined him to cultivate the society of learned scholars and literary men, and as such he was himself counted, till the fatal event which befel him in the *khālīf*-fate of al-Muqtadir. Having then entered into a conspiracy with the principal civil and military officers of the empire, they deposed al-Muqtadir on Sunday the 20, or by another account the 23, of the first Rabi' A.H. 296 (December, A.C. 908);\* after which they proclaimed 'Abd Allāh *khālīf*, under the title of al-Murtaḍa Bi Allāh (*him in whom God is pleased*), or, as it is mentioned in other statements al-Munṣif Bi Allāh (*the dispenser of justice in God's name*), or al-Ḡhalib Bi Allāh (*the victor with God's assistance*), or al-Raḍī Bi Allāh (*the pleasing by God's favour*). He remained in authority during one day and one night, when his supporters were attacked and dispersed by the partisans of al-Muqtadir, who had united in considerable force; the deposed *khālīf* was restored to the throne, and Ibn al-Mu'tazz fled for concealment to the house of a person named Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn, but who was more

---

\* 18 December or 21 December: but Sunday fell on 18 December.—Ed.

generally known by the name of Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Tajir al-Jawhari (*the merchant jeweller, son of the gypsum seller*). He was there discovered by al-Muqtadir and handed over to the eunuch Munis,<sup>1</sup> the lord treasurer, by whom he was put to death. His body was then delivered up to his family, enveloped in a cloak. Some persons have mentioned that he died a natural death, but this is not true; for he was certainly strangled by Munis on Thursday, the 2 of the latter Rabi', A.H. 296 (Dec. A.C. 908).<sup>\*</sup> He was interred in a ruined building opposite his own house. His birth took place on the 22 of Sha'ban, A.H. 247 (October, A.C. 861),<sup>†</sup> or according to Sinān Ibn Thābit,<sup>2</sup> in the year 246. The fall of Ibn al-Mu'tazz is an event of which the history is well known; a full narration of it would lead us too far, but the main points of it are what we have just mentioned<sup>3</sup>. Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ was then arrested by al-Muqtadir's orders, and fined to the amount of two millions of dinars, but some time after, seven hundred thousand of them were restored to him. He was an inconsiderate and

<sup>1</sup> Munis was also lord Chamberlain to the khalif and possessed immense influence.

<sup>2</sup> Abū Sa'īd Sinān Ibn Thābit Ibn Qurrah al-Harrānī (*a Sabeen by religion and a native of Harrān*) was the chief physician of the khalif al-Muqtadir, and he afterwards served al-Qāhir in the same capacity. This prince always consulted him and placed the highest confidence in his talents. He invited him to become a Muslim, and after a long resistance, Sinān was forced to compliance by the threats of the khalif and the apprehension inspired by his violent character. Some time afterwards, perceiving in al-Qāhir's conduct a change which foreboded nothing good, he fled to Kūfurāsān, and after a residence in that country, he returned to Baḡhdād, where he died in the Muslim religion, A.H. 331 (A.C. 942-3). In the reign of al-Muqtadir, he had risen to be the *rā'is*, or chief of the physicians; and in the year 309, that prince gave orders that none should be allowed to practise without a certificate of capacity from Sinān. In consequence of this decree, upwards of eight hundred and sixty persons, from Baḡhdād alone, applied to him for certificates; but the other physicians attached to the court, and those whose reputation was already established by extensive practice, were dispensed from that obligation. In the year 306 (A.C. 918-9), al-Muqtadir founded an hospital, at Sinān's request, near the Damascus Gate (*Bāb al-Shām*), and granted to it a monthly sum of two hundred dinars. In the same year the hospital called *Biṣṣāristān al-Sayyidah* was founded also at his desire; six hundred dinars a month were allotted for its support, and the administration of the establishment was confided to the celebrated astronomer Yūsuf Ibn Yahyā. Sinān Ibn Thābit composed a treatise on the history of the old Syrian kings; an explanation of the principles of the Sabeen religion; some treatises on mathematics and astronomy; and a number of medical works besides. Fuller details respecting him will be found in the *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā* and the work of Ibn Abi 'Uṣaybi'ah.

<sup>3</sup> The author furnishes more information on this head in the life of the wazīr 'Alī Ibn al-Furāt, and the event is noticed by all historians.

<sup>\*</sup> 29 December.—Ed.

<sup>†</sup> 31 October.—Ed.

simple man. His death occurred on Sunday the 13 of Shawwal, A.H. 315 (December, A.C. 927)\*.—Ibn al-Mu'tazz composed the following works: *Kitāb al-Zahr wa 'l-Riyāḡ* (flowers and gardens); *Kitāb al-Badī'* (treatise on the beauties of style); the *Mukātabat al-Ikhwān bi 'l-Shi'r* (poetical correspondence between the Brethren); the *Jawāriḡ wa 'l-Ṣayd* (a treatise on falcons and game); *Kitāb al-Sariqāt* on Plagiarisms; *Kitāb Ash'ar al-Mulūk* Poems by Royal authors; the *Kitāb al-'Ādāb* (on politeness and social duties); the *Ḥalyul-Aḡḡbār* (historical jewels); the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* (a classified biography of the poets); the *Jāmi'* (a comprehensive treatise on vocal music), and a collection of *rajaz* verses in dispraise of early drinking. One of his sayings was: "Eloquence is the just expression of ideas in few words."<sup>1</sup> He observed also that if he was asked what was the finest passage of poetry which he knew of, he would say that it was the following, by al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḡnaf:

"The public have cast suspicions on us<sup>2</sup> and spoken of our conduct in various manners. But some were mistaken and suspected a wrong person (*to be my beloved*), and others were right in their conjectures, but knew it not."

'Alī Ibn Muḡammad Ibn Bassām, a poet whose life shall be given in this work, lamented the death of Ibn al-Mu'tazz in these terms:

"How eloquent were thy words, thou whom destruction has placed among the dead. It was thou to whom belonged the pre-eminence of learning, of polished manners, and of worth. Never did an *if* or an *unless* diminish the value (*of the favours conferred by thee*); the only *conjunction* which ever occurred to thee was thy *conjunction* with sudden death<sup>3</sup>."

1 Literally: Eloquence is the attaining to the idea without a long journey of words.

2 Literally: Have swept over us the trains of their suspicions.

3 I have here rendered the Arabic pun by an English one nearly equivalent. *If* and *unless* are classed by the Arabian grammarians among what they call particles (*ḡarf*), a term by which they designate all the parts of speech which are neither nouns nor verbs. "The only particle which occurred to thee," says Ibn Bassām, "was the particle of correction حرفة الإِدَب." Al-Ṭha' libī employs this expression in his *Yatīmah* when speaking of the poet Abū Farīs Ibn Ḥamdān, "who" says he, "received the *lesson of adversity* (literally the *misfortune of correction*) and "was taken prisoner by the Greeks." In this case, the first word should be pronounced *ḡirḡah*: but Ibn Bassām pronounced it *ḡarfah* to effect a verbal quibble. This expression sometimes, as in the verse quoted by Ibn Kḡhallikān, signifies an *untimely death*, which is always a moral *lesson* for others.

\* 9 December. -Ed.

As a specimen of the charming verses composed by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, and of his novel comparisons, we may quote the following:

"May an abundant shower water the shady groves of al-Maṭ'rah and the convent of 'Abdūn. How often, at the dawn of day before the lark took wing, I was awoke to take my morning-draught of wine by the voices of convent-monks at their prayers. Clothed in black robes, they chaunted matins; around their waists were belts, and on their heads, crowns of hair.<sup>1</sup>\* The light of the new moon had nearly betrayed us, when she appeared, thin as a paring of the nail. I shall not say what passed; question me not, but think the best."

Here is another pretty piece not to be found in his collected poetical works, but which all those who first transmitted his poems by oral tradition agree in considering as his:

"A nymph arrayed in a short tunic hastened towards the carousers, bearing a cornelian (*red wine*) in a white pearl (*a porcelain cup*). The bright moon in the heavens seemed like a coin of gold thrown on a carpet of azure velvet. How often did this maiden cheer me with her society, in nights untroubled by the dread of jealous spies. Another too was there with a slender waist, and tongue-tied by the effects of wine, she could only converse by nods and signs. I pushed her with my hand and said: 'Awake, thou who art the joy of our friendly and convivial band.' And she answered with a voice enfeebled by inebriation, and interrupted like that of one who stammers: 'I understand thy words, but the juice of the purple (*fruit*) has overcome me. \*[Leave me till morning that I may recover, and then, master, treat thy slave as thou wilt]<sup>2</sup>"

By the same on boiled wine,<sup>3</sup>—a piece which proves that its author was a Hanefite:

<sup>1</sup> Here, in the Arabic, follow four lines, which, for reasons already given, I have not translated.

<sup>2</sup> This last verse is not to be found in some of the MSS., the autograph among the number.

<sup>3</sup> It appears from the treatises on the Hanefite system of jurisprudence, that *must*, or the unfermented juice of the grape, may be lawfully drunk provided that it be reduced by boiling to *less* than two-thirds of its original volume.

\* [ ] Translation of these verses omitted by de Slane.

Many a person of elegant face having applied collyrium of magic closes his eyelids on basil. I looked at him with fondness till (my heart) became obedient to him with pleasure and he anticipated my term with seeing.

He came to me hidden in the garment of night, hurrying in his steps out of fear and caution. I got up to place my cheeks humbly in his way and to drawing my skirts on the footsteps (to efface them).

† [ ] This verse is not included in the autograph.

"My friends! the purple liquor is now fit for drinking; for it I have renounced my piety, and (*grave divines have said*) 'It is praiseworthy to renounce former habits.' Give here the wine in its robe of glass, like a ruby set around with brilliants; the water forms on its surface bubbles of silver rising in circlets which break and form again. It has the quality of preserving me from the flames of hell,<sup>1</sup> and that is a great merit; deny it who can!"

Ibn al-Mu'tazz was of a deep tawny complexion and long-faced, with a beard dyed black. I read in a compilation of anecdotes that he used to say: "There were four poets whose works bore a character opposite to that of their authors: the poems of Abu 'l-Atahiyah were noted for their spirit of piety, yet he himself was an atheist; those of Abu Nuwās were on an infamous subject, yet he was more passionate for females than a baboon; Ab. Ḥukaymah the *kātib*'s poetry was considered as a proof of his impotence, yet he was really more salacious than a goat; and the verses of Muḥammad Ibn Ḥāzim were in praise of contentment, yet he was greedier than a dog". But I was told an anecdote of Ibn Ḥāzim which proves the contrary of what Ibn al-Mu'tazz said respecting him and shows that his character accorded with his writings: He was living, it seems, in the neighbourhood of Sa'īd Ibn Ḥumayd al-Ṭī sī, the *kātib*, and made a satire on him in consequence of some affair that passed between them: Sa'īd, on learning the contents of this poem, overlooked the affront, though sufficiently powerful to punish the author of it. Some time after, Ibn Ḥāzim was reduced to poverty and removed from that neighbourhood; this came to the ears of Sa'īd, who immediately sent to him a present of ten thousand dirhams, some trunks of clothes, a horse with his harness, a male and a female slave, accompanied with a letter worded in these terms: "A man of instruction can be led by a whim of his imagination to describe a subject under a false aspect, and his talent may induce him to depict it in other colours than its own; of such a nature must certainly be that satire which, it is reported, you have composed on me. I have now just heard of the state to which you are reduced and of the poverty from which you suffer; a misfortune which is by no means a disgrace to one who, like you, is gifted with a noble spirit and a lofty

---

<sup>1</sup> Had this sort of wine not existed, the poet would have drunk wine prepared by fermentation, and have thus committed a mortal sin.



soul. Let us be now partners in what we both possess and share equally what we have. So I here offer you something which, though small, may serve as an opening to greater favours which are to follow." However, Ibn Ḥazim sent the whole back with these lines:

"You have treated me as al-Muhallab treated al-Farazdaq when he overwhelmed him with his unbounded generosity. You sent riches<sup>1</sup> to tempt me, but you shall not effect your project; I swear by the Lord of *that which is double and that which is single!*<sup>2</sup> I will never accept the favours of a man whom I have covered with everlasting ignominy."

This is a proof that Ibn Ḥazim was really contented with his lot, and that he could support poverty with patience and resignation.<sup>3</sup>—Abn 'Uthman Sa'id Ibn Ḥumayd was a *kātib*, a poet, and a writer of epistles; gifted with a sweet style and possessing superior abilities in his profession. He was also a skilful plagiarist; so much so; that a wit said: "If Sa'id's prose and verse were ordered to return to their real authors, he would be left without a line of his own." He claimed to be descended from the kings of Persia, and composed a work called the *Taswiyah* (equalization), in which he vindicated the Persians from the depreciation in which they were held by the Arabs. His epistles form also a volume, and his poetical works another of small size.—*Maṭīrah* is a village near Sarra-manra'ā. —The 'Abdān, after whom the convent is so called, was brother to the wazīr Sa'id Ibn Maḥlād;<sup>4</sup> he frequently visited that establishment, to pass some time there, and it was by his means that it had been erected; for this reason it was called the Convent of 'Abdān (*Dayr 'Abdān*). It is heard by al-Maṭīrah. Another Dayr 'Abdān is situated near Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar,<sup>5</sup> from which it is only separated by the Tigris; it is now in ruins, but was formerly much visited by the inhabitants of that city in their country-parties.—The verse of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *The light of the moon had nearly betrayed*

<sup>1</sup> In the printed Arabic text, read بالاموال.

<sup>2</sup> That is: *Of all created things*. See *Qur'ān*, sūrat 89, verse 2, with Sale's note.

<sup>3</sup> It is rather a proof of his pride, insolence, and heartlessness.

<sup>4</sup> It is probable that the author meant to say al-Ḥasan Ibn Maḥlād, who was one of the *khalīf* al-Mu'tamid's Wazīrs.—(M.S. No. 895, fol. 232 v.)

<sup>5</sup> Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar, or *Djezireh*, is situated on the West bank of the Tigris, and lies to the north of Mosul, in the province of Nişibin.

us, etc.<sup>1</sup>, contains an idea borrowed from 'Amr Ibn Umayyah, who thus described the new moon:

"The daughter of the clouds of night descends towards the horizon, (*in shape*) like the nail-cutting pared off a little finger."

### 317. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD IBN ṬABĀṬABĀ

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭaba Ibn Isma'īl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb, a native of Ḥijāz but an inhabitant of Egypt, in which country he died, was a *sharīf* noted for the purity of his life, the nobleness of his character, his vast possessions in lands and tenements, the brilliant style in which he lived, the number of his slaves, the greatness of his retinue, the ease which he enjoyed, and the comforts with which he was surrounded. There was always a man in the hall of his house occupied from morning till night in pounding almonds for sweetmeats; these his master sent as presents to different persons in the city, such as al-Kaḥr al-Khshīdī and others of inferior rank; the man himself received two pieces of gold every month for his pains. Those presents were taken to some daily, to others every Friday or every month; but to Kaḥr were brought every second day two vases filled with sweetmeats and a cake besides, all folded up in a handkerchief and carefully sealed. This raised the envy of a great man at court, who observed to Kaḥr that the sweetmeats were certainly good, but that the cake did not appear to him to be an offering suited to a person of his rank. On this, Kaḥr wrote to the *sharīf*, requesting him to forward the sweetmeats as usual, but to dispense him from accepting the cake. Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, perceiving from this that some envious person wished his ruin, immediately mounted his horse and rode off to Kaḥr; when they were together, he told him that he had not sent the cake through a feeling of pride or haughtiness, but that it was kneaded and baked by a young maiden of the family of Ḥasan<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above: "The light of the new moon had nearly betrayed us, when she appeared, thin as a paring of the nail."

<sup>2</sup> The autograph has حسنية. The girl was apparently the daughter of Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, who, as his genealogy shows, was descended from Ḥasan, grandson of Muḥammad.

and that it was she who offered it to him out of purely religious motives; however, if he wished, it should be discontinued. "By no means," replied Kafūr; "let it be brought to me as usual, and for the future I shall eat of no other." From that time, the cake and the sweetmeats continued to be sent regularly as before. After the death of Kafūr, Egypt was reduced under the domination of al-Mu'izz Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-'Ubaydī by his general Jawhar, him of whom we have spoken (*in No.* 141); and at a later period, al-Mu'izz came there himself from the province of Ifrīqiyah. His pretensions to be a descendant of 'Alī had been already contested, and on his approach to Old Cairo, the people of the city went forth to meet him, accompanied by a band of *sharifs*; and Ibn Ṭabaṭaba, who was one of the number, asked him from whom he drew his descent. To this question al-Mu'izz replied: "We shall hold a sitting to which all of you shall be convened, and there we shall expose to you the entire chain of our genealogy." Being at length established in the castle of Cairo, he gave a public audience as he had promised, and having taken his seat, he asked if any of their chiefs were still alive? "No," replied they, "not one of any consequence survives." He then drew his sword half way out of the scabbard and exclaimed: "This is my genealogy! and here," said he, scattering a great quantity of gold among them, "here are the proofs of my nobility!".

On this they all acknowledged him for their lord and master <sup>1</sup>, —Ibn Ṭabaṭaba treated the intendants of his domains with great attention and kindness; he went on horseback to visit them and his friends, giving them every mark of politeness and sitting with them for a considerable time before retiring. Great numbers owed their wealth to his generosity; indeed the whole tenour of his conduct was most praiseworthy. He was born A.H. 286 (A.C. 899), and he died at Cairo on the 4 of Rajab, A.H. 348 (September, A.C. 959)\*. Funeral prayers were said over his body in the Muṣallā of the Festival<sup>2</sup> and an innumerable multitude were present at his interment. He was buried in the Qarafaḥ.

<sup>1</sup> See Ibn Khalikān's observation on this anecdote, towards the end of the article.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 269.

\* 10 September.--Ed

and his tomb is in high repute for the fulfilment of prayers offered up at it: it is stated that a man made the pilgrimage to Makkah, but had forgot to visit the tomb of the blessed Prophet at Madīnah an omission for which he continued to feel the deepest regret: but he at length saw the Prophet in a dream, and was told by him that when he forgot to visit the tomb at Madīnah, he should visit that of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭabaṭaba. Of all the holy men, it was he principally who appeared to the inhabitants of Cairo in their dreams.<sup>1</sup> It is also related that a person indebted to his kindness recited these verses at his tomb :

"Since thy death, the existence of mankind is troubled with care; but during thy life, they were secure from misfortune."

He then had a dream in which Ibn Ṭabaṭaba appeared to him and said: "I heard thy words, but my answer with the accomplishment of thy desires was intercepted before it reached thee; go, however, to a mosque<sup>2</sup> and make a prayer of two *rak'ats*; then ask, thy request shall be granted."—We have already explained the meaning of the word *Ṭabāṭabā* (in No. 52). The anecdote which we have just related, of Ibn Ṭabaṭaba's interview with al-Mu'izz on that prince's arrival in Egypt, is taken from the work called *al-Duwal al-Munqaṭi'ah*<sup>3</sup>, but it is in contradiction with dates; for al-Mu'izz entered Cairo in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 362 (June, A.C. 973), as we shall again mention in his life, and Ibn Ṭabaṭaba died A.H. 348, as has been already said; how then can we admit that a meeting took place between them? I learned the date of his death from our *shaykh* Zakī al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhirī, whom I consulted also on this anachronism: he replied that the date of Ibn Ṭabaṭaba's death was perfectly certain, and that it was perhaps his son to whom this circumstance happened with al-Mu'izz; God knoweth best if this conjecture be right or not!<sup>4</sup> I have

<sup>1</sup> The opinion of the Muslims on the subject of dreams is stated in the first volume.

<sup>2</sup> The autograph has *مسجد*.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 68 note of *Duwal al-Munqaṭi'ah*

<sup>4</sup> I am convinced that this anecdote is totally false. Al-Mu'izz was too prudent to make any declaration of the kind, as it would not only have destroyed his own title and that of his descendants to the *Kh*alīfate, but have shaken the fidelity of his Barbar troops, who only served him from their conviction that he was really descended from the Prophet and the true heir to

(Continued on next page.)

since found that the amīr al-Mukhtar al-Musabbihī gives, in his History of Egypt, the same date for Ibn Ṭabaṭaba's death as that which I received from Zakī al-Dīn. He adds also: "He died, after long sufferings, of (*an excrescence like*) a mulberry which obstructed his throat, and for which every remedy that they tried was useless. It was a strange and unheard of malady."—Since writing the foregoing observations, I read in Ibn Z laq's History of Egypt that the *sharīfs* who went to meet al-Mu'izz were Abū Ja'far Muslim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī<sup>1</sup> and Abū Isma'il Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Rassī; it was perhaps one of them to whom the circumstance happened (*with al-Mu'izz*).

### 318. 'ABD ALLĀH IBN ṬĀHIR

Abū 'l-'Abbas 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muṣ'ab Ibn Ruzayq Ibn Mahan al-Khuza'i, a prince whose father's life we have given (No. 288), was gifted with superior abilities, a lofty soul, and great discernment. Al-Ma'mūn placed in him the highest confidence, and treated him with the utmost consideration, on account of his personal merit and the faithful services which his father and his ancestors had rendered to the 'Abbaside family. He was governor of Dinawar when Bābak al-Khurramī invaded Khurasan with his followers and entered al-Ḥamra, a town in the province of Naysāpur, where they committed great ravages. Al-Ma'mūn, on receiving intelligence of this event, wrote to 'Abd Allāh, ordering him to proceed to Khurasan; he set out on the 15 of the first Rabi', A.H. 213 (June, A.C. 828),\* and waged war with the rebels. In the month of Rajab, A.H. 215 (Aug.-Sept. A.C. 830), he arrived at Naysāpur, which had suffered much that year from the total want of rain. His entry into the city was accompanied by a heavy shower, on which a cloth-merchant went out to him from his shop and recited these verses:

<sup>1</sup> See No. 130, note on Muslim.

\* 3 June—Ed.

(Continued from page. 69)

his authority. I must also observe that, notwithstanding Hajjī Khalīfah's favourable opinion of the work, the *Duwal al-Munqati'ah* does not seem to be always a sure guide; some of the anecdotes extracted from it by Ibn Khallikan are totally unworthy of belief.

"We were afflicted with drought till thy arrival; but with thee abundance drew near. Two showers came at the same time; so let us welcome the amīr<sup>1</sup> and the rain."

Such is the statement set forth in al-Salām's History of *Khurasan*, but al-Ṭabarī says in his *Annals*: "'Abd Allāh the son of Ṭāhīr was at Dīnawar in the year 213, at the time of his brother Ṭalḥah's death." —We have spoken of Ṭalḥah in the life of his father Ṭāhīr (No 288).—"The qādī Yahyā Ibn Akṭham was then sent to him by al-Māmān with a message of condolence and with directions to felicitate him on his elevation to the government of *Khurasan*." —Farther on, however, when giving an account of Ṭalḥah's administration, he makes a different statement: "At the time of Ṭāhīr's death," says he, "'Abd Allāh was at Raqqah, combatting Naṣr Ibn Shabath<sup>2</sup> and al-Māmān conferred upon him the government of all the provinces held by his father, and granted him that of Syria besides. 'Abd Allāh then sent his brother Ṭalḥah to *Khurasan*." The same author says again, under the year 213: "Al-Māmān now appointed his brother al-Mu'tasim to the government of Syria and Egypt, and he nominated his own son al-'Abbas as ruler over Mesopotamia, the northern frontiers of that province and those of Syria (*al-Thughūr wa'l-'Awāsim*). He gave to each of them five hundred thousand

<sup>1</sup> The comparison of a generous man to a shower is very common. Like the drops of rain which water a parched soil, his gifts spread abundance around.

<sup>2</sup> The revolt of Naṣr Ibn Shabath<sup>h</sup> is not noticed by Abu 'l-Fidā, although mentioned by Ibn al-Atṭīr in his *Kāmil*. This historian relates that in the year 198 (A.C. 813-4), Naṣr Ibn Shabath<sup>h</sup> al-'Aqīlī, who was then inhabiting Kaysūm كيسوم a place to the north of Aleppo, revolted against al-Māmūn. He was devotedly attached to al-Amīn and had taken the oath of allegiance to him wherefore, on that prince's death, his anger was excited, and declaring himself the vindicator of the Arabic race, whose rights the 'Abbasides had contemned by introducing foreigners into the service of the empire, he seized on all the neighbouring towns, and Sumays<sup>t</sup> among the rest. Being then joined by a great number of the desert Arabs and needy adventurers, he crossed the Euphrates with the intention of subduing Mesopotamia. In the year 199, he laid siege to Harrān and Ṭāhīr, who was sent against him, did not gain over him any signal advantage. He persevered in his revolt till A.H. 209, when he was besieged in Kaysūm by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhīr, and forced to surrender. The conqueror levelled that place to the ground, and sent his prisoner to al-Māmān, who, it would appear, pardoned him. The author of the *Khulṣat al-Akhbār* and Ibn Khallikān place the defeat of Naṣr Ibn Shabath<sup>h</sup> at Raqqah, which however was the head-quarter of 'Abd Allāh. I must observe that in the Arabic edition of this work, I have printed the word *Shabath<sup>h</sup>* as here transcribed, although written otherwise in my MSS. My correction has been confirmed by the reading of the autograph and by the text of Ibn al-Atṭīr where the orthography of the name is given letter by letter.

dīnars, and to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir a similar sum. It is said that he never gave away as much money in a single day as he had done, in that <sup>1</sup>." —The poet Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'ī set out from 'Irāq with the design of paying his court to 'Abd Allāh, and, on reaching Qamīs after a long and fatiguing journey, he pronounced these verses:

"We arrived at Qamīs, worn away by our journey and the fatiguing pace of our camels, now no longer restive. My companions then said: 'Dost thou mean to lead us (*to earth's farthest limits*), to the place of sunrise?'—'No,' I replied; 'but to the point where the sun of generosity riseth over the world.'"

I may here observe, before going farther, that Abū Tammām has stolen the idea and the very words of these verses from a piece by Muslim Ibn al-Walīd al-Anṣārī <sup>2</sup> in which he says:

"My companions hastened forward on their journey and the horses lent heavily on the bit: 'Dost thou intend,' said they, 'to lead us to the place of sunset?'—'No,' I replied, 'but to the spot where liberality riseth over the world.'"

When Abū Tammām arrived at his journey's end, he waited on 'Abd Allāh and recited to him his splendid *qaṣīdah* rhyming in B, wherein he says:

"These riders, worn away with fatigue and thin as the points of spears, toiled through the darkness which invaded the earth; and the beasts that bore them were emaciated like them. They came on a business which it was theirs to commence, and another's to finish. <sup>3</sup>"

The following verse also is contained in the same magnificent *qaṣīdah*:

"But 'Abd Allāh struck <sup>4</sup> terror into the night, and, through dread of his vengeance, it ceased to assail us; the very scorpions <sup>5</sup> which crawl forth at night did not dare to stir."

<sup>1</sup> The avarice of al-Mānūn was proverbial.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 10, note on Muslim Ibn al-Walīd who died A.H. 208 (A.C. 823-4).

<sup>3</sup> They set out in hopes of obtaining money, and that depended on the will of the patron to whom they intended to apply.

<sup>4</sup> In the printed Arabic text read *بث*.

<sup>5</sup> In Arabic the word *عقارب* means both *scorpions* and *secret foes*.

It was in this journey that Abū Ṭammam composed the *Ḥamāsah*; for, on arriving at Hamadān, the winter had set in, and, as the cold is excessively severe in that country, the snow blocked up the road, and obliged him to stop and await the thaw. During his stay, he resided with one of the most eminent men of the place, who possessed a library in which were some collections of poems composed by the Arabs of the desert and other authors. Having then sufficient leisure, he perused those works and selected from them the passages out of which he formed his *Ḥamāsah*.—‘Abd Allāh was versed in the belles-lettres and possessed an elegant taste; he was also a good musician and composed the airs of a great number of songs, inserted as his in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*; they are very beautiful and have been transmitted down unaltered by the persons who make music their profession. Some fine verses and charming letters of his are still preserved. One of his pieces is as follows:

“We are a people who yield to the force of large and brilliant eyes, and yet (*armour of*) iron yields to our (*blows in war*). Submissive to these gazelles, we are vanquished by their glances; we who with our spears vanquish lions. We subdue the beasts of chase, but are ourselves subdued by fair maidens with modest eyes and cheeks unprofaned by public gaze. The lions dread our anger, but we dread the anger of a fawn (*like nymph*), when she seems displeased. Behold us freemen in the day of battle, but in peace slaves to the fair.”

These verses have been attributed to Aṣṣam Ibn Ḥumayd, a person in whose honour al-Mutanabbī composed some of his poems but God best knows who was their author.—One of ‘Abd Allāh’s most remarkable pieces is the following:

“Forgive my fault and merit my deepest gratitude; the recompense of my thanks shall not be withheld from thee. Oblige me not to find an excuse for my conduct; I may perhaps be unsuccessful.”

One of his sayings was, that a well-filled purse and a glorious reputation are never found together <sup>1</sup>. A paper was one day put into his hands, in which it was represented to him that a number of persons went out of the city on a party of pleasure, and that they

<sup>1</sup> The reason is clear: generous men never hoard up money.



had taken with them a young boy. On reading the complaint, he wrote above it these words: "What mode of legal proceedings can be taken against young men who go out to amuse themselves, and satisfy their inclinations as far as lies in their power? And the boy may be a son to one of them or a relation of some of them!" 'Abd Allāh held for some time, but at different periods, the governments of Syria and of Egypt. When in the latter country, he was spoken of in these terms by a poet:

"People say that Egypt is a distant land, but for me it is not distant since the son of Ṭāhir is there. Farther from us than Egypt are some men that you see here present, but whose favours you never see. They are dead to every virtue, and a visit to them in hopes of a generous gift is as a visit made to those whose dwelling is the tomb."

These verses are also attributed, but I do not know on what grounds, to 'Awf Ibn Muḥallim al-Shaybānī?<sup>2</sup> 'Abd Allāh entered Old Cairo A.H. 211 (A.C. 826), but left it towards the end of the same year, and in the month of Dhū'l-Qa'dah he arrived at Baghdad. During his absence, he confided the government of the province to his lieutenants. In A.H. 213, he was replaced by Abū Ishāq the son of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd, who was afterwards khalīf under

<sup>1</sup> I suspect that in the original Arabic, this note bears throughout a double meaning. The more obvious is that given here; the other is of such a nature as cannot be even alluded to.

<sup>2</sup> The autograph has the word 'Awf Ibn inserted before al-Muḥallim. This is probably the same poet whose death Ibn Shākir places in the year 220, and of whom he gives rather a long notice. According to him, Abū'l-Manḥāl 'Awf Ibn Muḥallim (I read *محلّم* not *مكلم*), al-Khuzā'i was one of the learned men of that age, and equally remarkable for his convivial talents and his wit. He became the inseparable companion of Ṭāhir Ibn al-Uṣayn and enjoyed his favour to such a degree, that even in travelling, he rode behind him on the same camel or was borne in the same litter *عريال*. His first acquaintance with that amir was formed by accident: He saw him in a pleasure-barge on the Tigris and addressed him in the lines already mentioned by Ibn Khallikān, No. 286 and which begin thus: *I wonder how the bark, etc.* It may be observed that the latter writer attributes them to another poet.\* Ṭāhir then made him get into the boat, and from that moment the patron and the poet were inseparable. 'Awf frequently asked the leave of absence, from Ṭāhir that he might go and see his own family, but his master was so much attached to him, that the permission was constantly refused. When Ṭāhir died, 'Awf naturally hoped that he might then visit the relations whom he had not seen for so long a time, but 'Abd Allāh the son of Ṭāhir conceived for him the same fondness as his father had done, and would not allow him to depart. He thenceforward treated the poet with great kindness and raised him to opulence by the abundance of his gifts. 'Awf having at length obtained the long-desired permission, set out to see his family, but died on the way.—(*Uṣūn al-Tawārikh*, vol. VIII, fol. 10. (Other anecdotes respecting him are to be found in the next pages of that work.)

\* Ibn allikān K1 attributes these lines to Muqaddis Ibn Ṣayfī al-Khalīlī.—Ed.

the title of al-M'utaṣim. Al-Farǧhānī says in his History that 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir succeeded in the government of Egypt to 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-Sarī Ibn al-Ḥakam.<sup>1</sup> the latter left the country in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 211,\* and 'Abd Allāh on the 25th of Rajab, 212, † when he proceeded to 'Iraq, after leaving the government of the country to his lieutenants; they remained in authority till the appointment of al-Mu'taṣim. The wazīr Abu 'I-Qasim al-Maghribī<sup>3</sup> says in his *Adab al-Khawāṣṣ* that the 'Abdalawī (or *Abdallian*) melon which grows in Egypt was so called after 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir. This species of melon is not found in any other country, and it was perhaps named after him because he was fond of it or was the first who cultivated it there. 'Abd Allāh and his family belonged to the tribe of *Khuza'ah* by right of adoption; their grandfather Ruzayq having been a *mawlā* to Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>4</sup> Ibn Khalaf al-Khuza'i, who is generally known by the name of Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥat. Ṭalḥah acted as governor of Sijistān, under the orders of Abū Ḥarbū Muslim Ibn Ziyad Ibn Abīh, the

---

<sup>1</sup> In the month of *Shā'bān*, A.H. 206 (A.C. 822), 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn-Sarī was proclaimed governor of Egypt by the troops, on the death of his brother Muḥammad. By the double right then conferred upon him of presiding at public prayers and on administering the revenues of the state, he possessed the greatest privileges which provincial governor could obtain. But his ambition was not satisfied, and some time afterwards he revolted against his sovereign al-Māmūn. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir was immediately recalled from *Khurāsān* and sent with an army against the rebel. After an obstinate conflict outside the walls of Cairo, 'Ubayd Allāh was forced to take refuge in the citadel and propose terms of surrender. He sent also to Ibn Ṭāhir a present of one thousand male and one thousand female slaves; each of the latter bearing a silken purse in which was contained one thousand pieces of gold. The argument was irresistible, and 'Ubayd Allāh obtained an honourable capitulation. He had been in the exercise of power four years seven months and eight days.—(Abu 'I-Maḥāsīn's *Nuḡm*.)

<sup>2</sup> His life is given in No. 187.

<sup>3</sup> In no. 213 of the preceding volume I have written this name 'Ubayd Allāh, although it is printed 'Abd Allāh in the text. The same manuscript which induced me to think that the reading of the text was erroneous, lead me to write 'Ubayd Allāh in the Arabic text corresponding to the present passage: but 'Abd Allāh is the true reading in both places, not 'Ubayd Allāh.

\* May - June, A.C. 826—Ed.

† 20 October, A.C. 827 —Ed.

governor of Khurasan. He died there whilst 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr was in revolt against the khaliḥ. The poet 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Qays al-Ruqyyat<sup>1</sup> said on this subject:

"May the mercy of God be shown to the bones which were interred in Sijistān—to Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥat."

Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥat was so called because his mother's name was Ṭalḥah daughter of Abū Ṭalḥah; This observation is furnished by Abū 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Salāmi in his history of the governors of Khurasan<sup>2</sup> —*Qumas* or *Qumis*, the country of which Abū Tammām speaks in the verses given above, is situated in Persian 'Iraq; its limit on the Khurasan side extends to Baṣām, and on the 'Iraq side to Simnān, and includes both of these cities.\*—'Abd Allāh died at Marw in the month of first Rabi', A.H. 228 or 230 (Nov-Dec. A.C. 844), which is more exact. (Al-Ṭabarī says that he died at Naysāpur on Monday, the 11th of the first Rabi', 230,† seven days after the death of Aḥnas al-Turkī.) He lived to the same age as his father, namely forty-eight years. We shall give the life of his son 'Ubayd Allāh.

### 319. ABU 'L-'AMAYTHAL

The *kātib* Abū 'l-'Amaythal 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khulayd was a *mawla* to Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh

<sup>1</sup> 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Qays Ibn Shurayḥ Ibn Malik Ibn Rabi'ah al-Āmirī, a native of Hijāz and a celebrated poet, composed verses in honour of Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan. He was surnamed *al-Ruqyyat*, because he sung in some of his pieces the charm of three females, each of whom bore the name of *Ruqyyah*—(See Suyūṭī's *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughni*, MSS No. 1238, fol. 33.).

<sup>2</sup> We read however as follows in Ibn Shākir's *Uṣūl al-Tawārikh*, vol. III, fol. 4: "A.H. 80 (A.C. 699-700). In this year died Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khālaf, one of the persons renowned for their generosity, and the most liberal man of all the inhabitants of Baṣrah. Al-Aḡma'i says: "Those noted for their beneficence were Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Famīmī, surnamed *al-Kharī* (the good); Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Awar Ibn 'Abd Allāh, Ibn Māmūr, surnamed *al-Jad* (liberality); Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awā Ibn Akḥī 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Awf, surnamed *al-Nid* (abundant gifts), Ṭalḥah Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, surnamed *al-Fayyāḥ* (overflowing with generosity), and Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khālaf, surnamed Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥat (the T ḥah of the Ṭalḥas), who in generosity, surpassed them all."

\* The autograph adds "And the capital of Qumis is Damighān.

† 24 November 844; but according to Mahler's calculation it was 9 Rabi', however, in the year 228. Monday fell on 11 Rabi' al-Awwal which corresponded to 18 December, A.C. 842.—Ed.

Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and came, it is said, of a family which inhabited Ray (*in Persian 'Irāq*). In his style he affected pompous expressions and the use of uncommon terms.<sup>1</sup> He was employed as a secretary by Ṭahir (*Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Khuzā'i*), and was afterwards attached in the same capacity, and in that of a poet, to the service of 'Abd Allāh, Ṭahir's son. The pure Arabic language was well known to him and he made frequent use of the idioms peculiar to it. In the art of poetry he displayed considerable abilities, and the following lines on 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭahir are of his composing:

"O you who desire to possess qualities such as those of 'Abd Allāh, be silent and listen ! I swear by Him to whose temple the pilgrims resort, that I shall give you a sincere advice; hearken then, or renounce your project: Be true, be modest, be charitable; endure with patience and indulgence; pardon, oblige; be mild, be gentle and be brave; act with kindness and lenity, with longanimity, courtesy, and forbearance; be firm and resolute; protect the feeble, maintain the right and repel injustice. Such is my counsel, if you choose to accept it, and are disposed to follow a straight and open way."

This is really a piece of extraordinary beauty, and he composed some others, equally fine. It is related that he one day went to the palace of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭahir, but was refused admittance, on which he said:

"Never shall I return to this door whilst admittance is so difficult as I find it now; I shall wait till access be more easy. And on the day in which I did not find a means to enter, I at least found means of not favouring the master with my presence."

These verses were repeated to 'Abd Allāh, who blamed the door-keeper's conduct, and gave orders that the poet should be admitted. Abū 'l-'Amaythāl observed that the word *nu'mān* was one of the terms used to designate *blood*, and that the flowers called *shaqā'iq al-Nu'mān*, or *Nu'mān poppies*<sup>2</sup>, had received this name on account

<sup>1</sup> In the Arabic text, read *عجبه*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Shaq'iq al-Nu'mān*, here translated *al-Numan's poppies*, is considered by Ibn Bayṭhār as the same plant which Dioscorides describes under the name of the *anemone*. This writer notices two species of it, the wild and the cultivated, and a genus called by him *argemone*, resembling the *wild poppy*. The flower of this plant has furnished the Arabian poets with a great number of comparisons.  
(Continued on page 76).

of their red colour, the opinion that they were so called after al-Nu'mān Ibn al-Mundhīr being totally unfounded. "I made this observation," continued he, "to al-Aṣmā'i, who repeated it, adding: 'Such are the words of Abū 'l-'Amaythāl'." This opinion however is in contradiction with that held by all eminent philologists; thus Ibn Qutaybah says, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*: "Al-Nu'mān Ibn al-Mundhīr"—the last Lakhmīde king of Hīrah—"went out of Kūfah into the open country at a time in which it was all yellow, red, and green, from the quantity of herbage and flowers, among which were poppies in great abundance. On seeing, he declared that their beauty pleased him and that he forbade them to be gathered. This prohibition none dared to transgress, and they were therefore called *al-Nu'mān's poppies*." Al-Jawharī also mentions in his *Ṣaḥāḥ* that they were so denominated after this al-Nu'mān, and other writers have made a similar statement: which opinion may be right, God best knows! It is related that when Abū Tammām recited to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir his poem rhyming in *B*, of which we have spoken in his life <sup>1</sup>, Abū 'l-'Amaythāl, who was present, said to him: "Abū Tammām! why do you not say something which may be understood?" To this the other retorted: "Abū 'l-'Amaythāl! why do you not understand what people say?"—Abū 'l-'Amaythāl one day kissed the hand of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, and as the prince complained of the roughness of his moustachioes, he immediately observed that the spines of the hedgehog could not hurt the wrist of the lion. 'Abd Allāh was so highly pleased with this compliment, that he ordered a valuable present to be given to the poet.—The following works, amongst others, were composed by Abū 'l-'Amaythāl: a treatise on the terms which bear different meanings; a work entitled *Kitāb al-Tashābuh* <sup>2</sup> (*mutual resemblance*); a notice on those

<sup>1</sup> See No. 143, the lines which begin thus: "At the sight of dwellings," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the orthography of Hājjī Khalifah and of Ibn Khalikān himself; all the latter manuscripts of his work are wrong here.

(Continued from page 77)

from which it would appear that its petals were red or vermillion-coloured, and its stamens black or brown. According to the author of the *Qāmūs*, these flowers were called *shaq'i'iq*, because their colour was red, like that of the lightning-flash: he gives also the same reason as Ibn Qutaybah for the origin of the name *shaq'i'iq al-Nu'mān*. It cannot, however, escape observation that a great resemblance subsists between the word *al-Nu'mān* and the old Greek name of *anemone*, from which it may be inferred that the former is a mere alteration from the latter.

verses which are current and well known, and a treatise on the ideas usually expressed in poetry. He died A.H. 240 (A.C. 854-5)—The word '*Amaythal*' serves to designate a number of things, and, amongst the rest, the lion: that such is its meaning in the present case is perfectly evident.

### 320. ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AL-NĀSHĪ IBN SHIRSHĪR

Abā 'l-'Abbāss 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Nāshī al-Anbārī generally known by the name of Ibn *Shirshīr*, was a poet of great talent and a contemporary of Ibn al-Rāmī and al-Buḥturī. It is he who is denominated *al-Nāshī 'l-Akbar* (the elder *Nāshī*), to distinguish him from *al-Nāshī al-Aṣghar*, or the younger, whose life is to be found in this work. He was also a grammarian, a prosodist, and a scholastic theologian. The city of Anbār was the native place of his family, but he himself resided during a long period at *Harḥadā*, and then proceeded to Old Cairo where he passed the remainder of his life. He was deeply versed in a number of sciences, and his skill as a logician was so great, that he could overturn any proofs alleged by grammarians in favour of their doctrines. His penetration and sagacity enabled him also to bring into doubt the established principles of prosody, and to lay down forms of versification entirely different from those admitted by al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad. He wrote a *qaṣīdah* of four thousand verses, all terminating in the same rhyme, and in this poem he treated of various sciences. A number of line works were written by him, and he composed a great quantity of verses on the animals used for hunting, on the different sorts of game, on the implements and every other subject connected with the chase. In these poems he displayed knowledge worthy of a professional sportsman, and many passages are quoted from them by Kuṣḥājīm, in his work called *al-Maṣā'id wa 'l-Maṭārid*. Some of his poems are *qaṣīdahs* and some, *ṭardiyās* or hunting-pieces, in the style of those made by Abū Nuwās; the rest are detached passages, but in all of them his talent is equally conspicuous. One of his *ṭardiyās*, containing the description of a falcon, run as follows:

"When the veil of darkness was rent off the face of the heavens, and the light of the morning rejoiced in shedding its brightness, I

went forth on the track of the game, with a cream-coloured (*bird*), from its birth, of singular beauty. It was clothed by the Creator in raiment of the softest issue, and when it darted forward or circled around, the eye could not follow its motions. From its cheeks to its eyes extends an ornament which serves it as diadem.<sup>1</sup> Its active spirit is denoted by its beak, and by its claws is shown the art wherein lies its skill. Were a traveller journeying in darkness, the eye of that animal might serve him as a taper to light him on his way."

In describing a singing girl of great beauty, he expresses himself in the following terms :

"O thou for whose welfare I should sacrifice my life! (*The spies who surround me*) do not appreciate thy charms, or else they had not allowed me to fix my eyes on thine. They forbid me to look on any other females: did they think it possible that the eyes of men could be turned towards any but thee? They placed thee to watch my conduct; whom then have they placed as a watch over thine? Fools that they were! did they read in thy cheeks the written revelation of thy beauty?"

His poetical works are very numerous, but we shall confine ourselves to the foregoing extracts. He died at Old Cairo, A.H. 293 (A.C. 905-6). *Nāshī* was a surname given to him.<sup>2</sup>—*Anbārī* means *belonging to al-Anbār*, which is a town on the Euphrates, ten parasangs (*to the west*) of Baḡhdād; it has produced a number of learned men. *Anbār* is the plural of *nibr*, and signifies *magazines of provisions*; this place was so called because the ancient kings of Persia used to keep provisions stored in it (*for the use of their troops*.)

### 321. IBN ṢĀRAH AL-SHANTARĪNĪ

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣārah al-Shantarīnī, a native of Spain and a member of the tribe of Bakr,

<sup>1</sup> He must mean the dusky bars which mark the plumage of the gyrfalcon, or else its hood.

<sup>2</sup> The word *Nāshī* has a number of meanings; it is therefore not easy to determine what is the signification it bears here.

was celebrated as a poet, but he possessed also superior abilities as a prose-writer. Notwithstanding his talents, his lot through life was little else than adversity and disappointment; he lived without finding a place of abode to suit him or a prince to protect him. He is noticed by (*Ibn Khāqān*) the author of the *Qalā'id al-Iqyān*, and is praised by Ibn Bassām in the *Dha'irah*. This writer says: "After endeavouring to obtain<sup>1</sup> even the meanest employments and undergoing great sufferings, he rose at length to fill the place of secretary to a provincial governor but at the period in which (*Yūsuf Ibn Tāshfin*) dispossessed the Spanish sovereigns of their dominions, he retired to Seville in a state more dismal than night itself and more solitary than the star Canopus.<sup>2</sup> He then supported his existence by binding books, an art with which he was well acquainted and in which he displayed great skill. This profession he followed, although it had then greatly fallen off and was almost totally neglected. To this he alludes in the following lines:

"The trade of a book binder is the worst of all: its leaves and its fruits are nought but disappointment. I may compare him that follows it to a needle, which clothes others, but is naked itself."<sup>3</sup>

These verses also are by the same poet:

"That maid with the flowing ringlets is encircled by a host of tender charms, and for her a tender passion fills our hearts. It is not dark curls which shade her cheeks, but rather a tint cast upon them by the black pupils of her eyes."

He said also of a girl with blue eyes:

"I see, within the circle of necklaces which adorn that slender-waisted nymph, a moon (*handsome face*) which receives its lustre from the gems of beauty. She is formed like a lance that she may pierce us to the heart, and on this lance gleams a point of blue (*steel*).

A similar thought is thus expressed by al-Salamī:

"In embracing her waist, I have clasped a plain spear; and you will recognise its deadly point in the glances of her eyes."

<sup>1</sup> The true reading is *عزى*.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabs consider Canopus as the brightest of the fixed stars; it has consequently no *fellow* or *companion*. Ibn Bassām is here led away, as usual, by the temptation of a mere quibble.

<sup>3</sup> These verses fix the meaning in which the word *wirṭqah* *إبريق* must be taken here. It signifies also the profession of a *stationer* and that of a *copyist* of books.



It was from this verse that Ibn al-Nabīh al-Miṣrī<sup>1</sup> borrowed the idea which he has thus expressed.

"The complexion of this brunette is like the colour of the lance<sup>2</sup>, and her eyes might be taken for its point, were they not painted with antimony."

The following verses of Ibn Ṣarah's inculcate the renunciation of the world and its pleasures:

"O thou who hearkenest to the call of the cupbearer though warned of thy approaching end by gray hairs and age! If thou wilt not listen to my admonitions, why hast thou hearing to receive men's words, and memory to retain them? He alone is blind and deaf who followeth not the lessons offered by the present and the past. Time shall not endure for ever, nor the world, nor the lofty spheres, nor the two great lights, the sun and the moon. The inhabitants of the world, both those who dwell in tents and those who live in towns, must leave it, though unwilling."

It was he who composed these verses:

"I have for a companion one who, like an inward disorder, cannot be shaken off, and who loves me as the wolf does the shepherd. He extols me—may God requite him for his good intentions!—with praise such as Hind bestowed upon Rawḥ Ibn Zinbā'."

This Hind was daughter to al-Nu'mān Ibn Baṣḥir al-Anṣārī, and wife to Rawḥ Ibn Zinbā' al-Judhāmī<sup>3</sup> the favourite officer of the khalif 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. She detested her husband and made on him these lines:

"Hind, a filly of pure Arabian breed and sprung from noble steeds, has she not been covered by an ass? If she bear a foal of

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Nabīh, one of the most eminent poets of his time in Egypt, died A.H. 621 (A.C. 1224).—(Al-Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-Muḥaddirah*, MS. No. 652, fol. 150 verse).

<sup>2</sup> Lances were generally made of a species of bamboo.

<sup>3</sup> Abū Zara'ah Rawḥ (or Rūḥ) Ibn Zinbā', the head of the tribe of Judhām, was possessed of such great influence, that the khalif Mu'awiyah resolved on putting him to death, but was induced at length to change his mind. When 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān came to the throne, Rawḥ received the government of Palestine and became the intimate and inseparable companion of his master. In the service of 'Abd al-Malik he filled all the duties of a Wazīr and proved himself not only prudent and intelligent, but also learned and religious. He died A.H. 84 (A.C. 703).—(*Nujūm*, Al-Yāfi'i).

good points, she had a right to do so; but if it be only a half-blood (*Iqrāf*), wonder not: it had a worthless sire".\*

These verses are attributed also to her sister Ḥumaydah, the daughter of al-Nu'mān. The word *iqrāf* indicates that the dam was of Arabian breed and that the sire was not; another word, *hujnat*, is employed to mark that the sire was of Arabian blood and that the dam was not.—Ibn Ṣarah composed a great number of poetical pieces, most of them very good, and they have been collected into a volume. He died A.H. 517 (A.C. 1123) at Almeria in Spain, a city already mentioned (*no.* 18 and 67).—*Ṣarāh*, his grandfather's name, is written either with *sin* or a *ṣād* (a hard or a soft *s*). *Ṣhantarīnī* means *belonging to Ṣhantar n* (*Santarem*), a town in the Spanish peninsula.

### 322. IBN AL-SĪD AL-BAṬALYAWSĪ

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Al'ah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī was an able grammarian, eminent also in philology and general literature, of which sciences he possessed a profound and exact knowledge. He inhabited the city of Valencia, where his lessons drew crowds of pupils, anxious to study under his tuition and to profit by his learned observations. His mode of instructing and the talent with which he rendered the most difficult points intelligible to his auditors were very superior, and the passages which he cited from memory illustrative of the pure Arabic language were not only copious, but correct. He composed a number of instructive works, such as *al-Muḥallath*<sup>1</sup> in two volumes, containing many novel observations and denoting vast erudition in the author. This can be better appreciated when we mention that the (*celebrated*)

<sup>1</sup> The works called by the generic title of *Muḥallath*, or *Ternary*, treat of those words which bear three different significations accordingly as the first syllable is pronounced with an *a*, an *i*, or an *u*.

\* M. de Slane has omitted to translate. [And it is related *فمن قبل النحل* so it is from the side of the male and thus it will be *iqwā* اقواء [i.e. the final vowel will be changed which is a defect.]—Ed.

treatise of Quṭrub, which bears the same title, fills only one quire (*or about twenty pages*), and yet it gives as current certain examples which were only poetical licenses, and contains besides some words which do not exist, and others to which a wrong signification is attributed. He wrote also the *Iqtīḍāb* (*extemporizing*), a work designed as a commentary on the *Adab al-Kātib*, and of which we have already spoken in the life of Ibn Qutaybah (No. 306). He drew up also a commentary on Abu 'l-Alā's work, the *Siqṭ al-Zand* in which he fully develops the thoughts and allusions contained in the text of that poet; it is even superior to the treatise on the same subject composed by Abu 'l-Alā himself and entitled *Ḍaw al-Siqṭ*. In a treatise on (*the right use of*) the letters ط, ض, ص, and د; (*in the orthography of words*), he has assembled a great quantity of curious observations. He composed also the *Ḥulul* (*elucidations*)<sup>1</sup>, which is a commentary on the verses cited as examples in (*al-Zajjāji's grammatical compendium*) the *Jumal*; the mistakes committed in the same work were pointed out by him in a treatise entitled *al-Khalal* (*the faults*)<sup>2</sup>. His *Tanbīh*, or *indication*, is a treatise on the causes of the dissensions which have prevailed among the (*Muslim*) people. He composed also a commentary on the (*imām Mālik's*) *Muwattā*, and another, as I have been informed, on the *Diwān* of al-Mutanabbī's poems. This last work I have never seen, and it is even said that no copies of it ever reached the East. We may conclude this list by observing that every subject which he undertook was treated in the most masterly manner. He composed also some good poetry, from which we may quote the following passages:

"The man of learning lives after his death, though his bones be buried and crumbling into dust. But the ignorant man is dead, though he yet walks upon the earth; he is thought to be of the living, but he is not."

On the length of a night (*passed in suffering*):

"Behold! the dark locks of our nights are turned hoary with age. She has become gray like myself; or rather, a meadow, white with

<sup>1</sup> The word *حلل* is the plural of *حال* and signifies travellers who halt after their journey and *untie* the cords which hold their baggage on the camels. It must therefore mean here: Observations which *untie* or *unravel* knotty difficulties.

<sup>2</sup> In the Arabic text, this title is incorrectly printed *الحلل*.

flowers, is spread over the heavens. The seven nights of the week seem to have come together in the sky without a day's interval between them."

From the beginning of a *qaṣīdah* in praise of al-Musta'in Ibn Hūd<sup>1</sup>:

"My patience under affliction was borne away from me by the people of that tribe, when they set out with moons encircled with necklaces and which rose from over a willow branch<sup>2</sup>. They have left me here, in the valley amongst the sands of the desert, but wherever they go, my heart journeys with their caravan. May the spot where I last saw them on the border of the valley be watered with grateful showers, copious, but yet nearly equalled by the torrent of my tears. O my friends! will those days ever return? Till the end of time can I ever receive consolation for your absence? My eyes are bathed in tears; and in my bosom is a heart always yearning to meet you. Fortune was cruel to me after your departure, and misfortunes of every kind have alighted at my dwelling."

In the eulogistic part of the poem he says:

"We saddled the camels of eulogium and abandoned that spot; its fountain was not like that of Ṣuddā, neither did it produce the *sa'dān*<sup>3</sup>. And we went to a prince on whom Joseph had bestowed his beauty, and whose lofty palace had been reared by Solomon<sup>4</sup>; one of those high-minded men whose hands are torrents (*of generosity*) and whose minds are all fire."

This *qaṣīdah* is of great length, but we shall confine our citations to those just given. Ibn al-S. was born at Baṭalyaws (*Badajoz*), A.H. 444 (A.C. 1052-3); he died at Valencia on the 15 of Rajab, in the year 521 (July. A.C. 1127).<sup>\*</sup>—Sīd is one of the names by

<sup>1</sup> Abū Ayūb Sulaymān Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hūd, surnamed al-Musta'in. bi Allāh came to the throne of Saragossa A.H. 431 (A.C. 1039). He died A.H. 438 (A.C. 1046-7), after a reign of seven or eight years.

<sup>2</sup> The moons are the faces of fair maidens, and the willow branch is the pliant waist over which the poet supposes each of these moons to culminate.

<sup>3</sup> Ṣuddā is the name of a well, the water of which was celebrated for its purity. *Sa'dān* is the name of a plant which furnishes excellent food for camels. —See Freytag's *Maydānī*, tom. II., pp. 617, 620, and De Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> The poet means Ibn Hūd himself, whose name was Sulaymān (*Solomon*) but he plays upon the word and makes an allusion to the edifices raised by the ruler of the Jews.

\* 27 July—Ed.

which the wolf is known, but it is also used as the proper name of a man.—*Baṭalyawsi* means belonging to *Batalyaws* (or *Badajos*); this city and Valencia are situated in the Spanish peninsula and have produced a number of learned men.

### 323. IBN NĀQIYĀ

Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd Allāh (some say 'Abd al-Baqī) Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Dawūd Ibn Naqiya, was a native of al-Ḥarīm al-Zahiri, a quarter in the city of Baghdad. His talents as a poet and philologist, his acquaintance with the belles-lettres, and his abilities as a writer of epistles obtained for him a high reputation. He composed some works remarkable not only for their beauty, but for the instruction which they conveyed; such were his *Mulaḥ al-Mumāl:ḥah* (*elegancies of polished intercourse*), and the *Kitāb al-Jumān* (*book of pearls*), in which he treats of the similes employed in the Qur'an. He is also the author of a well-known collection of *maqāmahs*, in which he displays a great command of pure Arabic. Besides these works, he made an abridgement in one volume of the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, and a commentary on the *Faṣiḥ*<sup>1</sup>. His poetry forms a large book, and his epistles have also been collected into a separate volume. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣpahanī mentions him with commendation in the *Kharidah* and after giving a sketch of his life, he cites the two following verses addressed by him to a certain amīr who had got himself bled:

"May He who possesses all perfections grant to you, from thy blood-letting, recovery and health. Say now to thy right hand: 'May thy bounties never cease! Pour forth thy showers, for thou art a cloud (*of beneficence*) overshadowing the world' "

These verses are certainly very well turned.—In another of his pieces he says:

"Since your departure, my dearest friends! I have never been familiar with the sweets of life, and sorrowful remembrance

<sup>1</sup> This work is attributed to the philologist Abu 'l-Abbās Tha'lab; see No. 42.

has never forsaken my bosom. The taste of sleep I have not enjoyed, neither have my eyes perceived an object grateful to their sight. My fingers have never since wantoned with the wine-cup when the bearer passed it round, neither have they touched the strings of the dulcimer."

Ibn Nāqiya bore the reputation of an atheist and a follower of the doctrines held by the ancient (*Greek philosophers*); he even composed a treatise on the subject, and he was noted also for his disorderly life. It is related on good authority that, when he died, the person who washed his body previously to its interment perceived that his left hand was closely shut, and having opened it with some difficulty, he found in it a writing, the words of which were intricately combined one with another. After some time he succeeded in reading the contents, which were these :

"I am gone to seek hospitality from one who never disappoints the expectations of His guest; and I hope for salvation from the pains of hell. Though in dread of God, I confide in His bounty; for God is generous and bountiful."

This poet was born on the 15 of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* A.H. 410 (March. A.C. 1020)\*, and he died on the eve of Sunday, the 4 of *Mularram*, A.H. 485 A.C. 1092† (Feb.) at *Baghdad*. He was interred at the Damascus Gate (*Bāb al-Shām*).—We have already given, in the life of *Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī* (No. 5) a fragment of an elegy composed by Ibn Nāqiya.

### 324. ABU 'L-BAQA AL-'UKBARĪ

Abu 'l-Baqa 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn Ibn Abi 'l-Baqa 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-'Ukbarī, surnamed *Muḥabb al-Dīn* (*beloved for his religion*), was a jurisconsult of the *Ḥanbalite* sect, a skilful arithmetician, a calculator of inheritance shares and a grammarian. *Baghdad* was the place of his birth and residence, but his family belonged to 'Ukbarah. This doctor was totally deprived of sight. He learned grammar at *Baghdad* from *Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Khashshab* (see the

\* 13 March—Ed.

† 15 February—Ed.

next article) and other teachers of that time and was instructed in the Traditions by Abu 'l-Faḥ Muḥammad \* [Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī Ibn Aḥmad surnamed] Ibn al-Baṭṭī<sup>1</sup>, Abū Zur'ah Ṭahir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭahir al-Maqdisī, and some others. In the last period of his life he was without a rival in the various sciences which he professed; but his attention was chiefly engrossed by grammar, and on that subject he composed some instructive works. He made a commentary on Abū Alī al-Fārisī's treatise, the *'Idāh*, and another on the poems of al-Mutanabbī; to which must be added a grammatical analysis of the text of the *Qur'ān* in two volumes, a small volume containing a grammatical analysis of the Traditions, a commentary on Ibn Jinnī's work the *Lum'a*, the *Kitāb al-Lubāb* (essence), treating of the examples given in proof of the rules of grammar, a grammatical analysis of the verses contained in the Ḥamasah, a full commentary on al-Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal*, a commentary on the *Khuṭbahs* of Ibn Nubatah<sup>2</sup>, and another on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmahs*. He composed also some original treatises on grammar and arithmetic. Numerous pupils studied under him with great profit to themselves, and his reputation extended, even in his life-time, to distant countries. His birth took place A.H. 538 (A.C. 1143-4); he died at Baghḍād on the eve of Sunday, the 8 of the latter Rabi', A.H. 616 (June, A.C. 1219)<sup>†</sup> and was interred in the cemetery outside the Gate of Ḥarb.—*'Ukbari* means *belonging to 'Ukbarā*, which is a village on the Tigris, ten parasangs higher up than Baghḍād. This spot has produced a number of men remarkable for learning or for other acquirements.

‡ [The said Abu 'l-Baqā has narrated in the commentary of the *al-Maqāmah* where he mentions al-'anqa (a fabulous bird) that there is a mountain known as Damkh دَمَخ in the land of the

<sup>1</sup> Abū Faḥ Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī Ibn al-Baṭṭī, the *hijab*, was the chief traditionist of 'Irāq in that age. He died A.H. 564 (A.C. 1169), aged eighty-seven years.—(*Nujūm*).

<sup>2</sup> I have given the text and translations of one of these *Khuṭbahs* in the *Journal Asiatique* for January, 1840.

\* [ ] Omitted by de Slane—Ed.

† 23 June.—Ed.

‡ [ ] M. de Slane has omitted this portion. It is included in the autograph and has been included in later edition—Ed.

al-Rass\*, which is about a mile high. In it there were numerous birds one of which was a-l'anqā, large in body, having a long neck, and a human face. It has some resemblance with every living being. It is a very beautiful bird and visits once a year this mountain and picks up a bird. In certain years it becomes very hungry and it wants to prey, so it swoops down on a child and carries it away. It was named 'anqā muḡhrib (*strange 'anqā*) because of its coming from distant land. Once it carried away a maid. Thereupon the Russ complained before their Prophet, Ḥanẓalah Ibn Ṣafwān who cursed it and a flash of lightning burnt it.

I add that this Ḥanẓalah Ibn Ṣafwān was the Prophet of the Russ and lived in the period between Jesus and the Prophet Muḥammad. Then I noticed in the history of Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Farghānī, who had sojourned in Egypt, that al-'Azīz Nizār Ibn al-Mu'izz, the ruler of Egypt, had collected a large number of strange animals which none else had collected; and among them there was al-'anqā which was a bird brought to him from upper Egypt and it was equal to heron in length but larger in body. It had a wattle and beard and on its head there was a crown and there were several shades of colour in it; and it resembled many birds. God knows best.

I found at the end of the book *Rabī' al-Abrār*, by the eminent scholar, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī in the chapter on birds (relating) on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that God had created in the time of Moses a bird named ai-'anqā having four wings on either sides and a face like that of a man and blessed it with a share from all things and made its male like its female. He, then, revealed to Moses, "we have created two strange birds and made their provision from the birds around Jerusalem and tamed them for you and thus added to the superiority of the Israelites." Then they multiplied and their number increased. When Moses passed away they migrated to Najd and Ḥijaz. They did not cease eating wild animals and carrying away children till Khālīd Ibn Sinān al-'Absī was raised to prophethood in the period between Jesus and the advent of Muḥammad, may God bless both of them. People complained to him (Khālīd,) and he cursed them and they became extinct.]

\* al-Rass: a vally in Adḥarḥabaij n.



## 325. IBN AL-KHASHAB

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad\*, surnamed Ibn al-Khashshab, was a native of Baghdad celebrated for his abilities in philology, grammar, the Qur'anic exegesis. Traditions, genealogy, the calculation of inheritance shares, and arithmetic; he knew also the *Qur'ān* by heart, so as to repeat it according to most of the *readings*<sup>1</sup>. His mind was filled with every species of knowledge, and in each branch of science he displayed abilities of the highest order. His penmanship<sup>2</sup> was also extremely beautiful. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Kharidah* with the enumeration of his various talents and his excellencies; he then adds: "He composed but little poetry; this, however, was made by him on a wax-light:

'It is pale, but not from sickness; how could it be sick when its mother is the restorer of health?'<sup>3</sup> It is naked, but its interior (*the wick*) is clothed; how strange that it should be at once both clothed and naked!'

The *kātib* quotes also an enigma by Ibn al-Khashshab of which the word is *book*; it runs as follows:

"It has many faces, yet it does not betray your secrets as a double-faced man would do. The lines (*asrār*) on its face reveal secrets (*asrār*) to you and make them audible to the eye whilst you look upon them."

This thought is taken from al-Mutanabbī's poem on the wazīr Ibn al-'Amīd, where he says:

"Thy enemies called thee the *ra'is*<sup>4</sup> without any addition, but thy Creator entitled thee *al-Ra'is al-Akbar* (*the greatest of the chiefs*). Thy qualities have rendered these words of His as a writing for our eyes, so that they fill the ears of him who uses his sight."

<sup>1</sup> For the readings of the *Qur'ān*, see No. 68.

<sup>2</sup> The autograph has *أظا* not *أظيا*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Traditions it is mentioned that Muḥammad praised the great medical virtues of honey, saying that in it was a cure for man. See Mathew's *Mishkāt*, vol. II, p. 374.

<sup>4</sup> *Ra'is* or *Chief* was a title given to Wazīrs and Chief Officers in the administration.

\* The name Aḥmad is repeated only twice in Egyptian edition. — E. I.

He composed a commentary entitled *al-Murtajal* (*extempore dissertation*) on 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's (*grammatical treatise the*) *Jumal*, but he left some chapters towards the middle of the book without any elucidation; he wrote also a commentary on Ibn Jinnī's work the *Luma'*, but did not finish it. He was dirty in his person and paid hardly the slightest attention to what he ate or wore. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions that Ibn al-Khashshāb was an acquaintance of his, and that he had kept up a written correspondence with him. "When he died," says the same writer, "I was in Syria, and I saw him one night in a dream, and said to him: 'How has God treated thee?' 'Well' he replied. 'Does God show mercy to literary men?' 'Yes'.—'And if they have been remiss?'—'A severe reprimand will be given and then will come eternal happiness.'" Ibn al-Khashshāb was born A.H. 492 (A.C. 1098-9); \* [I say: "I found his date of birth as given here but I have got a pamphlet containing notes and references which he had put down in his own handwriting. He wrote something on the back of it, a summary of which is as follows; 'I asked Abu 'l-Faḡl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir about the birth of our Shaykh Abu 'l-Karm Mubārak Ibn Fākhīr surnamed Ibn al-Dubās the grammarian to which he replied: A.H. 430/A.C. 1038-39. I feel he had only guessed it, because he (Abu 'l-Karm) died in A.H. 505/A.C. 1111-12, and I think the actual date was a bit earlier. Then I asked Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Ibn Abī Naṣr Ibn al-Dubās, the copyist, about the birth of his uncle, the said Abu 'l-Karm; to which he replied that he, Abu 'l-Karm, had informed him (*Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn*) one year before his death that he had passed his seventieth year. I fear because I am now 77 years old. It means however that he was born in about A.H. 26. (i.e. 426 A.H.)

From this story it is inferred that Ibn al-Dubās died in A.H. 505 and he was one of the *shaykhs* of Ibn al-Khashshāb on whose authority he related numerous narrations, and it is impossible that he would have benefited from him before his puberty. In case the date of Ibn al-Khashshāb's birth and the date of his *Shaykh*'s death be correct then his age must have been about 13 years and at such an age it is

---

\* [ ] This passage is not to be found in the autograph, nor in De-Slane's edition, however, it is included in later editions.—Ed.

† 28 April.—Ed.

difficult to pursue knowledge correctly; undoubtedly what Ibn al-Khashshāb has written should be accepted as correct and so his birth must have taken place some time earlier. It is also possible that the date may be correct, and his narration must have been only based on his authority and he might not have studied and profited from him. There are many instances like this, and God knows best.)

He died on the Friday evening, the 3rd of Ramaḍān, A.H. 567 (May, A.C. 1172), in the house of Abu 'l-Qasim al-Frrā, situated near the gate of al-Azaj, at Baḡhdād. He was buried in the cemetery of Almad, at the gate of al-Ḥarb, on the Saturday which followed his death. The funeral prayers were said over him in the Jām Jamī' al-Sulṭān (*the sulṭān's great mosque*).

### 326. IBN AL-FARAḌĪ

Abu' l-Walīd 'Abd Allah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Naḡr al-Azdī, surnamed Ibn al-Faraḍī, a native of Cordova in Spain, was a jurisconsult deeply versed in the sciences connected with the Traditions, and well acquainted with the history and character of the persons by whom the Traditions were handed down; he possessed also immense information in general literature and other branches of knowledge. Amongst the number of his compositions, we must notice his History of the Learned Men of Spain; this is the work in continuation of which Ibn Baḡkuwāl wrote his *Ṣilat*. Another good production of Ibn al-Faraḍī is a treatise on homonymous terms (*al-Muḥṭalif wa 'l-Mu'talif*), and on those relative adjectives the derivation of which might be mistaken (*Mush-tabih al-Nisbah*); he composed also a history of the Spanish poets. In the year A.H. 382 (A.C. 992-3), he travelled from his native country to the East; in this visit he made the pilgrimage and frequented the company of the learned, communicating to them information, listening to their instructions, and writing down their observations (*amālī*). He composed a great deal of poetry, specimens of which we here give:

"A prisoner enslaved by his sins stands at Thy door, his heart filled with dread for reasons which Thou knowest well. He trembles

for crimes the horridness of which cannot be concealed from Thee, and Thou alone art the sole object of his hopes and fears. In whom should hopes be placed,—whom should man fear but Thee? Nought can prevent the fulfilment of Thy judgements. Lord! let not the book in which my actions are written bring me to shame, on the great day of reckoning, when the registers of men's deeds shall be opened to view. Be my consoler in the darkness of the tomb when my family abandon me and my friends know me no longer. In Thy abundant mercies I hope to find pardon for my transgressions; if Thy mercies fail me, I am lost for ever!"

By the same "

"If she who leads me a willing captive be not equal to the full moon in beauty, she is yet hardly surpassed by it. My submission at a lover proceeds from the power of her charms, and my languishing sickness is caused by the langour of her eyes."

He was born in the month of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 361 (December, A.C. 962). During some time he officiated as a qādī in the city of Valencia, and on Monday the 7 of Shawwāl, A.H. 403 (April, A.C. 1013),\* he was slain in Cordova at the storming of that city by the Barbarians.<sup>1</sup> His body lay in his house during three days, and was at length buried in a state of putrefaction, without being washed, or shrouded, or prayed over. Speaking of this subject we may cite here a circumstance which was related by himself: "When performing the pilgrimage, I clung to the veil of the Ka'bah and asked of Almighty God the grace of dying a martyr; but on withdrawing, I reflected on the terrors of a violent death and repented of my wish, I even thought of returning and praying God to consider it as null, but shame withheld me." It is related also that a person saw him lying amongst the slain, and on going over to him, heard him utter these words with a feeble voice: "No one shall be wounded in the cause of God. (and God well knoweth him who is wounded in that cause!) but will come at the day of resurrection with his wound dropping blood: its colour will be that of blood,

<sup>1</sup> This occurred in the reign of Hiṣhām al-Muwayyad, who disappeared in the catastrophe and was never heard of after. Sulayman ibn al-Hakam, surnamed al-Musta'in bi-Allāh, then ascended the throne for the second time. On taking the city, his African troops passed three days in the perpetration of every excess.

\*20 April—Ed.

but its smell that of musk<sup>1</sup>, thus repeating to himself the Tradition relative to those who die martyrs. The same person said that he expired immediately after. This Tradition was first given by Muslim in his *Ḥadīth*, or collection of the Prophet's sayings.

### 327. AL-RUSHĀṬĪ

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khallaf Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Umar al-Rushāṭī, a member of the tribe of Lakhm and a native of Almeria in Spain, was assiduously devoted to the study of the Traditions, the Traditionists, the transmitters of oral information and the historians. He is the author of a good work on the genealogy of Muḥammad's Companions and of the persons by whom the history of (*his*) deeds was handed down; it is entitled *Iqtibās al-Anwār w'alimās al-Azhār* (*acquisition of lights and search for flowers*). This compilation, which is drawn up with no inferior talent, was explained by al-Rushāṭī himself to his pupils; it is arranged on the same plan as the *Ansāb*, a genealogical treatise composed by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'anī. Al-Rushāṭī was born at 'Ūriuwālah (*Orihuela*), a town in the dependencies of Murcia, on Saturday morning, the 8th of latter Jumādā, A.H. 466 (February, A.C. 1074)\*: he died a martyr at Almeria when that city was taken by the enemy on Friday morning, the 20 of the first Jumādā, A.H. 542 (17 October, A.C. 1147),†—Rushāṭī; this relative adjective is derived neither from the name of a tribe nor from that of a place, but originated, as he himself states in his work, from the following circumstance: One of his ancestors had a mole on his body, and when a child he was nursed by a Persian (*or a foreign*)

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the sayings pronounced by Muḥammad.—See Mathew's *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, vol. II., page 237.

<sup>2</sup> Almeria was then of the most important sea-ports of the Spanish Muslims and the centre of a vast system of piracy which desolated the shores of the Mediterranean. It was taken by the Christians after a long siege, during which Alfonso Raimond, king of Arragon and Catalonia, aided by his Muslim ally Ibn Ghāniand by the king of Arragon, blockaded it by land, whilst the count of Barcelona, with the combined fleet of the Genoese and Pisans, attacked it by sea. We find here, for the first time, the precise date of that event.

\* 8 February—Ed.

† 17 October—Ed.

slave, who when playing with him used to call him *Rushṭālāh*, whence he became known by the name of *Rushṭāṭī*.

## 328. IBN BARRĪ

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi 'l-Waḥsh Barrī\* Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Barrī was a native of Egypt, but his family belonged to Jerusalem. His talents as a grammarian and philologist, the abundance and exactness of the oral information which he transmitted and his general instruction obtained for him the reputation of the most learned man of the time, the greatest *ḥāfiẓ* of the age, and the phenix of the epoch. He studied grammar under Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Ṣḥantarī<sup>2</sup>, Abū Ṭalīb 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ma'āfirī al-Qurṭubī<sup>3</sup>, and other masters in that art; he was taught Traditions by Abū Ṣādiq al-Madīnī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Razī, and others. The greater part of the language spoken by the Arabs of the Desert was familiar to him, and he composed a book of excellent notes on al-Jawharī's lexicon, the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, in which he brought forward many curious examples and pointed out numerous mistakes committed by that author;

1 I here follow the reading of the autograph MS., but *Rushṭāṭah* as given in the printed text, seems preferable, as the relative adjective *Rushṭāṭī* is regularly derived from it, which is not the case, with *Rushṭī lah* where the relative adjective would take the form of *Rushṭālī*. The meaning of this word is unknown to me, but the Portuguese *roxo* (red) or the French *rousse* appears to form a part of it.

2 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, surnamed Ibn al-Sarrāj, was born at Santarem, but he fixed his residence at Seville. He studied grammar under Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAfiyah and Ibn al-ʿAḥḍar and received traditions from Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Naṣṭī النطی from whom also he learned (the *imām Mā'ik's* work) the *Muwattā*, which he then transmitted orally to his own disciples. In the year 515 (A. C. 1121-2) he travelled to Egypt, where he taught the reading of the *Qur'an* and the Traditions. He then made a visit to Yaman. His works are the *Tanḥī al-Albāb* (a hint to the wise), treating of the Desert Arabs and their excellencies; a treatise on prosody; an abridgement of Ibn Raṣṭīq's work the *ʿUmdah* (see No. 157, in which he points out the mistakes committed by that writer. He died at Old Cairo, A. H. 545 (A. C. 1150-1). Ibn al-Abbar's *Takmilah*.

3 Abū Ṭalīb 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ma'āfirī was born at Cordova, but he fixed his residence in Egypt. He learned the *Maqīmāh*s from Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, the son of the celebrated al-Harrī, and he taught them on his authority. In the year 552 (A. C. 1157) Abū Muḥammad Ibn Abi Bakr al-Juḥāmī al-Sibṭī learned them from Abū Ṭalīb in Egypt.—(*Takmilah*).

\*M. de Slane gives Bari.—Ed.

this work is a proof of his extensive information, his great abilities, and his profound learning. Amongst the crowd of pupils who studied under him and profited by his tuition, one of the most conspicuous was Abū Mūsā ('Isā) al-Jazūlī, the author of the *Muqaddamah*, or *introduction* to the science of grammar, of whom further notice shall be taken (No. 488). Al-Juzūlī speaks of his master in the *Muqaddamah* and towards the end of it he gives some traditional information which he had learned from him. Ibn Barrī was well acquainted with Sībawayh's *Kitāb* and with the examples adduced by that grammarian in support of his doctrines<sup>1</sup>. He was supervisor of the Chancery Office (*of Egypt*), and every letter addressed by the government to foreign princes had to pass through his hands before it could be sent off; his duty being to peruse it and correct the faults which might have escaped notice. Such also was the post held by Ibn Babs<sup>h</sup>adh, as we have already stated (No. 288). I met in Egypt a number of persons who had studied under him, and they communicated to me some of the traditional information which they had obtained from him; in testimony of this, I procured from them certificates of license. It is related that Ibn Barrī spoke his language very carelessly and that he paid little attention to the final vowels, using whichever came uppermost. This he carried to such an extent, that he said one day to a pupil who was studying grammar under him: "Buy me a small quantity of *spinage with the roots on* (*hindabā bi 'urūqū*)." The other replied (*in correcting him*): "Yes *hindabah bi 'uruqih*." Provoked with the observations, he exclaimed: "Do not take it without the roots (*bi 'urūqū*);"—(*repeating the fault*)—"if it be without roots, I will not have it." He used many other expressions of a similar kind, being quite indifferent to the manner in which he spoke, and paying no attention to the final vowels. I have seen a collection of notes made by him on al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-Ḡi'awāṣṣ*; there is also a little book by him in which he points out the mistakes into which jurists have fallen. Besides these works he composed an able defence of al-Ḥarīrī against Ibn al-Kha<sup>h</sup>sh<sup>h</sup>ab, who had written a

---

<sup>1</sup> Those examples are generally single verses quoted from ancient poems, and to understand them well it is necessary to study the pieces to which they belong.

work in order to expose the blunders committed in the *Maqāmahs*. Ibn Barri was born at Cairo on the 5 of Rajab, A. H 499 (March, A.C. 1106);\* he died in the same city on the eve of Sunday, the 27 of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 582 (January, A.C. 1187).†—*Barri* is a proper name, though by its form it resembles a relative adjective.

### 329. AL-‘ĀḌID

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh was the son of Yūsuf Ibn al-Ḥafīz Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mustansir Ibn al-Zāhir Ibn al-Ḥakīm Ibn al-‘Azīz Ibn al-Mu‘izz Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qa‘im Ibn al-Mahdī. He bore the surname of al-‘Āḍid and was the last ‘Ubayyidite (*Fāṭimite*) sovereigns of Egypt. We have already given notices on some members of his family and shall speak of the others in the ensuing portion of this work. Al-‘Āḍid was raised to the throne on the death of his cousin al-Fa‘īz (*in the month of Rajab, A.H. 555*). His father Yūsuf was one of the two brothers who were assassinated by ‘Abbas on the death of al-Zāfir, an event already noticed (No. 96). Al-‘Āḍid held merely a nominal authority, all the real power being in the hands of al-Ṣālīḥ Ibn Ruzzīk. This prince was a violent *shī‘ite*, most bitter in his execrations on the companions of Muḥammad (*who were not partisans of ‘Alī*), and whenever he met a *Sunnite* he ordered him to be put to death. During his reign the Wazīr al-Ṣālīḥ Ibn Ruzzīk pursued a line of conduct highly reprehensible, forestalling all the provisions in order to raise their price, assassinating the great officers of the empire lest they should turn against him, and weakening all the resources of Egypt. He put the bravest of its officers to death, and left not a man of prudence or resolution in the country, whilst he displayed great ardour in seizing on the property of others and inflicting heavy fines on persons who never had the slightest business with him. In the reign of al-‘Āḍid, his relation (Abū ‘Abd Allāh)‡ al-Ḥusayn Ibn Nizar Ibn al-Mustansir

---

\* 13 March—Ed.

† 11 January—Ed.

‡ The autograph has given this name—Ed.



advanced from Western Africa with a large body of troops, but, on approaching the Egyptian territory, he was betrayed by his followers and delivered up to al-'Āḍid by whose orders he was put to death. This event occurred in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 557; but according to another statement, it happened in the reign of al-Ḥafiz 'Abd al-Majid<sup>1</sup>. Al-Ḥusayn had assumed the title of al-Muntaṣir bi-Allāh,—In the life of Shawar and in that of Shayrkah we have noticed the causes which contributed to the fall of the Fāṭimite dynasty and placed the Ghuzz\* family on the throne of Egypt; further observations on the same subject shall be presented to the reader in the life of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: it is therefore unnecessary for us to enter into a long exposition of them here.—I have heard a number of Egyptians relate that when these people (*the Fāṭimites*) commenced their reign, they told one of the learned to write on a leaf of paper a series of surnames fitted to be borne by khalifs, so that they might select one of them for each of their princes when he came to the throne. This person wrote down a great many surnames, and the last on the list was *al-'Āḍid*; a singular coincidence with the fact, the last of their sovereigns bore that very title; it was observed also that, as a word employed in the language, *al-'Āḍid* means *the cutter*, and in fact it might be said that this *al-'Āḍid* *cut short* their dynasty. I was also informed by a learned Egyptian that, towards the end of his reign, al-'Āḍid dreamt, when in Old Cairo, that a scorpion came out of a well-known mosque there and stung him. When he awoke, he reflected with dread on what he had seen and caused an interpreter of dreams to be brought in, to whom he related the vision. The answer he received was, that he should receive harm from a person sojourning in that mosque. Al-'Āḍid immediately sent for the governor of Old Cairo and ordered him to make a perquisition in a certain mosque which he named, and if he found any person sojourning in it, to bring

<sup>1</sup> This event is not noticed by any of the historians whom I have consulted; in the *Nuḡm*, Abu 'l-Mah sin merely cites Ibn Khallikan's words, when giving the sketch of the life of al-'Āḍid: but under the year 557, he takes no notice of such an occurrence. The revolt of Nizār against al-Musta'li in A.H. 487 (see No. 73), may have been confounded with the death of al-Ḥasan the son of al-Ḥafiz, in 529, and given rise to the discordant statements here brought by Ibn Khallikan.

\*The Editor of Egyptian edition and Teheran edition give ج. others instead of Ghuzz which is the reading of the autograph—Ed.

him into his presence. The governor went thither and found a *ṣūfī*, whom he brought before al-‘Āḍid. On seeing him, the prince asked where he was from, how long he had been in that country, and what motive had induced him to come there; to these questions he received satisfactory answers. Struck with the (*apparent*) veracity of the *ṣūfī*, and believing that a person so miserable as he could not possibly do him any harm, he said to him. “O *shaykh*! pray for us”: and then dismissed him with a present. The *ṣūfī* returned again to his mosque, but when the sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn became master of the country and formed the intention of seizing on al-‘Āḍid and his partisans, he consulted the doctors of the law on the legality of the measure; they declared it lawful, inasmuch as al-‘Āḍid followed heterodox opinions; to the perversion of the true belief, and frequently insulted the memory of the Prophet’s Companions in the most public manner. Now the strongest *fatwā* of any was that given by the *ṣūfī* who lived in the mosque just mentioned, and he was no less than the *shaykh* Najm al-Dīn al-Khuba-*shānī*, the jurisconsult whose life will be found in No. 571. In his declaration, he summed up at great length the misdeeds of those people (*the Fāṭimites*) and declared them infidels. Al-‘Āḍid’s dream was thus fulfilled. This prince was born on Tuesday, the 20th of Muḥarram, A.H. 546 (May, A.C. 1151);\* he died on the eve of Monday, the 12 of Muḥarram, A.H. 567 (September, A.C. 1171).† It is reported that, in a paroxysm of rage against *Shams* al-Dawlat Turān *Shāh*, † he ended his days by poison. According to some accounts, he expired on the night of ‘*shūrā*, (*the night preceding the tenth day of Muḥarram*).

### 330. ABU ‘L-RADDĀD

Abu ‘l-Raddād ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Raddād, the *muwadhḥin* and guardian of the Nilometer. was a native of Baṣrah and a man of holy life. In the year 246 of the

\* 8 May.—Ed.

† 13 September.—Ed.

1 (ibn Ayyūb brother of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) omitted by de Slane. Ed.

Hijrah (A.C. 860-1) he was appointed keeper of the new Nilometer erected in the island of (*Rawḡah*, near) Cairo, with the inspection and direction of everything connected with it. This office continues to be exercised by his descendants to the present time. He died A.H. 279 (A.C. 892-3), or 266 (879-80). \* [This Nilometer was erected by Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib al-Qurṣānī under the instructions of al-Mutawakkil 'alā-Allāh. Prior to it 'Uṣamah Ibn Zayd al-Tanūkhī had ordered the erection of a Nilometer in the Jazīrah in A.H. 76/A.C. 695-6. He is reported to have said, "When I wanted to scribe (some thing) on the Nilometer I consulted Yaz'd Ibn 'Abd Allāh, Sulaymān Ibn Wahb and al-Ḥasan, the attendant, as to what should be written. I informed them that the best inscription would be the verses of the *Qur'ān*, the name of the Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mutawakkil 'alā-Allāh and the name of the governor al-Muntaḥir. When the work commenced there was a difference of opinion and Sulaymān Ibn Wahb wrote the inscription without consultation. In the meantime the letter of the Amīr al-Mu'minīn reached, with instructions to write down the verses of the *Qur'ān* appropriate to the Nilometer and the name of the Amīr al-Mu'minīn. Then I selected the verses of the *Qur'ān*, more appropriate than which for the Nilometer could not be found, and had all of them written in the marble which was used in the building, at places where writing was possible in a straight hand of the thickness of a finger, chiselled in the marble with waxed lapis lazuli, this could be read from a distance. I caused four verses of equal length to be inscribed in four lines in quadruplication of the building of the Nilometer at the height of 17 cubits of the pillar. I got the following verse written on the eastern side facing the entrance of the Nilometer. *In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And we send down from the sky blessed water whereby we give growth unto gardens and the grain of crops* †. (I got the following verse inscribed) on the northern side, 'And thou (Muḥammad) seest the earth barren but when we send down water thereon, it doth thrill and swell and put forth every lovely kind (of growth) ‡. (I got the following

---

\* [ ] This piece is not to be found in the autograph nor in de Slane's edition; it is however included in subsequent editions—Ed.

† *Al-Qur'ān*, Sūrah 50, verse 9

‡ *Al-Qur'ān*, Sūrah 22, verse 5.

verse inscribed): on the western side, 'Seest thou not how Allāh sendeth down water from the sky and then the earth becometh green upon the morrow? Lo! Allāh is subtile, Aware'.\* (I got the following verse inscribed): to the southern side, 'And He it is who sendeth down the saving rain after they have despaired, and spreadeth out His mercy. He is the Protecting Friend, the Praiseworthy.' †

These verses were inscribed above the maximum water level which was 17 cubits. Then I marked a belt in quadrifilatum on the 18th cubit as I had done on the 16 and got the following verse inscribed there, '*In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful.*' Allāh is He who created the Heavens and the earth, and causeth water to descend from the sky, thereby producing fruits as food for you, and maketh the ships to be of service unto you that they may run upon the sea at His command, and hath made of service unto you the rivers.

And maketh the sun and the moon, constant in their course, to be of service unto you, and hath made of service unto you the night and the day.

And He giveth you of all ye ask of Him, and if ye would count the bounty of Allāh you cannot reckon it. Lo! man is verily a wrong doer, an ingrate.‡

'*In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful.*' This is a meter of luck, prosperity, blessing and safety which has been created under the command of 'Abd Allāh Ja'far al-Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh Amir al-Mūminīn, may God grant him long life and perpetuate his honour and support by Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib in A.H. 247/A.C. 861-2. I (Aḥmad) got the walls above the water level mark engraved, and chiselled by waxed lapis lazuli, and created a pillar 19 cubits high and summit made on it and a girder of acacia attached to it, and the whole of it is engraved with gold and lapis lazuli. I got '*Āyat al-Kursī*' (Surah 2, verse 255) inscribed and on the wall of the alley facing Nile above the entrance of the Nilometer so that the visitor could read the line engraved in the marble from the beginning to the end which runs thus — '*In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful.*' Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the

\* *Al-Qur'ān*, Surah 22, verse 62.

† *Al-Qur'ān*, Surah 42, verse 28.

‡ *Al-Qur'ān*, Surah 14, verses 32-4.

worlds and may Allāh bless our Leader, Muḥammad, the chief of the Prophets. 'Abd Allāh Ja'far the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'Alā Allāh Amīr al-Mūminīn ordered this Ḥaṣhmī Nilometer to be erected so that the flow of the Nile in its discharge may be known. May God prolong the life of Amīr al-Mūminīn and may He perpetuate his honour, authority and triumph over his enemies and grant him benevolence and blessings. May He enhance his desire for doing good deeds and clemency to his people. Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥasib wrote it in the month of Rajab in A.H. 247."

I got two lines written in the marble by the two sides of the door. One of them contained: 'In the name of Allāh, what Allāh likes! There is no strength and might except that of Allāh. And say: truth hath come and falsehood hath vanished away. Lo! falsehood is ever bound to vanish.\* The other contained: 'In the name of Allāh: The water-level reached 17 cubits and 18 digits of this blessed al-Mutawakkil Nilometer, in the year it was erected.'

And I prepared the image of a beast out of the marble and fixed it in the wall overlooking the Nile just above its bridge in a position at 16 cubits. When the water level reached that mark, water entered its mouth. A little above this mark I got it written on the wall: 'Have they not seen how we lead the water to the barren land and therewith bring forth crops whereof their cattle eat, and they themselves? Will they not then see?\*

Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥasib got it written in the latter Jumādā A.H. 247/August, A.C. 861. May God bless our Leader Muḥammad the Prophet and his progeny.

The cubit in the Nilometer is equal to 28 digits upto 12th cubit after that it is equal to 24 digits.]

Al-Qudā'i speaks of him in his topographical description of Cairo, and also of the young girl whom they used formerly to throw into the Nile<sup>1</sup>. These passages are to be found in the chapter on the Nilometer.

<sup>1</sup> See Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. II, p. 263.

\* *Al-Qur'an* Sūrah 32, verse 27.

## 331. 'UBAYD ALLĀH IBN 'ABD ALLĀH

Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Utbah Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn 'Āqil Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn Shamakh Ibn Makḥzum Ibn Ṣubḥ Ibn Kahil Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Tamīm Ibn Sa'd Ibn Hudḥayl Ibn Mudrikah Ibn al-Yas Ibn Muḥar Ibn Nizar Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnan al-Hudḥali was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Madinah. (Of these doctors four have been already noticed.) This 'Ubayd Allāh was grandson to the brother of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd, one of Muhammad's partisans. He held a high rank amongst the *Tābi'is*, having met and conversed with a great number of the Prophet's companions; besides which he received traditions from Ibn 'Abbās, Abū Hurayrah, and 'Āyishah. Traditions were given on his authority by Abū 'l-Zinād, al-Zuhri, and others. The last named *ḥāfiz* said that he had seen four oceans (*of knowledge*), and that one of them was this 'Ubayd Allāh. He said again: "I received a great deal of traditional knowledge on the Science (*of the law*), and I thought that I had acquired a sufficiency; but on meeting 'Ubayd Allāh, I felt as if I possessed not the slightest particle of it". (*The khalif*) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was heard to say that for him a conversation with 'Ubayd Allāh was more precious than the world and all it contained. He said another time: "By Allāh! for the advantage of passing of an evening with 'Ubayd Allāh I would give one thousand pieces of gold out of the public treasury<sup>1</sup>. On hearing this, the persons present said: "How can you say so, Commander of the faithful! You who are so strict and scrupulous in such matters?" To this he replied: "Whither do your imaginations lead you? By Allāh! to obtain his advice and counsel and guidance, I should have recourse to the public treasury for a thousand, nay for thousands of dīnars: conversation like his gives fecundity to the intelligence and repose to the heart; it dissipates care and improves social manners." 'Ubayd Allāh was as pious as learned; he died at Madinah, A.H. 102 (A.C. 720-1), but other statements say 99 or 98. He composed some pieces of poetry. One of which is given in the *Ḥamāsah*<sup>2</sup>; it runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to observe here that the public money could only be employed for the public welfare, and that 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was extremely scrupulous on this point.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ḥamāsah*, page 594.

"You rent my heart and shed ~~in~~ love for you; it was then blamed for its weakness and the wound closed up. Love for 'Athmah has entered deeply into my heart, and what my bosom manifests accords with what it conceals. Love for her has penetrated it to a depth which food, or sorrow, or joy, have never reached."

When he first pronounced these verses, he was asked how he (*who was a grave man*) could express himself in such a manner, to which he replied: "The man whose heart is wounded finds solace in complaining." He was the author of the expression: "The man whose lungs are diseased cannot help spitting."—*Hudhali* means *belonging to Hudhayl*;<sup>\*</sup> this is a large tribe, and the majority of those who inhabit Wādī Nakhlah near Makkah, belong to it. 'Abd 'Allāh 'Ubayd 'Allāh's father died A.H. 86 (A.C. 705). At a time previous to the introduction of Islamism, the chieftainship of this tribe was exercised by his ancestor Ṣubh Ibn Kāhil.

### 332. 'UBAYD ALLĀH THE MAHDĪ

The genealogy of Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd Allāh, surnamed al-Mahdī (*the directed by God*), is a subject on which I have met with statements of the most discordant kind; the author of the History of Qayrawān<sup>1</sup> says that he was the son of al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib; another historian calls him 'Ubayd Allāh the son of Muḥammad Ibn Isma'īl Ibn Ja'far (*Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, etc.*) as before; a third states that his grandfather Isma'īl was the son of 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib; others again call him the son of al-Taḳī (*the fearer of God*), who was the son of *al-Wafī* (*the perfect*) who was the

<sup>1</sup> Hājji Khalifah notices five authors who have composed works on the history of Qayrawān.—(See Flügel's edition of the Bibliographical Dictionary, tom. II, page 142).

\* Ibn Mudrikah Ibn al-Yās Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān) omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

son of al-Raḍī\* (*him with whom God is well pleased*), which three persons are designated as the *concealed in the essence of God*; Raḍī was the son of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ja'far (this Ja'far is the same person as he mentioned above); the real name of al-Taḳī was Ḥusayn, that of al-Wafī was Aḥmad, and that of al-Raḍī was 'Abd Allāh; they were called the *concealed* because they lay hid through dread of being apprehended by the 'Abbasides who had been informed that one of them aspired to the *khālīfate*, as others of 'Alī's descendants whose adventures and enterprises are well known, had done before; the Maḥdī was called 'Ubayd Allāh to conceal him more effectually.—Such are the statements made by those who consider him to be really descended from al-Ḥusayn the son of 'Alī, and it may be observed how much their accounts are at variance: moreover, among the persons learned in genealogies, the most exact investigators reject 'Ubayd Allāh's pretensions to such an origin, and we have already related in the life of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭabaṭaba (*see No. 317*) what passed between that *sharīf* and al-Mu'izz on the arrival of the latter in Egypt, with the answer which al-Mu'izz made to him when questioned on the subject: the words of that prince are in themselves a proof that he did not spring from al-Ḥusayn, otherwise he would have set forth his genealogy without having had recourse to the meeting of which we have there spoken<sup>2</sup>. They say also that his true name was Sa'īd, and 'Ubayd Allāh his surname; according to them, his mother was the wife of al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maymān; this Maymān was surnamed al-Qaddāḥ, (*the piercer*), because he was an oculist and *lanced eyes* in which humours had settled. It is said also that when al-Maḥdī arrived at Sijilmasah, al-Yasa', the sovereign of that city and the last prince of the Midrār dynasty<sup>1</sup>, was informed that the stranger was the person whose rights Abū 'Abd Allāh the

---

1 This last argument is not well founded; Ibn Khallikān himself admits that the *sharīf* Ibn Ṭabaṭaba was dead many years before the arrival of al-Mu'izz in Egypt. The opinion expressed by our author and the genealogists who like him lived under the authority of the Abbaside *khālīfs*, cannot be of any weight, as they could not have dared to enounce any other. M. de Sacy's *Exposé des doctrines des Druzes* gives the best information on the history of the Maḥdī and the origin of the Fāṭimites.

<sup>2</sup> He was *not* the last prince of the Midrār dynasty; the last of them was al-Mu'tazz Ibn al-Shākir, who was slain A.H. 366, seventy years after the death of al-Yasa'.

\*M. de Slane reads it al-Riḍā



Shī'ite was then proclaiming in the province of Africa; (of these proceedings we have already spoken. No. 193). In consequence of this, al-Yasā' imprisoned 'Ubayd Allāh; but the Shī'ite, on learning the circumstance, collected a large body of troops from different tribes, and especially from that of Kutamāh\* and marched against Sijilmasah with the intention of delivering the captive. Al-Yasā', being informed of his design, put al-Mahdī to death in the prison, and then fled the city on the approach of the hostile army. Abū 'Abd Allāh immediately entered the place in which al-Mahdī was confined, and found a servant of his, a devoted follower, staying by the corpse of his murdered master. Apprehending that all his plans, hitherto so successful, would come to ruin if the troops learned what had happened, he brought the servant out to them and said: "This is the Mahdī"<sup>2</sup>. The rest of his history is so well known that it is needless to repeat it<sup>3</sup>. He was the first of that family who established his authority in Maghrib and maintained with success his pretensions to the khalīfate. When he got the power into his own hands, he put his missionary<sup>4</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh the Shī'ite and that person's brother to death, as we have already mentioned. In the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah A.H. 303 (May, A.C. 916), he laid the foundations of the city of al-Mahdiyyah in the province of Africa, and he finished its construction in the month of Shawwal, A.H. 308 (Feb.-March, A.C. 921). He also fortified *Tunis* with a wall of great strength and repaired a number of its buildings. *Al-Mahdiyyah* was so called after him. He was succeeded by his son al-Qa'im, on whose death al-Manṣūr, the son of al-Qa'im, ascended the throne. Of al-Manṣūr we have already spoken (No. 95). After him came his son al-Mu'izz, he who sent his general Jawhar to the conquest of Egypt, where he founded Cairo. Their dynasty continued to reign in that country till overturned by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. We have already given the lives of some of the princes descended from 'Ubayd Allāh, and shall notice the remainder in the sequel of this work : they were

---

1 It must be observed that Ibn Khallikān gives this story as mere report, as the word يقال or it *is said* always implies.

2 See it in M. de Sacy's *Druzes*.

3 That is, his precursor and agent.

\* M. de Slane reads it *Kitanah*—Ed.

denominated *Obaidites* on account of their descent from him. His birth took place in the town of Salmiyah, A.H. 259 (A.C. 872-3), or by other accounts in the year 260 or 266, but some say that he was born at Kūfah. Prayers were first offered up for him as *khalif* from the pulpits of al-Raqqādah and Qayrawān, on Friday the 20 of the later Rabi', A.H. 297 (January A.C. 910)\*, this was subsequently to his return from Sijilmāsah and after his adventure there. He made his appearance at Sijilmāsah on Sunday the 7 *Dhu 'l Hijjah*, A.H. 296 (August A.C. 909).† —The province of *Maghrib* was thus withdrawn from the domination of the 'Abbasides. 'Ubayd Allāh died on the eve of Tuesday, the 15 of the first Rabi', A.H. 322 (March A.C. 934),‡ at al-Mahdiyyah.—*Salamiyah* is a town of Syria, situated in the government of Emessa.—*Raqqādah* is a town in the province of Africa.

### 333. 'UBAYD ALLĀH IBN 'ABD ALLĀH IBN ṬĀHIR

Abū Aḥmad 'Ubayd Allāh al-Khuzā'i was the son of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muṣ'ab Ibn Ruzayq Ibn Māhān. We have already spoken of his father and grandfather, and mentioned the high favour and esteem in which they were held by al-Māmūn, we have also related how he appointed them to the government of *Khurasān* and other provinces. 'Ubayd Allāh held a military command under the *khalif*, and acted for some time as lieutenant for his brother Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh, who was chief of the police-guards (*Shurṭah*) at Baḡdād, on the death of his brother.

---

\* 5 January—Ed.

† 27 August—Ed.

‡ 4 March—Ed.

he was promoted to the vacant place. He ranked amongst the most eminent of the tribe of *K̲h̲uzā'ah* and succeeded to the chieftainship over them; he was the last of the family who died in possession of that post. A number of works were composed by him, such as the *Ishārah* (*indication*), containing a history of the poets; an epistolary treatise on government; a collection of letters addressed by him to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz; the *Kitāb al-Barā'at wa 'l-Faṣāḥat* (*on the excellence of style and perspicuity*), etc. He transmitted also some oral information on the authority of al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkār and others. As an epistolary writer and a poet, he displayed an elegant imagination, a delicate taste, and a talent for conceiving and expressing with propriety the finest thoughts. In one of his pieces he says:

"Does pride make you fly a youth who has disclosed your name (*as hers whom he adores*)?<sup>1</sup> The supplications of a lover are entitled to an answer! From a distant land he sends you his salutation; return one yet kinder, or else return it simply.—They bridled their camels on the morn of separation and departed with their loaded caravan, leaving me behind to weep over their abandoned dwellings. But I followed in their steps, and, to remove the suspicions (*of the jealous guardians who surrounded my beloved*), I said that I had been sent to drive the camels and cheer them with my song. 'And what means,' said they, 'that sigh so deeply drawn? Wherefore droop those eyelids?'—"That sigh," said I, 'comes from this long and weary journey, and those tears are caused by some grains of dust which have fallen into my eyes.' But when they entered the land of Najd and night had spread its deepest shades around, I raised my voice in the darkness to call on my beloved: 'O thou who hast disordered my reasons and enslaved my heart! shall I hope for the happiness of a fortunate meeting?' "

---

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has *أتهجرون أفتى أعري بكم تيهي* *do you proudly avoid a youth impelled to love you?* This reading is given in the autograph and in one of the manuscripts which I made use of, but the measure of the verse does not permit it. The reading adopted in the printed text is authorised by other manuscripts.

Since writing these verses, I find them attributed to Abu 'l-Tārīf, the favourite poet of al-Mu'tamid, the 'Abbaside Khalīf.—Another of his pieces is as follows:

"O what deadly pangs were ours on the loss of those friends who were lights to guide, and forts to protect us! (*In battle they were*) lions, (*in beneficence*) gushing showers, (*in danger*) firm as mountains, (*and for us*) a safeguard and (*sources of*) ease and tranquillity. Fortune was never unkind to us till death removed them to another world. But now each burning fire is (*an emblem of*) our hearts, and each spring of water (*the likeness of*) our eyes."

By the same:

"The true prince is he who, though deprived of authority, is still a prince (*at heart*). Wordly power he may lose, but the power which his virtues gave him can never cease."

By the same:

"Render service as much as thou art able, and be ever ready to dispel the affliction of thy brother. The best days of a man's life are those in which he renders service."

'Ubayd Allāh having fallen sick, was visited by the Wazīr to whom, when he withdrew, he addressed a note containing these words: 'I know of none but myself who ever felt gratitude to sickness; I feel obliged and grateful to it for its kindness since it procured me the pleasure of seeing you. It is with me as with the Arab of the Desert, who blessed the day on which his beloved and her tribe departed for a distant land; 'Blessings' said he:

'Blessings be on the day of separation despite the pains it causes! it was such a day which gave me a sight of (*my beloved*) Umm Thābit. It allowed me to see maidens brought up in the inmost recesses of the tents, and whom I could never have seen but in the descriptions of those kind females who spoke to me of their beauty.<sup>1</sup>

A note similar to this was written by al-Buḥturī to Abū Ghānim<sup>2</sup> who had fallen sick and was visited by the wazīr:

<sup>1</sup> Here the printed text and all the manuscripts, except the autograph, give a reading which is rhythmically wrong. The true reading is *باتتعات النوااعت*.

<sup>2</sup> Abū Ghānim al-Shāh Ibn Mikāl was governor of Fārs; his praises were celebrated not only by al-Buḥturī, but by Ibn Durayd.

"You have been a gainer, O Abū Ghānim! and may genial showers never cease to shed abundance on your land! I should willingly consent to suffer as you have done, were I to receive the visit of him who went to you. The honour which the wazīr thus conferred upon you has caused joy to your friends and vexation to your enemies."

The poetical works of 'Ubayd Allāh have been collected and form a *diwān*. He was born A.H. 223 (A.C. 837-8); he died at Baghḍad on the eve of Saturday the 12 of the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 300 (May, A.C. 913)\* and was interred in the Cemetery of the Quraysh tribe. He once visited the grave of his brother Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd Allāh, who died A.H. 265, and there, leaning on his bow, he contemplated the family-tomb, and gave utterance to his feelings, in the following lines:

"Sighs of sadness mount from my bosom, and tears flow from the orbits of my eyes, on beholding a spot so small inhabited by those for whom my affection was so great!"

### 334. ABU 'L-ḤAKAM AL-MAGHRIBĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥakam 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Bāhilī, surnamed al-Maghribī, a physician and an elegant scholar, was born in Yaman, but he drew his descent from a family which inhabited Almeria in Spain. In an historical work compiled by Abū Shuja' Muḥammad Ibn al-Dahḥān al-Farādī (see his life in this work), it is stated that Abu 'l-Ḥakam went to Baghḍad, where he kept a boy's school for some time, and that he had a knowledge of the belles-lettres, medicine, and geometry; then follow the dates of his birth and death. Another writer says of him: "He was a man of the highest accomplishments, and cultivated with equal success the belles-lettres and philosophy. There exists an edition of his poetical works, which are very good, but their tone is in general licentious." The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions

---

\* 22 May—Ed.

in the *Kharidah* that this Abu 'l-Ḥakam was attached as a physician to the camp hospital which always followed the army of the Saljuq sultan Maḥmūd, and for the transporting of which forty camels were allotted. He says also that al-Sadīd Abu 'l-Wafā Yahyā Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Yahyā Ibn al-Muẓaffar, who was afterwards chief qādī of Baghḍad in the reign of the khalīf al-Muktafī (*li amr Allāh*), and is better known by the surname of Ibn al-Murakḥḥim, was a phlebotomist and a physician in the same hospital. The *kātib* then mentions Abu 'l-Ḥakam's talents and conduct with high approbation and notices a work composed by him under the title of *Nahj al-Waḍā'ah*;<sup>1</sup> *li Uli 'l-Khalā'ah* (*path of humility marked out for the dissolute*). He proceeds to state that Abu 'l-Ḥakam removed to Syria and settled at Damascus, where he had many amusing adventures indicative of his light-hearted disposition. I read the following anecdote respecting him in his *Diwān*: "Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Munīr al-Ṭarabulusī"—the same of whom we have spoken (*in No. 63*)—"was stopping at the castle of Shayzar with the amīrs of the Munqidh family, by whom he was treated with great attention, when a poet of Damascus, named Abu 'l-Waḥsh, whose facetious disposition rendered him the intimate friend and companion of Abu 'l-Ḥakam, resolved on visiting Shayzar, that he might recite laudatory poems to the Munqidh princes and obtain gifts in return. He therefore asked Abu 'l-Ḥakam for a letter of recommendation to Ibn Munīr, and obtained one written in these terms:

'Hearken, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn! to the words of a man who, obliged to speak unprepared, utters his thoughts off-hand. Here is Abu 'l-Waḥsh, who goes to praise the family (*with whom you are residing*); vaunt then his merit when he arrives, and repeat to them in your own excellent language, what I now relate to you respecting him. Tell them that he is a man the like of whom was never seen before: the qualities which they will find in him render unnecessary any description of mine; any other information than this no sensible man need require.—Notwithstanding his continual levity (*of con-*

---

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of the autograph, but all the other manuscripts which I have consulted and the Bibliographical Dictionary of Ḥājjī Khalīfah have *al-Raḥā'ah*.

duct) he acknowledges that he is a heavy fellow<sup>1</sup>. He is allied to silliness, stupidity, and folly; for other connexions, he has none. If you essay to open him with the intention of discovering what he contains, you will open a vacuity. If he sojourn with you, treat him with indignity and contempt, but when he intends to set off, be officious in helping him. Give him poison to drink if you find the opportunity, and mix it for him with the honey of your tongue (*flattering language*)'. ”

One of his most admired pieces is a humorous *maqārāh* (poem rhyming in a short a), written in imitation of Ibn Durayd's and which contains this verse:

“Things joined in close union must one day separate even were they stuck together with glue.”

He composed also an elegy on the death of 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, the son of 'Āq Sunqur (see No. 233); in this piece he has combined the opposite extreme of gravity and humour. The greater part of his poetry is characterised by the natural simplicity of its ideas and style. He was born in Yaman, A.H. 486 (A.C. 1093-4), according to Ibn al-Dubaythī, in his supplement (*to the History of Baghdād*); he died at Damascus on the eve of Wednesday, the 4th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 549 (January, A.C. 1155);\* but Ibn al-Dubaythī says that his death took place after the second hour of the night which preceded the sixth day of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, which day was a Wednesday. He was interred at the gate of al-Farādīs.—The qaṣī Ibn al-Murakhkhim, mentioned in this article, is the same person on whom the following lines were made by Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, a poet of whom we shall give an account in this work:

“Ibn al-Murakhkhim, you have now become a qaṣī amongst us! say if it be fortune which has gone mad (*to bring about so absurd an event*), or is it a prank of the stars? Were your judicial practice confined to judicial astrology, your decisions might be sometimes right, but how did you come to know the laws of Muḥammad?”

---

<sup>1</sup> The Autograph has *التكلى* but no such word exists in Arabic; the true reading is *التكلى* as I have printed it.

\*12 January; 6 Dhu 'l-Qa'dah appears to be correct date—Ed.

## 335 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN IBN ABĪ LAYLĀ

Abū 'Īsā 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā Yasār Ibn Bilāl Ibn 'Uḥayyah Ibn al-Jullāḥ al-Anṣārī was one of the principal *Ṭabī'īs* who settled at Kufah. Different opinions are held respecting the true name of his father Ab. Laylā, who was one of the *Anṣārs*; some say it was Yasār, others Dāwūd, etc. Ibn Abī Laylā learned Traditions from 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb, 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affan, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī<sup>1</sup>, and others; it is mentioned also that he received some Traditions from 'Umar, but this is a fact which no *ḥāfiẓ* considers as well established. His father Abū Laylā handed down a saying which he had heard of uttered by the Prophet himself, and it was he who bore the standard of 'Alī at the battle of the Camel. Ibn Abī Laylā received also Traditions from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shā'bī, Mujahid<sup>2</sup>, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr, and a great number of others. He was born A.H. 21 (A.C. 642) two years before the death of 'Umar, and was slain at the river Dujayl, or drowned in the river of Baṣrah; some say however that he was one of the missing after the battle with Ibn al-Ash<sup>3</sup>ath at Dayr al-Jamajim in A.H. 83 (A.C. 702). Other accounts place his death in the year 81 and 82 of the Hijrah.

## 336. AL-AWZĀ'Ī

Abū 'Amr 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Amr Ibn Yuḥmid al-Awzā'ī, the chief imām or doctor of the law, among the Muslims of Syria, was the most learned man of that country in the science of Jurisprudence. It is said that he gave the solution of seventy thousand legal questions. He dwelt at Bayrūt. It is related that when Sufyān al-Thawrī heard that al-Awzā'ī was coming (to town), he went out to meet him, as far as Dhū Ṭāwa'<sup>1</sup> and taking the

<sup>1</sup> Abū Ayyūb Khālid Ibn Zayd al-Anṣārī, a member of the tribe of *Khazraj*, was the person at whose house Muḥammad stopped on his arrival at Madinah, when forced to abandon Makkah. He fought under Muḥammad at Badr and Uhud, and under 'Alī at the battle of the Camel, at Siffin and at Nahrawān. He died A.H. 52 (A.C. 672), under the walls of Constantinople, during the siege of that city by the troops of the Khalīf Mu'āwiyah; a highly venerated mosque still marks the place of his interment.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 249.

<sup>3</sup> This place seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Baṣrah.



halter off al-Awzā'i's camel, he placed it about his own neck, and as he went on, he called out to the different bands of people whom he met: "Make way for the master!" Al-Awzā'i learned the Traditions from (*Ibn Shihab*) al-Zuhri and 'Aṭā (*Ibn Abi Rabāḥ*): he taught them to al-Ṭhawrī, who gave some on his authority, and he had besides a great number of other pupils, amongst whom was 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubārak. He was born at Ba'labek, A.H. 88 (A.C. 707) or 93; his childhood was passed at al-Biqā'<sup>1</sup>, whence his mother removed him to Bayrūt. In stature he was above the middle size; his beard was thin, his complexion tawny, and his hair was usually dyed with *ḥinnā*. His death took place on Sunday, the 27 of Ṣafar (some say in the first Rabi') A.H. 157 (January, A.C. 774)\* at the town of Bayrūt. His tomb is in a village called Ḥiantūs, situated outside the gate of Bayrūt and inhabited solely by Muslims. He lies buried in the *qiblah* of the mosque, but the people of the place do not know who is interred there: they merely say: "Here reposes a man upon whom the Divine light descends." It is only persons of education who are aware of the real fact. A poet deplored his death in these lines: -

"May genial rains descend each evening on the tomb in Syria whose cavity contains al-Awzā'i! A tomb which contains a mountain of legal knowledge! blessings on that tomb from Him Who knoweth, and Who worketh good! The world offered itself to him but he turned away in pious abnegation; Oh, with what resolution!"

†[It is stated by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir in his History of Damascus, that al-Awzā'i went into a bath at Bayrūt, and the master of the establishment happening to be called away on some business, locked the door. When he returned, he went in and found al-Awzā'i dead, with his left hand placed under his cheek and his face turned towards Makkah. Others relate that it was his wife who locked the door, undesignedly, and that Sa'id Ibn Abd al-'Aziz ordered her to set free a slave in expiation of her fault.]

<sup>1</sup> Biqā' or Biqā' al-Kalb, an extensive canton situated between Ba'labek, Emessa and Damascus, is well watered and contains a great number of villages. —(*Marāṣid*.) See also Abu 'l-Fidā's Geography, Arabic text, page, 40, note, and the translation by M. Reinaud, page 49.

\*16 January—Ed.

†[] From 'It' to 'fault' is not included in the autograph—Ed.

*Awzā'i* means *belonging to Awzā'ah*, which is a branch of a tribe in Yaman called Dhu 'l-Kalā'. Others state that his ancestor Awzā'ah belonged to the tribe of Hamdan, and that his real name was Marḥad Ibn Zayd. Some again say that al-Awzā'ah is a village near Damascus on the road proceeding from the gate of al-Farādīs, and that he drew his surname from thence; it is true, say they, that he was not a native of the place, but he resided there for some time having been one of the captives made by the Muslims when they first subdued Yaman. —*Bayrūt* is a village on the coast of Syria; the Franks took it from the Muslims on Friday the 10 Dhu 'l-Hijjah A.H. 593 (A.C. 1193).\*

### 337. IBN AL-QĀSIM AL-M`LIKĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Raḥman Ibn al-Qasim Ibn Khalid Ibn Junadah, surnamed al-'Utaqī, by right of adoption, was a doctor of the sect of Mālik and not less distinguished for his knowledge of the law than for his severe self-mortification. He studied Jurisprudence under Mālik and other teachers of the same epoch, and he continued, during the space of twenty years, to follow Mālik as a pupil. On the death of that imām, his disciples studied with great profit under Ibn al-Qasim. He is the author of the *Mudawwanah* (*written collection*), containing the doctrines peculiar to the Mālikites, and esteemed by them as one of their very best works on the subject. He gave lessons to Suḥrābī in Jurisprudence. His birth is placed diversely, in the years 132, 133 and 128 (A.C. 745); he died at Old Cairo on the eve of Friday, the 7 of Ṣafar, A.H. 191 (December, A.C. 806)†; and was interred in the cemetery outside the gate of the Lesser Qarāfah opposite to the tomb of Aṣḥḥab, the Mālikite doctor. I have visited those two monuments, which are situated near the city wall.—'Utaqī means *belonging to the 'Utaqā (the liberated)*; these people were not all of the same tribe; some being descended from Ḥajar of (*the tribe of*) Ḥimyar; others from Sa'd al-'Aṣḥīrah, others again from the Muḍarite tribe of Kinānah, etc. The great majority of them resided at Old Cairo.

\* 24 October, A.C. 1197.

† 25 December.—Ed.

and the 'Abd al-Rahman of whom we are now speaking was a *mawla* to Zubayd Ibn al-Ḥarith al-'Utaqī, who himself drew his descent from Ḥajar of Ḥimyar. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qudā'i says:

"The tribes which settled in the *ẓāhir* (*back grounds*) of Cairo were the 'Utaqā; this body of people consisted of bands belonging to various tribes, which waylaid the persons who went to visit the Prophet. In consequence of this conduct, he sent an expedition against them and had them all brought to him prisoners; he then gave them their liberty, and for this reason they were called the 'Utaqā.<sup>1</sup> "When 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣī conquered Miṣr, an event which took place on Friday, the first of Muḥarram, A.H. 20 (December, A.C. 640), \* the 'Utaqā were with him and formed a portion of the *People of the Standard*. These were so denominated for the following reason: The Arabs of each tribe had taken a distinctive standard, but some of the tribes were in such small numbers that a standard could not be granted to them; on which 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣī said: 'I shall establish a standard bearing the name of no particular tribe, and it shall be your rallying point.' They consented to his proposal, and the title of the People of the Standard became a general denomination for them all, and such was the name by which they were designated on the muster-roll. When Alexandria was taken, 'Amr returned to Fuṣṭāṭ, and the different tribes marked out the grounds where they intended to build their dwellings. The 'Utaqā arrived afterwards, but not finding building-room where the People of the Standard had laid out their settlement, they made a complaint to 'Amr on the subject, and Mu'āwiyah Ibn Ḥudayj<sup>2</sup> who was director of the

<sup>1</sup> The citation which follows is taken from another work.

<sup>2</sup> This name is generally found written *Khudayj* (خديج) but its true orthography is given by Abū 'l-Mahāsīn in the *Baḥr al-Z. khīr* under the year 52.—Abū Nu'aym Mu'āwiyah Ibn Ḥudayj Ibn Juṇnah, a member of the tribe of Tujib, a branch of that of Kindah, joined the standard of Mu'ammad and was present at the taking of Makkah. When 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣī got possession of Alexandria, it was Ibn Ḥudayj whom he dispatched with the news to the K̄alif 'Umar. He lost an eye in an expedition against the Nubians, undertaken by Ibn Abi 'l-Sarḥ, A.H. 31. He commanded three expeditions into Western Africa in A.H. 31, 34 and 40. He was one of the chief partisans of 'Uthmān, and, on the death of that k̄halif, he fought against the troops of 'Alī and slew Mu'ammad the son of Abū Bakr. In A.H. 45, the k̄halif Mu'āwiyah named him governor of Maṣhrig. Towards the end of 49, he returned to the East and held other important posts under the same prince. He died A.H. 52 (A.C. 672).—(*Al-Baḥr al-Zākhīr*, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1841.)

\* 22 December.—Ed.

works, advised them to settle outside the other tribes and call the spot where they fixed their residence *al-Zāhir* (*the outside*). They adopted his counsel, and they then became known by the name of *the People of the Zāhir*." All this is taken from a *Khiṭaṭ*, or topographical description of Cairo, by Abū 'Amr Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ya'qūb al-Tujībī<sup>1</sup>; it is a useful piece of information and necessary to be known, for which reason I am induced to give it.

### 338. ABŪ SULAYMĀN AL-DĀRĀNĪ

Abū Sulaymān 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Aḥyah al-'Ansī al-Dārānī, a person celebrated for his mortified life and one of the *men of the path*<sup>2</sup>; held an eminent rank among the holy ascetics, and was one of those who were the most successful in their efforts to attain the communion with the Divinity. A saying of his was: "He who doeth good works by day is protected (*by Providence*) during the night, and he who doeth good works by night is protected during the day." He said also: "When a man seriously renounces his lusts, Almighty God removes them from his heart; and He would be too just to punish a heart for the lusts left in it (*by Himself*)." He said again: "The best of works is to resist the passions of one's mind." He related also as follows: "I was saying my daily task of prayer, when sleep overcame me and behold! a maiden of paradise stood before me, and said: 'Thou sleepest, and yet I have been brought up for thee under the shelter of curtains during

<sup>1</sup> This is the same historian noticed in No. 159. I should have there observed that the date of his death as given by Hājjī Khalīfah is false. Instead of 246, he must have intended to write 346, and the fact is that Abū 'l-Mahāsīn notices the death of a *hāfiẓ* named Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qūb Ibn Yūsuf, who died in that year. But this person was a native of Naysāpūr, a client to the Omayyides, and he bore the surname of Abū 'l-'Abbās; here is therefore a double error committed by Hājjī Khalīfah. Al-Dhahabī in his *Annals* is more satisfactory; he says under the year 350: "In the month of Shawwāl of this year died Abū 'Umar Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ya'qūb Ibn Ḥafṣ Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Nuṣayr al-Kindī, the author of the history of Egypt; at the age of 67 years. Ibn Kullik in this place gives him the surname of *Tujībī*, not of *Kindī*; but this difficulty is easily got over; the tribe of Tujīb being descended from that of Kindah by the following line: Kindah, Aslḥras, Al-Sukūn, Sabīb, Aḥras, Tujīb. —I must observe that in the revised edition of Hājjī Khalīfah's text, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, fonds Schulz, Abū 'Umar's death is placed in A.H. 350, the foregoing observations are therefore completely borne out.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 111, note on *Man of Path*.

five hundred years!" He pronounced a great number of fine maxims. His death happened in A.H. 205 (A.C. 820-1), or A.H. 215\*—"Ansi means *belonging to the tribe of 'Ans*, who was the son of Malik Ibn Udad; it is a branch of the tribe of Madhij.—*Dārānī* means *belonging to Dārāyyā*; Dārāyyā is a village in the *Ghūṭah* or cultivated country around Damascus: this relative adjective is formed irregularly.

### 339. AL-FURĀNĪ

Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Furān al-Furānī was a native of Marw and chief doctor of the *Shāfi*tes in that city. He was profoundly learned in the dogmas of religion and the developments of the law. His master in Jurisprudence was Abū Bakr al-Qaffal al-*Shāshī*. He composed works on the dogmas of the faith, on the doctrines of his sect, on the points of controversy subsisting between his sect and the others, on dialectics, and on the different religions and sects. Being then appointed the chief of the *Shāfi*te community, he filled the land with disciples. In explaining the doctrines of al-*Shāfi*'i, he treated some portions of them in a manner peculiar to himself and denoting great soundness of judgment. On these doctrines he drew up an instructive treatise, entitled *al-Ibānah* (*the elucidation*); and I heard one of the learned say that when the Imam al-Ḥaramayn was a boy, he went to al-Furānī's lessons; but, on account of his youth, his remarks and observations did not receive from his master the attention which they deserved: from that time he always preserved a feeling of rancour against al-Furānī, and it was he whom he had in view each time he says in his *Nihāyat al-Maṭlab*: *A certain author says so and so, but is mistaken*, which words he always follows up by an attack. Al-Furānī died at Marw, in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 461 (June-July, A.C. 1069) at the age of 73 years. The *ḥāfiẓ* 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī mentions him in *Siyāq*, or continuation of

---

\*The editor of Cairo edition on the authority of Yāqūt places his death in A.H. 235 (A.C. 849-50).—Ed.

(*al-Hākim Ibn al-Bayyī's*) History of Naysapūr.—“*Fūrānī* is a relative adjective formed from *Fūrān*, the name of his great-grandfather.” Such is the observation made by *al-Samʿanī*.

### 340. ABŪ SAʿD AL-MUTAWALLĪ

Ab Saʿd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the son of Muḥammad (whose real name was Māmān), the son of ʿAlī (or of Ibrāhīm it is said), and surnamed *al-Mutawallī*, was a doctor of the sect of *al-Shāfiʿī* and a native of Naysapūr. To his great learning he united a profound spirit of piety; the rectitude of his conduct was not more admired than the scrupulous care with which he investigated legal questions; and in dogmatic theology, jurisprudence and controversy he displayed abilities of the highest order. On the death of the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, he was appointed professor in the Nizāmiyyeh College at Baghḍād; but towards the close of the year 476 (A.C. 1084), he was superseded by Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ, the author of the *Shāmil*, who thus filled that post a second time<sup>1</sup> but was again removed from it in the following year, when Abū Saʿd al-Mutawallī was reinstated and continued to hold it till his death.

\* [In the supplement to Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's *Ṭabaqāt*, or Classification of the Jurisconsults, which was written by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadānī, this author says: “Ahmad Ibn Salāmah the *muḥtasib*<sup>2</sup> related to me as follows: when Abū Saʿd al-Mutawallī took his seat as professor, on the death of our *shaykh*, (meaning Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī), the jurisconsults disapproved of his sitting in the place which had been occupied by their former doctor, and wished that he had given a mark of deference to his predecessor by sitting lower. Their feelings on the subject did not escape the penetration of Abū Saʿd, and he said to them: ‘Know that, during the course of my life, two events only gave me pleasure; the first, that I came from beyond the Oxus and entered Sarakhs in garments much used and not such as are worn by persons of learning: I then went

<sup>1</sup> See No. 5 and the life of Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 150, note on *Muḥtasib*.

\* [I From ‘In’ to ‘enjoy’ on p. 120 is not included in the autograph.—Ed.

to the conference held by Abu 'l-Ḥarith Ibn Abi 'l-Faḍl al-Sarakhsī and sat down behind his pupils: they then discussed a question, and I spoke upon it and made objections; when it came to my turn to speak again, Abu 'l-Ḥarith bid me to come forward and I obeyed; I again spoke in my turn, and he told me to draw nearer, till at last he called me to him and seated me by his side; he then stood up with me and admitted me into the number of his disciples. On this occasion I was overpowered with joy. The second circumstance which gave me pleasure was, 'to be judged worthy of succeeding our *shaykh* Aba Isḥāq, which is the greatest delight and favour I could ever hope to enjoy.'"]

A number of eminent jurisconsults finished their studies under him; he himself had studied the law at Marw under Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Furānī (No. 339), at Marw al-Rūd under the Qaḍī Ḥusayn, and at Bukhārā under Abū Sahl Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī 'l-Abīwardī<sup>1</sup>. He learned also the Traditions, and composed a work on jurisprudence, entitled *Tatimmat al-Ibānah*, intended to form the completion of his master al-Furānī's treatise, the *Ibānah*, but he did not live to finish it. It only went as far as the chapter on punishments, but was terminated afterwards by the joint labours of some doctors, one of whom, Abu 'l-Futūḥ As'ad al-'Ijlī has been already noticed (No. 87). They did not, however, follow the plan nor attain the object of the original author, who had collected into that treatise legal questions of the rarest occurrence, and extraordinary cases, scarcely ever to be found in any other book. Al-Mutawallī composed also a short but very instructive treatise on the division of inheritances, and he drew up a system of controversy containing the indication of the different manners in which questions may be discussed. Another of his works is a short treatise on the dogmas of Muslim faith. All his writings are highly instructive. He was born at Naysapūr, A.H. 426 (A.C. 1034-5), some say A.H. 427; he died at Bagdad on the eve of Friday, the 18 of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 478 (February, A.C. 1086)<sup>2</sup> and was interred in the cemetery at the Abrez Gate.—I do not know for what reason he received the surname of *al-Mutawallī*, neither does al-Sam'ānī mention it.

<sup>1</sup> Abū Sahl Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī al-Abīwardī was a doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, but little else is known of him than what is here indicated by Ibn Khallikān. The author of the *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn* places his death by conjecture, between A.H. 460 and 480.

<sup>2</sup> 6 February—Ed.

### 341. FAKHR AL-DĪN IBN 'ASĀKIR THE JURISCONSULT

Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dimishqī (*native of Damascus*), surnamed Fakhr al-Dīn (*glory of the faith*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn 'Asakir al-Faqīh (*the jurisconsult*), was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and the most eminent person of that age for his learning and piety. He studied jurisprudence under Quṭb al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ma'alī Mas'ūd al-Naysapūrī (a *shaykh* whose life will be found in this work), and derived great profit from his tuition during the period in which he lived with him as a pupil. He then married the daughter of his master, and, confiding in his own abilities, he professed for some time at Jerusalem and Damascus. Many of those who attended his lessons and completed their studies under him rose to distinction as *imāms* of great talent. The legal opinions which he gave as a *mufti* were held in high esteem for their correctness. He was brother's son to the ḥafīẓ Abū 'l-Qasim 'Alī Ibn 'Asakir, author of the history of Damascus. This family produced a number of men eminent for their learning and for the exalted posts which they filled. Fakhr al-Dīn was born, to the best of my opinion, A.H. 550 (A.C. 1155-6), and a note in his own handwriting states that his birth took place in that year<sup>1</sup>. He died at Damascus on Wednesday, the 10th of Rajab, A.H. 620 (August, A.C. 1123)\*. I have visited his tomb, which is situated in the Cemetery of the Sufīs, outside Damascus.

### 342. ABU 'L-QASIM AL-ZAJJĀJĪ

Abū 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ishāq al-Zajjājī was an inhabitant of Baghḍad from his early youth, but by his birth he belonged to Nahāwand, which was also the native place of his family. He was a master of the highest authority in the science of grammar,

<sup>1</sup> It may be perceived that this last passage was added subsequently. In the autograph, it is written in the margin.

\*9 August—Ed.



on which subject he wrote his *Kitāb al-Jumal al-Kubrā* (the greater collection), which is an instructive work, but extended to too great length by the number of examples. He learned grammar from Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbas al-Yazīdī, Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd, and Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbarī; he had been also the private pupil of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Sarī al-Zajjāj (see his life, No. 12) and from this circumstance he obtained the surname of *al-Zajjāī*. Great numbers profited by his tuition and finished their studies under him at Damascus, where he had fixed his residence. His death took place in that city, in the month of Rajab, A.H. 337 (January, A.C. 949); some say, but erroneously, in A.H. 339, or in Ramaḍān, A.H. 340. It has been stated also that he died at Tiberias. (*I have since discovered that*) he left Damascus in company with Ibn al-Ḥarīth, the administrator of the estates belonging to the *Ikhshide* family<sup>1</sup>, and (*that*) he died at Tiberias. His work, the *Jumal*, is most instructive, and none ever studied it without deriving great profit from the information it conveys. It is said that he composed it at Makkah, and that on finishing each chapter, he went seven times round the Ka'bah, praying the Almighty to pardon his sins and render his book useful to those who read it.

### 343. IBN YŪNUS THE HISTORIAN

Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥasan\* Aḥmad Ibn Abī Mūsā Yūnus Ibn 'Abd al-A'la Ibn Mūsā Ibn Maysarah Ibn Ḥafṣ Ibn Ḥayyan† al-Ṣadafī was a native of Egypt, a traditionist and an historian. The information which he had acquired respecting eminent men, his acquaintance with the works in which their history was set forth, and the correctness of the facts which he adduces from personal knowledge, entitle him to the highest confidence. He

<sup>1</sup> The *Ikhshide* prince Anūjūr was then reigning in Egypt under the tutorship of the celebrated Kāfūr. He held his authority over that country and Syria by right of an act of confirmation issued by the *Khalif* of Baḡdhād, al-R. dī.—(See the life of Kāfūr).

\* The editor of Cairo edition gives Abī 'l-Ḥusayn.—Ed.

† The editor of Cairo edition gives Ḥabbān.—Ed.

composed two Egyptians histories,—the greater, containing the lives of natives of that country: and the less, giving an account of the most remarkable foreigners by whom it was visited. These works display no inferior talent, and have been continued, on the same plan, by Abu 'l-Qāsim Yahya Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥaḍramī.<sup>1</sup> Abū Sa'īd was a grandson of Yūnus Ibn 'Abd al-A'la, one of al-Shāfi'i's most distinguished disciples and a transmitter of that imām's *modern sayings*;<sup>2</sup> we shall give his life in this work. Ibn Yūnus died on Sunday, the 26 of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 347 (September, A.C. 958);\* the funeral prayers were said over him the next day by Abū 'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥajjāj and the following elegy was composed on his death by the grammarian and prosodist Abū 'Īsa 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Isma'il Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān al-Khawlanī al-Khashshab, who was a native of Egypt:

"By thy books and thy lessons thou hast spread learning throughout the world<sup>3</sup>, and after a happy life thou art become one of the lamented. And we, Abū Sa'īd! shall not relax our dutiful efforts, till thy works, confirming and correcting (*the statements of historians*), have obtained a wide renown. In writing history, thy ardour did not cease, till thy name appeared to us, enregistered in its annals. I have inscribed this fatal date on my mind and written it in my pages, that he may know it who records my death, if it happen that I leave a friend to regret me<sup>4</sup>. Thou hast displayed a standard to make known the fame of those who dwell in Egypt, and

<sup>1</sup> According to Hājji Khalīfah. Fluegel's edition, Vol. II, page 143, Abū 'l-Qāsim Yahyā Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥaḍramī, surnamed al-Ṭahhān, died A.H. 416 (A.C. 1025-6). In the same page, line 7, is a double error, as instead of *Ibn Yūnus 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ahmad Sūfi* we must read *Ibn Yūnus 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ahmad Sadifi*; it being, in fact, the same person whose life is here given by Ibn Khallikān.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 149, note on *uncient sayings*.

<sup>3</sup> In the autograph manuscript, two different readings are given of this first hemistich; that of the text runs thus: *بشكى علمى تشرىفا و تغرىبا*. "Thou hast spread thy learning abroad, east and west," the other inserted in the margin, runs as follows: *بينت علمى ثمنيا و تغرىبا*. "Thou hast made thy knowledge clear to others by thy written works and rendered it accessible by thy explanations." The reading which I followed is given by al-Yāfi'i in his Annals.

<sup>4</sup> For *محبوبا* the autograph has *محسوبا*; if the latter reading be adopted, the translation of the verse should run thus: "That he may know it who records my death, if indeed I be deemed, worthy of notice."

\* 12 September—Ed.

hast set it upon the basis of their merit<sup>1</sup>. Thou hast revealed their glory, (*to subsist*) among mankind as long as the voice of the turtle-dove is heard<sup>2</sup> resounding in the groves. Thou hast pointed out their brilliant genius; thou hast selected the eminent<sup>3</sup> men whose talents attract investigation. Thou hast spread the fame of the illustrious dead, and they still live in the notices wherein thou tracest their descent; mentioned thus, they seem not to have died. Noble qualities oblige to noble deeds; and in thee, O 'Abd al-Raḥman! these qualities were firmly implanted. Thou art now hidden from our eyes; and let the world produce the greatest man it may, he too must disappear. Such are death's doings; he never spares him who is cherished by his friends."

*Ṣadafī* means *belonging to the tribe of al-Ṣadif*, the son of Sahl, a great branch of the tribe of Ḥimyar, which settled in Egypt. This relative adjective is pronounced with an *a* in the second syllable, although the word from which it is derived has that syllable with an *i*; it is thus also with *Namari*, derived from *Namirah* and such is indeed the general rule (when the primitive has an *i* in the second-syllable). [It must however be remarked that *al-Ṣadif* is sometimes pronounced *al-Ṣadafī*.]—Abū 'Īsā 'Abd al-Raḥmān, author of the verses just given, died in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 366 (October, A.C. 976).

#### 344. IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ THE GRAMMARIAN

Abu 'l-Barakat 'Abd al-Raḥman Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Abi Sa'īd al-Anbārī the grammarian, surnamed Kamāl al-Dīn (*perfection of religion*), was one of the most distinguished masters in the science he professed. From his early youth till the time of his death he resided at Baghḍad, where he

<sup>1</sup> In this verse Ibn Khallikān writes لجمال : the verse then signifies : "Thou hast displayed a standard to honour the merit of those who dwell in Egypt, (a standard) firmly set up"

<sup>2</sup> For سعت the autograph has سجت . The meaning is then : "As long as the cooing of the turtle-dove resounds in the groves".

<sup>3</sup> Here the autograph has نجب for نجب the sense is the same.

studied, at the *Niẓāmiyah* college. The system of Jurisprudence peculiar to the *Shāfite* sect, and gave lessons in grammar. He learned philology from Abū Maṣṣūr (*Mawḥibh*) Ibn al-Jawālīqī and had lived as a private pupil with the *sharīf* Abū 'l-Sa'ādat Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Shajārī,<sup>1</sup> under whose tuition he made great progress and attained a profound knowledge of philology. His own lessons were attended by great numbers who afterwards became conspicuous for their learning and with some of whom I was acquainted. He is the author of a grammatical work, easy to be understood and highly instructive, entitled *Asrār al-'Arabiyyah* (*secrets of the Arabic language*); he composed also another treatise on the same subject, bearing the title of *al-Mīzān* (*the balance*). In a third work, which though short, is comprehensive, he gives a chronological list (*Ṭabaqāt*) of the literary men, both ancient and modern. All his productions are replete with information, and his personal instructions were, by Divine favour, so highly successful that none ever received them without rising to distinction. Towards the close of his life, he renounced the world and worldly society, and shut himself up in his chamber that he might pass his time in study and prayer; thus holding to the last a most praiseworthy conduct. His birth took place in the month of the latter Rabī' A.H. 513 (July-August, A.C. 1119), and his death on the eve of Friday, the 9th of Sha'ban, A.H. 577 (December, A.C. 1181),\* at Baghḍad. He was interred at the Abrez Gate, in the mausoleum erected over the grave of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī.—*Anbārī* means *belonging to al-Anbār*, which is a town of great antiquity situated on the Euphrates, at the distance of ten parasangs from Baghḍad. It was so called because the Kisrā (or Persian king) had established granaries (*anābir*) there. *Anābir* is the plural of *anbār*, which is itself the plural of *Nibr*.

### 345. ABU 'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ

The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī, surnamed Jamāl al-Dīn (*the beauty of religion*) a celebrated preacher, a doctor of the sect of

<sup>1</sup> The life of Ibn al-Jawālīqī and Ibn al-Shajārī are given in this work.

\* 18 December—Ed.

Ibn Ḥanbal and a native of Baḡdād, was a member of the tribe of Taym, a branch of that of Quraysh, and a descendant of the khalif Abū Bakr; he therefore bore the appellations of al-Qurashī, al-Taymī, and al-Bakrī. His genealogy is traced up as follows: Abū 'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥummad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far al-Jawzī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Qasim Ibn al-Naḍr Ibn al-Qasim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Qasim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq; the rest of the ancestry is well known<sup>1</sup>. Ibn al-Jawzī was the most learned man of his time, the ablest traditionist and the first preacher of that epoch. He composed works on a variety of subjects, and one of them, the *Zād al-Masīr fi-'Ilm al-Tafsīr* (provisions for the journey, being a treatise on the science of Qur'ānic interpretation), forms four volumes and contains many novel facts and observations. He wrote also numerous treatises on the Traditions, and a great historical work, entitled *al-Muntazim* (the regularly arranged). Another of his productions the *Mawḥiāt* (forgeries), in four volumes, contains all the false traditions relative to Muḥammad. He composed also the *Talqīḥ Fuhām* (Ahl) al-Aṭhar (fructification of the intellect, for the use of those who are engaged in historical researches<sup>2</sup>), which is drawn up on the plan of Ibn Qutaybah's *kitāb al-Ma'ārif*.<sup>\*</sup> We shall close this list by merely stating that his works are too numerous to be counted. The quantity of sheets which he wrote with his own hand was very great, but people exaggerate when they say that on summing up the number of *kurrāsahs*<sup>3</sup> written by him and taking into account the length of his life, if the former be divided by the latter, it will give nine *kurrāsahs* a-day; but this is a result so extraordinary, that it can hardly

<sup>1</sup> The khalif Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh was the son of Abū Quḥṣafah 'Uṭaymīn Ibn 'Amīr Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ka'b Ibn Sa'd Ibn Taym Ibn Muṭrah Ibn Ka'b Ibn Luwayyī Ibn Ḥalīb Ibn Fihri Qurayshī.—(See Kosegarten's *Tabari*, tom. II, page 145).

<sup>2</sup> Copies of the first volume of this work are not rare. It contains a short account of Muḥammad and his principal *Companions*, lists of the other companions, of the Ṭābi'is, and of the early Traditionists, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The *kurrāsah* generally contains twenty pages. Arabic, Persian, and Turkish books are composed of *kurrāsahs* in the same manner as European books are composed of sheets.

\* The editor of Cairo edition adds *Iuḡaṭ al-Manāfi* لقط المنافع to the list—Ed.

be admitted by any reasonable man. It is related also that the parings of the reed-pens with which he wrote the Traditions were gathered up and formed a large heap; these, in pursuance to his last orders, were employed to heat the water for washing his corpse, and there was even more than enough for the purpose. He composed some pretty verses, and the following, in which he addresses the people of Baghdād, were repeated to me by a person of talent:

"There are people in 'Irāq for whom I feel no friendship, but my excuse is this: their hearts are formed of churlishness: They listen with admiration to the words of a stranger, but those of their own townsmen attract no attention. If a neighbour profited by the water which flows from the roofs of their houses, they would turn the spout in another direction. And when reproached, their excuse is: That the voice of the songstress has no charms for the tribe to which she belongs<sup>1</sup>."

The quantity of verses which he composed is very great. At the assemblies which met to hear him preach, he had occasionally to answer questions addressed to him, and this he did with great readiness of wit. It is related that on a dispute between the Sunnites and Shi'ites of Baghdād about the relative merits of Abū Bakr and 'Alī, both parties agreed to abide by the opinion of the shaykh Abu 'l-Faraj: they in consequence deputed a person who questioned him on the subject when he was seated in the preacher's chair. The reply which he made bears in Arabic two different meanings; the first, that the best of them was he whose daughter was married to the other man; and the second that the best of them was he who had married the daughter of the other man<sup>2</sup>. He then withdrew promptly lest he should be questioned farther, and the Sunnites said: "He means Abū Bakr, because his daughter 'A'ishah was married to the Prophet."—"Nay," said the Shi'ites, "he means 'Alī, because Faṭimah the Prophet's daughter, was married to him." The answer was certainly very clever, had it even been the result of long reflexion and deep consideration, it would have been admirable, but coming as

---

<sup>1</sup> Consequently a stranger would amuse them better. In the printed text are two typographical faults, ميازيهم for ميازيهم and الغريب for الغريب.

<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to turn an English phrase so as to convey the double meaning which the original Arabic here involves.

it did, without any previous preparation, it was still more so. It would be too long to enumerate the particular circumstances in which his character and talents appeared to great advantage. His birth is placed by approximation in A.H. 508 (A.C. 1114-5); but some accounts refer it to the year 510; he died at Baghdād on the eve of Friday, the 12 of Ramaḍān, A.H. 597 (A.C. June, 1201),\* and was interred at the gate of Ḥarb. His father's death took place in 514 (A.C. 1120-1).—*Jawzi* means belonging to the port of al-Jawz, which is a well-known place.<sup>1</sup>

#### 346. AL-SUHAYLĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim, surnamed also Abū Zayd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Klath'amī al-Suhaylī was the son of the *khaṭīb*, or preacher, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, the son of the *khaṭīb* Abū 'Umar Aḥmad, the son of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aṣḥagh, the son of Ḥusayn, the son of Sa'dūn, the son of Riḍwān, the son of Fuṭūḥ, who was the first of the family who came into Spain: "Such," says Ibn Dihyah, "is his genealogy as I took it down from his own lips." This is the celebrated imām who composed the commentary on (*Ibn Hishām's Sirat al-Rasūl*, or *Life of the Prophet*, entitled *al-Rawḍ al-Unuf (the gardens of delight)*<sup>1</sup>. In another work, the *Kitāb al-Ta'rif wa'l-I'lām (book of information and indications)*, he has elucidated the proper names of doubtful pronunciation (or derivation), contained in the *Qur'ān*. He wrote also the *Natā'ij al-Fikr (offspring of reflexion)*<sup>2</sup>; a treatise on the appearance of the Divinity or of the Prophet in dreams; another, entitled *al-Sirr (the mystery)*, in which he examines why al-Dajjāl (or Antichrist) is to be blind of one eye, with many other instructive disquisitions. The following piece of

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Marāsid* notices a region called the river of al-Jawz, situated between Aleppo and al-Birah and containing a great number of villages and gardens; but the port of al-Jawz was probably the name of a wharf on the banks of the Tigris, in or near Baḡhdād.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: *The unblemished gardens*; that is; garden which have never been profaned by the visit of any mortal.

<sup>3</sup> It appears from Ḥājjī Khalifah that this is a treatise on grammar  
نفي على النحو.

\* 15 June—Ed.

verse is given by Ibn Dihyah, to whom al-Suhaylī recited it with this remark: "I and every person who repeated it, when asking a favour from Almighty God, obtained the fulfilment of their desire":

"O Thou who knowest the secret thoughts of man! Thou art his ready support when misfortune befalls him. O Thou in whom the afflicted place their hopes of deliverance! Thou to whom they address their complaints and fly for refuge! Thou, the treasures of whose bounty are produced by a sole word of thine—*Be!* grant my prayer, for with Thee is all good. My only mediator with Thee is my poverty, and that is yet more oppressive. joined as it is to the need in which I stand of Thy assistance. My only resource is now to knock at Thy door; and if I am repulsed, at what door shall I knock? O Thou whom I implore and whose name I invoke, if Thy bounty be withheld from me, Thy needy creature, yet let not Thy glory plunge a sinner into despair; for Thy grace is abundant and Thy bounties are immense."

He composed a great deal of poetry, and as for his other works, they are replete with information. He continued in his native place, leading a life of purity and subsisting on very slender means, till the sovereign of Morocco (*Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr*) heard of his merit and invited him to that city. On his arrival, he met with a most favourable reception from the prince and was treated with the greatest kindness till his death, which occurred about three years afterwards. He was born at Mālaqah, A.H. 508 (A.C. 1114-5), and he died at the city of Morocco on Thursday, the 26 of *Sha'bān*, A.H. 581 (November, A.C. 1185)\*; he was interred the same day at the hour of the afternoon prayer. Al-Suhaylī was deprived of the use of his sight.—*Khath'amī* means *belonging to Khath'am* Ibn Anmār, a great tribe so called, but other derivations are given of this adjective,—*Suhaylī* means *belonging to Suhayl*, a village near Mālaqah which received this name, because the only spot in all Spain from which the star *Suhayl* (*Canopus*) could be seen was on the summit of a mountain at the foot of which this place was situated.—*Mālaqah* is a great city in Spain; al-Sam'ānī pronounces it *Māliqah*, but erroneously.

---

\* 21 November.—Ed.



## 347. ABŪ MUSLIM AL-KHURĀSĀNĪ

Aba Muslim 'Abd al-Raḥmān the son of Muslim, some say of 'Uthman, al-Khurasānī, was the champion and assertor of the rights of the Abbasides to the Khālifate. According to some accounts, his name was Ibrāhīm the son of 'Uthman Ibn Yasar Ibn Shadūs<sup>1</sup> Ibn Jādern, a descendant of Buzurjīn hr Ibn Bakhtigan the Persian<sup>2</sup> but he changed it to 'Abd al-Raḥmān at the desire of Ibrāhīm the imām Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said to him: "Change thy name or else our enterprise will not succeed."—God knows if this be true.—His father belonged to a village called Sanjird situated in the canton (*rustāq*) of Farīd'n<sup>3</sup>; but some say that he was a native of Makḥwān, a village three parasangs from Marv. This village and some other were his own property, and from time to time he exported cattle to Kūfah. He then contracted to farm the revenue of Farīdīn, but at one period, in consequence of his inability to keep his engagements, the government agent sent a person to bring him before the court of administration. He possessed at that time a slave girl called Washīqah, whom he had purchased at Kūfah and confided to the care of Adḥīn Ibn Bundād Ibn Wastijān;<sup>4</sup> her, then pregnant, he took with him, and, to avoid meeting the officers empowered to make him pay in the amount of his yearly rent, he proceeded towards Adḥarbījan. On his way, he passed through the canton of Fātiq, when he met 'Isā Ibn Ma'qil Ibn 'Umayr, the brother of Idrīs Ibn Ma'qil who was grandfather to Aba Dulaf al-'Ijlī. He stopped with 'Isā for some days, and had there a dream in which it seemed to him that a fire proceeded from his loins and then mounted to the sky, whence it illuminated the earth as far as the horizon, after which it fell in an eastern direction. He told his dreams to 'Isā Ibn Ma'qil who replied: "I have no doubt but that she will bear a boy." On quitting his host he went to Adḥarbījan where he died, and his slave brought forth Aba Muslim who passed his first years at the house of 'Isā.

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has شذوس

<sup>2</sup> This was the celebrated Wazīr of Anushīrwān. See D'Herbelot's *Bib orient.* Buzurge Mihir.

<sup>3</sup> This word is written in the autograph with a point on the;

<sup>4</sup> The autograph has وستجان

\*The editor of Cairu edition gives وسجان *Washḥān*.—Ed

When grown a boy Abū Muslim went to the same school with 'Isa's son, and on finishing his studies there, he attracted general attention by the learning and intelligence which he displayed at so early an age. Soon after, 'Isa Ibn Ma'qil and his brother Idrīs\* (grandfather of Abū Dulaf) allowed their arrears with the state to run up so high that they avoided going to the receivers of the revenue at Ispahan, and the *'āmil*<sup>1</sup> of that place made the circumstance known to Khalid Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qasrī, the governor of Arabian and Persian 'Iraq. Khalid, who was then at Kufah, had them arrested and brought before him after which he cast them into prison, where they found (*a relation of theirs*) 'Āṣim Ibn Yunus al-'Ijlī, confined for some misdeed. Previously to this, 'Isa had sent Abū Muslim to bring him the crops from the territory of a certain village in the canton of Fatiq. On his way back, Abū Muslim received the information of his patron's imprisonment, on which he sold all the corn he was bringing with him and took the price thereof to 'Isā who immediately sent him to lodge in his own palace, in the quarter of the city inhabited by the people of the 'Ijlite tribe. He then made frequent visits to 'Isa and his brother Idrīs in their prison, and it happened that a number of *naqibs* (*lieutenants*) in the service of Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-'Abbas Ibn al-Muṭṭalib, who had just arrived at Kufah in company with some natives of Khurasan, devoted partisans of the Abbasides, and who went to the prison with the intention of paying their respects to the 'Ijlite prisoners, found Abū Muslim with them. His intelligence and knowledge, his elegant language and his learning struck them with admiration, nor were his own feelings less biassed in their favour. Their intentions then became known to him, and he learned that they were missionaries in the service of the Abbaside family. Towards the same time, 'Isa and Idrīs effected their escape from prison, and Abū Muslim left the quarter where the 'Ijlites resided, and joined these *naqibs*, with whom he some time afterwards proceeded to Makkah. On arriving there, they went to Ibrāhīm the son of Muḥammad the Abbaside, who had succeeded to the *imāmate* on the death of his father; and they presented him

<sup>1</sup> See no. 184, note on *'āmil*.

\*'Grandfather of Abū Dulaf', omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

with twenty thousand pieces of gold and two hundred thousand pieces of silver. (Of this Ibrāhīm we shall speak again in the life of his father.) They then introduced Abū Muslim, and Ibrāhīm, struck with his language, intelligence, and instruction, said to them: "This youth will be a calamity to crush the foe.<sup>1</sup>" From that moment, Abū Muslim remained in Ibrāhīm's service, accompanying him in his travels, and staying with him wherever he took up his residence. After some time the *naqibs* called openly on the people to espouse the cause of the *imām*, and they asked Ibrāhīm for a man capable of directing the proceedings of their party in *Khurasan*. His reply was: "I have put this *Iṣpāhānīte* to the test, and know his interior as well as his exterior; he is the whole rock of the earth (*and will crush all before him*)."<sup>2</sup> He then called him in, and having appointed him to the direction of affairs, he dispatched him to *Khurasan*. Such was the commencement of Abū Muslim's public career. Previously to this, Ibrāhīm had commissioned Sulaymān Ibn Kathīr al-Ḥarrānī to proceed to *Khurasan* and make an appeal in favour of the *People of the House*.<sup>3</sup> On sending Abū Muslim thither, he directed his partisans in that province to obey him as their chief, and at the same time he ordered Abū Muslim to obey Sulaymān bn Kathīr; Abū Muslim then became the envoy who kept up the communications between Sulaymān and the *imām* Ibrāhīm. —The *khalīf* al-Mamūn once said, on hearing Abū Muslim's name mentioned: "The greatest princes of the earth were three in number, and each of them caused an empire to pass from one dynasty to another; I mean Alexander, Ardāshīr<sup>4</sup> and, Abū Muslim the *Khurasānite*." [During a number of years, Abū Muslim continued his appeals to the people in favour of a person belonging to

<sup>1</sup> Literally: "This is a calamity of the calamities;" a common expression used in speaking of mighty men and heroes.

<sup>2</sup> *The People of the House*, that is, the members of the family of Mu'ammad. The partisans of 'Alī naturally supposed that it was his descendants who were meant, and they joined in the conspiracy. But as al-'Abbas was an uncle of Mu'ammad, the 'Abbasides pretended that they also were *People of the House*, and they thus usurped the throne. It was precisely the equivocalness of the term which induced the 'Abbasides to employ it.

<sup>3</sup> Ardāshīr overthrew the Aṣhkānian dynasty and founded that of the Sāsānides.

<sup>4</sup> The following long passage is translated from the text of the autograph MS., in which it is written on the margin of the page. It exists also in one of the MSS. of the *Bih. du Roi*, but as I had some doubts of its authenticity, I suppressed it. The original text shall be given with the supplementary notes and corrections which are to accompany the Arabic edition.

the family of Hāshim<sup>1</sup>, and performed in Khurasan and the neighbouring places those deeds which are too well known to require relation here<sup>2</sup>. Marwān Ibn Muḥammad (*the last of the Umayyides*) employed every artifice to discover the true nature of these proceedings and the real person for whom Abū Muslim was making such exertions; and he found at length that this person was Ibrāhīm, the *imām*, who was then residing with his brothers and relatives at al-Ḥumaymah, a place of which we shall speak again in the life of 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-'Abbās. He immediately sent to have him arrested and brought to Ḥarran; on which Ibrāhīm delegated his rights and authority to his own brother 'Abd Allah al-Saffāḥ. When he arrived at Ḥarran he was kept in confinement by Marwān, but after some time the latter had him thrust head foremost into a leather sack containing a quantity of quicklime; the mouth of the sack was then tied up and kept closed till the victim perished. This event took place in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 132 (September-October 749). It is said by some, that he was put to death in a different manner, but that which we have mentioned is borne out by the general opinion. Ibrāhīm was then fifty-one years of age; he was buried somewhere within the wall of Ḥarran, and Abū Muslim immediately called on the people to support the rights of Abū 'l-'Abbās 'Abd Allah Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed al-Saffāḥ. It had been a rule with the Umayyides to prevent the descendants of the Hāshim from marrying any woman belonging to the tribe of Ḥārith, on account of a prediction which declared that this business (*of the 'Abbaside conspiracy*) would terminate successfully by the accession of a Ḥārithite female's son (*Ibn al-Ḥārithiyah*) to the supreme power. When 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz was raised to the khālifate, Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī went to him and said: "I wish to marry the daughter of my maternal uncle, who is of the tribe of Ḥārith Ibn Ka'b; will you give me your permission?"—"Marry whom you like," replied 'Umar, on which he took to wife Rayṭah the daughter of 'Ubayd Allah, who was the son of 'Abd Allah al-Midān, the son

---

<sup>1</sup> He thus deceived the Shi'ites and drew them over to his party. They imagined that he intended to place a descendant of Muḥammad on the throne, whilst his real design was to establish on it a descendant of al-'Abbās, Muḥammad's uncle. 'Abbās and Muḥammad were both descended from Hāshim, who was grandfather of the one and great-grandfather of the other.

<sup>2</sup> The history of Abū Muslim's proceedings will be found in Abū 'l-Fedī, Price, al-Makin, etc.

of al-Rakkāb, the son of Qaṭan, the son of Ziyād, the son of al-Ḥarith Ibn Ka'b. This woman bore him a son who was the al-Saffāḥ above mentioned.] \* Al-Madā'ini<sup>1</sup> gives the following description of Abū Muslim's person: "He was low in stature, of a tawny complexion, with handsome features and engaging manners; his skin was clear, his eyes large, his forehead lofty, his beard ample and bushy, his hair long and his back also, his legs and thighs short, and his voice soft; he spoke Arabic and Persian with elegance and discoursed agreeably; he could recite many poems and had great skill in conducting public affairs. He was never observed to laugh and he never condescended to jest except at proper times. The gravest events could hardly disturb the serenity of his countenance; he received news of the most important victories without expressing the least symptom of joy; under the greatest reverses of fortune he never betrayed the slightest uneasiness; and when angered he never lost his self-command. He abstained from intercourse with females, except once in each year. 'Such an act,' said he, 'is a sort of folly, and it is quite enough for a man to be mad once a year.' With all this, he was the most jealous of mortals<sup>2</sup>." Abū Muslim had some brothers, one of whom was Yaṣar, the grandfather of 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah Ibn 'Umarah Ibn Ḥamzah Ibn Yaṣar al-Iṣpahanī. The birth of Abū Muslim took place A.H. 100 (A.C. 718-9) in the khalifate of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, at a village called Nāwanah<sup>3</sup> in the canton of Fatīq. The natives of Jay, the quarter of Iṣpahan so called, pretend that he was born in their city. He made his first public appearance in Kūrasān at the city of Marw, on Friday, the 21, or according to al-Khaṭīb (*al-Baghḍādī*), on the 25 of Ramaḍān, A.H. 129 (June, A.C. 747).† Naṣr Ibn Sayyār

<sup>1</sup> See No. 183, note on al-Madā'ini.

<sup>2</sup> Here in the autograph MS. are inserted these words: وَقِيلَ لَهُ لِمَ بَلَغْتَ مَا بَلَغْتَ. قَالَ مَا خَرْتُ، أَمْرِي يَوْمِي الْيَوْمَ. "He was once asked how he attained to such an authority as he then possessed, to which he replied: 'I never put off till to-morrow the business of to-day.'" Then follow two passages containing some insignificant anecdotes from al-Zamaḥsharī's *Rabī' al-Abrār*, they are not in Ibn Khallikān's hand, but in that of the person who inserted in the life of Sayf al-Islām Tuḡhtikīn, a passage from a supposed author, 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn 'Asākir. This person's additions do not seem to merit great confidence.

<sup>3</sup> The autograph has نَوَانَه and the Marāṣid مَوَانَه as in the printed text. [This passage is omitted by the editor of Cairo edition but it is included in Tehran edition.—Ed.

†9 June, the latter date appears to be correct because Friday fell on that date.—Ed.

al-Laythī, who was then governor of Kiurāsān for Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyides (*and who discovered what was passing*), then wrote the following line to the khalīf:

"I see here a young horse who will never be broken in, if once he casts his first teeth; hasten then, before he gets his second teeth."

To this, Marwān made no reply, being then engaged in quelling some insurrections which had broken out in Mesopotamia and other provinces [one of which was headed by al-Ḥajjāk Ibn Qays al-Ḥarārī]<sup>1</sup> Abū Muslim had at that time only fifty followers. The governor then wrote to Marwān a second letter, containing the following verses [extracted from a long poem composed by a poet whom he had in his service, and who kept a school in Kiurāsān. This poet, whose name was Abū Maryam 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ismā'il, was a member of the tribe of Bujlāh and a native of Kūfah]:

"I see fire glimmer under the ashes, and it will soon burst out in flames. Fire is produced by the friction of wood, and war has its beginning in discourses. If men of prudence do not extinguish it, human heads and bodies will be its fuel. O that I knew whether the sons of Umayyah be awake or sunk in sleep! If they are sleeping in such times as these, say to them: 'Arise, the hour is come'."<sup>2</sup>

The answer to this did not arrive, and Abū Muslim's power became so great that Naṣr had to abandon Khurāsān, and was retreating to 'Irāq when he died on the way, near Sawah, a place not

<sup>1</sup> See No. 47, note on battle of Marj Rāḥit.

<sup>2</sup> Here the author has another passage added in the margin, and which is found also in some of the other copies. As it is in contradiction with what precedes and what follows, I suppressed it in the Arabic text, but shall give it here in English: "This has some similarity with what is related of one of the 'Alides, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (or his brother Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh), who, when revolted against Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, recited these lines:

"I see a fire blazing on the heights and lighting up the country round. The sons of al-'Abbā's mind it not but pass their night in (*false*) security and enjoyment. They slumber as Umayyah did, and like him they will awaken to avert the danger, when it is too late."

"Let us return to our subject: Ibn Sayyār awaited Marwān's answer, which at length arrived; it contained these words: 'We were sleeping when we gave you the government of Khurāsān; he that is present sees what the absent does not. Cut off the wart which is before you.' On reading these words, Naṣr said: 'I told you that he could be of no assistance'. He then wrote to him second (*third*) time".

far from Hamadān. His death took place in the month of the first Rab', A.H. 131 (November, A.C. 748). [He had governed Khurāsān ten years.] On Tuesday the 28 of Mu'arram, A.H. 132 (September, A.C. 749) 'Abū Muslim attacked and imprisoned 'Alī Ibn Juday' Ibn 'Alī al-Kirman' at Naysapūr; he then put him to death, and having seated himself in the chair of state, he was saluted governor, after which he officiated at the public prayer and pronounced the *khutbah*, imploring the blessing of God on al-Saffāh. Abu 'l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mu'ammad, the first *khalif* of the family of al-'Abbās. Khurāsān then submitted to him without resistance, and the authority of the Umayyides having ceased throughout the province, he despatched an army against Marwān Ibn Muḥammad. The same year, on the eve of Friday the 13 of the latter Rabi' (25 November, A.C. 749), al-Saffāh, was proclaimed *khalif* at K'fah where he suddenly made his appearance<sup>2</sup>. Other dates are assigned, however, to this event. The Khurāsānites and the other troops were then placed under the orders of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī, the uncle of al-Saffāh, and they marched against Marwān who had advanced as far as the Zāb [the river between Moṣul and Arbela], and in an engagement which took place at Kuṣḥāf [a village in that neighbourhood], Marwān's army was defeated. He then retreated to Syria, but being closely pursued by 'Abd Allāh, who followed with all his forces, he retreated to Egypt. ['Abd Allāh halted at Damascus, but sent a body of troops under the orders of al-Asfar (who is named also Musfar or 'Amir) Ibn Ismā'il al-Jurjānī, in pursuit of the prince.] Marwān then arrived at Buṣīr, a village near al-Fayyūm (*in Egypt*) and was slain on the eve of Sunday, the 26 of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 132 (5 August, A.C. 750); [or, it is said, in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah. He fell by the hand of the 'Amir abovementioned, who then cut off his head and sent it to al-Saffāh, by whose orders it was carried to Abū Muslim, that it might be exposed to public view in the towns of Khurāsān. (*When Marwān was at his last moments*) some person asked him what had reduced him to such a state, and he replied: "The little attention which I paid to Naṣr Ibn Sayyār's letters when

1 The autograph has in the margin: بن جديع بن علي .

2 He had remained in concealment for some time, lest the Umayyides should put him to death. See Abu'l-Fida.

\*16 September—Ed.

he wrote to me from Khurasān for assistance.”] The fall of Marwān is an event well known, and the consequence of it was that al-Saffāḥ took possession of the khalifate without meeting any further resistance. He afterwards treated Abū Muslim with the highest honour for his services and for the talent he displayed in directing this important enterprise. From that period the following lines were very often repeated aloud by Abū Muslim:

“By resolution and secrecy I succeeded in an undertaking which the sons of Marwān had vainly combined their forces to resist. I never ceased my efforts to work their ruin, whilst they slumbered in Syria, heedless of danger. I then struck them with the swords, and roused them from a deeper sleep than any had ever slept before. When a shepherd feeds his flock in a land haunted by beasts of prey, if he yields to sloth and neglects his duty, the lion will undertake the tending of the sheep.”

Al-Saffāḥ died at al-Anbār of the small-pox, in the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 136 (May-June, A.C. 754), and his brother Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, who was then at Makkah succeeded to the khalifate on Sunday, the 13 of the same month. From that moment the conduct of Abū Muslim was marked by a number of particularities which produced a total change in the khalif's feelings towards him and made him resolve his death. During some time he hesitated whether to take the advice of his counsellors on this matter or follow his own determination, and in this state of mind he said one day to Muslim Ibn Qutaybah<sup>1</sup>: “What do you think of the manner in which Abū Muslim is getting on?” To this Muslim made answer: “Were any other god but God in the world, heaven and earth would be destroyed (*by such a man*).”—“It suffices; O Ibn Qutaybah!” replied the khalif, “you have confided your thought to safe ears.”

\*[Abū Muslim made a pilgrimage. When he returned he broke journey at Hīrah near Kūfah. There was a Christian about

<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Muslim Ibn Qutaybah Ibn Muslim Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn (الحصين) a member of the tribe of Bāhilah a native of Khurasān, and the father of Sa'id Ibn Muslim was governor of Baṣrah under Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah, in the reign of Marwān al-Ḥimār (the last of the Umayyide dynasty in the East). He held again the same post in the reign of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. His conduct as an amir was marked by great prudence and justice. His death took place A.H. 149 (A.C. 766).—(*Nujūm*)

\* This passage from 'Abu' to 'word place' on p. 138 is in the autograph; it has been omitted by de Slane. The Teheran edition, however, has incorporated it.—Ed.



200 years old; he was known for his predictions. Abū Muslim admitted him to his presence and heard his words. The Christian predicted that he would be killed, but he would remain safe if he stayed in Khurasān. So Abū Muslim made up his mind to return to that place.]

All the efforts of al-Manṣūr being then directed to inspire Abū Muslim with a false security, he at length succeeded in drawing him to the palace. (*Another circumstance contributed to allay Abū Muslim's apprehensions:*) He used to consult books of predictions,<sup>1</sup> and he found therein his own history; that he was to destroy a dynasty, create a dynasty, and be slain in the land of *Rūm* (*Asia Minor*). Al-Manṣūr was then at *Rūmiyat al-Madā'in*<sup>2</sup>, a place founded by one of the Persian kings,\* and Abū Muslim never suspected that he should meet with his death there, as he fancied that it was the land of the Greeks which was meant by the oracle. On entering into al-Manṣūr's presence, he met with a most favourable reception, and was then told to retire to his tent; but the khālif only awaited a favourable opportunity in order to take him unawares. Abū Muslim then rode a number of times to visit al-Manṣūr, who commenced reproaching him with some pretended misdeeds. At last he went to the palace one day, and being informed that the khālif was making a general ablution previously to prayers, he sat down in the antechamber; but in the mean time, al-Manṣūr posted some persons behind the sofa on which Abū Muslim was to sit, and ordered them not to appear till he, the khālif, clapped his hands; on this signal, they were to strike off Abū Muslim's head. Al-Manṣūr then took his seat on the throne, and Abū Muslim being introduced, he made his salutation, which the khālif returned. Al-Manṣūr then permitted him to sit down, and having commenced the conversation, he proceeded to reproaches: "Thou hast done this," said he, "and thou hast done that!"—"Why say you so to me," replied Abū Muslim, "after all my efforts and my services?"—"Son of a prostitute!" exclaimed al-Manṣūr, "thou owest thy success to our own good fortune; had a segrèss slave been

1 *Kutub al-Malāhim*. See M. de Sacys *Chrestomathie*, tom. II, p. 298.

2 See at the end of this article.

\* Although *Kisrā* is a common appellation yet when it is not qualified it refers to *Kisrā Anūshirwān*.—Ed.

in thy place, she had done as much as thee! Was it not thou who in writing to me, didst place thy name before mine? Was it not thou who wrotest to obtain in marriage my aunt 'Āsiyah, pretending indeed, that thou wast a descendant from Salīṭ, the son of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās? Thou hast under-taken, infamous wretch! to mount where thou canst not reach!" On this Abū Muslim seized him by the hand, which he kissed and pressed, offering excuses for his conduct; but al-Manṣūr's last words to him were: "May God not spare me, if I spare thee!" He then clapped his hands, on which the assassins rushed out upon Abū Muslim and struck him with their swords; al-Manṣūr exclaiming all the time: "God cut your hands off, rascals! strike!" On receiving the first blow, Abū Muslim said: "Commander of the faithful! spare me, that I may be useful against thy enemies." But the *khalīf* replied: "May God never spare me if I do! where have I a greater enemy than thee?" The murder of Abū Muslim was perpetrated on Thursday, the 24 of *Sha'bān*, A. H. 137 (February, A. C. 755),\* or by other statements on the 27 of the month; or on Wednesday the 22; others again say that he was put to death in the year 136 or 140. This occurred at *Rāmiyat al-Madā'in*, a village on the east bank of the Tigris and in the neighbourhood of al-Anbār; it is counted as one of the *Madā'ins*, or cities built by the Persian king. When Abū Muslim was slain, his body was rolled up in a carpet, and soon after, Ja'far Ibn Ḥanṣalah entered<sup>1</sup> "What think you of Abū Muslim?" said the *khalīf* to him "Commander of the faithful," answered the other, "if you have ever the misfortune to pull a single hair out of his head, there is no resource for you but to kill him, and to kill him and to kill him again."—"God has given thee understanding;" replied al-Manṣūr, "here he is in the carpet." On seeing him dead, Ja'far said: "Commander of the faithful! count this as the first day of your reign." Al-Manṣūr then recited this verse:

"She threw away her staff (*of travel*) and found repose after a long journey; she fell as the traveller on his return, when his eyes are delighted (*by the sight of home*)<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Ja'far Ibn Ḥanṣalah, one of al-Manṣūr's generals, was a native of Nahravān. In A.H. 139 (A.C. 756-7) he commanded an expedition to Malāṭiyah—(*Nujūm*).

<sup>2</sup> See the observations on this verse in No. 95.

\*13 February,—Ed.

After this he turned towards the persons present, and recited these lines over the prostrate body:

"Thou didst pretend that our debt towards thee could never be paid! receive now thy account in full, O Abū Mujrim!<sup>1</sup> Drink of that draught which thou didst so often serve to others; a draught more bitter to the throat than gall."

Different opinions were held respecting Abū Muslim's origin: some stated that he was of Arabian descent, others of Persian, and others again of Kurdish. It is in allusion to the last opinion that Abn Dulāmah (see No. 230) said:

"O Abū Mujrim! God never replaces by affliction the favours which He grants to His creatures, unless His creatures misapply them. Ah! thou wouldst meditate treason against the empire of al-Manṣūr! Is it not true that thy own progenitors, the Kurds, were always a race of traitors? Thou didst menace me with death, Abū Mujrim! but that lion with which thou didst threaten me, has turned upon thyself!"

Rāmiyah was built by Alexander Dhu 'l-Qarnayn when he was stopping at al-Mada'in, after having traversed the earth from west to east, as the Creator informs us in the *Qur'ān*<sup>2</sup>. He chose no other place of residence in the earth than al-Mada'in, where he then built Rāmiyah: but this God knows best!<sup>3</sup>.

### 348. IBN NUBĀTAH THE KHAṬĪB

The *khaṭīb* or preacher Abū Yaḥyā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Nubātah al-Ḥudhāqī al-Fāriqī, the

<sup>1</sup> *Abū Mujrim* means *father of a villain*, it is a sort of pun on the name of *Abū Muslim*.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'ān*, XVIII, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Khallikān seems to have had a vague knowledge of the founding of Seleucia by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander the Great's generals. It is well known that the conquest of Babylon by Seleucus gave rise to the era of the Seleucidae, called also by the Arabs the era of Dhu 'l-Qarnayn.—Mir Khāund attributes the foundation of Rāmiyah to Anāshirwān, who built it on the precise model of Antioch. See De Sacy's *Memoire sur les antiquites de la Perse*, p. 336. In a note to the French translation of Abu 'l-Fidā's *Geography*, M. Reinaud indicates the seven cities of which al-Mada'in was composed.

author of the celebrated *khutbahs*, or sermons, was a perfect master of all the sciences connected with general literature. The Divine grace bestowed upon him is conspicuous in his *khutbahs*, which are unanimously considered as unrivalled and which remained a proof not only of his extensive learning, but of his fine genius. He was a native of Mayyāfāriqīn and he held the post of *khāṭib* at Aleppo. In that city he met Abu 'l Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī at the court of Sayf al-Dawlah, and learned from him, it is said, a number of his poems. As Sayf al-Dawlah was frequently warring against the enemies of the faith, a large portion of the *khāṭib*'s sermons are on the duty of holy warfare, and were intended by him to stimulate the people and encourage them to support that prince. Ibn Nubātah was a man of great holiness, and he once dreamt that he was standing in the cemetery, when the Prophet appeared to him and said, pointing to the tombs: "O *khāṭib*! what sayest thou?" "And I replied," said Ibn Nubātah: "*They tell not of the state to which they are come; and were they able to speak, they would do so: they have drunk the bitter cup of death, and are now as if they had never rejoiced the eyes of their friends—as if they had never been counted among the living. He Who gave them speech has brought them to silence: He Who created them has caused them to perish; but as He wore them out, so will He renew them, as He scattered their frame, so will He reunite it!*". "The Prophet then spat in his mouth, and the *khāṭib* awoke with a brightness on his face which had not been there before: he then related his dream and mentioned that the Prophet had honoured him with the title of *khāṭib*. For eighteen days after, he lived without eating or drinking, by the grace of that spittle. The *khutbah* from which the foregoing passage is taken continues to be known by the title of *al-khutbah al-manāmiyah* the sermon of the vision). The only historian in whose works I have been able to discover the date of the *khāṭib*'s birth and death, is Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, who says in his History of Mayyāfāriqīn: "Ibn Nubātah was born A.H. 335 (A.C. 946-7), and he died A.H. 374 (A.C. 984-5) at Mayyāfāriqīn, in which city he was interred." I read the following passage in a collection of anecdotes: "The wazīr Abu 'l-Qāsim

---

! I have given the text and translation of this sermon in the *Journal Asiatique* for January, 1840.

Ibn al-Maghribī said: 'I saw the *khāṭib* Ibn Nubātah in a dream, after his death, and I asked him how God had treated him; to which he replied: 'A leaf was handed to me on which these two lines were written in red letters:

'Before this, thou wert in safety, but to-day thou art doubly safe. Pardon is not for the worker of good; it is only for the transgressor!'

"I then awoke, repeating these verses,"—*Hudhāqī* means *belonging to Hudhāqah*, a branch of the tribe of Qudā'ah; but Ibn Qutaybah says, in his History of the Poets, that *Hudhāq* is a branch of the tribe of Iyād; God knows best!

### 349. AL-QĀDĪ 'L-FĀDIL

Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Lakḥmī al-'Asqalānī (*a member of the tribe of Lakḥm and a native of Ascalon*), generally known by the title of al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil (*the talented qāḍī*) and surnamed Mujir al-Dīn (*the protector of religion*), was the son of al-Qāḍī 'l-Ashraf (*the most noble qāḍī*) Bahā al-Dīn Abū 'l-Majd 'Alī, who was the son of al-Qāḍī 'l-Sa'īd (*the fortunate qāḍī*) Abū Muḥammad Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥasan<sup>1</sup> Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Faraj<sup>2</sup> Ibn Aḥmad.—Al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil, surnamed also al-Miṣrī because he resided in Miṣr, or Egypt, was Wazīr to the sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, by whom he was always treated with the very highest favour. As a writer of epistles he reached pre-eminence and surpassed every predecessor; and in his productions, numerous as they were, he constantly displayed novel beauties of style and thought. I have been informed by a man of talent and veracity, who was well acquainted with every thing respecting the Qāḍī, that the books containing the rough draughts of his epistles, and the loose sheets on which his *ta'ltqaḥs* (*memoranda*) were written, would certainly form a collection of one hundred volumes, and that the greater part of these documents are masterpieces. The *kātib* 'Imād

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has الحسن.

<sup>2</sup> المرجع in the autograph.

al-Dīn al-Iṣṣpāhānī speaks of him in the *Kharīdah* in these terms: "He was the master of the pen and of lucid expression<sup>1</sup>, of eloquence, and of language; his genius was brilliant, his sagacity penetrating, and his style marked by originality and beauty. His abilities were so great that we know not of any ancient writers who could have entered into competition with him or even approached him, had they lived in the same time. He was like the law of Muḥammad, which annulled every preceding law and became itself the basis of all science; to him belonged novelty of thought, originality of ideas, display of brilliancy, and production of the fairest flowers; it was he who conducted the empire by his counsels, and fastened the pearls (*of style*) on the thread (*of discourse*): When he pleased, he could compose in a day, nay in a single hour, documents which, were they preserved, would be considered by masters of the epistolary art as the most precious materials they could possess. How far was Quss<sup>2</sup> beneath him in eloquence, and Qays<sup>3</sup> in prudence! Compared with him in generosity, what was Ḥatīm<sup>4</sup>? and in bravery, what was 'Amr<sup>5</sup>? ." He then continues his eulogium in the highest terms. We shall give here a letter by al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil, addressed to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and presented to him by the *khaṭīb* (preacher) of 'Aydḥāb<sup>6</sup>; in it he recommends the bearer as a proper person to fill the place of preacher at al-Karak<sup>7</sup>: "May God preserve the sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir and fortify him; may He grant favourable acceptance to his acts and make them fructify; may He crush his enemies unawares, when they slumber by day or sleep by night! and may He quell their insolence by

<sup>1</sup> We have here in the original a good specimen of 'Imād al-Dīn's style with its beauties and its faults; but the former vanish in translation, and the latter become still more glaring. One or two passages in this extract are so highly figurative that it is impossible to render them literally into any European language.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 62. note on Quss.

<sup>3</sup> Qays Ibn Zuhayr al-'Absī is the person meant in the proverbial expression: *shrewder than Qays*. He took an active part in the war of Dāhis and Ḡhabrā; See Rasmussen's *Additamenta*; Abu 'l-Fidā's *Hist. Antislam*, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> This is the celebrated Ḥatīm al-Tā'i.

<sup>5</sup> 'Amr the son of Mālik of the tribe of Sa'sa'ah, a contemporary of Muḥammad, was surnamed for his bravery *Mulā'ib al-Asinnah* (*he that plays with the spear points*)—(See Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad hist.*—Ar.)

<sup>6</sup> The town of 'Aydḥāb is situated on the western coast of the Red Sea, in lat. 22° 8'. Berghaus has omitted it in his map of Egypt and Arabia.

<sup>7</sup> Karak or Kerek lies to the east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea.

means of His servant's sword and cast them prostrate! This letter, bearing the humble service of thy slave, will be presented by the *khātib* of 'Aydḥāb, forced to quit that place which was for him an unpleasant and inconvenient residence. Having heard of those victories, the fame of which has filled the earth, and which entitle thee to the gratitude of its inhabitants, he abandoned the burning atmosphere and the salt soil of 'Aydḥāb, and travelled forth in a night of hope, brilliant as day; judge then what the morning itself must be! He is anxious to obtain the preachership of al-Karak, for he is a preacher; and he employs the mediation of thy humble servant to address this request, which can be easily granted. He removes from Egypt to Syria, from 'Aydḥāb to al-Karak; a change singular enough: but poverty impels with violence; his family being large and his means small. The bounty of God to mankind in preserving our sovereign master is most gracious Adieu."—In one of his epistles he describes, in the following original strain, a castle situated on a lofty hill: "This castle\* is an eagle among precipices; a star in the clouds; a head turbaned with vapours; a finger which, when dyed by the rays of the evening, has for its nail the new moon."?

† [The idea in the expression 'a finger has for its nail the new moon' is borrowed from 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz as related on his notice and has been stated in the following verse:

'The light of the new moon had nearly betrayed us, when she appeared, this as a paring of the nail.'

It contains an idea borrowed from 'Amr Ibn Umayyah, who thus described the new moon.

'The daughter of the clouds of night descends towards the horizon, (in shape) like the cutting of the nail, pared off from a little finger.')

\* Probably *Qal'at Kawkab* (*Star Castle*), a fortress situated on a lofty hill overlooking the Jordan. Berghaus places it in lat. 32°37'.

\* "And it is said; This castle was called Kawkab", omitted by de Slane but it is found in the autograph.—Ed.

† {} This information is omitted by de Slane but it is in the autograph and subsequent editions, c.f. no 316.—Ed.

\*[When he had grown old, he had written in the course of a letter these words: "A slave whose knees have become feeble and his buttocks have become weak and his legs become crooked while standing and there remained nothing of his sight except name and from his speech except nonsense."]

His compositions abound in originality and beauty; he wrote also some good poetry, such, for instance, as the piece he recited on arriving at the Euphrates, in the retinue of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and in which he expresses his desire of again seeing the Nile of Egypt:

"Bear from me a message to the Nile; tell it I never could quench my thirst with water from the Euphrates. Ask my heart if I say the truth; it will be a sufficient witness for me, even did my eyes withhold their tears. O my heart! how many *Buthaynahs* hast thou left there after thee, but God forbid that thou support thy sorrows with patient resignation (*jamil*)<sup>1</sup>."

He often recited the following verses:

"When the eyes of Fortune guard you, sleep without fear, for places of danger are then places of safety. Pursue the phoenix, fortune will serve you as a net; take the constellation of Orion for a steed, fortune will be your bridle."

The following lines were composed by him :

"We passed the night in the gratification of our desires; but there are pleasures which it is not possible to describe. The guardian of our door was the night, and we said to her: "Leave us not, or the morning will break in."

I have expressed this idea in a distich† which runs as follows:

"What a night of pleasure we passed at the mountain-foot! to describe it would far exceed my power. I said to the night: 'Thou art the guardian of our door; leave us not, for we dread the breaking in of the dawn.'"

\*(Al-Malik al-'Aziz Ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was very fond of al-Qaḍi 'l Faḍil during the life of his father. It so happened that al-Malik al-'Aziz had a fancy for a singing girl; this interrupted his performance of duties. The circumstance was reported to

<sup>1</sup> For the loves of Jamil and Buthaynah, see no. 138. It may be perceived that the *qāḍi* has attempted a pun in this verse.

\* {} This information is added from the Egyptian edition.—Ed.

† Quatrain is a proper word.—Ed.



his father who ordered him to leave her and prohibited his association with her. This was unbearable for him; but he could no dare meet her. When a long time passed she sent a ball of ambergris through one of her servants to him. When he broke it he found a golden stud in it. He pondered over it but could not understand its purpose. By chance the Qaḍī came there and he informed him about it. The Qaḍī 'l-Faḍīl composed two verses which he sent to him :

"She presented you ambergris in the middle of which there was a golden stud finely welded. The meaning of the stud in ambergris is this : visit in this way under the cover of darkness."

The Malik knew her sense of visiting in the night ]

Al-Qaḍī 'l-Faḍīl composed a great quantity of poetry. He was born at 'Asqalān on the 15 of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 529 (April, A.C. 1135)\*; his father held for some time the post of qāḍī at the city of Baysān<sup>1</sup> ; and for this reason, all the family received the surname of al-Baysānī. In the life of al-Muwaffaq Yūsuf Ibn al-Khallāl, we shall relate how al-Qaḍī 'l-Faḍīl began the world, and how he went to Egypt, where he was employed to draw up documents in the chancery-office by al-Khallāl; it is not therefore necessary for us to repeat the same account here. He was then attached to the service of the sultan at Alexandria, where he remained for some time. The jurisconsult 'Umārah al-Yamanī speaks of him in his work on the history of the Egyptian waz'irs, entitled *al-Nukat al-'Aşriyah*, where he gives the life of al-'Adil Ibn al-Şāliḥ Ibn Ruzzik: "Among the actions," says he, "which redound to his (*al-'Adil's*) honour, and merit to be enregistered in the history of his life—or rather, I should say, incomparably the best deed he ever performed and a favour (*to the world*) not to be repaid—was his despatching an order to the governor of Alexandria, with directions to send al-Qaḍī 'l-Faḍīl to court; after which he took him in his service and employed him as his secretary in the army office. He thus planted a tree from which not only the state, but religion

---

<sup>1</sup> Baysān lies about nine miles south of Lake Tiberias, near the right bank of the Jordan.

\*21 April. The name of the day i.e. Monday mentioned in the autograph omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

drew profit; a blessed tree of rapid growth and firmly rooted, bearing its branches to the sky, and furnishing good fruit at all seasons, by the permission of the Lord." We have already mentioned that (*subsequently to this*) he was appointed wazīr by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and gradullay mounted in favour till that sulṭān's death. During the reign of al-Malik al-'Aziz, the son and successor of that prince, al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil maintained his rank and influence; al-Malik al-'Aziz's son, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, then succeeded to the throne in consequence of the measures taken by his uncle al-Malik al-Aḥḍal Nūr al-Dīn; and al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil continued to hold his rank, and honours to the last moment of his life. He expired suddenly at Cairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 7th of the latter Rabī', A.H. 596 (January, A.C. 1200)\* at the time of al-Malik al-'Ādil's entry into that city, when taking possession of Egypt. He was buried the next morning in the mausoleum bearing his name, and situated in the lesser Qarāfah Cemetery, at the foot of Mount Muqāṭṭam. I visited his tomb more than once, and I saw the date of his death, as it is here given, engraved on the marble enclosure which surrounds the monument. He was one of the ornaments of the age, and the time will not readily produce another fit to replace him. He founded a *madrasah* at Cairo in the street called *Darb al-Malūḳīyah*, and I perused a note in his own handwriting, wherein it was stated that on Saturday, the first of Muḥarram, A.H. 580 (April, A.C. 1184),† this establishment was first opened for the instruction of pupils—As for his surname, his family say that it was Muḥī al-Dīn (*reviver of religion*), but in a document addressed to him by Ibn Abī 'Uṣrān (No. 313), I find him styled Mujir al-Dīn. —His son Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, surnamed al-Qāḍī al-Aṣḥraf Bahā al-Dīn (*the most noble qāḍī, the lustre of the faith*) lived in a high favour with the princes (*of the family of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*); he was most assiduous in learning Traditions and indefatigable in collecting books. His birth took place at Cairo in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 573 (July, A.C. 1177), and he died at the same city on the

---

! Literally : *On the necks*. In Arabic they say, *he hung a favour on his neck* نعمة قلده an expression equivalent to اولاه نعمة he conferred a favour on him.

\* 26 January.—Ed.

† 14 April.—Ed.

eve of Monday, the 7 of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 643 (October, A.C. 1245)\*. He was buried at the side of his father's tomb. Al-Qāḍī al-Aṣḥraf, having been commissioned by the prince al-Malik al-Kāmil Ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Ibn Ayyūb to proceed from Cairo on a mission to Baḥdād, he addressed to the Wazīr these lines of his own composing:

"O my lord Wazīr! you whose favours dissolve the pact which bound me to adverse fortune! How can I thank you for your kindness, feeling that I can hardly sustain the honour conferred upon me. Those favours are light in your hands, but their burden is weighty on the shoulders<sup>1</sup> of those who receive them.

### 350. IBN JURAYJ.

Abū Khalīd ʿAbd al-Malik, surnamed also Abu 'l-Walīd, the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Jurayj, was a native of Makkah, and a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Quraysh; Umayyah Ibn Khalīd Ibn Usayd† being his patron. According to another statement, (*his grandfather*) Jurayj was a slave to Umm Ḥabīb, the daughter of Jubayr and the wife of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Khalīd Ibn Usayd Ibn Abi 'l-ʿEis Ibn Umayyah; and for this reason he was considered as the *maw'lā* of the latter. ʿAbd al-Malik was one of the most celebrated men (*of that age*) for his learning; it is said that he was the first who, after the promulgation of Islāmism, composed books. He frequently related the following anecdote: "I was in Yaman with Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah<sup>2</sup>, and the period of the pilgrimage came round without my having any intention of making it, till the following verses of ʿUmar Ibn Abi Rabi'ah's<sup>3</sup> came suddenly to my recollection:

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: *On the necks*. In Arabic they say, *he hung a favour on his neck*, *قلده نعمته*, an expression equivalent to *اولاه نعمته* *he conferred a favour on him*.

<sup>2</sup> His life will be found in this work.

<sup>3</sup> The life of ʿUmar Ibn Abi Rabi'ah is given in this work.

\* 30 October—Ed.

† M. de Slane gives Asid.—Ed.

'Say to him, I pray you, but not reproachfully; Why do you make so long a stay in Yaman? If you be in search of fortune<sup>†</sup> or if you have obtained her favours, what sum have you received for neglecting the pilgrimage?'

I immediately went to Ma'an and told him that it was my intention to make the pilgrimage, on which he asked me what could have induced me to form such a design, as I never before had spoken to him on the subject. I then related to him the circumstance and repeated Ibn Abī Rabi'ah's verses, on which he provided me with the expenses of my journey and sent me off." Ibn Jurayj was born A.H. 80 (A.C. 699-700); he went to Baghḍād to see Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, and died A.H. 149 (A.C. 766); some say, 150 or 151.

### 351. 'ABD AL-MALIK IBN 'UMAYR.

Abū 'Umar, and Abū 'Amr, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr Ibn Suwayd, surnamed al-Qibḍī al-Farasī, was a member of the tribe of Laḥm and one of the principal inhabitants of Kūfah, where he filled the place of qāḍī on the death of al-Sha'bī. He ranked among the most distinguished of the *Tābi'īs* and was also one of the most trustworthy as a transmitter of Traditions.\* He saw 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and gave Traditions on the authority of Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>2</sup>. The following circumstance of his life is related by himself: "I was with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān at the castle of Kūfah when the head of Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr was brought in and presented to him. On seeing me shudder, he asked me what was the matter, and I replied: 'May God preserve the Commander of the faithful! I was in this castle, and in this very room, with

<sup>1</sup> Read *قيد* in the Arabic Text.

<sup>2</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Amr al-Sulamī al-Anṣārī was a native of Madinah and a Traditionist of great authority, having conversed with the Prophet. He died at his native place, A. H. 78 (A.C. 697-8) aged sixty-four\* years—(*Tab. al-Muḥaddithīn*.)

\* This appears to be a misprint for ninety four, vide *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Vol. II, p. 42.

'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ziyād when the head of al-Ḥusayn the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib was placed before him; I was then here with al-Mukḥtar Ibn Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī, when 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ziyād's head was brought to him; I was here again when al-Mukhtar's head was presented to Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, and behold now the head of Muṣ'ab! On hearing these words, 'Abd al-Malik rose from his place and ordered the pavilion in which we were, to be levelled to the ground." Ibn 'Umayr was at one time taken ill, and a person sent his excuses for not going to visit him, on which he answered: "I cannot reproach a person for not visiting me, whom I myself should not go to visit were he sick." He died on or about A.H. 136 (A.C. 753-4) aged 103 years.—The relative adjective *Qibṭī* is formed from Qibṭ; he possessed an excellent race-horse so called, and from this circumstance he derived his surname.—*Farasī* is derived from *Fars* (*horse*), and was applied to him for the same reason.

### 352. IBN AL-MĀJISHŪN.

Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Salamah al-Mājisḥūn, the Mālikite doctor, was a native of Madīnah and a client to the Munkadirs, a family which drew its origin from Taym, a descendant of Quraysh: he was therefore surnamed al-Qurashī, al-Taymī, al-Munkadirī; he bore also the appellation of al-A'mā\* (*the blind*), because he did not possess the sense of sight, or because he lost it towards the close of his life. His ancestor Abū Salamah was surnamed al-Mājisḥūn, but his real name is uncertain; some say that he was called Mayman, and others, Dīnār. Ibn al-Majisḥūn studied Jurisprudence under his father 'Abd al-'Azīz, the imām Mālik, and others. He took great pleasure in hearing vocal music, and to this, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal bears testimony: "He came to visit us," said he, "and was accompanied by a person whose business it was to sing to him".

---

\* M. de Slane gives it A'mī.—Ed.

He was also noted for his talent as a narrator of anecdotes and for the purity of his style: relative to this it is related that, when the imām al-Shāfiʿī conversed with him (*on literature*), the persons present understood very little of what they said; the reason was that al-Shāfiʿī had acquired his knowledge of pure Arabic by living for some time in the desert with the tribe of Hudhayl, and Ibn al-Mājiṣhūn had learned it in the same manner from the tribe of Kalb, who were his relations by the mother's side. It was said by Yaḥyā Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Muʿaddal; "When I reflect that 'Abd al-Malik's tongue must sooner or later moulder into dust, the world loses its value in my sight." The same person being asked how great was the difference between his own talent as a correct speaker and that of his master 'Abd al-Malik, he made this reply: "The tongue of 'Abd al-Malik, when embarrassed, was more lively than mine when animated<sup>1</sup>." Ibn al-Mājiṣhūn died A.H. 213 (A.C. 828-9), but it is mentioned by Abū 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr<sup>2</sup> that his death took place in 212; others again place this event in 214.—*Mājiṣhūn* signifies *tinged with a rose colour*, or, according to some, *tinged with white and red*; it was the surname of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qub the son of Abū Salamah 'Abd al-Malik's great-grand-father, and the uncle of 'Abd al-Malik's father. This surname was given him by Sukaynah the daughter of al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī \* Ibn Abī Ṭālib<sup>3</sup>, and it passed to all his children and to those of his brother. But the origin of this appellation has been explained in another manner: as they were originally from Iṣpahān, they used to salute one another, when they met, with the words *shūni shūni*; and they were called *Mājiṣhūn* for that reason<sup>4</sup>; this we give on the authority of the ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī. It was said by

<sup>1</sup> In this passage all the MSS. except the autograph are wrong: for نغابى we must read نغابى , and for تحابى , تحابى

<sup>2</sup> This person's life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

<sup>3</sup> Her life will be found in no. 256.

<sup>4</sup> I have not been able to discover what the words *shūni* and *Mājiṣhūn* may mean in this case, had Ibn Khallikān known it, he would most probably have explained it.

\* This name is erroneously omitted by de Slane. It is probably a printing mistake.—Ed.

Abū Dāwūd<sup>1</sup> that Ibn al-Mājjishūn did not understand the Traditions, and Ibn al-Barqī<sup>2</sup> relates that a man having requested him to go and see 'Abd al-Malik, he went and found that he had no conception of what a Tradition was. Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd mentions him in his greater *Ṭabaqāt*, and says: "He had a knowledge of Jurisprudence and handed down orally traditional information"—*Munkadiri* means *descended from al-Munkadir* the son of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Huḍayr, a member of the family of Taym, which is a branch of the tribe of Quraysh. He was the father of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar, whose history is given in full by Ibn Quṭaybah, in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, under the head of *Muḥammad Ibn al-Munkadir*<sup>3</sup>.

### 353. THE IMĀM AL-ḤARAMAYN.

The Shāfiite doctor, Abū 'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd al-Malik, surnamed *Ḍiyā al-Ḍīn* (*splendour of religion*) and generally known by the title of the imām al-Ḥaramayn, was son to the *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Ya'qub Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥayyūyah al-Juwaynī. He was, without exception, the most learned doctor of the Shāfiite sect in later times, and is universally considered as a (*mujtahid*) imām; it is also agreed on by all that he stood pre-eminent by the extent of his information and his skill in many different branches of science, such as dogmatic

<sup>1</sup> Probably Abū Dāwūd the imām; see no. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī 'l-Qāḍī al-Barqī al-Miṣrī (a native of Egypt, but sprung from a family inhabiting Barqah in North Africa) was a doctor of the sect of Mālik, and esteemed as one of the ablest jurisconsults of Egypt. He studied the law under Al-shhāb and Ibn Wahb. His death is placed by al-Suyūṭhī, in A.H. 245 (A.C. 859-60).—(*Ḥusn al-Muḥaḍirah*, MS, No. 652, fol. 116 verso).

<sup>3</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Munkadir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Huḍayr al-Taymī, a member of the tribe of Quraysh, was an eminent *Qur'ān-reader* and Traditionist. His masters were Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh, Anas. Ibn Mālik, 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr, etc. He had for pupils the imām Mālik, Shubah, al-Thawri, Ibn 'Uyaynah, Ibn Jurayj etc. He died A.H. 131 (A.C. 748-9).—(*Ṭab. al-Muḥad.*)

theology, jurisprudence, philology, etc. (We have spoken of his father in no. 310.) By a favour of the divine grace, he was enabled to carry the practices of devotion to an unexampled pitch of fervour; he repeated also from memory, and without the least hesitation, lesson to his pupils, each of which would have filled a number of leaves. When a youth, he was instructed in jurisprudence by his father Abū Muḥammad, who was struck with his capacity, acquirements, excellent disposition, and other prognostics of future eminence. 'Abd al-Malik having thus gone through all his parent's works and mastered their contents, surpassed him in accuracy of knowledge and subtilness. On his father's death, he replaced him as a teacher, and having accomplished that duty, he went to the *Madrasah* of al-Bayhaqī<sup>1</sup> and mastered the science of dogmatic theology under the tuition of the *ustād* Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Iskāf, a native of Isfarā'in<sup>2</sup>. From thence he travelled to Baḡdād, where he met a number of the learned; he then proceeded to Ḥijāz, where he made a residence of four years, partly at Makkah and partly at Madīnah. During this period he filled the duties of a professor and a *mufti*, whilst the rest of his time was devoted to the task of collecting the *Shāfite* doctrines from all the various channels through which they had passed down. It was on account of his residence in these two holy cities that he received the surname of the *Imām al-Ḥaramayn* (*imām of the two sanctuaries*). Towards the commencement of Alp Arslān's reign, he returned to Naysāpur, and Nizām al-Mulk, that sultān's wazīr, founded there a *Nizāmiyah* College

---

<sup>1</sup> This *madrasah* was called after the doctor Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī. See his life, No. 27 and Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Jabbar Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed *al-Ustād* (*the master*) and generally known by the denomination of al-Iskāf (*the cobbler*), was a native of Isfara' in and a disciple of the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'aini. He composed a number of works on the dogmas of faith, on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, and on dialectics. As a jurisconsult and scholastic theologian he held a high rank; as a controversialist and a professor he displayed great powers of language, and as a *mufti*, he was esteemed one of the most capable. If we take into consideration besides that he was a strict imitator of the original Muslims in devotion and self-denial, we must allow that he had no equal among his contemporaries. He lived in the knowledge of his duties towards God and in the performance of them. His death occurred in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 454 (A.C. 1062).—(*Tab. al-Shāfi'īn*) Ibn Khallikān writes his surname *Iskāfi*, not *Iskāf*, but I prefer the authority of the *Qāmūs* and the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*.



for the express purpose of establishing the Imām in it as a professor. This doctor filled besides the place of *khaṭīb*, or chief preacher of the city, and held assemblies in which he gave exhortations and presided at discussions on points of doctrine. The works which he had written became then generally known, and his lectures were attended by doctors of the highest eminence; the presidency of the *Shāfiʿite* sect devolved on him; and the administration of the *waqfs*, or religious endowments, was confided to his care. During a space of nearly thirty years he continued in undisputed possession of these places, and held with general consent the posts of officiating imām at public prayers, of preacher in the principal mosque, of professor, and of president at the assemblies which met every Friday to hear pious exhortations. He composed works on very many subjects, and Islāmism has never produced one equal to his treatise, the *Nihāyat al-Maṭlab fī Dirāyat al-Madhhab* (*satisfactory results to inquiry, being a guide to the knowledge of the Shāfiʿite doctrines.*) The ḥafīẓ Abū Jaʿfar<sup>1</sup> relates that he heard Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī say to the Imām al-Ḥaramayn: "O instructor of the people of the East and of the West! thou art to-day the imām (*chief*) of the imāms." —The imām al-Ḥaramayn was taught Traditions by a great number of the learned in that branch of knowledge, and he possessed a licence from Abū Nuʿaym al-Ispahānī, the author of the *Hilyat al-Awliyā* (see no. 32), authorising him to teach those which he had communicated to him. His other works are the *Shāmil* (*comprehensive*), on the dogmas of religion; the *Burhān* (*proof*) on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, the *Talkhīṣ al-Taqrīb*, an abridgment of (*al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad al-Shāshī's* treatise on jurisprudence), the *Taqrīb*: the *Irshād* (*direction, on the fundamentals of jurisprudence*); *al-'Aqidah al-Nāẓimiyyah*<sup>2</sup>; the *Madārik al-'Uqūl* (*results of the utmost efforts of human reason*), which work was left unfinished; an unfinished abridgment of the *Nihāyat al-Maṭlab*:

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Tabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyyin* mentions an Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Alī al-Hamādānī in the life of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn: this was perhaps the same person as the ḥafīẓ.

<sup>2</sup> To judge from the title, this should be a profession of faith for the use of the students at the *Nizāmiyyah* College.

the *Ghayāth al-'Umam* (help for the nations), in which he treats of the *imāmat* or presidency over the whole Muslim community; the *Mughīth al-Khalq* (assister of God's creatures), leading to the choice of the true way; the *Ghunyat al-Mustarshidin*<sup>1</sup> (sufficient help for those who desire guidance), being a treatise on controversy. He composed also some other works. Whenever he entered into an explanation of the sciences peculiar to the *Ṣufīs* and of the state of extatic exaltation<sup>2</sup> to which they sometimes reached, he would draw tears from all present. During the entire course of his life he never swerved from a line of conduct most praiseworthy and agreeable to God. I was told by a *shaykh* that he had read a full account of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn's life in a certain treatise, and that his father Abū Muḥammad began the world as a professional book copyist: having amassed some money by his labours, he bought a slave-girl bearing a high character for piety and virtue, and her he supported with the lawful gains furnished him by his trade. She bore him a son, afterwards known as the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, and he told her not to allow any person but herself to suckle the child; but it happened one day, that on going into her apartment, he found her indisposed, and as the child was crying, a woman who was one of the neighbours, gave it the breast for a short time to quiet it. When the father saw this, he felt much vexed, and taking the child, he held it with its head downwards, stroked its belly, and put his finger into its mouth, till he succeeded in making it throw up what it had swallowed: "I would rather see him die," said he, "than have his natural disposition spoiled by the milk of one who was not his mother." It is related also of the Imām himself that a languor of mind sometimes came over him during the conferences at which he presided and that he attributed it to the effects of that milk a portion of which remained in his stomach.—He was born on the 18th of Muḥarram, A.H. 419 (February, A.C. 1028);\* in his last illness he was borne to Baṣṭaniqān, a village situated in

1 Read المسترشدين in the Arabic text.

2 Read الأحوال.

\* 17 February.—Ed.

the province of Naysāpur and noted for the salubrity of its air and water; he died at that place on Wednesday, the 25th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 478 (August, A.C. 1085)\*, just as the evening had closed in. His body was taken to Naysāpur that night, and was buried the next morning in (*the court of*) his house, but, some years later, it was removed to the al-Ḥusayn Cemetery and interred beside the grave of his father. The funeral prayers were said over him by his son Abu 'l-Qāsim, and on the day of his death, all the shops were shut, the pulpit in the great mosque from which he preached was broken to pieces, and the whole population mourned for him as for a relation. A great number of elegies were composed on his death, and one of them we shall give here: it is as follows:

"The hearts of mankind were in torture<sup>1</sup> and the days of mortals became dark as nights! Can the tree of science ever again bear fruit, now that the imām Abu 'l-Ma'alī is no more?"

At the moment of his death, his scholars, who were four hundred and one in number, broke their pens and inkhorns and let a full year pass over before they resumed their studies.

### 354. AL-AṢMA'Ī.

The celebrated philologist Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Qurayb al-Aṣma'ī drew his descent from 'Adnān, his father Qurayb being the son of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aṣma, Ibn Muṭahhir 'Ibn Riyāḥ Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn A'ya Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Ibn Ghānam<sup>1</sup> Ibn Qutaybah Ibn Ma'an Ibn Mālik Ibn A'ṣar Ibn Sa'd Ibn Qays 'Aylān<sup>2</sup> Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'ad

<sup>1</sup> Literally: On frying pans!

<sup>2</sup> The autograph has 'Alam علم, which, by the addition of a point on each of the first two letters, has been changed into غنم.

<sup>3</sup> I follow the autograph in reading Qays 'Aylān, but some of the Arabian genealogists make 'Aylān or Ghaylān the father of Qays, not the same person.

\* 20 August—Ed.

† The Egyptian edition gives Muzahhar—Ed.

‡ The Egyptian edition gives Ritab —Ed.

Ibn 'Adnān.—Al-Aṣma'ī bore also the surname of *Bāhili* (*descended from Bāhilah*), and yet no such name appears in his genealogy; he was so entitled, however, because his ancestor Mālik Ibn A'ṣar was the husband of the female named *Bāhilah*; others say that *Bāhilah* was the name of a son of A'ṣar<sup>1</sup>.—Al-Aṣma'ī was a complete master of the Arabic language, an able grammarian, and the most eminent of all those persons who transmitted orally historical narrations, singular anecdotes, amusing stories, and rare expressions of the language. He received his information from *Shu'bah* Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (*see no. 207 note*), the two Ḥammāds<sup>2</sup>, *Mis'ar* Ibn Kidām (*no. 255 note*), and others; his own authority was cited by his brother's son 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Abd Allāh, *Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim* Ibn Sallām<sup>3</sup>, *Abū Ḥatim al-Sijistānī* (*no. 268*), *Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Riyāshī* (*no. 298*), and others. He was a native of Baṣrah, but he removed to Baghdād in the reign of *Hārūn al-Raṣhīd*. Some person then said to *Abū Nuwās* (*no. 162*) that *Abū 'Ubaydah*<sup>4</sup> and al-Aṣma'ī had been just presented to al-Raṣhīd, on which he replied: "As for *Abū 'Ubaydah*, he will recite to them, if allowed, the history of the ancients and the moderns; but as for al-Aṣma'ī he is a nightingale to charm them with his melodies." It is related by *'Umar Ibn Shabbah*<sup>5</sup>, that he heard

<sup>1</sup> The author makes some farther observations on the surname of *Bāhilah* in the life of *Qutaybah* Ibn Muslim.

<sup>2</sup> My researches have led me to the conclusion that the persons designated as the two Ḥammāds (*al-Ḥammādānī*) were *Abū Salamah Ḥammād Ibn Salama Ibn Dīn'r* and *Abū Ism'il Ḥammād Ibn Zayd Ibn Dirham*. The former was a native of Baṣrah, a *mawla* to the tribe of Tamim, and a sister's son to *Humayd al-Tawil*, from whom and other eminent teachers he received his traditional knowledge. He bore a high character for exactness as a traditionist and a *ḥāfiẓ* he spoke with great purity, and was considered as an excellent authority in Arabic grammar and philology (*'arabīyah*). He was noted for his learning, piety, and self-mortification. He died A.H. 167 (A.C. 783-4).—(*Nujūm. Al-Yāfi'is Mir'ā'i*).

*Abū Ism'il Ḥammād Ibn Zayd Ibn Dirhim*, surnamed al-Azraq (*the blue-eyed*), was a native of Baṣrah and a *mawla* to the tribe of Tamim. He received his knowledge from the first doctors of that age, some of whom were the same as those under whom his namesake *Ḥammād Ibn Salamah* studied. He held a high reputation as a jurisconsult, a Traditionist, and a *ḥāfiẓ*. He died in A.H. 179 (A.C. 795-6).—(*Tab. al-Fuqahā—Tab. al-Muḥaddithīn—Al-Yāfi'i*).

<sup>3</sup> The life of Ibn Sallām will be found in this work.

<sup>4</sup> His life is given by Ibn *Khallikān*.

<sup>5</sup> His life will be found in this work.

al-Aṣma'i say that he knew by heart sixteen thousand pieces of verse composed in the measure called *rajaz*<sup>1</sup>; and it was observed by Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (*no.* 84) that he never heard al-Aṣma'i profess to know a branch of science without discovering that none knew it better than he. Al-Rabī' Ibn Sulaymān (*no.* 221) relates that he heard al-Shāfi'i pronounce these words: "None ever explained better than al-Aṣma'i the idiom of the desert Arabs." And it was mentioned by Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī (*no.* 156) that when al-Aṣma'i was at Baṣrah, he received most pressing invitations from al-Māmūn to go and see him but refused on the pretext of his feebleness and advanced age; al-Māmūn then used to draw up collections of questions on doubtful points (*of literature*) and send them to him that he might resolve them. The following anecdote was related by al-Aṣma'i: "I and Abū 'Ubaydah went to see al-Faḍl Ibn Rabī'<sup>2</sup>, who asked me in how many volumes was my work on horses, and I replied: 'One only!' He then made the same question to Abū 'Ubaydah respecting his work on the same subject, and he answered: 'Fifty volumes'. Faḍl then said to him: 'Go over to that horse and place your hand successively on all the parts of his body, naming them at the same time.—'I am not a farrier,' replied Abū 'Ubaydah, 'but all I have compiled on this subject was procured by me from the Arabs of the desert.' Al-Faḍl then told me to do it, on which I went over to the horse, and, taking hold of his mane, I commenced naming the different parts of his body as I placed my hand successively upon them; repeating at the same time the verses in which the Arabs of the desert mentioned them. When I had finished, he bid me keep the animal, and whenever I wished to annoy Abū 'Ubaydah, I rode on that horse to pay him a visit." Al-Aṣma'i carefully abstained from explaining any of the obscure expressions occurring in the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunnah*, and when questioned on a point of this kind, he would answer: "The Arabs of the desert say that such and such an expression means so and so, but I do not know what may be its signification in the *Qur'ān* and

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Introd.* note.

<sup>2</sup> His life is given in this work.

the *Sunnah*." His adventures and the anecdotes related of him are very numerous. His grandfather 'Alī Ibn Aṣma' committed a theft at Safawān<sup>1</sup>, for which he was arrested and taken before 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. "Bring me witnesses," said 'Alī, "to prove that he purloined the object out of the saddle-bag<sup>2</sup>." The person who tells this story proceeds to say that evidence to that effect was given before 'Alī, who immediately ordered the fingers of his hand to be cut off. On this some person said to him: "Commander of the faithful! why not cut it off by the wrist<sup>3</sup>?"—"God forbid!" exclaimed the khalīf; how could he then lean on his staff? How could he pray<sup>4</sup>? How could he eat<sup>5</sup>?" When al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf<sup>6</sup> arrived at Baṣrah 'Alī Ibn Aṣma' went to him and said: "O amīr! my parents treated me most foully in naming me 'Alī; give me another name."—"You come," replied al-Ḥajjāj, with an excellent pretext to excite my interest; I appoint you director of the fisheries at al-Bārājah with a daily salary of two dānaqs<sup>6</sup> in copper-money; but, by Allāh! if you go beyond that sum I shall cut off the portion of your hand which 'Alī left on<sup>7</sup>."—Al-Aṣma'ī was born A.H. 122 (A.C. 740) or 123, and he died at Baṣrah in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 216 (March-April, A.C. 831); some say, 214 or 217; and others mention that his death took place at Marw. The *khatīb* Abū Bakr (no. 33) says: "I have been informed al-Aṣma'ī lived to the age of eighty-eight." Qurayb, al-Aṣma'ī's father, was born A.H. 83 (A.C. 702), but I have not been able to discover in what year he died. *Qurayb* was only a byname, but he was not generally known by any other appellation; according to al-Marzubānī<sup>8</sup> and Abū Sa'īd

1 According to the *Marāṣid*, *Safawān* is the name of a place at a day's journey from the *Mirbād*, or halting place at Baṣrah, where there is a large pool of water.

2 The autograph has الرحل.

3 Such was the usual punishment for theft.

4 Before praying, an ablution was necessary, and this could not well be performed with one hand.

5 To make use of the left hand in eating is a gross impropriety.

6 About four pence; there are six dānaqs to a dirhim.

7 This anecdote is related also by al-Tabrizī in his commentary on the *Ḥanāsah*, p. 240.

8 The life of Marzubānī will be found among those of the *Muḥammads*.

al-Sirafī, (no. 154) his real name was Aṣim and his surname Abū Bakr.—*Aṣma'ī* is a patronymic derived from the name of his grandfather.—*Safawān* is the name of a place near Baṣrah; (the road from Baṣrah to Baḥrayn passes successively through Safawān and Kāẓimah to Hajar, the capital of Baḥrayn.—*Al-Barājah* is the name of a place at Baṣrah)<sup>1</sup>.—The following anecdote is related by Abū 'l-'Aynā<sup>2</sup>: "I was at al-Aṣma'ī's funeral, and the poet Abū Qilābah Ḥubaysh Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarmī<sup>3</sup>, with whom I was conversing, recited to me these lines of his own composing:

'God curse the bones which they are now bearing on the bier towards the abode of corruption! bones hateful to the Prophet, to the Prophet's family, and to all the saints.'

'I was then accosted by Abū 'l-'Ālyah al-Ḥasan Ibn Malik al-Shāmī, who recited to me the following lines:

'Let (*the rivulets*) the daughters of the earth cease to flow; afflicted as they now are by the death of al-Aṣma'ī! They (*still flow on, yet*) do not wash away our grief. Live in the world as long as you may, you will never meet a man like him, or with learning such as his.'

'I was much struck with the difference of these two persons' feelings towards the deceased."—Al-Aṣma'ī composed treatises on the following subjects: the human frame, the different species of animals, on the *anwā*, or influence of the stars on the weather, on the letter *hamzah*, on the long and the short *alif*, on the difference between the names given to the members of the human body and those given to the same members in animals,<sup>4</sup> on epithets.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This passage is one of the author's later additions. It exists in the autograph and in one of the Paris manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> The life of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Abū 'l-'Ayn is given by Ibn Khalikān.

<sup>3</sup> Abū Qilābah Ḥubaysh Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jarmī, a *rāwī*, or transmitter of oral information, was a bigoted *Shi'ite*, and for that reason he detested al-Aṣma'ī. The author of the '*Uyūn al-Tawārīkh*' places his death under the year 220 (A.H. 835-6).

<sup>4</sup> Such is the meaning of the word الفرق as appears by M. de Hammer's manuscript of a portion of al-Aṣma'ī's works.

on the doors of tents<sup>1</sup>, on games of chance played with arrows, on the frame of the horse, on horses, on camels, on sheep, on tents, on wild beasts, on the first and fourth form of certain verbs, on proverbs, on words bearing each two opposite significations, a vocabulary, on weapons, on dialects, on the springs of water frequented by the nomadic Arabs, a collection of anecdotes, on the principles of discourse, on the heart, on synonymous terms, on the Arabian peninsula, on the formation of derivative words, on the ideas which usually occur in poetry, on nouns of action, on *rajaz* verses, on the palm-tree, on plants, on homonymous terms, on the obscure expressions met with in the Traditions, on the witticisms of the desert Arabs, etc.

### 355. IBN HISHĀM, THE AUTHOR OF THE *SĪRAH*.

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām Ibn Ayyūb al-Ḥimyarī al-Ma‘āfirī, the author of the *Sirat al-Rasūl*, or *History of the Prophet*, is spoken of in these terms by Abū ‘l-Qāsim al-Suhaylī (see no. 346), in his work entitled *al-Rawḍ al-‘Unuf*, which is a commentary on the *Sīrah*: “He was celebrated for his learning and possessed superior information in genealogy and grammar; his native place was Old Cairo, but his family were of Baṣrah. He composed a genealogical work on the tribe of Ḥimyar and its princes; and I have been told that he wrote another work in which he explained the obscure passages of the poetry cited in (*Ibn Iṣḥāq’s*) *Siyar*.—His death occurred at Old Cairo A.H. 213 (A.C. 828-9).”—This Ibn Hishām is the person who extracted and drew up the *History of the Prophet* from Ibn Iṣḥāq’s<sup>2</sup> work entitled *al-Maghāzī wa ‘l-Siyar*; al-Suhaylī explained its difficulties in a commentary, and it is now found in the hands of the public under the title of *Sīrah Ibn Hishām* (*Ibn Hishām’s Sīrah*, or *History*). Abū Saīd

<sup>1</sup> In the autograph I read الإواب ; but the punctuation is very indistinct.

<sup>2</sup> The life of Muḥammad Ibn Iṣḥāq al-Muṭṭalibī is given by Ibn Khallikān.



'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Yūnus (*see no.* 343), the Egyptian historian, says, in his work on the eminent men who came to Egypt from foreign parts, that this 'Abd al-Malik died on the 13 of the latter Rabi', A.H. 218 (May, A.C. 833);\* God knoweth best which is the true date of his death! Ibn Yūnus says also that he belonged to the tribe of Dhuhl<sup>1</sup>.—*Ma'āfirī* means *descended from Ma'āfir Ibn Ya'fur*, the progenitor of a great tribe<sup>2</sup> to which a great number of persons, principally inhabitants of Egypt, trace their origin.

### 356. AL-THA'ĀLIBĪ AL-NAYSAPŪRĪ.

Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il al-Tha'ālibī al-Naysāpūrī (*a native of Naysāpur*) is spoken of in these terms by Ibn Bassām, the author of the Dhakhīrah: "In that age, he was the man who pastured his genius on the loftiest summits of knowledge; the great compiler of prose and verse; the chief author of his time, and the ablest also in the opinion of that epoch; his reputation spread abroad like a proverb which circulates far and wide; the camels (*which bore travellers to see him were constantly*) arriving, their breasts panting from the rapidity of their speed; his compilations rose over the horizon not only in the East but in the West, and they ascended (*to the zenith of fame*) as the stars ascend through the darkness; his works hold a place of high eminence, shining with refulgence even from their first appearance; the number of persons who learned them by heart or who collected them can neither be defined nor described, and it would be vain to essay, even in the finest and most harmonious style, to do full justice to the merits of his writings." Ibn Bassām then quotes some passages of al-Tha'ālibī's composition in prose and verse; one of the latter is the following piece addressed to the amir Abu 'l- Faḍl al-Mikālī (*governor of the province of Fārs*):

"Your talents are admirable and so numerous that no other mortal ever possessed as many. Two of them are oceans; one,

<sup>1</sup> The tribe of Dhuhl sprung from that of Bakr Ibn Wā'il, which last drew its descent from Rabi'ah Ibn Nizār.

<sup>2</sup> Read قبيل كبير in the Arabic text.

\* 8 May—Ed.

an ocean of eloquence composed of al-Walid's (*Buḥturi's*) poetic spirit and the charming style of al-Aṣma'ī; the other, a skill in epistolary writing equal to that of al-Ṣābī and embellished in its superiority by a penmanship which, like Ibn Muqlah's merits the first rank<sup>2</sup>. Let us give thee thanks! how many admirable passages have come from you (*to us*), as wealth comes abundantly on the noble-minded man who, but a moment before, was borne down by poverty. When the buds of the poetry unfold and blossom, their beauty is displayed in an ornamented phrase, forming two hemistiches. You have dismounted the horsemen of eloquence, and broken in the horses of original invention; for you are yourself an illustrious and original genius. You have engraved charming devices on the seal of time; devices which surpass in beauty the meadows of spring".

By the same:

"When I sent (*a message to my beloved*)—and, alas! my representations were fruitless—the fire of passion raged fiercer (*in my bosom*) and, to preserve my life, I kissed those eyes with which my messenger had seen her."

One of his longest, finest, and most comprehensive works is that entitled *Yatīmat al-Dahr fī Maḥāsin Ahli 'l-'Aṣar* (*the pearl of the age, treating of the merits of our contemporaries*)<sup>3</sup>. The following lines were composed on this book by the celebrated Alexandrian poet Abu'l-Futūḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn Qalāqīs whose life will be given later:

1 See no. 14.

2 In place of this verse, which is given in the MSS. of the *Yatīmah*, Ibn Khallikān has inserted the following: كالنور أو كالسحر أو كالبدر، أو كالوشى في برد عليه موشع. "Like flowers, or like magic, or like the full moon, or like the colours of a flowered garment, ornamented also with a border." Were this reading to be admitted, we should not know what the *two seas* were, of which al-Tha'alibī speaks. The reading adopted in the printed text is taken from the copy of the poem which the author has inserted in the *Yatīmah*.

3 This work contains notices on poets and other literary men, with extracts from their writings. It forms one large volume, two copies of which are in the *Bib. du Roi*. For a list of the articles contained in the *Yatīmah*, see *Catal. MSS. or Bibl. Bod.* tom. II, p. 313 et seq.

"The verses of the poems in the *Yatimah* are virgin daughters of the spirits who lived of old. They are now dead, but their daughters survive, whence the work bears the name of *Yatimah*"<sup>1</sup>.

Al-Tha'alibī composed also the *Fiqh al-Lughah* (laws of language), the *Sihr al-Balaghah* (magic of eloquence), the *Sirr al-Barā'ah* (secret of excellence), *Kitāb man ghāb 'anhū 'l-Muṭrib* (book for him who has no one to amuse him<sup>2</sup>), the *Mānis al-Wāḥid* (companion for the solitary), and many other works besides, containing anecdotes of eminent men, notices on their lives, and extracts from their poetry and epistles; all these productions are indicative of vast information in the author. He himself composed a great deal of poetry. His birth took place A.H. 350 (A.C. 961), and his death in the year 429 (A.C. 1037-8).—*Tha'alibī* means *one who sews together and dresses foxes' skins*: he was so denominated because he had been a furrier.

### 357. SAḤNŪN

Abu Sa'id 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Sa'id\* al-Tanūkhī (a member of the tribe of *Tanūkh*), and surnamed Saḥnūn† was a doctor of the sect of Mālik. He studied under Ibn al-Qāsim (see no. 337), Ibn Wahb (no. 302), and Aṣḥhab (no. 97), after which he became the head of the science, or chief imām, in Maḡrib. He used to say: "God's curse on poverty! I was a contemporary of Mālik, but (having no means of going to see him), I was obliged to take lessons from

<sup>1</sup> *Yatimah* signifies both *orphan* and *precious pearl*.

<sup>2</sup> This is a collection of elegant extracts in prose and verse, classed under different heads. It is drawn up with great taste. Another of al-Tha'alibī's works, but which is not noticed by Ibn Khallikān, bears the title of *Kitāb al-I'jāz fī 'l-Ījāz*; it is a collection of laconic sayings and maxims. An edition of it has been lately published at Leyden under the direction of M. Weyers.

\* M. de Slane has omitted the following names: Ibn Ḥabīb, Ibn Ḥassān, Ibn Hilāl, Ibn Bakkār, Ibn Rabi'ah.—*Ed.*

† M. de Slane gives *Sukānūn*.—*Ed.*

Ibn al-Qāsim.”<sup>1</sup> He held the post of qāḍī at Qayrawān, and on points of doctrine his opinions are of standard authority in Maḡrib. He is the author of the *Mudawwanah* (digest) containing the doctrines of the imām Mālik; this work, the contents of which he had received (by oral transmission) from Ibn al-Qāsim, is the main authority relied on by the people of Qayrawān. The first who undertook to draw up a *Mudawwanah* was the Mālikite doctor Asad Ibn al-Furāt<sup>2</sup>, when he returned from ‘Irāq. It originally

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Tārīkh al-Qayrawān* MS. No. 752, gives a long notice on Sahnūn, in which I remark the following passage: “He was originally from Emessa in Syria, but he was taken thither (to Maḡrib most probably) when his father accompanied the militia (*jund*) of Emessa.” This must have been during the government of Yazīd Ibn H-tim al-Muhallabī; see *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1841, p. 481. The *jund* were the troops furnished by the Arabian tribes which had settled in the different military divisions (*junds*) of Syria on the first conquest of that country by the Muslims. They received a fixed pay from the khalīf, and a certain number of them were always in actual service. Fuller information on this subject will be found in M. de Reinaud’s translation of Abu ‘l-Fid’-s Geography, chap. on Syria, and in the account of the first Muslim governors of Maḡrib, translated from the universal history of al-Nuwayrī and inserted by me in the *Journal Asiatique*.

<sup>2</sup> Abū ‘Abd Allāh Asad Ibn Furāt Ibn Sinān was a mawlā to the tribe of Sulaym. Speaking of his own names, he used to say: “I am Asad (lion), and the lion is the noblest of animals; my father was called Furāt, and the Furāt (Euphrates) is the purest of waters; and my grandfather’s name was Sinān (spear), which is the best of weapons”. His family belonged to Khurāsān, and he was born at Harrān, A.H. 142 (A.C. 759). According to his own account, he came into the province of Africa with the troops which had been sent thither, A.H. 144, by the khalīf al-M mūn, under the orders of Muḥammad Ibn al-Ash‘ath al-Khuzā‘ī (see *Journal Asiatique* for Nov. 1841, page 464). After passing five years at Qayrawān, he accompanied his father to Tūnis, where he resided nine years. At the age of eighteen he had learned the text of the *Qur’ān* by heart and the desire of completing his studies then led him to the East. He met the imām Mālik at Madīnah and followed his lessons, in the course of which he heard him teach the *Muwattā*. From thence he went to ‘Irāq and met some of Abū Ḥanīfah’s principal disciples, such as Abū Yūsuf, Asad Ibn ‘Amr and Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan. When in that province he wrote down the Traditions which he had learned, and pursued his studies in jurisprudence. After the death of Mālik, he proceeded to Egypt and became the assiduous disciple of Ibn al-Qāsim, under whose instruction he gathered the materials of the *Asadiyah*, which he brought to Qayrawān. In A.H. 181 (A.C. 797) he returned to that city and gave lessons to numerous pupils in the *Asadiyah*, the *Muwattā*, and in other branches of knowledge. From that time his authority as an imām was fully established. In the year 202, Ziyādat Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab nominated him qāḍī of Qayrawān, and he held that post till the year 212, when the same prince gave him the command of the troops which were about to be sent on an expedition against Sicily. In the month of the first Rabi’, A.H. 212 (June, A.H. 827), he sailed for that island with nine thousand one hundred foot and nine hundred horse; and after achieving there a number of important conquests, he died of his wounds, A.H. 213 (A.C. 828-9), whilst besieging Syracuse.—(*Tārīkh al-Qayrawān*, MS. No. 752, fol. 26.—*Al-Hillat al-Siyārah*, MS. fol. 148 v.)

\* This passage is given in the autograph —Ed.

consisted in questions proposed by him to Ibn al-Qasim with their solutions by the latter; he then took them with him to Qayrawan, and Saḥnūn wrote them out under his dictation; it was called the *Asadiyah* (or *Asadian after Asad Ibn al-Furāt*), but as the questions were put down without any order in this first sketch, Saḥnūn drew them up under separate heads and augmented their number; besides which, he resolved some by means of the Traditions with which his memory was furnished when he learned by heart Ibn Wahb's edition of the *Muwattaʿ*. Some points remained, however, which Saḥnūn left incomplete.\* Saḥnūn had a greater number of pupils than any other of Mālik's disciples, and it was by his means that the doctrines of that imam were propagated throughout Maghrib. He was born in A.H. 160 (A.C. 776-7), and he died in the month of Rajab, A.H. 240 (Nov.-Dec. A.C. 854).—*Saḥnūn* or *Suḥnūn* is the name of a bird found in Maghrib and remarkable for its sagacity; it was for this reason that Abū Saʿīd was so surnamed. The pronunciation of this word with an *a* or with an *u* involves a question of grammatical forms peculiar to the Arabic language, but it would be too long to expose it here, neither is this the proper place for such a disquisition; it has besides been fully and properly treated by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, who has always executed in the best manner whatever task he undertook.

### 358. ABŪ ḤĀSHIM AL-JUBBĀʾĪ

Abū Ḥāshim 'Abd al-Salām was the son of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad [al-Jubbaʾī]\* Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Salām Ibn K̲h̲alīd<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥumārān Ibn Aban; this last was a *mawlā* to the k̲h̲alīf 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affan. Abū Ḥāshim al-Jubbaʾī a celebrated scholastic theologian, a learned doctor and the son of a man of learning, was, like his father, one of the principal heads of the Motazilites: both of them taught doctrines peculiar to that sect, and all the works on the scholastic theology are filled with their opinions and systematic views—Abū Ḥāshim had a son called Abū 'Alī, who was quite a simpleton and knew nothing; he went one day into the presence of the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbad (see no. 93), who imagining that he should

<sup>1</sup> Here and in other places this name is written *خالد* in the autograph.

\* [ ] Not in autog. aph.—Ed.

be a person of some learning, received him politely and seated him in the place of honour: he then proposed to him a question, and obtained this reply: "I do not know even the half of all the science."\* —"True, my son!" replied the *Sāhib*, "and your father went away with the other half." The birth of *Abū Ḥaṣḥim* took place A.H. 247 (A.C. 861-2); he died at *Baḡhdād* on Wednesday, the 17 of *Shā'bān*, A.H. 321 (August, A.C. 933),† and was interred in the cemetery called the *Bustān*, or garden which lies on the east bank of the river. The celebrated philologist *Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Durayd* died on the same day. We shall give the life of *Muḥammad Abū Ḥaṣḥim*'s father.—*Jubbā'i* means *native of Jubbā*, a village in the dependencies of *Baṣrah* which has given birth to a number of learned men<sup>1</sup>.

### 359. DĪK AL-JINN.

The celebrated poet *Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Raḡhbān Ibn 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Raḡhbān Ibn Zayd Ibn Tamīm*, a member of the tribe of *Kalb* and surnamed *Dik al-Jinn*<sup>2</sup>, was born at *Emessa*, but his family belonged to *Salamiyah*. *Tamīm* was the first of his ancestors who embraced Islamism; he made his profession of faith to *Ḥabīb Ibn Maslamah al-Fihri*<sup>3</sup>, when taken prisoner of war; and he then contested the pre-eminence of the Arabs, saying: "They have no advantage over us; we have turned Muslims as they did."—*Dik al-Jinn* was one

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Muḥṣṭarik* notices four places bearing the name of *Jubbā*; one of them, a canton in *Khūzistān*, was according to him and to the author of the *Marāṣid*, the native place of *Abū Ḥaṣḥim al-Jubbā'i* and of his father.

<sup>2</sup> *Dik al-Jinn* means *the cock of the genii*; he was so called according to *Abū 'l-Faraj al-Ishahānī*, because he was very ugly and had green eyes.—(*Mira'āt al-Zamān*, No. 640, fol. 222).

<sup>3</sup> *Ḥabīb Ibn Maslimah* was appointed to the government of *Qinnisrīn* (near *Aleppo*) by *Abū 'Ubaydah* the Muslim conqueror of *Syria*. This was in A.H. 15 (A.C. 636-7).—See *Freytag's Hist. Halebi*, and *Price's Retrospect*, vol. I, page 84.

\* 'even' should be substituted by 'which is'.

† 14 August, de Slane erroneously gives 17.—*Eu.*

of the poets who flourished under the Abbaside dynasty ; he always remained in Syria, and was never induced to derive profit from his poetical talents by travelling to 'Irāq or other countries for the purpose of celebrating the praises of the great. In his religious opinions he was a moderate *Shi'ite*, and some elegies composed by him on the death of al-Ḥusayn are still extant. His conduct was disorderly and licentious, being so strongly addicted to pleasure and amusements, that he wasted all his patrimony. His poetry is the acme of perfection.<sup>1</sup> The following anecdote is related by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zubaydī: "We were sitting with Dīk al-Jinn when a youth came in and recited to him some verses of his composition, on which Dīk al-Jinn drew from under his praying carpet a large roll of papers containing pieces of his own poetry, and gave to the young man, saying: 'Make use of this, my boy! and take it as a help when you compose verses.' The youth then withdrew, and we asked who he was, to which Dīk al-Jinn replied: 'That boy is a native of Jāsim<sup>2</sup> and he says that he belongs to the tribe of Ṭayy; he is surnamed Abū Tammām, and his name is Ḥabīb Ibn Aws; he possesses instruction, intelligence, and great natural abilities.'" Al-Zubaydī says also that Dīk al-Jinn outlived Abū Tammām and composed an elegy on his death. The birth of Dīk al-Jinn took place A.H. 161 (A.C. 777-8) and his death in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, A.H. 235 (A.C. 849-50) or 236; he was then aged upwards of seventy years.—When Abū Nuwās passed through Emessa on his way to Egypt, where he intended reciting to al-Khaṣīb<sup>3</sup> some poems which he had composed in his honour, Dīk al-Jinn heard of his arrival and concealed himself through the apprehension of betraying to him his own relative inferiority as a poet. He was at home when Abū Nuwās knocked at the door and asked admission, but the maid answered that her master was not within. Abū Nuwās immediately perceived the motive which prevented him from appearing, and said to her: "Tell him to come forth, for he has thrown the people of 'Irāq into ecstasy with this verse of his:

---

<sup>1</sup> From the extracts given farther on, it would appear that Ibn Khallikān was not hard to be pleased.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 143.

<sup>3</sup> See no. 162.

"A rosy liquor, received from the hand of a gazelle-like nymph, who seemed to have extracted it from her cheeks and then passed it round."

When Dik al-Jinn heard the message, he went forth to meet Abū Nuwās and received him as his guest.—This verse is taken from the following piece:

"Fear no reproach<sup>1</sup>, but bring here the wine; let water remove its intoxicating qualities, and let our morning draughts be protracted till the hour comes for passing round the evening cup. Dispel every care from one who is burdened with affliction; at the very mention of that wine, the eyes shrink from its brightness. Arise! bear it quickly round in a cup of no puny size! nay, pour it out in all its strength and purity. She rose with a glass, brilliant and sparkling so as nearly to burn her hand; she must have taken the refulgence of her own bright forehead or of the sun to form therewith that dazzling goblet. Throughout that day our hands shed the blood of the winecup<sup>2</sup>, but the wine revenged itself upon our legs; a rosy liquor, received from the hand of a gazelle-like nymph, who seemed to have extracted it from her cheeks and then passed it round."

It is mentioned by al-Jihshyārī<sup>3</sup> in his History of the Wazīrs that the Ḥabīb Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Raḡbān of the genealogy given above, was a *kātib* under the *khalīf* al-Manṣūr, and the President of the Donation Office<sup>4</sup>; he was still living, by that writer's account, in the year 143 (A.C. 760-1). He adds that Dik al-Jinn the poet

1 The right reading is معزول .

2 Literally : We passed day with the breath (or life) of the cup panting by our hands.

3 "Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abbās al-Jihshyārī; a *kātib*, an historian, and a writer of epistles. He is the author of a history of the wazīrs, a work entitled *Mizān al-Shi'r* (the balance for poetry)." The author of the *Fihrist* from which we extract this short notice (see fol. 174) wrote A.H. 377. Al-Jihshyārī was probably still living when these lines were penned. Ḥājji Khalīfah says that he was a native of Kūfah (see his bibliographical dictionary) under the word *Mizān*), but he appears not to have known the date of his death.

4 The Muslim troops when in actual service received pay, but under the title of a donation; it was furnished to them, at regular intervals, by the *Donation Office* (*Diwān al-'Atā*).



was one of his descendants, and that the Mosque of Ibn Raḡbān at Baḡhdād was named after him. This Ḥabīb, says he again, was a *malwā* to Ḥabīb Ibn Maslamah al-Fihri. I may here add some remarks: Ḥabīb Ibn Maslamah al-Fihri (*of the tribe of Quraysh*) was one of Mu'āwiyah's favourite officers, having rendered him signal service at the battle of Ṣiffīn. Mu'āwiyah, when his authority was firmly established, dispatched Ḥabīb on a mission of importance, and when the latter was leaving the palace, he was met by al-Ḥasan, the son of (*the khalīf*) 'Alī, who said to him: "It may be, O Ḥabīb! that the journey you are about to undertake is an act of rebellion against God." — "By no means," retorted Ḥabīb; "I am not going to join your father." — "Say rather," replied al-Ḥasan, "that you conform to Mu'āwiyah's humours because he enjoys prosperity; but the more he has exalted you in the world, the more he has weakened your religious principles; and though you act foully, you should at least speak fairly; then we might apply to you these words of God's: *And others acknowledge their crimes, who had mixed a good with an evil deed*<sup>1</sup>; but, unfortunately, you are as those of whom God said: *Say rather, that their sinful deeds have choked up their hearts*!<sup>2</sup>". This Ḥabīb bore the surname of Abū 'Abd al-Raḡmān; he was appointed governor of Armenia by Mu'āwiyah, and he died there A.H. 42 (A.C. 662-3), before reaching his fiftieth year.—Dik al-Jinn had a slave-girl called Dunyā, of whom he was passionately fond, but having suspected her of improper conduct with Waṣīf, his slave-boy, he put her to death; an act of which he afterwards repented. He then composed numerous poems expressive of the love he bore her, and one of these pieces is as follows:

"O bunch of dates! destruction has fallen upon thee<sup>3</sup>. With thy blood I have watered the earth, yet how often did my lips absorb from thine the draught of love. I gave my sword power over the circuit of her neck,<sup>4</sup> and my tears now flow upon her cheeks. By the merits of her sandals I declare that nothing ever

<sup>1</sup> Qur' n, surah 9, verse 103.

<sup>2</sup> Qur' n, surah 83, verse 14.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: O spathe of the date-tree! death has climbed up to thee and gathered for thee with its hands the fruit of destruction.

<sup>4</sup> The autograph has خناقها.

trod on the sands, dearer to me than her sandals. I did not slay her (*through insensibility*), for I could never avoid weeping when the dust fell upon her face<sup>1</sup>; but I was unwilling that another should love her, and I could not bear that the boy should cast his eyes on her."

In another of those pieces he says:

"She visited my couch after her burial, and I bestowed lengthened kisses on that neck which was adorned by its grace alone. And I said: 'Joy of my eyes! thou hast been sent to me at last! but how was that possible, since the way from the tomb is ever closed?' She answered: 'There my bones are deposited, the sport of worms and the other offspring of the earth, but this is my spirit come to visit thee; such are the visits paid by those who are entombed.'"

The following verses also were composed by him on her; but some say that she herself made them on the death of her son Raghbān:

"O thou for whom I should sacrifice my father's life! I have abandoned thee in the wide desert and shrouded thy face with the dust of the earth! O thou whom, after all my care, I have given over to corruption, and left there, to support my absence either with impatience or indifference! were I able to look on and watch the progress of corruption, I should have left thy face uncovered, not entombed."

His writings abound with fine ideas.—We have spoken of *Salamiyah* in the life of al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Alāh.

### 360. ABU 'L-Q̄SIM AL-D̄ RAKĪ.

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dārakī ranks among the greatest of the *Shāfi'ite* doctors; and his father was held to be the chief traditionist of *Iṣbahān* for the age in which he lived. Abu 'l-Qāsim settled at Naysāpur,

---

<sup>1</sup> Her face was so delicate that an atom of dust would have hurt her.

A.H. 353 (A.C. 964), and during some years he professed the science of jurisprudence in that city, after which he removed to Bagh̄dād, where he continued to reside till his death. He studied the law under Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (no. 3), and was Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfārā'ī's master in that science after the death of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Marzubān. Most of the *shaykhs* at Bagh̄dād, and a number of persons from other countries, attended his lessons. On his first arrival there, he commenced by teaching in the Mosque of Da'laj Ibn Aḥmad<sup>1</sup>, situated in the street of Abū Khalaf, in the Grant of al-Rabī<sup>2</sup>; he opened a class also in the great mosque for the discussion of points of law and the instruction of pupils who aspired to the rank of *mufti*. The place of head-professor of the Shāfi'ite doctrines at Bagh̄dād then devolved to him, and great numbers pursued their studies in a most successful manner under his tuition. In developing the principles of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence, he followed, in some cases, a system peculiar to himself, and which attested, by its excellence, the soundness of his information. He was suspected, however, of holding Motazilite opinions (*but*) the *shaykh* Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfārā'ī declared that he never saw an abler doctor of the law. Al-Dārakī learned the Traditions from his maternal grandfather al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad al-Dārakī. When consulted on a point of law, he always took a long time to reflect before giving an opinion and it sometimes happened that his decisions were completely opposed to those of the two *imāms*, al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfah. When observations were made to him on this subject, he used to answer by citing an appropriate Tradition and tracing it up to the Prophet after which he would observe that it was better to follow the Traditions than the opinions enounced by either of the two *imāms*. He died at Bagh̄dād on Friday, the 13 of Shawwāl, A.H. 375 (Feb. A.C. 986)\*; aged upwards of seventy years. Some say, but erroneously, that his death occurred in the month of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah. His exactitude as a traditionist is universally admitted, and his authority as a doctor is held to be of the highest order.—According to al-Sam'ānī, *Dārakī* means *belonging to Dārak*, this place I believe to be one

<sup>1</sup> This mosque was probably founded by Da'laj, who, as has been already noticed, no. 4, was remarkable for his wealth and charity.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 223.

\*26 February.—Ed.

of the villages in the neighbourhood of Işbahān. The same author calls him 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad al-Dārakī; whether he be right or not, God best knows!

### 361. IBN NUBĀTAH THE POET

The poet Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-'Azīz, surnamed Ibn Nubātah, drew his descent from the tribe of Sa'd, a branch of that of Tamīm; his genealogy, which we give here will render this evident: his father 'Umar was the son of Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Nubātah Ibn Ḥumayd Ibn Nubātah Ibn al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Maṣar Ibn Khālīd Ibn 'Amr Ibn Razāḥ Ibn Riyāḥ Ibn Sa'd Ibn Thujayr Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn Ka'b Ibn Sa'd Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn Tamīm Ibn Murr; the remainder of the genealogy is well known<sup>1</sup>. This able poet, whose compositions display the combined excellencies of style and thought, went from country to country for the purpose of reciting to princes, wazirs, and other great men, the poems which he had composed in their praise. Some brilliant *qaṣīdahs* and exquisite eulogiums addressed by him to Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān are still preserved, and one of these pieces we shall give here: it was written by him in a letter to that of a prince, who had just made him a present of a black horse with a white forehead and legs:

"O prince! thou whose generous qualities are the offspring of thy natural disposition, and whose pleasing aspect is the emblem of thy mind; I have received the present which you sent me, a noble steed whose portly neck seems to unite heavens to the earth on which he treads. Hast thou then conferred a government upon me<sup>2</sup>, since thou sendest me a spear to which a flowing mane serves as a banner<sup>3</sup>. We take possession of what thou hast conferred and find it to be a horse whose forehead and legs are marked with white, and

<sup>1</sup> See Eichhorn's *Monumenta Hist. Arab.* tab. V.

<sup>2</sup> The true reading is ولنا ; all the manuscripts are wrong except the autograph.

<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps necessary to observe that when a prince conferred a military command upon one of his subjects, he gave him a standard formed of a spear with a cravat or flag tied around the head of it. The poet here compares his horse to a spear on account of his erect and lofty stature; the knotted banner is represented by the mane.

whose body is so black, that a single drop extracted from that colour would suffice to form night's darkest shades<sup>1</sup>. It would seem that the morning had struck him on the forehead (*and thus made it white*), for which reason he took his revenge by wading into the entrails (*regions*) of the morning (*and thus whitening his legs*). He paces slowly, yet one of his names is Lightning; he wears a veil (*having his face covered with white, as if to conceal it*), and yet beauty itself would be his only rival. Had the sun and the moon a portion only of his ardour, it would be impossible to withstand<sup>2</sup> their heat. The eye cannot follow his movements, unless you (*rein him in and*) restrain his impetuosity. The glances of the eye cannot seize all his perfections, unless the eye be lead away captive by his beauty (*and be thus enabled to follow him*)<sup>3</sup>".

In describing thus the whiteness of his horse's forehead and legs, the poet had an inspiration of great originality; and I do not think that a similar train of thought was ever expressed before. He composed also a long *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *L* and containing the praises of Sayf al-Dawlah; from it we extract these verses:

"You have showered down gifts upon me till I felt them irksome, and was almost tempted to extol the passion of avarice (*in a patron*). If you still wish to bestow favours upon me, give me also the desire to obtain them, or else bestow them not. Your generosity has left me nought to wish for; and you are the cause that I live in the world devoid of hope."

In the first verse of this extract, the poet comes near to the idea expressed by al-Buḥturī in the following lines:

"I left you from a feeling of estrangement which nothing can efface; your generosity put me to the blush, and your favours cast a shade

<sup>1</sup> I have endeavoured, by a long paraphrase, to express the thought contained in this verse. The word rendered by *we have taken possession* is نَحْتَل which has been incorrectly given in all the manuscripts with the exception of the autograph. Its literal meaning is: *we dismount, or we stop at our journey's end*.

<sup>2</sup> Here again all the manuscripts are wrong except the autograph. For تَمَكَّن we must read يَمَكَّن. The copyists did not understand what they were writing.

<sup>3</sup> Such is the meaning of the original verses, which are as difficult to translate as to understand.

over the sunshine of our friendship. By the abundance of your gifts you repelled me from you, so that I fear we shall never meet again. How strange that presents should cause a rupture of friendship and that marks of kindness should be felt as an insult."

A similar idea is also expressed in a poem addressed by Di'bil Ibn 'Alī al-Khuzā'i to al-Muṭṭalib Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khuzā'i the amīr of Egypt; the verses to which we allude begin thus:

"O for the days I passed with al-Muṭṭalib!

\*[Having already given them in the life of Di'bil (no. 215), we shall not repeat them here.] It is now a hacknied thought, having passed from one poet to another, and being frequently employed by them all; some of them spreading it out, and others expressing it with concision: thus I met with it in a piece of verse composed by 'Alī Ibn Jabalah al-'Akawwak (a poet whose life we shall give), and addressed by him in a letter to Abū Dulaf al-'Ijili<sup>1</sup>; I should give the piece here were it not so long. With what grace has Abū 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī expressed the same thought in this line:

"Did you moderate your kindness, I should visit you; but the sweetest water is repulsive, if its coolness be too great."

Let us return to our subject: Ibn Nubātah's poetry fills a large volume, and the greater part of his verses is good. He at one time went to Ray and recited to Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-'Amīd some *qaṣīdahs* which he had composed in his praise; he had also a conversation with him, the particulars of which we shall relate in the life of the latter. He was born A.H. 327 (A.C. 938-9), and he died at Baghdād on Sunday, the 3 of Shawwāl, A.H. 405 (March, A.C. 1015)†, shortly after sunrise. His interment took place before the hour of noon, in the Khayzurān cemetery, situated on the east bank of the Tigris.—The following anecdote was related by Abū Ghālib Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sahl: "I went to visit Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Naṣr al-Baghdādī, the author of the Epistles and of the work called *al-Mufāwāḍah* (conversation);"

<sup>1</sup> The life of Abū Dulaf will be found in no. 31.

\*[ ] Not in the autograph. Instead, Ibn Khallikān has repeated the verses here also.—Ed.

† 27 March.—Ed.



—this Abu 'l-Ḥasan was the brother of the Malikite qāḍī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and we shall speak of him again in the life of the latter;—” “he then at Wasiṭ and in his last illness. I sat with him for some time, but, as he felt a diarrhoea coming on, I rose to withdraw, on which he repeated to me this verse, by Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-'Azīz (*Ibn Nubāṭah*):

‘Let your eyes enjoy a parting look at the friend whom you are about to leave; for I do not think that I shall ever see you again in the valley (where we met so often).’

He then said: ‘I went to Abū Naṣr himself the very day on which he died, and he recited to me this verse as I was taking leave of him; and on my way home I was informed of his death.’ On the night of that day Abū 'l-Ḥasan himself expired. We shall give the date of his death in the life of 'Abd al-Wahhāb. It is related by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Washāḥ Ibn 'Abd Allāh that he heard Abū Naṣr say: “I was one day making the siesta in the vestibule of my house, when a person knocked at the door. ‘Who is there?’ said I.—‘A native of the East,’ was the answer.—‘What is your business?’

‘Are you not the author of this verse:

‘He who dies not by the sword must die some other way; the modes of death are various, but that evil still remains the same?’

To this I answered that I was the author.—‘Will you allow me then to repeat it as having been authorised to do so by yourself?’—‘Certainly.\* The person then went away. Towards the end of the same day, I heard another knock at the door, and on asking who was there, I received this answer: ‘An inhabitant of Tāhart, in the West country’!—‘What is your business?’—‘Are you the author of this verse:

‘He who dies not by the sword, etc.?’

‘I am he.’—‘Will you allow me then to repeat it as having been authorised to do so by yourself?’—‘Certainly.’ I was thus much astonished to find that this verse had reached the East and the West.”

\* See no. 236.

## 362. IBN MUGHALLIS AL-ANDALŪSĪ.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Sid Ibn Mughallis al-Qaysī al-Andalusī (*a member of the tribe of Qays and a native of Spain*) was a highly distinguished philologist and grammarian. Having left Spain, he settled in Egypt, where he pursued his literary studies under the tuition of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf Ibn Ya'qūb al-Najirmī<sup>1</sup>; he took lessons also from Abū 'l-'Alā Ṣā'jd [Ibn al-Ḥasan]\* al-Raba'ī, the author of the *Fuṣūṣ* (*see no. 282*). At Baghdād, he increased his stock of information and contributed to that of the others. There exists some good poetry of his composition, such as the following piece:

“Her eyes are languishing, but not with sickness<sup>2</sup>, yet my heart is sick (*of love*) for her. She has accustomed my eyes to sleeplessness by drawing from them a gush of tears which prevents them from closing. She paid me a visit, not through love, but to let me perceive her dislike.”

He composed a great quantity of verses. Abū 'l-Tāhir \* [Ismā'il] Ibn Kḥalaf, the author of the *Unwān* (*see no. 95*), maintained a contest with him for superiority and the *qaṣīdahs* in which they strove to surpass each other are still preserved in the volumes containing their poetical works. To avoid prolixity, we shall not give any passages from them. He died at Old Cairo on Wednesday, the 24 of the first Jumādā, A.H. 427 (March A.C. 1036)<sup>†</sup>; the funeral service was said over him, in the Muṣallā of al-Ṣāḍafī, by the *shaykh* Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Hawfī<sup>3</sup> the author of the *Tafsīr*, or commentary on the Qur'ān; he was interred near the Banū Ishāq.

<sup>1</sup> His life is given by Ibn Kḥallikān.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 11, note on languishing eyes.

<sup>3</sup> His life will be found farther on.

\* [ ] This name is omitted by de Slane.—*Ed.*

<sup>†</sup> 24 March.—*Ed.*



—this Abu 'l-Ḥasan was the brother of the Maliki qāḍī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and we shall speak of him again in the life of the latter;—”  
“he then at Wasiṭ and in his last illness. I sat with him for some time, but, as he felt a diarrhoea coming on, I rose to withdraw, on which he repeated to me this verse, by Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-'Azīz (*Ibn Nubāṭah*):

‘Let your eyes enjoy a parting look at the friend whom you are about to leave; for I do not think that I shall ever see you again in the valley (where we met so often).’

He then said: ‘I went to Abū Naṣr himself the very day on which he died, and he recited to me this verse as I was taking leave of him; and on my way home I was informed of his death.’ On the night of that day Abū 'l-Ḥasan himself expired. We shall give the date of his death in the life of 'Abd al-Wahhāb. It is related by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Washāḥ Ibn 'Abd Allāh that he heard Abū Naṣr say: “I was one day making the siesta in the vestibule of my house, when a person knocked at the door. ‘Who is there?’ said I.—‘A native of the East,’ was the answer.—‘What is your business?’

‘Are you not the author of this verse:

‘He who dies not by the sword must die some other way; the modes of death are various, but that evil still remains the same?’

To this I answered that I was the author.—‘Will you allow me then to repeat it as having been authorised to do so by yourself?’—‘Certainly.\* The person then went away. Towards the end of the same day, I heard another knock at the door, and on asking who was there, I received this answer: ‘An inhabitant of Tāhart, in the West country’!—‘What is your business?’—‘Are you the author of this verse:

‘He who dies not by the sword, etc.?’

‘I am he.’—‘Will you allow me then to repeat it as having been authorised to do so by yourself?’—‘Certainly.’ I was thus much astonished to find that this verse had reached the East and the West.”

\* See no. 236.

## 362. IBN MUḠHALLIS AL-ANDALŪSĪ.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Sīd Ibn Muḡhallis al-Qaysī al-Andalusī (*a member of the tribe of Qays and a native of Spain*) was a highly distinguished philologist and grammarian. Having left Spain, he settled in Egypt, where he pursued his literary studies under the tuition of Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf Ibn Ya'qūb al-Najirmī<sup>1</sup>; he took lessons also from Abū 'l-'Alā Ṣā'jd [Ibn al-Ḥasan]\* al-Raba'ī, the author of the *Fuṣūṣ* (see no. 282). At Baghdād, he increased his stock of information and contributed to that of the others. There exists some good poetry of his composition, such as the following piece:

“Her eyes are languishing, but not with sickness<sup>2</sup>, yet my heart is sick (*of love*) for her. She has accustomed my eyes to sleeplessness by drawing from them a gush of tears which prevents them from closing. She paid me a visit, not through love, but to let me perceive her dislike.”

He composed a great quantity of verses. Abū 'l-Tāhir \* [Ismā'īl] Ibn Kḥalaf, the author of the *Unwān* (see no. 95), maintained a contest with him for superiority and the *qaṣīdahs* in which they strove to surpass each other are still preserved in the volumes containing their poetical works. To avoid prolixity, we shall not give any passages from them. He died at Old Cairo on Wednesday, the 24 of the first Jumādā, A.H. 427 (March A.C. 1036)<sup>†</sup>; the funeral service was said over him, in the Muṣallā of al-Ṣāḍafī, by the *shaykh* Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Hawfī<sup>3</sup> the author of the *Tafsīr*, or commentary on the Qur'ān; he was interred near the Banū Ishāq.

<sup>1</sup> His life is given by Ibn Kḥallikān.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 11, note on languishing eyes.

<sup>3</sup> His life will be found farther on.

\* [ ] This name is omitted by de Slane.—*Ed.*

<sup>†</sup> 24 March.—*Ed.*



363. 'ABD AL-ṢAMAD IBN 'ALĪ AL-H<sub>4</sub>SHIMĪ.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-H<sub>4</sub>shimī (*a descendant from H<sub>4</sub>shim, Muḥammad's great-grandfather*), was the son of 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The *hāfiẓ* Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī mentions, in his work entitled *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd*, some strange particularities relative to this person. "He was born," says he, "A.H. 104 (A.C. 722-3), and his brother Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, the father of (*the khalifs*), al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, came into the world A.H. 60 (A.C. 679-80); there was thus an interval of forty-four years between the births of each. 'Abd al-Ṣamad died A.H. 185 (A.C. 801), and Muḥammad, A.H. 126 (A.D. 743-4); their deaths were thus separated by a period of fifty-nine years. In the year 50 (A.C. 670-1), Yazīd, the son of Mu'āwiyah, made the pilgrimage, and in the year 150 (A.C. 767-8) 'Abd al-Ṣamad led the pilgrim caravan to Makkah, yet they were both in the same degree of descent from 'Abd Manāf; Yazīd being the son of Mu'āwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr, the son of Ḥarb, the son of Umayyah, the son of 'Abd Ṣhams, the son of 'Abd Manāf; and 'Abd al-Ṣamad being the son of 'Alī, the son of 'Abd Allāh, the son of al-'Abbās, the son of al-Muṭṭalib, the son of H<sub>4</sub>shim, the son of 'Abd Manāf: whence it appears that in their respective genealogies five links intervened between each of them and 'Abd Manāf. 'Abd al-Ṣamad witnessed the reigns of al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, who were both the sons of his brother; he then lived to see the reign of al-Mahdī, to whose father he was a paternal uncle; then the reign of al-Ḥādī, whose grandfather was his nephew; and he died in the reign of al-Rashīd. He said one day to this last khalif: 'Commander of the faithful! in this assembly there are a commander of the faithful, a commander of the faithful's paternal uncle, the paternal uncle of a commander of the faithful's paternal uncle, and the paternal uncle of one [who] was a paternal uncle to a paternal uncle of a commander of the faithful.' And this was the fact, for Sulaymān, the son of Abū Ja'far (*al-Manṣūr*) was uncle to al-Rashīd, and al-'Abbās was uncle to Sulaymān and 'Abd al-Ṣamad was uncle to al-'Abbās. He died without having cast his first teeth, and those of the lower jaw were united into one mass."—It is stated by Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, in his History,

that 'Abd al-Ṣamad was born in the month of Rajab, A.H. 106 (Nov.-Dec. A.C. 724), and that he died in the month of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 175 (A.C. October, 794); another historian says that his death took place at Baghdād and some persons place his birth in A.H. 109, or 105, at al-Ḥumaymah<sup>1</sup>, a town situated in the country called the Balqā. His mother was the Katīra\* in whose praise 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt<sup>2</sup> composed his *qaṣidah*, which begins thus:

The sight of Kath<sup>h</sup>rah\* renews his joy<sup>3</sup>.

'Abd al-Ṣamad became blind towards the end of his life. We shall give the life of his father 'Alī and his brother Muḥammad.

### 364. IBN BĀBAK THE POET

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Bābak was a poet noted for the quantity and the excellence of his productions. I have seen his collected poetical works in three volumes. The cast of his poetry is peculiarly pleasing, and the eulogistic pieces addressed by him to the great men of the numerous countries which he visited were retributed in the most generous manner. The following passages may give an idea of his style:

"A graceful nymph gifted by nature with the sweetest charms, came to visit me with trembling steps, whilst the Pleiades were rising and still hesitating in their career. As she dispelled the shades of night (*with the light of her beauty*), I exclaimed: 'Is it the eye of the morning which openeth, or a sunbeam darting through the cloud?' She drew near, glancing magic from her eyes, and trembling like a gazelle which crops its food in the lonely desert. During the darkness of that night, which spread over us the softest folds of its mantle, we partook of the purple liquor till the constellation of the Eagle began to sink towards the horizon. We shared a wine which bore on its surface bubbles like

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the *Amāime* of Berghaus's map of Syria; it is placed at about twenty-five miles to the north-east of Akaba, and about forty to the south of Petra.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 318, note on 'Ubayd Allāh.

<sup>3</sup> This hemistich is incorrectly given in all the manuscripts except the autograph. The true reading is: عاد له من كبر الطرب.

\* M. de Slane writes Kath<sup>h</sup>irah while the autograph and Egyptian edition give Kabirah.—Ed.

the drops from a lover's wounded heart, or like the tears from a love-struck suitor's eyes. When we mixed it with water<sup>1</sup> it rose in revolving circlets, which trembled like the eyes of a virgin when the veil which conceals her features is torn away. That liquor is accustomed to take away the reason, and it seems to hold mastery over the thoughts deposited<sup>2</sup> in men's hearts. We passed the night in secret joy; our mutual love stood revealed and our long-hidden passion was disclosed. But towards the hour in which the *qaṭā*<sup>3</sup> that has outstripped its fellows return from the spring where it took its morning draught,—at the time in which the plaintive doves take refuge in the branches,—she withdrew, vanquished by wine, and as her faltering tongue refused its office, she bade me adieu with her hand.

My dearest friends! mix for us a cup of wine, and let its brightness dispel the shades of night from around us. Let the bubbles spark on its surface, so that I tremble lest they burn my companion when he intends to drink. And then let none deny that the sun has set in my friend's mouth, for the radiance of his cheeks will give them the lie."

One of his *qaṣīdahs* contains a remarkably tender verse; it is this:

"The zephyr swept by me, and sighed so tenderly, that it seemed to have heard me as I complained of my sufferings."

This poet died at Baḡdād, A.H. 410 (A.C. 1019-20).

### 365. ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN AL-RŪYĀNĪ.

Abu 'l-Maḥāsin 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Rūyānī, a *Shāfi'ite* jurisconsult, was one of the most

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has شجت , and the other manuscripts سجت , when poured out.

<sup>2</sup> For ودائع read وئائع .

<sup>3</sup> The *qaṭā* is a sort of grouse which frequents the desert. Every night they fly to the nearest source, which is often at a great distance, and fill their crops with water which they bring back early in the morning to their young. In many Arabic proverbs, allusion is made to the habits of this bird; see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. II, p. 368, and t. III, pp. 416, 507. Dr. Russel gives a description of it in the *History of Aleppo*, it is the *tetrao alchata* of Linnaeus.

eminent men of his age as a dogmatic theologian, a controvertist, and a teacher of the doctrines peculiar to his sect. He took lessons from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Bayyān [Ibn Muḥammad] al-Kāẓirī (no. 153, note), and from Abū 'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī at Mayyāfāriqīn; the traditional knowledge which he had received was transmitted through Zāhir Ibn Ṭāhir al-Shahīdī<sup>1</sup> and others to the following generation. The highest respect and veneration were shown to him in the country (where the *Saljuqs* ruled), and the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk honoured him with special favour on account of his eminent merit. After residing for some time in Bukhārā, he proceeded to Ghaznah and Naysāpur, where he frequented the society of the learned, and attended the conferences presided by Nāṣir al-Marwazī (see no. 269). He then drew up a *ta'liqah*<sup>2</sup> composed of the observations made by that doctor, and he learned Traditions also. A college was founded by him at Āmul in Ṭabaristān, and he subsequently proceeded to Ray, where he filled the functions of a professor. From thence he went to Iṣbahān and made dictations<sup>3</sup> in the principal mosque. Some instructive works were composed by him, such as the *Baḥr al-Madhhab* (ocean of the doctrine), one of the most voluminous treatises which the Shāfi'ites possess on their jurisprudence; the *Manāṣiṣ*, or opinions pronounced by the imām al-Shāfi'ī on points of law; the *Kāfi* (sufficient)<sup>4</sup>, and the *Ḥilyat al-Mu'min* (ornament of the true believer)<sup>5</sup>: he wrote also some treatises on dogmatic theology and on controversy. It is related that he used to say: "Were all al-Shāfi'ī's works burned, I could dictate them from memory." The qāḍī and ḥāfiẓ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf<sup>6</sup> makes mention of him in his *Ṭabaqāt*, or chronological biography, of the Shāfi'ite imāms: "Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn al-Rūyānī," says he, "the pearl of the age and the imām

<sup>1</sup> Such is the true orthography of this name; not *Shahāḥmī*, as in no. 87, note.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 311, note.

<sup>3</sup> See nos. 12 and 92, note on *Amālī*.

<sup>4</sup> This is a treatise on Shāfi'ite jurisprudence.

<sup>5</sup> This is also a work on jurisprudence.

<sup>6</sup> The qāḍī Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf al-Jurjānī was a ḥāfiẓ and a jurisconsult. He drew up a work on the merits of al-Shāfi'ī, and another on the merits of the imām Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal. He composed also a *Ṭabaqāt* of Shāfi'ite doctors. Born at Jurjān, A.H. 409 (A.C. 1018-9); died in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 489 (October-November A.C. 1096).—(*Tab. al-Shāf.*)

of jurisprudence". Notice is taken of him also by Abū Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn Mandah<sup>1</sup>. He taught the Traditions in different countries, and gave them on the authority of an immense number of persons from whom he had received them. His birth took place in the month of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 415 (February, A.C. 1025). The *ḥafīz* Abū Ṭahir al-Silafī (*no.* 43) says: "We received intelligence that Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn al-Rūyānī was murdered at 'Āmul in the month of Muḥarram A.H. 502 (August-Sept. A.C. 1108), as he had just finished one of his dictations; he fell a victim to the irritated spirit of sectarian fanaticism." It is mentioned too by Ma'mar Ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid Ibn Fākhīr<sup>2</sup>, in the list of deaths extracted by him from Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī's<sup>3</sup> work, that al-Rūyānī was slain by heretics (*malāḥid*) at 'Āmul, and in the mosque, on Friday, the 11 of Muḥarram\* in the above-mentioned year.—*Rūyānī* means *belonging to Rūyān*, a city in Ṭabaristān which has produced many learned men.—'Āmul is a city in the same region; we have already spoken of it (*no.* 286).

### 366. AL-BABBAGHĀ

Abū 'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Wāhid Ibn Naṣr Ibn Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī (*a member of the tribe of Makhzūm*) is the poet who is generally known by the surname of al-Babbaghā. Al-Tha'ālībī says in his *Yatimah* that he was a native of Naṣībīn and speaks of his talents in the highest terms; he gives also a number of epistles and pieces of verse composed by him, and inserts (*the poetical correspondence*) which passed between him and Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi, with other circum-

<sup>1</sup> His life is given by our author.

<sup>2</sup> The *ḥafīz* Abū Ahmad Ma'mar Ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid Ibn Fākhīr drew his descent from the tribe of Quraysh and was a native of Iṣbahān. He was learned in the Traditions, and obtained a great distinction as a preacher. His virtuous conduct procured him the utmost respect and consideration. He died at the age of seventy, on a journey to Hijāz, A.H. 564 (A.C. 1168-9).—(*Nujūm*, Al-Y fī 'i).—This is certainly the same *ḥafīz* who is called *Ma'mar al-Samānī* 'Abd al-Wāhid, in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāz*; MS. of the Ducal Library at Gotha, of which we possess an edition lithographed by H.F. Wastenfeld. The extreme incorrectness of this work for the names, the dates and the facts, reduces its authority to a very low standard.

<sup>3</sup> The true reading is الحافظ ابني

\* 21 August.—*Ed.*

stances too long to relate<sup>1</sup>. The following are specimens of his poetry:

"O you reign over my heart! my soul (*is departing and*) biddeth you adieu: it found not patience to console it (*for your cruelty*); nay, it (*became insensible and*) ceased to feel the anguish (*of unrequited love*). It was once my hope long to enjoy the breath of life, but now, since you abandon me, that hope subsists no more. May-God inflict on me no longer the pains of existence! When you are absent, I can find no happiness in life."

\*[From the same]:

"Thy image which I see so often in my dreams knows better than thyself how much I love thee, and feels more compassion for thy afflicted suitor than thou dost. When thy cruelty drove sleep from my eyes, that image would have visited my waking hours, could it possibly have done so."

\*[From the same]:

"I remember a graceful maid whose countenance was clothed in a robe of beauty and encircled with a broidery of ringlets. When I called upon my heart for strength to endure the pains her cruelty inflicted, that heart became her ally. So perfect are the charms of her face, that the moon seems to have borrowed all her radiance there. When my heart urges me to fly from her tyranny, love says: 'Nought can avail against her; try and soothe her by submission<sup>2</sup>.'"

In one of his comparisons he employs the following original idea:

"The hoofs of his rapid steeds stamp on the very rock the image of a crescent. The eye of the sun was dazzled (*by their speed*), and the dust which they raised seemed applied to it as a collyrium."

<sup>1</sup> The life of al-Biabba<sup>gh</sup>, some fragments of his poetry, and a part of his correspondence with Abū Ishāq extracted from the *Yatimah*, were published at Leipsic, 1838, by Ph. Wolff.

<sup>2</sup> The autograph gives the true reading, which is *منه فداره*. In the printed edition and the other manuscripts, the reading is decidedly bad, as it contains a fault against prosody.

\*[ ] Omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

Speaking of Sa'id al-Dawlah<sup>1</sup> the (*grand*) son of Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān he says:

"The cloud of his generosity overshadowed mankind; and its lightnings, the foreboders of a grateful shower, never deluded our hopes. His beneficence was no trickling streamlet; he bestowed till nothing more remained for him to give, or for mortals to desire."

In the life of Abū Naṣr Ibn Nubāṭah (*no.* 361) we have already given some passages containing a similar thought. The greater part of al-Babbaghī's poetry is characterised by the excellence (*of its style*) and the beauty of its ideas. He had been for some time in the service of Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān, but, on that prince's death, he travelled from one country to another, and at length died on Saturday, the 29 of Shā'ban, A.H. 398 (May, A.C. 1008).<sup>\*</sup> It is stated however by the Khafīb (*see no.* 33) in his History, that he died on the eve of Saturday, the 27 of Shā'bān, A.H. 398. Al-Tha'ālībī says: "I heard the amīr Abu'l-Fāḍil al-Mīkalī relate that, on returning from the pilgrimage in the year 390, he entered Baghdād and met there Abu'l-Faraj al-Babbaghī, who was then far advanced in age, his body enfeebled by years, but his mind still possessing its usual vigour and elegance,"—He was surnamed *Babbaghā* (*parrot*) for the fluency of his language, or, as some say, for an impediment in his speech which made him lisp: I met with a note in the handwriting of Ibn Jinnī, the grammarian, in which it is stated that this name is to be written *Faffaghā*, but God best knoweth which is the right orthography<sup>2</sup>.

### 367. ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

The ustād (*master*) Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Qāhir Ibn Ṭāhir Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (*a native of Baghdād*), a dogmatic theologian and a member of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī was well acquainted with the *belles-lettres*, and versed in a great number of other sciences, parti-

<sup>1</sup> The history of Sa'id al-Dawlah, extracted from Kamāl al-Dīn's History of Aleppo, has been published in Arabic by professor Freytag at the end of his edition of Lukmān's Fables. Bonn, 1823.

<sup>2</sup> *Babbaghī*, the Arabic name for the green parrot, is evidently the same word as the Spanish and Portuguese *papagayo* (*parrot*), the German *papagey*, the Italian *pappagallo*, the old French *papegai*, and the English *popinjay*, as there is no *p* in the Arabic alphabet, a *b* or an *f* are equally used to replace it. This word is not originally Arabic; it belongs perhaps to some Indian dialect.

<sup>\*</sup> 8 May.—*Ed.*

cularly arithmetic; of the last he was a complete master and wrote on it some instructive works, one of which bears the title of *al-Takmilah* (the completion). He possessed great skill in the art of calculating the shares to which the different heirs on an inheritance are entitled, and he composed also a great quantity of poetry. The *hāfiẓ* 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fāris, mentions him in the *Siyāq*, or continuation of the History of Naysāpur and says: "He came to Naysāpur with his father, and possessed great riches, which he spent on the learned (in the law) and on the Traditionists; he never made of his information a source of profit. He composed treatises on different sciences and surpassed his contemporaries in every branch of learning, seventeen of which he taught publicly. He studied jurisprudence under Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī, and, on that doctor's death, he filled his place as a professor in the mosque of 'Aqil; during some years he gave lessons there, which were assiduously attended by doctors of the greatest eminence; amongst his pupils were Naṣir al-Marwaz and Zayn al-Islām al-Qushayrī." He died in the city of Isfarā'in, A.H. 429 (A.C. 1037-8), and was interred beside the grave of his master Abū Ishāq.

### 368. ABU 'L-NAJIB AL-SUHRAWARDĪ

Abu 'l-Najīb 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī, surnamed *Ḍiyā al-Dīn* (splendour of religion), was a descendant of the *khālif* Abū Bakr; his father 'Abd Allāh being the son of Muḥammad Ibn 'Ammayah 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'd Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn 'Alqamah Ibn al-Naḍr Ibn Mu'adh Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Mu'ammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. But Ibn al-Najjār says in his History of Baghḍād: "I give here the genealogy of the *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Najīb as I found it in his own handwriting: 'Abd al-Qāhir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ammayah 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'd Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn al-Naḍr Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Sa'd Ibn al-Naḍr Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq." This list must be more correct than the former, since it was written out by Abu 'l-Najīb himself. Abu 'l-Najīb, the first teacher of his age in 'Irāq, was born at Suhraward on or about the year 490. (A.C. 1097). He went to Baghḍād

† This link of his genealogy is given in the autograph.



and studied jurisprudence at the *Niẓāmiyah* College under As'ad al-Mihānī (see no. 86) and other masters; he then walked in the path of Ṣ fiṣm, and, having conceived a strong passion for retirement and an aversion for worldly concerns, he abstained, for a long period of time, from all intercourse with mankind, and sedulously devoted his efforts to the task of obtaining the divine favour. He afterwards returned to the world and converted great numbers from their evil courses by his exhortations and admonitions. A convent was built by him on the west bank of the Tigris at Bagħdād, in which he lodged a number of holy men who were his disciples. He was then induced to give lessons in the *Niẓāmiyah* College, and, during the period of his professorship, the effects of the divine grace with which he was favoured were manifested in the rapid progress of his pupils. His appointment took place on the 27 of Muḥarram, A.H. 545 (May, A.C. 1150)\*, and his removal from office in the month of Rajab, 547. The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Sa'd al-Sam'ānī has handed down some Traditions on his authority, and he mentions him also in his work (*the supplement to the History of Bagħdād*). Abu 'l-Najīb set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his arrival at Mosul, A.H. 557 (A.C. 1162), he gave pious exhortations at sittings held by him in the Old Mosque; he then proceeded to Syria, but on reaching Damascus, he was prevented from visiting the holy city by the rupture of the truce which had been concluded between the Muslims and the Franks, whose projects may God frustrate! On his arrival at Damascus, a most honourable reception was granted to him by al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the sovereign of Syria. He there held regular assemblies at which he preached, but, after a short stay, he returned to Bagħdād, in which city he died, on Friday, the 17 of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 563 (March, A.C. 1168)† at the hour of evening prayers. Early the next morning he was interred in the convent founded by himself. His birth was on or about the year 490 (A.C. 1097), according to the statement of Shihāb al-Dīn, his brother's son. His nephew Shihāb al-Dīn Aba Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī shall be spoken of in another part of this work.—*Suhrawardī* means *belonging to Suhraward*, which is a village near Zanjan in Persian 'Irāq.

\* 26 May.—Ed.

† 29 March.—Ed.

## 369. ABU 'L-Q 'SIM AL-QUSHAYR

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad al-Quṣhayrī, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, was one of the most learned men of the age in the science of jurisprudence, Qur'ānic exegesis, the Traditions, dogmatic theology, the *belles-lettres*, and poetry; he possessed also great skill in penmanship and a profound knowledge of Ṣūfism, to the practices of which he united a perfect acquaintance with the law. He drew his descent from one of the Arabs who settled in *Khurasān* (*on the first conquest of that country by the Muslims*), and his family inhabited a place there called Ustuwā. At an early age he lost his father, and his youth was devoted to the study of (*Arabic*) literature. He possessed a village in the neighbourhood of Ustuwā, and, as it was oppressed by excessive taxation, he resolved on proceeding to Naysāpur that he might acquire a knowledge of arithmetic sufficient to qualify him as an assessor, and thus enable him to protect his village from the rapacity of the revenue officers. On arriving in that city, he happened to attend an assembly presided by the *Shaykh* Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī al-Daqqāq, who was the great master (*of Ṣūfism*) in that age; the discourse which he heard excited his admiration and left so deep an impression on his mind, that he abandoned his former project and entered as a candidate on the path of Ṣūfism. Al-Daqqāq, remarking in his countenance the indications of a noble character, received him with kindness and admitted him (*into the order*); he then excited his generous ambition and advised him to cultivate the science (*of the law*). Abū 'l-Qāsim was thus induced to attend the lessons of Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Bakr al-Ṭūsī<sup>1</sup> under whom he pursued the study of jurisprudence till he had noted down the whole course as delivered by that teacher. His next master was Abū Bakr Ibn Fnrak<sup>2</sup> under whom he studied with great assiduity till he mastered the science of dogmatic theology. He then went to the course held by Abū Ishāq al-Isfara'inī, and during the first days he remained seated

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Bakr—not *Ibn Abī Bakr* as in most of the MSS.—surnamed al-Ṭūsī al-Nauqānī, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, studied jurisprudence in Nays pur under al-Masarjisi. He was pious, learned, modest and indifferent to wordly honours. He died at Nauqān, A.H. 420 (A.C. 1029).—(*Tab al-Sh f.*)—Ṭūs, a city in *Khur sān*, was composed of two towns, Ṭabarān and Nawqān.

<sup>2</sup> His life will be found in this work.

as a simple auditor, till Ab. Ishāq at length told him that the science which he taught could not be learned by mere listening, and that it was absolutely necessary to take it down in writing. Upon this, Abu 'l-Qāsim repeated to him the whole of the lectures which he had heard on the preceding days. Ab. Ishāq was struck with admiration at a circumstance so extraordinary, and fully appreciating his pupil's great abilities, he treated him with marked honour and said: "It is not necessary that you should attend my lectures; all you have to do is to read my works." Abu 'l-Qāsim then continued his studies at home, and having acquired a complete acquaintance with the systems of doctrine peculiar to the two professors, Ibn Fārak and Ibn Isīḥāq, he pursued the books composed by the qādī Abū Bakr al-Baqillānī<sup>1</sup>. During this time he regularly followed the sittings held by al-Daqqāq and obtained from him his daughter in marriage, although she had many relations entitled to her hand. On the death of his father-in-law, he advanced in the career of *Ṣūfism* by devoting his efforts to the attainment of spiritual perfection, and to the deliverance of his heart from the consciousness of individuality<sup>2</sup>. About this time he began to compose his works, and before the year 410 (A.C. 1019) he finished his great commentary on the *Qur'ān*, entitled *al-Taysir fī 'Ilm il-Tafsīr* (the science of the *Qur'ānic* exegesis made easy), which is one of the best works on the subject<sup>3</sup>: another of his productions is a treatise on *the Men of the Path* (see no. 111 note). In making the pilgrimage to Makkah, he met in the caravan, with the *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī, the father of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (no. 310), Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqi (no. 27), and a number of other eminent men, from whom he learned the Traditions both at Baghdād and in the province of Ḥijāz. He was an expert horseman and well skilled in the use of arms. By the excellence of his sermons and exhortations, he held the first rank as a preacher, and in the year 437 (A.C. 1045-6) he opened a class

---

<sup>1</sup> The life of this doctor will be found farther on.

<sup>2</sup> I have here paraphrased the technical expressions *mujāhida* (effort) and *taḥrid* (the stripping off). According to the Ṣafīs, the union of the soul with divinity is not possible till the creature has lost the consciousness of his own individuality.

<sup>3</sup> In the life of his grandson 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, another commentary of his on the *Qur'ān* is noticed by Ibn Khallikān.

wherein he taught the Traditions. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Bāḳharzī mentions him with high commendation in the *Dumyat al-Qaṣr*, and says that had he struck a rock with the whip<sup>1</sup> of his admonition, it would have melted; and if Satan had attended at his exhortations, he would have been converted to God. The *Khaṭīb* (no. 33) speaks of him in these terms in his History of Baḡhdād: "He came to us (at Baḡhdād) in the year 448 and taught the Traditions, which we wrote down under his dictation. As a traditionist he was a trustworthy authority. He used also to relate anecdotes<sup>2</sup>; he preached with great elegance and his arguments were most powerful<sup>3</sup>. In dogmatic theology he followed the principles of al-Aṣḥ'arī, and in the developments of the law he held the doctrines of the *Shāfi'ites*." 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī notices him also in his History, and it is related by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl al-Farāwī<sup>4</sup>, that he heard 'Abd al-Karīm al-Quṣḥayrī recite the following verses of his own composing:

"God's blessing on the hour in which we were alone and when I saw your face! A smile then mantled on the mouth of love, in the garden of familiarity. We passed a time of pleasure for our eyes, but the next morning their lids were moist with tears."

It is mentioned by the *shayḫ* Abū'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Farāwī the preacher that Abū'l-Qāsim al-Quṣḥayrī frequently recited these verses, composed by one of the *brethren*.

"Had you been with us at the moment of our separation and witnessed our repeated adieus, you would have learned that there is a discourse in tears, and that tears are a part of discourse."

These lines are by *Dhu* 'l-Qarnayn Ibn Ḥamdān, of whom we have already spoken (no. 418).—'Abd al-Karīm al-Quṣḥayrī was born in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 376 (July-August A.C. 986); he died at Naysāpūr on the morning of Sunday, the 16 of the latter Rabi',

1 The autograph has لبسوط

2 The autograph has وكان يقصر وكان تفتت

3 Literally: His demonstration was fine.

4 His life will be found in this work.

A.H. 465 (December, A.C. 1072)\*, before the hour of sunrise. He was buried in the *Madrasah*, at the foot of the grave in which his master Abū 'Alī 'l-Daqqāq was interred.—I met in his work entitled *al-Risālah*<sup>1</sup> with two verses which pleased me so much, that I am induced to give them here:

"Some may taste of consolation after having long suffered the pains of love; but in my passion for Laylā, I shall never taste of consolation. And yet all that I ever obtained from her intercourse were hopes never fulfilled and transitory as the flash<sup>2</sup> of the thunder-cloud."

His son Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Raḥmān was an eminent imām and resembled his father in the sciences which he cultivated and in holding, like him, assemblies at which he preached. He afterwards followed with great assiduity the lessons of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, till he acquired a perfect knowledge of that jurisconsult's manner of treating the *Shāfi'ite* doctrines and discussing controverted points. He then set out to make the pilgrimage, and, on arriving at Baghḍād, he held regular assemblies, at which he gave exhortations with a most impressive effect. The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī attended at these assemblies, and the learned men of Baghḍād unanimously agreed that they had never heard a preacher like him. He pronounced his admonitory discourses in the *Nizāmiyah* College and in the monastery of the chief of the *Ṣūfis* (*shaykh al-Shuyūṭī*); but his zealous attachment for the doctrines of al-Ash'arī led into a controversy with the Hanbalites on points of faith. This caused a riot, in which a number of lives were lost on both sides, and one of Nizām al-Mulk's son was obliged to ride out and allay the tumult. When intelligence of this event reached Nizām al-Mulk, who was then in Iṣbahān, he sent for Abū Naṣr, and having shown him every mark of respect, he gave him an escort of honour to Naysāpūr. On arriving there, Abū Naṣr resumed his lessons and exhortations, and continued to fill that duty till nearly the last moment of his life. About a month before he died, he was struck with a weakness in his limbs, and he expired at Naysāpūr, on the forenoon of Friday, the 28th of the latter

<sup>1</sup> This *Risālah* is a celebrated *epistle* or *treatise* on *Ṣūfism*.

<sup>2</sup> Here again all the manuscripts except the autograph are wrong. The right reading is *كخطه*. †

\* 30 December.—*Ed.*

† In de Slane's edition of the text *لخطه* is given which is wrong.—*Ed.*

Jumādā, A.H. 514 (Sept., A.C. 1120)\*. He was interred in the funeral chapel which is called the Qushayrite Mausoleum.—He knew by heart a great number of poetical pieces and anecdotes, and the following lines, which I met in some composition or other, and afterwards in al-Sam'ānī's work, the *Dhayl*, were composed by himself.

"My heart abandons me to serve you, and time endeavours (*but in vain, to make me forget*) you. Fate decided that we should separate, and what can control its decrees? God alone knoweth the depth of my affliction when obliged now to quit you for ever!"

The *shaykh* Ab. 'Alī al-Daqqāq died A.H. 412 (A.C. 1021) *Qushayrī*, means *descended from Qushayr* Ibn Ka'b, the progenitor of a great (*Arabian*) tribe.—*Ustuwā* near Naysāp r, is a district covered with villages, which has produced a number of learned men.

### 370. ABŪ SA'D AL-SAM'ĀNĪ.

The *hāfiẓ* Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī, surnamed *Tāj al-Islām* (*the crown of Islamism*), was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī and a native of Marw. He belonged by birth to the tribe of 'Iamīm and his genealogy (*though incomplete*) is as follows: 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'l-Muzaḥḥār al-Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' Ibn Muslim Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Mujīb al-Tamīmī.—The *shaykh* 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn al-Aṭṭār<sup>1</sup> speaks of him in these terms, towards the commencement of his *Mukhtaṣar* (*or abridgment of al-Sam'ānī's work, the Ansāb*): "Abū Sa'd was the middle pearl of the collar of the Sam'ānī family; their vigilant eye and their helping hand; when he became the head of the family, he rendered its influence complete. To acquire knowledge and learn the Traditions, he journeyed to the East and to the West, to the North and to the South. He travelled to Transoxiana and visited repeatedly all the cities of Khurāsān; he went also to Qumas, Ray, Isbahān, Hamadān, the two 'Irāqs, Hījāz, Mosul, Mesopotamia, Syria, and other places too numerous to be mentioned and too difficult to be enumerated;

<sup>1</sup> His life will be found in this work.

\* 24 September—Ed.

he there met the men of learning, received from them information, frequented their society, obtained Traditions from them, and took for model their virtuous deeds and praiseworthy conduct. The number of his teachers surpassed four thousand."—During one of his dictations, or extempore lectures<sup>1</sup> he related as follows: "Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib al-J lī, a jurisconsult who had settled at al-Anbār, recited to me these lines on bidding me adieu:

"When we went forth to bid them adieu, they wept pearls (*tears*) and we wept rubies (*blood*). They handed round to us the cups of separation, and it will be long before we recover from the effects of that draught. They departed, and I sent after them a torrent of my tears; on which they exclaimed: 'We shall be drowned!' and I cried out: 'I shall be burned (*with grief*)!'"

He composed some most instructive and excellent works, such as the *Supplement*, in fifteen volumes, to the Khāṭib's History of Baghdād; the History of the city of Marw, coming upwards of twenty volumes; the *Ansāb* (*explanation of patronymics and other relative adjectives*), in eight volumes. This last is the work which 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr corrected and reduced to three volumes; the abridgement is in every person's hands, but the original is very scarce.—Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī says in the biographical notice which he gives of his father: "In the year 497 (A.C. 1103-4) my parent made the pilgrimage, and, on his return to Baghdād, he learned Traditions from a number of teachers. He then gave public exhortations in the *Nizāmiyah* College, instructed pupils in the Traditions<sup>2</sup> and collected books. When some time had thus elapsed, he travelled to Iṣbahān and received oral information from a great many persons; he then returned

<sup>1</sup> The following observations on the *Amālī* or *dictations* are furnished by Ḥajjī Khalīfah: I shall merely copy M. de Sacy's translation of the passage:—"Amālī est le pluriel d'*imlā*. Ce qu'on entend par là, c'est qu'un savant est assis, ayant autour de lui ses disciples avec des encriers et du papier. Le savant dit ce que Dieu permet qu'il lui vienne à l'esprit au sujet d'une science et ses disciples l'écrivent. Il se forme de cela un livre qu'on nomme *imāl* ou *amālī*. Voilà comme avaient coutume de faire les anciens, soit jurisconsultes, soit docteurs, dans la science des traditions, ou dans la grammaire arabe, ou dans tout autre science de celles qu'ils cultivaient; mais le discredit ou sont tombées la science et les savants, a fait évanouir les traces de cet usage. Il faudra un jour retourner vers Dieu. Les savants de l'école des Schaféites nomment cela *taālīk*," — (*Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 137. See Flügel's *H. jji Khalīfa*, vol. I, p. 427).

<sup>2</sup> Literally: "And Traditions were read to him"; that is, his pupils read the Traditions aloud, and he made his observations.

to Khurāsān and continued to reside at Marw till the year 509, when he went to Naysāpūr. He took me and my brother with him, and we learned Traditions from Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Ghaffār Ibn Muḥammad al-Shīrūwī<sup>1</sup> and other masters. He subsequently returned to Marw, where he was overtaken by death at the early age of forty-three years<sup>2</sup>. Abū Sa'd was born at Marw on Monday, the 21 of Shā'bān, A.H. 506 (February, A.C. 1113)\*, and he died in the same city, on the night preceding the first day of the first month of Rabi', A.H. 562 (December, A.C. 1166)†. His father Muḥammad was an imām<sup>3</sup>, a man of talent, a skilful investigator of the truth, a traditionist, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and a ḥāfiẓ. His *Imlā* (dictation) is a work of an entirely original cast, containing observations on the texts and *isnāds*<sup>4</sup> (of the Traditions) with elucidations to clear up the doubtful points. He wrote many other works besides, and composed some pretty poetry, which he destroyed<sup>5</sup> a little before his death. He was born in the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 466 (January, A.C. 1074), and he died at the end of public prayers, on Friday, the 2 of Ṣafar, A.H. 510 (June, A.C. 1116)‡. The next day, Saturday, he was interred near the grave of his father, Abū 'l-Muẓaffar, in the Safhawān, which is one of the cemeteries at Marw. Abū Sa'd's grandfather al-Manṣūr was incontrovertibly the greatest imām of the age in which he lived; this is a point on which his supporters and his adversaries both agreed. He followed the doctrines of Abū Ḥanīfah and was looked up with deference by the other imāms of that sect; but, in the year 462, when he was making the pilgrimage, a circumstance fell under his observation in the province of Ḥijāz, which obliged him to pass over to the sect of al-Shāfi'i.

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has الشيروى.

<sup>2</sup> When Ibn Khallikān inserted this extract in the margin of his work, he marked a wrong place for it in the text. This is a fault into which he has fallen very frequently. The passages should have come in lower down.

<sup>3</sup> The word imām is employed here to denote one whose opinions were held to be of the highest authority.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: "Which he washed". That is, he washed off the ink, that the paper might serve again. The writing in oriental manuscripts is easily effaced with water; the paper is generally very thick and glazed over.

\* 10 February.—Ed.

† 26 December.—Ed.

‡ 16 June.—Ed.

§ Al-Shīrāzī with its variant reading al-Shīzarī on the margin in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.



On his return to Marw, he underwent violent persecutions on this account, and had much to suffer from the spirit of party-zeal; but he supported these trials with great firmness and became the chief imām of the Shāfi'ites. In the fulfilment of this office, he acted as a professor and a *mufti*, and drew up a great number of treatises on the doctrines of the imām al-Shāfi'ī and on other branches of knowledge. Of these works the most remarkable are: the *Minhāj Ahl il-Sunnah* (*path of the Sunnites*); the *Intiṣār* (*vindication*); a Refutation of the Principles held by the Qadarites (*the partisans of man's free-will*), etc. In another work, the *Qawāṭi'* (*decisive arguments*), he treats of the dogmas of Islamism, and in his *Burhān*, or *proof* (*containing a defence of the Shāfi'ite doctrines*) he discusses nearly one thousand points of controversy. His *Awsaṭ*, or *Méduim*, and his *Iṣṭilām*, or *eradication of errors*, are refutations of Abū Zayd al-Dabūsī's compilation, entitled *al-Asrār* (No. 311.). He wrote also a valuable commentary on the *Qur'ān*, and he formed a collection of one thousand *Traditions* received by him from one hundred masters, and which he illustrated with great ability in discourses affixed to them. He was highly celebrated also for the excellence of his sermons. His birth took place in the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 426 (October, A.C. 1035), and his death in the month of the first Rabī', A.H. 489 (March, A.C. 1096), at Marw. This family produced a great number of other persons remarkable for learning and the exalted posts which they filled. *Sam'āni* means *belonging to Sam'ān*, a branch of the tribe c *Tamīm*. I have heard some learned men observe that this name may be also pronounced *Sim'ān*. Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm had a son named Abu 'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Raḥīm whom, when yet a boy, he took with him to learn Traditions from his father (*Abū Bakr Muḥammad*); he then travelled with him through Khurasān and Transoxiana, for the purpose of letting him hear the Traditions delivered by all the great masters in these countries, and of obtaining (*them in*) written copies. He drew up also, for his son's use, a *Mu'jam*, or biographical dictionary of his own masters, in eighteen volumes, and an *'Awālā*, or collection of Traditions supported by the *highest authority*<sup>1</sup>, in two thick volumes. He then made him study juris-

<sup>1</sup> It may probably be remarked that I gave a different signification to the word *'Awālā* عوَالِي from that adopted, after some hesitation, by M. de Sacy, in his

prudence, the *belles-lettres*, and the Traditions, till he acquired considerable information in these branches of learning. 'Abd al-Raḥīm taught the Traditions on the authority of numerous masters<sup>1</sup>, and students travelled from all parts to learn them from him. He was highly venerated in his native country. His birth took place at Naysāpūr, on the eve of Friday, the 17 of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 537 (June, A.C. 1143)\*, and he died at Marw between A.H. 614 (A.C. 1217) and 616 (A.C. 1220)<sup>2</sup>.

### 371. IBN ḤAMDĪS AL-ṢAQALLĪ.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamdīs al-Azdī (*a member of the tribe of Azd*) al-Ṣaqallī (*a native of Sicily*), and a celebrated poet, is spoken of in these terms by Ibn Bassām: "He was a poet of consummate abilities, who aimed at originality of ideas and reached his mark; who expressed them in terms elegant and noble; who had a perfect command of metaphors the most appropriate, and who dived into the ocean of language for the pearl of novelty in thought." The original cast of his ideas is fully displayed in the following piece descriptive of a rivulet:

"There is an object whose component parts are in progressive motion, and whose surface is polished by the zephyr, so that it reveals to the eye that which is contained in its bosom. The pebbles wound

---

(Continued from page 194.)

*Abdallatif*. I have followed the indications of Ḥājji Khalīfah in his enumeration of the works which are so denominated; and must add that the title of the book cited by M. de Sacy in support of his opinion seems to me to be incorrectly given; *إلا سائيد العوالي* is a most unusual expression, whereas *إلا سائيد العوالي* is one commonly employed when speaking of Traditions which can be traced up through an unbroken series of trustworthy Traditionists to Muḥammad himself.

<sup>1</sup> *بالكثير* is the right reading.

<sup>2</sup> In the autograph these last words have been cut off by the binder, so that only the vowel points and the tops of the longer letters remain. None of my manuscripts fill up the blank, which, I am convinced from the inspection of the autograph, must be read thus: *وست عشرة*.

\*4 June.—Ed.

it with their sharp points, and, as it passes over them, it expresses by its murmurs the pains which they inflict. It might be thought that a despairing lover<sup>1</sup> had put on the form of its waters, and hastened to throw himself into the pond which it supplies."

In one of his *qaṣīdahs* he says:

"I passed the night in asking for another and another kiss; such are the favours for which I shall never cease to sue her; and I quenched the thirst of love at (*her lips*—) a source of surpassing in virtues the purest water of the spring."

In another of his *qaṣīdahs* he begins thus:

"Arise! and let the (*maiden*) wearer of the scarf hand here the cup! the harbinger of morning has announced to the night that its last hour<sup>2</sup> has come. Hasten towards the pleasures which await us, and, to reach them, take for coursers the forerunners of enjoyment, so rapid in their speed. Hasten before the morning sun has sipped the dews of the night off the lips of the flowers."

One of his original ideas is thus expressed:

"To increase the blackness of her eyes, she has applied antimony around them; thus adding poison to the dart which was already sufficient to give death."

In another poem he thus expresses his longing desire of seeing Sicily again:

"I thought of Sicily, and sadness renewed in my mind the remembrance of that isle. Though expelled from paradise, I shall always speak of its delights. Were my tears not bitter, I should take them for the (*copious*) streams which flow in that happy ground<sup>3</sup>"

In the year 471 (A.C. 1078-9) he went to Spain and there celebrated in his verses the praises of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, by whom he was most generously recompensed. When Ibn 'Abbad was afterwards

<sup>1</sup> The autograph gives the true reading, which is حياءاً

<sup>2</sup> In the printed Arabic text, read الليل not الليل

<sup>3</sup> On the conquest of Sicily by count Roger, a great number of the Muslim inhabitants abandoned the island. Some, like Ibn Hammad's, went to Spain, and others to North Africa, Egypt, or Syria. The *kitāb* 'Imād al-Dīn notices in his *Khariḍah* a number of literary men who then left the country.

led into captivity and imprisoned at Aḡhmāt, Ibn Ḥamdīs heard some verses recited which that prince had composed during his confinement<sup>1</sup> on which he addressed him the following lines in reply:

"Do you despair of seeing a day the evening of which will differ from the morning? Reflect that the brilliant planets themselves must (*undergo vicissitudes and*) pass through the zodiac's various signs. When you left us, and bore off in your hand generosity itself, whilst the mountains of thy liberality were shaken to their basis<sup>2</sup>. I raised my voice and exclaimed: "The hour of judgment has come! behold the firm mountains pass away!"

The idea contained in the last of these verses is nearly similar to that expressed by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz in the following lines; they are taken from an elegy composed by him on the death of the wazīr Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Wahb:

"The human race remain unmoved, and yet perfection itself is dead; and the vicissitudes of time exclaim: 'Where shall we find more men?' Behold Abu 'l-Qāsim on his bier! arise, and see how mountains are removed from their places!"

The poetical works of Ibn Ḥamdīs have been collected into a *dīwān* and the greater portion of his poetry is very good. He died in the isle of Mayyurqah (*Majorca*), A.H. 527 (A.C. 1132-3) [and was interred near the tomb of Ibn al-Labbānah<sup>3</sup> the celebrated poet]; some say, however, that he died at Bajāyah (*Bugia in North Africa*). In one of his poems, rhyming in the letter *M*, he speaks of his grey hairs and his staff; this indicates that he had then reached his eightieth year<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaqallī* means *belonging to Ṣaqalliyah (Sicily)*, an island in the sea of Maḡrib, near North Africa.

<sup>1</sup> These verses are still extant, and may be found in 'Imād al-Dīn's *Khariḍah*, MS. No. 1375.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: "Whilst the Raḍwā and the Ṭḥabir of yours were shaken." These are the names of two celebrated mountains in Ḥijāz. (See Abu 'l-Fidā's Geography, Arabic text, page 81.)

<sup>3</sup> Abu Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsā al-Dānī (*a native of Denia*), surnamed Ibn Labbānah, was the favourite poet and companion of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād. Numerous extracts from his composition are given by the *kاتب* 'Imād al-Dīn in his *Khariḍah* (MS. No. 1375, fol. 181 *et seq.*) and by Ibn Khāqān in his *Qalī'id al-'Iqyān*. The date of his death is not mentioned by either author.

<sup>4</sup> This inference of Ibn Khallikān does not appear to be well narrated.

## 372. ABŪ ṬĀLIB AL-MA'ĀFIRI

Abū Ṭalib 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ma'āfiri al-Maghribī<sup>1</sup> was a master of the first authority in the science of philology and in all the branches of the *belles-letters*. In his travels he visited Baghdād, where he continued his studies and gave lessons to a number of pupils, who all profited under his tuition. In the year 551 (A.C. 1156-7) he arrived in Egypt, where he had for a disciple the learned *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad Ibn Barī (see his life, No. 328). He wrote a great deal, and his handwriting was very good, but in the Maghrib character; the greater part of these writings is on literature. I have seen a considerable quantity of them, and observed that his orthography was extremely correct<sup>2</sup>. \* [I saw the two following lines inscribed by his own hand on the cover of the work entitled *al-Mudḥayyal fi 'l-Lughat*<sup>3</sup>:

"I implore whatever person sees my writing to address a sincere prayer for me to the merciful God, that He may be turned towards me with indulgence and grant me forgiveness."

He taught the contents of the work called *al-Musalsil* with the authorisation of the author, Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī; of this we shall speak again in the life of Abu 'l-Ṭāhir which will be found among those of the Muḥammads<sup>4</sup>—Abū Ṭalib died A.H. 566 (A.C. 1170-1) as he was returning from Egypt to Maḡrib. *Ma'āfiri* means *belonging to the tribe of*

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Maghribi* signifies native of *Maghrib*, or the *West*; a term applied not only to North Africa, but to Spain. From the silence of the Spanish Arab biographers, I am induced to believe that he belonged to the former country.

<sup>2</sup> This passage may perhaps signify, "that his memory was very good"—a circumstance proved by the correctness of the pieces which he wrote from memory.

<sup>3</sup> This work is not noticed by Ḥājji Khalīfah.

<sup>4</sup> This passage is given by two of my MSS. but it does not exist in the autograph. Its place is marked there, however, by these words in red ink, *هنا يكتب التغرىج*, that is: *let the passage on the fly-leaf be written here*. This fly-leaf has been lost, and I suspect the authenticity of the passage as now printed, and must add that, none of my MSS. contain the life of Abu 'l-Ṭāhir al-Tamīmī to which reference is here made.

\* [ ] From 'I saw' to 'Muḥammads' omitted in the autograph.—*Ed.*

† M. de Slane gives *al-Muzil*.—*Ed.*

*Ma'āfir* Ibn Ya'fur; this tribe is very numerous and the greater portion of it inhabits Egypt.

### 373. 'ABD AL-RAZZAQ AL-ŞAN'ĀNĪ

Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Hammām Ibn Nāfi' al-Şan'ānī was allied, by right of enfranchisement, to the tribe of Ḥimyar. Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī says of him: "It is stated that, after the death of the Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup>, no one had so many visitors from distant countries as he." He taught the Traditions on the authority of Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid, a *mawlā* of the tribe of Azd and a native of Baṣrah (see *Introduction, note*), al-Awzā'i, Ibn Jurayj, and others. The chief imāms of Islāmism in that period cited him as their authority for some of the Traditions which they taught; amongst the number were Sufyān Ibn 'Uyyanah (who was one of his own masters), Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and Yahyā Ibn Ma'in.<sup>1</sup> He was born A.H. 126 (A.C. 743-4), and he died in the month of *Şawwāl*, A.H. 211 (January, A.C. 827) in Yaman. *Şan'ānī* means *belonging to Şan'a*, one of the most celebrated cities in Yaman. In forming this relative adjective an *n* is added, as in *Bahrānī* derived from *Bahrā*<sup>2</sup> but such cases are of rare occurrence. \*

### 374. ABŪ NAŞR IBN AL-ŞABBĀGH.

Abū Naşr 'Abd al-Sayyid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Şabbāgh (*the son of the dyer*), was chief *Şhāfi'*ite jurisconsult of Persian and Arabian 'Irāq. (*By his learning*) he equalled Abū Ishāq al-*Şhīrāzī*, and by his knowledge of the *Şhāfi'*ite doctrines he surpassed him. Persons came from all countries to study under him, and his veracity

<sup>1</sup> The lives of all these doctors will be found in this work.

<sup>2</sup> *Bahrā* is the name of a tribe sprung from Qudā'ah.

\* In 'Abd al-Hamid following passage occurs: Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Şan'ānī said: "I heard 'Abd al-Razzāq saying: He experiences disgrace who associates one for a long time. He continued: I heard him reciting: That was the time we amuse with it, and now it amuses with us.

as a traditionist, his piety and his virtuous conduct, which showed him to be a model set up by God to confound the perverse on the day of judgment<sup>1</sup>, were all equally conspicuous. His principal works are the *Shāmil* (*comprehensive*), which is not only one of the best treatises possessed by the *Shāfi'ites* on their system of jurisprudence, but also one of the most authentic in its traditional contents and the most conclusive in its reasonings; —The *Tadhkirat al-'Ālim wa'l-Ṭarīq al-Sālim* (*remembrancer of the learned and safe path*); the *'Uddah* (*supply provided for emergencies*); these two last are on the principles of jurisprudence. On the opening of the *Nizāmiyah* College at Baḡhdād, he acted as chief professor, but was replaced, after a lapse of twenty days, by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī; he was reinstated, however, on the death of the latter. Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Hilāl Ibn al-Ṣābi<sup>2</sup> says in his History: "The erection of the *Nizāmiyah* College was commenced in the month of *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*, A.H. 457 (November, A.C. 1065), and this establishment was opened on Saturday, the 10 of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, 459 (September, A.C. 1067).<sup>\*</sup> *Nizām al-Mulk* having given directions that the place of chief professor in it should be filled by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, it was settled with him that he should come forward and give lessons on that day. When the people were assembled, Abū Ishāq did not appear, and after a fruitless search, they decided on sending for Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, who came and was installed. Abū Ishāq then showed himself in the mosque where he used to teach, and by this conduct he excited the manifest displeasure of his pupils, who ceased to attend his lessons and wrote to him that if he did not choose to profess in the *Nizāmiyah*, they would quit him for Abū Naṣr al-Ṣabbāgh. He consented to their wishes, and on Saturday, the first of *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*†, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh was removed and Abū Ishāq seated in his place. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh had occupied the post during twenty days." Ibn al-Najjār says in his History of Baḡhdād: "On the death of Abū Ishāq Abū Sa'd al-Mutawallī was established in the vacant place; but, in the year 476 (A.C. 1083-4), he was removed, and Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh reappointed;

<sup>1</sup> I have here paraphrased the word *Imām*. See No. 258, note.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 125, note.

<sup>\*</sup> 22 September.—*Ed.*

<sup>†</sup> 13 October.—*Ed.*

the latter held the post till 477, when it was again conferred on Abu Sa'd, who held it till his death. We have already mentioned something of this in the life of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5). Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh was born at Baḡhdād, A.H. 400 (A.C. 1009-10), and he died in the same city in the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 477 (September, A.C. 1084); or, by another account (given as a rectification of the preceding date), on Thursday, the 15 of Shā'bān of that year.\* Towards the close of his life, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh lost his sight.

### 375. 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB AL-MĀLIKĪ.

The qādī Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb Ibn 'Alī Ibn Naṣr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Hārūn Ibn Mālik Ibn Ṭawq al-Tha'labī, a native of Baḡhdād and a doctor of the sect of Mālik, drew his descent from Mālik Ibn Ṭawq al-Tha'labī, the lord of Raḡhabah<sup>1</sup>. He was an able jurisconsult, an elegant scholar, and a poet. He composed a treatise on the doctrines peculiar to his sect, and this work, entitled *al-Talqīn* (tuition), is one of the most instructive on the subject, although it forms but a small volume. Among his other numerous productions, may be specified the *Ma'ānah*, or aid, and a commentary on the *Risālah*<sup>2</sup>. The *Khaṭīb* (Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Baḡhdādī) speaks of him in the history of Baḡhdād, and says: "He received lessons from Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Askarī, 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sabannak<sup>3</sup> and Abū Ḥafṣ Ibn Shāhīn<sup>4</sup>. He transmitted from his masters a small portion of traditional information,

<sup>1</sup> The city of Raḡhabah, situated on the Euphrates in lat. 34° 37', at the distance of eight days' journey from Damascus and of five from Aleppo, was founded by Mālik Ibn Ṭawq, one of the *Khalīf* al-Rashīd's generals, who was then governor of Mesopotamia.

<sup>2</sup> I follow the reading of the autograph and al-Yāfi'i where I find "شرح الرسالة" and not "في شرح الرسالة". All the other MSS. and Ḥajjī Khalīfah give the latter reading.

<sup>3</sup> All the MSS. except the autograph have "من قبل"; but that has "من قبل". Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar Ibn Sabannak died A.H. 377 (A.C. 987-8) — (*Nujūm*).

<sup>4</sup> See No. 164, note on Abū Ḥafṣ.

\* 19 December, 1084.—*Ed.*



and I wrote down (*some of it*) from his own lips. He was a trustworthy traditionist, and an abler jurisconsult than he was never met with among the Malikite doctors. In the examination of legal points he displayed great acuteness, and the exposition of the results to which he thus attained was marked by great clearness. He filled the place of qādī at Bādarāyā and Bākusayā<sup>1</sup>; towards the latter period of his life he travelled to Egypt, in which country he died." Ibn Bassām speaks of him in the *Dha'hirah* in the following terms: "He was the last remnant of (*the illustrious*) men, and the (*sole*) tongue (*to set forth the doctrines of*) the followers of *analogy*<sup>2</sup>; I met with some poetry of his containing thoughts brighter than the morning, and expressed in words sweeter than is the obtaining of success in undertakings. Baḥdād rejected him, as is the old established custom of cities towards their men of merit; and such is the rule of conduct which Fortune follows, in every epoch, towards the people of talent: he therefore bade adieu to its inhabitants, and said farewell to its waters and its shades. I was told that, on the day of his departure, its great men and its eminent writers<sup>3</sup> formed a large company and a numerous troop to escort him out of the city, and that he said to them: 'Had I found among you a roll of bread every morning and every evening, I should not have turned from your town, as I would then have obtained all I wished for.' He used to express his feelings on this subject in some verses which I shall give here:

'Of all the abodes on earth, let Baḥdād receive my salutation; it is entitled to repeated salutations (*of farewell*) from me. I left it, not through hatred, and yet I knew (*what perversity filled*) the quarters on both sides of the river. But large as it was, I could find no ease within it, and even the means of subsistence were refused me. That city is like a friend whose company is anxiously desired, but whose character removes him (*from our affection*) and counteracts his good qualities.'

He then set out for Egypt, and as he passed through Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān he met Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (No. 46), who received him

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the *Marāṣid*, that these two places were situated near al-Nahrawān.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 2, note on *aḥkām*, No. 231, note, and Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: Its inkhorn wearers. These words signify probably the *kātibs*, or persons employed in the civil service.

with hospitality, and afterwards alluded to the circumstance in one of his poems. These are his words:

'Ibn Naṣr the Mālikite visited our country on his journey, and we praised the misfortunes which force a man to abandon his native place and to travel. When he explains a point of law, his reasonings give new life to Mālik, and when he utters verses, *the Wandering King*<sup>1</sup> seems to revive in his person.'

On arriving in Egypt, he bore the standard (*of superiority*) and filled it far and wide (*with his renown*)<sup>2</sup>; he drew after him its chiefs and its princes; there the signal favours of fortune reached him and gifts the most desirable poured like a torrent into his hands. But he had scarcely arrived there, when he longed to eat of a particular dish, and, having partaken thereof, he died. They relate that, when he rolled in agony, his soul mounting and descending in his throat, he exclaimed: 'There is no god but God! when we began to live, we died!' 'He composed some charming verses, such, for instance, as the following:

"I kissed that sleeping beauty, and she awoke, exclaiming: 'Hasten to chastise the thief.' I replied: 'May my life be sacrificed for thy welfare! I am (*not a thief, but*) an extortioner, and as such I can only be sentenced to restitution. Receive then the kiss and abstain from tyranny; if that kiss suffice thee not, I shall add a thousand to it.' She answered: '(*No! I must have*) retaliation! this, as reason tells us, is sweeter than honey to the heart of the self-avenger.' The rest of that night, my right arm was the girdle which encircled her waist, and my left arm was the necklace on her bosom. She then said: 'Did you not declare that you abstained from all worldly pleasure?' 'No!' I replied, 'but it is from abstinence, (*such as that,*) that I abstain! "

\*[He also says]:

"Baghdād is a delightful residence for those who have money, but for the poor it is an abode of misery<sup>3</sup> and suffering. I walked

<sup>1</sup> *The wandering king (al-Malik al-Dillīl)*; this was a surname given to Amro 'l-Qays, of whom Muḥammad said that he was the "greatest of all the poets. See my *Diwān d'Amro 'l-Qays*, page xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: And filled its land and its sky.

• [ ] The phrase is omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

all day through its streets bewildered and desolate; I was (*treated with neglect*) like a *Qur'ān* in the house of an atheist."

I had some verses on my mind, the author of which I did not know; but I have since found them attributed, in a number of places, to the *qāḍī* 'Abd al-Wahhāb; they are as follows:

"How can we hope to quench our thirst if the seas exact water from the wells?¹ How prevent the vile from attaining their ends, if the great retire from the world to the pious solitude of the cell? The elevation of the base over the noble would be a great misfortune. When the low and the exalted are on an equality, 'tis then we would find pleasure in the society of death."

(*Ibn Bassām*) the author of the *Dhakhīrah* mentions that 'Abd al-Wahhāb held the office of *qāḍī* in the city of Is'īrd², and another writer states that he filled that function at the towns of Bādarāyā and Bākusiyyā in 'Irāq. On being questioned concerning the time of his birth, he replied: "I was born at Baḥdād on Thursday, the 7 of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 362 (July, A.C. 973)\*". He died at Old Cairo on the eve of Monday, the 14 of *Ṣafar*, A.H. 422 (February, A.C. 1031)†; some say, however, that his death occurred in the month of *Shā'bān* of that year. He was interred in the lesser Qarāfah cemetery, between the sepulchral chapel of the imām al-Shayfī and the gate of the Qarāfah, near the graves of Ibn al-Qāsim and Aḥḥab; I have visited his tomb. His father ('*Alī Ibn Naṣr*) was one of the most eminent scribes³ of Baḥdād. His brother, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Naṣr was a learned scholar and drew up a work, entitled *al-Mufāwaṭṭah* (*conversation*), for the amusement of al-Malik al-'Azīz Jalāl al-Dawlah Abu Maṣṣūr, the son of Abu Ṭāhir, the son

---

¹ This verse probably means: How can we expect a recompense for our poetical eulogiums, if the sovereign exact from our patrons the little wealth which they possess?

² Is'īrd, a city of Mesopotamia, is situated near the Tigris, at the distance of a day and a half to the south of Mayyāfāriqin.

³ See No. 24 note on 'adl.

\* 10 July.—*Ed.*

† 8 February.—*Ed.*

of Bahā al-Dawlah, the son of 'Aḍad al-Dawlah<sup>1</sup> Ibn Buwayh; in this book, which is very interesting and contains about thirty sheets<sup>2</sup>, he relates various events of which he had been a witness. He composed also some epistles. His birth took place at Baḡhdād in one of the months of Jumādā, A.H. 372 (A.C. 982); he died on Sunday, the 26 of the latter Rabi', A.H. 437 (November, A.C. 1045)\* at Wāsiṭ, whither he had gone up from Baṣrah. Their father Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (*Ibn Naṣr*) died on Saturday, the 2nd of Ramaḍān, A.H. 391 (July, A.C. 1001).†

### 376. THE ḤĀFIẒ 'ABD AL-GĤANĪ IBN SA'ĪD.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Gḥanī Ibn Sa'īd Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Biṣhr Ibn Marwān Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Azdī (*a member of the tribe of Azd*) and a native of Egypt, was the most eminent ḥafīẓ of the age in that country. He composed some useful works, such as a *Muṣṭabih al-Nisbah*, or treatise on those relative adjectives the derivation of which might be mistaken, another on those (*geographical*) names each of which designate different places (*al-Mu'talif wa 'l-Muḥtalif*), etc. Great numbers studied under him with much profit to themselves. A close intimacy and friendship subsisted between him, Abū 'Usāmah Junādah the philologist, and Abū 'Alī al-Muqrī al-Anṭikī (*a teacher of the readings of the Qur'ān and a native of Antioch*). These three used to meet at the library (*founded by al-Ḥakim*)<sup>3</sup> and discuss literary subjects; but when Abū Usāmah and Abū 'Alī were put to death by al-Ḥakim the sovereign of Egypt, the ḥafīẓ 'Abd al-Gḥanī retired to a place of concealment, lest he should experience the same fate on account of his having frequented their society, and he did not appear in public till he received a full pardon. Of this we have already spoken in the life of Abū Usāmah (No. 139).

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khallikān; in giving this genealogy, has forgotten here the name of Rukn al-Dawla, Ibn Buwayh.

<sup>2</sup> Sheets in Arabic *Kurrāsah*: see No. 340, note.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 139.

\* 13 November.—*Ed.*

† 26 July.—*Ed.*

'Abd al-Ghanī was born on the 28 of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 332 (August, A.C. 944)\*, and he died at Old Cairo on the eve of Tuesday, the seventh of Ṣafar, A.H. 409 (June, A.C. 1018)† : he was interred, the following day, in the Muṣallā of the Festival<sup>1</sup>. It is stated by Abu 'l-Qāsim Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥaḍramī, surnamed Ibn al-Ṭahḥān, in the historical work designed by him as a continuation to that of Ibn Yūnus al-Miṣrī (see no. 343), that 'Abd al-Ghanī Ibn Sa'id was born A.H. 333 (A.C. 944-5). His father Sa'id died A.H. 338, aged forty-three years. 'Abd al-Ghanī himself mentioned that he had never received any traditional information from his father, Sa'id.

### 377. 'ABD AL-GHĀFIR AL-FĀRISĪ.

The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Ismā'il Ibn 'Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id al-Fārisī (*native of the province of Fārs*) was a traditionist and a grammarian of the highest rank. At the age of five years he was able to read the *Qur'ān*, and could repeat the creed in Persian, (*his native language*). He studied jurisprudence with great assiduity, during four years, under Abu 'l-Ma'ālī *Imām* al-Ḥaramayn, the author of the *Nihāyat al-Maṭlab*, which is a treatise on the doctrines of the Shāfi'ite sect and on points of controversy. He was a daughter's son<sup>2</sup> of the *imām* Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Quṣṭhayrī (No. 369) and learned from him a great quantity of Traditions, as also from his grandmother Fātimah, the daughter of Abī 'Alī al-Daqqāq (No. 369), his maternal uncles Abī Sa'd and Abī Sa'id, the sons of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-

1 The original text has بحضرة مصلی العيد . I am unable to fix the precise meaning of the word حضرة in this place.

2 The word سبط (*Sibt*) signifies a grandson by the female line ابن البنت (*the son of the daughter*), as the philologists define it. Thus Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were the *sibts* of Muḥammad. A grandson by the male line is a *ḥafid* (حفيد). This distinction has generally escaped the attention of orientalists.

\* 21 August, but according to the autograph it should be 28 Dhu 'l-Qa'dah (22 July).—*Ed.*

† 24 June.—*Ed.*

Qushayrī, his own parents Abu 'Abd Allāh Ismā'il and Amat al-Rahīm (*the handmaid of the Clement*), daughter to 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī and a great number of other teachers. He then left Naysāpūr and proceeded to K̲h̲uwārizm, where he continued his studies under the most eminent masters of that country, and opened a private course for the instruction of pupils. He travelled from thence to Ghaznah, and then to India, teaching the Traditions and explaining (*his grandfather's work*) the *Laṭ'if al-'Ishārāt* (*subtle indications*)<sup>1</sup>. On his return to Naysāpūr he officiated as a preacher, and, during a number of years, he gave lessons every Monday evening in the mosque of 'Aqil; he then composed his numerous works, of which the principal are the *Mufhim* (*elucidator*), in which he explains the obscure points in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim; the *Siyāq*, or continuation of (*the Ḥakīm Ibn al-Bayy's*) history of Naysāpūr, which work he finished towards the end of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 518; the *Majma' al-Ṭiḥārāt* (*collection of observations little known*), in which he elucidates the rare expressions occurring in the Traditions; he wrote besides many other instructive works. He was born in the month of the latter Rabī', A.H. 451 (May-June, A.C. 1059), and he died at Naysāpūr, A.H. 529 (A.C. 1134-5).

### 378. ABU 'L-WAQT AL-SIJAZI.

Abu 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal Ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh 'Isā Ibn Shu'ayb Ibn Iṣḥāq al-Sijazī knew by heart a great quantity of Traditions handed down from the highest authorities. He lived to an advanced age, and became the link which united the Traditionists of the rising generation to those of the past. In the year 621 (A.C. 1224) I heard al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* explained by the *shayḥ* Abu Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Mukarram Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣūfī, a man of holy life; he taught this work by right of his having studied it at the *Nizāmiyah* College, under the tuition of this Abu 'l-Waqt, in the year 553.\* [Abu 'l-Waqt had learned it in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah,

<sup>1</sup> According to Ḥājji Khalifah, this is a commentary on the *Qur'ān*.

\*The name of the month first Rabī' (April) omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

A.H. 465 (July, A.C. 1073), from Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muẓaffar al-Dāwūdī, who taught it with the authorisation of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥammūyah al-Sarakhsī, under whom he studied it in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 381 (April-May, A.C. 991). Ibn Ḥammūyah had been authorised to teach it by his own master Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Maṭar al-Farabrī, in A.H. 316 (A.C. 928); and al-Farabrī taught it with the permission of the author al-Bukhārī under whose tuition he had read it twice; the first time in A.H. 248 (A.C. 862-3), and the second in 252 (A.C. 866)<sup>1</sup>. Abu 'l-Waqt led a life of holiness and passed most of his time in the practice of piety. He was born in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 458 (October, A.C. 1066), at Herat, where his father had settled, and he died on the eve of Sunday, the 6 of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 553 (November, A.C. 1158)\*, at Baḥdād where he had arrived on Tuesday, the 21 of Shawwāl, A.H. 552†, and taken up his abode in the *Ribāṭ* of Fayrūz. He died in that convent, and prayers were said over him there; but afterwards, the funeral service was celebrated in the presence of a great concourse of people, at the principal mosque, by the *shayḥ* 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilī<sup>2</sup>. He was interred in the *Shūnīzi* Cemetery

1 This passage is written in the margin of the autograph. The original text will be found in the appendix to the Arabic edition.

2 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ Mūsā Ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Mūsā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mūsā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Jilī, surnamed Muḥi al-Dīn (*reviver of religion*), was one of the most eminent ṣūfī doctors. By his self-mortification, his piety and his application to contemplative devotion, he attained the highest degree of holiness, and often received special proofs of God's favour, the veils which concealed the *Truth*, or Divine presence, having been frequently withdrawn to give him a glimpse of the Being Who is the source of all happiness and the sole object worthy of love. Al-Yāfi' devotes eleven pages of the *Mir'at al-Jinn* to the enumeration of his excellencies, and informs us that in another work, the *Naṣṣ al-Maḥāsīn* he has mentioned some of the innumerable miraculous acts which this saint performed by a concession of the Divine grace. 'Abd al-Qādir was born at Jil, which is a collection of villages beyond Ṭabaristān. This place is called also Gīl, Gilān and Jilān, whence the surnames of Jilī, Gīlī Jilānī and Gilānī which are given to him by different writers. It may here be

(Continued on page 209)

\* 30 November.—*Ed.*

† 26 November, A. C. 1157.—*Ed.*

under the same seat (*dakkah*) in which the body of the celebrated ascetic Ruwaym<sup>1</sup> was deposited. Abu 'l-Waqt commenced learning the Traditions somewhat later than the year 460 (A.H. 1067-8), and he was the sole survivor of those who taught Traditions on the authority of al-Dawādī. His father died between the years 510 and 520 of the Hijrah. *Sijazi* means *belonging to Sijistān*, as has been already observed; this relative adjective is formed irregularly<sup>2</sup>. My master Abu Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Mukkarram al-Ṣūfī was born on the eve of the 27 of Ramaḍān, A.H. 538 (April, A.C. 1144)\*; he died at Baḡhdād on the eve of the 5<sup>th</sup> of Muḥarram, A.H. 621 (January, 1224) †. He was buried in the *Shunīzī* Cemetery.

(Continued from page 208.)

observed that there was a village bearing the name of Gil, and lying on the bank of the Tigris at a day's journey from Baḡhdād, on the road to Wāsiṭ; this place was also called Jil. Hence originated the terms Jil al-'Ajam (Persian Jil) to mark the place of 'Abd al-Qādir's birth and Jil al-'Irāq to designate this latter place. Another Jil existed near al-Madā'in. 'Abd al-Qādir's mother bore the name of Umm al-Khayr Fā'imah; she was a woman of holy life and the daughter of a man celebrated for his piety and his progress in Ṣūfism. Abū 'Abd Allāh Rizq Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ṣawma'ī الموصمی, 'Abd al-Qādir was born A.H. 471 (A.C. 1078-9); he went to Baḡhdād in 488 (A.C. 1095), and died in that city (where he held the place of guardian of Abū Ḥanīfah's tomb), A.H. 561 (A.C. 1165-6). The order of dervishes, called after him the Q drīs, acknowledges him as its founder.

<sup>1</sup> Abū Muḥammad or Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ruwaym Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Zayd Ibn Ruwaym, an eminent Ṣūfī and a native of Baḡhdād, was a disciple of al-Junayd. He was also distinguished as a ḥafīẓ, a Qur'ān-reader (according to the system of Nāfi'), and a doctor of the law, in which he was a Zāhirite, or follower of the imām Dāwūd al-Iḥbāhānī. His master al-Junayd esteemed him highly, and used to say of him, alluding to their application to spiritual exercises; "Ruwaym was busy when at liesure, but we others were liesurely in our business." *رويم مشغول فارغ* وكننا فارغين مشغولين. He died at Baḡhdād A.H. 303 (A.C. 915-6).—(Al-Yāfi'i; Al-Dhahabī).

<sup>2</sup> The regular form would be *Sijistānt*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *الخامس*.

\* 3 April, Subsequent edition, add: 'It is said 46 or 37'.—*Ed.*

† 28 January.—*Ed.*



## 379. IBN KULAYB AL-ḤARRĀNĪ.

Abu 'l-Faraj 'Abd al-Mun'im Ibn Abi 'l-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Sa'd Ibn Ṣadaqaḥ Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn<sup>1</sup>\* Ibn Kulayb al-Ḥarrānī, surnamed Shams al-Dīn (*the sun of religion*), was merchant and a member of the sect of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal. His family belonged to Ḥarrān, but he himself was born in Baḥdād and made his residence in that city. As he knew a quantity of Traditions supported by the highest authorities, persons came from all parts to learn them from him, and he became the link which connected the rising generation of Traditionists with the past. By his extensive acquirements in the Traditions, and by the number of masters from whom he had received them, he surpassed all his contemporaries. He was born in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 505 (August-Sept., A.C. 1111), and he died at Baḥdād on the eve of Monday, the 27th of the first Rabī', A.H. 596 (January, A.C. 1200)†. The next morning he was buried near the spot where his father and family were interred, in the cemetery called after Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, and situated at the Ḥarb Gate. He preserved the vigour of his mind and all his bodily faculties till the last. In the course of his life he had no less than one hundred and forty-eight concubines.

## 380. THE KĀTĪB 'ABD AL-ḤAMĪD.

‡[Aba Ḡhālīb] 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Yahyā Ibn Sa'd, a mawlā to the tribe of 'Āmir Ibn Luwayyi Ibn Ḡhālīb, was a *kātib* so highly celebrated for the elegance of his style that his talent became proverbial: "Epistolary writing," it was said, "began with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and finished with Ibn al-'Amīd". It was not only as a *kātib* that he possessed abilities; he was also a perfect master of the *belles-lettres* and of all the branches of science. Syria was his native place, but when he commenced life as a boys' teacher, he travelled from one country to another. Writers of

---

<sup>1</sup> This name is so indistinctly written in the autograph, that it is illegible.

\* M. de Siane gives al-Ḥaṣīn.—*Ed.*

† 15 January.—*Ed.*

‡ [ ] The Kuniyah 'Aba Ḡhālīb' omitted in the autograph.—*Ed.*

epistles copied his style and followed closely in his footsteps; and it was he who first smoothed the way to the introduction of eloquence into letter writing. His collected epistles fill nearly one thousand leaves (*two thousand pages*). It was also he who first lengthened the epistle and employed complimentary eulogiums in certain parts of it, which improvement was adopted by his successors. He was *kātib*, or secretary, to Marwān Ibn Muḥammad al-Ja'dī, the last of the Umayyad sovereigns. Marwān one day received from a provincial administrator the present of a black slave; displeased with the exiguity of the gift, this prince ordered his secretary to write a short letter to that *ʿāmil*, blaming him for his conduct and Abū Ghālib wrote these words: "Hadst thou found a worse colour than black and a number less than unity, thou wouldst have sent them. Adieu!" A saying of his was: "The pen is a tree the fruits of which are words, and reflection is a sea the pearls of which are wisdom." Ibrāhīm Ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Ṣulī once said of him, on hearing his name mentioned: "Language was his element; I never wished to possess the language of any *kātib* so ardently as I wished for his." In one of his epistles Abū Ghālib says: "Mankind are [of various classes and different characters; some are precious jewels not to be sold for any price; and others so liable to be suspected, that no one would buy them <sup>1</sup>." A letter in which he recommends the bearer to a man in power is thus worded: "The person who delivers you this letter has the same right to your benevolence as to mine; having judged you the only one on whom to place his hopes, and me the only one to assist him in his project; I here fulfil his wish, do you realise his expectations?" He said also: "The best style is that whereof the words are exalted and the thoughts original <sup>2</sup>." The following verse was often repeated by him:

"When *kātib*s are insulted<sup>3</sup>, their inkhorns become bows, and their pens, arrows."

1 As the merit of this passage consists principally in alliteration and parallelism, it disappears in the translation. None of the manuscripts, except the autograph, gives the text of it correctly; nearly every word is more or less altered. In the printed text read *يباع* and *يتاع*.

2 Literally: The words of which are stallions, and the thoughts virgins.

3 For *خرج* read *جرح*. All the manuscripts except the autograph are wrong.

He accompanied Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam in his last campaign and was present at all his battles; of these events we have taken some notice in the life of Abū Muslim (No. 347). It is related that when Marwan was reduced to the conviction that his power was drawing to an end, he said to Abū Ghālib: "It is necessary for me that you side with the enemy and appear to desert me; their admiration for you as a learned scholar and the necessity which they lie under of having a *katib* like you, will induce them to place confidence in you. Then you may perhaps be able to do me service whilst I yet live; and, in case of my death, you will certainly be the means of protecting my *harem* from dishonour." To this, Abū Ghālib replied: "The course which you advise me to take is the most advantageous one for you, and the most dishonourable for me; my opinion is, that we must bear with patience till Almighty God favour us with success; and if He do not, let us die together." He then recited this line:

"I am to conceal fidelity in my heart and bear the exterior of a traitor; but where shall I find an excuse<sup>1</sup> sufficiently clear to satisfy all men."

The foregoing anecdote is related by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mas'ūdī in his *Murāj-j-al-Dhahab* (*meadows of gold*). Abū Ghālib 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was then slain with Marwān on Monday, the 13th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 132 (July, A.C. 750)\* (*see No. 347*), at Buṣīr, a village in the province of al-Fayyūm, in Egypt. I find among my rough notes the following passage in my own hand-writing: "On the death of Marwān Ibn Muḥammad the Umayyad, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd sought for concealment in Mesopotamia, but, being betrayed, he was arrested and sent by Abu 'l-'Abbās—the *ḫalīf* al-Saffāḥ, I should think" to 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the commander of the police guards, who caused a tray to be heated in the fire and then placed on the prisoner's head till he expired. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was a native of al-Anbār, but he dwelt at al-Raqqah. His master in penmanship was Sālim, the *mawlā* of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. His son

<sup>1</sup> Here again all the manuscripts, including those of al-Mas'ūdī (who gives the passage), are in the wrong. For *بغدر* read *بغدر*.

\* According to Edward Mahler 13 *Dhū 'l-Hijjah* fell on Thursday, 23 July and Monday was 10th of the month. —Ed.

Ismā'il was an able *kātib* and is counted amongst the most famous of them. Ya'qūb Ibn Dāwūd, the wazīr to al-Mahdī, and whose life we intend to give, was at first a *kātib* in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's office and under his orders; it was from him he learned his business. When Marwān was flying before the army of his adversary, he reached B. ṣīr and asked what was the name of the place. On being informed that it was B. ṣīr, he said: "*Ilā Allāh al-Maṣīr (it is now that we must appear before God!)*"<sup>1</sup>. He was slain in that place, as is well known—Ibrāhīm Ibn Jabalah related as follows: "The *kātib* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd perceived me writing a very bad hand, on which he said to me: 'Do you wish your writing to be good?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'Then,' said he, 'let the stem of your reed-pen be long and thick, let its point be fine, and cut it sloping towards the right hand.'—I followed his advice, and my writing became good."

### 381. 'ABD AL-MUḤSIN IBN GHALBŪN AL-ṢŪRĪ.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Muḥsin Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ghālīb Ibn Ghālīb al-Ṣūrī (*a native of Tyre*) was a good poet, a talented scholar, and one of the ornaments of Syria. His verses, equally remarkable for elegance of style, beauty of thought, charm of expression, and pleasing regularity of imagery, form a *diwān* of masterpieces. One of his poems contains the following fine passage:

"It is to punish (*my indiscretion*) or to compel me to pay a tribute (*of admiration*) that the image of her charms never leaves my sight.<sup>2</sup> Her glances and her stature possess the qualities of the sword and of the spear (*sharpness and slenderness*). The water of youth is in her face, mixed with the fire (*carnation*) of her cheeks. One morning she came to me and said: 'Take your choice—my aversion or my absence; I can offer no other conditions'. I replied, whilst my tears flowed in a torrent, like the rushing of the pilgrims through the pass

<sup>1</sup> Būṣīr sounds somewhat like Būs Sir, which words mean *calamity in the result*. Marwān augured evil from the name.

<sup>2</sup> As it is impossible to translate this piece literally, I have merely endeavoured to express the thoughts as closely as the different genius of the two languages would permit.

of al-Māzamayn<sup>1</sup> : 'Do not do so; if the time for your aversion or absence come, my death comes also!' In pronouncing these words I seemed to have given her the order to retire, for she arose and hastened to leave me. She then set out with the caravan—may their camels be overwhelmed with fatigue wherever they first alight! (*then I may be able to overtake them*). The vicissitudes of fortune showed me my life under two aspects; I marked my days with black, and I passed them in lingering agony; each day was for me equal to two nights of a fiction. Who then can make me understand the difference between gold and silver? Both are to me unknown, so long is it since I saw them, whilst I sought my livelihood by my poetic talent, the worst of menial trades! Such was my case till 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn came (*to my assistance*), and to-day (*for lustre and exaltation*) poetry holds the third rank being only surpassed by Sirius and Canopus<sup>2</sup>."

The *qaṣīdah* from which these verses are taken was composed by 'Abd al-Muḥsin on 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn, the father of the 'wazīr Abu 'l-

<sup>1</sup> Burckhardt says in his *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II, p. 55. "The Hadj (*body of pilgrims*) passed at a quick pace in the greatest disorder, amidst a deafening clamour, through the pass of Mazoumeyn, leading to Mezdelfe (*Muzdalifah*) where all alighted, after a two hours' march."—In place of مثل المازمين as the printed text and the MSS. have it, the autograph bears نوق الوجنتين; the verse would then signify: "I replied, whilst my tears flowed in torrents down my cheeks." This reading was felt by the copyists to be inadmissible on account of the recurrence of the word الوجنتين at the end of the two verses coming very close to each other; this is contrary to the rule by which verses ending with the same word must be separated by at least six others. The corrected reading seems to be perfectly warranted.

<sup>2</sup> It is thus I render the word الشعرين; which is the true reading, and found in the autograph alone. This makes another correction necessary in the same verse: حالية a word pointed variously in the MSS. must be replaced by ثالثة. For the next word كحال I am inclined to adopt لحال; in the autograph it may be read either way. At a later period Ibn Khallikān inserted in the margin an additional line at the end of this piece; it is more or less corrupted in the few manuscripts which reproduce it, and now I give it here correctly after the autograph: اغنى واعفى مدحه العالمين عن كذب ومين \* "The act of celebrating his glory enriches and causes to flourish those who avoid lies and falsehood." It may be observed that I read العالين all in this verse.

\* This verse is omitted in Cairo text.—Ed.

Qāsim Ibn al-Maḡhribī. Respecting this piece, which is of considerable length and great merit, the following curious anecdote is told: There was in the city of 'Asqalān a man of high rank, called Dhu 'l-Manqabatayn (*the possessor of the two merits*), to whom a certain poet went one day and recited this piece in his praise; on coming to that part of it where the eulogium is generally introduced, he added:

'You are the possessor of every merit: why then confine yourself to two?'

The *ra'īs* listened with attention to the verses, and expressed his admiration, after which he gave a considerable reward to the poet; but when the latter withdrew, one of the persons present observed to him, that the poem he had just heard was by 'Abd al-Muḥsin. "I am aware of that," replied the *ra'īs*, "and I know it by heart." He then recited it, on which the other said to him: "What induced you then to treat that fellow with so much attention and reward him so generously?" To this the *ra'īs* answered: "I did solely on account of that verse which he inserted in the poem, namely: *You are the possessor of every merit, etc.*; It is not 'Abd al-Muḥsin's, and I am perfectly convinced that it could have been made on me only, and it is really very fine."—We shall now give another passage of 'Abd al-Muḥsin's poetry but must observe that al-Tha'alibī, in his continuation of the *Yatimah*, attributes it to Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn Abī Ḥuṣayn 'Alī 'Abd al-Malik, a native of Raqqah<sup>1</sup>, and whose father had been *qādī* of Aleppo; but as these very verses are to be found in 'Abd al-Muḥsin's *diwān* and as al-Tha'alibī sometimes falls into mistakes, attributing pieces to the wrong author, this may perhaps be one of his blunders†; the lines are as follows 2:

"I stopped at (*an-avaricious*) friend's who suffered as much from my visit as I did from hunger; and I passed the night with him as a guest;

1 The *Yatimah* furnishes very little information respecting 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Raqqī, but it appears from that work, that he lived at Aleppo in the reign of Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān, and that he addressed some *qaṣīdahs* to Abū Farās (*No. 146*), who replied to them in the same manner.

2 In the printed text, the words أج must be suppressed.

• M. de Slane gives al-Hasīm.—Ed.

† "In his *diwān* he related that he composed these lines in praise of his brother 'Abd al-Ṣamad." in the autograph and 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

such was the decree of fate, so often unjust to the man of noble mind. His reason was troubled by the uneasiness my presence caused him, and he had not well recovered, when he addressed me in these terms: 'Why do you travel abroad?' To which I replied: 'The Prophet<sup>P</sup>, whose words always furnish good counsel and lead to prosperity has said. *Travel; you will get rich.*' To this my host replied: "But he ended his saying thus: *fast; you will enjoy good health.*"

The two verses which follow are attributed to him by the author of the *Yatimah* :

"Your generosity has planted a garden of gratitude in my heart: but that garden now suffers from drought; let him who planted it give it water. Hasten to revive it whilst life lingers in its branches; once the shrub is dried up, its verdure cannot be restored."

Happening to pass one day near the tomb of a friend, he recited these lines :

"On passing by thy tomb, I marvelled how my steps had been so well directed towards it. It may seem to thee that I have at length forgotten our mutual acquaintance; ah! how true the words; those who say: 'The dead have no friends.'"

When his mother died he was deeply afflicted, and, on her burial he pronounced these verses;

"(The object of my affection is now deposited as) a pledge underneath the stones in the sandy desert. She is gone and the ties which held me to her have been broken. I used to weep when she complained of her sufferings; but now I weep because she complains no longer."

This idea is taken from al-Mutanabbi, who says:

"I complain because I no longer feel the pains of sickness; I suffered from them once, but then I had my limbs."

<sup>1</sup> The same thought is thus expressed in a verse of a long *qaṣīdah*

---

1 I suspect the authenticity of the passage which follows: it is written in the margin of the autograph, but in the handwriting of a person who, if we may judge from the general character of his additions, does not seem to be very exact in his quotations.

composed by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad, a native of Aleppo, and generally known by the name of Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī<sup>1</sup>:

"Others weep over the ruins of the dwelling where their friends once resided! O that I had such a motive to shed tears!"

The merits of 'Abd al-Muḥsin are great and numerous; but I am obliged to be concise. He died on Sunday, the 9th of Shawwāl, A.H. 419 (October, A.C. 1028)\*; aged eighty years, or perhaps somewhat more.

### 382. AL-ḤĀFIZ AL-'UBAYDĪ.

Abu 'l-Maymūn 'Abd al-Majīd†, surnamed al-Ḥāfiz (*the guaraiian*), was the son of Muḥammad Ibn al-Mustansir Ibn al-Zāhir Ibn al-Ḥākim Ibn al-'Aziz Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh: we have already spoken of al-Mahdī and some of his descendants. Al-Ḥāfiz received the oath of fidelity from the people of Cairo as regent and immediate successor to the throne, on the same day in which his cousin al-'Āmir was murdered, and he engaged to act in that capacity till the delivery of the female of whom al-'Āmir had left in state of pregnancy. Of this last circumstance we shall again speak towards the end of this article. On the same morning, the wazīr Abū 'Alī Aḥmad, the son of al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, the son of Amīr al-Juyūsh Badr al-Jamālī, §<sup>2</sup> received from the troops the oath of allegiance to himself, and having proceeded to the palace,

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī, a poet and an elegant scholar, made his literal studies under Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri and other masters, and obtained also a considerable reputation as a Traditionist. He died at the castle of Bā'arān باعران, in the province of Aleppo, A.H. 466 (A.C. 1073-4)—(*Al-Nuḡūm al-Zāhirah*).

<sup>2</sup> See No. 272.

\* According to Edward Mahler's calculation Sunday fell on 5 Shawwāl corresponding to 27 October.—*Ed.*

† Al-Ḥamid according to de Slane.—*Ed.*

‡ Abu al-Qāsim in the autograph.—*Ed.*

§ [His father's notice is given in letter shin. And when 'Āmir had put Afḍal to death he had put all his children under arrest including the said Abū 'Alī but after 'Āmir's assassination the army released him and took oath of allegiance at his hand is omitted by de Slane].—*Ed.*



he put al-Ḥāfiẓ into confinement, took all the authority into his own hands and governed most equitably. He restored to the former possessors the sums which had been extorted from them, and having made open profession of his faith as a follower of the twelve imāms he rejected the pretensions maintained by al-Ḥāfiẓ and the 'Ubaydite family, and caused public prayers to be offered up from the pulpits for the *Qā'im*, *him who is to rise up at the end of time*, and whom, in their mistaken belief, they designate as the *expected imām* (*al-Imām al-Muntaẓir*)<sup>1</sup>. By his orders, al-Qā'im's name was inscribed on the coinage, and the words *hasten to the excellent work* were omitted in the *adhān* or call to prayer. Things continued in this state, till an officer of the court attacked and slew him in the Great Garden (*al-Bustān al-Kabir*), outside of Cairo. This event happened on the 15 of Muḥarram, A.H. 526 (December, A.C. 1131)\*, and was the result of a plot devised by al-Ḥāfiẓ. The troops immediately hastened to deliver the prince, and having proclaimed him sovereign under the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ, public prayers were offered up for him from all the pulpits of the kingdom. Al-Ḥāfiẓ was born at 'Asqalān, in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 467 (September, A.C. 1074), and was proclaimed regent on that day in which al-'Īmir was murdered. (See his life in this work). On the death of Al-Ḥamad Ibn Al-Afdāl he received the oath of allegiance as sovereign, and he died towards the close of Sunday eve, the 5 of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 544 (October, A.C. 1149)†; some say, 543. According to another statement, his birth took place on the 13 Ramaḍān. A.H. 468‡. §[The reason of his being born at 'Asqalān was this: During the severe dearth which afflicted Egypt under the reign of his grandfather al-Mustansir, (and of which we shall mention some particulars in the life of that prince), his father left the country and retired to 'Asqalān,

<sup>1</sup> This was equivalent to a declaration that the Fāṭimides were not the true imāms, and had no right to the throne. He intended to establish his own sovereignty as protector of the empire till the coming of the *Expected Imām*. See further details in the *Extraits du Kamel Altwarykh*, published by the *Academie des Inscriptions*, page 393.

\* 7 December.—*Ed.*

† 9 October.—*Ed.*

‡ 20 April 1076.—*Ed.*

§ [ ] From 'The' (p. 218) to 'work' (p. 219) not in autograph.—*Ed.*

where he awaited the cessation of the famine and the return to abundance; and it was whilst he resided there that al-Ḥāfiẓ was born. This we give on the authority of our master 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭṭār, who states it as a fact in his great historical work.] Al-Ḥāfiẓ and al-'Āḍid were the only two sovereigns of that dynasty whose fathers had not reigned before them. (Of al-'Āḍid we have already spoken, No. 329). As for al-Ḥāfiẓ, his accession to the supreme power resulted from the circumstances which we shall here relate: al-'Āmir died without male children, but left a wife in a state of pregnancy; this caused great agitation among the people of Egypt, and they said "No imam of this family dies without leaving a male child, to whom he transmits the imamate by a special declaration; (*what is to be done now*)." But a declaration to that effect had already been made by him in favour of the child still in the womb, which however happened to be a girl. Then occurred the events of which we have already noticed where we related what passed between al-Ḥāfiẓ and Aḥmad Ibn al-Afḍal. Al-Ḥāfiẓ was therefore declared regent, but, for the reason just stated, the absolute authority attached to the imamate was withheld from him, as they had resolved on waiting till the child was born. Al-Ḥāfiẓ was subject to violent attacks of cholic, and it was for him that Shīrmāh the Daylamite, or Mūsā al-Naṣṣārānī (*Moses the Christian*) as some say, made the instrument called *the drum of the cholic*, which was preserved in the treasury of this dynasty till the accession of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who ordered it to be broken. The history of this drum is well known. I was informed by the grandson of the Shīrmāh above mentioned, that his grandfather had formed it out of the seven metals, which he combined (*successively*) together at the moments in which each of the seven planets reached its point of culmination. The nature of this drum was such that when any person beat it, wind escaped from his body through the natural vent; it was this which rendered it so serviceable in cases of cholic<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> It is related by a grave historian, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī cited by Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn in his *Nujūm*, that one of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's *Kurdiṣh* soldiers, not being aware of the effects which this drum produced, began to beat it, but immediately experienced its influence to such a degree, that he broke it to pieces in a fit of indignation.

## 383. 'ABD AL-MŪMIN ĀL-KŪMĪ.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mūmin Ibn 'Alī al-Qaysī<sup>1</sup> al-Kūmī was the sovereign indebted for his authority to the exertions of Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart, better known by the name of the Maḥdī. 'Abd al-Mūmin's father, a man of consummate prudence and gravity, held an eminent rank in the tribe of Kūmiyah, and sold earthen vessels of his own manufacture. It is related that as he was one day engaged at his usual work, with his child 'Abd al-Mūmin sleeping near him, he heard a humming in the air, and on looking up, saw a swarm of bees like a dark cloud which descended towards the house and settled on 'Abd al-Mūmin, so as to cover him entirely, but without awakening him. His mother screamed with terror at the sight, but the father told her that the child was in no danger. "I only wonder," said he, "what this may portend." He then washed the clay off his hands, and having dressed himself, he waited to see what the bees would do. They at length flew away, and the child awoke unharmed; not the least trace of hurt appeared on his body, although his mother examined him carefully, neither did he utter the slightest complaint. There was a man in the neighbourhood noted as a diviner, and to him the father went and related what had occurred. "This boy," said the diviner, "will soon come to something great; the people of Maḡrib will be all united in obedience unto him." The subsequent history of 'Abd al-Mūmin is well known<sup>2</sup>. I read in a history of Maḡrib that Ibn Tūmart had got into his possession the book called *al-Jafr*<sup>3</sup>, and that it contained an indication of all that he was to accomplish, of the history of 'Abd al-Mūmin, of his personal

---

1 'Abd al-Mūmin bore the surname of al-Qaysī (*descendant from Qays Ibn Ḡhaylān*, or Qays 'Aylān, Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān), because the Berber tribe to which he belonged claimed its descent from the great Arabic stem of 'Adnān.

2 See Abu 'l-Feda, t. III, p. 399, and the Portuguese translation of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm's *Qartas*, published at Lisbon in 1828 under the title of *Historia dos Soberanos Mohametanos aue reinara na Mauritania*. My edition of Ibn Kḥalūn's history of the Berbers will contain full information respecting the origin, organisation, and history of the Muwaḥḥid dynasties. See also the *Extraits du Kamel Altevaykh*, published by the *Academie des Inscriptions*, p. 334.

3 Of this book Ibn Kḥallikān will speak farther on.

appearance, and of his very name. A considerable time' says this author, was passed by Ibn Tumart till he at length found 'Abd al-Mumin, who was still a boy ; and thenceforward he treated him with marked honour and placed him at the head of his disciples. He then communicated to him the secret (of his destiny) and proceeded with him to the city of Morocco, which was at that time under the rule of Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Yusuf Ibn Tāshifin, the king of the *al-Mulaththamūn*<sup>1</sup> ; it would be too long to relate what passed between that prince and him ; we shall merely state that the former expelled him from the city, on which he proceeded to the mountains, where he levied troops and gained over to his cause the tribe of Masmudah. We shall only state in a summary manner, that the Mahdi did not make any conquest, but that it was by means of the troops which he had raised, and of the system which he had organised that his successor 'Abd al-Mūmin effected the conquest of that country.—Ibn Tumart was always predicting the noble qualities which his disciple was to display, and, every time he saw him, he recited these verses.

"You possess in perfection all the qualities with which thou hast been favoured; and hence proceed joy and happiness for us all. Thine is the smiling mouth, the liberal hand, the noble soul, and the open countenance."

I have found these verses attributed to Abu 'l-Shis al-Khuza'i, the celebrated poet<sup>2</sup>.—The Mahdi Ibn Tūmart used also to say to his disciples. "Your comrade will be the conqueror of kingdoms." It is not true that the preference which their master showed him was a sufficient intimation of his intention, and they acknowledged him for their chief. It was thus that the authority of 'Abd al-Mūmin was established. The first city which he took was \*Oran, then Tilmsen, the Fez, then Sale, and then Ceuta; after these conquests he proceeded to Morocco, which he besieged eleven months, and

1 They were called *al-Mulaththamūn*, because they used to wear a *lithām*, or bandage, across the lower part of their face, as is still the custom in the desert from which they originally came. This is the same race which is called the *Almoravites* (*al-Murābitūn*), or *Almoraves* by European writers.

2 See No. 213.

\* Wahrān, Tilimsūn.

carried towards the beginning of A.H. 542<sup>1</sup>. Having thus grounded his power, he extended his domination over al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, al-Maghrib al-Adnā, the other provinces of North Africa, and the greater portion of Spain. He then received the title of Amīr al-Mu'minin, and the poets celebrated his glory in eulogistic poems of the greatest beauty. The *katib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions in his *Khariḍah* that Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās, a jurisconsult of Tifaṣh<sup>2</sup> addressed him in a *qasidah* beginning thus:

"Never was a braver deportment seen among the hostile swords and spears than that of the khalif 'Abd al-Mu'min, the son of 'Alī."

On hearing this verse, the prince motioned to him that what he had said was quite sufficient, and he ordered him a reward of one thousand gold pieces. When 'Abd al-Mu'min had established his authority on a solid basis, and had attained an advanced age, he left Morocco and entered Sale, where a violent attack of sickness carried him off. He expired on one of the last ten days (*the* 27) of the month of the latter Jumāda, A.H. 558 (June, A.C. 1163)<sup>3</sup>, after a reign of thirty-three years and some months. It is said that his body was taken to Tinmalil<sup>4</sup>; the place mentioned in the life of the Mahdī Muḥammad Ibn Tumart, and there interred. Towards the latter period of his life, he was an aged man with hair completely white. I copy the following passage from an historical work containing an account of his life with a description of his person; it is the author who speaks: "I saw an aged man of upright stature, with a large head, dark blue eyes, a bushy beard, callous hands, tall even when seated, with teeth of the purest white, and a mole on his right cheek." The year of his birth is uncertain; some say A.H. 500 (A.C. 1106-7), and others, A.H. 490. He nominated as a successor to

1 According to Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, the city of Morocco was taken in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 541 (March, A.C. 1147).

2 The *katib* gives no further information respecting this poet, but the anecdote is mentioned by different historians. Tifaṣh, the ancient Tipasa, lies about forty miles to the south of Bona, in North Africa.

3 Ibn Khallikān writes the name of *Tin Mall*. I follow the African historians. This stronghold was situated to the east of Morocco in the heart of Mount Atlas.

• June. But this addition is made by de Slane.—Ed.

the throne his son Abu 'Abd 'Allah Muḥammad, but the authority of this prince was soon shaken, and himself deposed in the month of Shā'ban, in the first year of his reign<sup>1</sup>. His brother Yūsuf (whose life shall be given in this work) was then proclaimed sovereign.—*Kūmī* means *belonging to Kūmah* a small tribe established on the sea-coast in the province of Tilimsen. 'Abd al-Mūmin was born at Tālirah, a village in that region.—As for the book called the *Jafr*, it is spoken of by Ibn Qutaybah towards the beginning of his work entitled *I'htilāf al-Ḥadīth*, where he concludes a long dissertation with these words: "And something stranger than the foregoing mode of interpreting is that followed by the Rāfiḍites<sup>2</sup> in their interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and their pretended knowledge of its hidden meaning, conveyed to them by the *Jafr*, a work mentioned in these verses by Sa'd Ibn Hārūn al-'Ijlī, the chief of the Zaydites<sup>3</sup>:

'Behold the Rāfiḍites torn by dissensions, yet all holding shocking opinions respecting Ja'far<sup>4</sup>. Some call him an imam, and others the Immaculate Prophet; but what causes my inexpressible astonishment is their volume (*jild*) the *Jafr*!—I renounce before God to all the followers of the *Jafr*.'"<sup>5</sup>

There are many more verses in the same piece, but I confine quotation to these, because they make mention of the *Jafr*, and that is all I require. After giving the whole piece, Ibn Qutaybah continues thus: "This is the *jild* (*volume or skin*) of the *Jafr*, in which they

1 Further particulars respecting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad's reign will be found in the life of his brother Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Mūmin.

2 The word *Rāfiḍī* signifies literally, *heretic*; it is applied to designate the different *Shiite* sects.

3 The Zaydites acknowledged for *Imām* Zayd, the son of 'Alī the son of Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib.

4 Ja'far the son of Muḥammad the son of 'Alī al-Baqir was considered by one of the *Shiite* sects as the true *Imām*.

5 These verses would not lead the reader to suppose that the author himself was a partisan of Ja'far, as Ibn Khaldūn, who calls him Hārūn Ibn Sa'id al-'Ijlī has explicitly stated. See an extract from his *Prolegomena* in M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II, p. 300. I cannot discover any mention of Sa'id Ibn Hārūn in al-Shahristānī, but feel convinced, from the examination of the verses quoted here as his, that Ibn Khaldūn is mistaken. D'Herbelot has some observations on the *Jafr* worthy of notice. See *Bib. Orient, Geogr. U. Giamc.*

pretend that the Imām wrote whatever was requisite for them to know, and every thing which is to happen till the day of judgment; but God knoweth best (*if its contents be true*). I must add that by *the Imām* they mean Ja'far al-Ṣādiq<sup>1</sup>, him of whom we have already spoken. (No. 128) Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī alludes to the *Jafr* in the following lines, taken from one of his poems:

"They wonder at the family of the Prophet<sup>2</sup>, because they got their knowledge from the skin of a kid (*jafr*); yet the mirror of the astrologer, small though it be, shows him all the inhabited regions of the world and the deserts."

The word *jafr* signifies a *four months kid*, at which age its sides swell out (*jafara*) and it quits dam. The feminine of this word has a final *h* (*a*). In that time it was their custom to write on skins, (*blade*) bones, potsherds, and all things of that sort.

### 384. ABU 'L-QĀSIM AL-ANMĀ'Ī.

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Uṭhman Ibn Sa'id Ibn Baḥshār al-Anmā'ī surnamed also al-Aḥwal (*the squinter*), an eminent doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, studied jurisprudence under al-Muzanī (No. 90) and al-Rabī' Ibn Sulaymān al-Murādī (No. 221). Amongst his own disciples, he counted Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj (No. 20). It was through him that the people of Bagḥdād were inspired with such ardour as they then showed to procure and learn by heart the writings of al-Shāfi'ī. He states that he heard al-Muzanī<sup>2</sup> say: "For the last fifty years I have read the treatise (*on jurisprudence*) transmitted down from al-Shāfi'ī, and I do not recollect having read it a single time without deriving from it a great quantity of information which I did not possess before." Al-Anmā'ī died at Bagḥdād in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 288 (Sept.-Oct., A.C. 901).—Abu Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn 'Alī al-Muṭawwa'ī<sup>3</sup>

1 Read الصادق in the printed text. \*

2 Read الوزني in the printed Arabic text.

3 It appears from Ḥājji Khalīfah that al-Muṭawwa'ī lived before the time of Abu 'l-Tayyib Sahl al-Ṣu'lūkī, for he states in his bibliography that the former was the first who composed a *Ṭabaqāt* of Shāfi'ite doctors, and al-Ṣu'lūkī the second. The life of al-Ṣu'lūkī is given No. 270.

mentions an Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Bashshār al-Anmāṭī (a relation of the preceding) in his work entitled *Kitāb al-Mudhhab fi Dhikri A'immati 'l-Madhhab* [the book with the gilt case, containing an account of the great doctors of the (Shāfi'ite) sect.]—*Anmāṭī* means maker and seller of *anmāṭ*, or bed furniture, such as rugs, mats, pillows, etc. It is the people of Egypt who call them by this name and who give to the seller of such wares the appellation of *Anmāṭī*.

### 385. ḌIYĀ-AL-DĪN AL-HADBĀNĪ.

Aba 'Amr 'Uthman Ibn 'Isā Ibn Dirbas Ibn Fīr Ibn Jahm Ibn 'Abdūs al-Hadṭanī<sup>1</sup> al-Marānī, surnamed Ḍiyā al-Dīn (*splendour of religion*), was one of the most learned doctors of the age in Shāfi'ite jurisprudence. He was a brother of the qāḍī Ṣadr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Malik, *hākim*<sup>2</sup> of Egypt, and acted as his deputy at Cairo. When a boy, he studied in Arbela under the shaykh al-Khiḍr Ibn 'Aqīl, (no. 205); after which he went to Damascus, where he put himself under the tuition of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī 'Uṣṣan (no. 313), and acquired a profound knowledge of the general principles of jurisprudence and of Shāfi'ite law. The first satisfactory commentary ever composed on Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's *Muḥadḍḥab* was written by him; it forms nearly twenty volumes, but remains incomplete, as the author only went as far as the chapter on evidence, which, with the remaining chapters, he left uncommented: this work he entitled *al-Istiqṣā li Madhāhib il-Fuqahā* (*diligent examination of the different systems established by the jurisconsults*). He composed also, amongst other

<sup>1</sup> The orthography of this name is fixed by al-Yāfi'i, but its signification is not given there nor in any of the other works consulted by me. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā* says that he was a Kurd.

<sup>2</sup> The office appears to have been the same as that of grand qāḍī (*Qāḍī 'l-Quḷāt*), but with this additional privilege that the person who filled it possessed uncontrolled executive power as *redresser of grievances* (See no. 141, note on *Inspection of Grievances*).



works, a full commentary, in two volumes, on Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's treatise on the general principles of jurisprudence, the *Luma'*. (Some years) previously to the death of the qāḍī Ṣadr al-Dīn, an event which occurred on the eve of Wednesday, the 5th of Rajab, A.H. 605 (January, A.D. 1209)\*, he was removed from the place of deputy ḥākim and appointed to fill the post of professor in a college founded for him in the Castle of Cairo by the amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Khushṭurīn al-Hakkārī. He held this post during the remainder of his life, and expired at Cairo on the 12th of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 602 (June, A.D. 1206).† aged ninety years. He was interred in the lesser Qarāfah Cemetery. The qāḍī Ṣadr al-Dīn was buried in the mausoleum bearing his name and situated in the same cemetery. When this qāḍī was asked the date of his birth, he indicated the end of the year 516 (A.D. 1123), or the beginning of 517, being in doubt respecting the precise epoch<sup>2</sup>.—*Mārānt* means *belonging to the Banū Mārān*, a tribe inhabiting the Murāj (*meadows*) below Mosul<sup>3</sup>.

### 386. TAQĪ AL-DĪN IBN AL-ṢALĀḤ.

Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn Mūsā Ibn Abi 'l-Naṣr al-Naṣrī al-Kurḍī al-Shāhrazūrī (a descendant of Abū Naṣr the Kurd and a native of *Shāhrazūr*) was a jurisconsult of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. He bore the surname of Taqī al-Dīn (*pious in re-*

<sup>1</sup> This name is written in the autograph خشتورین. It is so incorrectly transcribed in all the other MSS., that I was unable to fix its true orthography.

<sup>2</sup> The autograph contains the following marginal note: "The Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn entrusted him with the qāḍiship of (all) Egypt, after he had acted as qāḍī of al-Gharbiyah, one of the provinces in that country. This nomination took place on the 22nd of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 566; some say 565." This passage is to be found in some of the other MSS., but the date which they give is 586, which I knew, from Ibn Hujr's *Qāḍis of Egypt*, to be false. This led me suppress the passage in the Arabic text, but it shall be given in the appendix.

<sup>3</sup> The *Murāj* of Mosul, called also *Marj Abi 'Ubaydah*, lies to the east of the city. It is a low ground, surrounded by hills and covered with meadows and villages.—(*Marāṣid*.)

\* 4th January.—*Ed.*

† 20th June.—*Ed.*

ligion) and was generally known by the name of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Sharakhānī. This doctor was one of the most eminent men of his time by his deep acquaintance with the sciences of Quranic interpretation, Traditions, jurisprudence, *names of men* (or biography of Traditionists), and every branch of knowledge connected with the Traditions and with the oral transmission of philological learning. He possessed also a considerable degree of information in many other departments of science. His *fatwās*, or legal opinions, were considered of great validity, and he was one of the masters from whose tuition I derived great profit. He made his first studies in jurisprudence under his father al-Ṣalāḥ<sup>1</sup>, who was one of the most distinguished *Shaykhs* among the Kurds; he was then taken by his parent to Mosul, where he studied for some time, and I have been told that he had repeatedly gone over the whole of (*Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's*) *Muḥadḍḥab* with his masters, before his moustaches were grown. He was then employed at Mosul as an under-tutor by the learned *shaykh* 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Ibn Yūnus. After a short stay in that city, he travelled to *Khūrāsān*, where he remained for some time, occupied in acquiring a knowledge of the Traditions extant in that country; he then returned to Syria and was appointed professor in the *Nāṣiriyyah* College at Jerusalem, founded by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. During his residence in that city he successfully directed numerous pupils in their studies, and he afterwards removed to Damascus, where he obtained the professorship in the college, called the *Rawāḥiyyah* after its founder al-Zakī Abū 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Rawāḥah al-Ḥamawī (*native of Hamāt*), the same person who founded the *Rawāḥiyyah* College at Aleppo. When the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (or *school for teaching the Traditions*) was erected at Damascus by al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil Ibn Ayyūb, he was nominated to that professorship and taught the Traditions to numbers of pupils; he subsequently became professor in the *Madrasah Sitt al-Shām*, a college within the city walls, founded by Sitt al-Shām Zamarrud<sup>2</sup> *Khātūn*, the daughter of Ayyūb and the uterine sister of *Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shah*.

<sup>1</sup> From this it appears that his father 'Abd al-Raḥmān bore the title of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

<sup>2</sup> Zaman according to de Slane who has not read the name correctly. The autograph, the Cairo Edition and Tehrān Edition give Zamarrud.—Ed.

It lies to the south of (*the hospital founded by Nūr al-Dīn and named after him*) al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī. Sitt al-Shām erected also the college outside Damascus which contains her tomb, the tomb of her brother, and that of her husband Naṣīr al-Dīn, the son of Asad al-Dīn Shāyrah, and sovereign of Emessa<sup>1</sup>. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ held simultaneously those three places and filled with strict punctuality his duties in each, never interrupting the regular course of his lectures unless forced to do so by unavoidable circumstances; he was (*indeed*) firmly grounded in learning and piety. I went to him in the beginning of the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 632 (end of June, A.D. 1235), and resided with him at Damascus for a year, which time I passed in close study. He composed an instructive work on the sciences connected with the Traditions, and another on the rites of the Pilgrimage, in which he treated the subject at length, and inserted many observations useful and requisite to be known. His *Ishkālāt* is an elucidation of the *obscurities* in (*Abū Ḥamid al-Jhazzālī's treatise on jurisprudence*), the *Wasīṭ* and his *fatwās* also have been collected by one of his pupils and form a volume. He continued till the last to lead a righteous life, passed in piety, application to study and assiduity in teaching. His death took place at Damascus on Wednesday morning, the 5th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 643 (September, A.D. 1245)\*; on the afternoon of the same day, the funeral service was said over him, and he was interred in the cemetery of the Sūfis, outside the gate of Naṣr. He was born A.H. 577 (A.D. 1181-2) at Sharakhān.—His father al-Ṣalāḥ died at Aleppo on the eve of Thursday, the 27th of Dhu 'l-Qa 'dah, A.H. 618 (January A.D. 1222)† and was buried at a place called al-Jabul<sup>2</sup>, outside the gate of

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 124, and No. 116.

<sup>2</sup> I have printed this name الجبل but the autograph has الجبل , an unpronounceable word. It is true that the whole of this passage is in the margin of the autograph and not in the author's handwriting; it must have been inserted however with his authorisation. There exists a village called al-Jebbūl الجبول at the distance of eighteen or twenty miles from Aleppo, but it lies to the south-east of the city, whereas the gate of al-Arba'in is on the north side of it.

\* 18 September.—Ed.

† 13 January.—Ed.

Arba'īn<sup>1</sup>, in the tomb of the *shaykh* 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī.<sup>2</sup> His birth is placed by approximation in the year 539 (A.D. 1144), as he did not himself know the exact date. He held the professorship in the *Asadiyah* College, founded at Aleppo by Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh Ibn Shādhī; before his nomination he had studied at Baghdād, and taken lessons from Shīraf al-Dīn Ibn Abi 'Uṣṣūn (no. 313).—*Sharahān* is a village in the province of Arbela, near Shāhrazūr. Al-Zakī Ibn Rawḥah died at Damascus on Tuesday, the 7th of Rajab, A.H. 622 (July, A.D. 1225)\*, and was buried in the cemetery of the Ṣufīs. It is stated by Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abu Shāmah<sup>3</sup>, in his Annals, that Ibn Rawḥah died A.H. 623—Sitt al-Shām, the daughter of Ayyūb, died on Friday, the 16th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 616 (January, A.D. 1220)†

1 In the Arabic text I have printed *al-Arba'īn* on the authority of some of my MSS. and on that of Russel. See *History of Aleppo*, Vol. I. p. 13, note.

2 In the autograph this name is indistinctly written, that may be read *al-Fasl* الفاسى.

3 The *shaykh* Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ibrahim Ibn 'Uṭhmān, surnamed Shihāb al-Dīn (*flambeau of religion*) was a jurisconsult, a grammarian, a teacher of the readings of the *Qur'ān* a historian, and a traditionist. He was generally known by the name of Abū Shāmah because he had a large mole on the left temple. He was born at Damascus in one of the months of Rabi', A.H. 599 (*end of* A.D. 1202); before attaining the age of ten years he had mastered all the *Qur'ān* and at the age of sixteen he had acquired a perfect acquaintance with the art of *Qur'ān*-reading, under al-Sakhāwī (see *his life* no. 431). One of his masters was Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Dhahabī says that he wrote a great deal on different branches of science, and that he possessed great abilities as a doctor, a professor, and a *mufti*. He died at Damascus in the month of Ramadān, A.H. 665 (June, A.D. 1267). His principal works are a commentary on the *Shāṭibiyah* (see *the life of Ibn Fīrah*, no. 512); two abridgements of the history of Damascus the first in fifteen volumes, and the second in five; a commentary on al-Sakhāwī's *qaṣṣidat* in honour of the Prophet; the *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* or *Two Gardens*, containing the history of Nūr al-Dīn and Salāḥ al-Dīn (a copy of which important work is in the *Bib. du. Roi*); a continuation of the preceding a treatise on dogmatic theology; an introduction to grammar; a versified edition of al-Zamakhsharī's *Mufaṣṣal*, etc. He left many other works, but unfinished.—(*Tab. al-Shi'fīn*).

\* 15th July.—*Ed*

† 24th January.—*Ed*

['Abd al-Ḥamid adds the following passage which he says was in one of the MSS before him. It may however be noted that this passage is not to be found in the author's autograph, nor it is included in de Slane's edition.

"And it has been related on the authority of Taqī al-Dīn surnamed Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, may Allāh, be He Exalted show him mercy, that he said : Al-Shaykh al-Ṣāliḥ, 'Alī Ibn al-Ruwās, may Allāh sanctify his soul ; informed me ; he said : I was inspired with these words in sleep : Avoid asking (begging) as far as you can, because there is fresh subsistence for every day. Solicitation of demands diminishes the value. There is nothing good of action in yearning. Sometimes a thing different from this is one of the proper etiquette before Allāh, be He Exalted. Good fortunes have degrees. So do not hurry to get a fruit before it ripens, because you will get it at the proper time. Do not hurry in your needs, otherwise they will be beyond your power ; and despair will (overpower) you. Allāh knoweth best"].

### 387. IBN JINNĪ.

Abu 'l-Faḥḥ 'Uṭṭmān Ibn Jinnī, a native of Mosul, was one of the great masters in the science of grammar. He studied the *belles-lettres* under Abu 'Alī 'l-Fārisī (no. 155), and, on quitting him, he commenced as teacher in Mosul. His former master, happening to pass through the city, saw him surrounded by pupils at their lessons, on which he said to him : " You are rotten before you are ripe." <sup>1</sup> On hearing these words he abandoned his class, and became the assiduous disciple of Abu 'Alī till he acquired a perfect knowledge of the science. His father Jinnī was a Greek slave belonging to Sulaymān Ibn Fahd Ibn Aḥmad al-Azdī, a native of Mosul and to this circumstance he alludes in the following passage from one of his poems:

---

<sup>1</sup> Such appears to be the meaning of the expression. *زبیت وانت حصرم* which signifies literally: You give out must although you are an unripe grape.

"Were I sprung from nothing, my learning would be a title of nobility. But I come of princes powerful and noble, Caesars, whose voice silenced the threats of adversity. For them the Prophet prayed<sup>1</sup>, and the prayer of a prophet is glory sufficient."

He composed some fine poetry. The following lines of his indicate that he had only one eye, which is said to have been really the case; but some attribute them to Abū Maṣṣūr al-Daylamī :

"Thy rigour towards me who have committed no fault denotes an evil intention. I swear by thy life ! that I wept till I felt afraid for my single eye. And yet were it not that I should never see thee again, it would be no advantage for me to preserve my sight."

I saw a *qaṣīdah* of his, in which he laments the death of al-Mutanabbī, and I would give it here were it not so long.—As for Abū Maṣṣūr al-Daylamī, better known as Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Maṣṣūr, he was the son of a soldier in the service of Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān, and was a good but licentious poet. He also had but one eye, and on this defect he composed some fine verses, such as these :

"O you have no witnesses to prove that you were in love ! know that mine are my eyes, with which I wept till one of them was lost. And yet how strange it is, that the eye which I have still remaining, abstains."<sup>2</sup>

He also made the following ingeniously turned verse on a handsome boy who had but one eye :

"He has one eye which strikes all eyes (*with admiration*), and another which was struck by (*evil*) eyes."

Ibn Jinnī composed a number of instructive works on the science of grammar, namely : the *Kitāb al-Khaṭṭ* (*on the principles of grammar* ;) the *Sirr al-Ṣanā'at* (*secret of the art*); the *Munṣif*

---

1 This may be an allusion to the satisfaction expressed by Muḥammad on learning how favourably his letter, in which he invited the emperor Heraclius to embrace Islamism, had been received by that prince. Or perhaps it may refer to the lively interest which Muḥammad took in the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians; an event which the Muslims pretend was foretold in the *Qur'ān* many years before. See *Sūrat* 30.

2 It abstained from the pleasure of seeing the beloved, lest her charms should have deprived it of sight.

(*impartial*), intended to elucidate Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī's (no. 115) treatise on the declensions and conjugations; the *Talqin* (*instruction*); the *Ta'aqub* (*mutual succession*) the *Kāfi* (*sufficient*), being a commentary on al-Aḥfash's (no. 252) ; treatise on rhyme a work on the genders ; a treatise on the nouns ending with a short *alif* and those ending with a long one ; the *Tamām* (*completion*), being a commentary on the poems of the Hudhaylites ; the *Manhaj* (*highway*), treating of the derivation of those proper names which occur in the *Ḥamāsah*; a concise treatise on prosody; another on rhyme ; *al-Masā'il al-Khaṭiriyāt* (*questions incidentally suggested*) *al-Tadhkirah al-Iṣbahānīyah* (*memorial of Ispahān*); extracts from Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisi's *Tadhkirah*, selected and put in order; the *Muqtaḍib* (*rough draught*), treating of the *concave* verbs; the *Luma'* (*flashes*); the *Tanbih* (*warning*); the *Muḥadḍḥab* (*regularly drawn up*); the *Tabṣirah* (*elucidation*); etc. It is said that the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī borrowed from him the titles of his own works, for he also composed a *Muḥadḍḥab* and a *Tanbih*, but on jurisprudence, and a *Luma'* and a *Tabṣirah* on the principles of jurisprudence. Another work of Ibn Jinnī's is the *Faṣr* (*disclosure*),<sup>1</sup> forming a commentary on the *Diwān* of al-Mutanabbī, which work he had read through under the tuition of the author. In this commentary I read the following passage : "A person once asked al-Mutanabbī why, in his verse, *Bādīn hawāka ṣabarta am lam taṣbira* (*suffer as you may, with firmness or with impatience, you cannot conceal your love*), he wrote the word with a final *alif*, notwithstanding the presence of the apocopating particle *lam*, which required *taṣbir*. To this he answered : ' Were Abū 'l-Faṭḥ here'—meaning me—'he would tell you the reason'. —The *alif* replaces here the simple corroborative *nūn*; the original form of the word is *taṣbīran*, but when this *nūn* is followed by a full stop, an *alif* is put in its place; it is thus that al-A'ṣḥa says : *Adore not Satan, adore God; (la ta'budi 'l-Shayṭāna wa Allāha fa'buda)* ناعبدنا; here the original form of the word is *fa'budan* ناعبدون, but the subsequent stop brings in the *alif* ! to replace the *nūn*. Ibn Jinnī was born at Mosul some time before A.H. 330 (A.D. 941); he died at Baghdād on Friday, the 27th of Ṣafar, A.H. 392 (January, A.D. 1002)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The title of this work is written differently in each of the MSS. I discovered it at length in the *Fihrist*, and the autograph gives it with the vowel points

• 16 Janury.—Ed.

## 388. ABŪ 'AMR IBN AL-ḤĀJIB.

Abu 'Amr 'Uthmān Ibn 'Umar Ibn Abī Bakr<sup>1</sup>, surnamed Jamāl al-Dīn (*beauty of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Ḥājib (*the son of the chamberlain*), was a jurisconsult of the sect of Mālik. His father was a Kurd and served the amīr 'Izz al-Dīn Mūsak al-Ṣalāhī in the capacity of a chamberlain. His son Abu 'Amr was yet a boy when he studied the *Qur'ān* at Cairo; he then applied himself successively to Malikite jurisprudence, Arabic grammar, and the *readings* of the *Qur'ān*, sciences in all the branches of which he acquired a consummate knowledge and attained distinction. He then proceeded to Damascus, where he opened a class in that corner of the Great Mosque which is appropriated to the Malikites. Multitudes attended his lessons, and nothing could abate his zeal as a professor. He was deeply versed in a great number of sciences, but grammar became his favourite study. His (*principal*) works are an abridgment of the Malikite doctrines, a short introduction to grammar, entitled the *Kāfiyah* (*sufficient*), and a treatise of a similar kind on the grammatical inflexions, entitled *al-Shāfiyah* (*satisfactory*); to illustrate each of these works, he composed a commentary.

['Abd al-Ḥamīd adds with a note: the same is omitted from MS. 1. He says: Which غَد (tomorrow) is with يَد (hand) of د (play) of letters in which I have followed in rhyming letters which are 'ayns.\*

And the Ink-pot, salmon and whale are nūns which I have not followed and the matter is clear.

These were parallels to two famous verses which run thus:

Some times people treated rhymes

There are bending and softness in rhymes,

I have followed them in their 'ayn, 'ayn, 'ayn,

Nūn, nūn, nūn have not followed them.

1 The following passage is written in the margin of the autograph: ابن يونس الدوني ثم المصري "Ibn Yūnus al-Duwani al-Miṣrī (*native of Egypt*)."  
*Al-Duwani* probably signifies *belonging to Duwin* دوين or *Tovin*, a town in Armenia.—It may however mean *belonging to Dunaq* دونق, a village near Nahāwand, or to *Dūn*, a village near Dinawār.

\* I have made the medial letter of the word as rhyming letter.—Ed.

† Not in the Autograph.



By three '*ayns* he means words *ghad*, *yad* and *dad*, because the measure of each of them is *fa'*, since *غد* was or ginally *غدو* , *يد* was *يدى* and *دد* was *ددن* . By three *nūns* he means, according to his statement, ink-pot, salmon and whale.

He composed three verses containing the names of the arrows of gambling.

They are (1) *fadhḥ* (unique), (2) *taw'am* (twins), (3) *raqib* (watcher). Then (4) *ḥils* (saddle-cloth), (5) *nāfis* (breathing), then (6) *musbil* (flowing),

And (7) *al-Mu'allā* (elevated) and (8) *al-waghgh* (stupid), then (9) *safḥ* (ewd).

And (10) *manī'* (impregnable) and the last three are left over. And the shares increase,

Like it if you count one by one.]<sup>1</sup>

He wrote also on the principles of jurisprudence, and all his productions, are highly elegant and instructive. He contradicted the grammarians on some particular points and quoted, to confute them and bring their rules into doubt, examples (from ancient authors) extremely difficult to solve : he was (indeed) gifted with great penetration. Having left Damascus, he returned to Cairo, where he settled, and had crowds of pupils who assiduously attended his lessons. (When I was a *qāḍi* there) he came before me repeatedly to give evidence, and I then questioned him on obscure points of grammar, to which he made most satisfactory replies, with great sedateness of manner and complete self-possession. One

---

1 "In the days of Jānīliyah the Arabs were fond of gambings or casting lots by arrows. A group of ten Arabs used to buy a young camel which was cut into ten portions and the *yāsr* presiding distributed the portions among his companions by means of arrows on which he had written their names and which he drew at random out of a bag. In another system 28 portions were made of the animal ; there was one part for the first arrow, 2 for the second and 3 for the third and so on upto 7 ; the three last got nothing". (Vide *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islām under malsr*).

[In the above verses the name of the ten arrows are given in order.—Ed.]

of the questions which I proposed to him was relative to the incidental conditional phrase employed in another phrase of the same kind, as it occurs in this expression : *in akalti in sharibti faanti ṭāliqun* (wife! if you eat, if you drink), you are divorced by the fact<sup>1</sup> and I asked him how it could be shown that, in this phrase, the priority of the act of drinking to that of eating is implicitly declared; and that such is the case, is proved by the fact that the divorce then takes place (*by law*), whereas had she eaten first and drunk afterwards, she would not have been divorced. I consulted him also on this verse of al-Mutanabbī's :

"I endeavoured to support my woes till I could endure them no longer (*lāta muṣṭabari*), and I faced every danger till no more remained for me to face (*lāta muḡṭaḥami*)."

Respecting this verse, I asked him what was the reason that *muṣṭabar* and *muḡṭaḥam* were here in the genitive, although *lata* is not one of those parts of speech which have the power of governing a noun in that case? On both these questions he spoke at some length and gave an excellent solution to each; and were his answers not so long, I would give them here<sup>2</sup>. Ibn al-Ḥajib afterwards removed to Alexandria with the intention of taking up his residence there, but he had not been long in that city, when he died. This event took place after sun-rise on Thursday, the 26th of Shawwāl, A.H. 646 (February, A.D. 1249)<sup>3</sup>, and he was buried outside the gate which opens towards the sea (*Bab al-Baḥr*). His birth took place towards the end of the year 570 (A.D. 1175) at *Asnā*, a small village in the dependencies of *al-Qūsiyah*, which place is situated in Upper Ṣa'id, a province of Egypt.

---

<sup>1</sup> This phrase signifies: *Wife! if you eat when drinking, you are divorced.* The solution of numerous questions similar to this is given in the *Fatwa 'Ālamgir*, Vol. I, p. 579, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The commentators on al-Mutanabbī say that in the expression *lata muṣṭabari* the noun *حين* is understood, it is therefore equivalent to *لأت حين مصطبر*.

<sup>3</sup> 10 February. Ed.

### 389. AL-MALIK AL-'AZ Z THE SON OF ŞALĀḤ AL-D N.

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Uṭḥmān, surnamed al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Imād al-Dīn (*the mighty prince, column of the faith*), acted as viceroy of Egypt during the absence of his father, the Sultān Şalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, in Syria. On the demise of his father at Damascus, he took possession of the supreme power with the unanimous consent of the great military officers of the empire. This is an event so well known that any relation of it is unnecessary<sup>1</sup>. His conduct as a sovereign was marked by such piety, virtue, magnanimity, and beneficence, as entitled him to the reputation of sanctity. He learned Traditions at Alexandria from the ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī (*no.* 43) and the jurisconsult Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Awf al-Zuhri<sup>2</sup>; at Cairo he received lessons from the learned grammarian Abū Muḥammad Ibn Barī (*no.* 32<sup>1</sup>), and other eminent masters. It is said that his father preferred him to all his other children. Al-Malik al-'Azīz was in Syria when his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Naṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad came into the world; and the letter of congratulation which al-Qaḍī al-Faḍīl (*no.* 349) wrote to him from Cairo, announcing the happy event, was worded in these terms: "The humble servant of our master al-Malik al-Nāṣir kissed the ground before him, and prays God to preserve his well directed and exemplary life! may He increase his

<sup>1</sup> See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*; tom. IV, p. 133 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismā'īl Ibn Makki Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn 'Isā Ibn 'Awf al-Zuhri al-Quraṣhī al-Iskandarānī (*a member of the tribe of Zuhrah, which is a branch of that of Quraysh and native of Alexandria*), surnamed also Ṣadr al-Islām (*centre of Islamism*), was a doctor of the sect of Mālik and a *mufti* of the highest consideration. He studied jurisprudence under Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭuṣhī, and he learned Traditions from him, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī, and others. The ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī took notes at his lectures and gave Traditions on his authority. He was esteemed one of the most learned doctors of his sect, and the Sultān Şalāḥ al-Dīn studied Mālik's treatise on jurisprudence, the *Muwaffī*, under him. He composed a number of works and educated many disciples. This doctor was highly respected for his piety and mortified life. He was born A.H. 485 (A.D. 1092), and he died in the month of Şhā'bān, A.H. 581 (November, A.D. 1185).—(Al-Suyūṭī's *Ḥuṣn al-Muhaḍḍarah*; MS. 652, fol. 118. Al-Y. fi's *Annals*; MS. 6' ).

happiness of others! may the number of his friends, servants, and followers be multiplied so that his authority have the rein an arm of might! may God so augment the abundance of his offspring that it may be said : *There is the Adam of kings, and these are his sons!* His servant now informs him that the Almighty, to Whom all dominion belongeth, hath favoured him, al-Malik al-'Azīz, (may his arms be triumphant!) with a signal blessing, a young prince, pure and holy, sprung from a generous stock the branches of which are engrafted one on the other. and produced by a noble family of which the princes are nearly equal to the angels of heaven, and of which the slaves are sovereigns on this earth." Al-Malik al-'Azīz was born at Cairo on the 8th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 567 (January, A.D. 1172)\*. (*His death was the result of an accident;*) having gone to (*the province of*) al-Fayyūm, he rode out to hunt, and as he was galloping full speed after a beast of chase, his horse fell with him, and the injury which he sustained brought on a fever : he was borne in that state to Cairo, and he died there on the seventh hour of the night preceding Wednesday, the 21st of Muḥarram, A.H. 595 (November, A. D. (1198).†

[ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd adds the following passage and says in footnote : omitted from MS No. 1.

I reproduce a portion from the writing of al-Qāḍi al-Faḍīl relating to al-Malik al-'Azīz Ibn Ṣalāh al-Dīn, may Allāh show him mercy ; which runs thus : When it was Saturday, 19th Muḥarram, A. H. 595, (21st November, A. C. 1198), the disease of al-Malik al-'Azīz took a serious turn and his life was feared. In the night belching commenced and the pulse began to weaken, and the physician became despaired (of his life) in the morning. When it was the afternoon ; a good news was spread that he had recovered and regained his consciousness. He talked to them who were around him. The Amīrs and the chieftains came to him. Then he (al-Qāḍi) said after that : When the darkness of Sunday night spread, his strength began to fail and belching became severe, the matter worsened, fever became intense, the pulse weakened, unconsciousness became frequent and his death took place in the seventh

\* 6 January.—Ed.

† 25 November. But Cairo edition gives Sunday, 20 Muḥarram/21 November. The former is given in the autograph and the Tehran edition.

hour of Sunday night. When it was the end of the night, Fakhr al-Dīn Jihār Kas, (Chahār Kas) Asad al-Dīn Sarāsiṅqar and a party of Mamlūks (slaves) emerged and invited the *amīrs* who came and learnt of his death. The persons mentioned above said : We were unanimous in our opinion that the eldest son of al-'Azīz whose age was near about ten years and whose name was Muḥammad and whose appellation was Nāṣir al-Dīn should be placed in authority and control of affairs, and that Bahā al-Dīn Qaṣṣūṣh should be his *atābak*. They said : The Sulṭān had appointed this child his *nā'ib* (vicegerent) and made Qarāq sh his tutor. We want to gather the *amīrs* and send the servants conveying to them letter from the Sulṭān as if he was alive. The contents of the letter should be : This my son will be Sulṭān after me, so take oath of allegiance to him and take care to fulfil it for my sake. Thereupon I said to them: If on hearing this message from the Sulṭān, the *amīrs* demand the Sulṭān, what will you say to them ? So they changed about addressing the *amīrs* when they would come that the Sulṭān had left a will, and that he had taken the decision. The people were entering to fulfil the promise made to the grandfather and father of this child. Then I said to them : Do not wait for the gathering of all the *amīrs*, because if all of them assemble, do not be certain that they all would not disagree. On the other hand say to the *amīrs* who are present : We are unanimous so be with us and we have taken the oath of allegiance so take oath as we have taken. They brought the *Qur'ān* and were quick to instruct them. The affair went on this plan. When the ceremony of oath taking was over or a larger part of it had been over, they brought the child. When the people saw him, they wept, shrieked and stood before him. All this had taken place before Sunday morning dawned. Then the prescribed morning prayer was offered. Then they commenced the preparation of carrying (the body of) al-Malik al-'Aziz to his grave. His body was washed at the place of his death. The people gathered to say obsequies over him between *al-zuhr* and *al-'aṣr*. There was a very large crowd gathered and a warner stood up. They were not free from his burial till the time of sunset. His son was given the title of al-Malik al-Nāṣir after his grandfather's and bears it to this day.]

This event was announced to his uncle al-Malik al-

'Ādil in a letter of consolation addressed to him by al-Qāḍī 'I-Faḍīl, and a passage of which we shall transcribe here : "And we now say, in bidding farewell to the blessing of al-Malik al-'Aziz's existence: *There is no power and no might but in God!* the words of those who endure with resignation ;—and we say moreover, inasmuch as a blessing still subsisteth among us by the existence of al-Malik al-'Ādil: *Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures!* the words of those who utter thanksgiving.—From this unfortunate event has resulted that every heart is broken, and that the extreme of affliction is drawn (*down upon us*); an occurrence such as this is for every individual (and especially for those who resemble your humble servant), one of death's most effective admonitions,—and how much the more effective when exemplified in the fate of a youthful king! May the mercy and blessing of God be shed over his countenance; and may the Divine favour make easy for him the path to paradise!

And when the beauty of other countenances is effaced (*by death*), may the earth abstain from obliterating the beauty of his.

Thy humble servant, whilst he thus traces these lines in respectful duty, is undergoing the combined sufferings of mind and body; having pains in the limbs, and sadness parching the heart! he is the more afflicted by the loss of such a master, as it was not long since that he saw the father of that master among the living; each day his grief has been renewed, and the first wound was scarcely healed when it was opened by a second! May God not deprive the Muslims of the consolation which they find in the existence of their sultān al-Malik al-'Ādil! inasmuch as he hath not refused to them a befitting model of patience in the conduct of their blessed Prophet."—Al-Malik al-'Aziz was buried in the lesser Qarāfah, in the sepulchral chapel erected over the grave of the Imam al-Shāfi'ī. His tomb is a conspicuous object in that cemetery.

### 390. THE SHAYKH 'ADĪ IBN MUSĀFIR AL-HAKKĀRĪ.

The shaykh 'Adī Ibn Musāfir al-Hakkārī was an ascetic, celebrated for the holiness of his life, and the founder of a religious order

called after him *al-'Adawiyah*. His reputation spread to distant countries and the number of his followers increased to an immense multitude. Their belief in his sanctity was so excessive that, in saying their prayers they took him for their *qiblah*<sup>1</sup> and imagined that, for the next life, they would have in him their most precious treasure and their best support. Before this, he had followed as a disciple [like 'Aqil al-Manahi, Hammād al-Dabbās, Abu 'l-Najīb 'Abd al-Qādir al-Shahrzū I, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilī and Abu 'l-Wafā al-Ḥalwānī].<sup>2</sup> a great number of eminent *shaykhs* and men remarkable for their holiness ; he then retired from the world and fixed his residence in the mountain of the Hakkār tribe, near Mosul, where he built a cell (*or monastery*) and gained the favour of the people in that country to a degree unexampled in the history of the anchorites. It is said that the place of his birth was a village called Bayt Fār, situated in the province of Ba'labakk, and that the house in which he was born is still visited (*as a place of sanctity*). He died A.H. 557 (A.D. 1162), or as some say, A.H. 555 in the town where he resided, (in the Hakkārī country), and was interred in the monastery which he had erected. His tomb is much frequented, being considered by his followers as one of the most sacred spots to which a pilgrimage can be made. His descendants continue to wear the same distinctive attire as he did and to walk in his footsteps ; the confidence placed in their merits is equal to that formerly shown to their ancestor, and like him they are treated with profound respect. Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī<sup>1</sup> notices the *shaykh* 'Adī in his history of Arbela, and places him in the list of those persons who visited that city. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the sovereign of Arbela, said that, when a boy, he saw the *shaykh* 'Adī at Mosul : according to him, he was a man of middle size and tawny complexion ; he related also many circumstances indicative of his great sanctity. The *shaykh* died at the age of ninety years.

### 391. 'URWAH IBN AL-ZUBAYR.

Abu 'Abd Allāh 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr, surnamed al-Quraṣhī al-Asadī (*a descendant of Asad and a member of the tribe of Quraysh*).

<sup>1</sup> See no. 16, note on *qiblah*.

<sup>2</sup> Not in the autograph, but added, by 'Abd al-Ḥamid.

was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Madinah, (we have already noticed five of them in this work under the proper heads). His father al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwam was one of the ten Companions to whom Muḥammad<sup>o</sup> declared that they should enter paradise. Al-Zubayr was the son of al-'Awwam Ibn Khuwaylid Ibn Asad Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā Ibn Quṣayyi Ibn Kilāb (the rest of the genealogy is well known)<sup>1</sup>, and of Ṣafiyah, the paternal aunt of the Prophet. The mother of 'Urwah was Asmā the daughter of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq ; the same who was surnamed *Dhāt al-Niṭāqayn* (the wearer of the two girdles)<sup>2</sup>, [and designated as one of the old women of paradise.]\* 'Urwah was the uterine brother of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr ; the third brother, Muṣ'ab, being born of another woman. He has handed down a particular manner of reading certain words (*ḥurūf*) of the *Qur'ān*, and he received Traditions from his maternal aunt, 'Āyishah, the Mother of the faithful, Ibn Shīḥāb al-Zuhrī and others<sup>4</sup> [have given Traditions on his authority]\*. 'Urwah was a man of learning and holy life ; when in Syria with al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, a mortification settled in his foot and he was obliged to have it amputated. The operation was performed in the room where al-Walīd was sitting, but as his attention was engaged by persons who were conversing with him, and as 'Urwah made not the slightest movement, he was not aware what was doing till he perceived the smell caused by the hot iron which had been applied to the wound.<sup>5</sup> This fact is mentioned by Ibn Qutaybah in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*. That same night, 'Urwah did not omit reciting his usual task of pray-

<sup>1</sup> Kilāb was the son of Murrah Ibn Ka'b Ibn Luwayyi Ibn Gh lib Ibn Fīhr Quraysh.

<sup>2</sup> Asmā was called *Dhāt al-Niṭāqayan* from her having torn her girdle in two that she might tie up with the pieces, the bag of provision and the water-skin which Muḥammad and Abū Bakr were taking with them when they migrated from Makkah to Madinah. Her death occurred A.H. 73 (A.D. 692-3).—(Al-Yāfi'i, Matthew's *Mishkāt*, Vol. II, p. 745., MS. 855, fol. 13).

<sup>3</sup> I have not been able to discover the origin of this appellation [but this is in the autograph nor in 'Abd al-Hamid.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Read in the printed text: ابن شهاب الزهري وغيره. The other reading, although borne out by manuscripts of good repute, is evidently incorrect [It is not in the autograph.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> In eastern countries the stump of the amputated limb is scared with a hot iron or plunged into boiling pitch, in order to stop the hemorrhage.

\* شقيق means the brother born of the same father and mother.—Ed.



ers. It is related that when he was making this visit (to Syria), his son Muḥammad died, and that, on return to Madīnah, he merely said: "We have had sufferings in this journey." He survived the amputation of his foot eight years.<sup>1</sup>

\*[Ishaq Ibn Ayyub, 'Āmir Ibn Ḥafṣ and Salamah Ibn Muḥār'b said: 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr came to al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and with him was his son Muḥammad Ibn 'Urwah. Muḥammad entered the enclosure of animals. An animal struck him and he fell dead. A mortification settled in the foot of 'Urwah but he did not omit reciting his usual task of prayers that night. Al-Walīd said to him: Get it amputated otherwise the whole body will become septic. Thereupon he got it amputated with a saw; he was a very old man at that time, there was none to hold him. He said: We have had calamities in this journey. In that very year a party of the Banu 'Ābs came there. Among them there was a blind person. Al-Walīd asked him about his eyes. He said: O Amīr al-Mūminīn! I passed one night in the middle of a valley. I do not know any member of the tribe of 'Ābs possessing more wealth than me. A flood overtook us and carried away my wife, children and wealth except a camel and a new born child. The camel was unruly and got scared. I left the child and followed the camel. I had not gone far when I heard the cries of my son with his head in the mouth of a wolf who was eating it. I went close to the camel to detain him, but he struck me with his leg on my face. The blow deprived me of my eyes. Thus I was left without any wealth, wife, children and eyesight. Al-Walīd said: Take him to 'Urwah so that he may know that there are persons more afflicted than him.

The best condolence was offered to him ('Urwah) by Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭalḥah who said: By Allāh! you are not in need of walking, nor of running. One of your limbs and one of your sons have preceded to paradise, and the whole (body) will

<sup>1</sup> Here a note in the autograph refers the copyists to a *taḥrījah*, (extract or fly-leaf), containing probably some additional information. This fly-leaf must have been lost at an early period, since its contents have not been inserted in any of the subsequent manuscripts.

\* [The paragraph missing in de Slane's manuscripts is given by 'Abd al-Hamid on the authority of 'Abu al-'Abbās al-Mubarrad mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Maṣālik*. The English translation of the paragraph is given in [ ].—Ed.]

follow to the parts, if Allāh, be He Great, will. May Allāh preserve for us that of your knowledge and wisdom of which we are in need and which is indispensable (for us). May Allāh benefit you and us with it. Allāh is the Supporter of your reward and Guarantor of your reckoning.

Sa'īd Ibn Asad narrated ; he said : Damrah related to us on the authority of Ibn Shawdhāb ; he said : When it was the time of ripening dates, 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr used to make an opening in the wall so the people could enter (the orchard), eat dates and carry them. When he entered it he repeatedly recited this verse :

"If only, when thou enterest the garden, thou hadst said : That which Allāh willeth (will come to pass). There is no strength save in Allāh"<sup>1</sup>.

He continued reciting till he went out of it. He used to read one fourth of al-*Qur'ān* every day from a scribed copy, and he also recited it in the night prayers. He did not omit it except in the night his foot was amputated. He re-started the practice from the following night.

Ibn Qutaybah and others said : When a butcher (الجزار) was called to amputate it (foot), he (butcher), said to him ('Urwah) : We shall make you drink wine, so that you may not feel pain. Thereupon he said : I shall not take the assistance of a thing forbidden by Allāh in the hope of getting strength. They said : Then we shall make you drink narcotic. He said : I do not like to render any one of my limbs inactive and I shall not feel pain on account of this ; take this into consideration. He (Ibn Qutaybah) said : A party of strangers came in. He said : What are they for ? They said : They will hold you since some times the pain overcomes forbearance. He said : I hope I am sufficient for myself. Then his heel was cut with the knife. When it reached the bone, the saw was placed there and it was amputated while he was saying *tahlil* and *takbīr*.<sup>2</sup> Then olive oil was boiled in ladles of iron and he was cauterised by it. He fell in a swoon. Then he regained (consciousness) and he rubbed sweat from his face. When he saw his foot in their hands, he took it and turned it in his hand, then he said :

1 *Al-Qur'ān*, XVIII, 40.

2 To say : There is no god save Allāh and Allāh is Great. These are formulas of prayer.

By Him Who supported me with thee ! He should know that I did not walk to an unforbidden place; or he said : to sin. When his son entered the stable of al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and a beast killed him, nothing was heard from him ('Urwah) about him (son) till he returned to al-Madīnah. Then he said : O Allāh ! for me there were four limbs out of which Thou hast taken one and left three, praise be to Thee. By Al'āh ! if Thou hast taken Thou hast left as well, and if Thou hast afflicted Thou hast kept safe for long.]

On the death of his brother, 'Abd Allāh, he went to 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān and said to him one day : "I wish you to give me the sword which belonged to my brother 'Abd Allāh."—"It is (*in the armoury*)," answered the Khalīf, "with the other swords, and I should not know it amongst them."—"Let them be brought here," replied 'Urwah, "and I will point it out". By 'Abd al-Malik's orders the swords were brought in, and 'Urwah selected from among them one very much hacked on the edge. "Did you know it before?" said the prince.—"No," replied the other.—"How then have you recognised it?"—"By these words of the poet al-Nābighah :

"Their only fault lies in their swords, which are broken-edged with striking hostile squadrons".

It was this 'Urwah who dug the well at Madīnah which bears his name ; none of the other wells in the city furnish better water than it does. He was born A.H. 22 (A.D. 642-3); but some say A.H. 26. He died A.H. 93 (A.D. 711-2), or A.H. 94, at Fur'a,<sup>1</sup> a village belonging to him and situated near Madīnah. Fur'a was also the place of his internment, according to (*Muḥammad*) Ibn Sa'd. The year 94 was called *the year of the jurisconsults*.<sup>2</sup> We shall speak of his son Hishām.—The following anecdote is related by (*Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad*) al-'Utbi : 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, and his two brothers Muṣ'ab and 'Urwah were

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Mar'īd* says: *Fur'a*, pronounced by some *Furu'a*, is the name of a village in the canton of al-Rabadhah, and on the road leading to Makkah. It lies at the distance of eight posts برد from Madinah, or, it is said four days' journey.—He says of al-Rabadhah الربذه that it is a village three miles اميال from Madinah.—Here for اميال miles, we must perhaps read الليال nights.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 114.

assembled together within the precincts of the Sacred Temple (*at Makkah*) at the time in which they acknowledged the authority of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān,<sup>1</sup> when one of them exclaimed : " Come, let us each make a wish."<sup>2</sup> On this 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr said : " My wish is to possess the two Holy Cities and obtain the Khalifate."—" Mine," said Muṣ'ab, " is to possess the two 'Irāqs and to have for wives the two pearls of the tribe of Quraysh, Sukaynah the daughter of al-Ḥusayn<sup>3</sup> and 'Āyishah, the daughter of Ṭalḥah<sup>4</sup> ."—" My wish," said 'Abd al-Malik, " is to possess all the earth and succeed to Mu'āwiyah."—"Urwah then said : " I care not for those things which you desire ; my wish is self-mortification in this life, the possession of paradise in the next, and the honour of being one of those whose authority will be cited as transmitters of the science of the law." The vicissitudes of time effected at length the fulfilment of their wishes; and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān used to say : " If any one has a desire to see a man (*who will be*) one of the inhabitants of paradise, let him look at 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr."

### 392. RUKN AL-DĪN AL-ṬAWŪSĪ

Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Irāqī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-'Irāqī al-Qazwīnī, surnamed Rukn al Dīn (*column of the faith*), and generally known by the appellation of al-Ṭawūsī, was an imām of great abilities and a controvertist of the highest order. He studied controversy under the Ḥanifite doctor Raḍī al-Dīn al-Naysāpūrī,<sup>5</sup> the author of the

1 The precise period of this event is uncertain.

2 It is supposed by Muslims that the wishes made in the temple of Makkah are generally fulfilled.

3 See no. 256.

4 'Āyishah was the daughter of Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Taymī and of Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the khalif Abū Bakr. On her marriage with Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, her husband settled on her a dowry of one hundred thousand dīnārs. She died A.H. 123 (A.D. 740-1).—(*Nujūm*).

5 It appears from the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyah* that Raḍī al-Dīn al-Naysāpūrī composed two works, the *Ṭarīqah fi 'l-Khilāf* and the *Makārim al-Aḥlāq*. Ḥajjī Khalīfah notices them both, but furnishes no information respecting their author. I do not think that this doctor was the same person as the Muwaiyad al-Naysāpūrī surnamed Raḍī al-Dīn, whose life is given by Ibn Khalīkān.

*Ṭarīqat fi 'l-Khilaaf* (system of controversy), and attained great skill in this science. He drew upon it three *Ta'liqahs*, one of them an abridgment, the other a *Medium* treatise, and the third a full exposition. Students flocked to Hamadān from countries far and near, that they might place themselves under the tuition of such a master, and it was by them that his *Ta'liqahs* were put down in writing. A college called the *Hājibiyah* was built for him at Hamadān by the *hājib*, or chamberlain Jamāl al-Dīn.<sup>1</sup> His *Medium* treatise is better than the two others, because he displays in it more legal knowledge and furnishes more abundant information; at the present day, this work is more generally studied than any other on the same subject. The reputation of the author spread abroad, and his systems of controversy were introduced into distant countries. He died at Hamadān on the 14th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 600 (February, A.D. 1204)\*.—I do not know, neither does al-Sam'ānī mention, the derivation of the word *Ṭawūsī* but I have heard a number of jurisconsults, who were his fellow-countrymen, say that this surname is borne by a great many persons in Qazwīn, and that they all claim to be descended from the *ṭabi'*; Ṭawūs Ibn Kaysān (no. 285); al-Ṭawūsī may perhaps be one of those.

### 393. SHAYDHALAH

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'Azīz Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Jīlī<sup>2</sup> generally known by the name of Shaydhalah, was an able doctor of

---

<sup>1</sup> Hamadān ceased to be the capital of 'Irāq on the fall of the Seljūq dynasty there, A.H. 590. It was most probably before that year that the chamberlain Jamāl al-Dīn built the college in question. He must therefore have been in the service of the sultān Arsilān, who died A.H. 571, or of his son Ṭuḡhrīl, who fell in the battle with Tukush Khān, sultān of Khwarezm, A.H. 590

<sup>2</sup> See no. 378, note on Jīlī.

\* 18 February.—Ed.

the sect of al-Shāfi'i and an eminent preacher; highly distinguished by the elegance of his language, the unction of his style, and his well-stored memory. He drew up some works on jurisprudence, the principles of the Muslim religion, and pulpit oratory; he collected also a great quantity of poetry composed by the Arabs of the desert. The place of qāḍī in the suburb of al-Azaj at Baghdād was filled by him for some time, and he was remarkable for the perspicacity of his judgment. He had learned a great quantity of Traditions from many masters, and he professed openly the doctrines of al-Ash'arī. One of his sayings was this: "It was said to Moses: *"Thou shalt not see me* <sup>1</sup>, because he was told to look at the mountain and did so. Then it was said to him: *O thou who seekest to see us, why look at any thing else?"*<sup>1</sup> He recited, on this idea also, the following verses:

"O you who pretend, in word, to be a sincere friend and brother; did you say the truth, you would not look at any other but me! You have walked the path of one who loved me, but you chose another object for the sincerity of your attachment; shame! how can a heart love equally two persons?"

[ 'Abd al-Hamid adds and the same is found in the Autograph :

He said : My father recited before me at the time of his emergence from Baghdād for performing pilgrimage.

"I stretched an infirm hand to bid farewell.

And the other is on intense heat above my heart.

May not this covenant be the last of our covenants ;

And may not this farewell be the last one ].

Shayḍhalah died at Baghdād on Friday, the 17th of Ṣafar, A.H. 494 (December, A.D. 1100)\*, and was interred outside the Ābrez Gate, opposite the tomb of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī.—*Shayḍhalah* was a surname which he received, but its signification is unknown to me.

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, surat 7, verse 139-

\* 21 December.—*Ed.*

## 394. 'AṬĀ IBN ABĪ RABĀḤ

Abu Muḥammad 'Aṭā Ibn Abī Rabāḥ Aslam (or Salīm) Ibn Ṣafwān was a mulatto, born at al-Janād, and a *mawlā* to the Fihri family of Makkah, or to the family of Jumāḥ: some, however consider him as a *mawlā* to Abu Maysarah al-Fihri. He held a high rank at Makkah as a jurisconsult, a *ṭābi'*, and a devout ascetic, and he derived (*his knowledge of the law and the Traditions*) from the lips of Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās (no. 43, Note), 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, and many others of Muḥammad's Companions. His own authority as a traditionist was cited by 'Amr Ibn Dīnār (no. 249, note), al-Zuhri,<sup>2</sup> Qatādah,<sup>3</sup> Mālik Ibn Dīnār,<sup>4</sup> al-Ā'mash (no. 259), al-Awzā'i (no. 336), and a great number of others who had heard him teach. The office of *mufti* at Makkah devolved to him and to Mujāhid (no. 249, note) and was filled by them whilst they lived. Qatādah declared him to be the most learned of all men in the rites of the pilgrimage, and Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Umar Ibn Kaysān said: "I remember that, in the time of Umayyids, a crier was ordered by them to proclaim to the pilgrims that no one should apply for *farwās* to any person but 'Aṭā Ibn Abī Rabāḥ." It is to him that the poet alludes in these lines:

"Ask the *mufti* of Makkah if it be a crime in him whose heart is inflamed with love, to visit the object of his passion and clasp her in his arms?—The *mufti* replied: 'God forbid that piety should refuse to bleeding hearts the means of closing their wounds.' "

When these two verses were repeated to him, he exclaimed (*with great simplicity*): "By Allāh! I never said any such thing". It has been handed down by doctors of our sect (*the Shāfi'ite*) that 'Aṭā held it lawful to have commerce with female slaves when their masters authorised it; and Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī (no. 87) inserts

1 Abū 'Abd Allāh Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Salamī al-Anṣārī (a member of the tribe of Salimah and one of the Anṣār) embraced Islāmism one year before the first pact made with Muḥammad at al-'Aqabah (*Abulfeda Annals*, tom. I p. 53). and was present at the second. He died A.H. 78 (A.D. 697-98), aged ninety-four years. (*Nujūm Sayar al-Salaf*).

2 The life of al-Zuhri will be found amongst those of the Muḥammads. [No. 537.—Ed.]

3 The life of Qatādah is given by Ibn Khalikān. [no. 516.—Ed.]

4 The life will be found in this work. [no. 525.—Ed.]

the following observation on this subject in his elucidation of the obscure passages in the *Waslī* and the *Wajīz*, where he explains the third chapter of the section on deposits: "It is related that 'Aṭā sent his female slaves to his guests." But in my opinion this is highly improbable, for even were it considered lawful, jealousy and manly feelings would prevent it; and how could an illustrious Imām like him be even suspected of such a thing: my only motive for speaking of it here is the singularity of the doctrine itself. 'Aṭā was black in colour, blind of an eye, flat-nosed, having the use of only one arm, lame of a leg, and woolly-haired; when advanced in life he lost the use of his sight. Sulaymān Ibn Rafī' said: "I went into the Sacred Mosque and saw all the people assembled around some person, and on looking to see who it was, behold! there was 'Aṭā sitting on the ground and looking like a black crow".\* He died A. H. 115 (A.C. 733-4);

---

\* The following passage is not found in the autograph nor in de Slane, but it is found in Cairo edition of 1948:

It is related on the authority of Waki'; he said: Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān Ibn Thābit said to me; "I committed mistakes five times in performing the rituals of *ḥajj* at Makkah, and a barber taught me the correct way of performing them. When I wanted to get my head shaved, he asked me if I was an A'rābi. I replied in the affirmative and he had put me this question because I had enquired him as to what he would charge for it. He had said to me that no bargaining was made about the performance of the rituals of *ḥajj*. He asked me to sit down and I sat down turning my face from the direction of *qiblah*. He pointed out to me that I was to turn my face towards the *qiblah*. Then I wanted to get my head shaved from the left side. He asked me to turn my head to the right side. I turned my head accordingly and he began to shave my head and I remained silent. Then he asked me to recite *Takbīr* (to say *Allāh Akbar*: Allāh is Great). I complied with it till I got up to depart. He asked me whither I wanted to go. I replied that I wanted to start on my journey. Then he asked me to offer two *rak'ahs* before departure. Then I thought that it could not be if the barber had no knowledge. So I put a question to him wherefrom he had acquired that knowledge. He replied that he had seen 'Aṭā Ibn Abi Rībāh doing like wise."

It is stated on the authority of *Khalīfah Ibn Sallam*, on the authority of Yūnus; he said; "One day I heard al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī saying that those were three characteristics of a hypocrite. When he talked he spoke lies and when  
(Continued on page 250)



some say 114, at the age of eighty-eight years. It is related, however, by Ibn Abi Laylā,<sup>1</sup> that 'Aṭā performed the pilgrimage seventy times and lived to the age of one hundred. Al-Janad is the name of a wellknown town in Yaman which has produced many learned men.

[This note refers to the word "thing" in line 12 from bottom on page 248.—*Ed.*]

In the autograph the word *شيء* is written with a *ḍammah* on the last letter, which indicates it to be in the nominative case. Were this reading admitted, the verse would signify: "God forbid that the closing up of the wounds in bleeding hearts should destroy piety"; and the point of the anecdote would be lost.

### 395 AL-MUQANNA' AL-KHURĀSĀNĪ

Al-Muqanna' al-Khurāsānī (*the veiled imposter of Khurāsān*), whose real name was 'Aṭā, but whose father's name is unknown to me, began his life as a fuller at Marw. Having acquired some knowledge of (*natural*) magic and incantations, he pretended to be

(Continued from page 249)

something was entrusted to him, he misappropriated it, and when he made a promise, he did not keep it. When it reached 'Aṭā, he said that all these characteristics were present in the sons of Jacob. They talked and spoke lies when entrusted with something, embezzled it and they did not keep the promise when made it. Ultimately Allāh raised them to prophethood. It reached al-Ḥasan who remarked and over every lord of knowledge there is one more knowing.' "

It is difficult to accept these statements as genuine as they are not included in the autograph nor in de Slane's edition.

As regards the statement ascribed to al-Ḥasan al-Baḡrī is based on several *Ḥadīth*es (see *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bu ḥārī* Leyde edition, Vol. I, p. 16; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslīm*, Karachi edition, Vol. I, p. 56).

<sup>1</sup> This is the Muḥammad Ibn Abi Laylā whose life will be found further on. He must not be confounded with the 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi Laylā whose life has been given (*no. 335*), and who was his father.

\* *Al-Qur'ān*, *Sūrah* 12, verse 76.

animated by the divinity, which had passed to him by transmigration, and he said to his partisans and followers: "Almighty God entered into the figure of Adam, and it was for that reason that He told the angels to adore Adam, and they adored him except *Iblis*, who proudly refused,<sup>1</sup> and who thus justly merited the divine wrath. From the figure of Adam, God passed into that of Noah, and from Noah to each of the prophets successively, and of the sages, till he appeared in the figure of Abū Muslim al-*Khurāsānī* (no. 347) from whom he passed into me". His assertions having obtained belief with some people, they adored him and took up arms in his defence, notwithstanding the horrible extravagance of his pretensions and the deformity of his person. He was low in stature, ill made, blind of an eye, and a stutterer; he never let his face be seen, but always *veiled* it with a mask of gold, and it was from this circumstance that he received his name. The influence which he exercised over the minds of his followers were acquired by the delusive miracles which he wrought in their sight by means of magic and incantations. One of the deceptions which he exhibited to them was the image of a moon, which rose so as to be visible to the distance of a two months journey, after which it set; and he thus inspired them with the firmest belief in his words. It is to this moon that Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (no. 46) alludes the following lines:

"Awake (*from the delusions of love*)! that full moon<sup>2</sup> whose head is shrouded in a veil is a false and delusive object, like the moon of the veiled impostor."

This verse forms part of a long *Qasidah*, Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh Ibn Sinā al-Mulk, another poet whose life we shall give in this work, speaks of this moon also in a long poem of his, where he says:

"Beware! the veiled (*impostor's*) rising moon is not more pregnant with magic than the glances of that turbaned moon".

When the reputation of al-Muqanna's conduct became public, the people rose up against him and laid siege to the castle which

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 2, verse 32.

2 In poetry a *full moon* means a handsome face.

served him as a place of refuge. Perceiving that death was inevitable, he assembled his women and gave them a poisoned drink; after which he swallowed a draught of the same liquor and expired. On entering the castle, the Muslims put all his followers to the sword. This occurred A. H. 163 (A. C. 779-80): may God's curse be upon him! and may God protect us from deceptions! I never found the name or the situation of this castle mentioned by any person, till I read in *Shihāb al-Dīn (Yāqūt) al-Ḥamawī's*<sup>1</sup> work, wherein he treats of the places which bear the same name, that there are four places called *Sanām*,\* and that one of them, situated in Transoxiana, had been inhabited by al-Muqanna' al-Khārījī (*the heretic rebel*). This appears to be the castle in question. I have since found, in the history of *Khurāsān*, that it is the very one, and that it is situated in the canton of Kash<sup>2</sup>.

### 396 'IKRIMAH

Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Ikrimah Ibn 'Abd 'Allāh, a *mawlā* of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, drew his origin from the Berbers of Maghrib. He belonged first to al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥirr<sup>3</sup> al-Ambārī, by whom he was given to Ibn 'Abbās, who was then governor of Baṣrah<sup>4</sup> for 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. His new master took great pains in teaching him the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunnah* and gave him (*the*) Arabic names (*by which he was thenceforward known*). 'Ikrimah transmitted Traditions on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar (*no. 299*

1 His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 Kash lies in Transoxiana. I feel it necessary to make an observation on the passage commencing with *I never found the name*. It has been added in the margin of the autograph by Ibn Khallikān himself, but this last phrase, *I have since found in the history of Khurāsān* etc., does not exist in that manuscript, although given in others. I merely notice the fact here, reserving my conclusion for another occasion.

3 The autograph has *العمر*.

4 See (*no. 288*), and note.

\* de Slane gives *Sanān*.—Ed.

and 249n). 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣi<sup>1</sup>, Abu Hurayrah (no. 250n) Abū Sa'id al-Khudri,<sup>2</sup> al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and 'Āyishah. He was one of the principal *tābi'is* and jurisconsults of Makkah (but) he was constantly removing from one town to another. It is related that Ibn 'Abbās himself had ordered him to go forth and give *fatwās* to the people. Sa'id Ibn Jubayr (no. 249) having been asked if he knew of any person more learned than himself, answered: "'Ikrimah". The Khārijite opinions held by 'Ikrimah exposed him to the animadversion of the public. He taught Traditions (*as has been just said*) on the authority of a number of Muḥammad's Companions, and Traditions were given on his authority by al-Zuhri, 'Amr Ibn Dinār (no. 255n), al-Sha'bi (no. 296) Abū Ishāq al-Sabi'<sup>3</sup> and others. His master Ibn 'Abbās died without giving him his liberty, and 'Alī, the son of Ibn 'Abbās, sold him to Khālid Ibn Yazid Ibn Mu'awiyah for four thousand dinārs, but 'Ikrimah went to him and said: "There is no good in you; you have sold your father's earning for four thousand dinārs". On this 'Alī obtained Khālid's consent to annul the bargain, and granted 'Ikrimah his liberty. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥārith relates as follows: "I went to visit 'Alī the son of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, and I saw 'Ikrimah tied up at

1 'Abd Allāh the son of 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣi embraced Islamism previously to his father's conversion, and obtained permission from the Prophet to write to his parent and inform him of the doctrines of his new faith. He was only thirteen years younger than his father, and he often reproached him for his turbulent and seditious conduct. By his profound devotion and learning he obtained general respect, and he died A. H. 72, (A. C. 691-2), at the age of seventy-two years. The place of his death is not known with certainty; some authorities say Syria, and others, Egypt or Makkah or Ṭā'if. *Talqīḥ* MS. No. 361, fol. 40).

2 Abū Sa'id Sa'd Ibn Mālik Ibn Sinān Ibn Tha'lab al-Khudri (*of the tribe of Khudrah*) was one of Muḥammad's Companions and an *anṣar* of the third class. At the age of thirteen years he took up arms for the Prophet and accompanied his father to 'Uḥud. When the Muslim troops were passed in review before the battle, he was found to be too young and sent back. The father fell at 'Uḥud, and the son afterwards accompanied the Prophet in twelve of his expeditions. He died at Madinah, A. H. 74 (A. C. 693-4), and was interred in the Baqi' cemetery. *Nujūm. Siyar al-Salaf. Talqīḥ*.

3 The life of al-Sabi' is given in this work.

the door of a privy, on which I said: 'Is it thus that you treat your slave?' To which he replied: 'Know that that fellow has told lies of my father'." 'Ikrimah died A. H. 107 (A. C. 725-6); others say 106, or 105, or 115; he was then aged eighty or eighty-four years. Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd<sup>1</sup> relates the following circumstances on the authority of al-Wāqidi<sup>2</sup> who states that he learned them from Khālīd Ibn al-Qāsim al-Bayāḍi: "'Ikrimah and the poet Kuthayyir, the lover of 'Azzah, died in the year 105 and on the same day; in the afternoon, funeral prayers were said over them at the usual place; I was present at the ceremony, and the people said: 'Our most learned jurisconsult and our best poet are dead.'"' They both died at Madīnah, but some state, erroneously however, that 'Ikrimah's death took place at al-Qayrawān. 'Ikrimah was much addicted to travelling in distant countries, and he visited, amongst other places, Khurāsān, Ispahān, and Egypt. The primitive signification of the word *'Ikrimah* is a *hen-pigeon* but it was subsequently employed as a proper name for persons. 'Umārah Ibn Ḥamzah, the *mawlā* of al-Manṣūr, so noted for his vanity,<sup>3</sup> and was descended from 'Ikrimah; according to the *Khaytib* (no. 33), he was the son of 'Ikrimah's daughter<sup>4</sup>.

1 "the life of Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd will be found in this work.

2 The life of al-Wāqidi will be found further on.

3 'Umārah Ibn Ḥamzah Ibn Mālik Ibn Yazid Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a *mawlā* to Al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik, was a *kātib* in the service of the *khālif* al-Manṣūr, who entrusted him with the receivership of the revenues of Baḡrah. His style was remarkable for purity and elegance, and his liberality unbounded. He carried his vanity, however, to so great an extreme, that it was proverbially said: "such a one is vainer than 'Umārah Ibn Ḥamzah". Some persons obtained from him a gift of one hundred thousand dirhims, and when he was informed by his chamberlain that they had come to thank him for his generosity, he answered: "Tell them that I have delivered them from the opprobrium of poverty, and shall not impose upon them the burden of gratitude." Numerous other anecdotes are related of his excessive vanity. A palace in Baghdād called the hotel of 'Umārah (*dār 'Umārah*) was so called after him. He died A. H. 199 (A.C. 814-5). (*Abridged History of Baghdād* by the *Khaytib* No. 634, fol. 6 et 146. *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, in anno). Some anecdotes respecting him will be found in this work.

4 Read ابن ايمته عكرمه -

## 397 ZAYN AL-'ĀBIDĪN

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, is generally known by the appellation of Zayn al-'Ābidīn. (*the ornament of the adorers*), but was sometimes designated as 'Alī the Less. As none of the other children of al-Ḥusayn left issue, all his descendants are sprung from this son. Zayn al-'Ābidīn is one of the twelve imāms, and ranks among the principal *Tābi'īs*. It was observed by al-Zuhrī that he never met a member of the tribe of Quraysh possessing nobler qualities than he. His mother Sulāfah was daughter to Yazdegird, the last of the kings of Persia, and she was aunt to the mother of Yazid Ibn al-Walid the Omayyide, surnamed al-Nāqīṣ. When Qutaybah Ibn Muslim al-Bāhili, the lieutenant-governor of *Khurāsān*, had overthrown the royal dynasty of Persia and Fayrūz the son of Yazdegird, he sent the two daughters of the latter to al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (*no. 144*), who was then governor of 'Irāq and *Khurāsān*. Al-Ḥajjāj kept one of them for himself and sent the other, whose name was *Shāh* Farīd, to al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and she bore him his son Yazid, who was afterwards surnamed al-Nāqīṣ (*the diminisher*), because he diminished the donations, or pay, granted to the troops. Zayn al-'Ābidīn was also called Ibn al-Khayratayn (*the son of the two preferred ones*), because the Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup> had said: "Of all the human race, Almighty God has preferred two (*families*); the tribe of Quraysh amongst the 'Arabs, and the Persians amongst the foreign nations". Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī relates the following circumstance in his work entitled *Rabī' al-Abrār*: "Amongst the number of the Persian captives brought to Madīnah by the Companions, in the *kh*alīfate of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, were three daughters of Yazdegird. When they had sold the other prisoners, 'Umar ordered them to sell the daughters of Yazdegird also, but 'Alī said: 'The daughters of kings are not to be treated as those of the common people.' 'And what must be done with them?' said 'Umar — 'Alī replied: "Let a price be set upon them, to be paid by him who wishes to possess them", 'This proposal having received 'Umar's consent, 'Alī brought them all, and gave one of them to 'Abd Allāh Ibn

'Umar, another to his own son al-Ḥusayn, and the third to his ward Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq. 'Abd Allāh's concubine bore him a son named Sālim, al-Ḥusayn's bore Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, and Muḥammad's bore al-Qāsim. These three children were cousins by their others' side, and their mothers were daughters to Yazdegird<sup>1</sup>. Al-Mubarrad gives the following anecdote in his *Kāmil*: "A man of the tribe of Quraysh, whose name was not mentioned to me, made a relation which I here give: I used to sit in company with Sa'īd Ibn al-Musayyab (*no.* 250), and he asked me one day who were my maternal uncles? to which I replied that my mother was a slave-girl. It seemed to me that this answer diminished his regard for me, but I waited for some time, and Sālim, the son of 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb entered. When he withdrew, I said: 'Pray, sir, who is that?' 'Good God!' exclaimed he, how is it possible that you do not know so eminent a person of your own tribe? why? that is Sālim, the son of 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.' 'And who,' said I, 'was his mother?' 'A slave-girl', was his reply. Then came in Qāsim, the son of Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bākr, who sat down for some time and then retired. 'Pray sir,' said I, 'who is that?' 'How' exclaimed he, 'you do not know so eminent person of your own family? how very strange! why, that is al-Qāsim the son of Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddiq.' 'And who,' said I, 'was his mother?' 'A slave girl'. I waited yet longer, and 'Alī, the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abū Ṭālib entered. When he went away, I said to Ibn al-Musayyab: 'Pray, sir, who is that?' 'That is a person', replied he, 'whom it is impossible for a Muslim not to know; that is 'Alī, the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib!' 'Who was his mother?' said I. 'A slave girl'! he replied. On this I addressed him in these terms: 'I remarked, sir, that your regard for me was lessened when you learned that my mother was a slave-girl; but do not these persons resemble me in the same respect?' From that moment I acquired increased favour in the sight of al-Musayyab". The people of Madīnah had a dislike to taking

<sup>1</sup> This is in contradiction with Ibn Khallikān's own statement.

concubines, but their feelings on this point were completely changed when 'Alī, the son of al-Ḥusayn, al-Qāsim the son of Muḥammad, and Sālīm the son of 'Abd Allāh grew up and surpassed every person in the city by their piety and their knowledge of the law. Ibn Qutaybah mentions, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, that Zayn al-Ābidīn's mother was a native of Sind and that her name was Sulāfah; others however call her Ghazālah, and God knows best which is right. Zayn al-Ābidīn was most attentive to his mother, and it was said to him: "You are certainly a most dutiful son, but why do we not see you eat out of the same dish with her?" To which he replied: "Because I should be afraid that in stretching forth my hand to take a morsel, that morsel might be one on which she had already cast her eyes; and I should have thus committed an undutiful act". The story of Abū 'l-Mikhash with his son<sup>1</sup> is quite the contrary of the foregoing, for he said: "I had a daughter who sat at table with me, and put forth a hand like a bunch of dates, joined to an arm (*long and white*) like the crown-bud of the palm-tree, and she never cast her eyes on a good morsel without offering it to me. I found a husband for her, and I had after that a son who sat with me at table, and put forth a hand (*broad and black*) like the scale<sup>2</sup> of a palm-tree, joined to an arm like the cross post of tent-frame; and, by Allāh! he never cast his eyes on a nice bit, but his hand had already seized it." Ibn Qutaybah says in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* that on the death of Zayn al-Ābidīn's father, his mother married Zubayd,<sup>3</sup> his father's *mawlā* and he himself enfranchised one of his slave-girls and married her. The conduct drew upon him a letter of reproaches from 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, but he replied to it in these words: "*Ye have in the apostle of God an excellent example*,"<sup>4</sup> and he manumitted and married Ṣafīyah

1 Read ابنه مع ابنه .

2 What is meant by the *scale* of the palm-tree is the broad excrescence on the trunk to which the stem of the leaf was attached, and which remains when the leaf falls off.

3 Read in the printed text يزيد -

4 *Qur'an*, sūrat 33, verse 21.



the daughter of Huyayyi Ibn Akḥṭab; he manumitted also Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah and gave him in marriage Zaynab Bint Jahsh the daughter of his paternal aunt". The merits and excellencies of Zayn al-Ābidīn are beyond enumeration. He was born on a Friday, in one of the months of A. H. 38 (A.C. 658-9); he died at Madinah, A. H. 94 (A.C. 712-3), some say 96 [or 92], and was interred in the cemetery of al-Baqī', in the tomb of his uncle al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī. The mausoleum in which they are deposited contains also the tomb of al-'Abbās.

### 398 'ALĪ AL-RIDĀ

Abu 'l Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ridā,<sup>1</sup> the son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the son of Ja'far al-Šādiq, the son of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the son of 'Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn, him whose life has been just given, is considered by (*that sect of the Shi'ites called*) the Imāmites as one of the twelve *imāms*. Al-Māmūn married him to his daughter Umm Ḥabīb,\* and having nominated him successor to the Khalifate, he caused his name to be inscribed (*as such*) on the gold and silver coinage. In executing this resolution, al-Māmūn proceeded in the following manner: When in the city of Marw, he had a census taken of all the male and female descendants of al-'Abbās, and found that their number was thirty-three thousand, old and young.<sup>2</sup> He then sent for 'Alī (*al-Ridā*), and having granted him a most honourable reception, he convoked the principal officers of the empire and informed them that, after examining throughout the descendants of al-'Abbās and those of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, he did not find amongst them a more excellent person than 'Alī (*al-Ridā*), nor one better entitled to the empire.

1 *Al-Ridā* signifies *the accepted, the pleasing*. This surname was given to him by al-Māmūn on nominating him successor to the empire. Abu 'l-Fidā says that the full title was: *al-Ridā min 'Āl Muḥammad*, which Reske has rendered by *communibus votis electus vir de gentilitate Muhammedis*, but I believe it to mean *acceptissimus apud Deum vir de gentilitate Muhammedis*.

2 This seems to be an exaggeration.

\* [in the year H. 202] written on the margin of the autograph supported by Cairo edition.—*Ed.*

He then declared him his successor, and ordered the black standards and livery (*of the 'Abbasides*) to be suppressed. When intelligence of these proceedings reached those descendants of al-'Abbās who were in 'Irāq, they felt that resolute measures were necessary to prevent the supreme authority from passing out of the hands of their family, and they in consequence pronounced the deposition of al-Māmūn and took the oath of fealty to his uncle, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī, whom they declared khalif. This event took place on Thursday, the 5th of Muḥarram A. H. 202 (25th July, A. C. 817); some say, however, that it occurred in A. H. 203. It would be too long to relate the particulars of this event, the results of which are well known; we have besides given a summary sketch of them in the life of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī (*no. 8*). 'Alī al-Riḍā was born at Madīnah, on a Friday, in the year 153 (A. C. 770), but this is contradicted by other statements, which place his birth in A. H. 151, on the 7th or 8th of Shawwāl, or on the 6th of that month.\* He died in the city of Ṭūs on the last day of Ṣafar, A. H. 202 (September A. C. 817),† or according to others, on the 5th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, or the 13th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 203 (May, A. C. 819)‡. Al-Māmūn said the funeral service over him and had him buried near the tomb of his own father al-Rashīd. His death was caused by eating too many grapes; but some attribute it to a slow poison. It is of him that Abū Nuwās speaks in the following lines:

"People said to me: You are the ablest of all men in the various styles of noble discourse; your eulogies expressed, in admirable verse, are a blossom filling the hand of him who culls it with a fruit of pearls. Why then have you neglected to celebrate the son of Mūsā and extol the noble qualities united in his person?" My answer was: "I am unable to utter praises suited to the merits of an imām to whose father (*the angel*) Gabriel acted as a servant!."

1 The poet means the imām's forefather Muḥammad, to whom Gabriel was sent with the different passages of the *Qur'ān*.

\* 25, 24 or 23 October 768.—*Ed.*

† 16 September.—*Ed.*

‡ 4 or 12 May.—*Ed.*

He composed these verses because one of his companions had said to him : "I never saw a more shameless fellow than you ; there is not a sort of wine nor beast of chase but you have made some verses on it ; and here is 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā, living in your own time, and yet you have never noticed him." To this Abū Nuwās replied : "By Allāh ! my silence has no other motive than the respect I bear him ; it befits not a person of my rank to compose verses on a man like him". Some time after this, he recited the piece here given. The following lines were pronounced by him also in praise of al-Riḍā,<sup>1</sup> (and mention is made of the circumstance (*by Ibn al-Jawzī*) in the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* under the year 201 or 202).

"The immaculate (*descendants of 'Alī*), the pure of heart ! whenever their name is pronounced, benedictions accompany it. He whose descent you cannot trace up to 'Alī, has no title to boast of ancient ancestry. When God created and established the world, he made you pure, O mortals ! and chose you for His own ; but you (*sons of 'Alī*) are the noblest of mankind ; it is you who possess the knowledge of (*God's*) book and of the meaning conveyed by its *sūras*<sup>2</sup>"

Al-Māmūn said one day to 'Alī Ibn Mūsā ; "What do your brethren say of our grandfather al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib" ? "That", replied 'Alī, which they ought to say of a man (*so highly favoured*) that, when God imposed on his creatures obedience to the Prophet<sup>3</sup>, He prescribed to the Prophet<sup>3</sup> the duty of obedience towards him<sup>3</sup>". On receiving this answer, al-Māmūn ordered, him a present of one million dirhims. His brother Zayd Ibn Mūsā having revolted at Baṣrah against al-Māmūn and given the inhabitants a prey to violence and rapine,

1 The phrase which follows is written in the margin of the autograph, but has been scored out.

2 Some of the Shī'ite sects believe that every verse of the *Qur'ān* has not only a literal, but a hidden meaning ; which last is known to their imām alone.

3 This precept is not in the *Qur'ān*. The author of the *Majma' al-Aḥbāb* (MS, fonds St. Germain, No. 131) states, in his life of al-'Abbās, that the Prophet treated him with the deference and respect due to a parent.

this *khalif* sent 'Alī Ibn Mūsā to turn him from his evil course. On meeting him 'Alī said: "Woe be to thee, O Zayd! thou hast treated the Muslims of Baṣrah most cruelly, and yet thou callest thyself a son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup>. By Allāh! the Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup> himself is thy greatest foe. Know that he who pretends to derive honourable qualities from God's Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup> should manifest the same to others!". When this discourse was related to al-Māmūn, he burst into tears and exclaimed: "It is thus that all the members of the Prophet's family should be!" The last words of 'Alī Ibn Mūsā's reprimand convey an idea which he had borrowed from a saying of Zayn al-'Ābidīn's (him whose life has been just given). That imām always travelled incognito, and when asked his motive, he replied: "I detest assuming the qualities to which my descent from the Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup> entitles me, when I cannot manifest them to others".

### 399 ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-'ASKARĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-'Askarī, surnamed al-Hādī (*the director*), and held by the *Imāmīte Shī'ites* as one of the twelve Imāms, was the son of Muḥammad al-Jawād and the grandson of 'Alī al-Riḍā; having just given the life of the latter, it is unnecessary for us to trace up the genealogy farther (*as it will be found there*). Secret information having been given to al-Mutawakkil that this Imām had a quantity of arms, books, and other objects for the use of his followers concealed in his house, and being induced by malicious reports to believe that he aspired to the empire, he sent one night some soldiers of the Turkish guard to break in on him when he least expected such a visit. They found him quite alone and locked up in his room, clothed in a hair-shirt, his head covered with a woollen cloak, and turned with his face in the direction of Makkah; chanting, in this attitude, some verses of the *Qur'ān* expressive of God's promises and threats, and having no other carpet between him and the earth than sand and gravel. He was

1 Literally; "He that takes by the Prophet should give by him".

carried off in that attire and brought, in the depth of the night, before al-Mutawakkil, who was then engaged in drinking wine. On seeing him, the khalif received him with respect, and being informed that nothing had been found in his house to justify the suspicions cast upon him, he seated him by his side and offered him the goblet which he held in his hand. 'Commander of the faithful !' said Abu 'l-Ḥasan, "a liquor such as that was never yet combined with my flesh and blood : dispense me therefore from taking it". The khalif acceded to his request and then asked him to repeat some verses which might amuse him. Abu 'l-Ḥasan replied that he knew by heart very little poetry ; but al-Mutawakkil having insisted he recited these lines :

"They passed the night on the summits of the mountains, protected by valiant warriors, but their place of refuge availed them not. After all their pomp and power, they had to descend from their lofty fortresses to the custody of the tomb. O what a dreadful change ! Their graves had already received them when a voice was heard exclaiming : 'Where are the thrones, the crowns, and the robes of state ? Where are now the faces once so delicate, which were shaded by veils and protected by the curtains of the audience hall?'<sup>1</sup> To this demand, the tomb gave answer sufficient : 'The worms,' it said, 'are now revelling upon those faces ; long had these men been eating and drinking but now they are eaten in their turn.' "

Every person present was filled with apprehension for Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī's safety ; they feared that al-Mutawakkil, in the first burst of indignation, would have vented his wrath upon him ; but they perceived the khalif weeping bitterly, the tears trickling down his beard, and all the assembly wept with him. Al-Mutawakkil then ordered the wine to be removed, after which he said : "Tell me ! Abu 'l-Ḥasan ! are you in debt ?". "Yes", replied the other, "I owe four thousand *dīnārs*". The khalif ordered that sum to be given him, and sent him home with marks of the highest respect. Abu 'l-Ḥasan was born at Madīnah, A. H. 214, on Sunday, the

<sup>1</sup> When the sovereign gave audience, one or more curtains were always drawn between him and the public. In old times, the number of curtains was seven, and they were placed at some distance from each other.

13th of Rajab (Sept. A.C. 829)\*; others say on the day of 'Arafah (*the 9th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah*); some persons again place his birth in the year 213. Al-Mutawakkil was at length induced, by the numerous unfavourable accounts which he received of Abu 'l-Ḥasan's conduct, to have him taken from Madīnah and sent to Sarr-man-r'ā. This town was also called *al-'Askar* (*the army*), because al-Mu'taṣim, the prince who built it, removed his army (*from Baghdad*) to that station. It was on account of his residence there that Abu 'l-Ḥasan was surnamed *al-'Askari*. He passed twenty years and 9 months at that place, and he died there on Monday, the 24th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 254 (June, A. C. 868).† Others place his death on the 25th or on the 4th of that month; some again say that he died on the 3rd of Rajab of the year just mentioned. He was interred in the house where he dwelt‡.

#### 400 'ALĪ IBN 'ABD ALLĀH IBN AL-'ABBĀS

Abū Muḥammad 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Ibn Hāshim al-Hāshimī, grandfather to the *khalīfah* al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr, was the youngest son of his father. Distinguished for the eminence of his rank, the nobleness of his descent, and his talent as an elegant speaker, he was equally conspicuous for his beauty, wherein he surpassed every other member of the tribe of Quraysh. [The autograph adds: He was most distinguished of them and offered prayers more than any one else and so he was called al-Sijjad.] "He possessed five hundred olive-trees, and he said every day a prayer of two *rak'ahs* at the foot of each: he was called *Dhu 'l-Thafināt*". So says al-Mubarrad in his *Kāmil*, but the *hāfiẓ* Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī states, in his *Kitāb al-Alqāb*, that the person who bore this surname was 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn (Zayn al-'Ābidīn) and that he was so denominated because he prayed one thousand *rak'ahs* every day, so that *callosities* (*thafināt*) were formed on his knees like those on the limbs of

\* 16 September, but according to Edward Mahler's calculation the day was Thursday. In 213 it was Sunday, 27 September 828.—*Ed.*

† 21 June, the date was 26 or 25.—*Ed.*

‡ 31 May or 28 June.—*Ed.*

camels. It is related that 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib missed Ibn 'Abbās one day at the prayer of noon and asked the persons present what could be his motive for staying away; they replied that a son was born to him, and when the prayer was over, 'Alī said: "Let us go and see him." On entering, he congratulated Ibn 'Abbās, and then said: "I thank the Giver and mayest thou find a blessing in the gift! what name has he received from you?" "Would it be right for me", replied Ibn 'Abbās, "to give him a name and not wait till thou shouldst do it?" 'Alī then told them to bring the child, and having taken it in his arms, he chewed a date and rubbed the roof of its mouth with it<sup>1</sup>; he then handed it to the father, saying: "Here! take it, Abu 'l-Amlāk<sup>2</sup>; I give it 'Alī for a name and *Abu 'l-Ḥasan* for a surname". When Mu'āwiyah got possession of the *khalīfate*, he said to Ibn 'Abbās: "None of your family should bear the same name and surname as that man; I shall call the child Abū Muḥammad". This appellation then became current as his surname. It is al-Mubarrad who relates this anecdote in his *Kāmil*, but the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Nu'aym says in his *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*: "When 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh went to see 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, that *khalīf* said to him: "Change thy name and thy surname, for I cannot bear to hear them pronounced." The other replied: 'As for the name, no; but as for the surname, give me that of Abū Muḥammad'. It was thus that his surname was changed". I must observe that 'Abd al-Malik's motive in speaking so was the hatred which he bore to 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and this was so excessive that he could not endure to hear his name and surname pronounced. Al-Wāqidī says that Abū Muḥammad was born on the night in which 'Alī was murdered (*a statement in contradiction to that made by al-Mubarrad*), and God alone knoweth the truth. Al-Mubarrad says also<sup>3</sup>: "Alī (*Ibn 'Abd Allāh*) was flogged twice, and, each

1 Muḥammad did the same with 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, and the custom was kept up by his pious Muslims.

2 This is the first time I find this surname given to Ibn 'Abbās.

3 It may be remarked that, throughout this article, the numerous extracts from al-Mubarrad's *Kāmil* are either silly fables, or else in contradiction with the statements of other authors.

time, by the order of al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The first time was for having married Lubābah<sup>1</sup>, the daughter of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abī Ṭālib. She had been already married to 'Abd al-Malik, but one day he took a bite out of an apple and handed her the rest. Now, as he had a bad breath, she called for a knife, and being asked by him what she wanted to do with it, she replied: 'To cut off the part of the apple which is spoiled'. He immediately divorced her, and she was taken in marriage by this 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh. In consequence of this, al-Walīd flogged him, saying: 'Ah! you mean to degrade the khalifs by marrying their mothers.' (For it was a motive of this kind which led Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam (*al-Walīd's grandfather*) to marry the mother of Khālīd, the son of Yazīd, the son of Mu'āwiyah). 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh replied: 'My intention was to quit this town; and, as I am her cousin, I married her to be her protector'.<sup>2</sup> [Others say that 'Abd al-Malik married Lubbanah, the daughter of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far, and as he had a bad breath, she suggested to him the propriety of using a tooth brush. He took her advice, but divorced her. She then became the wife of 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, who was bald and always wore a skull cap; 'Abd al-Malik then sent a girl to pull off his cap unawares and thus expose his baldness to Lubbānah, with whom he was sitting. On this Lubbānah said: "I like a bald Hāshimite better than a foul-breathed Omayyide."] Relative to the second flogging which 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh received, we shall give a relation of it furnished by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Shujā' and which was headed with the names of the persons through whom it had successively passed down till he received it; the narrator says: "I one day saw 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh flogged with a whip, and paraded about on a camel, with his face towards the tail, whilst a crier proclaimed: 'This is 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh the Liar', On this, I went up to him and said: 'What is the reason of their calling you a liar?' and he answered: 'They were told that I had declared that the sovereign authority would be exercised later by my two sons; and, by Allāh! their descendants shall continue to hold it till they be mastered

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has لبابه

\* From "others" to "Omayyide" not in the Autograph.—Ed.



by their own slaves; a small-eyed race, with broad faces like doubly-strengthened shields<sup>1</sup>.” Ibn al-Kalbī says, in his *Jamharat-al-Nisab*, that the person who presided at the flogging of ‘Alī Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-‘Abbās was Kulthūm Ibn ‘Iyāḍ Ibn Waḥwāḥ Ibn Qushayr al-A‘war Ibn Qushayr, the commander of the *khalif* al-Walīd Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik’s police guards: he afterwards governed North Africa in the name of Hishām Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, and he was slain in that province<sup>2</sup>. Another author mentions that Kulthūm was slain in the month of *Dhu ‘l-Hijjah*, A. H. 123 (Oct.—Nov., A. C. 741). “‘Alī Ibn ‘Abd Allāh,” says a narrator, “went with his two grandsons, the (future) *khalifs* al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr, into the presence of Sulaymān Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik”—this is a mistake; it was with Hishām Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik that the circumstance occurred—“and that *khalif* made room for him on his throne, showed him great kindness and asked him what he required. ‘Alī answered; ‘I am thirty thousand dirhims in debt;’ on which the *khalif* gave orders to pay the sum for him. He then said: ‘You will recommend that my two boys be well treated.’ The *khalif* gave orders to that effect, and ‘Alī thanked him and said: ‘You and they are relation by blood’. When ‘Alī turned to withdraw, Hishām said to the company: ‘That *shaykh* has grown old and has fallen into dotage; he says that the authority which we exercise will pass into the hands of his children. Those words were overheard by ‘Alī, who exclaimed: ‘And so it shall be, by Allāh! these two shall reign.’” ‘Alī was held in the highest respect by the people of *Hijāz*: Hishām Ibn Sulaymān al-Makhzūmī related on this subject as follows: “Whenever ‘Alī Ibn ‘Abd Allāh came to Makkah to perform the pilgrimage or to visit the temple, the Quraysh suspended the assemblies which they held in the Sacred Mosque and deserted the places where public lessons were usually given, for the purpose of keeping him company and giving him a mark of the profound respect and veneration which they bore him: when he sat down,

1 This prophecy was probably supposed to designate the Turkish troops in the service of the *khalifs*.

2 See the extract from al-Nuwayrī given by me in the *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1841.

they sat down; when he stood up, they stood up; and when he walked, they all crowded around him and walked with him. This they continued to do till he left the Sacred Territory". He was of a fair complexion, large in body, and wore a long beard. His feet were so large, that he could find no shoes or boots to fit him, unless they were made on purpose by his orders. He was so extremely tall, that when he performed the circuits around the Temple on foot, with the rest of the people about him, he seemed to be on horseback. Yet, tall as he was, he only came up to the elbow of his father 'Abd Allāh, and he only came up to the elbow of his father al-'Abbās, whose stature was surpassed, in an equal degree, by that of his father 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib<sup>1</sup>. An old woman who saw 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh making the circuits around the Ka'bah and surpassing in height every person there, asked who he was, and being informed that he was 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh, the grandson of al-'Abbās, she exclaimed: "There is no god but God! people would doubt my memory, were I to say that I saw al-'Abbās going round this sacred House, and that he looked like a white tent<sup>2</sup>." All this is mentioned by al-Mubarrad in his *Kāmil*; he states also that al-'Abbās had a powerful voice, and that, one morning at daybreak, a hostile troop having come down upon them, he cried out as loud as he could, "The enemy! to arms!" and that every pregnant female who heard him miscarried<sup>3</sup>. Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimi<sup>4</sup> says in his (*geographical*) work containing the list of those names which are borne by more than one place, under the letter *ghayn*, where he notices two places called al-*Ghābah*: "Al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib would stand on Sa'a, a hill near Madinah, and call to his slave-boys at al-*Ghābah*, loud enough to be heard by them. This he did towards the end

---

1 Ibn *Khallikān* has borrowed this absurd lie from al-Mubarrad. It may, however, be founded on fact, as each of these persons might have been only a boy when seen at the side of his father.

2 It must be recollected that the *iḥrām*, or cloak worn by the pilgrims when they perform the circuits round the Ka'bah, is of white wool.

3 This may be true, but it was rather, through fear of the enemy than from the loudness of al-'Abbās's voice.

4 His life is given by Ibn *Khallikān*.

of the night; and there are eight miles between Sal'a and al-Ghābah'. 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh died at al-Sharāt, A. H. 117 (A. C. 735), aged eighty years. He was born, according to al-Wāqidī, on the night in which 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib was murdered; namely, the eve of Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 40 (January, A. C. 664); \* but other dates are assigned to his birth. (*He says also that*) 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh died A. H. 118. Another historian places his death in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*; *Khalifah Ibn Khayyāt*, in A. H. 114, and a fourth, in A. H. 119. He wore his hair dyed black, and his son Muḥammad, the father of Al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr, dyed his red, so that the persons who did not know them, mistook one for the other. *Al-Sharāt* is a place in Syria, on the road leading from Damascus to Madīnah; it is situated near al-Shawbek, in the province of al-Balqā'. In the environs lies the village called *al-Ḥumaymah*, which was the property of this 'Alī and of his children during the reign of the Omayyide dynasty: al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr were born and brought up there; they proceeded from thence to Kūfah, where, as is well known, al-Saffāh was proclaimed *khalīf*. We shall give the life of Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh. Al-Ṭabarī says, in his History, that al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān removed 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās from Damascus and assigned him *al-Ḥumaymah* as a residence, in A. H. 95 (A. C. 713—4). His descendants continued to dwell there till the fall of the Omayyides, and he had upwards of twenty male children born to him in that place.

#### 401 THE QĀḌĪ ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-JURJĀNĪ

The qāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i an elegant scholar and a poet. The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī mentions in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*

1 In Berghaus' map of Syria, *al-Sharāt* or *Schera*, as he writes it, is placed between 'Aqabah and Petra, in lat. 38° 28' and long. 33° 26' E from Paris.

\* 24 January but the day according to Eduard Mahler was Sunday.—Ed.

(*biographical dictionary of jurisconsults*), and remarks that his poetical works have been collected into a *diwān*. It was the qāḍī 'I-Jurjānī who composed these lines :

"They said to me : 'You are full of backwardness' ; (*why not celebrate the praises of the great?*). They might have seen, however, that I was a man who shunned a station in which dishonour had been his lot."

The piece which contains this verse is of great length, and so well known that it is needless to give it here. Al-Tha'ālibī speaks of him in these terms in the *Yatīmah* : "He was the pearl of the age, the wonder of the world, the pupil of the eye of science, the pinnacle of the diadem of the *belles lettres* and the cavalier of the army of poetry. To penmanship like that of Ibn Muqlah, he united the prose-style of al-Jāhīz and the poetic talent of al-Buḥturī. In his youth he acted as the lieutenant of al-Khidr,<sup>1</sup> journeying throughout the earth and travelling to the provinces of 'Irāq, Syria, and elsewhere; during which expeditions he acquired such a stock of varied information and instruction, as rendered him a beacon in the regions of science, and in learning, perfection itself". He then gives numerous extracts from his poetry, and amongst others, the following lines :

"Thy lover is tormented by his passion; let him experience thy kindness; be not cruel, but appreciate his merit, for he is the last (*and most patient*) of thy lovers".

A distich expressing a similar thought was recited to me by my friend Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Isā Ibn Sinjar al-Ḥājirī, of whom I shall again speak. It was composed by himself and runs as follows :

"O thou for whose cheeks I should give my eyes; none (*of thy lovers*) have kept their plighted faith but me; let me implore thee to show me a moment's kindness; I am the last (*and most patient*) of them all".

<sup>1</sup> The patriarchs al-Khidr and Elias are the protectors of travellers; the first is constantly journeying throughout the earth for that purpose, and the latter throughout the sea. They are the guardians and escorts of the pilgrims on the way to Makkah and back again.—(See M. Reinaud's *Monumens arabes, persans et turcs*, vol. I. p. 170).

The following verses are by al-Jurjānī :

"They told me to employ humility as a step to wealth, but they knew not that abasement is (*as bad as*) poverty. There are two things which prohibit me from riches ; my honest pride and fortune's unkindness. When I am told that wealth is within my reach, I look and perceive that, before I attain it, I must pass through stations worse than poverty itself".

By the same :

"They told me to roam through the earth, and that the means of livelihood are always ample. I replied : They are ample, but to reach them is difficult. If I have not in the world a generous patron to assist me or a profession to support me, where shall I find a means of livelihood?"

In an address to the *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād ( *no. 93* ) he says :

"Let us not blame the (*poetic*) ideas which you rejected, if they produce no effect when brought together. All originality of thought was engrossed by the promptness of your genius. and the rarest terms, the most fleeting modes of expression, became familiar to your mind. So, when we aim at originality, we can only find ideas stolen from you and repeated to satiety".

A piece addressed by him to the Wazīr, in which he felicitates him on his restoration to health, contains this passage :

"Must every day renew our fears for the cessation of noble deeds?—deeds which cause all noble hearts to vibrate with sympathy ! Thy body received a share of ever perfection ; how then did sickness fall to its lot ? When the soul of the Wazīr is afflicted, the souls and hearts which hold their life from his are filled with anguish. By Allah ! I shall never look with pleasure on a beloved face whilst the face of the wazīr is emaciated by sickness. I mistake ; that extenuation results from his ardent soul inciting him to noble deeds. Cease then to grieve because that sky is overcast ; it will soon begin to shed (*refreshing*) showers."

By the same :

"I never employed the pleasure of existence except when at home, with a book for my companion. Nothing is dearer to me

than science, and I desire no other society. Intercourse with mankind is a degradation and the only one; avoid the world, and live in honour and authority".

By the same:

"Alas! what means this separation? why those journeyings forth and departures without end? When these dear friends have left me, let me die; I shall then have obtained my last remaining wish".

He composed a great quantity of poetry, all in a simple style, and he wrote a work entitled *al-Wasāṭah bayn al-Mutannabbī wa ẖuṣūmihi* (*mediation between al-Mutanabbī and his adversaries*) in which he displayed great abilities, vast learning, and extensive information. The *Hākim* Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Bayyī states, in his history of the eminent men of Naysāpūr, that he died in that city on the last day of Ṣafar, A. H. 366 (October, A. C. 976)\*; at the age of seventy-six years. The following relation is furnished by another historian: "He (*al-Jurjānī*) was a man of strict veracity, and his conduct as a qāḍī was most commendable; when he arrived at Naysāpūr with his brother Muḥammad, in the year 337 (A. C. 948-9), he had not reached the age of puberty. They both took lessons from the different masters there, and he died, in the post of grand-qāḍī, at Ray, A. H. 392 (A. C. 1301-2). His body was transported to Jurjān and there interred". The statement of the *Hākim* is however the most authentic and the truest. *Jurjān* is the name of a great city in the province of Māzandrān.

#### 402 IBN AL-MARZUBĀN

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Marzubān, the *Shāfi'ite* doctor, was a native of Baghdād. His talents as a jurisconsult and his profound piety ranked him as one of the most illustrious<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has "أعلى"; the other MSS. are wrong.

\* 27 October—Ed.

among, the learned. He studied jurisprudence under Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Qaṭṭān,<sup>1</sup> and gave lessons in the same science to Abu Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'īnī, on the first arrival of the latter at Baghdād. It is related that he used to say: "I do not know any person who can complain of being wronged by me"; he was a jurisconsult, however, and well knew that speaking ill of any person in his absence is wrong done to him.<sup>2</sup> He filled the post of professor at Baghdād. and had a peculiar manner of setting forth the system of al-Shāfi'i's doctrine. He died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 366 (Feb. March, A. C. 977). *Marzuṭān* is a Persian word meaning *master (or lord) of the frontier*; *marz* signifies *frontier*<sup>3</sup> and *bān*, *master*. This was originally a title given to those who were next in rank to the king.

#### 403 AL-MĀWARDĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, a native of Baṣrah and generally known by the surname of al-Māwardī, was one of the most distinguished and eminent jurisconsults of the Shāfi'ite sect. He studied law at Baṣrah under Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ṣaymarī,<sup>4</sup> and then at Baghdād under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'īnī.

1 See his life, No. 23.

2 I do not understand this observation, unless it signify that he never spoke ill of any person. I find my conjecture confirmed by al-Yāfi'i who says:

معناه أنه لم يعتب أحدا إذا الغيبه أحد المظالم

3 The word *marz* is the same as the English word *marches*. *Marzubān* is equivalent to *lord of the marches*, *lord marcher*, or *marquis*.

4 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Wāḥid Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaymar was one of the most eminent imāms of the Shāfi'ite sect. He studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Marwarrūdī and Abu 'l-Fayyāḍ al-Baṣrī. Having acquired a profound acquaintance with the system of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence, he gave lessons which were attended by pupils from all parts of the world. He composed a number of excellent works on the doctrines of his sect, and one of them, the *Ṭīḍāḥ* or *eluc dation*, forms five volumes. His other works are the *Kifāyah* (*sufficiency*), an abridged treatise which was commented by him in another work entitled

(Continued on page 272)

The knowledge which he had acquired, from oral transmission, of the doctrines of his sect was most extensive,<sup>1</sup> and it is impossible to read the *Hāwī* (or *comprehensive*), a work composed by him on that subject, without acknowledging his profound learning and perfect acquaintance with the whole system of *Shāfi'ite* jurisprudence. The office of *qāḍī* in a great number of towns was (*successively*) conferred upon him, and he (*at length*) took up his residence at Baghdād, in the *darb*<sup>2</sup>, or street, of al-Za'farān<sup>3</sup>. Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb, the author of the History of Baghdād, gives some traditional information on his authority and remarks that he held the highest character for veracity. Besides the *Hāwī*, he composed many other works, of which we may mention his Explanation of the *Qur'ān*, another treatise (*on the same subject*) entitled *al-Nakat wa 'l-'Uyūn*<sup>4</sup>; the *Adab al-Dīn wa 'l-Dunyā* (*instructions for this world and the next*); the *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyah* (*statuta sultanica*);<sup>5</sup> the *Qānūn al-Wizārah* (*organisation and functions of the wazirate*); the *Siyāsāt al-Mulk* (*administration of the state*); and *Iqnā' fi 'l-Madhhab* (*institution satisfaciens. de doctrinā sectae Shāfi'ite*), which last is an abridged treatise. He drew up some other works on the fundamentals of jurisprudence and on literature, and he contributed greatly by his labours to the general stock of information.<sup>6</sup> It is said that, whilst he lived, he did not publish any of his works, but put them all up together in a (*safe*) place, and that, on the approach of death, he said to a person

(Continued from page 271)

the *Irshād*. It is here necessary to remark that Abū Bakr al-Bayḍāwī composed another commentary on the *Kifāyah*, entitled also the *Irshād*. The precise year of Abū 'l-Qā'im al-Ṣaymarī's death is not known, but al-Dhahabī says in his *Tārī al-Islām* that he was still alive and at Baḡrah in A. H. 402 (A. C. 1014—5). *Ṣaymarī* is derived from *Saymara*, the name of a river near Baḡrah, the banks of which are covered with villages. *Tah. al-Shāf.*)

1 The original merely says; "He was *ḥāfiẓ* to the doctrine".

2 In the printed Arabic text, for *درب* read *درب*.

3 See No. 149.

4 This title may be rendered by *puncta et oculi* or *leptida dicta et fontes*.

5 This is a most learned and perfectly systematic treatise on the political and religious organisation of the Muslim state.

6 Literally: And the public profited by him.



who possessed his confidence : "The books in such a place were composed by me, but I abstained from publishing them, because I suspected that, although my intention in writing them was to work in God's service, that feeling, instead of being pure, was sullied by baser motives. Therefore, when you perceive me on the point of death and falling into agony, take my hand in yours, and if I press it, you will know thereby that none of these works has been accepted from me ; in this case, you must take them all and throw by night into the Tigris ; but if I open my hand and close it not, that is the sign of their having been accepted, and that my hope in the admission of my intention as sincere and pure has been fulfilled". "When al-Māwardī's death drew near", said that person, "I took him by the hand and he opened it without closing it on mine whence I knew that his labours had been accepted, and I then published his works". Towards the beginning of the History of Baghdād, the Khaṭīb has the following passage : "Al-Māwardī told me that he was in Baghdād when his brother wrote him these lines from Baṣrah :

"I have long desired to visit Baghdād and enjoy the sweetness of its air (*hawā*), but fate refused my wish ! How then can I support my absence from it now, since it possesses sweetness of air (*hawā*) and the dearest object of my love (*hawā*)<sup>1</sup> ?".

"Abu 'l-'Izz Aḥmad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Kādīsh relates as follows : Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Māwardī repeated to me the following lines as having been recited to him at Baṣrah by their author, the *kātib* Abu 'l-Khayr of Wāsiṭ :

"The pen of destiny traces future events ; 'tis therefore all the same to labour or to repose. 'Tis folly in you to toil for subsistence ; the child in the womb receives its full provision ! " "

It is related that, on his return from Baghdād to Baṣrah, al-Māwardī recited these words of al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf's :

"I dwelt in it for a time with dislike ; but when accustomed to it, I left it against my will. It was not that the place pleased

---

1 Literally : Since it unites in itself the two *hawās*, one of them having a long final *a* and the other a short one.

me, but it embittered my life to quit those I loved. I departed from it, though its aspect gave pleasure to my eyes but I left my heart as a hostage behind me".

His reason for reciting these verses was, that he belonged to Baṣrah and had no wish to leave it; wherefore he went to Baghdād against his will: after some time, he became reconciled to the place and forgot Baṣrah, so that it gave him great pain to quit it. Al-Sam'ānī attributes the foregoing lines to Abū Muḥammad al-Muzanī, an inhabitant of Transoxiana. Al-Māwardī died at Baghdād on Tuesday, the 30th of the first Rabi', A. H. 450 (May A. C. 1058),\* aged eighty-six years; he was interred the next morning in the cemetery at the Gate of Ḥarb. Al-Samānī says that *Māwardī* means a *seller of māward* or *rose-water*.

#### 404 ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-ASH'ARĪ.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ash'arī drew his descent from Ibn Abi Mūsā, one of the Prophet's Companions; he was the son of Ismā'il Ibn Abi Bishr Ishāq Ibn Sālim Ibn Ismā'il Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mūsā Ibn Bilāl Ibn Abi Burdah 'Āmir Ibn Abi Mūsā. This able dogmatic theologian and defender of the *sunnite* doctrines was the founder of the sect called Ash'arites, and his celebrity is sufficiently great to dispense us from making a long article on him. The qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī was the great champion and supporter of his peculiar doctrines.<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-'Ash'arī used to attend, every Friday, the lessons given in the mosque of al-Manṣūr at Baghdād, by the Shāfi'ite doctor Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī; and he would then take his place amongst the other pupils. He was born in Baṣrah, A. H. 270 (A. C. 883—4); some say 260; and he died suddenly at Baghdād between A. H. 330 and 340 (A. C. 942—952); it is stated however by Ibn al-Hamadānī,<sup>2</sup> in his continua-

1 The doctrines of Al-Ash'arī are set forth by al-Shahrastānī; see page 65 of the printed Arabic text.

2 See No. 125 and 167.

\* 26 May.—Ed.

tion of al-Ṭabarī's History, that al-Ash'arī died A. H. 330 and another account refers his death to the year 324. He was interred between the suburb of al-Karkh and the Baṣrah Gate. Mention has been already made of his ancestor Abū Burdah (no 295) "*Ash'arī means descended from Ash'ar*; the real name of Ash'ar was Nabī, the son of Udad Ibn Zayd Ibn Yashjub: he was surnamed Ash'ar (*the hairy*) because he came into the world with hair on his body". Such are the words of al-Sam'ānī. The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir has written a volume on the merits of al-Ash'arī.<sup>1</sup> \*{Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī was at first a Mu'tazilite, but he then made a public renunciation of his belief in man's free-will (*'adl*), and of the opinion that the *Qur'ān* was created. This occurred in the great mosque of Baṣrah, on a Friday; he was sitting in the chair from which he taught when he cried out as loud as he could: "They who know me, know whom I am; as for those who did not know me, I shall tell them: I am 'Alī Ibn Ismā'il al-Ash'arī, and I used to hold that the *Qur'ān* was created, that the eyes (*of men*) shall not see God, and that we ourselves are the authors of our evil deeds<sup>2</sup>; now, I have returned to the truth; I renounce these opinions and I take the engagement to refute the Mu'tazilites and expose their infamy and turpitude". He was strongly inclined to gaiety and humour. His works are the *Luma'* (*flashes*), the *Mūjaz* (*abridgment*), the *Iḍāḥ al-Burhān* (*elucidation of the work called the Burhān*); the *Tabiyīn* (*illustration*) treating of the dogmas of religion; the *Kitāb al-Sharḥ wa 'l-Tafsīl* (*explanation and exposition*), being a refutation of the people of falsehood and error (*the Mu'tazilites*). He is also the author of the treatises containing the refutation of the *Mulāhidāh* (*impious*) belonging to the various Mu'tazilite, Rāfiḍite Jahmite, Kharijite, and other heretic sects. He was interred in the *Mashru 'l-Zuwāyā* (*street of the cells*); his sepulchral monument

1 What follows exists no longer in the autograph, but these words in red ink هاهنا التخریج (*hahuna 'l-Takhrīj*) indicate sufficiently that the contents of a fly-leaf, now lost, were to be inserted here. It fortunately happens that the whole passage is preserved in two of my manuscripts.

2 See Pocock's *Specimen*, page 234, and Dr. Curenton's *Shahristān*, page 30.

\*{ } From "Abu 'l-Ḥasan to end not in the autograph.—Ed.

has a mosque at one side and lies near a bath : it is situated on the left hand, when going from the Bāzār to the Tigris. Al-Ash'arī supported himself on the produce of a landed estate which his ancestor Bilāl Ibn Abī Burdah had erected into a *waqf*, for the support of his descendants<sup>1</sup>; and his daily expense was seventeen dirhims. The foregoing observations are taken from the *Khaṭīb*. Abū Bakr al-Širafī<sup>2</sup> said : "The Mu'tazilites went with their heads up till such time as—God produced al-Ash'arī to the world". Al-Ash'arī's works are fifty-five in number].

#### 405 AL-KIYĀ AL-HARRĀSĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ṭabarī (*a native of Ṭabaristān*), and generally known by the appellation of al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī, was a doctor of the sect of al-Šhāfi'ī. On leaving his native place, he proceeded to Naysāpūr and studied jurisprudence under the Imām al-Ḥaramayn till he excelled in that science. His countenance was handsome, his voice clear and loud, his style elegant, and his language agreeable. From Naysāpūr he removed to Bayhaq where he taught publicly for some time and then went to 'Irāq, where he was appointed head-professor at *Nizāmiyah* College of Baghdād. This place he continued to hold till his death. In the *Siyāq*, or continuation of the History of Naysāpūr, the *ḥāfiẓ* 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (*no.* 377) speaks of him in these terms : "He was one of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn's principal undertutors<sup>3</sup>; a second Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī; nay,

1 By the Muslim law, a man may settle the *income* of his lands and tenements on his descendants to the last generation. He has only to convert his property into a *waqf* (by making over to a charitable establishment), with the reservation that the annual income is to be applied to that purpose. On the failure of descendants, the income reverts to the establishment.

2 The life of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Š'raf will be found in this work.

3 The Arabic word is *مُعِدِّ* *Mu'idd*; it corresponds in some degree to the French *repetiteur*. The *mu'ids* were chosen by the professor among his most advanced scholars, and their duty was to instruct the junior pupils and make them repeat their lesson till they knew it by heart. See M. de Sacy's *Abd Allatif*, p. 459.

more profound in learning, more holy in life, more pleasing in voice, and more agreeable in countenance". After his arrival in Baghdād, al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī was attached to the service of Majd al-Mulk Barkyāruq, the son of Saljūq sul'ān Mālik Shāh (no. 107), and was raised by his favour to wealth and honour. Under that dynasty, he filled the duties of chief Qādi. He possessed great information in the science of the Traditions, and he used to cite them with success in his discussions and conferences. On this subject, one of his sayings was: "When the horseman of the Traditions gallops about in the hippodrome of contestation, the heads of analogical deductions are struck off and given to the winds!". The following relation was made by the ḥafīẓ Abu 'l-Ṭāhir<sup>2</sup> al-Silafī: "When I was in Baghdād, in the year 495, I asked a *fatwā* (legal opinion) from our master Abu 'l-Ḥasan on a point which I had argued with the jurisconsults in the *Nizāmiyah* College; the question I proposed to him was expressed in these terms: 'What does the Imām (whom God may favour!) say of this: a man willed one-third of his property to the learned and to the jurisconsults; are the writers of the Traditions included in the legacy or not?' Under this question the *shaykh* wrote as follows: 'They are; and why should they not? has not the Prophet<sup>3</sup> said: "*He who, for the advantage of my people, preserves forty Traditions relating to their religion, shall be raised up by God, on the day of the resurrection, as a jurisconsult and learned man*".' " Al-Kiyā's opinion having been asked respecting (the legality of cursing) Yazid the son of Mu'āwiyah, he returned the following answer: "He was not of the Companions, for he was born in the days of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb<sup>4</sup>. As for the opinion of the early Imāms on this subject, we shall state that Aḥmad (Ibn Ḥanbal) has expressed

1 He means to say that a legal opinion formed from analogical deductions must yield to the authority of a genuine Tradition. See Introduction to Vol. I.

2 The surname of Abu 'l-Ṭāhir may be written indifferently with or without the article.

3 See Mathew's *Mishkāt*, Vol. I, p. 65.

4 Muḥammad gave repeated injunctions that no person should curse or speak ill of his Companions. See *Mishkāt et. seq.*

himself twice on it ; once he said that the curse might be implied, and another time that it should be openly expressed, Mālik has delivered two similar opinions, and Abū Ḥanīfah also : but I hold one only — that it should be openly expressed. And why should it not ? Was not Yazid a player at *nerd*<sup>1</sup>, a hunter with trained leopards, and an inveterate wine-bibber, on which subject his poetry is sufficiently known, One of these pieces ran as follows :

“When the wine-cup assembled my companions, and the musician sung to excite the joys of love, I bade them take a full share of pleasures and delight, for even the things which last the longest must have an end.”

He continued his answer in the same strain, and wrote on the back of the leaf<sup>2</sup> : “Had I space enough left, I should slack the rein in exposing the infamies of this man. Signed, ‘Alī Ibn Muḥammad.’” The Imām Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī was once consulted on the same subject, and he gave an opinion altogether contrary to the foregoing. The questions proposed to him were these : “Should a person who openly cursed Yazid be considered as a reprobate, or should he be treated with indulgence ? Had Yazid the intention of slaying al-Ḥusayn, or was it done in self-defence ? Is it permitted to say *God have mercy on him* when speaking of Yazid, or is it better to suppress the prayer ? May the *mufī* be rewarded with the Divine favour for dissipating our doubts !” His answer was as follows : “It is absolutely forbidden to curse a Muslim, and he who curses a Muslim is himself the accursed ; The blessed Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup> having said : *The Muslim is not a curser*. And how should it be allowable to curse a Muslim, when it is not permitted to curse the beasts of the field ? The prohibition from doing so has been transmitted down to us ; and moreover, *the dignity of a Muslim is greater than the dignity of the Ka'bah*, according to the positive declaration of the blessed Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup>. Now, it is certain that Yazid was a Muslim, but it is not certain that he slew al-Ḥusayn, or that he ordered or consented to his death ; and as

1 A sort of backgammon. See Hyde's *Historia Nerdiludii* in his treatise *de Ludis Orientalibus*

2 This is not usual in *fatwās* or in letters.

long as these circumstances remain undecided, it is not allowable to believe that he acted so. Besides, it is forbidden to think ill of a Muslim since Almighty God has said: *Be not ready to entertain unfavourable opinions* (of another), *for some times those opinions are a crime*<sup>1</sup>, and the blessed Prophet<sup>2</sup> has declared that *the blood, the wealth, and the reputation of the Muslim are sacred, and of him no ill should be thought*. Moreover, if any person assert that Yazīd ordered al-Ḥusayn's death or consented to it, he gives thereby an evident proof of his extreme folly; for, were he to endeavour to discover the true circumstances of the death of such great men, wazīrs, and sulṭāns as perished in his own time—were he to essay to find out who ordered the deed to be committed, who consented to it, and who disapproved of it, he would not succeed,—not even if the murder were perpetrated in his neighbourhood and in his presence. How then could he pretend to know the particular of a similar occurrence which took place in a distant country and in a by-gone age? And how can he know the truth (of Yazīd's conduct), now that nearly four hundred years have elapsed, and that the crime was committed in a place far remote? It must be considered also that this event was taken up by party-spirit, and that *false* statements respecting it abounded on all sides; the true circumstances of it cannot therefore be known; and such being the case, it is incumbent on us to think well of every Muslim who can possibly deserve it. To this we shall add some observations: suppose that there be positive proof of one Muslim's having murdered another, the doctrine of the orthodox jurisconsults<sup>2</sup>, is, that the murderer is not an infidel, because the act itself is not an act of infidelity, but of disobedience (towards God). It may also happen that the murderer repent before he dies. And if an infidel be converted from his infidelity, it is not allowable to curse him; how much the less then is it allowable to curse him who repents of having committed murder? Besides, how can it be known that the murderer of al-Ḥusayn died

---

1 *Qur'an*, sūrat 49, verse 12.

2 Literally: Of the people of the truth.

unrepenting? and He (God) accepteth the repentance of His creatures<sup>1</sup>. Wherefore, in as much as it is not lawful to curse a Muslim after his death, he who curses him is a reprobate and disobedient to God. Suppose even that it were permitted to curse him, the abstaining therefrom would be no crime, according to the unanimous opinion of the Imāms; nay, the man who never once, during the course of his existence, cursed Satan, will not be asked on the day of judgment why he cursed him not. And as for him who cursed Satan, he shall be asked his motive for so doing, and how he knew that Satan was rejected and accursed. The accursed are those who are far removed from Almighty God, but who those may be is a mystery, except in the case of such persons as die infidels; for we know by the Divine law that they are accursed. As for the invoking of the Divine mercy on Yazīd, it is allowable, nay, acceptable (*in the sight of God*),—nay, it is included in these words which we utter in every prayer: *O God! pardon the men and the women who believe*; for Yazīd was a believer. God knows if my opinion be right. Signed: al-Ghazzālī". Al-Kiyā al-Ḥarrāsī was born in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 450 (Dec.-Jan, A.C. 1058-9); he died at Baghdād on the afternoon of Thursday, the 1st of Muḥarram A.H. 504 (July, A.C. 1110),\* and was buried in the funeral chapel erected over the tomb of the shaykh Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī. The shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Zaynabī,<sup>2</sup> and the Qaḍī 'l-Quḍḍāt Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Dāmaghānī, who were the chiefs of the Ḥanīfite sect at that time, attended his funeral notwithstanding the coldness which had subsisted between them and him; one of them stood at the head of the corpse, the other at the foot, and Ibn al-Dāmaghānī recited this appropriate verse:

"The wailings and lamentations of the female mourners are useless! like words uttered yestereven, thou existest for us no longer."

The following verse was then pronounced by al-Zaynabī:

1 *Qur'an*, *sūrat* 9, verse 105.

2 Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusayn al-Zaynabī, the Ḥanīfite doctor, surnamed Nūr al-Hudā (*light of the direction*), died A. H. 512 (A. C. 1118-9). (*Al-Yaḥi'ī*)

\* 20 July.—Ed.



"Women are sterile and have produced none like him; nay, they will never produce his equal,"

I do not know for what reason he received the name of *al-Kiyā* which is a Persian word signifying *a man of rank and influence*. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir states, in his great historical work, that the celebrated poet Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ghazzālī (no. 17) passed some time under al-Kiyā's tuition at the *Nizāmiyah* Collge, and that he composed the following extempore lines on his death :

Behold the work of Fate, which spareth none and letteth none escape! Mankind has no place of refuge from Fate's decrees. Were exalted station a protection against its attacks, no eclipse would even obscure the brightness of the sun and moon. Ask the dastard who lives in apprehension of death, if precaution ever availed against it; Islāmism weeps the absence of its sun, and sheds floods of tears, compared to which the rain would be found less copious. Behold that learned Divine who used to receive us with an open and smiling countenance; with that look of pleasure which, to a visitor, was the best of welcomes. Death may tread him under foot, but his vast learning has spread abroad to distant climes. O thou who wert the pillar of the faith! may the clouds of heaven shed a copious shower, each morning, on thy tomb. Thou hast left us in affliction and the news of this misfortune has reached all mankind—has the news of their desolution at length reached thee? Thy instructive lessons gave new life to (*al-Shāfi'i*) Ibn Idris, and at (*the beauty*) of their composition, intelligence and reflection stood amazed. He who was so fortunate as to note them down, possesses now a flambeau of unfading brightness. The obscurities of jurisprudence, elucidated by thy words, are like the foreheads of brown horses marked with a white star. Did I know thy equal, I should invoke him and exclaim: 'The age is impoverished and requires soccours from thy riches!.' "

---

1 In this verse I follow the printed text and the later MSS. but the autograph has *ثردا* not *ثردا*. If this reading be adopted, the sense is: "Our age requires a man like him".

## 406 THE ḤĀFĪZ ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-MAQDISI

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of al-Anjab Abu 'l Makārim al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-Ghayth Mufarrij Ibn Ḥāṭim Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ja'far Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Lakhmi al-Maqdisi (*a member of the tribe of Lakhm and sprung from a family belonging to Jerusalem*), was an eminent doctor of the Malikite sect, and a ḥāfīz of the highest reputation for his learning in the Traditions and the sciences connected with them. Alexandria was the place of his birth and residence. When the ḥāfīz al-Silafī settled in that city, Abu 'l- Ḥasan al-Maqdisi became his disciple and profited greatly under his tuition; such was also the case with our learned master Zakī al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhīrī (*no. 43n*), who completed his education under the same ḥāfīz. Al-Mundhīrī spoke of his condisciple as a person of great talent and holiness of life; he recited to me numerous pieces of verse composed by him, such as those which follow:

"I have now passed my sixtieth year, and must declare that the happiest of my days were mixed with affliction. Visitors ask me who I am?—Judge what is the state of him who has settled in (*a spot which is always*) a field of battle!"

"(O my soul!) hold firm by the doctrines transmitted from the best of Prophets, from his Companions and his Tābi'is. When thou hast used thy efforts in propagating his religion, thou mayest perhaps be perfumed with the sweet odour of that pious work. To-morrow, on the day of reckoning, when the fires of hell shall rage intensely, fear lest thou becomest a prisoner there."

"There are three *b's* which torment us, *bakk* (*bugs*), *burgūth* (*fleas*), and *barghash* (*gnats*); the three fiercest species of created beings, and I know not which is the worst."

"There was a maid with rosy lips, whose kiss gave new life to him whom she saluted; wine mixed with musk seemed to be contained within them. I tasted not her lips, but I state the fact on good authority; I learned it from the tooth pick which had been with herself."

This is now a common idea, having been rendered familiar to us by the verses of the ancients and the moderns. It is thus that Bāshshār Ibn Burd says in one of his pieces :

"O thou whose lips are the sweetest in the world ! not that I have made the test, but the evidence of the toothpicks suffices."

And al-Abiwardī says in one of his poems :

"Her companions told me that they learned from the toothpick of *arūk-wood* that her lips were sweet."

The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Maqdisī was a *deputy-ḥākim*<sup>1</sup> at Alexandria, and professed in that city at the College which bears his name ; he then removed to Cairo and continued, till his death, to fill the place of professor in the *Ṣaḥibiyah* college ; founded by the Wazīr Ṣaḥī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī, better known by the surname of Ibn *Shukr*.<sup>2</sup> He was born at Alexandria on the eve of Saturday, the 24th of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 544 (March, A.C. 1150)\*, and he died at Cairo on Friday, the first of *Sha'bān*, A.H. 611 (December, A.C. 1214).† His father al-Qāḍī 'l-Anjāb (*the most noble Qāḍī*) Abū 'l-Makārim al-Mufaḍḍal died in the month of Rajab, A.H. 584 (August September, A.C. 1188) ; he was born A.H. 503 (A.C. 1109-10). *Maqdisī* means *belonging to Bayt al-Maqdis* (*the House of the Holy Place, Jerusalem*).

#### 407 SAYF AL-DĪN AL-'ĀMIDĪ

Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sālim al-*Tha'labī*‡ (*member of the tribe of Tha'labah and*) surnamed Sayf al-Dīn (*sword of the fai.h*) al-'Āmidī, was a dogmatic theologian—On commencing his studies, he went down to Baghdād, and as he belonged to the sect of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, he put himself under the

1 See No. 385, note.

2 See No. 88, note.

\* 25 March.—*Ed.*

† 5 December.—*Ed.*

‡ The autograph reading is al-Taghlibī (*member of the tribe of Taghlib*).—*Ed.*

tuition of the Ḥanbalite doctor Ibn al-Mannī Abu 'l-Faḥ Naṣr Ibn Fityān; but, after some time, he passed over to the sect of al-Shāfi'i and attended the lessons of the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Faḍlān<sup>1</sup>, under whose direction he studied controversy and rose to distinction by his acquirements in that science. Having committed to memory the *Ṭarīqah*, or system of controversy, composed by the *Sharīf*<sup>2</sup> and the *Zawā'id*, or appendix to the controversial treatise of As'ad al-Mihani<sup>3</sup> (no. 86), he passed into Sayria and studied the intellectual sciences with such success, that he was pronounced to be the most learned person of the age in these branches of knowledge. He then removed to Egypt and occupied the post of under-tutor in the college situated in the lesser Qarāfah cemetery, near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi'i. He then became professor in the mosque at Cairo, called *al-Jāmi' al-Zāfirī*, and his increased reputation attracted numerous pupils. The successful results of his tuition excited at length the jealousy of some native jurisconsults, who formed a party against him, and accused him of heterodoxy, laxity of moral principle, atheism and attachment to the doctrines of the (*ancient Greeks*) philosophers and sages. They then drew up a complaint in which they denounced him guilty of these crimes, and affixed to it their signatures with the declaration that he deserved the punishment of death. I have been informed by one of those doctors, who was a man of in-

1 Abu 'l-Qāsim Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn Hibat Allāh, surnamed Ibn Faḍlān and Jamāl al-Dīn (*beauty of religion*), was a learned doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i. He studied jurisprudence at Baḥḥad, his native place, under Abū Maṣṣūr al-Razzāq, and at Naysāpūr under 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā, a disciple of al-Ghazzālī. He professed at Baḥḥad, and was considered as one of the first master's in the science of jurisprudence, dogmatic theology, controversy, and dialectics. Born A. H. 515 (A. C. 1121-2); died in the month of Ṣhaḥbān A. H. 555 (June, A. C. 1199). (*Ṭab al-Shāfi'.*)

2 This *Ṭarīqah* is designated further on as the *Jadl*; it seems to have been a treatise on points of law controverted between the orthodox sects. The author, who is here designated the *Sharīf*, is unknown to me, and has not been noticed by Ḥajjī Khalīfah. The whole passage of Ibn Khalīkān has been repeated, without any observation, in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn* and by al-Yāfi'i in his *Annals*.

3 Read الميهني in the printed text, not, البيهقي.

telligence and instruction, that, on remarking the excessive animosity by which the cabal was actuated, he inscribed the following verse with his signature on the document, when it was brought to him that he might insert in it a declaration similar to that of the others :

"They envied the man because they could not equal him in merit ; such are his foes and accusers."

When Sayf al-Dīn perceived his enemies combined against him and discovered their projects, he withdrew secretly from the country and proceeded to Syria. He then settled in the city of Ḥamāt and composed a number of instructive works on dogmatic theology, the fundamentals of jurisprudence, logic, philosophy, and controversy. Of these we shall indicate the *Abkār al-Askār* (*original ideas*) on scholastic theology ; an abridgment of the same, entitled *Manā'ih al-Qarā'ih* (*borrowings from natural genius*) ; the *Rumūz al-Kunūz* (*indications of hidden treasures*) ; the *Daqā'iq al-Ḥaqā'iq* (*subtilia veritatum*) ; the *Lubāb al-Albāb* (*core of the hearts*) ; the *Muntihā 'l-Sūl* (*results of inquiry*) ; being a treatise on the fundamentals (*of faith and jurisprudence*). He composed also a system of controversy, an abridgment of the same, and a commentary on the *Sharīf's Jahl*, or treatise on dialectics. The number of his works amounted to about twenty. Having removed to Damascus, he obtained the professorship in the 'Azīziyah college, but after a lapse of some time he was deprived of his place, on account of some suspicions which had been cast upon him. From that period till his death, he remained unoccupied and confined himself to his house. He died on the 3rd of Ṣafar, A.H. 631 (November, A.C. 1233)\*, and was buried at the foot of mount Qāsiyūn. His birth took place A.H. 551 (A.C. 1156). " 'Āmidī means *belonging to 'Āmid*, a large city in Diyār Bakr, near the country of Rūm (*Asia Minor*). Abu l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Ibn Fityān Ibn al-Manni was a doctor of the law and a traditionist.

---

1 By *system of controversy* is meant a general view of all the points on which the orthodox sects disagree ; with the arguments in favour of the opinions held by the sect to which the author belongs.

\* 8 November.—Ed.

He instructed numerous disciples. Born A.H. 501 (A.C. 1107-8); died, 5th Ramaḍān, 583 (November, A.C. 1187).\*

#### 408 AL-KISĀ'Ī

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bahman Ibn Fayrūz, surnamed al-Kisā'ī a *mawlā* to the tribe of Asad and a native of Kūfah, was one of the seven *readers* of the *Qur'ān*. In grammar, philology, and the *Qur'ānic readings* he displayed abilities of the highest order, but in poetry his skill was so inferior that it was currently said: "Amongst all the learned in grammar, there is not one who knows less of poetry than al-Kisā'ī." He was tutor to al-Amin the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and instructed him in the belles-lettres. Having neither wife nor slave-girl, he addressed some verses to al-Rashīd, complaining of his celibacy<sup>1</sup>, and that *khalīf* ordered him a present of ten thousand pieces of silver, a beautiful slave-girl with all her attire, a eunuch, and a horse completely harnessed. Being one day in company with Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, the Ḥanīfite jurisconsult, at an assembly held by al-Rashīd, he remarked that a person versed in one science could find his ways in all the others, on which Muḥammad said to him: "What is then your opinion of a man who, in making the satisfactory prostrations which some neglect or irregularity in the prescribed prayers rendered necessary again commits an irregularity? must he renew his prostrations?" To this he replied in the negative<sup>2</sup>, and gave for reason that a noun which has already assumed the diminutive form cannot be diminished again. It is thus that I found this anecdote related in a number of places, but the *Khaṭīb* says, in his History of Baghdād, that the conversation took

1 Ibn *Khaṭīb* gives the verses, but they cannot be translated. They form an enigma the word of which designates the attribute of Priapus.

2 This is conformable to the law which says: *سجود السجود في سجود السجود* لا يجب.

\* 8 November. — Ed.

place between Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan and al-Farrāʾī, who were sisters' sons. Muḥammad then asked him if the sentence of divorce joined to the condition of possession was valid? Al-Kisāʾī answered that it was not, and gave for reason that *the torrent does not precede the rain*<sup>2</sup>. He had some conferences and discussions

1 The lives of the grammarian Abū Zakariya Yahyā al-Farrāʾī and of the jurisconsult Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan will be found in this work.

2 The sentence of divorce joined to the condition of possession (*ta'liq al-ṭalāq ba 'lmilk*) is when a man says to a woman who is not his wife. *If I marry thee, thou art divorced*, or when he says: *Every woman whom I may marry is divorced*. The Ḥanifite doctors admit the validity of the divorce in this case, and consider it as immediately effected by the act of marriage. The Shāfiʿites deny its validity. Al-Kisāʾī denied it also on the principle that *the torrent does not precede the rain*, or, in other words, that the consequence cannot precede the antecedent. The expression he makes use of was proverbial among the Arabs of the desert, and well known also to every philologist and grammarian. It is to be found in Freytag's *Meidani*, Vol. I, page 613, under another form, namely *سبق مطره سيله precessit pluvia ejus torrentem ejus*,

The milk or possession is effected by the act of marriage التزويج سبب للملك and the married man is *malik* or *possessor*. The persons who take an interest in this question will find the requisite information in D'Oshson's *Tableau general de l'empire ottoman*, tom. V., p. 208. and Hamilton's *Hidāyah*, Vol. I. The following extracts from works of high authority are relative to this question; but as their technicality renders a literal transmission extremely difficult, I prefer giving them in the original language.

إذا اُضيف الطلاق إلى النكاح وقع عقيب النكاح نحو ان يقول  
لامرأة ان تزوجتك فانت طالق او كل امرأة تزوجها فهي طالق  
... و اذا اُضافه إلى الشرط وقع عقيب الشرط مثل ان يقول لامراته  
ان دخلت الدار فانت طالق - ولا يصح اضافة الطلاق الا ان يكون  
الطالق مالكا او يضيفه إلى ملك والاُضافه إلى سبب الملك كالتزويج  
كا لا اضافة إلى الملك -

(Fatāwā 'Ālamgiri, Vol. I. p. 586)

قول ابي حنيفة انه يصح تعليق الطلاق والعق بالملك  
فيلزم الطلاق او العتق سواء اطلق او عمم او خصص و صورته ان  
يقول لا جنبه ان تزوجتك فانت طالق او كل امرأة تزوجها

(Continued on page 289)

with Sibawayh and Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, of which we shall take further notice in the lives of these two grammarians. The traditional knowledge handed down by al-Kisā'ī was received by him from Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ayyāsh (no. 242), Ḥamzah al-Zayyāt (no. 199), Ibn 'Uyaynah (no. 255), and others; among the persons who transmitted the information furnished by al-Kisā'ī were al-Farrā and Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām. Al-Kisā'ī died A.H. 189 (A.C. 804-5) at Ray, to which city he had accompanied Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Sam'ānī observes that the death of Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan occurred on the same day and at the same place, but Ibn al-Jawzī remarks, in his *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd*, that he (the latter) died at Zanbawayh,\* a village in the canton of Ray. Al-Sam'ānī states again that al-Kisā'ī died at Ṭūs in A.H. 182 (A.C. 798-9); or 183. God knows best the truth! It is related that al-Rashīd said on this occasion: "The sciences of jurisprudence and grammar have been interred at Ray." *Kisā'ī* means *a wearer of a Kisā or cloak*: he received this name because, on his arrival at Kūfah, he went muffled up in a cloak to Ḥamzah Ibn Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt, who (being then engaged in giving lessons to his pupils) asked which of them wished to read? To this one of them replied: "He with the cloak (*al-Kisā'ī*)."<sup>\*</sup> Others state that he was so called because he had used a cloak instead of an *Ihrām* when performing the pilgrimage.

#### 409 AL-DĀRAQUṬNĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Umar Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Maḥdī, a *ḥāfiẓ* of great learning and celebrity, and a jurisconsult of the sect of

(Continued from page 288)

فهو طالق او يقول لعبد ان ملكتك فانت حر او كل عبد اشتريته  
فهو حر و قول مالك انه يلزم الطلاق او العتق اذا خصص او  
عين قبيله او قريه او امرأة بعينها لا ان اطلق او عمم و قول  
الشافعي و احمد انه لا يلزم الطلاق او العتق مطاقا -

(*al-Mizān al-Sharāniyah*. MS. No. 369, fol. 194).

\* The Egyptian edition gives Ranbawayh.—Ed.



al-Shāfi'i, was a native of Baghdād. He acquired his knowledge of the law from Abū Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhrī the Shāfi'ite doctor (no. 150); but this statement is contradicted by some, who pretend that one of Abū Sa'īd's disciples was his master in that science. He learned the *reading* of the *Qur'ān*, by *audition and repetition*<sup>1</sup>, under Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Naqqāsh. 'Alī Ibn Sa'īd al-Qazzāz, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭabarī and other eminent teachers of the same period. When a mere boy, he began to learn Traditions from Abū Bakr Ibn Mujāhid (no. 11, note), and having at length come to be considered as the sole Imām (or *first master*) of the age in that science, none of his contemporaries ever disputed his title. Towards the end of his life he commenced teaching the *Qur'ān readings* at Baghdād. He was well informed on the points wherein the doctors of the different sects disagree, and he knew by heart many of the *diwāns*, or collected poetical works, of the desert Arabs. As one of these *dīwāns* consisted of the poems composed by al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī<sup>2</sup>, he was held by some for a

1 See the observations No. 249, note.

2 I am indebted to M. Caussin de Perceval for the following note on al-Ḥimyarī:

Esseyid al-Ḥimyarī, dont le prenom était Abou Hāchīm et le véritable nom Ismail, était fils de Mohammad fils de Yezyd fils de Rabia, etc. Son grand-père Yezyd avait composé des satires contre Zyād (Ibn Abihi) et ses fils, et fut pour cela jeté en prison et tourmenté par Obaydallah fils de Zyād. Les trois poètes arabes qui ont fait le plus de vers sont Bechar, Abou'l-Atahiyya et Esseyid; personne n'a pu recueillir toutes leurs poésies. Quant à Esseyid, ses vers sont tombés dans l'oubli, malgré leur nombre et leur mérite, parcequ'ils sont remplis d'attaques contre les compagnons du 1/4 Prophète, contre Abou Becr, Omar, Othman et contre Ayecha et autres épouses de Mahomet. Les père et mère d'Esseyid étaient de la secte hérétique des *Ebadhi* "أبا ضيعه", lui il était de la secte chiite des *Keissani* كيسانية. (Cette secte, suivant Ibn Khaldoun, trait son non de son fondateur *Kessān*). Il admettait l'imāmat de Mohammad Ibn al-Hanafiya (*his life is given by Ibn Khallikan*) et professait l'opinion du retour "يقول بالرجعة" c'est-à-dire qu'il croyait que Mohammad Ibn el-Hanafiya n'était point mort et qu'il reviendrait un jour. Esseyid a fait beaucoup de poésies on l'honneur des Hachemites, particulièrement des Alides, et contre les ars adversaires. Lorsque les Omeyyades furent renversés, il complimenta Abu 'l-Abbas Seffah, qui, pour le recompenser

(Continued on page 291)

follower of the Shī'ite doctrines. Traditional information was given on his authority by Abū Nu'aym (*no.* 32) the author of the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā* and by many other persons. In the year 376 (A.C. 986-7) he gave evidence as a witness before the *qādī* Ibn Ma'rūf (*no.* 154) an act of which he afterwards repented, "because," said he, "the statements which I furnished relative to the blessed Prophet were admitted on my own authority as exact, whereas my declaration in a court of justice is not receivable unless corroborated by that of another person<sup>1</sup>." Amongst the works composed by him are a *Sunan*, or collection of Traditions, and a *Mukhtaliḥ wa Mu'taliḥ*<sup>2</sup>. He was induced to leave Baghdād and travel to Egypt by the intelligence which he received that Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far Ibn Ḥinzābah (*no.* 130), the Wazīr of Kāfūr, had the intention of composing a *Musnad*<sup>3</sup>. As he wished to assist in that work, he undertook the journey and remained with the Wazīr for sometime, during which he received from him marks of the highest honour, with a liberal subvention for his expenses, and an abundance of presents. He

(Continued from page 290)

de ses vers, lui dit de demander ce qu'il voudrait. Esseyid demanda pour Souleyman fils de Habib le gouvernement d'el-Ahwāz, qui lui fut accordé. Le cadī de Basra, Sewwar fils d'Abadallah, ayant un jour refusé d'admettre son témoignage en justice. Esseyid lui écrivit une lettre où il le baffouait et alla ensuite reciter au calife Mansour une satire virulente contre ce magistrat ; celui-ci vint à l'instant se plaindre. Mansour lui dit en riant : Ne sais-tu pas qu'Eyas fils de Moāwia recur le témoignage de Farazdak ; pourquoi blesser un homme qui a une langue comme celle d'Esseyid ?" Ensuite le calife ordonna à Esseyid de faire sa paix avec le cadī. Mais l'inimitié du poète et du juge continua, et ils cherchaient à se nuire réciproquement. Esseyid ayant dit un jour au calife que Sewwar voulait suborner des témoins pour le condamner comme coupable de vol, Mansour fit venir le cadī "et lui dit : "Je t'ôte à l'égard d'Esseyid tes fonctions de juge". Esseyid mourut à Wasit, les uns disent sous le règne de Mansour, d'autres sous celui de Haroun—[According to Abū'l-Maḥāsīn, in his *Nujūm*, this poet died A. H. 171 (A. C. 787-8).

1 In all civil and criminal causes, generally speaking the evidence of two witnesses is requisite to establish the proof of a fact. In civil matters, witnesses may, if they like, withhold their evidence.

2 This is a treatise on such traditionists as might be confounded with others from the similarity of their names.

3 See No. 130, note on *Musnad*.

thus, by the favour of Ibn Ḥinzābah became possessor of a large fortune, and he remained with him till the completion of the work. During that period, he and the ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ḡhanī Ibn Sa'īd (no. 376) contributed their joint efforts to the task of extracting (*the materials of*) the *Musnad* (*from various sources*) and writing them out. 'Abd al-Ḡhanī used to say: "The persons who discoursed the best of all on the Traditions of the Prophet<sup>2</sup> were three in number; 'Ali Ibn al-Madīnī<sup>1</sup> in his age, Mūsā Ibn Ḥārūn<sup>2</sup> in his, and al-Dāraquṭnī in ours." One of al-Dāraquṭnī's pupils having asked him if he ever saw a person equal to himself (*in learning*), he returned no direct answer, but merely observed that God had said: "*Justify not yourselves*<sup>3</sup>." The other insisted notwithstanding, and al-Dāraquṭnī at length replied: "If you mean in a single science, I have seen (*persons*) more able than myself; but if you mean in all the branches of knowledge which I possess,

---

1 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Najīb Ibn al-Madīnī, a *mawla* to the tribe of Sa'd, a ḥāfiẓ of the highest eminence, and one of the great imāms of Islāmism, was a native of Baḡrah. His acquirements in the Traditions were most extensive, and he displayed great penetration in appreciating their authenticity and the credibility of the persons by whom they had been transmitted down *العلل والتعديل والجرح*. He composed nearly two hundred works on the subject, and his authority was cited by al-Bukhārī, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nisā'i, Ibn Mājah, al-Termedī, and others. His conduct and demeanour were modelled on that of the early Muslims, and his actions, words, dress, manner of sitting, and general behaviour were noted down, by the learned doctors of that time, as worthy of imitation. He received his traditional knowledge from his own father, who was also a celebrated traditionist, and from Ḥammād Ibn Zayd, Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah, Hughaym, and others. Al-Bukhārī said of him: "I was never sensible of my inferiority but in the presence of 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī;" and Ibn 'Uyaynah declared that were it not on Ibn al-Madīnī's account, he would never have given lessons *ما جلت*. He was born. A. H. 161 (A. C. 777-8), and he died in the month of Dhū 'l-Qā'dah, A. H. 234 (May-June, A. H. 849). '*Uyūn al-Tawārīkh*, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*. *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*. Abu 'l-Feda's Annals; and Reiske's note).

2 The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Imrān Mūsā Ibn Ḥārūn was a native of Baḡhdād. He bore the reputation of being the first imām of the age in the science of Traditions. He died A. H. 294 (A. C. 906-7).—(Al-Yāfi'i).

3 *Qur'an*, sūrat 53, verse 33.

why then I never met my equal." He was versed in a great variety of sciences, and was a master of the highest rank in those connected with the *Qur'ān*. His birth took place in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, 306, (April, A.C. 919), and his death occurred at Baghḍād on Wednesday, the 8th (some say the 2nd) of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 385 (December, A.C. 995).<sup>\*</sup> Some place his death in the month of *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*. The funeral service was said over him by Abu Ḥāmid al-Isfara'īni (no. 25), and he was buried in the cemetery at the Convent Gate (*Bāb al-Dayr*), near the tomb of Ma'rūf al-Karkhīl. *Dāraqutnī* means *belonging to Dār al-Qutn* (cotton-house), an extensive quarter of Baghḍād.

#### 410 AL-RUMMĀNĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Isā Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Rummānī was a celebrated and learned *Imām* in the sciences of grammar and scholastic theology. He is also the author of an interpretation of the *Qur'ān*. His master in general literature were Abū Bakr (*Muḥammad*) Ibn al-Sarrāj; and some of the information which he acquired was transmitted down from him by Abū 'l-Qāsim (*Muḥammad*) al-Tanūkhī<sup>2</sup>, Abū Muḥammad al-Jawharī, and others. He was born at Baghḍād. A.H. 296 (A.C. 903-9), and he died on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of the first Jumādā. A.H. 384 (June, A.C. 994)<sup>†</sup>; according to another statement, he died A.H. 382. His family belonged to Sarraman-raa. *Rummānī* may here possibly signify a *seller of Rummān* or *pomegranates*, but it may also serve to designate a native of *Qaṣr al-Rummān*, a well-known castle at Wāsiṭ. A great number of persons have received this surname for one or the other reason, but which of these it was that procured it for Abu 'l-Ḥasan is not specified by al-Sam'ānī.

1 The life of Ma'rūf is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 The lives of three persons just mentioned are given by Ibn Khallikān.

\* 4 December or 28 November.—Ed.

† 24 June.—Ed.

## 411 ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-ḤAWFĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Sa'id Ibn Yūsuf al-Ḥawfī was a learned grammarian and an able expositor of the *Qur'ān*, on which last subject he left an excellent work. He directed the studies of numerous pupils with success, and I have remarked, in many books on philological subjects, certificates in his own hand-writing to prove that the possessors of these books had read them under his tuition; in this he followed the general custom of teachers. He died on Saturday morning, the 1st of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 430 (August, A.C. 1039).<sup>\*</sup> Relative to *Ḥawf* from which the surname of *Ḥawfī* is derived, al-Sam'ānī says: "I imagined that it was a village in Egypt, till I saw in al-Bukhārī's historical work that it is situated in 'Umān. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥawfī drew his origin from this place: he possessed a great portion of the works composed by Abū Ja'far al-Naḥḥās (no. 39). On this I must observe that *Ḥawf* is not, as he supposes, a village in Egypt, but a well-known tract of country in the province of *Sharqiyah*, the capital of which is Bulbays: they give the name of *Ḥawf* to all the *Rif*, or cultivated part<sup>1</sup> of that country, but I do not know of village there so called. Abu 'l-Ḥasan belonged to the *Ḥawf* in Egypt. The preceding article had been finished some time when I met with a notice containing the particulars of al-Ḥawfī's life. From this it appears that he belonged to a village called *Shubra 'l-Nakhlah*<sup>2</sup>, in the province of *Sharqiyah*; he then went to Old Cairo (*Miṣr*), where he studied under Abū Bakr, al-Adḥuwī, and met with a number of learned Maghribīns, from whom he derived considerable information; he then commenced as a professor of grammar, and composed a large work on that

1 The difficulty of reconciling the accounts, given by Arabic geographers, of the *Ḥawf* and the *Rif* was first pointed out by M. de Sacy in his '*Abd-Allatif*. M. Quatremere, has some observations on the subject in his *Recherches sur l'Egypte*, p. 179. et seq. The solution of the difficulty is due to M. Reinuad. See his translation of Abu'l-Feda's Geography, page 141, note.

2 In the place of "النخلة" the autograph has a word which may be read "اللمعة" or "اللمعة".

\* 25 August — Ed.

science, and another, in ten volumes, containing the grammatical analysis of the *Qur'ān*. A great number of his treatises are still studied.

#### 412 AL-AKHFASH AL-AŞGHAR

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Sulaymān Ibn al-Faḍl, better known by the appellation of al-Akhfash al-Aşghar (*al-Akhfash the less*), was a learned grammarian. The information which he communicated to his pupils was given by him on the authority of al-Mubarrad. Tha'lab, and other great masters; his own authority was cited by al-Marzubānī, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā al-Jarīrī, and others. His character as a trustworthy transmitter of traditional knowledge is well established. He must not be confounded with al-Akhfash al-Akbar, or with al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (*no. 252*): al-Akhfash al-Akbar, whose real names were Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-Ḥamid Ibn 'Abd al-Majīd: was a native of Hajar and a *mawlā* to one of the tribes inhabiting that region. He was a grammarian, a philologist, and a transmitter of expressions peculiar to the Arabs of the desert, some of which are made known, for the first time, by himself. Sibawayh, Abū 'Ubaydah, and other eminent scholars of the same period, received a portion of their information from him. As I was unable to discover the date of his death, I could not devote a special article to him in this work<sup>2</sup>. As for al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, whose name was Sa'īd Ibn Mas'adah, and who had been a pupil of Sibawayh, he has been already noticed (*no. 252*). Al-Akhfash al-Aşghar and the poet Ibn al-Rūmī were at enmity with each other, and as the latter was very superstitious, al-Akhfash used to go to his door, early in the morning, and pronounce word of ill omen: this prevented Ibn al-Rūmī from stirring out during that day. Being provoked at length by this annoyance, the poet attacked his enemy in a number of satires, which are still extant in the collection of his works; but al-Akhfash got them off by heart and cited them with approbation in his lessons; testifying at the same

1 The lives of these two persons are given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 See the author's observations in the preface, Vol. I.

time how proud he was of the honour done to him by Ibn al-Rūmī in satirizing him. When this came to the ears of the poet, he discontinued his attacks. "The stock of poetry" says al-Marzubānī, which al-Akhfash knew by heart and taught with the authorisation of his preceptors, was very limited; this was also the case with his grammatical information. He never drew up a single work, nor pronounced a line of poetry composed by himself; and when questioned on a point of grammar, he would lose patience and dismiss the applicant with an abrupt refusal." He died suddenly at Baghdād, in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 315 (December-January, A.C. 927-8); others say, in the month of *Shabān* of that year, or in the year 316. He was interred in the cemetery at the bridge of Baradān. In the year 287 (A.C. 900) he visited Egypt, and in 306 (A.C. 918-9) he proceeded from that country to Aleppo. *Akhfash* means *having little eyes and a bad sight*. *Baradān* is the name of a village in the dependencies of Baghdād; it has produced a number of learned men and other remarkable persons. "This al-Akhfash," says Abu l-Ḥasan Thābit Ibn Sinān (*no. 125n*), "used to pay assiduous court to Abū 'Alī Ibn Muqlah<sup>1</sup>, by whom he was treated with great attention and kindness. He one day complained to him of the extreme indigence to which he was reduced, and requested him to acquaint the Wazīr Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Isā with his situation, and pray him to inscribe his name on the list of literary men who received pensions. Abū 'Alī spoke to the Wazīr on the subject, informing him al-Akhfash was in very reduced circumstances and had hardly any means of existence for which reason he begged of him to settle a pension on him as on the other literary men of the time. To this the Wazīr gave a positive refusal expressed in the rudest manner, and that in the presence of a large company. Abū 'Alī felt so highly offended at Wazīr's conduct that he retired from the assembly and went home, repenting of having asked any thing from him. As for al-Akhfash, he remained in his former state and became quite dispirited. His misery at length reached to such a pitch, that he was obliged by hunger to eat raw beetroots. It is said that he died suddenly of a spasm of the heart."

1 The life of Ibn Muqlah is given by Ibn Khallikān.

## 413 AL-WĀḤIDĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Maṭṭūyah al-Wāḥidī al-Maṭṭūwī, the author of the celebrated commentaries (*on the Qur'ān*), was the first master of his time in the sciences of grammar and *Qur'ānic* exegesis. The divine grace which attended him is manifest in his works; they were universally considered as excellent, and were frequently cited by professors in their lessons. Three of them, the *Basīṭ* (*in extenso*), the *Wasīṭ* (*medium*), and the *Wajīz* (*compendium*), or on the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*, and their titles have been adopted by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḡhazzālī for three of his own works. He composed also a treatise on the motives for which the different portions of the *Qur'ān* were revealed; a work called the *Ta'ḥbīr* (*indication*)<sup>1</sup>, containing an explanation of the (*ninety-nine*) excellent names given to God; a full commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbi, surpassing in excellence all the numerous works on the same subject, and containing many curious observations: it is thus that after explaining the following verse:

"When noble deeds, swords, spears, the daughters of A'waj—all are assembled together,"

He adds; "A'waj was a stallion of noble race, belonging to the tribe of Hilāl Ibn 'Āmir. The owner was asked what was the greatest degree of speed which he ever remarked in him, and he replied: 'I was riding him and lost my way in the desert, but, seeing a flock of *qaṣās*<sup>2</sup> in quest of water, I followed them with a tight rein, and we all arrived at the spring in a single heat.' This was a most extraordinary thing, for *qaṣās* are very swift of flight, and when they make towards a watering-place, their speed is much greater than ordinary. This, however, was not sufficient for the Arab in his description, and he added that he kept in his horse with a tight rein; had he not done so, he would have outstripped the *qaṣās*: which is a fine specimen of amplification. The horse was named *A'waj* (*the twisted*) for this reason: when he was a

1 In the autograph this title is written *Taḥbīr* (*embellishment*).

2 See No. 364, note on *qaṣa*.



foal, a hostile troop came down to attack the tribe, on which they took to flight, and as the little animal had not sufficient strength to keep up with them, they put him into a sack and carried him off. His back got a twist from this treatment, and he was therefore called *A'waj*." The verse just cited is taken from the poem in which the author laments the death of Fātik al-Majnūn<sup>1</sup>. Al-Wāḥidī was a pupil of al-Tha'labī, the author of celebrated commentary on the *Qur'ān* (no. 30); he learned from him the science of *Qur'ānic* interpretation, and ended by surpassing him. He died of a lingering disease in the month of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 468 January-February, (A.C. 1076), at Naysāpūr. *Muttawī* means *decended from Mattūyah*. I do not know the origin of the relative adjective *Wāḥidī*, neither does al-Sam'ānī mention it. I have since discovered that Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī (no. 382) derives it from *al-Wāḥid*, the name of a person who was the son of al-Dīn Ibn Mahrah.<sup>2</sup>

#### 414 IBN MĀKŪLĀ

The Amir Abū Naṣr 'Alī, surnamed *Sa'd al-Mulk* (*the good fortune of the kingdom*), and generally known by the name of Ibn Mākūlā, was the son of Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ja'far Ibn 'Allakān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Dulaf Ibn Abi Dulaf al-Qāsim Ibn 'Isā [Ibn Idrīs Ibn Ma'qal Ibn 'Umayr]\* al-'Ijlī: the remainder of the genealogy is given in the life of his ancestor Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim. His family belonged to Jarbādhāqān, a place near Iṣpahān, and his father Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh was Wazīr to the Imām (*Khalīf*) al-Qā'im bi'amar Allāh. His paternal uncle Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, who filled the place of *qūḍī* at Baghdād, had learned a great quantity of Traditions: he composed also some instructive works, after studying under the most eminent masters in 'Irāq *Khurāsān*,

1 His life is given by Ibn Khallikān, and the poem will be found in M. Grangeret de Lagrange's *Anthologie Arabe*.

2 This Mahrah may perhaps be the son of Quḍā'ah, noticed by Ibn Qutaybah, Eichhorn's *Monumenta Hist. Arab. XI*.

\* [ ] Addition in the autograph supported by Egyptian edition.—Ed.

Syria, and other countries, Abū Naṣr (*Ibn Mākūlā*), a man celebrated for his talents and learning was sedulously and successfully devoted to the research of such proper names, as were uncertain in their meaning and derivation<sup>1</sup>. The *Khātib* Abū Bakr, author of the History of Baghdād, had taken the *Mukhtaliḥ wa Mu'taliḥ* of al-Dāraqūṭnī (no. 409), and the *Mushtabih al-Nisbah* of the *hāfiẓ* 'Abd al-Ḡhanī (no. 376) and combined them together, with some additions of his own: forming thus a new work to which he gave the title of *al-Mu'tanif Takmilat 'l-Mukhtaliḥ* (the recommenced, being the completion of the *Mukhtaliḥ*). The Amīr Abū Naṣr augmented this *Takmilah* with the names which he had discovered, and made it into a new work under the title of *al-Ikmāl* (the completion). This last is extremely useful for fixing the orthography and pronunciation of proper names, and clearing up the uncertainties which may subsist on these points: it is the standard authority of the persons engaged in this study and of the traditionists, in as much as it surpasses all similar productions by its intrinsic excellence. A supplement, composed with no inferior talent, was added to it afterwards by Ibn Nuṭṭah, (a traditionist) whose life shall be given in this work. The talent displayed by the Amīr Ibn Mākūlā in his *Ikmāl* is quite sufficient for his reputation: it is a monument of the extensive acquirements, solid learning, and correct information of the author. The following lines are attributed to him:

"Strike thy tent and quit the land where thou art despised; avoid humiliation; humiliation should always be avoided. Depart from the place where thy merit is not acknowledged; the aloes-wood is employed for common uses in its nativeland."<sup>2</sup>

He was born at 'Ukbarā on the 5th of Ṣha'bān, A.H. 421 (August, A.C. 1030)\*, and he was murdered at Jurjān by his servants between the years 470 and 480. Ibn al-Jawzī mentions, in his *Kitāb al-Muntaẓim*, that he was killed in A.H. 475, (A.C. 1082-3) or in 487, according to some. Another authority gives 479 as the year, and *Khurāsān*

1 The autograph has *الإلفاظ المشبهة في الأسماء الأعلام*.

2 Literally: The green aloes-wood in its localities is (as common) wood.

\* 12 August.—Ed.

as the place of his death but al-Ahwāz is also indicated as the country where he met with his fate. Al-Ḥumaydī<sup>1</sup> says: "He set out for Khurāsān with some young Turkish slaves who belonged to him; but they murdered him at Jurjān and fled with his money. The crime remained unpunished." The poet Ṣurr-Durr (whose life we shall give) celebrated the praises of Ibn Mākūlā, and the eulogium is still extant in his collected poetical works. The meaning of the word Mākūlā is unknown to me; and I am unable to say whether the title of *Amīr* was given to him because he was really one, or because he was a descendant of (*the Amīr*) Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī. Of *'Ukbara* I have already spoken in the life of Abū 'l-Baqā (no. 324),

#### 415 ABU 'L-FARAJ AL-IṢPAḤĀNĪ

Abu 'l-Faraj 'Alī, the *Kātib* and author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*<sup>2</sup> was a member of the tribe of Quraysh and a descendant of Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Omyyide *khalifas*. His genealogy is thus given: Abū 'l-Faraj 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Haytham Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Marwān Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Marwān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Abi 'l-'Āṣi Ibn 'Umayyah Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn 'Abd Mināf. His family inhabited Iṣpahan, but he passed his early youth in Baḥdād, and became the most distinguished scholar and most eminent author of that city. It would be too long to enumerate the learned men from whom he received and transmitted down his information. He was well acquainted with the *days* (or contests) of the Arabs, their genealogy and history "Amongst

1 The life of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī is given in this work. He died A. H. 488.

2 A considerable portion of this article has already appeared in a French translation. See M. Quatremere's *Memoire sur le Kitāb al-Aghānī* in the *Journal Asiatique* for November, 1835. It may be remarked that in rendering certain expressions and passages, I have occasionally differed from the learned scholar.

the persons whom we met with," says al-Tanūkhī<sup>1</sup>, "and who professed Shi'ite opinions, was Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ispahānī. I never found a person knowing by heart such a quantity—as he did of poems, songs, historical relations, anecdotes of ancient times, authentic narratives<sup>2</sup>, and genealogies; besides which he possessed information in other sciences, such as philology, grammar, story-telling, biography, and the history of the Muslim conquests; he was acquainted also with the branches of knowledge requisite for a boon-companion, such as falconry, farriery, the preparation of beverages, a smattering of medicine and astrology, etc." His verses combine the learning of the scholar with the grace and elegance of the poet; his other works are excellent; and one of them, the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* (*book of songs*)<sup>3</sup> is unanimously considered as unequalled. It is said that he was fifty-years in compiling it, and that he took it to Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Hamdān, who remunerated him with one thousand pieces of gold, regretting at the same time his inability to offer a more adequate recompense. It is related that when the *Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād* (no. 93) was travelling or changing residence, he took with him for perusal thirty camel-loads of books on literary subjects; but, on receiving the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, he found he could dispense with all the others and took it alone. The other works of Abu 'l-Faraj are: the *Kitāb al-Qiyān* (*history of female musicians*); (the *Kitāb al-Imā' al-Shawā'ir*, *history of the female slaves who were poets*); the *Kitāb al-Diyārāt* (*book of monasteries*)<sup>4</sup>; the *Kitāb Da'wat al-Tijār* (*on the mercantile profession*)<sup>5</sup>; a collection of songs without note or comment; the

1 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Tanūkhī and his son Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin were both contemporaries of Abu 'l-Faraj; it is therefore difficult to say which of them is the person cited here by Ibn Khallikān. Their lives are given in this work.

2 Literally: Narratives with their *Isnads*. See Introduction.

3 A complete edition of this important work, text and Latin translation, has been undertaken by professor Kosegarten. The three first parts have appeared under the title of *Alīi Ispahanensis liber Cantilenarum magnus*.

4 This was a collection of the best poems inspired by the view of Christian monasteries and the aspect of monastic life. It was a very common subject with the Muslim poets of the third and fourth century of the Hijrah. See the life of al-Shābughī in this work.

5 Literally: On the merchants' calling.

Adventures of Jahẓat al-Barmaki (no. 54); the *Kitāb Maqāṣil il-Tālibiyyin* (account of the tragical fate of 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib's descendants); the *Kitāb al-Ḥarāt* (book of taverns);<sup>1</sup> and the *Ādāb al-Ghurabā* (manners or literary studies of foreigners). A number of works composed by him for the Omayyids of Spain are still extant in that country; he forwarded them privately to these princes, and the marks of their beneficence were transmitted to him in the same manner. Amongst these works were the following: Genealogy of the descendants of 'Abd Shams; Battle-days of the Arabs, containing an account of one thousand seven hundred combats; the *Kitāb al-Ta'dil wa 'l-Intiṣāf* (impartial examination and appreciation of the noble deeds and the opprobrious action of the Arabs); the *Jamharat al-Nisab* (comprehensive genealogical treatise); the Genealogy of the descendants of Shaybān; the Genealogy of the Muhallabite family; the Genealogy of the descendants of Tāḥlāb; the Genealogy of the descendants of *Kilāb*; History of the slave-boys who were good singers, etc. Abu 'l-Faraj was exclusively attached to the Wazīr al-Muhallabi, and he composed some pieces of poetry in his praise, one of which is as follows:

"When we sought for means of subsistence and took shelter under his protection, he gave relief yet spared our feelings; he was beneficent, yet vaunted not the greatness of his favours. We went to him poor, and he restored us to wealth; we had recourse to his liberality in our distress, and he placed us in the midst of abundance."

A Great concubine belonging to the Wazīr having been delivered of a son, the poet congratulated him on the happy event in the following lines, forming part of a *qaṣīdah*:

"Receive a pledge of happiness in the birth of that infant, which heaven has sent thee as a blessing! The moon, pervading with its lustre the depths of night, is but an emblem of its beauty. Blessed be the propitious hour in which a virtuous mother, a daughter of the Aṣfars<sup>2</sup>, brought it forth! It rejoiceth in its exaltation

1 Probably a collection of tavern anecdotes and verses in praise of wine.

2 For the origin of the denomination *Aṣfar* and Banu 'l-Aṣfar given to the Romans by Arabic writers, see M. de Sacy's note in the *Journal Asiatique* for January, 1836.

on the two highest pinnacles of mortal glory! sprung, as it is, from the united stocks of the Muhallabs and the Caesars. The sun of the morning was in conjunction with the moon of the night, and their union has produced Jupiter<sup>1</sup>."

The following lines were written by him to a man of rank who was suffering from sickness<sup>2</sup>:

"O Abū Muḥammad! thou so worthy of praise! O thou who art so fair (ḥasan) in thy noble deeds and thy generosity! O swollen sea of liberality! Mayest thou be preserved from sick-bed visitors, from the remedies of illness and from the approach of pain<sup>3</sup>!"

He composed a great deal of poetry, and his talents have rendered him illustrious. His birth took place, A. H. 284 (A. C. 897-8), the year in which the poet al-Buḥturī died; he expired at Baghdād on Wednesday, the 14th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 356 (November, A. C. 967)\*; some say, but erroneously, that he died A. H. 357. Previously to his death, his intellect became disordered. Two men of great learning and three powerful princes died in the year 356; namely this Abū 'l-Faraj, Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī, Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān, Mu'izz al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh, and Kāfir al-Ikhshidī; (see their lives in this work)

#### 416 IBN 'ASĀKIR, THE ḤĀFIZ

The ḥāfiz Abū 'l-Qāsim Ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn, generally known by

1 To render this verse intelligible, it should be paraphrased thus: Thou, O Wazīr! whose glory is resplendent as the midday sun, was joined to a maiden whose beauty equalled the lustre of the moon, and this union has produced a child, who, like the planet Jupiter announces by his presence happiness and joy.

2 The poet has skilfully indicated in his verses that this person's name was Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan.

3 The merit of this last verse consists in the curious example of alliteration which it offers in the original text.

\* 20 November. -- Ed

the appellation of Ibn 'Asākir and surnamed *Thiqat al-Dīn* (*sincere in faith*), was a native of Damascus and chief traditionist of Syria in that age. He ranked also among the most eminent jurisconsults of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, but, having made of the Traditions his favourite study, he acquired in that science a degree of superiority which no other had ever attained, and it was to his proficiency therein that he was indebted for his reputation. His zeal in this pursuit and his desire of communicating personally with the teachers of the Traditions led him to visit distant countries and travel to and fro through various regions, in company with the *hāfiẓ* Abī Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī. In committing to memory the text of each Tradition, he never neglected learning by heart the *isnād*<sup>1</sup> from which it derived its authority; he was, indeed, a pious and conscientious *hāfiẓ*. In the year 520 (A. C. 1129) he heard the disciples of al-Barmakī, al-Tanūkhī<sup>2</sup>, and al-Jawharī<sup>3</sup> delivered Traditions at Baghdād; after which he proceeded to Khurāsān and visited Naysāpūr, Herāt, Ispahān, and Persian 'Irāq; at that time, he made his extracts from different authors and composed his own instructive works. He discussed with great eloquence the traditional information which he had collected, and he displayed a most happy talent in compiling and drawing up the materials of his works. He composed a great (*biographical*) history of Damascus in eighty volumes, containing most curious information, and written on the plan of (*the Khafīb's*) History of Baghdād. I was one day with my master 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhirī, the chief *hāfiẓ* of Egypt, (may God prolong his days for our instruction!)<sup>4</sup> and the conversation happening to fall on this history, he brought me out a volume of it, and spoke longly on its merits and excellence: "I cannot but think," said he, "that

1 See Vol. I, Introduction.

2 The life of Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī, al-Tanūkhī will be found in this work.

3 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed al-Jawharī, was the first *hāfiẓ* سند of the age in 'Irāq, and resided in Shīrāz, but removed afterward to Baghdād. Born A. H. 364 (A. C. 974-5); died A. H. 454 (A. C. 1062).—*Nujūm*.

4 The autograph which contains this passage was written at Cairo, A. H. 655. 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhirī died the ensuing year. See No. 43, note.

the author must have made the resolution of composing this history on the very day in which his intelligence could form a reasonable conception, and that he began from that moment to collect the materials; for the ordinary life of a man, passed in study and devoted to the subject, would be insufficient for the task of assembling so much information as that book contains." This observation is perfectly true, and its correctness will be admitted by every person who examines the work; for how could any man find time enough to compose one like? and it must be also taken into consideration that the published text consists of passages selected, after verification, from an immense mass of written notes. He composed some other good and instructive works, and a considerable quantity of poetry<sup>1</sup>, of which we may give the following passage:

"The science of Traditions forms an important part of knowledge, and its fairest branch is that of well-authenticated statements. But the most useful, in my opinion, and the finest consists in instructive information conveyed by<sup>2</sup> dictation. You will find that nothing gives more certitude to science than its utterance from the lips of men. Be ardent, then, my friend! in its acquisition, and receive it with untiring zeal from the mouths of men. Take it not from books, or the faults on the copyists will overwhelm you with vexation."

The following piece also is attributed to him:

"Alas, my heart! grey hairs have come! what means thy youthful passions and those verses expressive of thy love? My youth has fled; it seems as if that time had never been! Hoary age has come; I feel as if it had always been my companion! preoccupied by my thoughts, the strokes of fate fell upon me unawares. O that I knew with whom I shall be (*classed on the day of judgment*), and what may be the lot which God will declare to be mine for all eternity."

In the (*original Arabic*) of this last piece, the poet imposed on himself the unnecessary obligation of making the two last syllables

1 The text has *بأس به لا شعر* literally, in French: *pus mal de vers*.

2 The autograph has *في* not, .



of each verse rhyme together. The second verse is taken, with very slight alteration, as may be seen, from a poem of 'Alī Ibn Jabalah al-'Akawwak', where he says:

"Youth, as if it had never been; and hoary age as if it had never ceased to be."

The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir was born on the first of Muḥarram, A. H. 499 (September A. C. 1105)\* and he died at Damascus on the eve of Monday the 21st of Rajab, A. H. 571 (February, A. C. 1176).† He was buried in the cemetery at the Lesser Gate (*al-Bāh al-Ṣaghīr*), near the spot where his father and other members of his family were interred. Funeral prayers were said over him by the *shaykh* Quṭb al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Naysāpūrī<sup>2</sup>, and the Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was present at the ceremony. His son Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim, surnamed Bahā al-Dīn (*Splendour of religion*), who was also a *ḥāfiẓ*, died at Damascus on the 9th of Ṣafar, A. H. 600 (October, A. C. 1203)‡, and was buried the same day outside the gate called Bab al-Naṣr. His birth took place in that city on the eve of the 15th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 527 (April, A. C. 1133)§. His brother Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Hibat Allāh, surnamed Ṣā'in al-Dīn (*custodiens fidem*), was a learned jurisconsult and traditionist; he died at Damascus on Sunday, the 23rd of *Shabān*, A. H. 563 (June, A. C. 1168)|| and was buried, the next morning, at the Lesser-Gate Cemetery. According to the statement of his brother the *ḥāfiẓ*, he was born on one of the first ten days of the month of Rajab, A. H. 488 (July, A. C. 1095); he went to Baghdād, A. H. 520 (A. C. 1126), and after studying under As'ad al-Mihānī (*no.* 86) and Ibn Barhān (*no.* 38), he returned to Damascus and gave lessons in the western

1 The life of al-'Akawwak is given in this work.

2 His life is given by our author.

\* 13 September.—*Ed.*

† According to Mahler's calculation 21 Rajab fell on Wednesday 4 February.—*Ed.*

‡ 19 October.—*Ed.*

§ 23 April.—*Ed.*

|| 2 June.—*Ed.*

Maqṣūrah<sup>1</sup> of the Great Mosque. He gave also opinions, as a *muftī* on points of law, and taught the Traditions.

#### 417 AL-SIMSIMĀNĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ghaffār al-Simsimānī was celebrated for his abilities as a philologist, and the books on literary subjects which contain notes in his handwriting are sought after with avidity. All I know respecting his personal history is, that he received lessons from Abū Bakr Ibn Shādhān and Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Māmūn. His veracity as a transmitter of traditional information was generally acknowledged. The *Khafiẓ* mentions him in the History of Baghdād and says: "I took notes when he dictated his lessons; he wrote a great deal, and his penmanship was extremely elegant and correct. He commenced his career as a professor at Baghdād by transmitting orally to his pupils the pieces of general literature which he had received in the same manner from his own masters, and by instructing them in a portion of the same science which had been already committed to writing<sup>2</sup>. The greater part of his books were written out by himself, and, on his death, they came into the possession of the learned scholar Ibn Dinār al-Wāsiṭī, but most of them were destroyed by an inundation." He died on Wednesday, the 4th of Muḥarram, A.H. 415 (March, A.C. 1024)\*—I did not know the origin of the surname *Simsimānī*, till I found the following passage in al-Ḥarirī's *Durrat al-Ghawṭ*: "When they (the *vulgar*) wish to employ the relative adjectives derived from *fākihah* (fruit), *bāqillah* (greens), and *simsim* (sesame), they say *fākihānī* (fruiterer), *bāqillānī* (green-grocer), and *simsimānī* (seller of sesame); but they are wrong." He then points out the nature of the fault, and continues: "The

1 Every great mosque has a large pew (*maqṣūrah*) on the left side of the *miḥrāb* for the chaunters, and another on the right side for the *suṭṭān*, if it be an imperial mosque. It must have been in the *suṭṭān*'s Maqṣūrah, that Hibat Allāh gave his lessons.

2 The Arabic says simply: by relating, and by teaching to read literature.

\* 18 March — *Ed.*

proper form of locution is *simsiml*, to designate a seller of sesame ;" he then adds further observations with which he concludes his dissertation. When I met this passage, I became aware that Abu 'l-Ḥasan's surname *simsimānī* was derived from *simsim*, and that it was a word employed conventionally by the vulgar.

#### 418 THE SHARĪF AL-MURTAḌĀ

The *Sharīf* Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī, surnamed al-Murtaḍā (*gratum habitus*), and naqīb, or chief, of that class of Muslims who drew their descent from 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, was the brother of the *Sharīf* al-Raḍī, whose life we shall give, and the son of al-Ṭāhir, *Dhi* 'l-Manāqib, the son of Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn, the son of Mūsā, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Ibrāhīm, the son of Mūsā al-Kāzīm, the son of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the son of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the son of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidin, the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abī Ṭālib. He possessed the highest abilities in scholastic theology, general literature, and poetry, and is author of some works on the system of doctrine held by the *Shi'ites*; he composed also a discourse on the fundamentals of the Muslim religion, and a great quantity of poetry, which has been collected into a *Diwān*. In describing the *ṭayf*, or image of the beloved seen by the lover in his dreams<sup>1</sup>, he displays great talent, and he recurs to the subject very frequently. It is a controverted point wheather the book entitled *Nahj al-Balāghah* (*high-road of precision in discourse*), and containing a collection of sayings by the Imām 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, was compiled by al-Murtaḍā or by his brother al-Raḍī: it has been even stated that these sayings were never uttered by 'Alī, and that the person who collected them and attributed them to that Imām was himself the author of them: of this God is the best judge! He wrote also a work under the title of *al-Ḡhurar wa 'l-Durar* (*stars and pearls*), consisting of discourses which he had pronounced at assemblies presided by himself; they embrace a variety of subjects connected with general literature and contain observations on points of grammar, philology,

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, Introduction.

etc. is an instructive work and indicated not only the great talent of the author, but his extensive information in the sciences. Ibn Bassām [al-Andulusi], speaks of him towards the end of *Dhakhirah* "This *Sharif*" says he, "was generally considered as the greatest Imām of 'Irāq; to him the learned of that country had recourse. and from him its great men received instruction. He was the master of its schools. and the possessor of the rare (*information*) and the familiar (*knowledge*) there subsisting. He was one of those whose reputation spread abroad, whose name gained publicity for his verses, whose virtues and deeds found praise in the sight of God. Add to this, his compositions on religious subjects and his works on the principles of Muslim sciences; treatises which declare him a branch of that (*noble*) stem and a member of that illustrious (*family, the.*) house (*of 'Ali*)."<sup>1</sup> He gives also some pieces of verse by al-Murtaḍā, one of which is as follows:

"She granted me favours with reluctance in my waking hours, but when I slept, she bestowed them in abundance<sup>1</sup>. Then we met, and enjoyed my wishes; it was happiness unalloyed, had it not been all a dream. Since night is then the time of lovers' meetings, night is surely better than day<sup>2</sup>."

This thought is borrowed from the lines of Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'i, in which he says:

"My imagination called on her to visit my sleeping hours, and she came in secret and unseen. O what a meeting is that wherein the souls enjoy delight whilst the bodies are not aware! Such interviews as these have for us but one defect—we are then under the influence of a dream."

Another of al-Murtaḍā's pieces is the following:

"My two dearest friends! chief ornaments of the tribe of Qays! love subdues man's character to mildness. Let me turn my

1 For كثير<sup>2</sup> read كثير<sup>1</sup>—The poet's meaning in this piece will be better understood on a perusal of the observations relative to the *Ṭayf al-nūṭal*, inserted in the Introduction to Vol. I.

2 The Arabic words signify also: "Evil fortune is better than good." The point of the verse lies in this double meaning which allows the poet to advance a paradox unexpectedly.

thoughts towards you so that I may for a moment forget my cares; 'tis thus you will delight me, and let me quench my thirst with repeated draughts from the cup which tears have filled. Let sleep not approach my eyelids; I bestow it upon lovers (*who require it*.)"

When these lines came to the knowledge of the poet al-Buṣrawī, he observed that al-Murtaḍā bestowed what he did not possess on persons who would not receive it<sup>1</sup>. He says in another piece:

"When a distant journey willed that we should separate, that moment discovered whose love was sincere and whose affected; and on the evening of the caravan's departure, I seemed, from my restless agitation, like a man distracted."

The idea expressed in the first of these verses is taken from a poem rhyming in *K*, which was composed by al-Mutanabbī in praise of 'Aḍud al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh. As the poet was then on the point of leaving the court of the prince and proceeding from Shīrāz to 'Irāq, he addressed him this poem as a farewell. It was in this journey that al-Mutanabbī lost his life, as we have already observed (*no.* 49). The following is the passage to which we allude:

"Amongst the lovers was one distinguished by the ardour of his passion and another who pretended to partake therein; but when the visages were drowned in tears, he that really wept was easily distinguished from the pretender."

I extract the following verses from the *Jināḥ al-Janān*, in which they are given as al-Murtaḍā's by the Qāḍī al-Rashīd Aḥmad Ibn al-Zubayr, the author of that work (*no.* 64):

"I and those who blamed me for loving are at daggers-drawing: I am a Khārijite<sup>2</sup> in love (*and hold that*) none but the fairest have a right to power."

1 He means that al-Murtaḍā's affection for his absent friends put sleep out of his power, and that true lovers had nothing to do with sleep. But al-Buṣrawī should have recollected that every lover desires sleep so that he may dream of his mistress.

2 Khārijite signifies *heretic and exteriorist*. The poet employs this equivocal word designedly, but his real meaning is: "I love her for her body, not for her mind". See a similar quibble in the life of Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhiri; No. 423.

The same writer attributes to him also the lines which follow :

"Mistress of my heart ! full-moon (*of beauty*) resplendent in the darkest shades of night ! take me by the hand and draw me from the abyss into which I have fallen. The miracles wrought by thy beauty never cease ; like the sea, we may speak<sup>1</sup> of its marvels without restraint. I conjure thee, in the name of Him Who formed thy cheeks and gave them sovereign power over our hearts, to stretch forth thy dear hands, as I do mine, and pray that I may be delivered from the passion which thou hast awakend in my bosom."

He gives also al-Murtaḍā's the following verses ;

"Bear from me this message to one whose cheeks have been wounded by (*our indiscreet*) glances (*and are suffused with blushes*) ; Let those features, wounded as they are, beam kindness upon me. O thou whose eyes are languishing, but not from feeble health ! blame me not if I die of the malady which they have caused, I have adventured into (*the ocean of*) thy love, with a heart which has embarked on the same sea, to reach thee or to perish<sup>2</sup>"

The following anecdote is related by the *Khafī* Abu Zakariyā Yahyā al-Tabrizī, the philologer : "Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Āli Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Āli Ibn Sallak al-Fāli, a man well versed in the *belles-lettres*, possessed an extremely correct copy of Ibn Durayd's *Jam-harah*, which poverty compelled him to sell. It was bought by the *Sharīf* al-Murtaḍā for sixty dinārs<sup>3</sup>, and on turning over the leaves, he found in it the following lines in the handwriting of al-Fāli, the person who sold it :

"It was my companion for twenty years, and yet I sold it ! my sorrow and regret will long endure under that privation. I could never have thought that I should have sold it, even had my debts retained me for ever in prison. But I was constrained to it by misery and poverty and the state of my children, over whom I

1 Literally : Like the sea, the history of which has no bounds. If, in place of *حدث*, the reading *حدث* be adopted, the sense is : Speak of it without restraint.

2 The words *اما واما* signify "either one way or the other". that is, 'I shall risk the alternative'.

3 Twenty-five or thirty pounds sterling, at the lowest evaluation.

wept in sadness. Unable to suppress my gushing tears, I said (*to my wife*) like one heart-broken<sup>1</sup> and afflicted: 'O Umm Mālik! necessity forces the most precious objects from even the miser's hands.' \*\*\*

This *al-Fālī* drew his surname from *Fālah* a town in *Khūzes-tan* near *Aydhaj*<sup>2</sup>. He had been a long time an inhabitant of *Baṣrah* and had studied there under *Abū 'Amr Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Hāshimī* and other eminent masters of the epoch; he then removed to *Baghdād*, where he settled and taught the Traditions. His grandfather's name is to be pronounced *Sallak*, but, in another place, I found it written *Silk*. *Al-Murtaḍā* was equally distinguished for the elegance of his genius and for his virtues. He was born A.H. 355 (A.C. 965-6) and he died at *Baghdād* on Sunday, the 25th of the first *Rabī'*, A.H. 436 (September, A.C. 1044).† He was interred in (*the court of*) his house on the evening of the same day. *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Fālī* died on the eve of Friday, the 8th of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 443 (January, A.C. 1057)‡, and was buried in the cemetery at the *Jāmi'*, (or *mosque*) of *al-Manṣūr*. He was an elegant scholar and a poet. Some historical relations are given on his authority by the *Khaṭīb* *Abū Bakr* in his *History of Baghdād*, by *Abu 'l-Ḥusayn [Ibn] al-Ṭuyūrī*, and others.

#### 419 AL-KHILA'Ī

The *Qāḍī* *Abu 'l-Ḥusayn*<sup>3</sup> *'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad* surnamed *al-Khila'ī*, and the author of the (*work*

1 Literally: Branded on the heart or heart-burned.

2 The town of *Aydhaj* lies, or lay, at four days journey east of *'Askar Mukram*.

3 In the autograph this name was originally written *al-Ḥasan*; but in remodelling the article, the author substituted *al-Ḥusayn*. Towards the end, he has left the name uncorrected.

\* The *Cairo* edition adds: He (*al-Murtaḍā*) returned the copy and (bestowed) *dīnārs* on him (*al-Fālī*).—*Ed.*

† 19 October—*Ed.*

‡ 17 January—*Ed.*

on the Traditions, called after him) al-*Khila'iyāt*, was a follower of the sect of al-*Shāfi'i* and an inhabitant of Egypt. but his family belonged to Moṣul. He studied under Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥawfī (no. 411), Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Naḥḥās, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-'Addās, Abū Sa'd al-Mālīnī<sup>1</sup>, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ahwāzī, and other masters. The Qāḍi 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥsubī<sup>2</sup> relates as follows: "I asked Abū 'Alī al-Ṣadafī respecting al-*Khila'i* whom he had met with in his journey to the East<sup>3</sup>, and he replied: 'He was a jurisconsult and composed some good works; having been appointed Qāḍi, he filled the duties of this office for one day only, and obtained permission to resign: he then retired into a hermitage in the Qarāfah. On the death of al-Ḥabbāl<sup>4</sup> he became chief traditionist<sup>5</sup> of Egypt.'" Mention is made of him also by the Qāḍi Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī<sup>6</sup>, who says: "This *Shaykh* lived, retired from the world, in the Qarāfah; "He was the sole transmitter of certain Traditions founded on the highest authority, and also the sole possessor of some curious and useful information on a variety of points. Al-Ḥumaydī<sup>7</sup> gave Traditions on his authority and designated him by the surname of al-Qarāfī." Another writer says: "Al-*Khila'i* held the post of Qāḍi at Fāmiyah, and Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-*Shīrāzī* selected some portions of the information which he heard at his lectures (and taught them to others). The last survivor of those

1 According to the *Nujūm*, a *ḥāfiẓ* and *Ṣūfī*, whose name was Abū Sa'd Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Mālīnī and who had travelled through different countries, died A. H. 412 (A. C. 1021-2)—*Mālīnī* means *native of Mālīn*, a collection of villages so called in the neighbourhood of Herāt.

2 His life will be found in this work.

3 It is necessary to observe that the qāḍi 'Iyāḍ was a native of Ceuta in North Africa.

4 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Sa'id al-Nu'mānī, surnamed al-*Ḥabbāl* (the rope maker), was a *ḥāfiẓ* of great learning and eminence. After travelling through various countries and receiving traditional information from a great number of masters, he proceeded to Egypt, where he settled, and died A. H. 482 (A. C. 1089-90), at the age of ninety years.—(*Nujūm*).

5 The original manuscript has *مسند*, which is here a noun in the accusative case.

6 His life will be found in this work.

7 The life of al-Ḥumaydī is given in this work.



who transmitted the same information on Abū Naṣr's authority was Abū Rifā'ah. I obtained from these notes the knowledge of a fact which was thus handed down by al-Aṣma'i: 'The seal of Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala bore the following inscription:

'The man whose wordly prospects are his chief concern, clings to a rope that will surely fail him.'

'I asked Abū 'Amr about it, and he told me that as he was one day, at noon, taking a walk round his farm, he heard a voice reciting this verse, but could see no person. He then had it engraved on his ring.' " Abu 'l-'Abbās Ṭha'lab attributed the verse to Hānī Ibn Tawbah, Ibn Suḥaym Ibn Murrah, generally known by the surname of al-Shuway'ir al-Ḥanafī. The Ḥāfiẓ Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī says: "When Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Khila'i was teaching the Traditions, he concluded the sitting with the following prayer: 'O God! complete favours which Thou hast granted: take not away the graces which Thou hast bestowed; discover not the faults over which Thou hast cast a veil, and pardon those which Thou hast rendered public.' " Al-Khila'i was born at Miṣr (*Old Cairo*) in the month of Muḥarram A. H. 405 (July, A. C. 1014), and he died there on Saturday, the 18th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A. H. 492 (December, A. C. 1099)\*, others say that his death took place on the 26th of the month. His father died in the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 448 (December, A. C. 1056). Khila'i is derived from Khila' (*pelisses*); Abu 'l-Ḥusayn was so surnamed because he sold pelisses to the princes of Miṣr. The Qarāfahs are two in number, the Greater and the Less; the former lies outside Miṣr (*Old Cairo*), and the latter outside Cairo; this last contains the tomb of Imām al-Shāfi'i. The Banū Qarāfah, a branch of the tribe of al-Ma'āfir Ibn Ya'fur had settled in these two places which were therefore named after them—*Fāmiyah*, or, as it is sometimes written, *Afūmiyah* is the name of a castle and canton in the province of Aleppo<sup>1</sup>.

---

1 *Fāmiyah*, the *Apamea* of the ancients, is placed, in Brockhaus' map of Syria, in lat. 35° 18', and long. 34° 12' E. from Paris.

\* 5 November.—*Ed.*

## 420 AL-SHĀBUSHTĪ

The *kātib* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn<sup>1</sup> 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Shābushtī, an elegant scholar and a man of talent, was attached to the service of al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz the 'Ubaydite (*Faṭimite*), sovereign of Egypt, as private librarian and reader (*daftar khu'ān*); and his agreeable conversation and pleasing manners rendered him the companion of his master's social and convivial parties. He wrote some good works, one of which, entitled *Kitāb al-Diāryāt* (*book of convents*), contains the indication of every convent in 'Irāq, Moṣul, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, with all the poems composed on each of them and an account of what passed in them. This book is drawn up on the plan of the similar works, bearing the same title, which were composed by the two *Khālidites*<sup>2</sup> and by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣpahānī: a great number of books have been written on this subject. His other works are the *Kitāb al-Yusr ba'd al-'Uṣr* (*ease after pain*); the *Marātib al-Fuqahā* (*classified list of jurisconsults*); the *Kitāb al-Tawqif wa 'l-Takhwif* (*attention arrested and apprehension inspired*), and a number of letters and epistolary essays, containing passages of poetry and moral maxims. He composed also some treatises on literary and other subjects. His death took place A.H. 390 (A.C. 1000), or, according to the Amīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbihī, in 388; another author names the day, which was Tuesday eve, the 15th of Ṣafar.\* He died in Old Cairo. I repeatedly made researches to discover the origin of the surname *Shābushtī*, but all my pains were fruitless, till I found some years afterwards, in Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi's work, the *Tājī* (no. 14), that the chamberlain to the Daylamite prince Washmagīr Ibn Ziyār was called al-Shābushtī, and that he was killed, near Iṣpahān, A.H. 326 (A.C. 937-8). It appears therefore that this is a Daylamite name, and that it resembles a

1 I follow the autograph for the orthography of this name.

2 The two *Khālidites*, whose names were Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū 'Uḥmān Sa'd, were poets highly distinguished by Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān, sovereign of Aleppo. Farther notice shall be taken of them in another part of this work. See also No. 240.

\* 15 February, 998.—Ed.

relative adjective in no other point but its form. It is possible that the *Kātib* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn may have been descendant of this person, and was therefore designated by the appellation of *Shābushūtī*, which patronymic he transmitted to his descendants. The Washmagīr just mentioned was the father of the Amīr Qābūs, whose life will be found farther on.

#### 421 IBN AL-QĀBISĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn *Khalaf* al- a'āfirī al-Qarawī (*a member of the tribe of Ma'āfir, a native of Qayrawān*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Qābisī (*son of the native of Qābis*), was a master of high authority in the science of the Traditions, their *isnāds*<sup>1</sup> and every thing connected with them, and great reliance was placed on his veracity. He composed a work entitled *al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (*chosen selection*), containing all those Traditions, supported by an unbroken chain of authorities, which are contained in Ibn Qāsim's edition of Mālik's *Muwaffāʿ*<sup>2</sup>. This treatise, though short, is one of the best on the subject. Ibn al-Qābisī was born on Monday, the 7th of Rajab A.H. 324 (June, A.C. 936)\*, he set out for the East on Saturday, the 10th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 352 (October, A.C. 963)†, and in A.H. 353, he made the pilgrimage to Makkah, where he heard al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* explained by Abū Zayd<sup>3</sup>. He then returned to Qayrawān, where he arrived on Wednesday morning, the 1st or 2nd of *Shabān*, A.H. 357‡. This we give on the authority of Abū 'Abd Allāh Mālik Ibn

1 See Vol. I, Introduction.

2 See No. 337.

3 The full name of this Abū Zayd is Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Marwazī al-Fāshānī. His life is given by Ibn *Khallikān*.

\* 30 May.—*Ed.*

† 3 October.—*Ed.*

‡ 1 July, 968.—*Ed.*

Wuhayb<sup>1</sup>. It is related by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī, in his work the *Mu'jam al-Safar*<sup>2</sup>, that a person said at an assembly presided by Ibn al-Qābisī at Qayrawān: "Al-Mutanabbī has expressed the following thought with no inferior talent:

'Our heart is required to forget thee, but nature resists the effort of him who would change its ways.' "

On this, Ibn al-Qābisī replied: "I pity your intelligence! what has prevented you from recollecting these words of God (*where the thought is expressed much better*): 'No change (can be wrought) on what God had created; that is (a principle of) the right religion; but the greater part of mankind know it not.'<sup>3</sup>" Ibn al-Qābisī died on the eve of Wednesday, the 3rd of the latter Rabi', A.H. 403 (October, A.C. 1012)\*, and was interred on the afternoon of the following day at Qayrawān. A multitude of people passed the night at his tomb; tents were erected in the neighbourhood, and poets came forward, reciting elegies on his death. When far advanced in age, he used to repeat the following verse of al-Zuhayr Ibn Abi Sulmā's (*the author of the Mu'allaqah*):

1 Read *وهيب* in the printed text. Abū 'Abd Allāh Mālik Ibn Wuhayb, a native of Spain and one of the Wazīrs in the service of 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Tāshīfin, the emperor of Morocco, was a member of the committee of doctors appointed by that prince to examine Maḥdī Ibn Tūmart, and the only man among them who penetrated into his projects. He is the author of a work entitled *Qurādat al-Dīḥab* (*grains of gold*) containing accounts of the most despicable characters among the Arabs both before and after Islamism. This treatise, said to be very curious, was seen by the *Shaykh* Muḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wāḥid in the library belonging to the 'Abd al-Mūmin family. He remarked also a copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* in the handwriting of Ibn Wuhayb. (Page 183 of 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Murraḥḥī's *Kitāb al-Mu'jib*, MS. of the Leyden Library, Cat. No. 1798. M. Weyer has given a notice on this MS. in the *Prolegomena ad ed. Ibn Abdunī*, p. 6.)

2 This was probably a series of biographical notices on the doctors and other learned men with whom al-Silafī became acquainted in his travels, or from whom he took lessons.

3 *Qur'ān, sūrat 30, verse 29.*

\* 22 October.---Ed.

"I suffer the afflictions of existence, but I know that he who has lived eighty years must undergo afflictions."

*Qābisī* means *belonging to Qābis*, which is a city in the province of Africa, near al-Mahdiyyah. When it fell into the possession of Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs (*no. 123*), Abū Muḥammad, the *Khāṭib*, or preacher, of Sūsah, pronounced a long *Qaṣidah*, which began thus :

"Fortune, though called the frowning, smiled (*upon thee*) when the vigour of thy resolution forced Qābis to open its gates. Thou hast espoused it, a virgin fortress, and the dowry it received consisted in spears, swords, and horsemen. It was the will of God that thou shouldst gather the fruit of the tree which had been planted by thy father<sup>1</sup>. He that presses his suit with the point of the spear obtains stately castle<sup>2</sup> for brides".

#### 422 IBN AL-QAṬṬĀ'

The philologist Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī, surnamed Ibn al-Qaṭṭā', a member of the tribe of Sa'd, a Sicilian by birth, but an Egyptian by residence and death, was the son of 'Alī Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ziyādat Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Aghlab al-Sa'dī Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab Ibn Sālam Ibn 'Iqāl Ibn Khafājah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbād Ibn M.ḥrath Ibn Sa'd Ibn Ḥarām<sup>3</sup> Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mālik Ibn Sa'd Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn Tamīm Ibn Murr Ibn Udd Ibn Ṭabikhah Ibn al-Yās Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add

1 This is perhaps an allusion to the embellishments which Qābis received from al-Mu'izz.

2 The words rendered *stately castles* signify also *fair ladies dwelling in castles*. In the original Arabic, the double meaning of these words helps out the metaphor.

3 The autograph has حرام .

Ibn 'Adnān'. Such is the genealogy which I found in my own handwriting among my rough notes, but I do not know from what source I drew it, and there exists another list copied from the handwriting of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' himself; it is as follows: 'All the son of Ja'far Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sa'dī al-Shantarīnī *belonging to Santar*. m a descendant of the tribe of Sa'd Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn Tmīm. I am unable to say which is the more correct. Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' held a high rank by his acquirements in literature, and especially in philology. He composed some instructive works, such as the *Book of Verbs*, which is admirably executed and surpasses the former work, that of Ibn al-Qaṭṭāh<sup>2</sup>, on the same subject. Another work of his, containing a most complete collection of the *Forms of Nouns*, remains a proof of his extensive information. He wrote also a good and elegant treatise on prosody; a work containing extracts from the productions of the poets who were natives of the Island<sup>3</sup>, and entitled *al-Durrat al-Khaṣīrah* (*the precious pearl*); and the *Lumaḥ al-Mulaḥ*, or *glimpses at beauties*, containing a collection of *notices on* many of the poets of Spain. He was born in Sicily on the 10th of Ṣafar, A.H. 433 (October, A.C. 1041),\* and he studied the *belles-lettres* under the most eminent masters in that island, such as Ibn al-Barr the philologist and others. He acquired also a complete mastery of grammar. When Sicily was on the point of falling into the possession of the (*Norman*) Franks, he left the country, and in A.H. 500 (A.C. 1106-7) he arrived in Egypt, where he was received with every mark of honour. As an oral transmitter of pieces of literature preserved by tradition, he was accused of incorrectness and carelessness. In the year 446 he began to compose verses, of which the following may serve as specimens. On a young female who had an impediment in her speech:

1 We have here an instance of the utility which may sometimes be derived from the long genealogies given by Ibn Kḥallikān. Had he curtailed this list, we should not have known the ancestry of the Aḥlabite family and the links of their genealogical chain up to 'Adnān.

2 His life will be found in this work.

3 I do not know whether Spain or Sicily be meant by the *island* in this case, but it is generally the former which is so designated.

\* 9 October.--*Ed.*

"Behold a gazelle whose tongue is knotted, but yet undoes my knots (*dissolves my forces*) and weakens my fortitude. Those who knew not her worth reproached me for loving her, but I said to them: 'Have you never heard of the (*enchantments wrought by*) breathing on knots?' "1.

From one of his *Qaṣīdahs*:

"Consume not thy life in the pursuits of love; let not (*the cruelty of*) Su'dā or (*of*) Nu'm afflict thee any longer. Lament not over the ruined cottage on the edge of the desert, where Mayyah<sup>2</sup> once resided; and shed not the drops of thy eyelids over mouldering walls<sup>3</sup>. The true object of man's life is to obtain one necessary thing<sup>4</sup>, but (*the memory of his*) culpable discourses and conduct subsists after him<sup>5</sup>."

A great deal of poetry was composed by him. He died at Old Cairo in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 515 (April-May, A.C. 1121).

#### 423 IBN ḤAZM AL-ZĀHIRI

Abū Muḥammad 'Alī generally known by the appellation of *Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhiri*) was the son of Aḥmad Ibn Sa'id Ibn Ḥazm Ibn Ghālīb Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Kḥalaf Ibn Ma'dān Ibn Sufyān Ibn Yazīd. His ancestor Yazīd was a *mawlā* to Yazīd Ibn Abī Sufyān Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah Ibn 'Abd Shams the Umayyide, and the first of the family who embraced Islamism. They were originally from Persia, and Kḥalaf was the first of his forefathers who went

1 An allusion to a verse of the *Qur'ān*, *sūrat* 113.

2 Su'dā, Nu'm, and Mayyah are names of females, and occur frequently in poems.

3 This verse is not given in the autograph. [In our copy it is given.—Ed.]

4 Salvation is probably meant.

5 I omit translation of the piece which follows, for motives already stated. In the second verse is a play upon the word حمز which is a proper name, and حمز which signifies burning coals.

to Spain. Ibn Ḥazm was born in the eastern quarter of Cordova<sup>1</sup> on Wednesday morning, before sunrise, the 30th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 384 (November, A.C. 994)\* : He was a learned *ḥāfiẓ*, versed in all the sciences connected with the Traditions and in their application to jurisprudence ; he possessed also great skill in deducing from them and from the *Qur'ān* the solution of questions touching the secondary principles of the law. He had been at first a follower of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, but abandoned it for that of the *Zāhirites*<sup>2</sup>. His knowledge was of the most varied kind, and although he, as his father before him, had held an exalted post in the wazirate and the administration of the empire, he manifested the utmost indifference to worldly advantages. His profound humility equalled the greatness of his talents ; the number of works composed by him was very considerable ; and, possessing a large collection of books, formed by himself, on the Traditions, traditional information, and original subjects, he had also a memory richly stocked with such information as could only be supplied by oral transmission. He composed a work on the application of the traditions to jurisprudence, and entitled *Kitāb al-Iṣāl ilā fahmī Kitāb al-Ḥiṣāl*, etc. (*guidance to the understanding of the book called al-Ḥiṣāl*), being a collection of laws on the duties of Muslims, on what is lawful and what unlawful, on the *Sunnah*, on the *Ijmā'*<sup>3</sup>, and containing, besides, the opinions of the Companions, of the *Tābi'is*, and of the *Imāms* of Islamism their successors, on questions relating to jurisprudence and the rites of the pilgrimage. This is an extensive compilation, and contains the arguments employed by the different orthodox sects for and against the points in which they

---

1 He means the suburb on the left bank of the Guadaquivir.

2 The sect of the *Zāhirites*, or *exteriorists*, was founded by Dāwūd Ibn 'Alī al-Iṣṭihānī ( No. 211 ) They were so denominated because they understood the words of the *Qur'ān* in their plain literal sense, and rejected the *tāwīl*, or allegorical interpretation to which other sects have recourse in certain cases. They differed completely from the *Ḥanīfite* sect in rejecting the *Qiyās* (see Vol. I, Introduction.

3 See No. 227, note.

• 7 November.—Ed.



disagree. His *Kitāb al-Iḥkām li 'Uṣūl il-Aḥkām*<sup>1</sup> is a treatise drawn up with great care, containing the proofs (on which the author founded his principles). His other works are, the *Kitāb al-Faṣl* (a distinctive view of religions, and of the philosophical and religious sects); a treatise on the *Ijmā'*. Questions on points in the different sections of jurisprudence: the *Marātib al-'Ulūm*, being a classification of the sciences, an indication of the manner in which they are to be studied, an exposition of their mutual connection; the *Izhār Tabdīl al-Yahūd wa 'l-Naṣrā* (exposure of the alterations made by the Jews and the Christians in the Pentateuch and the Gospel, and indication of those passages still extant with them which they cannot explain away)<sup>2</sup>; he was the first ever treated this subject. His other works are, the *Taqrib* etc. (*Study made easy*), being an introduction to logic, written in the plainest language, and illustrated by examples drawn from the science of jurisprudence; this treatise is drawn up on an original plan, as it was the author's intention to make known the real nature of the science and remove the prejudices which were entertained against it as a futile study<sup>3</sup>. "His master in logic was a native of Cordova named Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Madḥijī, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Kattānī<sup>4</sup>, who was a good scholar, a poet, a physician, and the author of some treatises on medicine and the *belles-lettres*. He died later than A.H. 400 (A.C. 1009)." Such are the observations given, on the authority of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī, by Ibn Mākūlā in his *Ikmāl*<sup>5</sup>, under the head of *al-Kattānī*, where he notices two persons of the name. A little volume of Ibn Ḥazm's entitled *Nuḡḡ al-'Arūs*<sup>6</sup>, furnishes much information and contains a great quantity of curious and interesting matter. Ibn Bashkuwāl speaks of him in these terms; "Of all

1 It would appear from the title that this work treated of judicial astrology.

2 He means the texts in which the Muslims pretend that the mission of Muḥammad is foretold.

3 The autograph gives the true reading المخرقين .

4 Read here and lower down الكتاني .

5 See No. 414 .

6 This title may signify bridegroom—or perhaps brideul—*anecdotes*.

the natives of Spain, Ibn Ḥazm was the most eminent by the universality and the depth of his learning in the science cultivated by the Muslims; add to this his profound acquaintance with the (*Arabic*) tongue, and his vast abilities as an elegant writer, a poet, a biographer, and an historian. It was stated by his son Abū Rāfi' al-Faḍl that he possessed about four hundred volumes, containing nearly eight thousand leaves, which had been composed and written out by his father." "We never saw his like," says the Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī, "for penetration, promptitude in learning by heart, nobleness of character and piety. I never met a person who could extemporise poetry more rapidly than he. He recited to me the following verses as his own :

"Though now on a distant journey and absent from thee in body, my soul abideth near thee for ever; nay, a faint image (*of thyself*) still fleets before the sense of sight, and (*my*) eyes, struck by that aspect, pour forth a stream of tears."

Ibn Ḥazm has thus again expressed the same thought :

"My brother said: 'Thou art afflicted because thou shalt be absent from us in body, but thy soul will never leave us.' I replied: 'The sense of sight alone is worthy of trust, and therefore one friend always desires the sight of another.'!"

In one of his pieces he says :

"A severe censor blamed me on account of one whose beauty had made me captive, and he long reproached me for my love: "How" ? said he, 'can you have fallen a victim to the beauty of the only (*female*) face you ever saw, and yet you know not how her body may be ?' I answered: 'The excess of thy blame proceeds from injustice: and, if I pleased, I could make a long defence: seest thou not that I am a Zāhirite (*eterniorist*), and place my trust in what is visible, till farther proof be given ?' "

The following verses are given as his by the Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḥumaydī :

"We remained a moment together and then departed, but a moment's interview can give no solace to the heart inflamed with passionate desire. The coming of lovers together seemeth not a meeting, if their reunion is again to be dissolved by separation."

Al-Ḥumayd- mentions also that the following lines were recited to him by Ibn Ḥazm, as having been composed by 'Abu Jahwar<sup>1</sup>.

"Though persons of genius may be dwelling far apart, their souls can still hold converse. How often have pen and paper enabled the hearts of separated lovers to meet again!"

Ibn Ḥazm had arguments and discussions with Abu 'l-Walid al-Bāji (*no.* 263), too long to be explained here. He was so ardent in his attacks against the learned men who preceded him, that hardly a single one could escape the virulence of his tongue. By this conduct he estranged the hearts of his contemporaries and became an object of hostility to the jurisconsults of the epoch. These persons, animated by their enmity, concurred in refuting his opinions, exposing them as false, treating him as a reprobate, cautioning their rulers against the dangers of his proceedings, and forbidding the public to have any intercourse with him or to listen to his lessons. In consequence of this, the sovereign of the different (*Spanish*) provinces expelled him from their states, and he was driven to the open country near Lablah (*Niebla*), where he breathed his last on Sunday afternoon, the 28th of *Shā'bān*. A.H. 456 (August A.C. 1064)\*; some say, however, that he died at Manta Lisham a village of which he was the possessor. It was of him that Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn al-'Arif (*no.* 67) said: "The tongue of Ibn Ḥazm and the sword of al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf were brothers." His reason for making this remark was the frequency of Ibn Ḥazm's attacks upon the Imāms<sup>2</sup>. His father Abū 'Umar Aḥmad was a Wazīr under the (*hājib al-Manṣūr, the founder of*) the 'Āmirite dynasty, an accomplished scholar and elegant writer, a man of learning and a holy life. He died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 402 (June, A.C. 1012). The following verse is

1 Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Jahwar, an eminent Wazīr, a *kātib*, a poet, and an accomplished scholar, lived in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir, the Omayyide. This prince died A. H. 350 (A. C. 962).—(*Bughyat al-Multamils*)

2 See No. 67, note.

\* 15 August.—*Ed.*

mentioned by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm as forming part of the admonitions addressed to him by his father the Wazīr :

"If you wish to pass your life in wealth, adopt such a mode of life as will not cause you discontent if reduced to an inferior station."

Al-Ḥumaydī<sup>1</sup> relates the following anecdote in his *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis* : The Wazīr Abū 'Umar Aḥmad was sitting at a public audience given by his master al-Manṣūr Abū 'Āmir, Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'Āmir, when a supplication was presented to him by a woman in favour of her son who had incurred al-Manṣūr's anger by some heinous crime which he had committed, and was then detained in prison by his order. The perusal of the paper excited al-Manṣūr's wrath to an extreme, and he exclaimed : "By Allāh ! thou has reminded me of him." He then took a pen with the intention of writing the document the word *yuslab* (*let him be crucified*), after which he handed the paper to the Wazīr, who immediately drew up a regular order conformable to the decision, and addressed to the commander of the *Shurṭah*, or police guards. "What have you written there ?" said al-Manṣūr to him. "An order for his liberty," replied Abū 'Umar. "And who directed you to do so ?" exclaimed al-Manṣūr in a passion. The Wazīr handed the supplication which al-Manṣūr had written by mistake the word *yutlaq* (*let him be set free*). "By Allāh ! " said al-Manṣūr, on seeing it, "I meant to write *let him be crucified*." He then struck out the word with the intention of writing *yuslab*, but he again traced the word *yutlaq*. The Wazīr then took the paper and was drawing up an order for the prisoner's liberation, when al-Manṣūr remarked it, and exclaimed, in a more violent passion than at first ; "Why did you do so ?" The Wazīr showed him the decision in his own handwriting, and the prince effaced it, but again committed the same mistake. The Wazīr then commenced a new order of liberation addressed to the *wāll*, or commander, and al-Manṣūr, who observed him, flew into a greater rage than ever, Abū 'Umar then showed him the paper on which, for the third time, he had

---

<sup>1</sup> His life is given by our author.

written *yufḥaq*. Struck with the singularity of the circumstance, al-Manṣūr exclaimed: "Be it so! let him be set at liberty in spite of me; for when God wills that a man should be set free, I cannot prevent it." Abū Muḥammad (*Ibn Ḥazm*) had a son, gifted with a noble character and great talents, whose name was Abū Rāfi' al-Faḍl; he was employed in the service of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, the sovereign of Seville and other cities of Spain. It happened that the suspicions and anger of al-Mu'tamid were excited against one of his uncles, Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn 'Abbād, and he thought of putting him to death. The Wazirs were therefore called in, and he said to them: "Does any of you know if there was ever a *khalif* or a prince who put his uncle to death for conspiracy against him?" On this Abū Rāfi' stepped forward and said: "May God's assistance never fail you! we know of none who ever did so, but we know of one who pardoned his uncle who had revolted against him, al-Mamūn, namely, who forgave Ibrahim Ibn al-Mahdi" (no. 8) When al-Mu'tamid heard these words, he kissed the speaker between the eyes and gave him thanks, after which he sent for his uncle and treated him with affability and kindness. Abū Rāfi' was slain at the battle of al-Zallāqah, on Friday, the 15th of Rajab, A.H. 479 (October, A.C. 1086). \* We have given a full account of this engagement in the life of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn. *Lablah* (*Niebla*) is a town in Spain. *Manta Lishām* is a village in the dependencies of Lablah; it belonged to Ibn Ḥazm and he visited it from time to time.

#### 424 IBN SĪDAH

The *Ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ismā'il, surnamed Ibn Sīdah, and a native of Murcia, was highly distinguished by his learning in philology and grammar, and by his acquirements in such portions of these sciences as were preserved by oral transmission. On this matter he composed some works, one of which, the *Muḥkam*

\* According to Mahler's calculation 15 Rajab fell on Monday, 26 October.—*Ed.*

(fixed), is very voluminous and contains information on the various branches of philology. Another extensive work of his on the same subject is entitled *al-Mukhaṣṣiṣ* (the specifier). He composed also a commentary, in six volumes, on the *Ḥamāsah*, entitled *Kitāb al-Anlq<sup>1</sup>*, and a number of other instructive treatises. Ibn Sīdah was a blind man, as his father also; he made his first studies in philology under his father, who was well versed in that science, and he then received lessons from Ṣa'īd al-Baghḍādī (no. 282) and 'Alī Ibn 'Umar al-Ṭalamankī. The latter reverts to this circumstance in the following anecdote: "When I went to Murcia, the inhabitants requested me most earnestly to explain the *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf<sup>2</sup>*, on which I told them to look for a person to read the book to them, and that I would follow him in my own copy of it. On this, they brought me a blind man, called Ibn Sīdah, who repeated its contents from the beginning to the end, and I was much struck at the excellence of his memory." Ibn Sīdah possessed considerable abilities as a poet. He died in Denia on Sunday evening, the 25th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 458 (March, A.C. 1066\*), at the age of about sixty years. I read on the cover of a copy of *Muḥkam* a note written by some learned native of Spain, in which it is said that Ibn Sīdah was in good health previously to the morning prayer of the Friday (before his death), and that he continued so till the hour of evening prayer, when he entered the water-closet and came out with his tongue paralyzed, and unable to utter a word; he remained in that state till the afternoon of the Sunday above mentioned, when he died. Some place his death in the year 448 (A.C. 1056), but the former date is more authentic and is generally admitted. Murcia is a city in the east of Spain. Ṭalamankī means belonging to Ṭalamankah (Salamanca?) which is a city in the west of Spain. Denia is a city in the east of the same country.

1 This title means *liber pulchri*, which may perhaps signify *livre du bel esprit*.

2 Hājji Khalīfah notices two works bearing this title: one by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī (see Ibn Khallikān), and the other by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām, a learned scholar whose life will be found in this dictionary.

\* 26 March.—Ed.

## 425 ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-ḤUṢRĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Ḡhanī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Fihrī (*a member of the tribe of Quraysh*), and a native of Qayrawān, was a poet of celebrity, and, although afflicted with blindness, a teacher of the *Qur'ān*-readings. Ibn Bassām, the author of the *Dhakhīrah*, speaks of him in these terms: "He was a sea of eloquence the master of his art and the chief of the company (*of poets*). He porceeded to Spain towards the middle of the fifth century of the Hijrah, on the ruin of Qayrawān<sup>1</sup>, the place of his abode. In those days polite literature was highly encouraged and sedulously cultivated in our country. he was therefore caressed by the provincial sovereigns, as the meadows are caressed by the zephyr; they were all desirous of possessing him, as houses are desirous of possessing inhabitants; although, as I have been informed, he was of disagreeable character, notorious for his evil tongue, and as keen for satire as a thirsty man for water. They give in, however, to his humour, and supported with patience the frequency of his caprices and the rarity of his affable moments<sup>2</sup>. When those sovereigns were deprived of their possessions (*by Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn*) he settled at Tanger, much reduced in circumstances and relapsed into (*the former moroseness of*) his character." Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the subject of this article was cousin by the mother's side to Abū Ishāq al-Ḥuṣrī (*no. 15*), the author of the *Zahr al-Ādāb*. Ibn Baskhuwāl makes mention of him in the *Ṣilat*, and al-Ḥumaydī says that he was well acquainted with the *readings* of the *Qur'ān* and the mode by which each of them had been transmitted down; that he gave public lessons in *Qur'ān*-reading at Ceuta and elsewhere, and that he composed a *Qasidah* in two hundred and ninety verses, setting forth the points peculiar to Nāfi's system of *Qur'ān*-reading. His collected poetical works are still extant, and one of his pieces is the widely diffused *Qasidah* which begins thus:

1 In A. H. 449 (A. C. 1057—8), Qayrawān fell into the power of the nomadic Arabs who had left Upper Egypt a few years before. See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 422; and my edition of Ibn Khaldūn's *History of the Berbers*, in Arabic, page 17.

2 Literally: The intervals of his drought and the rarity of his rain.

"O night of the afflicted lover ! when will thy morning arrive ? Is it deferred to the day of judgment. The friends who passed the evening in conversation are now asleep, but he, separated from his beloved, is kept awake by the visits of grief."

This poem is so well known that it is unnecessary to insert it ; and a counterpart of it, in the same rhyme and measure, has been composed by my friend Najm al-Dīn Mūsā al-Qamrāwī the jurisconsult, in which he says :

"Bear to my beloved this message : 'The friends of him whom thou hast reduced to sickness are weary of visiting his couch, and those who envied thy captive lover now deplore his misery. Thy cruelty has left him only that breath of life which each sigh raises from his breast. Hārūt<sup>2</sup> himself acknowledges that the power of magic is derived solely from thy eyes<sup>3</sup>.\* When thou sheathest thy glances in thy eyelids, they inflict deadly wounds : what must they be when thou drawest them from their scabbard ! How often had thy cheek been smoothed to an expression of benignity, whilst thy eyebrow formed an arch above it. My heart acknowledged no other power but thine ; why then<sup>4</sup> condemn it eternally to the flames of separation ?"

The lines which follow are by al-Ḥuṣṛī :

"When she offered me the cup of welcome on which her lips had impressed a seal of musk, I said to her : "Was this ruby liquor extracted from thy cheeks ?" 'No' she replied ; 'When was wine ever extracted from the rose ?' "

1 Farther notice will be taken of al-Qamrāwī towards the end of the article.

2 See No. 286, note on Hārūt.

3 عنين , the root of the word لعنن\* is not to be found in the dictionaries. The reading in the printed text might be supposed to be incorrect, were it not confirmed by the autograph. From its being here employed conjointly with the verb اسند it must have the signification of *to attribute the origin of a person or thing to.....*

4 Read فلم in the printed text.

\* يعنى means that عن is used in narrating weak traditions in which the narrator does not say 'he said or narrated' on the other hand he says 'it is related on the authority of'.—Ed.



At the time in which he resided at Tanger, he sent his servant-boy to al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, the sovereign of Seville, which city was called Ḥimṣ (*Emessa*) by the people of that country; he then waited in fruitless expectation of the boy's return, and having been informed that al-Mu'tamid took no notice of him, he composed these lines:

"Awake the drowsy carawān and reporach Fortune with her cruelty! Ḥimṣ is a paradise, and it said to my boy: 'Thou shall not return from this!' May God have mercy on my boy! he has died of hunger in paradise!"

In the original Arabic the poet makes each of these verses end in a double rhyme, although the rules of prosody by no means placed him under such a restraint. The following relation was delivered by Tāj al-'Ulā Abū Zayd, surnamed al-Nassābah (*the genealogist*): "I was told by Abu 'l-Aṣḡagh Nubātah Ibn al-Aṣḡagh Ibn Zayd Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥārithī al-Andalusī that he heard his grandfather Zayd Ibn Muḥammad relate as follows: "Al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, the sovereign of Seville, sent five hundred pieces of gold to Abu 'l-'Arab al-Zubayrī with the order to come to him, and employ the sum for his travelling expenses." Abu 'l-'Arab was then in Sicily, his native country. His name were Abu 'l-'Arab Muṣ'ab Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Furāt al-Qurayshī (*of the tribe of Quraysh*) al-Zubayrī al-Ṣāqallī (*native of Sicily*), the poet. "He sent also a similar sum to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī, who was then at Qayrawān. In reply to his invitation, Abu 'l-'Arab wrote him these verses:

"Wonder not at my head, how grief has turned it grey; but wonder that the pupils of my eyes are not turned grey (*and blinded with weeping*). The sea is in the power of the Christians (*Rūm*), and no ship can sail on it without danger, but the land belongs to the Arabs!"

As for al-Ḥuṣrī, he replied in these terms:

---

1 He probably means to justify his non-compliance with al-Mu'tamid's wishes, by making a pun on his own name, and giving him to understand that the 'Arab prefers remaining on *terra firma*.

'You order me to take ship and cross the sea ; make that proposal to some other, and blessings be upon you! you are not a Noah to save me in his ark, nor a Messiah with whom I may walk upon the waters.'

"Some time after, he went to Spain and sung the praises of al-Mu'tamid and other princes." He died at Tanger, A.H. 488 (A.C. 1095). The birth of al-Qamrāwī (*the person incidentally mentioned in this article*) may be placed, by approximation, A.H. 591 (A.C. 1194-5); he died towards the end of the month of Šafar. A. H. 651 (April; A. C. 1253), on his return from Yaman, at a place called Rās al-Dawā'ir, situated between 'Aydḥāb and Sawākin, on the coast of the sea of 'Aydḥāb (*the Red Sea*). Qamarāwī means *belonging to Qamrā*, which is a landed estate in the province of Šarkḥad, in Syria. Of Ḥuṣrī we have already spoken (*no. 15*). Tanjah (*Tanger* is a town in the West Country (*al-Gharb*) at two days' journey from Sibtah (*Ceuta*), another town in the same region. Abu 'l-'Arab al-Zubayrī was born in Sicily, A.H. 423 (A.C. 1032); on its conquest by the (Norman) Christians (*Rūm*) in A.H. 464 (A.C. 1072), he emigrated to Spain and sought the protection of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād. "I have been informed," says Ibn al-Šayrafī<sup>1</sup> "That he was still alive, in Spain, in A.H. 507 (A.C. 1113-4)."

#### 426 IBN KHARŪF

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ḥaḍramī, a native of Seville, in Spain, and generally known by the name of Ibn Kharūf, possessed high abilities as a grammarian. The works which he composed on this subject afford testimony of his great talents and extensive information; such are his excellent commentary on Sibawayh's *Kitāb* and his able elucidation of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Zajjāji's trea-

<sup>1</sup> The ḥafiz Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Munjib Ibn Sulaymān al-Šayrafī (الصيرفي) was a native of Egypt, and composed a history of the Wazīra, frequently cited by Ibn Kḥallikān. He must have written later than A.H. 507, since he mentions in his work that Abu 'l-'Arab was still alive in that year.

tise, the *Jumal*<sup>1</sup>. The master under whom he completed his studies was a native of Spain, surnamed al-*Khidabb*<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ṭāhir. He died at Seville, A.H. 610 (A.C. 1213-4); some say A.H. 609. *Ḥaḍramī* means *native of Ḥaḍramawt*. He must not be confounded with another Ibn *Kharrūf*, who was a poet, and addressed an epistle to Bahā al-Dīn Ibn *Shaddād*, in which he alludes to the resemblance of the names. This epistle will be noticed in the life of the Ibn *Shaddād*,

#### 427 AL-RABA'Ī THE GRAMMARIAN

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Isā Ibn al-Faraj Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Raba'ī, al-Baghdādī, a native of *Shirāz*, but settled at Baghdād, and a grammarian of the first rank by his perfect knowledge of the science is author of a good commentary on Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī's *'Idāh* (no. 155). He studied at Baghdād under al-Sīrāfī (no. 154), and then proceeded to *Shirāz*, where he passed twenty years under the tuition of Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī, after which he returned to the former city. Abū 'Alī once said: "Tell 'Alī al-Baghdādī that, if he were to travel from the East to the West, he would not meet with an abler grammarian than himself." He observed also, when his pupil was quitting him, that there did not remain a single point on which he would need to ask information. Al-Raba'ī composed a number of works on grammar one of which was a commentary on al-Jarmī's *Abridgment* (no. 223). The number of pupils who profited by his lessons was very great. Ibn al-Anbārī mentions him in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Udubā*. He was born, A.H. 328 (A.C. 939-40), and he died at Baghdād on the eve of Saturday, the 20th of Muḥarram, A.H. 420 (February, A.C. 1029) \* *Raba'ī* means *descended from Rabī'āh*, but I do not know whether it be Rabī'āh, the son of Nizār,<sup>3</sup> who was his ancestor, or some other person of the name; for there were many Rabī'ahs whose descendants all bore the surname of Raba'ī.

1 See No. 342.

2 The autograph has الغلب; this word signifies *stout, able bodied*.

3 See Eichhorn's *Monumenta*, tab. I.

\* 8 February.—*Ed.*

## 428 AL-FAṢĪHĪ

The grammarian Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī Zayd Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Istirābādī, better known by the appellation of al-Faṣīhī, studied grammar with such success under 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, the author of the Lesser *Jumāl*<sup>1</sup>, that he became the most learned man of the age in that science. Having proceeded to Baghdād, he settled there and taught grammar, for some time, in the *Niẓāmiyah* College. He transcribed a great number of books on general literature, and was a most correct copyist. Amongst the numerous pupils who pursued the studies under him was Malik al-Nuḥāt Ibn Šāfi (*no. 160*) and some traditional information was delivered on his authority by the *Ḥafīẓ* al-Silafī (*no. 43*). 'Ī was sitting with him at Baghdād," says this *ḥafīẓ*, "and I questioned him on some points of grammar, to which he replied by citing the following verses which were composed by a grammarian :"

"Know that grammar is a disastrous study, and drives prosperity out of doors. Better than grammar and its professors is a slice of bread seasoned with olive oil."

Al-Faṣīhī died at Baghdād on Wednesday, the 13th of *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*, A.H. 516 (February, A.C. 1123).<sup>\*</sup> He may have received the surname of *Faṣīhī* because (*he made a particular study*) of *Tha'lab's* work, the *Faṣīhī* (*no. 42*), but of this I have no certainty. *Istirābādī* means *belonging to Istirābād*, a village in the province of Māzandarān, situated between Sāriyah and Jurjān.

## 429 IBN AL-'AṢṢĀR

The philologist Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sulamī (*a member of the tribe of Sulaym*), surnamed Muhadh<sup>h</sup>hab al-Dīn, and generally known by the name of Ibn al-'Aṣṣār† (*son of the*

<sup>1</sup> Al-Jurjānī composed also a celebrated grammar the *Jumāl*. He died A.H. 474 (A.C. 1078-9) or 474; not in 461 (1068-9). The Greater *Jumāl* was composed by Abu 'l-Qasim al-Zajjajī; No. 342.

<sup>\*</sup> According to Mahler's calculation 13 *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah* fell on Monday, 12 February. —*Ed.*

† Cairo edition gives al-Qaṣṣār (*bleacher*) in the body and supports autograph reading in the margin. —*Ed.*

*oil-press man*), was a native of Baghdād by birth and by residence, but his family belonged to the town of al-Raqqah (in *Mesopotamia*). He held a high reputation as an accomplished scholar, and he possessed (*by heart*) some of the rarest (*pieces of ancient Arabic literature*). His masters in that science were the *Sharīf* Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt Ibn al-Shajārī and Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jawālīqī<sup>1</sup> under whose tuition he obtained great proficiency. He then gave lessons for some time, after which he went to Egypt, where he met Abu Muḥammad Ibn Bari (*no.* 328) and al-Muwaffaq (*Yūsuf*) Ibn al-Khallāl, the secretary of state<sup>2</sup>. He knew by heart and understood perfectly the poems of al-Mutanabbī, and he explained them to numerous pupils in 'Irāq, Syria, and Egypt. A great quantity of books, treating of philology or containing poems by the Arabs of the desert, was transcribed by him, but faults are occasionally observable in these copies; notwithstanding all his care and attention. It is said that his genius was not of the brightest order, and that he evinced less talent as a grammarian than as a philologist. The style of penmanship was remarkable for elegance, and (*books in*) his handwriting are in great request and bear high prices. He was a curious collector of receipts and other scraps of information, and it was his custom to write them down in his books. I met with a number of persons who saw him and studied under him. He was born A.H. 508 (A.C. 1114-5), and he died at Baghdād, A.H. 576, on Sunday, the 3rd of Muḥarram (May, A.C. 1180)\*, just as the afternoon prayer was ended. The next day, he was interred in the *Shūnīzī* cemetery, close to his father's grave.

#### 430 SHUMAYM AL-HILLI

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Antar Ibn Thābit al-Hillī (*native of Hillah in 'Irāq*), surnamed Muḥaddhab al-Dīn, and generally known by the appellation of *Shumaym*, was an

<sup>1</sup> See No. 344, note

<sup>2</sup> His life is given by Ibn *Khallikān*.

\* 31 May.—*Ed.*

eminent scholar, deeply versed in grammar, philology, and the poems of the desert Arabs; he composed also in verse with great elegance. His first studies were at Baghdād under Ibn al-Khashshāb (no. 325) and other eminent scholars of that period; he then visited Diyār Bakr and Syria, celebrating in his poems the praises of the great and obtaining gifts from them in return. He finally settled at Mosul. A number of works were written by him, and he drew up, out of his own poetry, a book in ten sections, which he named the *Hamāsah*, in imitation of Abū Tammām's compilation bearing the same title. He was possessed of great talents, but he had an evil tongue and was continually attacking the character of others, without acknowledging or respecting merit where it really existed. Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī has given him a place in his History of Arbela, and commences his notice with a series of anecdotes respecting him, and which would imply that he had but little religion, that he neglected the prescribed prayers, impugned the sacred *Qur'ān* and laughed at the public. He gives also some fragments of his poetry, which certainly betray a malignant disposition. "He was once asked," says Ibn al-Mustawfī, "why he had obtained the surname of *Shumaym*<sup>1</sup>, and he returned this answer: 'At one time I used to eat every day a quantity of clay<sup>2</sup>, and, when I passed it, I would examine if it had any odour, but could perceive none. It was for this reason I received the name of *Shumaym*.' "He died at Mosul on the eve of Wednesday, the 28th of the latter Rabi', A. H. 601 (December, A. C. 1204)\*, and was interred in the cemetery which is called after al-Mu'āfa Ibn 'Imrān<sup>3</sup>. The word *shumaym* is derived from the root of *Shamm* (to smell).

## 431 'ALAM AL-DĪN AL-SAKHĀWĪ

Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn 'Abd al-Aḥad Ibn al-Ghālīb al-Hamdānī a member of the tribe of

1 This word seems to signify little smaller.

2 Read *طين* in the printed text.

3 See No. 111, note on al-Mu'āfa.

\* 22 December. --Ed.

*Hamdān*) al-Sakhāwī, surnamed 'Alam al-Dīn (*beacon of religion*), was a native of Egypt, a teacher of the *Qur'ān-readings*, and a grammarian. He studied at Cairo under the *Shaykh* Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Shāṭibī (*whose life will be found farther on*), and he acquired under his tuition a sound knowledge of the *Qur'ān-readings*, grammar, and philology; another of his masters there, was Abu 'l-Jawd Ghīyāth Ibn Fāris Ibn Makki<sup>1</sup>, a teacher of these readings. At Alexandria he took lessons from al-Silafi (*no. 43*) and Ibn 'Awf (*no. 389, note*), and at Old Cairo from al-Būṣīri<sup>2</sup> and Ibn Yāsin<sup>3</sup>. He then proceeded to Damascus, where he surpassed all the learned men who cultivated the sciences which were the subject of his own studies; and, with the rapid progress of his reputation, he acquired a most exalted place in public opinion. He composed a commentary, in four volumes, on al-Zamkhashari's *Mufaṣṣal* and another on the *Shāṭibīyan Qaṣīdah*, which poem he had studied under the author<sup>4</sup>. He left also some sermons *Khutbāhs* and poems. The highest respect was shown to him during his life, and when I was at Damascus, I saw the people crowding round him in the great mosque, for the purpose of reading the *Qur'ān* under his tuition, and they had to wait a considerable time till their turn came. I more than once saw him riding up to the

---

1 Abu 'l-Jawd Ghīyāth Ibn Fāris al-Lakhmī al-Mundhīrī (*a member of the tribe of Lakhm and descended from the royal family of the Mundhīrites*), was a native of Egypt, an eminent teacher of the *Qur'ān-readings*, a calculator of inheritance-shares, and a grammarian. He died A. H. 605 (A. C. 1208-9). (*Ḥusn al-Maḥādharah*).

2 The life of al-Būṣīri is given by Ibn Khallikān.

3 The imām Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yāsin, a member of the tribe of Kinānah, a native of 'Asqalon and an inhabitant of Egypt, was celebrated as a master of the *Qur'ān-readings* and as a grammarian. He studied the readings under Abu 'l-Jawd Ghīyāth (see note above), and grammar under Ibn Barī (*No. 328*). It was in the mosque called the Jāmi' al-'Atiq at Old Cairo, that Ibn Yāsin gave his lessons. He died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qā'dah*, A. H. 636 (June, A. C. 1239). (*Ḥusn al-Muḥādḍirah*).

4 The *Shāṭibīyah* is a poem in which the different systems of *Qur'ān-reading* are set forth. The life of the author, al-Qāsim Ibn Firruh, is given by Ibn Khallikān.

Mountain of the Saints (*Jabal al-Ṣālihiyyīn*).<sup>1</sup> accompanied by two or three persons all reading their lessons to him at the same time, and each in a different part of the book, whilst he made his observations first to one and then to another. He continued in the assiduous discharge of his duty to the last, and he died on the eve of Sunday, the 12th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 643 (November, A. C. 1245),\* ; he had then passed his ninetieth year. When his death drew near, he recited these verses, composed by himself :

"They said that on to-morrow I should arrive at the grounds reserved by the tribe<sup>2</sup>; that the caravan would stop at their place of dwelling; and that all who obeyed them would receive a welcome to rejoice them. I replied: 'I am culpable towards them; what pretext can I dare to meet them?' They answered: 'Is it not their nature to show forgiveness, and especially to those who placed in them their hope?'"

I have since discovered that he was born A.H. 558 (A. C. 1163), at *Sakhā*. *Sakhāwī* means *belonging to Sakhā*, which is a village in *Ḡharbiyah*, a province of Egypt. *Sakhāwī* would be regular form, but all agree in employing the word *Sakhāwī*.

#### 432 IBN AL-BAWWĀB THE KĀTIB

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Hilāl, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Bawwāb, was a celebrated *Kātib*, possessing a skill in penmanship to which no person ever attained in ancient or modern times. It was Abū 'Alī Ibn Muqlah who first took the present system (*of written characters*) from the (*style of*) writing employed by the people of Kūfah, and brought it out under its actual form. He had therefore the merit of priority, and it may be added that

1 This mountain, which is also called *Jabal al-Ṣālihiyah*, lies two miles north of Damascus. It is about one thousand English feet above the level of the city.

2 See No. 55, note on *Ḥima*.

\* 5 November.—*Ed.*



his handwriting was very elegant; but to Ibn al-Bawwāb pertains the honour of rendering the character more regular and simple, and of clothing it in grace and beauty<sup>1</sup>. [But it is said that the author of the written character (called) *al-Mansūb*<sup>2</sup> was not Abū 'Alī, but his brother Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan, of whom mention is made in the life of Abū 'Alī: it will be found those of the persons whose names were Muḥammad. When Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī<sup>3</sup>, the native of Spain and the author of the works (*which are so well known*), cast his eyes on the handwriting of Ibn Muqlah, he recited this line:

"When a man feeds his eyes (*muqlah*), with the sight of Ibn Muqlah's handwriting, all the members of his body would like to be eyes."

It is agreed by all that Abu 'l-Ḥasan (*Ibn al-Bawwāb*) stood apart (*in his superiority*); it is his system which is yet followed<sup>4</sup>, but none have ever reached or pretended to reach his pitch of excellence, and yet there are people in the world who lay claim to (*talents*) which they do not possess. We may add, that for a person to maintain such a pretension is a thing which we never saw nor heard of; all agree that he surpassed competition and that he never had a rival. He was called also Ibn al-Sitrī (*the son of the curtain-man*), because his father was a *bawwāb* (*porter or usher*), whose duty it is to stay the curtain (*sitr*) which is drawn across the door-way (*of the hall of audience*). [His master in writing was Ibn Asad the celebrated *kātib*, whose names are Abū 'Abd Allāh

---

1 Throughout this article I shall indicate the author's later additions by placing between crotchets.

2 Some observations on the character called *al-Khaṭṭ al-Mansūb* will be found subjoined to the notice on al-Mubārak Ibn al-Mubārak. This notice from one of the notes which accompany the life of Abu 'l-Faḍā'il 'Alī Ibn al-Āmidī.

3 See No. 129, note on al-Bakrī.

4 Literally: It is one his loom they weave.

\* The word is not used as a proper noun but in its literal sense 'ascribed to', and the sentence should run: The person to whom the fashioning of the written characters is ascribed was not Abū 'Alī.—Ed.

Muḥammad Ibn Asad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sa'id al-Qāri (*the Qur'ān-reader*) al-Kātib (*the penman*) al-Bazzāz (*the linen-merchant*) al-Baḡhdādī (*native of Baḡhdād*). The traditional information which he possessed was received by him from the lips of Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Sulaymān al-Najjād<sup>1</sup>, 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Zubayr al-Kūfī, Ja'far al-Khuldī, 'Abd al-Mālik Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Saqāṭī, and others of the same standing; he was himself considered as a trustworthy (*transmitter of such information*). Muḥammad Ibn Asad died on Sunday, the 2nd of Muḥarram, A. H. 410 (May, A. C. 1019),\* and was interred in the *Shūnizī Cemetery*. Ibn al-Bawwab died at Baḡhdād on Thursday, the second of the first Jumādā, A. H. 423 (April, A. C. 1032)†; some say, A. H. 413. He was interred near the grave of Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥanbal. The two verses which follow were recited to me by one of our learned men, and he informed me at the same time they were composed as an elegy on Ibn al-Bawwab's death:

"Thy loss was felt by the writers of former times, and each successive day justifies their grief. The ink-bottles are therefore black with sorrow, and the pens are rent through affliction."

The idea contained in these verses is very fine. When I was at Aleppo, a jurisconsult asked me the meaning of the following

---

1 Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Sulaymān, surnamed al-Najjād, was an eminent doctor of the sect of Ibn Ḥanbal and a native of Baḡhdād. He studied under a great number of masters distinguished for their learning, and then opened two classes in the Mosque of al-Manḡūr, in one of which he gave his opinions on points of law للنزاع, and in the other he made dictations (*No. 370, note*). These classes were held on Fridays, before the hour of prayer. He composed a great work on the *Sunun* or written collections of the Traditions, and another in which he discussed and defended the doctrines peculiar to his sect كتاب في الخلاف. He fasted during the whole course of the year, and at night he eat a single cake, a small morsel, of which he put aside: every Friday, he took no other food than seven of these morsels. His birth is placed in A. H. 253 (A. C. 867), and his death in the month of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah, A. H. 347 (February—March A. C. 959). Al-Dḥahabī's (*Tarikh al-Islām*).

\* 10 May—*Ed.*

† The second of the first Jumādā A. H. 423 fell on Sunday, 16 April and the same date in A. H. 413 fell on Thursday, 2 August A. C. 1022.—*Ed.*

verse, which is contained in a poem composed by a modern, wherein he describes a letter :

" 'Twas a letter like a meadow enamelled with flowers ; its lines were traced by the hand of Ibn Hilāl, and its contents taken from the lips of Ibn Hilāl."

I answered him that the poet's meaning was, that its writing equalled in beauty the penmanship of Ibn al-Bawwab, and that in elegance of style it resembled the epistles of al-Šābi. We have already mentioned (*no. 14*) that the latter was an Ibn Hilāl (*son of Hilal*). I then asked the jurisconsult what was rest of the piece, and he repeated it to me, as follows :

"When I received thy letter adorned with the jewels of lawful magic that of style— it seemed to me, like a mansion peopled with every excellence, and I contemplated it (*with sadness*) as I would a dwelling where my friends resided no longer. Tears trickled from my eyes ; I impressed repeated kisses on the paper, and asked of the characters tracked upon it an answer to my hopes<sup>1</sup>. I pondered over it<sup>2</sup> till I thought its words were the stars of night, or strings of pearls. 'Twas a letter like a meadow enamelled with flowers ; its lines were traced by the hand of Ibn Hilāl, and its contents taken from the lips of Ibn Hilāl."

Relative to the art of writing, (*it is said*) that Ismā'il (*the patriarch*) was the first who wrote in Arabic ; but what the learned hold to be the truth is, that Murāmir Ibn Marwah, a native of al-Anbār. was the first who did so. It is said that he belonged to the tribe of Murrah<sup>3</sup> And from al-Anbār the art of writing spread through the people. Al-Ašmā'ī states that it was related of the tribe of Quraysh that, on being asked whence they had received the art of writing, they answered : from Ḥirah. The same question, says he, was then addressed to the inhabitants of

---

1 Literally : "I asked of its traces to answer my question" an expression which, in Arabic, is just as applicable to a letter as to a deserted dwelling. See Introduction to Vol. I.

2 Literally : I hovered round it.

3 See Eichhorn's *Monumenta Hist. Arab*, tab. III.

Hīrah, and they replied : from al-Anbār. [It is related by Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Haytham Ibn 'Adī<sup>1</sup> that the person who introduced the art of writing from Hīrah to Hījāz was Harb the son of 'Umayyah, the son of 'Abd Shams, the son of 'Abd al-Manāf of the tribe of Quraysh. He had visited Hīrah and brought back with him this art to Makkah. The two ḥāfiẓ just mentioned relate also that Abū Sufyān, the son of Harb, was asked from whom his father had learned the art of writing, and he answered : "From Aslam Ibn Sidrah," and he (Harb) stated that he had addressed the same question to Aslam, and that he replied : "From its inventor, Murāmīr Ibn Murrah". It hence appears that this (*art of Arabic*) writing came into existence at but a very short time before Islamism. (*The tribe of*) Ḥimyar had a sort of writing called *al-Musnad*, the letters of which were separated, not joined together<sup>2</sup> ; they prevented the common people from learning it, and none dared to employ it without their permission. Then came the religion of Islāmism, and there was not, in all Yaman, a person who could not read nor write. The systems of writing among the nations of the east and west amount to twelve ; the Arabic, the Ḥimyarite, the Ionian (*or Greek*), the Persian, the Syrian, the Hebrew, the Roman, the Coptic, the Berber, the Andalusian<sup>3</sup>, the Indian, and the Chinese. Of these five are extinct, their usage having ceased, and the persons who knew them being no longer in existence; the Ḥimyarite, namely, and the Ionian, and the Coptic, and the Berber<sup>4</sup>, and the Andalusian. Three still exist in the countries where they are employed, but no one in the land of Islāmism is acquainted with them ; these are the Roman, the Indian and the Chinese ; the remaining four, namely the Arabic, the Persian, the Syrian, and the Hebrew, are employed in Islamic countries.]

1 The lives of these two ḥāfiẓ are given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 In this important passage the autograph manuscript concurs with the printed text.

3 Probably the Celiberian.

4 Read البر بوجه in the printed text.

## 433 SHAYKH AL-ISLĀM AL-HAKKĀRĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ja'far Ibn 'Arafah al-Hakkārī, surnamed *Shaykh al-Islām* (the *shaykh* of *Islāmism*), drew his descent from 'Utbah the son of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah. He was a man of great virtue and had travelled through many countries for the purpose of gathering Traditions from the lips of *shaykhs* and other learned men. Having returned to his native place, he renounced the world and gained (by his character) the respect and confidence of the people. In one of his journeys he saw Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri and took lessons from him. When they separated, he was asked by one of his companions what he thought of that poet's conduct and religious belief; to which he replied that Abu 'l-'Alā was a Muslim.<sup>1</sup> I have been informed that a man in high rank said to al-Hakkārī; "Are you *Shaykh al-Islām*?" and that he replied: "No, but I am a *shaykh* in *Islāmism*". A number of his sons and grandchildren were jurisconsults or amirs, and rose to high favour in the service of different princes. He was born A.H. 409 (A.C. 1018-9), and he died on the 1st of Muḥarram, A. H. 486 (February, A.C. 1093\*). *Hakkārī* means *belonging to Kurdish* tribe of *Hakkār*, which possesses numerous fortresses, castles, and villages in the country to the east of Moṣul.

## 434 ALI AL-HARAWĪ AL-SĀ'IH

The celebrated traveller<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī Bakr 'Alī, surnamed al-Harawī because his family belonged to Herāt, was born at Moṣul and settled at length at Aleppo. He visited numerous regions, made frequent pilgrimages<sup>3</sup> and covered the face of the earth with his peregrinations. There was neither sea nor land,

1 See No. 46, note on Abu 'l-'Alā's *Qur'ān*.

2 The word here rendered by *traveller* is *ṣā'ih*, which signifies a *rambler*, a *wanderer*.

3 These pilgrimages were made to tombs of saints and other holy places.

\* 1 February.—Ed.

plain nor mountain, to which access could be obtained, which he had not seen; and in every place to which he went, he wrote his name upon the walls, as I myself have observed in all the cities which I visited, and their number is certainly very great. To this he was indebted for his reputation, and his name as a traveller became proverbial. I saw two verses composed by one of our contemporaries, Ja'far Ibn Shams al-Khilāfah (no. 135), on a pertinacious writer of begging-poems, and containing an allusion to the circumstance just mentioned; they ran as follows:

"These lying sheets are in the house of every man, and though the rhyme may differ, the meaning is always the same. The earth, both hill and plain, is filled with them, as with the scribbings of the vagabond al-Harawī."

Al-Ḥasan was not, however, devoid of talent; and, by the skill which he possessed in natural magic<sup>1</sup>, he obtained the favour of the lord of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Zāhir, the son of the Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. That prince lodged him in his palace, and having conceived a great regard for him, he founded a College outside Aleppo and placed it under the direction of his favourite. This establishment now encloses a mausoleum erected over the grave of al-Harawī. It contains a number of rooms filled with books, and an appropriate inscription has been placed by him on the door of each. I remarked that he had even written the following inscription on the door of the water-closet; *Bayt al-Māl fī Bayt il-Mā'*,<sup>2</sup> I saw also in the mausoleum a branch of a tree hung at the head of his tomb; this branch or rod had naturally assumed the form of a hoop, (*the ends being completely united*) without the assistance of human art; it is a very curious object, and is said to have been discovered by him in one of his journeys. His last injunctions were that it should be suspended in that place to excite the astonishment of spectators. He composed the following works: *Kitāb al-Ishārāt fī Ma'rifat-al-Ziyarāt* (indications to make known the places of pilgrimage); *Kitāb al-Khuṭab al-Harwiyah*

1 By natural magic, or *sīmyā* as the Arabs call it, is meant legerdemain and phantasmagoria.

2 Literally: The public treasury in the water-closet. I acknowledge my inability to discover the wit of this inscription.

(*book of Khutbahs*, or sermons, by *al-Harawī*), etc. I saw two verses inscribed in a fair hand on the wall of the room in the college where he gave his lessons; they appear to have been written by some well-educated person, who had stopped there on his way to Egypt, and their merit induces me to insert them here :

"May the mercy of God be shown to him who offers up a prayer for the welfare of people who stopped here. on their way to Egypt. When they halted at this place, their cheeks were pale (*with fatigue*) but when the hour of departure drew near, they were red with weeping."

Al-Harawī died in the above-mentioned college between the 10th and the 20th of the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 611 (January, A.C. 1215).<sup>\*</sup> He was buried in the mausoleum of which we have spoken. *Harawī* means *belonging to Herāt*, which is one of the four capitals of *Khurāsān*; the others are Naysāpūr, Balkh, and Marw. This extensive kingdom contains a number of other great cities, but none of them equal to these. Herāt was built by Alexander *Dhu 'l-Qarnayn* on his expedition to the East.<sup>1</sup>

#### 435 'IZZ AL-DĪN IBN AL-ATHĪR AL-JAZARĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abu 'l-Karam Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī (*a member of the tribe of Shaybān*), generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī and surnamed 'Izz al-Dīn (*majesty of religion*), was born at al-Jazīrah, and his first years were spent in that place. Having accompanied his two brothers and his father to Moṣul, he took lessons in that city from the *khāṭib* Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī (*a native of Ṭūs*) and from other eminent masters of that epoch. He went to Baghdād repeatedly, either as a pilgrim (*to Makkah*) or as an envoy from the governor

<sup>1</sup> Herāt appears to be the *Aria* of the Greeks. Alexander the Great founded a city there, which was called Alexandria after him.

<sup>\*</sup> 13 and 23 January.—*Ed.*

of Moṣul : and, during these visits, he received lessons from Abu 'I-Qāsim Ya'ish Ibn Ṣadaqah the Shāfi'ite doctor, Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb Ibn 'Alī the Ṣūfī, and other learned men. Having then proceeded to Syria and Jerusalem, he pursued his studies under different masters, after which he returned to Mosul, where he confined himself within doors, and devoted all his moments to study and to the composition of his works. His house then became a centre of union for the learned men of the city and for strangers. His knowledge of the Traditions and his acquaintance with that science in its various branches placed him in the first rank, and his learning as an historian of the ancients and moderns was not less extensive; he was perfectly familiar with the genealogy of the Arabs, their adventures, combats, and history; whilst his great work, the *Kāmil*, or *complete*, embracing the history of the world from the earliest period of the year 628 of the Hijrah, merits its reputation as one of the best productions of the kind. He composed also an abridgment, in three volumes, of Abu Sa'd ['Abd al-Karīm] al-Sam'ānī's *Ansāb* in which he points out the errors of that author and repairs his omissions. It is an extremely useful book and is now very common: but the original work, forming eight volumes, is so extremely rare that I never saw it but once, and that was at Aleppo; it has never reached Egypt, where its contents are only known by the abridgment. Another of Ibn al-Aṭhīr's works is the *Akhbār al-Ṣaḥābah* (*history of the most eminent among the Companions of Muḥammad*), in six volumes. On my arrival at Aleppo, towards the close of the year 626 (November, A.C. 1229), Ibn al-Aṭhīr was receiving the kindest attention and every mark of esteem and honour from the Ṭawāshī (*eunuch*) Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭughril, the *atābek* or guardian, of the prince of Aleppo, al-Malik al-'Aziz the son of al-Malik al-Zāhir, and was living with him as a guest. I then met him frequently, and found him to be a man of the highest accomplishments and the most excellent qualities, but extremely modest. I was his constant visitor, and, as a close intimacy had subsisted between him and my lamented father, he received me with the utmost regard and kindness. He afterwards

---

1 See, no., 370.



made a journey to Damascus, A.H. 627 (A.C. 1229-30), and on his return to Aleppo in the following year, I continued to cultivate his society with unceasing assiduity, but, after a short stay, he removed to Moṣul. Ibn al-Aṭḥir was born on the 4th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 555 (May, A.C. 1160),\* at Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar, the native place of his family; and he died at Moṣul, in the month of Shā'bān, A.H. 630 (May-June, A.C. 1233). I shall take occasion to speak again of his brothers Majd al-Dīn al-Mubārak and Diyā al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh. The *Jazīrah*, or isle above-mentioned, is generally considered to be the same which is called *Jazīrat Ibni 'Umar* (the isle of the son of 'Umar), but I do not know who this Ibn 'Umar was; some, it is true, say that it was so called after Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Ṭhaqafī, the Amīr of the two 'Irāqs. I have since discovered the true reason, namely, this town was built by 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Umar, a native of Barqa'id in the province of Moṣul, and therefore called after him. In some historical works I find it named *Jazīrat Ibnay 'Umar Aws wa Kāmil* (the island of the two sons of 'Umar, Aws and Kāmil), but who these were I know not. I have since read in Ibn al-Mustawfī's History (of *Arbela*), where he gives the life of al-Mubārak, the brother of this Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Aṭḥir, that he belonged to the island of Aws and Kāmil, the sons of 'Umar (*Ibnay 'Umar*) Ibn Aws al-Taghlibī<sup>1</sup>,

## 436 AL-'AKAWWAK

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Jabalah Ibn Muslim Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, generally known by the appellation of al-'Akawwak, was a poet of eminent abilities. Al-Jāḥiẓ<sup>2</sup> declares that, for reciting poetry (*extempore*), he was the admirable of God's creatures, and that he never saw his equal among the Arabs of the desert or

1 Read الثغلي in the printed text.

2 The life of al-Jāḥiẓ is given in this work.

\* 12 May.—Ed.

those of the towns. He belonged to the class of *mawlās*, and was born blind; his complexion was black and his skin spotted with leprosy. A well known piece of his is that which follows:

"For her who came in disguise to see me, and whom every object filled with apprehension, I would sacrifice my father's life. But that visitor was betrayed by her beauty; how could the night conceal the (*refulgence of such a*) rising moon? She awaited the moment when the spies forgot their duty; she watched the people at their evening conversations, till they yielded to sleep; and then she faced every danger to visit me; but no sooner had she offered the salutation of meeting, than she bid me farewell."

He composed a number of splendid eulogiums on Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim Ibn 'Isa al-'Ijlī<sup>1</sup> and on Abu Ghānim Ḥumayd Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī<sup>2</sup>. One of his finest *qaṣīdahs* on Abū Dulaf begins thus:

"He (*the poet*) repelled from his bosom the approaches of wanton folly; he turned from his errors, though pleasure was his occupation".

In that part of the poem where the eulogium is introduced, he says:

"Let Abū Dulaf be marching against the foe, or enjoying repose at home, his presense (*is for us*), the world. If Abū Dulaf turn away (*from us*) the world (*and Fortune turn from us, to*) follow in his steps. Every Arab upon earth, both the dwellers in the desert and those who sojourn in towns, must borrow from him their noble qualities to form therewith a raiment, on the day in which they enter the lists of glory."

It is a long poem of fifty-eight verses, and so beautiful that I should insert it here, did I not wish to avoid prolixity. Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn 'Unayn, a poet whose life shall be given in this work, and an excellent judge of poetry, was once asked which merited preference, the *qaṣīdah* of al-'Akawwak or the charming poem

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 See no. 117, note on Ḥamīd, where his name is incorrectly written Ḥamid. [The name has been corrected in this edition.—Ed].

composed by Abū Nuwās in the same rhyme and measure, and which begins thus :

"O thou who sufferest from the visits of adversity<sup>1</sup>, thou canst no longer pretend to the love of Laylā or of Samarah."

Ibn 'Unayn abstained from giving a direct answer to this question and merely said : "To judge between these two poems would require a person equal in talent to the poets who composed them." I read some observations written by Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad on this *qaṣīdah* of Abū Nuwās, wherein he says, after inserting the piece ; "I do not think that any poet, either of the times before or after Islāmism, ever reached such a pitch of elegance and majesty, much less that he surpassed it." It is related that al-'Akawwak, after he had celebrated the noble qualities of Abū Dulaf in this poem, composed another in praise of Ḥumayd Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid, who said to him : "What is it possible for you now to say of me ? What merit do you leave for me to claim as mine ? You who have spoken of Abū Dulaf in these terms : *The presence of Abū Dulaf is for us the world ; if Abū Dulaf turn away, the world follows in his steps !*" To this the poet replied : "May God direct the Amir ! I can say of you something better than that." He then recited these verses :

"Ḥumayd and his vast beneficence are (*for us*) the world. If Ḥumayd turn away from us, adieu to the world !"

On hearing these lines, Ḥumayd smiled, but remained silent, whilst every person of the assembly who knew what good poetry was, declared them finer than those on Abū Dulaf. Ḥumayd then bestowed an ample reward on the author. The narration which follows is made by Ibn al-Mu'tazz in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā'*<sup>2</sup> : "When al-Māmūn was told of this *qaṣīdah*, his wrath was excessive, and he ordered the poet to be sought for and brought before him. As al-'Akawwak was then residing on the mountain, they were unable to find him, and when the intelligence reached him, he fled to Mesopotamia. Written orders to

1 The autograph has *ḥazīn*.

2 See no., 316.

arrest him being now dispatched in every direction, his apprehensions led him to fly from Mesopotamia, and he had got into the region called al-*Shāmāt*<sup>1</sup>, when he was discovered and taken prisoner. Having bound him in chains, they took him before al-Māmūn, who exclaimed, on seeing him: 'Son of a prostitute! it was you who said in a poem addressed to al-Qāsim Ibn 'Isā: *'Every Arab upon earth, etc.'* He here repeated the two verses: 'You have thus placed me among those who must borrow from him their noble qualities and their titles to glory!' 'Commander of the faithful!' replied al-'Akawwak, 'you belong to a family with which no other can be put in comparison; God chose yours as His own from amongst the human race, and gave it the sacred book, and supreme authority, and a vast empire. But what I said was solely applied to those who were on an equality with al-Qasim Ibn 'Isā.'—'By Allāh!' exclaimed al-Māmūn, 'you made no exceptions, but included us in the number, however I shall not spill your blood on account of these lines, but I shall order your death for the impiety of your verses, in which you assimilate a vile and miserable creature to the Almighty and represent him as the partner of His power: you have said:

'The events of each day are accomplished under thy control, and fortune is directed by thee in her changes. A look of thine was never cast on mortal, but he received a lasting favour or a certain death<sup>2</sup>.'

"But it is God alone who can do so; pluck out his tongue by the root!" The order was immediately executed, and al-'Akawwak thus perished. This event took place at Baghdād, A. H. 213 (A. C. 828-9); he was born A. H. 160 (A. C. 776-7). It is said that he lost his sight by the small-pox at the age of seven years.

1 The author of the *Kitāb al-'Iqd* (see Ibn Khallikān, Vol. I) states that *Shām*, or Syria, is divided into five *Shāmāt*, or *Syrias*; the indication of these provinces is given by Ibn al-Wardī. See *Excerptum ex Ibn al-Wardī*, p. 176, in Koehler's *Abulfedae Tabula Syriae*.

2 One of the highest eulogiums which an Arabian poet could bestow on a patron was, that he did good to friends and evil to foes. The Muslims give similar characteristics to the Divinity; in the list of the ninety-nine holy names, or attributes, we find him styled *نافع* the useful, and *ضار* the hurtful.

but this is in contradiction with what has been stated previously."

Such are the terms in which Ibn al-Mu'tazz speaks respecting this *qaṣīdah*, and a similar account is also given by Abu 'l-Faraj in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. I met these two verses accompanied by another in Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Munajjim's *Kitāb al-Bārī*<sup>1</sup>, a work containing a history of the later poets, but he attributes them to *Khalaf* Ibn Marwān, a *mawlā* of 'Alī Ibn Rayḥāh; the third verse is as follows :

"When thou visitest with thy wrath, thy sword returns well pleased ; and when thou smilest, the eyes of (*thy*) riches melt into tears."

In one of his eulogiums on Ḥumayd, he says :

"Ḥumayd provides nourishment for all who inhabit the world, and they have thus become his family. It would seem as if his forefather Adam had enjoined him to feed the human race, and he therefore gives them food."

In another of his pieces he says :

"The Tigris quenches the people's thirst, and you, Abū Ghānim, furnish them with food. The people are the body, the (*khalīf*) Imām of the true direction is the head, and you are the eye of the head."

Ḥumayd died on the festival of the fast-breaking (*Ist of Shawwāl*). A. H. 210 (January, A. C. 826),\* and his loss was deplored by our poet in a *qaṣīdah*, of which one of the verses was :

"We also have received that moral lesson which others received before us (*in the death of great of good*) but alas ! we have no room left for patience under grief."

Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah<sup>2</sup> also lamented the death of Ḥumayd in these lines :

"O Abū Ghānim ! vast was the court of thy (*hospitable*) dwelling, and numerous are the (*grateful*) visitors who now surround

1 The life of Abū 'Abd Allāh Hārūn Ibn al-Munajjim will be found in this work.

2 His life is given No. 91.

\* 15 January.—Ed.

thy lofty tomb ! But a tomb frequented by visitors availeth not the person whose body lies mouldering within it."

Numerous anecdotes are related of al-'Akawwak, but we must confine ourselves to the above. The word '*Akawwak*' means *a fat and short man, but stout*. The date which we have here given of Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsi's death is that mentioned by al-Ṭabarī in his history, and I am strongly inclined to believe that he breathed his last at Famm al-Ṣalḥ, to which place he had accompanied al-Māmūn when that *khalif* went to consummate his marriage with Būrān (*no. 117*).

#### 437 'ALĪ IBN AL-JAHM

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Jāhm, a poet of well-deserved celebrity, drew his descent from Sāmāh Ibn Luwayyi of the tribe of Quraysh, and bore the surname of al-Sāmi for that reason. His genealogy is thus set forth by the *Khaṭīb*<sup>1</sup> in the History of Baghdād, when giving the life of al-Jāhm, Abu 'l-Ḥasan's father: 'Alī Ibn al-Jāhm Ibn Badr Ibn al-Jāhm Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Asid Ibn Udhaynah Ibn Karrār<sup>2\*</sup> Ibn Ka'b Ibn Jābir Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Utbah Ibn Jābir Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Qaṭan Ibn Mudlij<sup>3†</sup> Ibn Qaṭan Ibn Aḥram<sup>4‡</sup> Ibn Dhuhl Ibn 'Amr Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Ubaydah Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Sāmāh Ibn Luwayyi Ibn Ghālib. The same historian has an article on 'Alī, the son of al-Jāhm, in which he says: "His collected poetical works are well known; he was good poet, skilled in all branches of the art, and a favourite with (*the khālif*) Ja'far al-

1 See No. 33.

2 The autograph has كراز.

3 The autograph has مدليج.

4 Here the autograph has احرم.

\* Cairo edition gives (كراز) Karrāz.—*Ed.*

† Cairo edition gives (خديج) Khudayj.—*Ed.*

‡ Cairo edition gives (احزم) Aḥzam.—*Ed.*

Mutawwakil ; he was not less conspicuous for his piety than for his talents." His enmity to 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib and his ostentatious display of attachment to the *Sunnite* doctrines (*may detract in some degree from his character*). but, as a poet he certainly possessed a natural genius and great abilities, whilst his style and expression were remarkable for sweetness. He was one of those who passed (*with al-Māmūn*) from Khurāsān to 'Irāq but in the year 232 (A. C. 846-7), or, by another account, in 239, he was sent back again by al-Mutawwakil whom he had attacked in a satire. The Khālif wrote at the same time to Ṭāhir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir<sup>1</sup>, directing him to tie up 'Alī Ibn al-Jahm on a cross the moment he arrived, and keep him in that position for the space of a day. When 'Alī reached Shādhīyākh in the dependencies of Naysāpūr, he was imprisoned by Ṭāhir, and afterwards brought forth and exposed naked on a cross during an entire day. In allusion to this circumstance 'Alī pronounced the following verses :

"It was not a person of inferior merit or a man unknown whom they crucified on Monday morning at Shādhīyākh. They had their hearts, content in that exposition. but, thanks be to God ! their victim was a man of honour and noble soul<sup>2</sup>."

The piece contains many more verses, but it is too well known to require insertion here. The poet then returned to 'Irāq and proceeded from thence to Syria. Some time afterwards, (*the Khālif*) al-Musta'in received a letter from the master of the post-horse establishment at Aleppo, informing him that 'Alī Ibn al-Jahm had set out from that city for 'Irāq in company with some other persons, and that they had sustained a desperate conflict with some horsemen of the tribe of Kalb, by whom they were attacked on the way. When succour came up, 'Alī was found wounded and at his last gasp, but he was able to pronounce these words :

1 This Ṭāhir succeeded his father 'Abd Allāh, a governor of Khurāsān, in A. H. 230.

2 Such I believe to be the meaning of the verse, in which the words شرفا and تبحيلا must be substituted for شرفا and تبحيلا. I consider مل قلوبهم and مل مدورهم as equivalent to مل قلوبهم and مل مدورهم.

"Has fresh darkness been added to the night or has the morning been removed from its station! I thought of the people at Dujayl! but O, how far am I from Dujayl!"

It must be here remarked that his place of residence in Baghdād was in the *Shāri'* or street, of Dujayl. The above-mentioned letter was received in the month of *Sha'bān*, A. H. 249 (September-October, A. C. 863), and that suffices to mark the epoch of his death. When his body was stripped, a paper was found on it containing the following verses:

"May the mercy of God be on the stranger in a distant land! what a misfortune has he brought upon himself! He has left his friends, and neither he nor they shall again enjoy the pleasures of life."

A close friendship subsisted between him and Abū Tammām, and the latter addressed him some farewell lines beginning thus:

"It is to-day the departure on one whose acquaintance was an honour; and for to-morrow are reserved the tears which flow not now."

'Alī Ibn al-Jahm's collected poetical works from a small volume; they contain this fine thought:

"An affliction not to be equalled is the enmity of a man without honour or religion. He freely abandons you his own reputation, and attacks yours which you so carefully preserve."

These verses were directed by him against Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah<sup>2</sup>, who had composed on him the following epigram:

"Jahm Ibn Badr was surely not a poet, and yet this son of his pretends to make verses. It is true, my father was a neighbour to his mother; and when 'Alī claims to be a poet, he makes me suspect something."

This idea was taken from Kuthayyir, the lover of 'Azzah<sup>3</sup>, who, having one time recited some verses to the poet al-Farazdaq

1 Literally: Has the torrent carried off the morning.

2 See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom Vol. II, p. 518.

3 See No. 138.



by whom they were approved, was then addressed by him in these terms: "Tell me, Abū Ṣakhr! did your mother ever go to Baṣrah?" "No", replied Kuthayyir, "but my father did frequently!" When Ibn al-Jahm was in prison, he composed the well-known verses which begin thus:

"Thou art now in prison!" said they, but I answered: "The prison harms not my body; where is the sword which has not been confined in a scabbard?"

This is the best piece ever written on such a subject, and I would give it all here were it not so long. The lines which follow are also of his composition:

"O (*cruel fair!*) thou who rejoicest in the torments I endure! thou art as a king, acting like a tyrant because he has the power. Were it not for love, I should match thee (*in haughtiness*); but if ever I recover from that passion, thou shalt experience more than thou expectest!"

*Sāmī* means *descended from Sāmāh*, the son of Luma'i; many persons write this name *Shāmī*, but they are mistaken. *Dujayl*, diminutive form of the word *Dijlah* (*Tigris*), is the name given to a canal situated higher up the river than Baghdād. It derives its waters from the Tigris and branches off from it on the west bank, opposite to al-Qādisiyah, between Tikrit and Baghdād; a number of towns and villages are situated on its banks. It must not be confounded with the *Dujayl* (*in the province*) of al-Ahwāz, which also waters a number of towns and villages, but flows from the neighbourhood of Ispahān; this last was dug by Ardashīr Ibn Bābak Ibn Sāsān, the first of the (*Sasanide*) monarchs of Persia.

#### 438 IBN AL-RŪMĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, surnamed Ibn al-Rūmī (*the son of the Christian*), was the son of al-'Abbās, the son of Jurayj, or of

---

1 It must be observed that Baṣrah was al-Farazdaq's native place.

Jurjis (*Georgius*) as some say, and a *mawlā* to 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Isā Ibn Ja'far Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This celebrated poet, whose verses are so admirable for beauty of expression and originality of thought, was a diver (*it might be said*) for novel ideas, bringing them forth from their secret recesses and producing them to the best advantage. Every thought which he treated was developed to the utmost, and not a shade of it was left by him unnoticed. His poems, which were transmitted down orally by al-Mutanabbī, who learned them from himself, were devoid of order till Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī undertook the task of arranging them according to the letters in which they rhymed: and Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, the book-copyist of Ibn 'Abdūs<sup>1</sup>, collected them again from all the copies then existing, both those containing the poems arranged by the letter of the rhyme and those where they were given indiscriminately, and he augmented the whole by the addition of about one thousand verses. Ibn al-Rūmī composed not only long *qaṣīdahs*, but short pieces also of admirable beauty, and he has employed in some of them every tone which satire or praise can assume. It is thus that he says:

"Those generous men bestowed without rebuking, or, if they rebuked, they deferred not their gifts. How many there are, possessing great wealth yet avaricious; whilst others make presents, although obliged to borrow."

In the following lines he expresses a thought which, he says, had never occurred to any poet before him:

"Your counsels and your faces and your swords shine like stars when misfortune sheds darkness around. They are signals of guidance, and beacons to dispel the shades of night, when the results of our enterprises are merely objects of conjecture."

---

1 This Ibn 'Abdūs is probably the same who bore the surname of al-Jihghyārī. See (No. 359, note on Jihghyārī). The author of the *Fihrist* makes mention also of an 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdūs, a grammarian and a native of Kūfāh, who composed some works on poetry, prosody, and grammar.

(*Fihrist*, fol. 120). A third Ibn 'Abdūs was a *Qur'ān*-reader (No. 11, note), and a fourth was concerned in Ibn al-Bḥalmāghānī's affair No. 183.

Another singular idea of his is expressed thus :

"When a man praises another to obtain his gifts and lengthens his eulogium his intentions are satirical. Had he not judged the water to be low in the well, he would not have taken so long a rope to draw it up."

In the following lines he blames the custom of dyeing the hair black; and, according to Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥamdānī, they contain an idea never expressed before :

"When a man's hair continues black, though his youth is worn out, that dark tint will be thought artificial. How then can an old man expect that the factitious blackness of his hair should be considered natural, or that he himself should be taken for a youth?"

He once asked a man of rank to render him service, and although he did not expect any good of him, his request was granted; on this occasion he expressed his feelings in these lines :

"I once asked a service of you, and you granted it generously, though I imagined that you would not. By this favour you impose on me the duty of gratitude, and that is more painful for me than to undergo a refusal from you. I never thought that, throughout all the vicissitudes of time, I should see a favour asked of a man like you. Though what I have received from you gives me pleasure, yet to think that it is on such men as you that hopes are to be placed, gives me pain."

These verses are attributed to Ibn Waki' al-Tinnisi (no. 396). To avoid of lengthening this article we shall merely state that his poetical works abound with beauties. His birth took place at Baghdād on a Wednesday morning after sunrise, which was the 2nd day of the month of Rajab, A. H. 221 (June A. C. 836):\* the house in which he was born is situated in the place which bears the two names of al-'Aqīyah<sup>1</sup>, and the street of al-Khataliyah (*Darb al-Khataliyah*): this house lies opposite to the palace (*Qasr*) of 'Isa Ibn Ja'far, grandson of al-Manṣūr. In one of his journeys he composed these lines on Baghdād :

1 In the autograph this name is written العتقیة.

\* 21 June.—Ed.

"In that city, youth and its passions were my consorts, and there I wore the rope of life in its newness. When I call up its image to my mind, I see therein the youthful beauties whom I once loved, and their slender waists gracefully bending<sup>1</sup>."

He died at Baghdād on Wednesday, the 28th of the first Jumādā, A. C. 283 (July, A. C. 896)\*; some however placed his death in 284 or 276. He was interred in the cemetery at the Garden Gate (*Bāb al-Bustān*). The cause of his death is thus related: Al-Qasim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Wahb, the Wazīr of the Imām (*khalif*). Al-Mu'taḍid dreaded incurring the satirical attacks of Ibn al-Rūmī and the out-bursts of his malignant tongue; he therefore suborned (*a person called*) Ibn Firās<sup>2</sup>, who gave him a poisoned biscuit, whilst he was sitting in company with the wazīr. When Ibn al-Rūmī had eaten it, he perceived that he was poisoned, and rose to withdraw, on which the wazīr said to him: "Where are you going?" "To the place?" replied Ibn al-Rūmī, "where you sent me." "Well," observed the wazīr: "you will present my respects to my father." "I am not taking the road to hell;" retorted the poet. He then retired to his house and died some days afterwards. The physician who attended him administered medicines to counteract the effects of the poison, but it was reported that he employed by mistake a wrong drug. It is related by Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Niṣṭawayh (*no. 11*) that he saw Ibn al-Rūmī at the point of death and asked him how he was, and that the poet answered by reciting these verses:

"The physician has made mistake to my cost—in a mistake like that of the man who went down into the well for water and could not get up again. People will say it was a blunder of the doctor's, but doctor's blunders are strokes well aimed by fate."

The relation which follows was made by the poet Abū 'Uthmān al-Nājim: "I went to see Ibn al-Rūmī in his illness, and I

1 Literally: I see it, and over it waving the branches of youth.

2 The autograph has فراس.

\* 14 July.—Ed.

found him at the last extremity; on rising to take leave of him, he said to me :

'Abū 'Uthmān ! you deserve the praises of your people, and your beneficence is readier for your friends than your reproaches. Behold thy brother and take thy fill of the sight ; for I am thinking that he shall not see you again, nor you him, once this day is past.'

The wazir Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh was a man greatly feared, and always displaying an excessive propensity to bloodshed ; high and low were in dread of him, for he never discovered a man to be rich without making him suffer for it. He died on the eve of Wednesday, the 10th of the latter Rabi', A H. 291 (March A.C. 904) in the Khalifate of al-Muktafi (Allāh), being then somewhat more than thirty years of age. The following verses were made on his death by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Sa'd:

"We tasted of joy on the evening of the wazir's death; and we shall continue to taste of it for three evenings longer<sup>1</sup>. May God grant no mercy to his bones and no blessing to his heir."

This wazir had a brother named Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, whom he and his father outlived, and some verses (*which we shall give lower down*) were composed on this event by Abu 'l-Ḥārith al-Nawfalī, or rather by al-Bassāmī, a poet whose life will be found immediately after this. I have since read in al-Sam'ānī's *Dhayl* (*supplement*), where he gives the life of the chamberlain (*al-Lawwāb*), 'Alī Ibn Muqallad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Karāmah, that Abu 'l-Ḥārith al-Nawfalī said : "I detested al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh for an injustice which he had done me, and, on the death of his brother al-Ḥasan, I composed these verses and placed them in the mouth of Ibn Bassām al-Bassāmī." Before this passage, al-Sam'ānī inserts these words : "Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī<sup>2</sup>, who was so remarkable for his social talents, mentions that he had seen Abu 'l-Ḥārith and that he was a man of veracity." The verses are :

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that I may have mistaken the meaning of this verse.

<sup>2</sup> The life of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī will be found in this work.

"Say to the father of al-Qāsim, now suffering under his loss : 'Fortune has shown thee strange events ; thou lovest a son who was an ornament to the world, and another survives, filled with turpitude and vices. The life of this one is as bad as the death of that ; in neither case hast thou escaped misfortune.'"

The following verses were composed also on the same subject by a poet whom I have since discovered to be this same Abu 'l-Ḥārith :

"Speak to the father of al-Qāsim, now suffering, under his loss, and exclaim aloud : O thou who hast met a double misfortune ! thou hast lost a son who was an ornament, but turpitude survives (*in the other*), and what turpitude ! The life of this one is as the death of that : strike thy head with thy hands (*in despair*)."

#### 439 AL-BASSAMĪ THE POET

Abu 'l-Ḥaṣan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Bassām, generally known by the surname of al-Bassāmī, was a poet of great celebrity<sup>1</sup>. His mother Umāmah was daughter to

---

1 This Abu 'l-Ḥaṣan 'Alī Ibn Bassām is erroneously considered by Ḥājjī Khalīfāh as the author of the work entitled *al-Dhakhīrah fi Maḥāsin Ahl al-Jazīrah* ( *the treasure, on the excellences of the people of the Island* ); by which island is meant the Spanish peninsula. This mistake has not escaped the notice of M. de-Sacy : see his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, p. 445. It appears from some of the extracts given from the *Dhakhīrah* by Ibn Khalīkān and from the declaration of al-Maqqarī ( see MS. No. 794, fol. 104 ), that Abu 'l-Ḥaṣan 'Alī Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī native of Santurem, the author of the *Dhakhīrah*, lived in the sixth century of the Hijrah and that he was a contemporary of al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān, the author of the *Qalā'id al-'Iqān*. M. de-Gayangos states, I know not on what authority, that ; Ibn Bassām died A.H. 542 (A. C. 1147-8). See his *Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, Vol. I, 370 ; where he announces also that he will treat more at length about him and his writings. I have made many but fruitless searches to find some account of him, and am much surprised at the silence of al-Maqqarī, Ibn Baḡkuwāl, Abu l-Maḥāsin Ibn Khāqān, 'Imād al-Dīn, and other authors, on the subject.

Ḥamdūn al-Nadīm.<sup>1</sup> His (*poetry*) was transmitted down orally by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, Abū Sahl Ibn Ziyād, and others who had learned portions of it by heart. The elegance of his verses and the subtilty of his genius entitled him to an eminent rank amongst the poets, but he was particularly noted for the keenness of his tongue and his natural turn for satire: none indeed could escape him; princes and wazīrs, high and low, nay even his own father, brothers, and other members of the family had to suffer from his attacks. To his father he addressed the following lines:

"Were you to live the lives of twenty eagles, do you think I could die and let you survive? If I outlive you a single day, I shall show my grief by rending the bosom of thy purse."

In another of his pieces he says.

"When greyness cast a veil over my head, I abandoned the pursuit of vain amusements and of love. O for the days of my youth and their pleasures! O that the days of youth could be retrieved with money! Renounce all amorous follies, O my heart! and forget the passion which warmed thee; now, that grey hairs are come, thou art good for nothing! Cast a parting look on the world; the time for journeying forth approaches and the hour of farewell is come. Misfortunes keep guard over man; and, after his misfortunes, he leaves only a transient reputation behind."

He once asked the wazīr Ibn al-Marzubān<sup>2</sup> for the present of a horse, but was refused, on which he pronounced these lines:

"Your avarice refused me a vile broken-down horse, and you shall never see me ask for him again. You may say that you

---

1 "The *kātib* Ḥamdūn Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Dāwūd was the first of his family who followed the profession of a *nadīm*, or boon companion. His son Ahmad Ibn Ḥamdūn was an oral transmitter of poetry and historical narrations." (*Fihrist*, No. 874, fol. 195).

2 It appears from al-Makīn (*Elmacīn*) that Ibn al-Marzubān was chamberlain to the Khalīf al Mutawakkil. (*See Historia Saracenica*, p. 151).

reserve him for your own use, but that which you ride was never created by God to be reserved<sup>1</sup>."

The following verses were composed by him on the *kātib* Asad Ibn Jawhar :

"Curses light on Fortune ! she has brought strange things to pass ! and having effaced the last vestiges of polite learning and refined taste, she gives us *kātib*s whom I should send back to school, could I lay my hand on them. Behold an example of this in Asad Ibn Jahwar who assumes the air of an able *kātib*."

In another piece he says :

"When at *Ṣarāt*<sup>2</sup>, we purloined some nights (*of pleasure*) from the vigilance of adverse fortune, and they now serve as dates in the sad pages of our life<sup>3</sup> and as titles announcing future joys and hopes to be fulfilled."

His father Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr enjoyed a large fortune and lived in a style of princely magnificence<sup>4</sup> ; he was remarkable for his manly and generous character, the elegance of his person, the delicacy of his table, the splendour of his dress, and the richness of the furniture which embellished his place. It is related that the wazīr al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh went one day to al-Mu'taḍid, whom he found playing at chess, and overheard him repeating this verse :

"The life of this one is as the death of that ; in neither case hast thou escaped misfortune."

(*See no. 438*). The *khalif* then raised his eyes, and perceiving, with some confusion, that al-Qāsim was present, he said to him : "O Qāsim ! cut Ibn Bassām's tongue off, so that it wound you

1 This is the more obvious meaning ; but another is intended, namely : nothing which God has created can remain pure if you touch it.

2 Al-Ṣarāt is the name of one of those canals, or rivers which united the Euphrates and Tigris.

3 Literally : As a date to the nights.

4 The autograph has السرو not السرور .



no more<sup>1</sup>." Al-Qāsim immediately hastened away to cut out the poet's tongue, al-Mu'taḍid, being informed of his intention, called him back and said: "Do him no harm, but cut his tongue off by showing him kindness and giving him some lucrative employment." In consequence of this order, al-Qāsim appointed him director of the post-horse establishment in al-'Awāsim and the *Jund* of Qinnisrīn, and receiver-general of the tolls arising from the bridges of these districts. Ibn Basām died in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 302 (August-September, A. C. 914); some say, A. H. 303. He was then aged upwards of seventy. The praises of his grandfather Naṣr Ibn Maṣṣūr were celebrated by (*the poet*) Abū Tammām. *Al-'Awāsim* is a large district in Syria, and its capital is Antioch. Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī mentions it in this verse:

"When Baghdād and its people ask concerning me, I ask concerning the people of al-'Awāsim."

The poet expressed himself thus because his native place, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, lay in the territory of al-'Awāsim. Al-Ṭabarī mentions in his history that, in the year 170 (A. C. 768-7), Hārūn al-Rashīd constituted all the (*northern*) frontier of Mesopotamia and Qinnisrīn into a separate district, under the name of al-'Awāsim (*the protecting fortresses*). When al-Mutawakkil destroyed the tomb of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, in A. H. 236 (A. C. 850-1), al-Bassāmī composed the following verses on the occasion:

"If the Umayyids impiously murdered the son of the Prophet's daughter, their descendants have committed as foul a deed—behold the tomb of al-Ḥusayn reduced to ruins! They regretted to have borne no share in his murder, and they therefore wreaked their hatred on his ashes."

This tomb, with the adjoining edifices and dependencies, was razed to the foundations by al-Mutawakkil, through detestation

---

1 Literally: Cut his tongue off from you. An anecdote similar to this is related of Muḥammad and al-'Abbās Ibn Mirdās.

for the memory of 'Alī and his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn; he even ordered the spot on which the tomb was erected to be sown with grain and irrigated, and no person was permitted to visit it. This is stated as a fact by historians, but whether it be true or not is known to God alone. Ibn Bassām composed some works, such as a history of 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'ah<sup>1</sup>, which is the fullest and most satisfactory treatise ever written on the subject; the History of al-Aḥwāṣ<sup>2</sup>; the *Munāqaḍāt al-Shu'arā* (*contradictions of the poets*); an edition of his own epistles, etc.

#### 440 AL-QĀḌĪ AL-TANŪKHĪ

The qāḍī Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Tanūkhī<sup>3</sup> was a native of Antioch and drew his descent from Quḍā'ah by the following line: his father Muḥammad was the son of Abu 'l-Fahm Dāwūd Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Tamīm Ibn Jābir Ibn Hānī Ibn Zayd Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Mālīk Ibn Muriṭ Ibn Sarḥ Ibn Nizār Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Ṣubḥ Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥārith—this last was one of the ancient kings of the tribe of Tanūkh—Ibn Fahm Ibn Taym Allāh Ibn Asad Ibn Wabrah Ibn Taghlib Ibn Hulwān Ibn 'Imrān Ibn al-Ḥāf Ibn Quḍā'ah. Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī was deeply learned in the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites and in astrology. Al-Tha'ālibī speaks of him in these terms: "He ranked among the men the most distinguished for their learning (*in the law*) and their acquaintance with general literature; his noble character and excellent qualities placed him in a class apart, and the following description, which I read in a chapter of the *Ṣāḥib* Ibn 'Abbād's works might be applied to him with justice: "If you desire it, I shall be (*serious as*) the rosary of a devotee; and, if you like, I shall be (*sweet as*) the

1 The life of 'Umar Ibn Abi Rabī'ah is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 Al-Aḥwāṣ Ibn Ja'far, the chief of the tribes descended from Hawāzin, is principally known for the active part which he took in the celebrated combat of Shī'b Jablah. (See Rasmussen's *Hist. Arab. ante-Islam*, p. 71, and Fresnel's *Première lettre sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, p. 47).

3 It has been already observed by our author, No. 46. that Tanūkh was a general denomination for those tribes which had settled at Baḥrayn.

apple of Fātik<sup>1</sup>; if you require it, I shall be (*grave as*) the frock of a monk, or if you prefer it, I shall be (*exhilarating as*) the choicest wine of the drinker. He filled the place of qāḍi at Baṣrah and al-Aḥwāz for some years, and, on his removal from that office, he proceeded to the court of Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdān as a visitor and eulogist. That prince gave him an honourable reception, and having granted him a considerable sum for his support, he wrote to the court of Bagħdād requesting the Qāḍi's reinstatement. Abu 'l-Qāsim then obtained an increase of salary and high preferment; the wazīr al-Muhallabi and other powerful men of 'Irāq took him into favour and became the ardent partisans of one whom they considered as the standard of elegant taste and the sweetest flower of their convivial meetings. He was one of the band of qāḍis and jurisconsults who formed the Wazīr al-Muhallabi's social parties which met on two evenings of each week; all reserve was then discarded, and they freely indulged in the pleasures of the table and gave loose to gaiety. Such were the qāḍi Abu Bakr Ibn Quray'ah, Ibn Ma'rūf<sup>2</sup>, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī and others, not one of whom but had a long grey beard; and this was also the case with al-Muhallabi himself. At these meetings, when once a perfect familiarity was established and sociability prevailed, their ears were gratified with the charms of music, and, yielding to the excitement of gaiety, they divested themselves of the robe of gravity to indulge in wine; then, as they passed through all the degrees of enjoyment, from hilarity to extravagance, a golden cup, weighing one thousand *mithqāls*<sup>3</sup>, and filled with the delicious liquor of Quṭrubbul<sup>4</sup> or of 'Ukbara<sup>5</sup>,

1 This is probably an allusion to an apple of amber on which the name of Fāik was engraved, and which had been presented to the poet al-Mutanabbi by the direction of that Amir. A celebrated poem, composed by al-Mutanabbi on this occasion, will be found in M. Grangeret de Lagrange's *Anthologie arabe*.

2 See No. 154. The life of Ibn Quray'ah is given by Ibn Khallikān.

3 The cup must therefore have weighed from six to seven pounds.

4 The village of Quṭrubbul, so celebrated for the excellence of its wine, lay between Bagħdād and 'Ukbara. It was much frequented by the people of the former city in their parties of pleasure and debauch.

5 See no. 324.

was placed in the hand of each; in these they dipped, or rather steeped their beards, till the contents were nearly all absorbed, and they then sprinkled each other by shaking off the drops. During this, they danced about in variegated dresses and in necklaces formed of white violets and the odoriferous seeds of the gum-acacia<sup>1</sup>. The next morning, their habitual gravity and guarded conduct were resumed with the emblems of their judicial functions and the reserved deportment of venerable doctors". Al-Tha'ālibi then gives numerous passages of his poetry, and from these we select the following:

"A liquor composed of sunbeams<sup>2</sup> is presented in a vase formed of the light of the day; or of air, were it not solid—or else of water, were it not devoid of fluidity. When the page who bears it round to the right or to the left, leans forward to pour forth its contents, he seems to be clothed in a jasmine (*white*) robe, with one single sleeve of (*a red colour like*) the pomegranate blossom."

"How highly should I prize thy beauty, did thy kindness towards me correspond to it! Thou art a full moon; but, alas! the sky in which thou risest is not the sky of love".

"Youth to which hoary age succeeds not, such is thy friendship; an evil for which there is no physician, such is thy hatred. A portion of every soul seems combined in thine, and thou art therefore a friend to every soul".

Al-Mas'ūdi states, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, that Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī composed a *qaṣīdah* in imitation of Ibn Durayd's *Maqṣūrah* and he then quotes some lines from it in praise of Tanūkh and Quḍā'ah, the tribe to which the author belonged. Another writer relates the following anecdote which he had received from Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Askar a *Ṣūfī*, and a native of Wāsiṭ: "In the year 521 (A.C. 1127) I happened to be at Baghdād, and was sitting on the stone seat of the Abraz

1 This passage may perhaps have some other meaning, which I am unable to discover.

2 In this piece the poet intends to describe a large white vase containing red wine.

Gate for recreation, when three females came and sat down beside me. I immediately recited the following verse, meaning to apply it to them :

"Air, were it not solid ; water, were it not devoid of fluidity".

One of them then asked me if I knew the rest of the piece, and I replied that I knew that verse only. On this she said : 'If any one were to recite to you the lines which precede, and those which terminate the piece, what would you give that person?' I replied that I had nothing to give, but that I would kiss the person on the mouth. She then recited to me the verses already mentioned, but after the first she introduced these :

"When you consider it and its contents, you have before your eyes a white flower enclosing a fire. One is the extreme of whiteness, and the other of redness".

When I had got the verses by heart, she said in jesting : 'Where is your promise ?' meaning the kiss". The Khaṭīb states that Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī was born at Antioch on Sunday, the 25th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 278 (March, A. C. 892) ; that he went to Baghdād, where he learned Traditions and studied Ḥanafite jurisprudence, and that he died at Baṣrah on Tuesday, the 7th of the first Rabi', A. H. 342 (July, A. C. 953). He was interred the next morning in a mausoleum, situated in the street of al-Mirbad, which was bought for him<sup>1</sup>. Mention shall be made of his son al-Muḥassin in the Letter *M*. Both of them have left a *diwān*, or collection of poetry.

#### 441 AL-NĀSHI 'L-AṢGHĀR

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Waṣīf al-Ḥallā, sur-named al-Nāshi al-Aṣghar (*or the less*), was a poet of merited celebrity for his talents, and the author of numerous *qaṣidahs* on

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has *بشارع العربد* .

the family of the Prophet<sup>2</sup>. He displayed also great abilities in scholastic theology, which science he had learned from Abu Sahl Ismā'il Ibn 'Alī Ibn Nūbakht, and he held an eminent rank among the *Shi'ites*. Numerous works were composed by him. His grandfather Waṣīf was a slave, and his father 'Abd Allāh a druggist. The surname of *al-Ḥalla* was given to him because he made trinkets (*ḥ. lyah*) of brass. Abu Bakr al-Khuwārazmi states that the following charming verses, composed by al-Nāshī al-Aṣghar, were recited to him at Aleppo by their author :

"When I rebuked my friend (*whom unrequited love had rendered*) weary of the world<sup>1</sup>, I might as well have written on water. Had he even renounced his passion after my reprimand, that love which was at first a spontaneous movement would have still remained a duty<sup>2</sup>."

In the year 325 (A. D. 936-7) he went to Kūfah and taught his own poetry in the great mosque; al-Mutanabbi, who was then a boy, attended his lessons and took them down in writing. The following passage from one of al-Nāshī's *qaṣīdah* was written down by al-Mutanabbi under the author's dictation.

"As a secret thought is the point of his spear, it is always buried deep in the heart<sup>3</sup>. His sword is like the pact made with him at Ghadir Khumm<sup>4</sup>; the necks of mankind are formed to receive it<sup>5</sup>".

The same thought has been thus versified by al-Mutanabbi :

"In the tumult of battle the enemy's heads are as eyes, and thy sword then seems to have been formed out of

1 For الملوك read الملوك .

2 The poet means to say that the real merit of the lady would be acknowledged even on cool reflection.

3 Literally: It has no departure from the hearts. The verses are in praise of 'Alī Ibn Abi Tālib, as is proved by the first hemistich of the second verse, which is written thus in the autograph and in one of my own manuscripts: و صار له كبيعته بغيره

4 See no. 73. note festival of Ghadir Khumu.

5 In Arabic, the idea of being bound by a pact is expressed thus: They have placed the pact of the other party as a collar around their necks.

sleep<sup>1</sup>. Thy lances also are made of thoughts, for it is into the hearts alone that they enter".

Al-Nāshī had visited the court of Sayf al-Dawlat Ibn Ḥamdan at Aleppo, and that prince overwhelmed him with the marks of his generosity. When he decided on taking his departure, he addressed the following farewell lines to his patron :

"I bid farewell, but that reluctantly; and, forced by fate, I make a sacrifice to which I should never have willingly consented. I depart in grief, which is now the only companion of my soul; if indeed I can depart and not leave my soul behind. You removed from me a weight of misery in loading me with favours and with honours; and these we refer to God alone for retribution. May He protect you whose religion is protected by thy sword! May He conduct you to a garden of happy life, ever green and ever flourishing."

The lines which follow are attributed to him by al-Tha'ālībī, but in a subsequent part of this writer's work, he gives them as the production of Muḥammad Ibn al-Munajjim<sup>2</sup> :

"If you cannot attain the honours which are coveted by noble minds, cease your efforts and seek a foreign land. How often has a life of ease become irksome! and how often have fatigues and toils yielded repose"

This piece also is by al-Nāshī :

"If the feelings of a friend be alienated from me wrongfully<sup>3</sup>, I try to give him reasons to justify his conduct; I expostulate not, lest I should irritate him more. And I make him feel that my silence is a reproach sufficient. 'And if I am tormented by an

1 That is : Thy sword falls upon the foeman's head as naturally as sleep upon the eye.

2 Al-Tha'ālībī mentions at least four different persons bearing the name of Ibn al-Munajjim; they all composed verses and flourished, it would appear, in the time of Sayf al-Dawlat. They were distinguished by the additional surnames of Abu Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Babek Ibn 'Alī, Abu 'l-Isa, and Hibat Allāh. Ibn Khallikān gives the lives of two others—a few pages farther on.

3 The autograph has تَجَنَّبَا .

ignorant pretender to knowledge, ever ready to assert the wrong for the right, I honour him with my silence, for silence often answers for an answer".

His poetry contains a number of fine thoughts. He died A. H. 366 (A. C. 976—7), but some say that he expired on Wednesday, the 5th of Şafar, A. H. 365 (October, A. C. 975), at Baghdād. His birth took place A. H. 271 (A. C. 884—5).

#### 442 AL-ZĀHĪ THE POET.

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ali Ibn Ishāq Ibn Khālaf, generally known by the surname of al-Zāhī, was a celebrated poet and a native of Baghdād. He excelled in description, and his production abound with beauties. The Khaṭīb, speaks of him in the History of Baghdād, and, after mentioning that his poetry offers many fine examples of simile and other figures of rhetoric, he states his belief that his poetical composition are not numerous, and he then gives us to understand that he was a seller of cottons and kept a shop in the Grant of al-Rabī<sup>1</sup>. 'Amīd al-Dawlat Abū Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Rahīm<sup>2</sup> gives him a place in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara*,

<sup>1</sup> see no. 223.

<sup>2</sup> According to Hājji Khalifah, in his biographical dictionary under the head of *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara*, a work bearing this title was composed by the Wazīr Abu Sa'id Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd al-Rahīm, who died A. H. 338. This date cannot be exact, for an extract from that Wazīr's work, quoted by Ibn Khallikān in the life of Ibn Nūbakht No. 447. proves that he wrote subsequently to A. H. 431. Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn is more satisfactory: he says in the *Nujūm*, under the year 439: "In this year died Abu Sa'id Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abd al-Rahīm, Wazīr to Jalāl al-Dawlat Ibn Buwayh. Having lost heavy sums by the exactions of the Turkish troops, he was placed under the necessity of quitting Baghdād and seeking concealment in Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar, where he remained till his death, which occurred in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* (April-May, A. C. 1048)." Ibn Khallikān writes his surname Abu Sa'id and as such I have printed it in the life of Bishr Ibn Ghayāth al-Marisi, where we find attributed to him another



and says: "He was born on Monday, the 19th of Şafar, A. H. 318 (March, A. C. 930); he died at Baghdād on Wednesday, the 19th of the latter Jumāda, A. H. 352 (July, A. C. 963), and was buried in the cemetery of the Quraysh. His poetical works fill four volumes, and the greater part are in honour of the family of Muḥammad, or in praise of Sayf-al-Dawlat, the wazīr al-Muḥallabī, and other great men of the epoch". He adds that al-Zāhī composed pieces in all the various styles of poetry, and quotes the following lines as his:

"Thy aversion for my love has torn the veil of my passion, and my tears serve only to expose me more. I did not reject the control of prudence, till I saw the beauty of the ringlets which adorned thy cheeks. Yet I often before saw handsome faces, but, to my misfortune, my choice fell on thine".

In describing the violet, al-Zāhī employs the following comparison:

"Azure flowers from the garden, surpassing the sapphire in colour and borne on stems too feeble to support them<sup>1</sup>; they appear like the first flame given out by a match tipped with sulphur".

By the same:

"A wine so transparent in the cup that it resembles the light which dawns over the domain of man. It is so clear<sup>2</sup> and limpид in the glass that it appears not, and the vase which contains it seems to be empty".

The following is one of the beautiful passages offered by his poems:

"Fair ladies, the glances of whose eyes are such, that they seem to brandish swords and unsheath daggers. They accosted

(Continued from page 369)

work, entitled (*al-Nutaf wa 'l-Turaf*). In all the other works I have examined, his surname is written Abu Sa'īd. For the turbulent conduct of the Turkish troops, under Jalāl al-Dawlat, see Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 423, and Wilken's edition of Mirkhond's *History of the Buīdes*, page 95.

1 Read in the printed text *ضعفن*.

2 The autograph has *قت*.

me one day in the recess of valley, and they deluded my heart, which was deluding itself with assumed insensibility. When they unveiled, they were full moons; when they drew their veil, they were crescents; when they moved with dignity, their waists were pliant wands; and when they turned their heads, they displayed the tender looks of the gazelle. From their necks encircled with pearls, their heads seemed to rise like stars; they were formed to do harm to our hearts<sup>1</sup>".

This mode of enumerating female charms has been often employed by poets, but was never given under so admirable a form as this. Al-Mutanabbi has said on the subject:

"In her aspect, a moon; in her movements, a branch of willow; in odour, ambergris; in looks, a gazelle".

And al-Tha'ālibi quotes the following description of a musician by a contemporary poet, which is in the same style:

"I devote my life for thee, O most charming of mortals and fittest object of a lover's attachment! Thy countenance is, by its beauty, the solace of our eyes; and thy voice, by its sweetness, the delight of our ears. When ladies asked me to describe thee, I told them the strangest tale: "It looks?" said I, "she is a gazelle, in song a nightingale, in countenance an anemone, and in graceful port a wand".

[By al-Zāhi:

"Who will apologize for me from the two cheeks of the moon (beloved) that exposed the heart to ruin. (The moon) taught (prompted me to write) poetry which hastened me towards ruin and offending the moon and then stopped."]\*

To avoid lengthening this notice, we shall abstain from giving other examples of the same kind<sup>2</sup>.—"Zāhi," says as-Sam'āni, is a relative adjective derived from (Zāh) the name of a village in the dependencies of Naysāpūr, to which place a number of persons are indebted for their surname". He then adds: "But as for

1 Literally: As detriments to the heart's core.

2 Before this, in the Arabic text, a piece of two verses is inserted, which the author had added at a later period. They are not fit for translation.

\* [ ] Omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan\* 'Alī Ibn Ishāq Ibn Khalaf al-Baghdādī, who was surnamed al-Zāhi, I cannot say whether he derived that appellation from the village of which we are speaking or not; all I know of him is, that he was a native of Baghdād and a good poet: "

#### 443 IBN AL-MUNAJJIM AL-NADIM

Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yahya Ibn Abi Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim was the boon companion (*nadīm*) of al-Mutawakkil and a member of his intimate society. On the death of his patron, he continued in the highest favour with the Khalifahs who succeeded; being permitted to sit in their presence when they gave audience from the throne, and enjoying their confidence to such a degree that they entrusted him with the knowledge of all their secret intentions and proceedings. The favour in which they held him, high as it was, continued without intermission to the last. Before his connection with the Khalifahs, he had placed himself under the patronage of Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Muṣ'abī<sup>1</sup>; he then became acquainted with al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān<sup>2</sup>, for whose use he formed a library consisting chiefly of philosophical treatises; and he augmented that Wazīr's collection of books manifold by the immense number of works which he had copied for the express purpose, and none of which existed therein before. He knew by heart and could repeat correctly a great quantity of ancient poems and historical narrations, but his skill lay principally in vocal music. (*and the airs which he sung were*) obtained by him before Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili (*no.* 84), with whom he had been personally acquainted. He is the author of some works, such as an account of the anteislamic and the Muslim poets, a life of Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili, a treatise on boiled wine<sup>3</sup>, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Muṣ'abī was governor of the province of Fārs.

<sup>2</sup> His life is given by Ibn Khallikān,

<sup>3</sup> See, *no.* 316 note *on must.*

\* In the beginning of the notice, the *kunya* is given Abu 'l-Qāsim—*Ed.*

That he had a talent for poetry is proved by the following verses of his on the *ṭayf al-khiyāl*<sup>1</sup>:

"Dearer to me, by Allāh! than my father, is that object which appeared to me in the darkness, like the smile of the glimmering morn. Its aspect increased my passion and filled my heart with flames. Who can cure a heart smitten and enamoured, which beats yet stronger the more I strive to calm it? The image of my beloved made me a visit (*in my dream*), but that has only served<sup>2</sup> to destroy my repose for ever".

Some other elegant passages in verse composed by the *Nadīm* are still extant. He lived long enough to pay his court to al-Mu'tamid, and he died in the latter part of that *Khalīfah's* reign. It was at Sarra-man-ra'a that he breathed his last, A. H. 275 (A. C. 888-9). He left a number of sons, all of them distinguished for their honourable character and convivial talents; notices of some of them will be found in this work under the proper heads.

#### 444 IBN AL-MUNAJJIM THE POET

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Hārūn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Abi Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim, the celebrated poet, belonged to a family which produced many elegant scholars, men of refined taste, whose agreeable qualities rendered them the companions of *Khalīfahs* and *Wazīrs* in their parties of pleasure. The *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād admitted him into his society, and composed the following verses in his honour:

"The descendants of al-Munajjim are gifted with a vivid intellect, and their literary talents are conspicuous in Persian and in Arabic. I persevered in praising them and extolling their merit, till I was accused for excessive partiality".

1 See vol. I, *Introd.*

2 I read ذ; for ار; in the second hemistich; the autograph has ذادنى; but the measure of the verse does not seem to allow this reading. [There is no deviation from the Rules of prosody if the autograph reading is maintained —Ed.]

Among the number of charming verses composed by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Munajjim are some which have been set to music. One of his pieces is as follows :

"Motives for affection subsist between thee and me ; and the relationship which we bear each other is that of love<sup>1</sup>. (*Sighing for thee*,) I blame time for its delay, and my reproaches shall long continue, unless they effect an amendment by which that delay may be annulled. O thou who refuseth me thy presence and thy letters ! tell me if I am to hope that this double privation may cease ? Were it not for the allurements of hope, a heart arrayed in the grab of suffering had been broken on thy account. But let us not despair of divine favour ; the separated are sometimes reunited, and the absent may perhaps return again."

He addressed the following lines to Ibn al-Khuwārazmī, who had hurt his foot by a fall :

"How could stumble hurt the man who, in affairs of importance, never made a false step but he recovered from it ? How could harm reach a foot which always trod in the path of honour<sup>2</sup> ?"

He composed a great deal of poetry, and numerous amusing anecdotes are told of him. His other works are, a treatise on the month of Ramaḍān, drawn up by him for the khalifah al-Rāḍī; the *Kitāb al-Nirūz wa 'l-Mihrigān* (*book of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes*); a refutation of al-Khalīl (Ibn Aḥmad's) system of prosody ; a work commencing with the genealogy of his own family, undertaken at the request of the wazīr al-Muḥallabī, but left unfinished ; an essay on the difference between the style of Ibrāḥīm Ibn al-Mahdī and that of Ishāq al-Mawṣilī in the art of vocal music ; the *Kitāb al-Lafẓ al-Muḥīṭ*, etc. (*the comprehensive declaration, being a refutation of the assertions made by al-Laḳīṭ*<sup>3</sup> ; this is an answer to Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ispahānī's work, entitled *al-Farq wa 'l-Mi'yār bayn al-Awghād wa 'l-Ahrār* (*difference between the*

1 This verse is not given in the autograph.

2 Literally : Which never trod but towards an honourable station.

3 The word *Laḳīṭ* signifies a foundling. It does not appear why this appellation should have been given to the author of the *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*.

noble and rabble and appreciation of their relative worth). This Ibn al-Munajjim was son to the author of the *Kitāb al-Bārī*<sup>1</sup>, a work containing a choice of extracts from the productions of the later poets, and grandson to Abu 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Munajjim of whom an account has been given in the preceding article. His birth took place on the 9th of Ṣafar, A. H. 276 (June, A. C. 839); some say in 277; he died on Wednesday, the 16th of the latter Jumāda, A. H. 352 (July, A. C. 963). He persevered till the end of his life in the custom of wearing his hair dyed<sup>2</sup>.

#### 445 ABU 'L-FATH AL-BUSTI

Abu 'l-Fath 'Ali Ibn Muḥammad al-Busti, a *kātib* and a poet of great celebrity, was the author of (the work entitled): *al-Ṭarīqat al-Anīqah fī 'l-Tajnis*<sup>3</sup>, *al-Anīs al-Badī' al-Tāsīs* (the pleasing path, designed as a treatise on paronomasia and as a delightful-companion by the solidity of the principles which it lays down)<sup>4</sup>. As specimen of the elegance which he attained (in expression and thought), we shall quote the following phrases: "He that does good to the man that wrongs him confounds the man that is jealous of him." "He who yields to his anger loses his civility." "The fashions of lords are lords of the fashions." A sign of your good fortune is your keeping within bounds." "Bribes are the means of

1 The life of Hārūn Ibn 'Ali al-Munajjim is given in this dictionary.

2 See no. 19, note on dyeing hair.

3 The autograph has في التجنيس .

4 I follow the authority of Abu 'l-Feda (see *Annals*, year 400) in taking *Ṭarīqah*, as here mentioned, for the title of a book, but must acknowledge having doubts on the subject, as no such work is noticed by Ḥājjī Khaliḥ. If it be really a title, some quibble is intended by the words *Tajnis* and *Tāsīs* one of which is a term of rhetoric and the other of prosody. It strikes me however that the whole passage may apply to the man himself, as it might be rendered thus: "A poet of great celebrity, was noted for the pleasing way in which he employed paronomasias (or alliteration), and was a delightful companion by the solidity of the principles which he laid down".

success". "The most foolish of men is he who is scornful to his brethren and presumptuous towards his sovereign." "The mind is a sun ; and the understanding its rays." "Fate mocks at wishes." Definition of temperance : "To be content with a strict sufficiency." "There is no mending a torn darn." We shall here give some striking passages from his poetry :

"When he flourishes his pen on going to use it, he makes you forget the bravest warrior that ever flourished a spear<sup>1</sup>. When he rests his fingers upon the paper, all the writers in the world confess themselves his slaves<sup>2</sup>.

Some men clothe themselves in silk, whilst a wretched body is concealed beneath. It is thus that people paint their cheeks when suffering from a tumour in the lungs.

When you try to amuse people in talking of past event and those which are to come, avoid repetitions, for their minds are placed in hostility to repetitions.<sup>3</sup>

Endure thy brother's temper, be it what it may ; you cannot hope to amend it. How could you expect to succeed, since his body contains four humours placed in it by nature ?"

[ By al-Busti, when authorities were angry with him and this is a fine expression : "Say to the Amir, may my Lord perpetuate his honour and bestow on him from His hidden blessing. I committed a crime, and those in power did not cease forgiving their servants when they committed crimes. I gather from eyes their movements, so you should gather from noble forgiveness its honour. He who expects forgiveness for his sins from Him Who is above him should forgive those who are under him."

By him also :

"Again when you discover fault in my words, my memory, eloquence and expression, do not assign it to me because my words are in conformity with the level of the understanding of the people. Thus he said in *Zahr al-Ādāb* Allāh knoweth the best" ].\*

1 For *قَالَ* read *عَلَّمَ*. Both words are identic in signification.

2 As these verses abound in the figure of Arabic rhetoric called *tajnis*, or *alliteration*, their merit is lost in the translation.

3 In the original Arabic these verses offer another curious example of *tajnis*.

\* [ ] Omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

That part of his poetry composed in the alliterative style called *tajnis* is very copious. He died at Bukhāra, A. H. 400 (A. C. 1109-10); some say A. H. 401. We have given the explanation of the word *Busti* (no. 198). I read, at the beginning of his collected poetical works, that he bore the names of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, and this may, perhaps, have been the case.

#### 446 AL-TIHĀMI THE POET

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Tihāmi, a celebrated poet, is spoken of in these terms by Ibn Bassām in his *Dhakḥīrah*: "He was renowned for his abilities and possessed a cutting tongue; between him and all the varied modes of expression the path was free; his poetry indicated as clearly (*the talents*) which had fallen to his lot, as the coolness of the zephyr denotes the presence of the morn, and it disclosed his exalted station in science as plainly as the tear reveals the secret of love." His collected poetical works form a small volume, but the greater portion of the pieces is exquisite; one of his most graceful passages is contained in a long *qasidah*, composed in praise of the Wazīr Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Maghribī<sup>1</sup>, where he says:

"When the lips of the flowers on the hills and those of our (*mortal*) beauties were smiling, I asked my friend which were the fairest to the sight: 'I know not', said he; 'all of them are anthemis blossoms<sup>2</sup>.'"

A similar thought is expressed in the following lines, attributed to (*Hibat Allāh*) Ibn Sanā 'l-Mulk, a poet whose life will be found in this work.

---

1 See no. 187.

2 The flower of the anthemis being white, Arabic poets compare ladies' teeth to it.



"I hesitated, thinking the teeth (*of my beloved*) Sulayma to be anthemis buds, and taking these for teeth. I therefore kissed them all, to dispel my doubts: and every person who feels earnest (*in such matters*) would do the same."

In one of his eulogistic passages he has surpassed all competition, where he says:

"His gifts are ample; yet he thinks them small, though the copious rains of autumn are shamed (*by their abundance*). Compared with the beneficence which he sheds around, the swollen cloud would be called a vapour, and oceans, rivultes."

He composed a most beautiful elegy on the loss of his son, who died a boy; and I am only prevented from giving it here because people say that it brings ill luck; but as two of the verses, descriptive of envious men, contain an unusual (*but elegant*) idea; I shall insert them:

"I pity those who envy me, because hatred burns within their bosoms. They see God's kindness towards me, and thus their eyes are in paradise whilst their hearts are in hell".

In the same piece he thus expresses his contempt for the world:

"It is composed of turbid elements, yet you hope to find it free from dregs and lees! He who requires of time what is contrary to its nature, is as the man who seeks in water for a brand of fire. He who expects what is impossible, builds his hopes on the brink of a tottering sand-bank".

In this also he says:

"I reside in the vicinity of foes, but he (*whom I have lost*) sojourns near his Lord; how different that neighbourhood from mine! The parching heat which consumes my heart has changed my hair to grey, and this light colour is the flame of that inward fire".

The idea expressed in the last verse is taken from a piece by Abū Naṣr Sa'īd Ibn al-Shāh, where he says:

"Thy cheeks', said she, 'are darkened with hair, and that spoils the fairest faces'. I replied: 'Thou hast kindled a fire in my heart, and the smoke has settled on my cheeks.'"

The following verses belong to one of his long *qaṣīdahs* :

"How often have I warned you against the land of Ḥijāz, for its gazelles (*maidens*) are accustomed to make its lions (*heroes*) their prey. You wished to pursue the hinds<sup>1</sup> of Ḥijāz; but, unfavoured by fate, was you who became their prey".

One of his best-known pieces is this :

"In the company of noble-minded men there is always room for another; friendship, it is true, renders difficulties easy. A house may be too small for eight persons, yet friendship will make it hold a ninth".

A fine verse from one of his *qaṣīdahs* is the following :

"If Time, who is the father of mortals, treats you ill, reproach not then his children when they do the same."

"Al-Tihāmi arrived secretly in Egypt, with a great number of letters which he was bearing to the Banu Qurrah from Ḥassān Ibn Mufarrij<sup>2</sup> Ibn Dagħfal al-Badawi<sup>3</sup>; and being arrested, he represented himself as a member of the tribe of Tamim. On a closer examination, he was discovered to be al-Tihāmi the poet, and they cast him into the prison of Cairo called *Khazānat al-Bunūd*. This occurred on the 25th of the latter Rabī' A. H. 416 (June, A. C. 1025). On the 9th of the first Jumāda in the same year, he was put to death secretly, in the place where he was confined. He was of a tawny complexion". I extracted the foregoing passage from an historical work by a native of Egypt, in which he gives an account, day by day, of the events which passed in that country. I have seen only one volume of it, and do

1 For صيد منها read صيد لها .

2 I follow the orthography of the autograph.

3 The Arabic tribe of the Banu Qurrah inhabited the province of Barqah and took up arms for Abu Rakwa the Umayyide, when he attempted to expel the Fāṭimides from Egypt. See an account of this revolt in M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*, tom. I. p. cccxvii *et se.* It was their former hostility to al-Ḥākim which now induced Ḥassān Ibn Mufarrij, the chief of the tribe of Tayy, to court their alliance against that *khallif*'s son al-Zāhir; al-Tihāmi was the secret agent in this affair which totally failed. Ḥassān had already revolted against al-Ḥākim some years before. See *Druzes* p. cccl.

not know how many it consisted of. Some time after al-Tihāmi's death, he was seen in a dream<sup>1</sup> by one of his friends, who asked him how God had treated him? to which he replied: "He has pardoned me".—"For which of your deeds?" said the friend. "For having said in an elegy on the death of a little boy of mine:

'I reside in the vicinity of foes, but he sojourns near his Lord;  
how different that neighbourhood from mine!'"

—*Tihāmi* is the relative adjective derived from *Tihāmah*, a name given to Makkah. It is for this reason that the blessed Prophet was surnamed *al-Tihāmi*. The same name is also given to the mountains and other regions which form the extensive province between Ḥijāz and the frontiers of Yaman. I do not know whether it was from the city or from the province that the poet took his surname.

#### 447 IBN NŪBAKHT THE POET

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Nūbakht, a good poet, but unkindly used by fortune, led a life of uninterrupted misery and privation, and died at Miṣr, in the month of *Shā'bān*, A. H. 416 (October, A. C. 1025). He was interred at the expense of the *kātib* and poet Walī al-Dawlat Abu Muḥammad Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī, surnamed Ibn *Khayrān*, who was recorder of the diplomas and commissions issued by al-Zāhir Ibn al-Ḥākim, sovereign of Egypt. He also left a small volume of poetry, in which are found these well-known lines:

"You listen to slanderers traducing me, and you hold me in such slight esteem that you contradict not their false reports. But were thy image to visit me in the sweetest of dreams and slander thee, I should even renounce sleep!"

[I say that one famous poet Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Yamani, the author of the noted *al-Risālah* has put forth a similar idea; some of his verses are:

<sup>1</sup> See no. 19, note on *dreams*.

"I have been informed that persons slandering me came to thee to prejudice thy mind. The sorcery of the slanderers had its effect on thee, but in my case it is beating cold iron".

The origin of this idea is the verse of the famous poet 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dumaynat al-Khuth'ami in his *qaṣīdah* ending in B.]

I mention Ibn Khayrān here, without allotting him a separate article, because the date of his death is unknown to me, and in this work I confined my notice to persons the time of whose decease is ascertained.—I have since discovered an account of his life, with some extracts from his poetry, in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara* of the Wazīr Abu Sa'id al-Dawlati: "He was a handsome young man," says this writer, "and intelligence of his death was brought to us in the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 431 (May—June, A. C. 1040)." I became acquainted with that passage when at Cairo, towards the end of the year 674 (A. C. 1276).

#### 448 ṢARĪ' AL-DILA

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid, a jurisconsult of Baghdād and a poet of considerable reputation, was generally known by the appellations of Ṣarī' al-Dila (*the slain by blandishments*), Qatīl al-Ghawāshī (*the victim of sudden misfortunes*) and *Dhu 'l-Raqā'atayn* (*the afflicted with double madness*)<sup>2</sup>. Al-Rashīd Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn al-Zubayr, the same whose life has been given (*no.* 64), names him in the *Kitāb al-Jinān*, and then says: "In poetry he trod the same path as Abu 'l-Raqā'maq (*no.* 53), and a humorous *qaṣīdah* was composed by him, the concluding verse of which is such that, if he had never made another on the same subject it would have sufficed to place him in the highest

1 See note on *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara*, *no.* 442.

2 These were probably admired expressions which first occurred in his verses and were then applied to him by the public as surnames. For a similar reason the poet Muslim Ibn al-Walīd was surnamed *the vanquished by fair*. See *no.* 10 note on Muslim Ibn al-Walīd.

degree of eminence and obtain for him the palm of victory. It is the following :

'He who has missed acquiring either knowledge or riches is on level with dogs.'

"He came to Egypt, A. H. 412 (A. C. 1021-2), and celebrated the praises of (*the khalifah*) al-Zāhir li-I'zāz dīn Allāh." I read, in a copy of his collected poetical works, that his (*Ṣarī' al-Dīlā's*) names were Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Qaṣṣār al-Baṣrī (*the fuller of Baṣrah*); God best knows which of us is right! This poet died suddenly, A. H. 412 (A. C. 1021-2), of an obstruction of the windpipe, which took him at the house of the *Sharīf* al-Baṭṭā'ī. I am inclined to think that this occurred at Miṣr (*Old Cairo*) for I took the date of his death from the diary of which I have spoken in the life of al-Tihāmi (*see no. 446*). My opinion is confirmed also by Ibn al-Zubayr's statement that he came to Egypt in that very year. It was of him that Abu 'l-'Ala says in one of his poems :

"Thou wast called *Ṣarī'* (*the vanquisher*), but this word underwent the intensive permutation and assumed the form of *fa'ilīl*".

In the piece from which this line is taken, Abu 'l-'Ala excuses himself for not furnishing *Ṣarī' al-Dīlā* with wine and other requisites for a social party, but informs him that he has sent him a small sum to defray the expenses.

1 Al-Baṭṭā'īhi variant reading.

2 It must be remarked here that Ibn Khallikān is mistaken in supposing this verse to have been addressed to the poet *Ṣarī' al-Dīlā*, for it appears from the text of Abu 'l-'Ala's poem, and from the commentary, that the person to whom he wrote bore the surname of *Ṣarī' al-Bayn*. As for the verse itself, it contains an allusion which can be best understood by persons acquainted with the native system of Arabic grammar. The meaning is equivalent to this : "You were called the *vanquisher* (مَارِع *ṣārī'*) because your amusing conversation vanquished the pains of absence (البين *al-bayn*) felt by disconsolate lovers. But that name assumed the intensive form, characterised, in grammar, by the type *fa'il* (فَاعِل), and it thus became *ṣarī'* (صَارِع *the great vanquisher*)." It must be observed that *ṣarī'* signifies both *vanquisher* and *vanquished*; Abu 'l-'Ala takes it here in the former meaning, but the commentary on his works informs us that it was a mere licence on his part, since the name *Ṣarī' al-Bayn*, when applied to this particular individual, means *vanquished by (the pains of) absence*.

## 449 ŞURR-DURR

The *ra'is* and *kâtib*<sup>1</sup> Abu Maşûr 'Ali Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Faḍl, generally known by surname of Şurr-Durr, was one of the most eminent poets of his time. He combined in his composition excellence of expression with beauty of thought, and his verses bear the stamp of grace and brilliancy. His collected poetical works, form a small volume, and how exquisitely has he said in one of these *qaṣīdahs* :

"We ask how are the ferns of Najd<sup>2</sup>, but the willow of the sands<sup>3</sup> knows best what we mean. The mask is now thrown off, and we care no longer whether we name thee openly or designate thee by a surname<sup>4</sup>. Nay, were I to exclaim : O Sulayma ! people would tell me that I only mean Lubaynah. How dear to me is thy image, visiting my dreams and pouring forth illusions and false happiness from the cup of sleep. Throughout the night my eyelids were its steed ; why then should it complain to thee of fatigue and pain<sup>5</sup>. Thus, by night we seemed never to have parted, and by day never to have met".

In describing his grey hairs he says :

"I weep not the departure of my youth, but I weep because my appointed time draws near. Hair are the leaves of the human tree, and when they wither, the branches are soon dried up".

Speaking of a dark-complexioned girl, he has the following pretty thought :

1 From the titles of *ra'is* and *kâtib* I should infer that Şurr-Durr held a high place in the civil service.

2 The province of Najd is the Arcadia of the Arabic poets. As the nomadic Arabs employed a species of fern in covering their huts and closing the chinks, the word is often used by the poets to designate the dwellings of a friendly tribe and also those who reside in them.

3 *The willow of the sands* ; a slender-waisted Arab maiden living with her tribe in the desert.

4 Lovers made it a point of discretion not to tell who their mistress was.

5 "Cette image était censée venir de la part de la maîtresse pour avoir des nouvelles de l'amant". Notice on the *Tayf al-Khiyâl*, inserted by me in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1838.

"I loved her for her darkness and smoothness; the dark spot of my heart<sup>1</sup>, was an image of her colour. It was only to resemble her that the full moon ever consented to suffer an eclipse. It is in honour of her that the epochs of time are dated by nights<sup>2</sup>".

His father's avarice procured him the nickname of *Şurr-Ba'r* (*bag of dung*), but the son, having unexpectedly displayed a superior talent for poetry, received the surname of *Şurr-Durr* (*bag of pearls*). A poet of that age, and whose life we shall give, Abu Ja'far Mas'ūd al-Bayāḍī, attacked him in these lines:

"For his avarice your father was named Bag of Dung; but you ungratefully scatter abroad what he treasured up, and call it poetry."

I must say, however, that this satirist is unjust, for *Şurr-Durr's* poetry is charming; but an enemy cares not what he says: *Şurr-Durr* lost his life accidentally A. H. 465 (A. C. 1072-3); a pitfall for taking lions had been dug at a village on the road of *Khurāsān*, and into this he fell. He was born somewhat earlier than year 400 (A. C. 1009). We shall speak of him again in the life of the *Wizir Fakhr al-Dawlat Muḥammad Ibn Jahir*.

#### 450 AL-BĀKHARZI

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-Ṭayyib al-Bākhārzi an illustrious poet, was the pearl of his age for talent and genius, and bore away the palm in prose and verse. When a young man, he studied the *Shāfi'ite* system of jurisprudence, and attended with assiduity the lectures of Abu Muḥammad al-Juwayni, the father of the *Imām al-Ḥaramayn*; he next cultivated the art of penmanship, and obtained occasional employment in the office of the secretary of state. He passed his life in an alternation of riches and poverty, and experienced surprising vicissitudes of

1 The Muslims suppose that there is a black spot or stain in the centre of the heart,—the sign, it seems, of original sin.

2 In Arabic dates it is not the day, but the night of the month which is assigned.

fortune in his travels and sojournings. His taste for literature having prevailed over his inclination for the law, he gained the reputation of an elegant scholar, and devoted his time to the double task of learning Traditions respecting the Prophet<sup>2</sup> and of composing verses. He drew up a continuation to al-Tha'ālibī's *Yatimat al-Dahr*, and entitled it *Dumyat al-Qaṣr wa 'Uṣrat ahl il-'Aṣr* (*statue of the palace, and the essence extracted from our contemporaries*). This work, which includes a great number (of poets), received a supplement, entitled *Wishāḥ al-Dumyah* (*girdle of the statue*), from the pen of Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Zayd al-Bayhaqī: it is thus that al-Sam'ānī gives the author's name in his treatise, the *Dhayl*, or Supplement<sup>1</sup>, but 'Imād al-Dīn, in his *Khāridah*, calls him *Sharaf al-Dīn* Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī. The latter writer gives also some extracts from his poems<sup>2</sup>. The *diwān*, or collection of al-Bākhārzi's poetical works, forms a large volume, and the majority of the pieces is very good. An original idea of his is the following:

"I complain of the wounds (*inflicted on my heart*) by those cheeks which are encircled by scorpions (*ringlets*)<sup>3</sup>. I, who have a father living, weep for the pearls of thy mouth; how then can it, which is an orphan *an* (*exquisite object*), be always smiling?"

Describing an intense frost, he says:

"How many have been the true believers who, torn by the claws of winter, envied the inhabitants of hell! Behold the water-fowls in their nestling-places, ready to prefer the heat of the fire and the spit! If you throw up into the air the drops which remain in your wine-cup, they will return to you hardened into beads of cornelian, O you that possess the two woods<sup>4</sup>! neglect them not, but let music strike up from one and flame from the other<sup>5</sup>."

1 See no. 310.

2 Ibn Khallikān quotes here two verses as a specimen. They both finish with the same word to which a different meaning is given in each case, but their profanity and indecency repel translation.

3 See vol. I. Introduction.

4 By the two woods he means firewood and a lute, which in Arabic is called the wood (*al-'ūd*); whence the European name.

5 Literally: Strike a wood and burn a wood (*ḥarrik 'udan wa ḥarriq 'udan*).



One of his pieces contains the following passage :

"O Thou Who hast disclosed the brightness of morning from the pearly teeth (*of my beloved*), and caused the night to dwell in her ringlets! Thou hast made me the slave of an idol formed by Thyself; by it Thou hast tempted me, and long hast Thou excited my sadness! No wonder that the fire of passion consumeth my heart; (*hell—*) fire is the meet desert of him who serveth idols."

Al-Bākhārzi was murdered at Bākhār, whilst engaged in a party of pleasure; this occurred in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* A. H. 467 (June-July, A.C. 1075), and the crime remained unpunished.—*Bākhār* is the name of a tract of country near Naysāpūr, including a number of villages and grounds under cultivation; it has produced many eminent men.

#### 451 IBN AFLAH THE POET

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Aflah al-'Absi, surnamed Jamāl al-Mulk (*the beauty of the kingdom*), was a poet of considerable reputation, fully justified by the elegance of his genius, the beauty of his eulogiums, and the number of his satires. He celebrated the praises not only of the *khālifahs*, but of the persons holding a subordinate rank; and having travelled to the different provinces of the empire, he visited the princes and the men in high station (*obtaining solid tokens of their satisfaction in return for his panegyrics*). I have seen the *diwān*, or collection, of his poetical works; it is a middle-sized volume, drawn up by himself and accompanied by an introduction and a postscript of his own composition. He there mentions the precise number which it contains of verses having the same rhyme, and the whole is digested with much care and attention. I extracted from it the following lines in which he addresses his beloved :

"O thou who knowest not the force of that love which torments me—who conceivest not my fruitless pains and sufferings!

Thou showest equal indifference towards the lover captivated by thy charms<sup>1</sup>, and him whose heart is free from thy power and without a wound. Had I known that thy character was such, I had not rejected my friend's advice when he warned me against thee. It was never my intention to forget thee, till forced thereto by the excess of thy cruelty".

On a *girl* who was far from being handsome :

"It was not because I disliked the handsome and preferred the ugly that I loved her with a passion so fantastic; but I was too jealous to love a fair one, seeing that all men loved the fair."

Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*no. 316*) has the following lines on a similar subject :

"My heart leans from this one to that one, and sees nothing to dislike; it is passionate for beauty, as it should be; but it pities her bereft of charms, and loves her<sup>2</sup>".

On a *girl* who was lame, by Ibn Aflah :

"How dearly I cherish her whom I perceive there wavering in her gait! what stiffness, yet what freedom in her movements<sup>3</sup>! Her beauty raises envy, and they say she halts; but handsome persons are always envied. She is a branch (*of willow*), and the beauty of a tender branch is in its bending".

The following lines were addressed by him to a great man whose porter had refused him admittance :

"I am grateful to your porter of refusing to admit me, and I leave to others whom he has repulsed the task of abusing him. For he has rendered me a service which merits my highest praise; he saved me from a rude reception and from your inordinate pride."

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has *بكي* instead of *بل*.

<sup>2</sup> Here the following passage has been inserted in the margin of the autograph; "And a verse of his which is currently known is the following, from one of his poems :

"On the day in which we parted at the tamarisks of Mina, our separation was without our will".

<sup>3</sup> Literally; And from her flexibility she is united and knotted.



One of his pieces contains the following passage :

"O Thou Who hast disclosed the brightness of morning from the pearly teeth (*of my beloved*), and caused the night to dwell in her ringlets! Thou hast made me the slave of an idol formed by Thyself; by it Thou hast tempted me, and long hast Thou excited my sadness! No wonder that the fire of passion consumeth my heart; (*hell—*) fire is the meet desert of him who serveth idols."

Al-Bākhārzi was murdered at Bākhār, whilst engaged in a party of pleasure; this occurred in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* A. H. 467 (June-July, A.C. 1075), and the crime remained unpunished.—*Bākhār* is the name of a tract of country near Naysāpūr, including a number of villages and grounds under cultivation; it has produced many eminent men.

#### 451 IBN AFLAH THE POET

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Aflah al-'Absi, surnamed Jamāl al-Mulk (*the beauty of the kingdom*), was a poet of considerable reputation, fully justified by the elegance of his genius, the beauty of his eulogiums, and the number of his satires. He celebrated the praises not only of the *khalifas*, but of the persons holding a subordinate rank; and having travelled to the different provinces of the empire, he visited the princes and the men in high station (*obtaining solid tokens of their satisfaction in return for his panegyrics*). I have seen the *diwān*, or collection, of his poetical works; it is a middle-sized volume, drawn up by himself and accompanied by an introduction and a postscript of his own composition. He there mentions the precise number which it contains of verses having the same rhyme, and the whole is digested with much care and attention. I extracted from it the following lines in which he addresses his beloved :

"O thou who knowest not the force of that love which torments me—who conceivest not my fruitless pains and sufferings!

Thou showest equal indifference towards the lover captivated by thy charms<sup>1</sup>, and him whose heart is free from thy power and without a wound. Had I known that thy character was such, I had not rejected my friend's advice when he warned me against thee. It was never my intention to forget thee, till forced thereto by the excess of thy cruelty".

On a *girl* who was far from being handsome :

"It was not because I disliked the handsome and preferred the ugly that I loved her with a passion so fantastic; but I was too jealous to love a fair one, seeing that all men loved the fair."

Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*no. 316*) has the following lines on a similar subject :

"My heart leans from this one to that one, and sees nothing to dislike; it is passionate for beauty, as it should be; but it pities her bereft of charms, and loves her<sup>2</sup>".

On a *girl* who was lame, by Ibn Aflah :

"How dearly I cherish her whom I perceive there wavering in her gait! what stiffness, yet what freedom in her movements<sup>3</sup>! Her beauty raises envy, and they say she halts; but handsome persons are always envied. She is a branch (*of willow*), and the beauty of a tender branch is in its bending".

The following lines were addressed by him to a great man whose porter had refused him admittance :

"I am grateful to your porter of refusing to admit me, and I leave to others whom he has repulsed the task of abusing him. For he has rendered me a service which merits my highest praise; he saved me from a rude reception and from your inordinate pride."

<sup>1</sup> The autograph has *بكى* instead of *بل*.

<sup>2</sup> Here the following passage has been inserted in the margin of the autograph; "And a verse of his which is currently known is the following, from one of his poems :

"On the day in which we parted at the tamarisks of Mina, our separation was without our will".

<sup>3</sup> Literally; And from her flexibility she is united and knotted.



His compositions abound with striking passages. He died at Baghdād on Thursday, the second of *Sha'bān*, A. H. 535 (March, A. C. 1141)\*, aged sixty-four years, three months, and fourteen days. Some place his death a year, or two years later. He was interred on the west side (of the *Tigris*), in the *Quraysh* cemetery. 'Absī (عَبْسِي) means *belonging to 'Abs*: a number of tribes bear this name, and I know not to which of them Ibn Aflah belonged. This surname is sometimes confounded with that of 'Ansi (عَنْسِي), derived from 'Ans, which is also the name of a tribe.

#### 452 IBN MUSHĪR AL-MAWṢILĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā Sa'd Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn 'Abd al-Qāḥir Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Mushīr al-Mawṣilī (*native of Mosul*), surnamed *Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn*, was an excellent poet and held a high rank under government, having successively filled the greater part of the places connected with the administration of Mosul. He composed panegyrics on the *khalifahs*, the princes, and the *Amirs*. I met with the collection of his poetical works forming two volumes, and in it he mentions that he was born at the town of 'Āmid. A fine passage from his poetry is the following, in which he describes a panther:

"When the sun was styled *al-Ghazālah* (the gazelle) he bribed this panther with a body<sup>1</sup> of the same colour as his light; and the roes of the desert gave him spots from the pupils of their eyes, to induce him to live in peace<sup>2</sup>, with them and spare their lives. And yet, quite as he is, they never appear in his sight without trembling."

The idea of these verses is taken from a *qaṣidah* composed by the amīr Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Sarrāj al-Ṣūrī, a contemporary poet. The passage to which we allude is the following:

1 The autograph has جسد.

2 Read يسلمها.

\* 13 March.—Ed.

"His claws are rough, and he bears in his mouth and paws the qualities of the sword and the pliant spear. The night and the day rivalled in adorning him; they arrayed him in a garment spotted with eyes, and the sun, since the time he was named (*the Gazelle*, never appears in his sight without apprehension."

The following verses were addressed by Ibn Mushir to a person of rank :

"When you complain in anguish, all on earth complain, and the suffering is general from East to West; for you are a heart to the body of the epoch, and the body cannot be well when the heart is sick."

The following relation of a very singular coincidence is given by al-Sam'ānī on the authority of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi 'l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Uḫwat al-Bay', who was an accomplished scholar and a *kātib*. "I saw in a dream." Said Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, "a person who recited these verses :

'And stranger still than my patience (*under affliction*) was to see the camel depart with thy well girthed litter, and able to support its burden; and I bear enclosed within my curbed ribs an ardent passion unabating, and an assumed patience completely broken.'

On awaking I made it my business to inquire respecting the author of these verses, but could find no person capable of giving me that information; it happened, however, that some years afterwards Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Mushir stopped at my house as a guest, and one evening, our conversation fell on the subject of dreams. I then related to him the dream which I had, and repeated the verses; 'By Allāh!' exclaimed he, 'these verses belong to a piece of my composition.' He then proceeded to recite me this passage from one of his *qaṣīdalis* :

'When the tongue of tears declares the secret of love, the feelings enclosed within the bosom are concealed no longer. On the evening she bade me farewell, I knew not, by Allāh! wheather the doves of the valley were cooing with sorrow or with joy. I think of thee and reproach the active camels for our separation; I ask

every wind which blows to tell me how thou art, and I bear enclosed within my curbed ribs an ardent passion unabating, and an assumed patience completely broken.'

"We were much struck with the coincidence, and the rest of our night was passed in literary discussions." Ibn Mushir died towards the end of the month of Šafar, A. H. 543 (July, A. C. 1148). The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn, however, mentions in his *Khariḍah* that his death occurred in the year 546.

#### 453 IBN AL-SĀ'ĀTĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Rustum Ibn Hardūz, surnamed Bahā al-Dīn (*splendour of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Sā'āttī<sup>1</sup>, was one of the leaders in the band of the modern poets. He left two *diwāns*, or collections of his poems, one in two volumes, filled with pieces of the highest excellence, and the other forming a small volume and entitled *Muqaṭṭa'āt al-Nīl* (*the crossing places of the Nile*). From the latter I extract the following passage :

"O the happy day and night we passed at Suyūṭ ! time, in its blind vicissitudes, will never again bring about the like. The night was in its youth, yet its head was hoary in the moonlight, the dew-drops were stung on the branches, like orient pearls, and fell to the ground when touched by the zephyr. The birds chanted ; the lake was their book, the breeze wrote the lines, and the cloud-drops pointed the letters."

The metaphor is here perfectly wrought out in every point. I shall now give another extract from the same work :

"We handed and a meadow clothing the rugged soil with herbage, and offering pasture to our eyes and to our souls. Reclining in the shade, I admired the beauties of the place, whilst the perfumes were borne around on the breath of the flowers, and

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Sā'āttī signifies son of the clockmaker, or son of the dialist.

my companion swore<sup>1</sup> that the (*clear*) sky was of amber, the (*blooming*) groves, of jewels, and the (*smooth*) meadow, of silk. The (*red*) anemonies smiled, and the (*white*) anthemis blossom wished to kiss them, although the narcissus was looking on. That seemed a cheek, this a mouth<sup>2</sup> striving to press it, and there were the eyes<sup>3</sup> always watching them."

The poetry of Ibn al-Sā'atī abounds with charming ideas. I learned from his son, at Cairo, that he died in that city on Thursday, the 23rd of *Ramaḍān*, A. H. 604 (April, A. C. 1028)\* at the age of fifty-one years, six months, and twelve days, and that he was buried at the foot of Mount Muqāṭṭam. I have read a note on him, in the handwriting of some learned *shaykh*, wherein the date of the death corresponds with that given here, but he says that he lived forty-eight years, seven months and twelve days, and that he was born at Damascus. God best knows which statement is true. *Suyūf* is a town in Upper Egypt *Ṣa'id*; some pronounce this name *Uyūf*.

#### 454 ABU AL-'ĀMIDĪ THE QĀḌĪ

Abu 'l-Faḍā'il 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far al-'Āmidī was born at Wāsiṭ of a family which came originally from 'Āmid and was noted, at the former place, for producing transmitters of traditional knowledge and men of piety and integrity. Having proceeded to Baghdād, he there devoted some time to the study of the *Shāfi'ite* system of jurisprudence under

1 Read يحنف .

2 The flower of the anthemis often compared to the mouth, because it is white, as the teeth are.

3 See the observations on the *narcissus*, in vol. I. Introd.

\* This appears to be a misprint; the correct date is 10 April 1208 A. C.—Ed.

the tuition of the *shaykh* Abū Tālib al-Mubārak<sup>1</sup>, the disciple of

1 Abū Tālib al-Mubārak Ibn al-Mubārak al-Karḥī (a native of Karḥ) is generally known as the *Disciple of Ibn al-Khall*, under whose tuition he had studied the doctrines of the *Shāfi'ite* sect. He wrote so well that species of character which is called al-*Khaṭṭ* al-Mansūb, and of which mention is made in the life of Ibn al-Bawwāb, that he was considered to be a better penman than that celebrated *kātib*. It was particularly in the two sorts of hand called *Tamār* طومار and *Thulūḥ* ثلث that he fully displayed his talents; but he was so jealous of his skill that, in giving *fatwās* to persons who asked them with the hopes of thus obtaining specimens of his writing, he broke the point of the pen before using it. In A. H. 581 (A. D. 1185-16), he succeeded Abū 'l-Khayr al-Qazwīnī as professor at the *Nizāmiyah* college, and instructed numerous pupils in jurisprudence. It is said that when he commenced his career, he used to play on the lute, and considered such an amusement as blameless, but he afterwards renounced it, on perceiving that he had become proverbially known as a good lute-player. He then cultivated the art of penmanship till he surpassed Ibn al-Bawwāb, but having conceived a dislike for such an occupation, he devoted the rest of his days to study. He died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dan* A. H. 585 (December, A. D. 1189), aged eighty-two years.—*Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*.

I shall now offer some observations suggested by the word of al-*Khaṭṭ* al-Mansūb which occur in this notice. That no uncertainty may remain on the point of their being here fused to designate a particular species of written character, I shall reproduce the original text :

وكتب الخط المنسوب الى ان قيل انه اكتب من ابن البواب

"And he wrote the *mansūb* writing till it was said of him that he surpassed Ibn al-Bawwāb in that art". In Ibn *Khallikān's* life of Ibn al-Bawwāb (no. 432), we read these lines :

وقيل ان صاحب الخط المنسوب ليس ابا علي المذكور

"And it is said that the author (or inventor) of the *mansūb* writing was not the Abū 'Alī above-mentioned. Al-*Dhahabī* says in his *Tārīkh* al-Islām, MS. No. 646, folio 141 verso; in his article on Ibn Muqlah.

محمد بن علي ابن الحسن ابن مقله ابو علي الوزير صاحب الخط  
المنسوب

"Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Muqlah the Wazīr, the author of the *mansūb* writing".

In Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn's *Nujūm*, year 423, we find Ibn al-Bawwāb styled "the author of the excellent *mansūb* writing" صاحب الخط المنسوب النائق. He then adds : "He surpassed all his contemporaries in the *mansūb* writing, so that his  
(Continued on page 393)

Ibn al-Khall<sup>1</sup>, and then under Abu 'l-Qāsim Ya'ish Ibn Ṣadaqah al-Furātī. He assisted the latter in the capacity of a *Mu'id* (*repeater*), and repeated, in his name, the lessons which he had

(Continued from page 392)

renown spread east and west". He employs again the same term when speaking of Ibn Muqlah.

It appears from these passages that there existed a particular species of writing called, for what reason I cannot discover, *al-Mansūb*. Ibn Khallikān and other historians say that Ibn al-Bawwāb drew it from the style of writing used by the people of Kūfah, and the perfection to which he brought it is universally attested by them. But there is nothing in Ibn Khallikān's statement which can lead us to suppose that this improved character is the same as that which is now called *nasī* and generally employed in Arabic manuscripts. He says, it is true, that it is Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Bawwāb's system which is still followed, or as the original text has it, *it is on his loom they weave. i. e., they take him for a model*. But it cannot be logically concluded from these words that the *nashī* did not exist before his time, or that later penmen took him for their model when writing in the *nashī* character; neither can it be deduced therefrom that the learned Muslims suppose the Kufic to have been in general use till the time of Ibn Muqlah. Wājjī Khallifāh says positively in his Biographical Dictionary, *article علم الخط*, that, under the Umayyids, the different styles of writing, or pens *قلام*, as they are called, had been already brought into existence. The passage will be found in the third volume of the edition of that work published by Professor Flugel.

I have insisted particularly on these point, because the Arabic scholars of Europe generally concluded from Ibn Khallikān's words that Ibn Muqlah invented the *nashī*, and that before his time (he died A. H. 328), the Kufic was the sole character employed. This opinion was completely overturned by the discovery which M. de Sacy made of some passports, in Arabic, drawn up in the second century of the Hijrah, and a letter dated A. H. 40; all written in what is called the *nashī* hand. The consequence was, that the authority of Ibn Khallikān and all other Arabic writers who speak of Ibn Muqlah's improvement appeared to have sustained a severe shock; whereas a more attentive examination of their words would have completely justified their statement. I think it necessary to add that the oriental scholars have generally given too great an extension to the signification of the word *nashī*. With them, the characters called *Tuluḥ*, *Rihān Riqā*, etc. are all *nashī*; but this is an error; the *nashī* being itself a particular character (particular in its dimension, not in its form!); and yet, on this very error, they have founded their reasonings when endeavouring to trace the variations which the Arabic written character has undergone.

1 The life of Ibn al-Khall is given by Ibn Khallikān.



received from him, to a class held in the Thiqatiyah College<sup>1</sup>, at the Gate of al-Azaj. He displayed great elegance of language in the discussion of doubtful points, and he knew by heart a considerable quantity of Traditions which he had learned from the lips of numerous teachers at Baghḍād and other cities. In the year 604, towards the end of the month of Ṣafar (September, A. C. 1207), he was appointed to the place of *qāḍī* at Wāsiṭ; he arrived there in the following month, and was then entrusted with the additional duty of controlling the administration of the cantons which form the dependencies of that city. He was skilful arithmetician and a good poet, having composed these charming verses, which are now so widely circulated:

“Admire that passionate lover! he recalls to mind the well protected park<sup>2</sup> and sighs aloud; he hears, the call of love and stops bewildered. The nightingales awaken the trouble of his heart, and his pains, now redoubled, drive all prudence from his mind.<sup>3</sup> An ardent passion excites his complaints; sadness moves him to tears: his old affections awake, but these were never dormant. His friends say that his fortitude has failed: but the very mountain of Yalamlam<sup>4</sup> would groan, or sink oppressed, under such a weight of love. Think not that compulsion will lead him to forget her: willingly he accepted the burden of love; how then could he cast it off against his will? O ‘Utbah, faultless in thy charms! be indulgent, be kind for thy lover’s sickness has reached its height. By thee the willow of the hill was taught to wave its branches with grace, when thy form, robed in beauty, first appeared before it. Thou hast lent thy tender glances to the gazelles of the desert, and therefore the fairest object to be seen is the eye of the antelope. Sick with the pains of love, bereft of sleep and confounded, I should never have outlived my nights, unless revived by the appearance of thy favour, deceitful as it

1 This college was founded by Thiqat al-Dawlat al-Anbārī. See no. 55. Note on Hima.

2 See no. 271.

3 In this verse we must read *نشى* in the first form.

4 The *Maraṣid* places Yalamlam at a two to three days’ journey from Ṭa’if.

was<sup>1</sup>. These four shall witness the sincerity of my attachment : tears melancholy, a mind deranged, and care, my constant visitor ; could *Yadhbul* feel this last, it could become like *al-Suhā*<sup>2</sup>, Some reproach me for loving thee, but I am not to be reclaimed ; others bid me forbear, but I heed them not. They tell thee that I desire thee for thy beauty ; how very strange ! and where is the beauty which is not an object of desire ? For thee I am the most loving of lovers ; none, I know, are like me (*in sincerity*) or like thee in beauty."

He has left other poems equally remarkable tenderness of sentiment. I have given the foregoing verses as his, because I found them attributed to him ; but am unable to verify the fact. I have discovered, however, in my rough notes, that a person called *al-'Āmidī* the poet died A. H. 551 (A. C. 1156-7), and that he was a contemporary of *al-Ghazzī* (*no.* 17), and *al-Arrajānī* (*no.* 62), but I am unable to determine his real name and partonymic so as to identify him. The author whom I copied merely says that he was a native of *al-Nil*, the village in 'Irāq so called, and that he died, aged upwards of ninety years. It is therefore possible that he may be the author of the piece inserted above, but it is equally possible that it may have been composed by him whose life is here given ; I am inclined, however, to adopt the former opinion, because *Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Ibn al-'Āmidī*, the *qāḍī* of *Wāsiṭ* was a jurisconsult, and the other is designated as a poet. *Abu 'l-Faḍā'il* was born at *Wāsiṭ* on the 25th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A. H. 559 (November, A. C. 1164)\*, and he died in the same city on the eve of Mondy, the 3rd of the 1st *Rabi'*, A. H. 608 (August, A. C. 1211).† The funeral prayer was said over him the next morning, and he was interred outside the city, near the graves of his father and family. We have already stated (*no.* 407) that '*Āmidī* means *belonging to 'Āmid*.

1 The word *وفا* signifies *resumption*, *hauteur* and *coquetry*. It bears here last meaning.

2 *Yadhbul* is the name of a mountain in *Najd*, and *al-Suhā* that of a very small star in the Greater Bear.

\* 13 November.—Ed.

† 15 August.—Ed.

## 455 'IMĀD AL-DAWLAT IBN BUWAYH

'Imād al-Dawlat (*the column of the state*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Buwayh Ibn Fannā<sup>k</sup>ḥuṣrū al-Daylamī was sovereign of Persia. The remainder of his genealogy has been already given<sup>1</sup>. This was the first of the Buwayh family who came to the throne. His father was a fisherman, and had no other means of support; he had two brothers, both younger than himself, Rukn al-Dawlat al-Ḥasan, father to 'Aḍud<sup>2</sup> al-Dawlat, and Mu'izz al-Dawlat. All of them reigned, but 'Imād al-Dawlat was the author of their fortune and their wide renown. Persian and Arabian 'Irāq, al-Ahwāz and the province of Fārs acknowledged their authority, and their administration was successfully devoted to the welfare of their subjects. After them, 'Aḍud al-Dawlat, the son of Rukn al-Dawlat exercised the supreme power, and, under him, the bounds of the empire formed by his predecessors received a wide extension. Were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much, I should relate how 'Imād al-Dawlat obtained the throne, and trace his history from the commencement<sup>3</sup>. Abū Muḥammad Ḥarūn Ibn al-'Abbās al-Māmūnī<sup>4</sup> says in his History: "Amongst the strange events which happened to 'Imād al-Dawlat and contributed

1 (*See no. 71*). I here give the genealogy of the Buwayh family after the autograph of Ibn K<sup>h</sup>allikān.

بويه بن فناخسرو بن تمام بن کوهی بن شیرزیل الاصغر  
بن شیرکذه بن شیرزیل الاکبر بن شیران شاه بن شیرفنه بن  
شستان شاه بن سسن فرو بن شیروزیل بن سسناذ بن بهرام  
جورالملک بن یزد جرد الخ -

2 Here the autograph writes this word عضد. Hitherto in this translation, it has been transcribed 'Aḍud. Ibn K<sup>h</sup>allikān gives a notice on Rukn al-Dawlat; see no. 168.

3 What follows here was added by the author at a later period. In the autograph it is written in the margin.

4 Abū Muḥammad Ḥarūn Ibn al-'Abbās, surnamed al-Māmūnī because he drew his descent from the k<sup>h</sup>alīf al-Māmūn, was a native of Baḥ<sup>h</sup>dād, and died A. H. 573 (A. C. 1177—8). He is the author of a history of a ruler of K<sup>h</sup>urāsān, a work often cited by Ibn K<sup>h</sup>allikān; and a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. (Al-Yāfi'i. Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, in his *Nujūm*).

to the establishment of his authority was the following: When he took Shirāz, in the beginning of his reign, his followers assembled and required money from him, but he had not the means of satisfying their demands. Overcome with anxiety at the prospect of the speedy ruin with which his enterprizes were threatened, he remained alone in the council-chamber, that he might reflect upon his situation and devise some remedy for the danger. Having thrown himself on his back, he continued to ruminate over his misfortune, when he perceived a serpent come forth from a hole in the ceiling and creep into another. Fearing that it might drop down on him, he called in the tent pitchers and told them to bring a ladder and catch the reptile. On climbing up to look for the serpent, they discovered a room between the ceiling and the roof, and informed him of the circumstance. He ordered them to open it, and within was found a number of chests filled with money and merchandise to the amount of five hundred thousand dinārs. Elated at the sight of the money which had now been brought down to him, he distributed it to his soldiers and thus retrieved his affairs, which were on the brink of ruin. He then caused a dress to be cut for his own use, and having inquired for a skilful tailor to make it up, they told him of a person who had served the former governor of the town in that capacity. In pursuance of his orders, this man was brought to him; and the fellow, happening to be deaf, imagined that secret information had been lodged against him for retaining in his possession some property which his former master had confided to his care. Impressed with this belief, he swore, when spoken to by the prince, that he had only twelve chests in his house, and did not know what they contained. Surprised at such an answer, 'Imād al-Dawlat sent for the chests, which were discovered to be filled with money and dresses to an immense amount. These occurrences were most striking proofs of the good fortune which attended him, and from that moment his success was assured, and the foundations of his power solidly grounded". He died at Shirāz on Sunday, the 16th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 338 (Nov. A.C. 949)\*

---

\* 11 November—*Ed.*

some say A. H. 339<sup>1</sup>. He was buried at the seat of the empire. His reign lasted sixteen years, and his life fifty-seven. He left no issue. In his last illness, he received the visit of his brother Rukn al-Dawlat, and in consequence of the agreement which they then made, the province of Fārs was given to 'Aḡud al-Dawlat<sup>2</sup>;

#### 456 SAYF AL-DAWLAT IBN ḤAMDĀN

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, surnamed Sayf al-Dawlat (*the sword of the empire*), was the son of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥamdān. The remainder of his genealogy having been already given in the life of his brother Nāṣir al-Dawlat (*no. 167*) it is needless to repeat it. Al-Tha'ālibī describes him thus in his *Yatimah*. "The son of Ḥamdān were princes whose faces were formed for beauty; whose tongues, for eloquence; whose hands, for liberality; and whose minds, for pre-eminence; Sayf al-Dawlat was renowned as their chief and the middle pearl of their necklace.<sup>3</sup> His court was the attraction of visitors, the point where (*the sun of*) beneficence rose, the *qiblah* to which the hopes (*of the needy*) were turned, the spot where the caravans discharged their loads (*of travellers*) the place of concourse for literary men, and the list where poets contended. It is said that never at the door of any other prince, except the *khalifs*, were assembled so many masters in the poetic art, stars of the age. But sovereignty is the mart to which such wares are brought as can be best disposed of there. Sayf al-Dawlat was an

1 Here the autograph has the following additional note: And it is said that he commenced his reign in the latter Jumādā, A.H. 322 (May—June, A.D. 934)."

2 Fuller information on the Buwayhides will be obtained from the work entitled *Geschichte der Dynastie Buieh nach Mirchond*; Won F. Wilken, Berlin, 1835, 4 to; in Persian and German.

3 I translate literally. He means to say that the members of this family were like a necklace of pearls adorning the state, and that Sayf al-Dawlat was the middle or the largest pearl.

accomplished scholar, a poet, and a lover of good poetry, in which he took the greatest delight. A collection of ten thousand verses, selected from the panegyrics composed on him, was formed by the *kātib* Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Fayyāḍ<sup>1</sup> and by Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Shimshāṭī." The following admirable description of the rainbow is due to Sayf al-Dawlat; some, it is true, attribute it to Abū 'l-Saqr al-Qābiṣī, but al-Tha'ālībī declares it, in the *Yatīmah*, to be the production of this prince:

"I called the handsome cup bearer to pour me out the morning draught, and he arose with slumber on his eyelids. He passed round the wine-cup (*which shone*) like stars, some descending towards us, and others just drained off<sup>2</sup>. The hands of the southern breeze spread dark mantles over the sky, their trains sweeping the ground<sup>3</sup>, and embroidered by the rainbow with yellow upon red, joined to green, overlaid with white; like maidens who approach, arrayed in gowns of different colours, and each of which is shorter than the next."

This piece offers one of those princely comparisons which could hardly occur to a plebeian. The idea expressed in the last verse was afterwards borrowed by Abū 'Alī al-Faraj Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ukhwat, a preceptor and a native of Baghdād, who thus describes a black horse having the forehead and legs white:

"He is arrayed in light and darkness, as in two mantles; one he has let down, and the other he wears tucked up".

This verse is attributed by some to 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn al-Mu'addal<sup>4</sup>.—Sayf al-Dawlat possessed a most beautiful slave-girl, the daughter of a Greek prince; and the jealousy of his other concubines was excited by the favour which she enjoyed and the

1 The author of the *Yatīmah* says that Ibn al-Fayyāḍ was Sayf al-Dawlat's favourite *kātib*, or secretary.

2 There is here a play upon words and a double meaning which cannot be rendered. The last word of the verse is written *منقضى* in the autograph.

3 He means the dark clouds the edges of which are dissolving into a trail of rain.

4 See no. 143, note on Abdassamad.

place which she held in his heart. They therefore resolved to avenge themselves on her by poison or other means. The prince was informed of their intentions, and being apprehensive for her safety, he removed her to a castle where she might be secure from danger, and pronounced these lines :

"Jealous eyes observed me on account of thee; I trembled and have never since been free from apprehension. I saw the enemy betray the excess of envy; dearest of all I possess! I therefore wished thee far away, our mutual love still subsisting. Thus absence is sometimes caused through fear of absence, and separation through dread of separation".

I have seen these identical verses in the collected poetical works of 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Şūrī (no. 381) and am unable to decide which of the two was the author of them. Sayf al-Dawlat says in another of his pieces :

"I kissed her in trembling, like the timorous bird taking a hurried drink. It saw water and desired it, but it feared the consequences of desire. It seized the moment and drew near, but found no pleasure in the draught".

It is related that, one day, being in company with his boon companions, and his own nephew Abū Farās (no. 146) among the number, he challenged them to compose a second couplet to a verse which he was about to recite them, but observed that the only person capable of doing it was his *lordship*, meaning Abū Farās. He then pronounced the following lines :

"You are mistress of my body and hast caused it to languish ; but how can you lawfully shed my blood ?"

Here Abū Farās recited extempore :

"She replied : 'If sovereign power be mine, my authority extends over every thing'".

Sayf al-Dawlat was so highly pleased with the impromptu, that he bestowed on the author a landed estate in the province of

---

1 The true reading is *يا اقس*. The false one is given in all the other manuscripts, and Dr. Carlyle had reproduced it in his *Specimens of Arabian poetry*, where he has inserted the same piece.

Manbaj, producing a yearly income of two thousand pieces of gold. Another of Sayf al-Dawlat's pieces is the following :

"She accused me wrongfully, for the crime was hers: she blamed me unjustly, but on her side lay the fault. When a master is weary of the slave who serves him, he finds him in fault where no fault existed. She turned from me disdainfully when mistress of my heart; why was she not cruel whilst my heart was still my own?"

The following distich, reproducing idea expressed in this last line, was recited to me by Ibrāhīm 'Aydmar, the *ṣūfī* dervish :

"In the valley ( *where lovers meet* ) they plighted us their faith, and yet, without crime or fault of ours, they broke their vows. They shunned me and reproached me, though I loved them; why did they not spurn me when my heart was still my own?"

It is related that Sayf al-Dawlat was one day giving audience in the city of Aleppo, and poets were reciting verses in his praise, when an Arab of the desert, in squalid attire, stepped forward and repeated these lines :

"Thou art the exalted, for this is Aleppo ! my means are spent, but I have reached my journey's end. This is the glory of all other cities, and thou, Amīr ! art the ornament whereby the Arabs surpass the rest of men. Fortune, thy slave, has wronged us; and to thee we have recourse against thy slave's injustice."

"By Allāh". exclaimed the prince, "thou hast done it admirably". He then ordered him a present of two hundred gold pieces.—Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Uthmān Ibn Muḥammad, a native of 'Irāq and Qāḍī of 'Ayn Zarbah<sup>1</sup>, relates as follows : I was at an audience given by Sayf al-Dawlat at Aleppo, when the Qāḍī Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Naysāpūrī (*native of Naysāpūr*) went up to him, and having drawn an empty purse, and a roll of paper out of his sleeve, he asked and obtained permission to recite a poem which was written on the paper. He then commenced his *qaṣīdah*, the first line of which was :

<sup>1</sup> 'Ayn Zarbah is situated to the north of the Gulf of Scanderun, in lat. 37° 10'.



'Thy wonted generosity is still the same; thy power is uncontrolled, and thy servant stands in need of one thousand pieces of silver'.

"When the poet had finished, Sayf al-Dawlat burst into a fit of laughter and ordered him a thousand pieces of gold, which were immediately put into the purse he had brought with him." Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd, the sons of Hāshim, and generally known as (*the two Khālīdites*), were in high repute as poets. Abū Bakr was the elder. They went to the court of Sayf al-Dawlat, and having recited to him the panegyrics which they had composed, they were lodged by him and treated in a manner suitable to their desert. He one time sent them a present of a male and a female slave, each of them bearing a purse of money and a portmanteau filled with clothes of Egyptian workmanship. One of these poets recited to the prince, on this occasion, a long *qaṣīdah*, in which was this passage:

"Had thy wealth not been consecrated to deeds of beneficence, the gratitude of mortals had not been universal as it is. Thou hast bestowed on us a sun and a moon (*of beauty*) by whose lustre the darkness (*of misfortune*) which overshadowed us<sup>1</sup> has been enlightened. A fawn has come to us, in beauty a Joseph; and a gazelle in radiance a Balqīs<sup>2</sup>. Not content with bestowing two such gifts, thou hast sent us money; nay, the sum is large. The girl came bearing a purse, and on the boy's shoulder was a sack. Thou hast given us also clothes wrought with all the art of Miṣr and embellished by the workmanship of Tinnīs<sup>3</sup>. We thus possess, from thy generosity, meat, drink, clothing and a bedfellow."

On hearing these verses, Sayf al-Dawlat observed that they were very good, only that the last word was not fit to be uttered in the hearing of princes<sup>4</sup>. Numerous are the anecdotes related

1 The autograph, the other MSS, and the printed text have لدينا; but grammar and sense require لدينا.

2 For the loves of Joseph and Zulaykhā, and of king Solomon and Balqīs, I refer to D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*.

3 "Plain cloaks, made of cloth dyed at Tinnīs, sold for one or two hundred pieces of gold. If embroidered in gold, their price might amount to one thousand pieces".—(Al-Idrīsī, in his *Geography*).

4 *Mankūh* the Arabic word, signifies *inutil apta, congressui idonea*.

of Sayf al-Dawlat with his poets, particularly al-Mutanabbī (no. 49) al-Sarī al-Raffā (no. 240), al-Nāmī (no. 50), al-Babbaghā (no. 366), al-Wẓwāl and others of that band, too numerous to be mentioned. He was born on Sunday the 17th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 303 (June, A. C. 916),\* some say A. H. 301—and he expired at Aleppo on the sixth hour of Friday—others say the fourth—the 24th of the month of Şafar, A. H. 356 (February A. C. 967).† His body was transported to Mayyāfāriqīn and interred in the mausoleum erected over the grave of his mother, and situated within the city walls. He died of a retention of urine. The dust which settled on his clothes in his campaigns was shaken off and carefully collected by his orders; it was then formed into a brick about as large as the hand, and this, by his dying injunctions, was placed under his head in the tomb. It was in the year 333 (A. D. 944—5) that he got possession of Aleppo, having wrung it from the hands of Aḥmad Ibn Sa'id al-Kilābī, a partisan of al-Ikḥshīd<sup>2</sup>. I have read in the history of Aleppo, that the first of the Ḥamdān family who ruled in that city was al-Ḥusayn Ibn Sa'id, brother of Abū Farās (no. 146), who had gotten it into his possession in the month of Rajab, A. H. 332 (March, A. D. 944). (*Al-Ḥusayn*) was renowned for bravery, and it is of him that Ibn al-Munajjim<sup>3</sup> said:

“On seeing him advance, the foes exclaim: Are not those the fates which march under that man's standard?”

He died at Mosul on Monday, the 16th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 338 (Dec. A. C. 949),‡ and was interred in the mosque which he had erected at al-Dayr al-A'la (*the Upper Convent*).

1 Abu'l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḡhassānī al-Dimishqī (*a native of Damascus*), surnamed al-Wāwā, was one of Sayf al-Dawlat's companions. He sung with great taste and was a good poet. Numerous extracts from his pieces are given by al-Tha'ālībī in his *Yatimah*, but the date of his death is not mentioned.

2 The life of Muḥammad Ibn Tughj, surnamed al-Ikḥshīd is given by Ibn Khallikān.

3 See no. 441, note on Ibn al-Munajjim.

\* 22 June.—Ed.

† 8 February.—Ed.

‡ 10 December.—Ed.

This I supposed to be the same as the Dayr Sa'id (*Convent of Sa'id*), outside Mosul, and so called after him; but I have since read in the *Kitāb al-Diyarah* (*book of convents*) that the latter was named after the Omayyide prince Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. Sayf al-Dawlat, before taking Aleppo, was master of Wāsiṭ and that neighbourhood; he then underwent various vicissitudes and passed into Syria, where he got possession of Damascus and most of the cities in that country, and of Mesopotamia besides. His numerous campaigns against the Greeks are well known, and most of his battles have been celebrated by al-Mutanabbi in his *qaṣīdahs*. He was succeeded by his son Sa'd al-Dawlat (*good fortune of the empire*) Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sharīf, who reigned a long time. This prince had an attack of cholera, which brought him to the brink of death. On the third day of his convalescence he had intercourse with one of his slave-girls, but the result was that he fell to the ground, having lost the power of his right side. The physician who was called in, ordered perfumes of aloes-wood and ambergris to be burned<sup>1</sup> near him, and this recovered him a little. He then asked to feel his pulse, and the patient held out his left hand. "It is the right which I want", said the doctor. "I have left it (*in a state*), replied the other, (*that it is*) no longer a right hand for me; it swore (*to serve me*) and deceived (*me and I have therefore punished it*)<sup>2</sup>". He expired on the eve of Sunday, the 25th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 381 (December, A. C. 991)\*; aged forty years, six months, and ten days. He was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Fadā'il Sa'd, the date of whose death I have not discovered<sup>3</sup>. With the termination of Abu 'l-Fadā'il's existence, the empire founded by Sayf al-Dawlat came also to an end.<sup>4</sup> Abū 'Alī Ibn al-Ukhwat,

1 Here the autograph has يشجر , but the true reading is certainly يسجر as in the printed text.

2 In reading this passage, I may perhaps have misunderstood the original Arabic.

3 He died in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 392 (Dec—Jan., A. D. 1001-2). (Ibn al-'Adīm).

4 For the history of Sayf al-Dawlat, consult the extract from Ibn al-'Adīm, *History of Aleppo*, published by professor Freytag under the title of *Selecta ex historia Halebi*. Paris, 1819; in Arabic and Latin.

\* 6 December.—Ed.

the person mentioned in this article, died on Friday, the 14th of the latter Jumādā A. H. 546 (September, A. C. 1151).\* He was a good poet.

#### 457 AL-ẒĀHIR AL-'UBAYDĪ

Abū Ḥāshim 'Alī ('*Ubaydite or Fāḥimite*) sovereign of Egypt and surnamed al-Ẓāhir li-I'zāz Dīn Illāh (*the assister in exalting God's religion*), was the son of al-Ḥākim Ibn al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh. We have already noticed some of the princes of this dynasty. His reign commenced some time after the disappearance of his father, which event occurred on the 27th of *Shawwāl*, A. H. 411 (February, A. D. 1021),† as we shall state in his life. The people expected that he would appear again, but, on tracing his footsteps, they came to the conviction that he was gone for ever. On the Day of Sacrifice (*the 10th of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah*),‡ in the same year, they placed his son al-Ẓāhir on the throne. The empire (*of the Fāḥimites*) was composed, at that time, of Egypt, Ifrīqiyah, and Ṣyria. Sālih Ibn Mirdās al-Kilābī (*no. 271*) then marched against Aleppo, which he besieged and wrested from the hands of Murtaḍā 'l-Dawlat Ibn Lulū al-Jarrāḥī, formerly a slave (*ghulām*) of Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Ibn Sharīf Ibn Sayf al-Dawlat al-Ḥamdānī (*no. 456*), and now governing that city as lieutenant to al-Ẓāhir. All the neighbouring country then submitted to Ibn Mirdās, and Ḥassān Ibn Mufarrij Ibn Dagħfal al-Badawī (*chief of the Bedwin Arabs and*) lord of Ramlah<sup>1</sup>, having conquered the greater part of Ṣyria, the power of al-Ẓāhir was humbled, and a number of events succeeded too long to relate. This prince took for Wazīr Najīb al-Dawlat (*optimus Imperii*) Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Jarjārā'ī, him whose arms had been cut off at the elbows by

1 See no. 187, where his father's name is incorrectly written *Mufrij*.

\* 28 September.—*Ed.*

† 13 February.—*Ed.*

‡ 27 March A. C. 1021.—*Ed.*

al-Hākim in the month of the latter Rabi', A. H. 404. This punishment was inflicted on him at the gate of Cairo called Bāb al-Qaṣr al-Baḥrī (*the Castle Gate on the road to the river*), after which he was carried home. He held at that time the direction of one of the government offices, but being discovered in speculation, he incurred the punishment just mentioned. In the year 409 (A. C. 1018—9), he was appointed director of the pension-office (*Diwān al-Naṣṣāṭ*), and, in A. H. 418, nominated Wazīr to al-Zāhir. Previously to this, he had held different posts under government, in Upper and Lower Egypt. When raised to the dignity of Wazīr, he authorised the Qāḍi Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qudā'i, author of the book called *al-Shihāb*<sup>1</sup>, to write his '*alāmah*'<sup>2</sup>. It consisted of these words: *al-Ḥamdu lillāhi Shukran li Ni'matih* (*Praise be to God in gratitude for His bounty*). Al-Jarjarā'i affected a rigid purity of conduct, strict integrity, and an extreme precaution in avoiding sin; to this Jāsūs al-Fulk<sup>3</sup> alluded in the following verse:

"Fool that thou art! listen and make answer! leave that feigned stupidity. Dost thou set thyself up for an honest man? Well! let us suppose thy words to be true, and tell us if it was for honesty and piety that thy arms were cut off at the elbows?"

*Jarjarā'i* means *belonging to Jarjarayā*, a village in 'Irāq. Al-Zāhir was born at Cairo, on Wednesday, the 10th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 395 (June, A. C. 1005);\* he died towards the end of Saturday night, the 15th of *Sha'bān*, A. H. 427 (June, A. C. 1036),† I was told that he breathed his last in the Garden of the Strand (*Bustan*

1 The life of al-Qudā'i is given in this work.

2 The words forming the '*alāmah*, or *mark*, were written on all official papers to validate them. At Tunis, when Ibn Khaldūn held the post of '*alāmah* writer, the inscription consisted of these words: *al-Ḥamdu lillāhi wa 'l-shukru lillāh* (*Praise be to God and thanks be to God*).—(Autobiography of Ibn Khaldūn).

3 *Jāsūs al-Fulk* signifies *the explorer of the sphere*. It is certainly a surname, but I have not been able to discover any information respecting the person who bore it.

\* 20 June.—*Ed.*

† احد means Sunday not Saturday, The former day fell on 13 June.—*Ed.*

*al-Dakkah*), situated in al-Maqs<sup>1</sup> at a place called the Strand (*al-Dakkah*)—Al-Jarjarā'i died on the 7th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 436 (March, A. D. 1045).\* He held the wizarat under al-Ẓābir and al-Mustanṣir, that prince's son, for the space of seventeen years, eight months and eighteen days.

#### 458 'ALĪ IBN MUNQIDH

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muqallad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Munqidh al-Kinānī, surnamed *Sadīd al-Mulk* (*bene directus in imperio*) and lord of the castle of *Shayzar*, was a brave, enterprising, resolute, and generous prince. He was the first of the *Munqidh* family who established his authority in that castle, having obtained possession of it in the following manner: Happening to dwell for some time at the bridge *afterwards* called *Jisr bani Munqidh* (*bridge of the Munqidh family*), in the neighbourhood of the castle, which was then in the hands of the Greeks, he conceived hopes of getting it into his power, and, having laid siege to it, the garrison surrendered on condition of receiving quarter. This occurred in the month of Rajab, A. H. 474 (Dec.—Jan. A. D. 1081--2). It continued in his possession and in that of his descendants till overturned by the earthquake of A. H. 552 (A. D. 1157), when all the members of the family, and other persons besides, perished in the ruins. It remained uninhabited till the end of the year, when it was occupied by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn Zinkī, the sovereign of Syria. Bahā al-Dīn *Shaddād* states, in his life of *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*<sup>2</sup>, that on the 18th of *Shawwāl*, A. H. 565 (July, A. D. 1170).† Aleppo and many other cities suffered severely from an earthquake, but the reader must not suppose that this is a mistake, for these were really two different events; the

1 Maqs was a village near Cairo. See De Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I. p. 171.

2 See Schulten's *Vita et res gesta Saladini*, p. 36.

His edition of Bahā al-Dīn's text does not give the day of the month.

\* 28 March.—*Ed.*

† 5 July.—*Ed.*

first is noticed (*moreover*) by Ibn al-Jawzi in his *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* and by other historians. This Sadīd al-Mulk possessed such great influence that his favour was universally courted, and many of his descendants acquired renown as brave chieftains, generous patrons, and accomplished scholars. His own praises were celebrated by Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (no. 59), al-Khafājī<sup>1</sup>, and other poets. He composed some good verses himself, such, for instance, as those which he pronounced on having beaten one of his young slaves in a fit of anger:

"I used him harshly; but had my heart been masters of my hands, it would have chained them to my neck. When I punished him, my anger was assumed; how great the distance between the depth of affection and the height of passion<sup>2</sup>".

He was particularly noted for quickness of penetration, of which the following anecdote is related as an example: Before he had obtained possession of Shayzar, he made frequent visits to Aleppo, which was then under the rule of Tāj al-Mulūk Maḥmūd Ibn Šālīḥ Ibn Mirdās. An occurrence which excited his apprehensions obliged him to leave that city and proceed to Tripolis (in Syria), where the governor, Jalāl al-Mulk Ibn 'Ammār<sup>3</sup>, lodged him in his place. Maḥmūd Ibn Šālīḥ then directed his secretary Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Naḥḥās, a native of Aleppo, to write to Sadīd al-Mulk a kind and flattering letter, inviting him to return. The secretary, who was a friend to Sadīd al-Mulk, perceived that his master had some ill design: so, on writing out the letter as he was ordered, and finishing it with the usual formula, *in* (اِنْ) *shā'* Allāh (*if God so pleaseth*), he traced over the letter *n* of *in* the sign of duplication with the mark indicating the vowel *a* (thus, اِنْ *inna*). On receiving the letter, Sadīd al-Mulk presented it to Ibn 'Ammār, who was then sitting with some particular friends, and they all admired the elegance of its style and remarked the extreme desire which Maḥmūd manifested of enjoying his society. Sadīd al-Mulk here observed

1 See no. 381 note on Khafājī.

2 In this verse we must read *من عزة* for *عزة*.

3 See no. 266 note on Abū Ṭalīb.

that he saw more in the letter than they did, and then wrote an appropriate answer to the secretary. In this reply one of the phrases was: *I (ʿUṭ anā), your humble servant, who am grateful for your kindness*; but under the first letter he put the mark indicating the vowel *i*, and over the second sign of duplication (thus, ʿUṭ innā). When Maḥmūd received it, the secretary remarked with pleasure this peculiarity and said to those with whom he was intimate: "I knew that what I wrote would not escape Saḍīd al-Mulk's attention, and he has answered in a way that quiets my uneasiness". By the word *inna* the secretary intended to remind his friend of this passage of the Qur'ān: *Inn al-Mala Yā'tamirūnā. etc. (verily, the great men are deliberating concerning thee, to put thee to death)*<sup>1</sup>; and by the word *innā* Saḍīd al-Mulk meant to answer: *innā lan nadkhulaha abadan etc. (we will never enter therein whilst they stay in it)*<sup>2</sup>. This was ever afterwards considered as a striking example of his sharpness and sagacity, and the anecdote is told in these very terms by 'Usāmah (no. 81), in the collection of notes addressed by him to al-Raṣhīd Ibn al-Zubayr (no. 64), and inserted in the life of Ibn al-Naḥḥās (*the secretary above mentioned*). Saḍīd al-Mulk Ibn Munqidh died A. H. 475 (A. D. 1082—3). We have already spoken of his grandson Usāmah, and shall notice his father in the letter *M*. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ispahānī mentions them all with high commendation in his *Kharīdah*, and in his *Kitāb al-Sayl wa 'l-Dhayl*, he speaks of a person\* who was crushed to death under the ruins of the castle of *Shayzar*, when it was overturned by an earthquake on Monday, the third of Rajab, A. H. 552 (August, A. D. 1157).† *This confirms the date previously given*).

#### 459 AL-ŞULAYḤĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Şulayḥī, the chief of the revolt in Yaman was the son of a *qāḍī* in that pro-

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrat 28 verse 19.

2 *Qur'ān*, sūrat 5, verse 27.

\* [In the notice of Tāj al-Dawlat Muḥammad Ibn Sulṭān Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī just mentioned] is a marginal addition in the autograph and the same has been overlooked by de Slane.—*Ed.*

† 11 August—*Ed.*



vince, who professed the *Sunni* doctrine and exercised the greatest influence over his own family and all the persons under his jurisdiction. This *qāḍī*'s favour was assiduously courted by the (*Fāṭimite*) missionary 'Āmir Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zawwāhī\*, who frequently rode to visit him on account of his power, virtue, and learning, and at length succeeded in gaining the confidence of the son, who had not as yet reached the age of puberty, but whose looks announced him to possess a spirit of a superior order. It is even said that the missionary had found the description of (*Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī*) al-Ṣulayhī's person in a book called *Kitāb al-Ṣuwar*, which was one of the treasures transmitted down from ancient times<sup>2</sup>. He showed to the boy that passage of it wherein were indicated the events of his future life and the illustrious rank which he was destined to obtain; but this communication was a secret, of which the father and the family had no suspicion. 'Āmir died soon after, leaving al-Ṣulayhī the depository of his books and of his knowledge. 'Alī (*al-Ṣulayhī*'s) mind received a deep impression from the words of the missionary, and having devoted himself to study, he mastered, by the acuteness of his intellect<sup>3</sup>, and even before the age of puberty, those sciences which, joined to the propitious aid of fortune, raised him to the summit of his utmost hopes. It was thus that he became a learned doctor in the system of jurisprudence which regulated the Imamite (*Fāṭimite*) empire, and that he obtained a deep insight into the science of allegorical interpretation as applied to the *Qur'ān* (*tāwīl*). He then passed fifteen years as a guide to the pilgrims on the road which passes

1 *al-Zawwāhī* الزواحي, as this name is written in the autograph, means native of *al-Zawāhī*, a town in Yaman.

2 In the account given by Ibn Khaldūn of the Ṣulayhī dynasty, MS. No. 2402 C, fol. 98, he designates this book as the *Jafr* (no. 383). Ḥājji Khalifah has the following unintelligible notice on the *Ṣuwar* in his Bibliographical Dictionary: *Kitāb al-Ṣuwar* (book of figures): Whether it ever existed or not; three discourses by Aristotle; and the first of the philosophers who explored the mysteries of the *Ṣuwar* (figures) was Afrāṭīn افراطين, who composed a book on the seven figures and their mysteries, and forty-eight figures containing one thousand and twelve of the fixed stars.

3 Read ذكيا in the Arabic text.

\* The Cairo edition gives al-Rawwāhī.—Ed.

through al-Sarāt<sup>1</sup> and Ṭā'if; during this period, he often heard persons say to him: "We have been told that thou art to possess al-Yaman and become a man of note;" but these observations he received with dislike, and although a prediction to this effect had spread abroad and was continually repeated by men of all ranks, he always contradicted those who spoke to him on the subject. At length, in the year 429 (A.C. 1037-8), he commenced his revolt by occupying the summit of Maṣḥār<sup>2</sup>, one of the highest mountains in Yaman; having then with him sixty men, all of powerful families and possessing numerous connexions, whom he had bound by oath, at the fair of Makkah, in A.H. 428, to die in defence of his cause. This mountain was crowned by a lofty pinnacle of difficult access, on which no edifice had ever been erected; he took possession of it by night and before noon, the next day, he found himself surrounded and blockaded by twenty thousand swordsmen, all reviling him in the grossest terms and railing at his folly. They then offered him the alternative of coming down or being starved to death with his companions; but he replied that, in acting as he had done, his only motive was to protect his own friends and themselves from danger, as he apprehended that some other person would occupy a position so advantageous. "Therefore," said he, "if you allow me, I shall guard it; but if not, I shall go down to you." These words induced them to retire, and before a month was elapsed, he had built a strong-hold upon the mountain and strengthened it with fortifications. From that time his power gradually increased, and his efforts were employed in gaining

---

1 It appears from the *Marāṣid* that this place was on the road from Ṣan'ā to Ṭā'if, and situated between Tihāmah and Najd.

2 This place is noticed by Ibn Khaldūn; he says in geographical notes on the province of Yaman, MS. No. 2402 C, fol. 163 verso: *Ḥarrāz* حَرَّاز is a territory in the country of the Ḥanḍān (*tribe*); it is also the name of a tribe, one of the Branches of which produced al-Sulayḥī. The fortress of Maṣār, where he made his first appearance, is situated in the territory of Ḥarrāz, as Nebuhr writes the name is placed on his map of Yaman in lat. 15° 5' N.—In Ibn Khallikān's autograph, *Masār* is written thus مَسَار, but the author of the *Marāṣid* writes it مَسَار, as in the printed text.

partisans for al-Mustanşir, the sovereign of Egypt. He was obliged, however, to keep these proceedings a secret, through dread of Najāh, the lord of (*the province of*) Tihāmah, whose favour he was obliged to cultivate, and whose power he appeared to acknowledge, though secretly plotting his death. In this project he at length succeeded, having made him a present of a handsome female slave, by whom he was poisoned at al-Kadrā<sup>1</sup>, in A.H. 452 (A.C. 1060-1). The following year, he wrote to al-Mustanşir for permission to assert openly the (*Fāṭimite*) claims, and having obtained that prince's consent, he crossed and recrossed the province, taking castles and subduing the open country. Before the expiration of A.H. 555, he was master of all Yaman, hill and dale, and sea. An occurrence of this nature had never been witnessed before, either in the times which preceded Islamism or in those which followed : and (*as an example of his good fortune, it may be related*) that, one day, when preaching from the pulpit at al-Janad<sup>2</sup>, he said that, on the same day (*of the next year*), he should preach from the pulpit in 'Aden ; a city of which he had not yet obtained possession. A person who was present at the sermon and heard these words, exclaimed in derision : "O most adorable ! most holy<sup>3</sup> !" Al-Ṣulayhī ordered the man to be taken into custody, and on that day (*of the next year*) he preached at 'Aden. The same man was again present ; and now, after most extravagant professions of admiration, he took the convent and joined the sect, from the year 455 (A.C. 1063) his head-quarters were established at Ṣan'ā, where he caused a number of palaces to be erected. (*In his next expeditions*) he took with him their princes whom he had dethroned and lodged them near his own person, after having confided the command of their fortresses to other hands. Having sworn that no person should receive from the government of

---

1 Al-Kadrā lay at about fifty miles south west of Ṣan'ā, on the river of Ṣhehām. This streams falls into the Red Sea at a short distance to the north of Ḥudayyah.

2 Al-Janad lies at about ten miles E. of Taaz (*or Tiez*). It is marked on the maps of Niebuhr and Berghaus, and is described by Abu 'l-Feda in his Geography.

3 These epithets are given to God alone.

Tihāmāh without previously weighing out one hundred thousand pieces of gold, that sum was paid down to him by his own wife Asmā, in the name of her brother As'ad Ibn Shihāb. "Where didst thou get this, mistress?" said he. "From God," she replied: "*He bestoweth on him whom He chooseth and without taking reckoning*<sup>1</sup>." Perceiving that the sum came from his own treasury, he smiled, and took it, saying: "*Here is our money restored unto us; and we will provide food for our family and take care of our brother*<sup>2</sup>." In the year 473 (A.C. 1080-1) al-Ṣulayhī resolved to make the pilgrimage, and taking with him his wife Asmā, the daughter of Shihāb, and those princes, who, he apprehended, might revolt against him, he appointed al-Malik al-Mukarram (*the most honourable prince*) Aḥmad, the son whom he had by her, to rule as his lieutenant. He then set out with two thousand horsemen, of whom one hundred and sixty were members of the Ṣulayhī family; and, on arriving at al-Mahjam<sup>3</sup>, he halted outside the town, at a farā called al-Duhaym\*, or Bir Umm Ma'bd, and encamped with his troops around him and the (*captive*) princes near him. Suddenly the alarm was given that al-Ṣulayhī was murdered, and the people of escort hurried in trepidation to verify the fact. He had fallen by the hand of Sa'id al-Aḥwal (*the squinter*), son to the Najāh who had been poisoned by the slave girl. Sa'id had remained in concealment at Zabīd, but then went to his brother Jāyāsh at Dahlak, and informed him of al-Ṣulayhī's departure for Makkah: "Come," said he, "and let us stop him on the way and slay him." Jāyāsh immediately proceeded to Zabīd and set out from that city with his brother and seventy followers on foot and without arms, having no other weapons than palm-sticks, each of which was headed with an iron spike<sup>4</sup>. They avoided the main road and took that which follows the sea-shore; their distance from al-

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrat 2, verse 208.

2 *Qur'ān*, sūrat 12, verse 65.

3 Compare what follows with the relation of the same occurrences, given in no. 144.

4 "The rich have their sticks headed with silver; others fix iron spikes to them; and thus make a formidable weapon, which the Arabs handle with great dexterity". Burchkardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II, page 243.

\* M. de Slane give Ommad-Duhaim.—Ed.

Mahjam being then as much as an active man could accomplish in three days. Information of their departure was brought to al-Şulayhî, and he immediately sent against them five thousand Abyssinian spearmen who accompanied him on foot. This troop, however, mistook the way, and Sa'id with his companions came up to the bounds of the camp. As they had suffered from fatigue and want of provisions (*so as to be hardly recognised*), they were supposed to be some of the slaves who accompanied the army, but 'Abd Allāh, the brother of al-Şulayhî, perceived who they were, and cried out to him: "To horse, my lord! by Allāh! here comes that squinting rascal, Sa'id the son of Najāh!" Saying this, he mounted his own horse, but al-Şulayhî merely observed that he was not to die till he arrived at al-Duhaym and the Well (*Bir*) of Umm Ma'bad; thinking that Umm Ma'bad to be the female at whose tent the blessed Prophet had stopped when retiring from Makkah to Madīnah. On hearing his words, one of those who accompanied him said: "Defend then thy life! for, by Allāh! this is al-Duhaym and here is the Well of Umm Ma'bad". When al-Şulayhî heard these words, he remained thunderstruck, and losing all hopes of escape, he urined with affright. His head was cut off on the spot with his own sword, and his brother was slain also, with all the other persons of his family. This occurred on the 12th of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, A. H. 473 (April, A. C. 1081).<sup>\*</sup> Sa'id then sent to the five thousand men who had been dispatched against him by al-Şulayhî, and informed them that their master was dead, but that *he* was one of themselves, and had only avenged his father's death. They immediately came up and placed themselves under his orders; with their assistance he attacked the troops of al-Şulayhî, and having slain some and made others prisoners, he put them to rout and pillaged their camp. Al-Şulayhî's head was then stuck on the top of his own state-umbrella, and this verse of the *Qur'ān* was chanted aloud: *Say, O God! the possessor of the kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom unto whom Thou wilt: and Thou takest away the kingdom from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou humblest whom Thou wilt. In*

---

\* 24 April.—Ed.

*Thy hand is good, for Thou art Almighty*<sup>1</sup>. Sa'id then returned to Zabid, and obtained as a spoil the empire, of which the possession had been so fatal to his father. He entered the city on the 16th of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*,\* the same year, and, having established his authority in the province of Tihāmah, he continued to rule till A. H. 481 (A. C. 1088-9), when he lost his life in a conspiracy which had been got up by al-Ḥurrah, the widow of one of the Ṣulayḥites; but the relation of this event would lead us too far. When al-Ṣulayḥi's head was stuck on the top of his umbrella, the following lines were composed on the subject by the qāḍī al-'Uṭhmānī:

"In the morning, that umbrella was borne over him; but in the evening, it shaded a noble prince whose triumph it thus announced. If al-Ṣulayḥi's visage was hateful under it, his head was a pleasing object on it. Black serpents attacked the lions of al-Ṣharā<sup>2</sup>; woe to the lions from the blacks"!

Al-Ṣulayḥi himself composed some good verses such as these:

"I married our bright swords to their yellow-hafted spears; but, instead of sweetmeat scattered to the guests, we scattered their heads around. 'Tis thus with glory; none espouse it but at the cost of many lives'."

The following verses also are given as his by 'Imād al-Dīn, in the *Khariḍah*; but some say that they were merely put in his mouth by some other person who was the real author:

"More delightful to him than the striking of the lyre is the cry, before battle, of: 'Page! bridle and saddle the steeds'. I gallop them in the distant lands of Ḥaḍramawt, and their snorting is heard from 'Irāq to Manbaj<sup>3</sup>'."

1 *Qur'ān*, *sūrat* 3, verse 25. I give the entire verse, as Ibn *Khallikān* merely mentions the first words of it, with an *etc.*

2 The ferocity of lions which haunted al-Ṣharā is frequently alluded to in 'Arabic poetry. According to the *Marāṣid*, the mountain of al-Ṣharā is situated in the province of Tihāmah.

3 Here the autograph has *زبيرها* not *زبيرها*. — Manbaj is situated on the Euphrates, to the east of Aleppo.

\* 28 April. — *Ed.*

I do not know whence the surname of *Şulayhî* is derived, but it seems to come in this case as in others from *Şulayh*, the proper name of a man. As for the places mentioned in this article, they are all in Yaman, and I wrote their names as I found them written, but had no means of verifying their orthography. The greater part of this notice is taken from the History of Yaman by 'Umārat al-Yamanī, a poet whose life shall be given in this work.

#### 460 AL-'ĀDIL IBN AL-SALLĀR

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Sallār, surnamed al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn (*the just prince, the sword of religion*), and generally known as Ibn al-Sallār, was Wazīr to al-Zāfir, the 'Ubaydite (*Fāṭimite*) sovereign of Egypt. I have found stated elsewhere that his name was Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alī Ibn Ishāq and I have read, in a history of Egypt, that he was of Kurdish origin and belonged to the tribe of Zarzārī<sup>1</sup>. Having been brought up in the Castle of Cairo, he successively occupied different posts under government, in Upper Egypt, and elsewhere, till he finally became Wazīr to al-Zāfir, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 543 (November-December, A. C. 1148). I have since found, in another work, that Al-Zāfir, in the commencement of his reign, chose for the Wazīr Najm al-Dīn (*the star of religion*) Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Salīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Maṣāl<sup>2</sup>, one of the great amīrs of the empire; but he, being vanquished by al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār, crossed over to Jizah on the eve of Tuesday, the 14 of Ramaḍān, A. H. 544 (January, A. C. 1150\*), on learning, that his adversary was advancing from Alexandria, of which he was governor, with the intention of obtaining the Wazīrship. Ibn al-Sallār entered Cairo on the 15th of the

<sup>1</sup> See M. Quaremère's *Notice sur les curds* in the *Notices et Extraits*, tom. XIII, page 315.

<sup>2</sup> In the autograph this name is written thus مصال.

\* 16 January—Ed.

same month, and having taken the direction of the state into his own hands, he received the titles of *al-ʿĀdil* (*the just*) and *Amīr al-Juyūsh* (*commander of the troops*). Ibn Maṣāl then collected a body of Maghribīns and other soldiers, but was defeated at a place to the south (of *Cairo*), called *Dilāṣ*<sup>1</sup>, by the troops which al-ʿĀdil sent against him. His head was cut off and brought into *Cairo* on the point of a lance, on Thursday, the 23rd of *Dhu ʿl-Qaʿdah*, (*March*)\* in the same year. Al-ʿĀdil then remained in authority till he lost his life.—This account seems more correct than the foregoing.—Ibn Maṣāl was a native of *Lukk*, a village near *Barqah*, and in its dependencies. He and his father were horse-breakers and falconers, and it was by means of this profession that they obtained their advancement. Ibn Maṣāl held the place of *Wazīr* about fifty days.—Ibn al-Sallār was acute, courageous, and always inclined to favour men of talent and virtue. He erected a number of moaques at *Cairo*, and I saw one outside *Bilbay* which bears his name. He openly professed the *Sunni*te doctrines, in which he followed the sect of al-*Shāfiʿi*. When al-ʿĀdil was nominated governor of *Alexandria*, some time after the arrival of *al-Ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī (*no. 43*) in that city, he treated the learned doctor with marked attention and honour. A college was then built by his orders, and the professorship therein entrusted to al-Silafī, by whose name it is still known. No other *Shāfiʿi*te college but that existed at *Alexandria*. These laudable points of character were unfortunately blemished by a violent spirit of injustice and cruelty; he punished severely the very slightest faults, and his tyranny may be conceived from the following relation: Previously to his appointment as *wazīr*, being then in the army, he went one day to al-Muwaffaq Abu ʿl-Karam Ibn Maʿṣūm, a native of *Tinnīs*, who was at that time secretary of war, and represented to him that, having been obliged to defray

1 In the *Etat des provinces et des villages de l'Egypte*, subjoined to M. de Sacy's translation of 'Atd al-Laṭīf, the place there called *Dalāṣ* دلاص is indicated as belonging to the province of *Bahnasah*. See page 689 of that excellent work. We read in the *Marāḡid*: "*Dilāṣ*: an extensive province in the *Ṣaʿīd* of *Egypt* (*Upper Egypt*). Its city (which bear the same name) is counted as a dependance of the province of *Bahnasah*".



some extraordinary expenses which he had incurred during his administration in the province of al-Gharbiyah, he was now oppressed with debt. To this complaint and the long representations which he made, Abu 'l-Karam merely replied: "By Allāh! thy discourse entereth not my ear." This answer Ibn al-Sallar never forgave, and when elevated to the rank of wazir, he ordered strict search to be made for him. Abu 'l-Karam's apprehensions being thus awakened, he remained in concealment for some time; but the Wazir having caused a public proclamation to be made for his discovery: and threatening with death whoever might harbour him, he was expelled from the house where he had retired by the master of the dwelling, and he went forth dressed as a female, in a cloak and boots. Being soon recognized, he was arrested and taken before al-'Ādil, who ordered a board and a long nail to be brought in. The prisoner was then placed on his side with the board under his ear, and the nail was hammered into the other. At every cry the victim uttered, al-'Ādil exclaimed: "Doth my discourse yet enter thy ear or not?" The nail being at length driven out through the other ear, and into the board, it was riveted by bending the end. Some say that the body was then cut in halves by his directions.<sup>1</sup> (*In the year 503*) Bullārah the wife of Abu 'l-Futūh, the son of Yahyā, the son of Tamīm, the son of al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs<sup>2</sup>, arrived in Egypt with her son Abu 'l-Faḍl, 'Abbās, Ibn Abī 'l-Futūh, who was then a child; and al-'Ādil having married her at a later period, she dwelt with him for some time. 'Abbās had afterwards a son named Naṣr, who was brought up with his grandmother in the palace of al-'Ādil, and was treated by the latter with the utmost kindness and affection. At a later period, 'Abbās was sent by al-'Ādil to Syria, that he might serve in the holy war (*against the Franks*), and he was accompanied by Usāmah Ibn Munqidh, the amir whose life has been given (*no. 81*). On arriving at Bilbays to take the

1 In place of ثم the autograph has ثم that he then strangled him. This reading is too absurd to be admitted.

2 The lives of the three last are given in this work. In the life of Yahyā Ibn Tamīm, the occurrence here related is again noticed with additional particulars.

command of the army which was to march with him, the prince began to converse with Usāmah about the delightful climate of Egypt, and the beauty of the country which he was on the point of leaving, and that, for the sole purpose of encountering foes and suffering the hardships of a military life. On this, Usāmah suggested to him (it is said) that he might avoid all those inconveniences by killing al-'Ādil and taking the office of Wazīr on himself. It was then settled between them that his son Naṣr should do the deed when al-'Ādil was sleeping, for he dwelt with him and would not refuse to execute his father's orders. The result was, that Naṣr murdered him in his bed, on Thursday, the 6th of Muḥarram, A. H. 548 (April, A. C. 1153),\* in the palace of the Wazīrat at Cairo. To relate the particulars of this event would be too long. Some say that al-'Ādil was killed on Saturday, the 11th of Muḥarram,† of that year.—Sallār the father of al-'Ādil was in the service of Suqmān Ibn Urtuq, the lord of Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>, when he was deprived of that city by al-Afḍal Amir al-Juyūsh as has been already mentioned (*no 73*). Al-Afḍal having found there a troop of Suqmān's soldiers, took them into his own service, and Sallār, [the father of al-'Ādil]‡ who was one of the number, having been attached to the person of his new master, mounted gradually into favour, and received from him the title of Sayf al-Dawlat (*sword of the empire*). His son al-'Ādil experienced also al-Afḍal's kindness, as he was placed by him among the *boys of the chambers* (*Ṣubyān al-Ḥujar*)<sup>2</sup>. By this term they designated a body of youth each of whom was provided with a horse and arms, and bound to execute, without hesitation, whatever order he might receive. This institution was similar to those of the Knights Templars (*al-Dāwīyah*) and Knights Hospitallers (*al-Asbitār*). When any of the youth distinguished himself by intelligence and courage, he was advanced to the rank of amīr (*commander*). Al-

1 See No. 73n. No. 77. No. 266.

2 Compare the note (37), page 156, vol. I. of M'de. Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, with what follows here.

\* 4 April.—*Ed.*

† Saturday cannot fall on 11 Muḥarram. It fell on 1st, 8th and 15th.—*Ed.*

‡ Omitted by de Slane.—*Ed.*

'Ādil surpassed his companions in these qualities, and possessed moreover great resolution, respect for superiors, and prudence in abstaining from intrigues. This induced (*the khalifs*) al-Ḥāfiẓ (no. 382) to give him a command, and he appointed him governor of Alexandria. He was then known by the nickname of Rās al-Baġhl (*mule-head*), and his rise commenced from that period.—This Naṣr, son of 'Abbās, is the same who murdered al-Zāfir, sovereign of Egypt (no. 96).

#### 461 AL-MALIK AL-AFDAL, THE SON OF ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son to the Sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, and surnamed al-Malik al-Afdal (*the most excellent prince*) Nūr al-Dīn (*the light of the faith*) [made his studies at Alexandria under the Imām Ibn 'Awf al-Zuhri, and at Old Cairo under the learned grammarian Ibn Bārī.] In Syria also he received certificates of proficiency from Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥamzah Ibn 'Alī al-Sulamī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ṣadaqah al-Ḥarrānī, and other masters, and in Egypt from Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Mas'ūd, and Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥāmid, and others. He wrote a fair hand and possessed many other accomplishments]. This prince was the eldest of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's sons, and his acknowledged successor. On the death of his father, al-Malik al-Afdal (the subject of this article) was then with him at Damascus, and took possession of that kingdom, whilst his brother al-Malik al-'Aziz obtained that of Egypt, as has been already mentioned (no. 389) and their brother al-Malik al-Zāhir continued to hold Aleppo. It would be too long to trace here the causes of the dissension which sprung up between al-Malik al-Afdal and his brother (*al-Malik al-'Aziz*) we shall merely state that it terminated by his losing Damascus, which was besieged and taken from

1 See no. 389 and 328.

\* From 'made' to 'accomplishments' not in the autograph,—Ed.

him by his brother and his uncle al-Malik al-ʿĀdil<sup>1</sup>. He then removed to the city of Ṣarkhad, which they had granted him on his defeat, but he had resided there for a short time only, when his presence was required in Egypt, and that he might act as *atābek*<sup>2</sup> to the young prince al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad, who had succeeded to the government of that province on the death of his father al-Malik al-ʿAziz. He received this summons on the eve of Wednesday, the 29th of Ṣafar, A. H. 595 (January, A. D. 1199);\* *thirty-eight days* after his brother's death. On his arrival, he walked by the side of the horse, whenever his nephew rode out; but a short time after, al-Malik al-Afḍal was then presented by him with the gift of some cities in the eastern part of the empire, but on proceeding thither, he was unable to obtain possession of any other except Sumaysāṭ, where he spent the remainder of his life. One of the finest passages from al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍl's pen is contained in a letter written during these events; he says: "The fathers of this illustrious house lived in concord, and they reigned; but the sons were disunited, and they perished! It is thus that, when a star descends towards the west, no means exist of bringing it back to the east, and when a rent appears in a garment, it must end by being torn in pieces! How can fate be stopped in its progress, when its issue is predestined? What mortal can contend against an adversary who has God on his side?" Al-Malik al-Afḍal was a man of talent and information, a good penman, and gifted with a noble mind; he favoured the learned and showed them profound respect. Some verses composed by him are still preserved, and amongst the pieces attributed to him is the following, which he is said to have addressed to the Imām (*the khalif*) al-Nāṣir, complaining of his uncle al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (*Abū Bakr*) and his nephew al-Malik al-ʿAziz (*ʿUthmān*), who had deprived him of Damascus:

"My Lord! *Abū Bakr* and his companion *ʿUthmān* have wrested away the just rights of *ʿAlī* by the sword, And yet it was

1 The particulars will be found in M. Reinaud's *Extraits des auteurs arabes relatifs aux croisades*, page 378.

2 See No. 137.

\* 30 December A. C. 1198.—*Ed.*

he whom his father had appointed to rule over them ; and whilst he ruled, all things went right. But they opposed him and broke the pact which bound them ; their guilt is mutual, and the law is clear<sup>1</sup>. Observe how misfortune accompanies this name ; an 'Alī has experienced from those of modern times the same treatment which ( *the khalif* ) 'Alī received in days of old".

The answer which he received from the Imām al-Nāṣir commenced with these verses :

"Thy letter has arrived, O son of Yūsuf ! declaring such love ( *for us* ) as proves thy unsullied origin. They deprived 'Alī of his rights, because none remained in Yathrub ( *Madīnah* ) to assist him when the Prophet was no more. But rejoice ; a day of reckoning awaits them, and thy assister will be the Imām Assister ( *al-Nāṣir* )."

Al-Malik al-Afḍal was born at Coiro, A. H. 566—some say 565—on the afternoon of the ' *Īd al-Fiṭr* <sup>2</sup> ( June A. C. 1171 ),\* whilst his father was acting as Wazīr to the Egyptians. He died suddenly at Sumaysāṭ, in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 622 (Feb.-March, A. C. 1225). His body was borne to Aleppo and interred in the mausoleum which bears his name and lies outside the city near the Maṣḥhad, or funeral chapel, of al-Harawī<sup>3</sup>.—*Sumaysāṭ* is a fortress of Syria, situated on the Syrian side of the Euphrates between Qal'at al-Rūm and Malaṭīyah. It touches the confines of Asia Minor ( *Bilād al-Rūm* ).

1 The law is, that he who usurps the property of another is bound to make restitution.

2 The ' *Īd al-Fiṭr*, or Festival of the breaking of the Fast, is held on the first day of the month of Ṣhawwāl.

3 This may perhaps be the Mausoleum erected over the grave of the traveller al-Ḥarawī. See No. 434. Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm says, in his History of Aleppo, that al-Afḍal was buried beside his mother, in the *turbah*, or funeral chapel, south of the *Maqām*. A suburb called the Maqāmāt still exists close to Aleppo on the south-east side.

\* 7 June, 1171 or 13 June 1170.—*Ed.*

462 \* [ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ IBN AL-FURĀT<sup>1</sup>

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt acted three times as Wazīr to the Khalif al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh, the son of al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh. His first appointment was on the 8th of the first Rabi'—some say, the 23rd—A. H. 296 (December, A. C. 908)† and he remained in office till the 4th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 299 (July, A.C. 912)‡, when the Khalif arrested him and seized on all his riches with the property contained in his palace. From that time till he was reinstated, the produce of his estates (*to the public treasury*) amounted to seven millions of dinārs. It is said that he (*was the author of his own misfortune, having*) addressed a letter to the Arabs of the desert, inviting them to come and take Baghdād by surprise; but this accusation is by no means well established. His second appointment was on Monday, the 8th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A. H. 304 (June, A. C. 917),|| and, on this occasion, the Khalif arrayed him in seven pelisses of honour, and sent to his house three hundred thousand dirhams to (*be distributed amongst*) his pages, fifty mules to carry his baggage, twenty eunuchs, and furniture of all sorts. On that day, the quantity of wax-lights required for him was so great, that the price augmented by a carat of gold to each *mann*<sup>2</sup>; and, as the weather was excessively hot, forty thousand pounds weight of snow was used in cooling the liquors served to the company. He continued in place till Thursday, the 22nd of the first Jumādā,

---

1 This life is omitted in the autograph.

2 In Makkah the *qarāt* was the twenty-fourth part of the *dīnār*, or gold piece; but, in 'Irāq, it was the twentieth. The *dīnār* of that time may be valued at fourteen shillings, and the *qarāt* will be then equal to eight pence half penny. The *mann* is generally considered as equivalent to two pounds troy weight for which may be deduced that the price of wax-light augmented fourpence farthing a pound in consequence of the demand. This is by no means so great a rise in the price as the author would have us to suppose.

\* This full notice is omitted in the autograph.—*Ed.*

† 5 or 20 December.—*Ed.*

‡ 22 July.—*Ed.*

|| 2 June.—*Ed.*

A.H. 306 (October, A.C. 918)\*, when he was arrested and detained in prison; but was liberated on Thursday, the 23rd of the latter Rabi' A.H. 311 (August, A.C. 923)†, and again restored to his post. On the day of his release from confinement, he gave vent to his ill humour by exacting heavy sums from different persons, and he left free career to the rapacity and violence of his son Abu 'l-Muḥassin who immediately put to death Ḥāmid Ibn al-'Abbās, his father's predecessor in the Wazirship and indulged in his passion for bloodshed. On the 9th of the latter Rabi' A.H. 312 (July, A.H. 924),‡ the Khalif again caused Ibn al-Furāt to be arrested; but some say that this occurred on Tuesday, the 7th of the first Rabi'.§ He was then in possession of great wealth (upwards of ten millions of dīnārs), and his landed estates produced him a yearly revenue of one million of dīnārs, which sum he employed for his ordinary expenses. Abu Bakr al-Ṣulī, relates that, having one day recited to the Wazir a *qaṣidah* in his praise, he received from him six hundred dīnārs. Ibn al-Furāt was a *kātib*<sup>1</sup> of the highest capacity and information; the Khalif al-Mu'taḍid said (*some time after his accession*) to (*his Wazir*) 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān<sup>2</sup>: "I have received a kingdom in disorder, a country in ruin, and a treasury nearly empty; I therefore wish to be informed what may be the revenues of the state, so as to regulate the expenditure accordingly". 'Ubayd Allāh applied to a number of the *kātib*s for an answer to this demand, but they all required a month to draw one up. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt and his brother al-'Abbās, who were at that time out of place and detained in prison, received intelligence of what was going forward, and, in the space of two days, they drew up the

---

1 Throughout this article, the word *katib* denotes a person employed in the civil service.

2 See no. 9, note (on al-Ṭabarī), and vol. II, no. 438.

\* 29 October—*Ed*

† According to Eduard Mabler's calculation Thursday fell on 20 Rabi' al-'Akhar (7 August).—*Ed*.

‡ 15 July—*Ed*.

§ According to Mahler's calculation Tuesday fell on 9 Rabi' al-Awwal (15 June)—*Ed*.

answer and sent it in. As 'Ubayd Allāh knew that it would be impossible to conceal from the Khalif who were the authors of the document., he mentioned them to him with commendation, and they were taken into favour. Ibn al-Furāt had in his palace a room for the preparation of beverages (*ḥujrah shārāb*), to which persons of all classes sent their servant boys to bring home whatever sherbets, beer, and syrups they required. He pensioned five thousand persons chosen from among the learned, the pious, the persons of respectable family, and the poor; most of them received one hundred dinārs a month, and a few only five dinārs or intermediate sums. Al-Ṣūlī says: "And one meritorious part of his conduct, wherein no one had as yet set the example, was, that when papers were received by him containing accusations against any individual, one of his pages came into the ante-chamber and called out: 'Where is such a one, the informer (*meaning the author of the paper*)'? When people discovered this to be his regular custom, they abstained from all such secret accusations." One day, in a burst of anger, he ordered a hundred lashes of a whip to be inflicted on a man with whom he was displeased; he then sent word to give him fifty lashes only; and then he sent again to forbid the flogging and to give him twenty pieces of gold. This sum made the poor fellow amends for his fright. Al-Ṣūlī says that, on the Wazīr's recovery from an attack of sickness, he examined the letters and written applications which had accumulated during the interval, and (*in the sitting*) he perused one thousand letters and wrote his approval or negative on one thousand memorials. "We then said to each other", adds al-Ṣūlī: 'By Allah! let no one know of this, lest the evil eye of some jealous person light upon him'. I remarked", says the same narrator, "as a striking example of his courtly manners, that when he called for the Khalif's signet in order to seal any document, he stood up to receive it, denoting thereby his high respect for the Khalif's dignity. I saw him one day giving a public audience for the redress of grievances, and two men were in litigation about some shops in al-Karkh (*the suburb of Baghdād*), having come before him, he said to one of them: 'You presented me a memorial



concerning these very shopr in the year 282.<sup>1</sup> He then added : 'Yet you are too young to have been the person.' 'It was my father,' replied the man. 'That is it', said the Wazir, 'and I wrote my decision on his memorial.' When he went out, he felt much displeased if persons walked on foot before him to testify their respect : 'I do not require such a thing of my servants,' he would exclaim ; 'why then should I require it from free born men who are under no obligation to me ?' This Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt and his son al-Muḥassin were put to death by Nāzūk, the commander of the police guards, on Monday, the 13th of the latter Rabi', A. H. 312 (July, A. C. 924)\*. He was born on the 23rd of the latter Rabi', A. H. 241 (September, A. C. 855).† His son al-Muḥassin died at the age of thirty-three years. The following particularity is mentioned by the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād (*see no. 93*) "Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the son of Abū Bakr al-'Allāf, he who was so notorious for his immoderate appetite, recited to me the poems composed by his father on the cat (*see no. 164*), and told me that, by *the cat*, he meant al-Muḥassin ; not daring, during the disasters of the family, to lament his fate openly or pronounce his name." We shall here insert a most extraordinary anecdote : "Some time after al-Muḥassin's death, his wife wished to celebrate the circumcision of his son, and happening to see her husband in a dream, she mentioned to him that she should have such difficulty in providing for the expense of the ceremony ; on which he told her that he had deposited a sum of ten thousand dinārs in the hands of a person whom he named. When she awoke, she informed the family of the circumstance and they questioned the man, who acknowledged that he had the money, and brought it all to them immediately. Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt the brother of Abu 'l-Ḥasan, was the most elegant penman of the age, and surpassed them also by his learning in the sciences and general literature. It was on him that the poet al-Buḥturī composed the *qaṣīdah* which begins thus (6) :

1 This date is false, Ibn al-Furāt first exercised the functions of Wazir in the year 296, as has been already said.

2 See the *Diwān* of al-Buḥturī, MS. No. 1392, fol. 102, where this poem is given.

• 19 July—*Ed.*

† 10 September—*Ed.*

"I passed the night displaying a feeling (*of grief for thy absence*) and concealing a feeling (*of joy*) for the presence of thy image, sent me by thyself (*to console me in my dreams*)".

Abu 'l-'Abbās died on the eve of Saturday, the 15th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 291 (August, A. C. 904)\*. Another brother of his, Abu Khaṭṭāb Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad, was offered the place of Wazir, which, on his refusal, was given to his son Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Faḍl Ibn Ja'far, an able, *kātib* and generally known by the name of Ibn Ḥinzābah. His mother Ḥinzābah was a Greek slave. Al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh conferred the Wazirship on him, in A.H. 320, on Monday, the 20th of the latter Rabi' (May, A. C. 932)†; some say that he was invested with that dignity on the first of the month just mentioned. He remained in office till the 25th of Shawwāl, A. H. 320 (October, A. C. 932),‡ the day on which al-Muqtadir was murdered. Al-Qāhir bi-Allāh was then raised to the Khalifate, and as Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ibn Ḥinzābah had retired to a place of concealment, the Wazirship was conferred on Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muqlah the *kātib*. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ was afterwards nominated director-general of the government offices under the same Khalif. Al-Qāhir was deposed and blinded with a hot iron on Wednesday, the 6th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 322 (April, A. C. 934)§. His successor al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh, the son of al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh, conferred the government of Syria on Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ibn Ḥinzābah, who proceeded to his post, and was residing at Aleppo when the same Khalif chose him for wazir and signed the act of his nomination on Sunday, the 13th of Sha'bān, A. H. 325 (June, A. C. 937)|| A letter was then dispatched to him, by which he was directed to repair to the capital, and, on Thursday the 6th of Shawwāl, in the same year, he arrived at Baghdād. He remained there, however, but a short time, as he perceived that every thing was falling into confusion. Finding the Amīr Abū Bakr Muḥam-

\* According to Eduard Mahler's calculation Saturday fell on 5 and 12 Ramaḍān (21, 28 July)—*Ed.*

† 7 May—*Ed.*

‡ 24 October—*Ed.*

§ 23 April—*Ed.*

|| 25 June—*Ed.*

mad Ibn Rā'iq master of the city,<sup>1</sup> he had a conference with him and was induced to return to Syria by the promise that the revenues of that province and of Egypt would be paid into his hands. He arrived there on the 13th of the first Rabi', A. H. 326 (January, A. C. 938),\* and died at Ghazzah or at Ramlah. Letters were sent to Baghdad announcing this event, and in them it was stated that his death took place on Sunday, the 8th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 327 (March, A. C. 939).† He was born on the eve of Saturday, the 23rd of Sha'bān, A. H. 279 (November, A. C. 892).<sup>2†</sup> During his administration in Syria, all official documents were promulgated in his name. Of his son, Abu 'l-Faḍl, we have already spoken (*no.* 130), and given the dates of his birth and death. The facts contained in this article were extracted by me from different sources, such as the History of the Wazīrs by the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, the *'Uyūn al-Siyar* (*sources of history*), by Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Ḥamadānī,<sup>3</sup> and the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā* (*book of Wazīrs*) by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Fārisi. But none of those writers allude to the affair of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz, although it is closely connected with the history of Ibn al-Furāt; it is therefore necessary that some notice of this occurrence should be taken here; and, as the *Chronicle* of Abū Ja'far Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī surpasses all other historical works in the authenticity of its statements, we shall merely copy what that author says under the head of *Various Events in A. H.* 296: "The leaders (*of the troops and the kātibs* (*officers of the civil administration*)) met for the purpose of deposing the Khalif al-Muqtadir, and, a discussion arising as to whom they should put in his place, they agreed unanimously to fix their choice on 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz. After some contestation, he expressed his readiness to accede to their wishes, on condition that there should be neither bloodshed nor war. To this they

1 See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 324 *et. seq.*

2 Here, in the Arabic text, for عشرين read ثمانين .

3 See *no.* 167.

\* 18 January—*Ed.*

† 18 November—*Ed.*

replied that the sovereign power would pass into his hands without opposition, and that the soldiers, officers, and *kātib*s under their orders, were ready to acknowledge him. They then took the oath of fealty towards, him as *Khalif*. The persons at the head of this plot were Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn al-Jarrāḥ<sup>1</sup> and Abu 'l-Muḥannā Aḥmad Ibn Ya'qūb the qāḍī, the former of whom induced a number of the general-officers to employ violent measures against al-Muqtadir and al-'Abbās Ibn al-Ḥasan"—this last was then acting as Wazīr to the *Khalif*. "Al-'Abbās Ibn al-Ḥasan was himself engaged in the conspiracy and had gained over a number of the generals to this project of dethroning al-Muqtadir and taking the oath of allegiance to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz; and when he found that his influence over al-Muqtadir was sufficiently established, he judged it time to execute his design, but, at that moment, the other conspirators fell upon him and slew him." Al-Ṭabarī means to say that they slew the Wazīr. "The perpetrators of this act were al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ḥamdān and Waṣīf Ibn Ṣawārtikīn. This occurred on Saturday, the 19th of the first Rabi',\* and, on the next morning Sunday, the kātibs, generals, and qāḍis deposed al-Muqtadir at Baghdād and took the oath of fealty to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz, whom they then surnamed al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh (*the pleasing by God's favour*). The person who administered the oath to the generals in the name of Ibn al-Mu'tazz and called them forth successively, was Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id al-Azraq, kātib of the army (*secretary-general of the war department*). The same day, from morning till noon, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ḥamdān had to sustain an obstinate combat against the pages of the palace.<sup>2</sup> On the same day, the assembly convened by Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd for the purpose of taking the oath of fealty to Ibn al-Mu'tazz was dispersed by force. The manner in which this happened was, that the eunuch called Mūnis took

1 See No. 10, note on Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn al-Jarrāḥ.

2 The pages of the Muslim grandees were slaves bought at a very early age and educated as the children of the family. They were especially instructed in warlike exercises, and usually lodged together in a separate establishment, where they lived under a discipline partly conventual and partly military.

‡ 17 December A. C. 908—Ed.

some of the pages of the palace in *shadhawāts*. "This word, with the people (of *Baghdād*), signifies *botas*" and mounted the Tigris with them. As they passed the house in which Ibn al-Mu'tazz and Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd were, they raised an outcry against them and shot at them with arrows. The meeting was thus obliged to disperse; the soldiers, generals, and *kātib*s who were in the house took to flight, and Ibn al-Mu'tazz fled also. Some of those who had sworn him fidelity now went to al-Muqtadir, and made excuses for their conduct by stating that they had been forcibly prevented from joining him; others concealed themselves, but were sought after and put to death. The palaces belonging to Ibn Dāwūd were pillaged by the mob, and Ibn al-Mu'tazz was one of those made prisoners." Such is al-Ṭabarī's statement. We shall now give some facts which we have collected from various other sources: On that day, 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz had chosen Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd for Wazīr, and Abu 'l-Muthannā for qāḍī. On the failure of the enterprise, Ibn al-Mu'tazz was taken prisoner, and Ibn Dāwūd, who was one of the most accomplished men of his time and had composed a number of works, such as the *Kitāb al-Waraqah* (book of leaves), containing the lives of the poets, and the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā* (book of Wazīrs), retired to a place of concealment, and then discovered himself to Mūnis, the eunuch just mentioned; but Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Furāt was afraid of him and advised Mūnis to put him to death, which was done. His body was cast into a ditch near al-Māmūniyah;<sup>1</sup> but was afterwards carried home. He was executed in the latter Rabī' of that year; his birth took place in A. H. 243 (A. C. 857-8) on the very night in which Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī expired. Al-Muqtadir was then reinstated in his former authority, and, as Wazīr al-'Abbās Ibn al-Ḥasan had been put to death on the day mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, he raised Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Furāt on the vacant post. One of the first proofs which the new Wazīr gave of his generous character was this:

---

1 "The quarter of *Baghdād* called *al-Māmūniyah* is of great length and breadth, and extends from the canal (or river) al-Mu'alla معلي to the gate of al-Az'aj". (*Marāḥid al-Iṭṭilā'*).

Two large coffers were brought to him from the house of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, and he said to the bearers: "Do you know what is in them?" "Yes," they replied, "they contain lists of the names of such persons as took the oath of allegiance to him". "Open them not", he exclaimed; and then ordering a fire to be brought, he threw the coffers into it. When they were consumed, he said: "Had I opened them and read what was in them, I should have alienated from me the feelings of all the people, and given them cause of dreading me; but, by what I have done, their hearts will be calmed and their minds set at ease." We may state, as a circumstance connected with this biographical notice, that, when the Khalif al-Qāhir bi-Allāh was deposed and deprived of his sight, he was reduced to the necessity of going to the Mosque of al-Manṣūr at Baghdād and asking charity, mentioning at the same time who he was. On one of those occasions Ibn Abi Mūsā al-Hāshimī rose up and gave him one thousand pieces of silver. What a lesson is there for reflecting men! We have already given a notice on 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz (no. 316), the subject which we have been just treating rendered some repetition necessary. What follows was copied by us from the *Kitāb al-A'yān wa'l-Amāhīl* (*History of illustrious and remarkable men*) by the *ra'īs* Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hilāl Ibn al-Muḥassin al-Ṣābī<sup>1</sup>: "The anecdote which we here insert is given in the words of the *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās: A man who had been a long time out of employment, and had no means left for his support, forged a letter in the name of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt and addressed to Ibn Zambūr al-Māridānī<sup>2</sup>, the *'āmil* of Egypt, and strongly recommending the

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rustam al-Māridānī, generally known by the name of Ibn Zambūr (not Abū Zambūr, as the manuscripts have throughout this article), was a *kātib* of great abilities, and had been employed by the Ṭūlūn family. He was afterwards presented by the Khalif al Muqtadir to Ibn-Furāt that his talents might be put to the proof, and this examination procured him the post of collector of the land-tax in Egypt. Having incurred at a later period the displeasure of the Khalif, he was summoned to Baghdād and fined in the sum of three million six hundred thousand pieces of gold. He then returned to Egypt with Mūnis the eunuch, and he died at Damascus,

(Continued on page 432)

bearer to him, and requesting that he should be treated with the utmost favour and kindness. On arriving at Old Cairo, he presented this letter to Ibn Zanbūr, who conceived some doubts on the subject, as he perceived that the address was not drawn up in the usual form,<sup>1</sup> and that the complimentary salutation was longer than that to which his rank entitled him. He therefore gave directions that the man should be closely watched, and, having made him a small present, he detained him in the house with fair promises. He then wrote to Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt, stating that he had received a letter, which he enclosed, and requesting its authenticity to be confirmed. Ibn al-Furāt read the forged letter, and found in it that the bearer, mentioning his name, was a person of high respectability, to whom the writer had deep obligations, with other similar expressions usually employed in filling up letters of the kind. He then passed it to his *kātibs*, and informed them of the whole circumstance, expressing at the same time his astonishment at the man's audacity, and asking what was to be done with him. Some of them replied that he deserved to be flogged or imprisoned; others, that his thumb should be cut off, so as to prevent him from again committing such a crime, and discourage others from imitating him in matters of more importance. The opinion of those who were the most indulgent was, that Ibn Zanbūr should be informed of the circumstance, and receive orders to expel the fellow and frustrate his expectations. On this Ibn al-Furāt replied: 'How far removed you are from nobleness and goodness! how repulsive are such qualities to your nature! Here is a man who employs our mediation and endures the fatigues of a journey to Egypt, in hopes of furthering his welfare through our influence and of procuring through the favour of Almighty God, some advantage from himself by stating that he is connected with us; yet, according to the

---

(Continued from page 431)

A. H. 314 (A. C. 926-7). He taught some Traditions on the authority of Abū Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭār, and his own authority as a traditionist was cited by al-Dāraqutnī. (*Al-Nufūm*).

1 Here, in the Arabic text, I should prefer *عن* to *على*, but the manuscripts give the latter reading.

most indulgent among you, this man is to receive no better treatment than to have his favourable opinion of ourselves believed, and his efforts terminated in disappointment! By Allāh! that shall never be!' He then took a pen out of his ink-bottle and wrote these words on the forged letter: 'This is my letter, and I know not how you could have suspected the bearer or disappointed him; you cannot know all the persons who have served us or placed us under obligations. This man has rendered us services in the days of our disgrace, and what we consider a meet recompense for his deserts would far surpass that which we have granted him in recommending him to your patronage; aid him therefore in his pursuit, make him an ample donation and employ him in some lucrative occupation, so that he may return to us with (*a fortune*) sufficient to prove that his expectations were just and his reception honourable.' On that very day, he sent off the letter to Ibn Zanjūr. A great length of time then elapsed when, one day, a man of respectable appearance and elegantly dressed came into the presence of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt, and, going up to him, offered up prayers for his welfare and extolled his virtues; he then burst into tears and kissed the ground before him. 'God's blessing be on thee! exclaimed Ibn al-Furāt, 'who art thou?' 'I am the author of the forged letter addressed to Ibn Zanjūr, and which was authenticated by thy generosity and kindness; may God reward thee!' Ibn al-Furāt smiled and said: 'How much didst thou gain by him?' 'The sum which I received from him and the subscriptions which he obtained for me from the agents and other persons under his jurisdiction, joined to the employment which he gave me, have produced me twenty thousand pieces of gold.' 'Praise be to God!' replied Ibn al-Furāt; attach thyself to our person, and we shall place thee in the situation whereby thy fortune be increased still more'. He then put his talents to the proof, and finding him an able *kātib*, he admitted into his service, and thus enabled him to acquire great wealth."]

1 In place of *شديدا* I am certain that we must read *سديدا*. It is true that the manuscripts give the former reading, but here, as in other places of this notice, they are evidently in the wrong.



## 463 'ALĪ BIN YŪNUS THE ASTRONOMER.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī Sa'īd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yūnus Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣadafī,<sup>1</sup> a native of Egypt and a celebrated astronomer, is the author of the *al-Zīj al-Ḥākīmī* (the *Hakimite tables*), called also *Zīj Ibn Yūnus*, a large work, of which I have seen a copy in four volumes.<sup>2</sup> In this treatise he amply discusses the subject and indicates the application of the rules which are there given, whilst its correctness testifies the great care with which it was drawn up. I have seen many works containing astronomical tables, but never met with one so full as this. The author states that the person by whose orders he commenced it was al-'Aziz, the father of al-Ḥākīm and sovereign of Egypt: \* [He made astronomy his particular study, but he was well versed in other sciences and displayed an eminent talent for poetry. His work is so highly esteemed for correctness, that, like the *Zīj* of Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Mansūr<sup>3</sup>, it is taken by the people of Egypt as their standard authority in calculating the position of the heavenly bodies. *His moral character was so well established that* in the

---

1 See no. 343.

2 An Analysis of the first volume of this work has been published, by M. Caussin pere, in the seventh volume of the *Notices et Extraits*. He has inserted therein the lives of Ibn Yūnus, of his father 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Egyptian historian, and his great-grandfather Yūnus Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā; all extracted from Ibn Kḥallikān's work and translated by himself. Some of the passages in these texts are incorrectly given and others wrongly rendered.

3 Read ابن ابی منصور. Yaḥyā Abī Manūr al-Māmūnī (*client of the Khalīf al-Māmūn*), an astronomer of great talent, acquired by his skill a high rank in the favour of the Khalīf al-Māmūn, and when that sovereign decided that observations should be made on the stars, he charged Yaḥyā and some others with the task, and directed them to ameliorate their instruments. They in consequence made observations at as-Ṣammāsiyah, near Baḡhdād, and Mount Qāsiyūn, near Damascus, in the year 215 (A. C. 830), 216, and 217, but the death of al-Māmūn in 218, put a stop to their operations. Yaḥyā died in the land of the Greeks (*Bilād al-Rūm, or Asia Minor*). He is the author of the astronomical tables called *al-Zā'ij al-Mumtaḥin*, and a work apparently astrological, entitled *Kitāb-al-'Amal* (كتاب العمل). (*Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*).

\* From 'He' to 'sight' not in the autograph; and he will be noticed in the letter 'n' omitted by de slane—Ed.

month of the first Jumādā, A. H. 380 (Jul.--Aug., A. C. 990), the qādī\* Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān<sup>1</sup> appointed him to act as 'qadi'<sup>2</sup>. He left an only son, whose stupidity was so great<sup>3</sup> that he sold to the soapmakers all of his father's books and works at so much a pound. 'Alī Ibn Yūnus spent his life in making astronomical observations and calculating nativities<sup>4</sup> wherein he displayed unequalled skill; he would even make long stations in order to get an observation of a star. The Amīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbiḥi says: "I was told by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarānī, the astronomer, that he went up with Ibn Yūnus to Mount Muqattam and made a station there, with the intention of taking an observation of the planet Venus; and that, on arriving he took off his cloak and turban, which he replaced by a woman's gown and

1 See no. 122, note on Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān.

2 The 'adl (justice) is an officer exercising, with the authorisation of the qādī, the functions of witness to the bonds, deeds, and contracts entered into by individuals; they put their seal to these documents, and when a litigation arises afterwards between the contracting parties, their testimony is required. In all the large cities the 'adls have offices where they receive persons making contracts; and serve as witness to the whole proceeding, whether it be a verbal or written agreement. In the last case, it is the 'adl who draws up the deed. To be eligible to these functions a man must not only be well acquainted with the laws relative to conventions and obligations, and capable of writing them out in proper form, but he must also bear a high character for integrity, and be exempt even from the suspicion of corruption. It is one of the qādī's duties to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of these functionaries. The office of 'adl was established by Muḥammad himself; We read in the *Qur'an*, sūrat 2, verse 232: "O true believers! when you bind yourselves one to the other in a debt for a certain time, write it down, and let a writer write between you according to justice ('adl); and let not the writer refuse writing according to what God hath taught him."

3 This passage exists no longer in the autograph; it was certain on a fly-leaf, which has fallen out. Here, for <sup>مختل</sup>, I have not hesitation in reading <sup>مختل</sup>.

4 It must be recollected that, with the Muslims, astronomy and astrology are synonymous. Their most learned astronomers were also their most skilful astrologers. They felt, probably, that truth could not make its way unless protected by falsehood.

\* The Cairo edition adds [Abū 'Abd Allāh] on the authority of one manuscript.

hood, both of a red colour ; he then produced a guitar, on which he commenced playing; whilst he kept perfumes burning before him : It was, says he, an astounding sight" ! ] The same writer says, in his History of Egypt : "Ibn Yūnus was a careless and absent man ; he would wind his turban-cloth round a high-peaked cap and place his cloak over that ; he was himself very tall, and when he rode out, the people used to laugh at him for his odd figure, his shabby appearance, and tattered dress. But, notwithstanding the strangeness of his aspect, he was singularly fortunate in his astrological predicions, and therein remaned without a rival." He was versed in a great variety of sciences, and played on the guitar, but merely as an amateur. The following is a passage from his poetry :

"When the breeze begins to blow, I charge it with a message from a passionate lover to the presence of his beloved. I would sacrifice my life for her, whose aspect gives life to our souls and whose presence perfumes and rejoices the world. I swear that since her departure, I left my wine-cup untouched ; it was absent from me, because she was absent. And what renews my passion is her image appearing in my dreams, approaching at midnight, unseen by jealous spies!"

He composed a great quantity of poetry. We have already spoken of his father ( *no.* 343 ), and we shall give a notice on his ( *great* ) grandfather in the letter Y. It is related that at one of al-Hākīm al-'Ubaydi the ( *Faṭimite* ) sovereign of Egypt's private parties, mention was made of Ibn Yūnus and his absence of mind, on which this prince mentioned the following circumstance : "He came into my presence one day with his heavy shoes in his hand, and after kissing the ground, he sat down and placed them by his side ; I saw both of them and him, for he was quite near me ; and when he thought of retiring, he kissed the ground, brought

---

1 See Introduction to 1st Vol. M. Caussin has given these verses in his notice, but imagines that the last related to some star or planet which was long watched for, but did not appear. It seems to me, however, that neither the grammatical construction of the verse nor the genius of Arabic poetry will allow this interpretation.

forward his shoes, put them on, and withdrew."<sup>1</sup> This anecdote seems given in a proof of his inattention and carelessness. Al-Musabbihī says that he died suddenly on Monday morning, the 3rd of *Shawwāl*, A. H. 399 (June A. C. 1009)\*. The funeral service was said over him in the principal mosque of Old Cairo by the qāḍī Mālik Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Tawwāb, and he was buried in his own dwelling, situated in the quarter inhabited by the furriers.

#### 464 'UMARAT AL-YAMĀNĪ THE JURISCONSULT.

The Jurisconsult (*al-faqīh*) Abū Muḥammad<sup>2</sup> 'Umārat Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Raydān Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥakamī al-Yamanī, surnamed Najm al-Dīn (*star of religion*) bore a high reputation as a poet. I extracted the following particulars from one of his works. He drew his descent from Qaḥṭān through al-Ḥakam Ibn Sa'd al-'Ashīrah<sup>3</sup> of the tribe of Maḍhij, and was an inhabitant of a city situated in the province of Tihāmah in Yaman, and called Maṭṭān; it lies in the valley of Wasā' at eleven days' distance south of Makkah. This was the place of his birth and early youth. He attained the age of puberty in A. H. 529 (A. C. 1134-5), and, two years after, he proceeded to Zabīd, where he took up his residence and studied jurisprudence during four years in one of the colleges (*which existed*) there. In A. H. 549 (A. C. 1145-5), he made the pilgrimage, and was dispatched by Qāsim Ibn Hāshim Ibn Falitah<sup>4</sup> the sovereign of Makkah, as his envoy to Egypt.

1 Common politeness required that the shoes should have been left outside the door.

2 'Imād al-Dīn gives him the surname of Abū Ḥamzah.

3 See No. 49.

4 Ibn Khallikān has fallen into a mistake. This Amīr's name was Qāsim Ibn Abi Falitah. He became sovereign of Makkah on the death of his father Abū Falitah in A. H. 527 (A. C. 1132-3), and was murdered in A. H. 556 (A. D. 1161) by an assassin (*ḥaḡhishīyah*) who, according to common report, had been employed by al-'Āḍid, the sovereign of Egypt, to commit that deed.-- (Ibn Khaldūn; No. 2402 C, fol. 45 verso!).

\* 30 May; not June vide Mahler's Almanac—Ed.

He entered the country in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 550 (May, A. C. 1155) ; the reigning sovereign at that time was al-Fā'iz, the son of al-Zāfir, who had for Wazīr al-Šālih Ibn Ruzzik (no. 283). On his first presentation, he recited in the presence of both, his celebrated *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *m*, which we here give :

"Now, that my resolves are accomplished and my anxiety is past, let praises be given to the camels for the services they rendered. I shall not deny their right to my gratitude, and I reserve for them a recompense which will cause the *ōridles* (*of horses*) to envy the honour conferred on the halters (*of camels*). They brought the glorious term of a distant journey within my sight, so that I beheld the Imām of the nations in this age. They went forth at eve from the *Ka'bah* of al-Baṭḥā and the Ḥaram, to visit the *Ka'bah* of generosity and nobleness. Did the temple know, that on leaving it, I should only pass from one ḥaram (*sanctuary*) to another ?<sup>1</sup> They journeyed to the spot where the pavilion of the Khalīfate is reared aloft between the opposite qualities of mildness and severity. There the rank of *Imām* shines with holy light, to dissipate the hateful mists of ignorance and tyranny. There the prophetic spirit (*of Muḥammad still survives and*) shows us sign, declaring the two great truths of justice and wisdom.<sup>2</sup> There stand the trophies of noble deeds, to teach us how to praise the double grandeur of might and generosity. There the tongues of glorious exploits extol the double merit of manly acts and generous feelings. There the triumphant standard of true nobility is borne on high by the two lofty (*feelings*) of honour and just ambition. Confident of obtaining salvation and the reward of my sincerity in this oath, I swear by al-Fā'iz the pure, that he has protected religion, the world, mankind ! aided by his Wazīr al-Šālih, the dispeller of affliction, him who wears a raiment of honour woven by these skillful artisans, the swords and the pen. In his existence the times find that lustre which they wanted ; and through his beneficence, they who complained of want have disappeared.

1 See No. 6, note on Baṭḥā.

2 In this verse for *باس* read *حكم* .

His noble deeds have given him an empire which might furnish to the very Pleiads a prouder exaltation than their own. I see here such majestic dignity, that though awake, the aspect seems to me a dream. This is a day of my life which never entered into my hopes and to which my most ardent wishes never aspired. O that the stars would draw near to me ! I should form with them a necklace of eulogium ; for, in praising you, I deem words insufficient. Here also the wazirate offers<sup>1</sup> to the Khalifate its loyal counsels on which no suspicion was ever cast. I behold those marks of attachment which teach us that they are bound together, not by ties of blood, but by mutual esteem. A Khalif and his Wazir, whose justice extends a protecting shade over Islamism and the nations. Compared with their generosity, the Nile's increase is but a diminished stream ; and might not even the copious rains be considered as vanquished ?"

This *qaṣīdah* was highly admired by them, and procured a large donation for the author. He remained in Egypt, in the enjoyment of ease and honours, till the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 550 (December, A. C. 1155), when he returned to Makkah, and, in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 551 (April, A. C. 1156), he proceeded from thence to Zabīd. That same year he made the pilgrimage, and was again sent as an envoy to Egypt by Qāsim, the sovereign of Makkah. He then settled at Cairo and never left it after. I have read, however, in the work designed by him as a history of Yaman, that he left his native place in the month of Shā'bān, A. H. 552. He belonged to the Shafite sect, and was zealously attached to the doctrines of the *Sunnah* ; as an accomplished scholar and a poet his talents were pre-eminent, and in society his conversation was most instructive. The Wazir as-Ṣāliḥ, his sons, and the rest of the family treated him with the very utmost favour, and although their religious opinions differed from his, they made him their constant companion on account of his social qualities. He composed a great number of eulogiums on al-Ṣāliḥ and his sons. We have already mentioned something of him in the lives of Shāwar and al-Ṣāliḥ ( No. 265 and No. 288 ), where

---

1 I read ألقى in the autograph.

we have noticed also the elegy which he wrote on the death of that Wazīr. A close intimacy subsisted between him and al-Kāmil, the son of Shāwar, but it was broken off by the latter when his father was raised to the Wazīrate. On this occasion, the poet addressed to him the following lines :

"If fortune leave thee not in peace, make war against her ; and if your nearest friends serve thee not, remove to afar. Despite not the wiles of the feeble ; serpents have been sometimes killed by the envenomed sting of the scorpion. In days of old, a hoopoe shook the throne of Bilqīs,<sup>1</sup> and, before that, a rat destroyed the dike of Mārib.<sup>2</sup> Since life is the most precious of our riches, spend it not without necessity. The vicissitudes of night and day form a field of battle where the troops of misfortune assail us in unwonted ways. The faithlessness of youth afflicts me not ; I am accusstomed to this defect in all my companions. The young man's deceit lies in his promises and their fulfilment, and that of the sword is when its edge rebounds harmless of the foe".

In this poem is contained the following passage :

"Since my mouth is the mine from which those jewels are taken, preserve it from kissing the hands of charitable. I have seen men banquetting at thy house, whilst I had no other companions but the mourners. I withdrew when your excellency preferred them to me ; the lion scorns to let the foxes precede him. Tell me how they fill the place which I once held as thy preferred lieutenant ? Those were the nights in which I sung your praises to the company, who listened in respectful silence, and nodded their approbation".<sup>3</sup>

On the fall of the (*Fāṭimite*) dynasty and the establishment of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's authority, 'Umārah, who was still in the country, composed some poems in honour of that prince and of other members of the (*Ayyūbite*) family, all of which are still to be found in the collection of his poetical works. He

1 See *Qur'ān*, *sūrat* 27, and the notes of Sale in his translation.

2 See M. De Sacy's *Memoire sur divers evenements de l'histoire des Arabes avant Mahmoet*, in the *Memoires de l'Academic des Inscriptions*, tom. 48.

3 Literally : Their talk was a sign of the eyebrow.

addressed to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn also a *qaṣīdah*, wherein he painted his situation and the misery to which he had been reduced. This piece, which he entitled : *Shikāyat al-Mutaḏallim wa Nikāyat al-Muta'allim* (complaint of the oppressed and pains of the afflicted) is embellished with all the graces of composition. He wrote also a long poem, rhyming in *l*, wherein he deplores the fate of the *People of the Palace* (the *Fāṣimite* family) on the ruin of their power ; like most of his pieces, it is beautifully written. He then embarked in some proceedings connected with a conspiracy got up by eight of the principal officers of the cit., who, being devoted partisans of the Egyptians (the *Fāṣimite*s), had conceived the design of restoring them to the throne. But the Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn discovered the plot and had them all strangled, including the jurisconsult. This execution took place at Cairo on Saturday, 2nd of Ramaḏān, A.H. 569 (April, A. C. 1174) ; \* they had been arrested on Sunday, the 26th of *Shā'bān* of that year. 'Umārat al-Yamānī left a number of works, and, amongst them, a history of Yaman furnishing much important information, and a treatise called *al-Nukat al-'Aṣriyah fī 'l-Akhlāq al-Wuzarā al-Miṣrīyah* (contemporary anecdotes respecting the Wazīrs of Egypt).<sup>1</sup> The *kāthib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣpāhānī says of him in the *Kharīdah* ! "His body was exposed on a cross with those of the other persons who had been accused plotting against him" meaning against the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and of inviting the Franks (the *crusaders*) by letter to come and assist in placing the son of al-'Āḏid on the throne.. But they had received among them a man belonging to the army, who was not a native of Egypt, and this person went to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and informed him of what was going on. The prince had them brought before him, and they sought not to deny the accusation, neither did they consider their conduct as a thing to be denied ; he therefore cut short the path of 'Umārah's life and replaced his flourishing existence by destruction. This affair was marked by some peculiar circum-

1 A copy of this work, apparently corrected by the author, is in the *Bib. du Roi*, ancient fonds No 810. He has inserted in it a number of his own poems, and he gives an account of his intercourse with the Wazīrs *Shāwar* and al-Ṣāliḥ.

\* 6 April—Ed.



tances; the first, that he was accused of composing a *qaṣīdah* which contained this verse :

'This religion (*Islāmism*) took its origin with a man who aspired to be called the lord of nations'.

"It is impossible that this verse was attributed to him falsely, but nevertheless the jurisconsults of Egypt declared that he merited death, and they turned Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to make an example of him. The second, that he was engaged in an affair in which failure is never pardoned, neither is any respect shown to a literary man, were he even the star of learning in the heavens of poetry and prose.<sup>1</sup> The third, that he had satirised an *amīr* who counted this as one of his crimes; so destruction came upon him whilst in the midst of his sins". Towards the end of the same article, he says : "A strange thing it was that 'Umārah, who had refused to attach himself to the doctrines of these people (*the Fāṭimites*) when they yet held their station, should have been so completely blinded by fate as to wish to take their part and restore them to power; an undertaking which cost him his life". Here the writer alludes to some verses which were addressed by al-Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ruzzik to 'Umārah, pressing him to become a *Shī'ite*. They are given by 'Imād al-Dīn in the same page where he makes this observation<sup>2</sup>. *Madhḥijī* means *descended from Madhḥij* : the real name of Madhḥij was Mālik, the son of Udud Ibn Yaṣḥjub; he was so denominated because he was born at a red hill in Yaman called Madhḥij, but other reasons have also been given.

#### 465 'UMAR IBN ABĪ RABĪ'AH.

Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Rabī'ah Ibn al-Mughayrah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn Maḥzūm Ibn

1 As the style of 'Imād al-Dīn is more remarkable for sounding phrases than for sense, it cannot be expected that he should be more intelligible in English than in Arabic.

2 See MS. No. 1444, for 261 verso. Al-Ṣāliḥ offered him a large sum to induce him to become a *Shī'ite*.

Yaqazah Ibn Murrah al-Makhzūmī, the best poet ever produced by the tribe of Quraysh, is celebrated for his amatory pieces, repartees, adventures, and disorderly life; of these, some stories are told which are well known.<sup>1</sup> The person whom he courted in his verses was al-Thurayyā, the daughter of 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥarith Ibn Umayyah al-Aṣghar (*the less*)<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn 'Abd Manāf, a member of the Omayyide family. Al-Suhayli says, in his *al-Rawḍ al-Unuf*<sup>3</sup> that she was the daughter of 'Abd Allāh, without mentioning 'Alī; he then adds: "Qutaylah, the daughter of al-Naḍr, was her grandmother, being the wife of al-Ḥarith Ibn Umayyah and mother of 'Abd Allāh, the father of al-Thurayyā". This Qutaylah was the same who, after the battle of Badr, recited to the Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup> the verses rhyming in *k* when he had put to death her father al-Naḍr Ibn al-Ḥarith Ibn 'Alqamah Ibn Kaladah Ibn 'Abd Manāf Ibn 'Abd al-Dār Ibn Quṣayyi, surnamed al-'Abdarī (*after his ancestor 'Abd al-Dār*). Some say that al-Naḍr was her brother. Amongst the verses which she recited were these:

"O Muḥammad, son of the noblest of her race by a generous sire! it had not harmed thee to pardon; the hero, though roused to anger, sometimes pardons. Al-Naḍr would have been thy best mediator, hadst thou left him (*alive*); and he was the worthiest of liberty, were captives to be set free."

On this the Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup> said: "Had I heard her verses before I put him to death, I should not have done so". This al-Naḍr bore a violent enmity to the Prophet<sup>ﷺ</sup>, but, being made prisoner at the battle of Badr and taken to Madīnah, Muḥammad<sup>ﷺ</sup> ordered 'Alī the son of Abū Ṭālib, or according to another account, al-Miqdād Ibn al-Aswad, to execute him. He was put to death in cold blood, and in Muḥammad's presence, at al-Ṣafrā, a place

1 See Kosegarten's *Alli Ispahanensis Liber Cantilenarum*, towards the beginning of the work.

2 This Umayyah was designated as the *less*, to distinguish him from a brother of the same name; It was from the latter that the Omayyides drew their descent.—(See Ibn Khaldūn MS. No. 3003, 2, fol. 127, and Eichhorn's *Monumenta*, pp. 85, 86.)

3 See No. 346.

between Madīnah and Badr. Al-Thurayyā was renowned for her beauty, and became the wife of Suhayl Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Awf al-Zuhri, by whom she was taken to Egypt. It was on this occasion that 'Umar Ibn Abi Rabi'ah composed the following verses in allusion to the well-known stars Suhayl (*Canopus*) and al-Thurayyā (*the Pleiads*), and which have since become proverbial:

"O thou who joinest in marriage al-Thurayyā and Suhayl, tell me, I pray Thee, how can they ever meet? The former rises in the north-east, and the latter in the south-east!"

It was from this al-Thurayyā and her sister 'Āyishah that al-Gharidh, the celebrated singer<sup>1</sup> and the *ṣāhib* of Ma'bad<sup>2</sup> received

1 Le véritable nom de ce chanteur était Abdelmelik; le sobriquet de Gharidh lui avait été donné à cause de la fraîcheur de son teint. II était affranchi des sœurs Coraychites appelées collectivement *El-abalat* العيلات et qui étaient 'Hourayya amante d'Omar-ibn-abi-rabia, Roudhayya روضيا, Courayba قريبة et Oumm-Othmān, filles d'Abdullah, fils de Harith, fils d'Ommeyya-el-Asghar. Gharidh était Mekkois; d'abord tailleur, puis serviteur d'Ibn Souraydj, chez lequel ses maîtresses l'avaient placé. II apprit les airs d'Ibn Souraydj qui en fut jaloux et l'éloigna de lui. Gharidh devint son rival et l'égal dans le chant des complaintes funèbres نوح, ce qui porta Ibn Souraydj à abandonner ce genre. Le prénom de Gharidh était Abouyezid; II était non seulement chanteur très-distingué, mais encore bon compositeur et instrumentiste habile. II jouait du luth et du tambour de basque. II avait en outre une figure charmante et un esprit des plus agréables. Nafi, fils d'Al-cama, étant gouverneur de la Mekke pour le calife Welid, fils d'Abdelmelik. Gharidh, par crainte de cet officier, qui était animé contre lui de sentiments très-malveillants, quitta la Mekke et se réfugia dans le Yemen. II y passa quelque temps et y mourut, sous le califat de Souleyman, fils d'AbdelMelik. (A. Caussin de Perceval).

2 The word *ṣāhib* signifies *friend, companion, master, pupil*. Its meaning here is doubtful, as may be seen by the following note:—Gharidh n'a été ni le maître ni l'élève de Mabad. II ne paraît pas non plus qu'il ait été son ami. L'expression الغريض صاحب مباد pourrait signifier *Gharidh rival de Mabad*, mais il semble que ce serait faire trop d'honneur à Gharidh, qui est généralement regardé comme très-inférieur à Mabad. Peut-être le sens de cette expression est-il simplement *Gharidh eut une aventure avec Mabad*. Je n'ai recueilli qu'une seule anecdote dans laquelle Gharidh figure avec Mabad. On la trouvera dans la courte notice qui suit:

(Continued on page 445)

his liberty. The real name of al-Gharid was 'Abd al-Malik and his surname Abu Zayd; al-Gharid and al-Ighrid are names given

(Continued from page 444)

Abou Abbad Mabel, fils de Wahb, d'autres disent de Corr, Medinois, chanteur et compositeur fameux, etait, suivant les uns, affranchi de Moawia, fils d'Abou Sofyan; suivant les autres, affranchi de la famille de Wabissa, branche des Benou Makhzoum. Son Pere etait noir, lui-meme etait mulatre, grand de taille et louche. Sa voix etait superbe, il possedait a fond l'art musical. C'etait le prince des chanteurs de Medine. Il etait eleve des Saib Kbathir *سايب خاثر*, de Dejemile, et de Cachit le Persien *قشيط الفارسي*, affranchi d' Abdallah, fils de Djafar. Un poete a dit de Mabel :

اجاد طويس و انسرجي بعده وما قصبات السبق الالمعد

"Thouways et apres lui Ibn Suraydj ont ete d'habiles artistes, mais la palme du talent appartient a Mabel."

On raconte qu'Ibn Souraydj et Gharidh, qui tous deux avaient une grande reputation a la Mekke, se mirent un jour en route pour Medine, dans l'intention d'y montrer leur talent de chanteurs, et d'y recueillir les dons des amateurs de musique. En arrivant au lieu appele *le lavoir* *المغسل*, ils virent un jeune homme portant a la main un filet pour la chasse aux oiseaux, qui passa devant eux en chantant les vers de' Abu Catifa :

"Le chateau, les palmiers et le terroir de Djemma qui les separe, sont plus agreable a mon coeur que les portes de Dijroun," etc.

Surpris de la beaute de l'air et du charme de la voix du jeune homme, ils l'accosterent et le prierent de repeter sa chanson. Mabel, car c'etait lui, les satisfit, et continua son chemin. Ibn Suraydj et Gharidh resterent stupefaits. "Que dis tu de cela?" demanda Gharidh a son compagnon.—"Si un jeune chasseur de Medine, repondit Ibn Suraydj, a pu nous frapper ainsi d'etonnement, que devons-nous attendre des artistes de cette ville? Pour moi, je retourne a la Mekke."—"Et moi aussi," ajouta Gharidh. En effet, tous deux reprirent le chemin de la Mekke. Pendant la premiere moitie de la carriere de Mabel, son temoignage etait demis en justice a Medine, malgre sa profession de chanteur, a cause de la regularite de sa conduite. Mais lorsqu'il eut ete a la cour du calife Wailid fils de Yazid, et que faisant partie de la societe de ce prince, il se fut rendu le compagnon des ses plaisirs, son temoignage ne fut plus recu. Frappe d'une hemiplegie quelque temps avant sa mort, Mabel avait perdu la voix. Il mourut a Damas sous le regne de Welid fils de Yezid, dans le palais meme de ce calife. Lorsqu'on emporta son cercueil, Sellaman el-Coss, chanteuse esclave du defunt calife Yezid, tenait un brancard et chantait ces vers d' El-Ahwas sur un air que Mabel lui avait enseigne lui-meme.

قد لعمرى بت ليلي كفى الداء الوجيع

(Continued on page 446)

to the flower-bud of the date-tree. And he was so called for his fair complexion or for its freshness. The following verses are by 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabi'ah :

"Greet the image of my beloved, come to visit me when slumber prostrated the nocturnal conversers. It approached, in a dream, under the shades of night ; being unwilling to visit me by day I exclaimed : 'Why am I treated so cruelly ? Before this, I used to hear her and see her.' The vision replied : 'I am as thou hast known me, but the favour thou demandest is too precious to be granted'".

He was born on the night in which 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was murdered ; this was the eve of Wednesday, the 25th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A. H. 23 (November, A. C. 640).<sup>\*</sup> He lost his life in A. H. 93 (A. D. 711-2), at the age of seventy ; being then embarked on a naval expedition against the infidels, in which they destroyed his ship by fire. Al-Haytham Ibn 'Adī states that he died A. H. 93, aged eighty years. His father 'Abd Allāh lost his life in Sijistān, A. H. 78 (A. C. 697-8)<sup>2</sup>. When it was mentioned in the presence of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī ( *no. 150* ), that 'Umar Ibn Rabi'ah came into the world on the night in which 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb fell by the hand of a murderer, he exclaimed : "What worth was removed from the world on that night, and what worthlessness was brought into it !" The poet's grandfather, Abū Rabi'ah, bore the surname of *Dhu 'l-Rumḥayn* ( *the bearer of the two lances* ); his real name was 'Umar or Ḥudhayfah, but some say that he had

(Continued from page 445)

"J'ai passé la nuit dans la souffrance," etc.

Le calife Welid et son frère Et-Ghamr, vetus seulement d'une tunique et d'un manteau, marchaint devant le cercueil et le precederent ainsi jusqu'a ce qu'il fut sorti du palais —(A. Caussin de Perceval).

1 Literally : The necklace takes up the wearer too much for it to be lent ; *i.e.* the wearer is too fond of the necklace to lend it. This proverbial expression is quoted by al-Maydānī. See professor Freytag's *Meldant Proverbia*, tom. I p. 682.

2 The Arabs made an expedition into *Khurāsān* that year. See Price's *Retrospect*, Vol. I p. 454.

\* The date should be 26 corresponding to 3 November not 25 since four days should be subtracted from 30 and the remainder is 26.—Ed.

only a surname. His father 'Abd Allāh was the uterine brother of Abū Jahl Ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī<sup>1</sup>; their mother's name was Asmā, the daughter of Mukharribah<sup>2</sup>, of the tribe of Makhzūm, or, by another account, of the tribe of Nahshal; 'Abd Allāh and Abū Jahl were also cousins, their fathers, Abū Rabī'ah and Hishām, being the sons of al-Maghayrah Ibn 'Abd Allāh.

#### 466 'UMAR IBN SHABBAH.

Abū Zayd 'Umar Ibn Shabbah Ibn 'Abīdah Ibn Zayd al-Numayrī, a man of extensive information and a transmitter of historical relations, anecdotes, and pieces of verse, was a native of Baṣrah. Shabbah was merely the surname of his father, whose real name was Zayd; some also say that his great-grandfather was called Rāyīṭah<sup>3</sup>, not Zayd. 'Umar Ibn Shabbah composed a history of Baṣrah. He taught *Qur'ān* reading with the authorisation of his master Jabalah Ibn Mālik, who had himself been authorised to teach by al-Mufaḍḍal<sup>4</sup>, who had received his own licence from 'Āṣim Ibn Abī 'l-Najūd<sup>5</sup>. He attended the lectures wherein Maḥbūb Ibn al-Ḥasan<sup>6</sup> indicated the words of the *Qur'ān* which may be pronounced in different manners, and he transmitted pieces of literature with the authorisation of his teachers 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī<sup>7</sup> and 'Umar Ibn

1 This was the same person by whose advice the Meccans pronounced the sentence of death against Muḥammad; he fell at the battle of Badr.

2 Read مغربه .

3 The autograph has رابطہ .\*

4 Some account of al-Mufaḍḍal is given by Ibn [K]hallikān in the life of his son Muḥammad.

5 See his life, No. 294.

6 The autograph has ابن الحسن .

7 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Thaqafī (a member of the tribe of Thaqif) and native of Baṣrah, transmitted traditional information from Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyānī, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Sa'id al-Jarīrī, and many others. His own  
(Continued on page 448)

\* 'Asqalānī also supports it vide. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* Vol. VII, p. 460 no. 767.—Ed.

'Alī.<sup>1</sup> Qur'ān reading was taught on his authority by his pupils 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar al-Warrāq, and Aḥmad Ibn Faraj, and pieces of traditional literature were communicated by him to Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Jārūd. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzi<sup>2</sup> being questioned concerning his merits (*as a transmitter of traditional learning*), declared him worthy of the highest confidence. The ḥāfiẓ Ibn Mājah, author of the *Sunan*<sup>3</sup>, and some others gave traditional information on his authority. We have quoted him in the life of al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf (*no.* 297). He was born on Sunday, the 1st of Rajab, A. H. 173 (November, A. C. 789),\* and he died at Sarr man Ra'ā on Monday the 23rd some say Thursday the 25th—of the latter Jumāda, A. H. 262 (March, A. C. 876).† According to another statement, he died in the year 263.—*Numayrī* means *descended from Numayr* Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, the progenitor of a great Arabian tribe; many learned men and other persons have sprung from that tribe, and therefore bore this surname.

(Continued from page 447)

authority was cited by al-Ṣhāfi'i, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn al-Maḍīnī, Yahyā Ibn Ma'in and some others. Ibn Ma'in declared him deserving of the highest confidence as a Traditionist. Towards the end of his life he went deranged, and he died A.H. 194 (A.C. 809-10) —(Ibn al-Aṭhīr. *Al-Dhahabī*).

1 'Umar Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Aṭā, a native of Baṣrah and a *mawla* to the tribe of *Thaqif*, gave Traditions on the authority of al-Thawrī, Ḥajjāj Ibn Arṭab, and others. His own authority was cited by Ibn Ḥanbal, Qutaybah Ibn Sa'id, and some others. He died A.H. 190 (A.C. 805-6).—(*Al-Dhahabī*).

2 The ḥāfiẓ Abū Ḥālim Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs Ibn al-Munḍhir Ibn Dāwūd surnamed al-Rāzi because he was a native of Ray, and al-Ḥanẓalī because he was *mawla* to the tribe of Ḥanẓalah or because he lived in the street of al-Ḥanẓalah in Ray, was an excellent judge of the authenticity of Traditions and held himself the highest rank as a Traditionist. In the pursuit of this branch of knowledge, he travelled to Kūrasān, the two 'Irāqs, Hijāz, Yaman, Syria, and Egypt. He died at Ray in the month of Ṣha'bān, A. H. 277 (Nov.-Dec. A.C. 890).—(*Nujūm*).

3 His life will be found in this work.

\* 22 November.—*Ed.*

† The dates should be 24 and 26, according to Mahler's calculation Monday fell on 25 corresponding to 26 March and Thursday on 29 March.—*Ed.*

## 467 AL-KHIRAQĪ.

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar Ibn Abi 'Alī al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Khiraqī was an eminent jurisconsult of the Ḥanbalite sect. He composed a great number of works in illustration of the doctrines professed by the followers of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal. One of these treatises is a *Mukhtaṣir* (compendium), which still serves as a text book for young students belonging to that sect; when he set out for Damascus from Baghdād, in consequence of the maledictions which were pronounced in the latter city against some of the early Muslims (*al-Salaf*),<sup>1</sup> he left this book behind him, and it was burned during his absence.<sup>2</sup> He died at Damascus, A. H. 334 (A. C. 945-6). His father also was distinguished for his abilities, and transmitted traditional information received by him from many teachers. *Khiraqī* means a seller of rags (*khiraq*) and clothes.

1 This was in A. H. 321 (A. C. 933). We learn from Abu 'l-Fedā that 'Alī Ibn Balīk, having conspired with Mūnis the eunuch to depose the Khalīf al-Qāhir and place a son of al-Muktafi on the throne, was arrested with his accomplice and put to death in that year. But what Abu 'l-Fedā has neglected to mention, was the means taken by Ibn Balīk to effect his design. He began by exciting a sedition in Baghdād, and the fact is noticed by al-Dhahabī MS. No. 646, fol. 101) in these terms: "In this year troubles broke out because 'Alī Ibn Balīk and his secretary (*katīb*) al-Ḥasan Ibn Hārūn decided on having the memory of Mu'āwiyah publicly cursed from the pulpits. This produced a riot at Baghdād, and Ibn Balīk gave orders to arrest the chief of the Ḥanbalites, Abū Muḥammad al-Barbahārī, but this doctor retired to a place of concealment. A number of his followers were then banished to Baṣrah. In the meanwhile al-Qāhir took secret arrangements against Mūnis and Ibn Muqlah", etc. The Ḥanbalites of Baghdād were at that time notorious for their bigotry and turbulence, as may be learned from the *Annals* of Abu 'l-Fedā, years 310, 317, 323, etc. From Ibn Balīk's first proceedings it would appear that he meant to rally the Shī'ites to his cause, as with them the memory of Mu'āwiyah was held in detestation. It must be recollected also that the Qarma's (see no. 182) were then extremely powerful. What may serve also to confirm my conjecture is, that the Khalīf, on the execution of his enemies, caused the following inscription to be placed on the coinage after his name: *المنتقم من اعداء دين الله* (the avenger of God's religion on its foes). Al-Dhahabī fol. 102.

2 As Ibn Khallikān speaks of this work as still existing, I conclude that al-Khiraqī wrote it over again.



## 468 'UMAR IBN DHARR.

Abū Dharr 'Umar Ibn Dharr, surnamed al-Ḥamdānī, was a native of Kūfah, a jurisconsult, and a narrator of historical anecdotes preserved by tradition.<sup>1</sup> His descent from Ḥamdān is thus set forth by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Jamharat al-Nisab*: 'Abd Allāh, the father of Dharr and the grandfather of 'Umar, was the son of Zurārah Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Munabbah Ibn Ghālib Ibn Waqsh Ibn Qāsim Ibn Mawhabah Ibn Du'ām Ibn Mālik Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Ṣa'b Ibn Dūmān Ibn Bakīl Ibn Jusham Ibn Mālik (this Mālik is the same person who is surnamed al-Khārib)\* Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Kathīr Ibn Mālik Ibn Jusham Ibn Ḥāshid Ibn Jusham Ibn Khiyawān† Ibn Nawf Ibn Ḥamdān<sup>2</sup>. The sanctity of 'Umar Ibn Dharr's life and the fervour of his devotional exercise obtained for him the highest respect. He gave Traditions on the authority of 'Aṭā' and Mujāhid,<sup>4</sup> and his own authority for Traditions was cited by Wakī'<sup>5</sup> and the people of 'Irāq. The conduct of his son Dharr towards him was marked by the deepest affection<sup>6</sup> and dutiful reverence; when he was on the point of death, his father went into the room and said: . "My dear son! in thy death I shall suffer no loss, for the only one of whom I stand in need is God". When he expired, the father prayed over him, and buried him, and pronounced these words over the grave: "God is my witness, O Dharr! that my weeping on thy account prevents me from weeping for thy loss; for I know not

1 For القاضى in the printed text, read القاضى. All the manuscripts which I have examined, the autograph excepted give the former reading.

2 Read همدان in the printed text. The other errors in the genealogy as there given, are corrected in the translation. The incorrectness of most Arabic manuscripts, particularly in proper names, renders faults of this kind unavoidable.

3 See no. 394.

4 See no. 243 note on Ibn Jubayr.

5 See no. 149 note on wakī'.

6 Here again the manuscript copies and the printed text are at faults: for البر له we must read البركة.

\* M. de slane gives al-Khārib and Cairo edition gives al-Hāriq.—Ed.

† M. de slane gives Ḥaiwān.—Ed.

what thou hast said (*to thy Lord*) and what has been said to thee. Almighty God ! I forgive him every remissness in his duty towards me ; let me then be responsible for every act wherein he may have been remiss in his duty towards Thee ; let the recompence which I may merit be bestowed on him and grant an increase of Thy bounty unto me, Thy earnest suppliant." A person once said to him : "How did thy son show his duty to thee ?" to which he replied : "When we walked together by day, he always kept behind me, and when we walked together by night, he always went before me, and he never mounted on the roof of a house whilst I was under it." Many other anecdotes of a similar kind are related of him. 'Umar Ibn Dharr was held to be a partisan of the doctrines professed by the Murjites.<sup>1</sup> He died A. H. 156 (A. C. 772-3); some say A. H. 155. *Hamdāni*, a word which means *descended from Hamdān*<sup>2</sup> must not be confounded with *Hamadānī* (*native of the city of Hamadān*). Dharr, the father of 'Umar, was also a juriconsult.

#### 469 AL-THAMĀNĪNĪ.

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar Ibn Thābit al-Thamānīnī, surnamed also al-Dharīr (or the blind, *because he suffered from that infirmity*). was a professor of grammar, and well acquainted with the rules of that science. He composed a full, elegant, and excellent commentary on Ibn Jinni's (*no. 387*) *Luma'*,<sup>3</sup> and a great number of pupils studied with profit under his tuition. As a grammarian he possessed great talent, and had Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibn Jinnī for master; he gave lessons in that science to the *sharīf* Abū Ma'nmar Yaḥyā Ibn Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā al-Ḥusaynī. He composed also a commentary on Ibn Jinni's *Taṣrīf* (*grammatical*

1 For the doctrines of the Murjites, or Morgians, see Sale's preliminary discourse to the *Qur'ān*, and Dr. Cureton's *Shahristānī*, page 103.

2 The tribe of Hamdān inhabited Yaman and drew their descent from Kahlān.

3 See no. 387.

*inflexions*<sup>1</sup>. A great rivalry subsisted between him and Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Barhān; they both gave public lessons at al-Karkh, the suburb of Baghdād; the course of the latter was frequented by persons of rank and respectability, whilst that of al-Thamānīnī was only attended by persons of the lower class. He died in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dab, A. H. 442 (March-April, A. C. 1051). *Thamānīnī* means *belonging to Thamānīn*, which is a town in the neighbourhood of Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar and close to Mount Jūdī (Arārāt). It was the first town built after the deluge, and it was called *Thamānīn* (*eighty*), from the number of persons who came with Noah out of the ark. This town has produced many remarkable men. The *sharīf* Ibn Ṭabāṭabā died in the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 478 (Dec.—Jan. A. C. 1085-6).

#### 470 IBN AL-BAZRĪ.

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Ikrimah, surnamed al-Jazarī and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Bazrī, was a jurisconsult of the *Shafite* sect, and the most eminent doctor and *mufī* of the town of Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar<sup>2</sup> (*from which place he drew his surname*). His first studies in the law were made in Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar under the *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad Ibn al-Faraj Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Sulamī al-Fāriqī (*a member of the tribe of Sulaym and a native of Mayyūfariqln*), who had settled

1 The Arabic text is corrupted here, and no means exist of rectifying it, as the fly-leaf on which the passage was written in the autograph MS. has disappeared. The text of the printed edition, if literally translated, would signify, "*He commented the Kitāb al-Luma' on Ibn Jinnī's Taḡrīf.*"\* This is not very clear, and the reading of one of my MSS., which for *Kitāb al-Luma'* has *Kitāb al-Mulūk*, does not render the sense more intelligible, as the work called *Mulūk al-Mufīd* is, according too Ḥājjī Khalīfah, a production of al-Thamānīnī himself. The true reading is perhaps كتاب الملوك في التصريف , و منف كتاب الملوك , "And be composed on the *Taḡrīf* a work entitled *Kitāb al-Mulūk*."

2 See no. 435.

\* *Kitāb al-Luma'* was the title of Ibn Jinnī's work on *Taḡrīf* (inflection).—Ed.

in that town. He then proceeded to Baghdād, and continued his studies under al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī (no. 405) and Hujjat al-Islām Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī<sup>1</sup>; he attended also the lectures of the latter and of his brother Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī and became the pupil of al-Shāshī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Mustaẓhirī*<sup>2</sup>. He acquired also much information in the society of many other learned men whom he frequented. Having returned to Jazīrah, he opened a public course of instruction which attracted students from distant countries, all anxious to receive his lessons and acquire a knowledge of the system in which he had digested the doctrines of the sect. He composed a commentary on Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's *Muḥadḍḥab*<sup>3</sup>, in which he explained the obscurities and the uncommon words occurring in that treatise, and fixed besides the pronunciation of the proper names of those persons who are mentioned in it. To this work, which is simple compendium, he gave the title of *al-Asāmī wa 'l-'Ilal min Kitāb al-Muḥadḍḥab* (the names and obscurities occurring in the *Kitāb al-Muḥadḍḥab*). In learning and piety he held a high rank, and was said to have been better acquainted than any other *ḥāfiẓ* then living with the doctrines of al-Shāfi'ī. His attention was chiefly directed to the study of those points wherein the Shafite sect differs from others, and the number of persons who enjoyed the benefit of his tuition was very great. (As a doctor) he bore the surnames of Zayn al-Dīn Jamāl al-Islām (ornament of religion, beauty of Islamism). He was born A. H. 471 (A. C. 1078-9), and he died on the 2nd of the first Rabi', some say of the latter, A. H. 560 (January, A. C. 1165)\* at al-Jazīrah.<sup>4</sup> Although his disciples were numerous, he did not leave his like in the world. His master, Abu 'I-Ghanā'im al-Fāriqī died A. H. 483 (A. C. 1090-10). It was under Ibn al-Bazrī that the doctor 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad al-Hakkārī<sup>5</sup> made

1 The life of Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī will be found farther on.

2 The life of Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Shāshī, the author of the *Mustaẓhirī*, is given by Ibn Khallikān.

3 See no. 5.

4 By al-Jazīrah is here meant Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar.

5 The life of Ibn al-Hakkārī will be found in this work.

\* 17 January or 16 February—Ed.

his studies. *Bazrī* means *a maker and seller of Bazr*; *bazr* is the name given in that country to the oil extracted from linseed, and which is used by them in their lamps.

#### 471 SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-SUHRAWARDĪ.

Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Umar, the son of Muḥammad, the son of 'Ammūyah (whose true name was 'Abd Allāh), al-Bakrī al-Suhrawardī, surnamed Shihāb al-Dīn (*flambeau of the faith*), was a doctor of the Shafīte sect. As we have given the remainder of his genealogy up to Abū Bakr, in the life of his uncle, Abū 'l-Najīb 'Abd al-Qāhir (*see no. 368*), we are dispensed from repeating it here. Shihāb al-Dīn was a pious and holy shaykh, most assiduous in his spiritual exercises and the practice of devotion. He successfully guided a great number of Ṣūfis in their efforts to obtain perfection, and directed them during the periods of their retirement into solitude; indeed, towards the close of his life, he remained without an equal. He studied under his uncle, Abū 'l-Najīb from whom he learned Ṣūfism and preaching; another of his masters was the shaykh Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Ibn Abi Ṣāliḥ al-Jilī (*no. 378 note*), and he went down to Baṣrah for the purpose of seeing the shaykh Abū Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd. He met also with some other shaykhs, and acquired a considerable share of information in the sciences of jurisprudence and controversy. He then gave lessons in literature, and held, during some years, regular assemblies, at which he preached. When he became shaykh of the shaykhs (*grand-master of the Ṣūfis*), at Baghdād, he continued the same practice, and his exhortations had a most impressive effect. He was certainly blessed with the Divine grace. A person who attended his assemblies related to me that Shihāb al-Dīn, one day, recited to him these words from the chair:

"Pour not out the draught (*of Divine love*) for me alone; Thou (*O Lord*) hast not accustomed me to withhold it from my companions. Thou art (*truly*) the Generous, and it suits not

generosity that the cup, circulating (*round the board*), should pass by the other guests."

On hearing these words, the whole assembly was seized with an ecstacy of Divine love, and a great number of the persons present cut off their hair, and turned (*from the world to God*.) He composed some fine works, the most celebrated of which is his '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif* (*the (Divine) gifts*), *consisting in the different degrees of (spiritual) knowledge*.'<sup>1</sup> He is also the author of some poetry, and one of his pieces is the following<sup>2</sup> :

"The dreariness of the (*lover's solitary*) nights was dispelled, and his turn of union (*with the beloved*) drew near; and my union with thee made those jealous, who used to pity me formerly when suffering from thy aversion. I swear by the truth of Thy existence, that since Thou art now present, I care not for any of my former disappointments. Thou camest to me who was deprived of life, and small was the price for which Thou didst obtain me<sup>3</sup>. The hearts (*of men*) are unable to conceive Thee; but, O, the delicious source whereof I am allowed to drink (*I avow that*) all which is forbidden to mortals is forbidden also to me; but how sweet in my bosom is the love I bear Thee. Love for Thee has drenched me very bones; what then have I to do with that which is not love? Bitter thirst oppresseth not the destitute when near him are sources of the purest water."

I saw a number of those who attended his assemblies and who sat with him in private, whilst he directed them, as is customary with the Šūfīs, in the path of spiritual life. they gave me an account of the strange sensations which then came over them, and of the extraordinary ecstasies which they experienced. He once arrived at Arbela as an envoy from the August Diwān<sup>4</sup>,

1 This is one of the most celebrated works on Šūfism. An excellent copy of it is preserved in the *Bio, du Roi* ancien fonds, No. 375.

2 These verses have a mystic import; the *beloved* is God.

3 The poet means to say that he was dead by sin, and that he became the servant or slave of God by renouncing the world.

4 The government of the Khalifate at Baghdād was generally designated at time by the title of the *August Diwān* (*al-Diwan al-'Aziz*).

and he held regular assemblies there, at which he preached; but I had not the advantage of seeing him, as I was then too young. He performed the pilgrimage very often, and on some of these occasions he made a temporary residence in the neighbourhood of the sacred Temple. The *shaykhs* of that age, who were masters of the path<sup>1</sup>, used to write to him from the countries where they resided, addressing him questions drawn up in the manners of *fatwās* (or consultations on points of law, in which they asked his opinion on circumstances which concerned them. I was told that one of them wrote to him as follows. "My lord! if I cease to work, I shall remain in idleness; and if I work, I am filled with self-satisfaction; which is best?" To this al-Suhrawardī wrote, in reply: "Work: and ask of Almighty God to pardon thy self-satisfaction." Numerous anecdotes of this kind are told of him. He has inserted some charming verses in the '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, from which we select the following:

"I perceive in thee (*O, valley*), a perfume which I know not, and I suspect that (*my beloved*) Lamyā has swept over thee with her train<sup>2</sup>."

And again:

"If I contemplate you, I am all eyes; and if I think of you, I am all heart."

By his studies under his uncel Abu 'l-Najīb he attained great proficiency. He was born at Suhraward, towards the latter end of Rajab, or the beginning of *Sha'bān* (which of the two is doubtful), A. H. 539 (Jan-Feb, A. C. 1145); and he died at Baghdād, on the first of Muḥarram, A. H. 632 (Sept. A. C. 1234),\* He was interred the next morning in the Wardiyah cemetery<sup>3</sup>.

---

1 See no. 111, note on '*Man of the path*.'

2 The merit of this verse consists in its mystic signification. The *shaykh* perceived a young novice in Sūfism manifesting an unwonted degree of excitement; and he supposed that the Divinity had passed near him.

3 *Wardiyah* signifies *rosary, rose-garden*; it was the cemetery of the Sūfis.

\* 26 September—Ed.

## 472 THE ḤĀFİZ IBN DIḤYAH.

The *ḥāfīz* Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Diḥyah, a member of the tribe of Kalb, and surnamed Dhu 'l-Nasabayn (*the professor of the double pedigree*), was a native of Valencia, in Spain. His genealogy, as I found it written by himself, with the indication of the proper pronounciation of the names, runs as follows: 'Umar Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Jumayyī\* Ibn Farḥ Ibn Khalaf Ibn Qūmis (pronounced also Qawmis) Ibn Mazlāl Ibn Mallāl Ibn Badr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Diḥyah (pronounced also Daḥyah) Ibn Khalifah Ibn Farwah al-Kalbī: Diḥyah al-Kalbī was one of Muḥammad's companions<sup>1</sup>. He mentioned also that his mother, Amat al-Raḥmān, was the daughter of Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi 'l-Bassām Mūsā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ja'far Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib. It was for this reason that he signed himself *the possessor of the double pedigree, being, descended from Diḥyah and al-Ḥusayn*. Alluding also to the same circumstance, he wrote himself down as *Sibṭ Abi 'l-Bassām (the grandson by the female line of Abu 'l-Bassām)*. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Umar Ibn Diḥyah was a man eminent for his learning and illustrious by his talents, a perfect master of the Traditions relative to the Prophet<sup>2</sup>, and of the sciences connected with them, skilled in grammar and philology, and well acquainted with the narrations of the battle-days of the ancient Arabs, and with their poems. Having made the collecting of Traditions his chief pursuit, he visited most of the Muslim cities in Spain for the purpose of meeting their men of learning and their teachers, after which he crossed the water and entered Morocco, where he became acquainted with the persons of talent who resided in that city. He then proceeded to the province of Ifriqiyah, and thence to Egypt. From that country he travelled

1 Diḥyah Ibn Khalifah al-Kalbī was Muḥammad's envoy to Heraclius. Abu 'l-Fedā's *Annals*, year 7.

\* M. de slane has used the word 'Ibn' between Muḥammad and al-Jumayyī which is against the autograph reading. The Cairo edition supports our version.—*Ed.*



to Syria, the East (*Mesopotamia*), and 'Irāq. At Baghdād he received Traditions from some of Ibn al-Ḥaṣīn's disciples, and at Wāsiṭ he heard others from the lips of Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Maydānī. He then visited Persian 'Irāq, *Khurāsān* with its neighbouring provinces, and Māzandarān, for the sole purpose of collecting Traditions and obtaining them from the great masters in that branch of knowledge whom he met there. During this period, he gave lessons to others, and communicated to them his own information. When at Iṣpahān he heard Abū Ja'far al-Ṣaydalānī teach Traditions, and, at Naysāpūr, he received some from Maṣṭūr Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Farāwī. In the year 604 (A. C. 1207-8) he arrived at Arbela, on his way to *Khurāsān*, and perceiving the extreme zeal displayed by the lord of that city, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the son of Zayn al-Dīn, in his preparations for celebrating the festival of the Prophet's birth, he composed for that prince, the work entitled *Kitāb al-Tanwīr fī Mawlid al-Sirāj al-Munīr* (the book of Illumination, treating of the birth-day of the enlightening Flambeau). In the letter under the head of *Kūkubūrī*, we shall give a description of this solemnity. In the month of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 626 (May, A. C. 1229) we heard Ibn Dihyah read this work to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, in six sittings. It concluded with a long poem, the first verse of which was :

"Were it not for our enemies, those base informers, people had never suspected (*that we were in love*)."

There is a circumstance connected with this poem which we have noticed in the life of Ibn Mammātī,<sup>1</sup> and to this we refer the reader. When he finished his *Kitāb-al-Tanwīr*, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam made him a gift of one thousand pieces of gold. A number of other works were composed by him. He was born on the first of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, A. H. 544 (March, A. C. 1150)\*; and he died at Cairo, on Tuesday, the 14th of the first Rabi', A. H. 633 (November, A. C. 1235)†. He was interred at the foot of Mount

<sup>1</sup> See no. 88. Ibn Dihyah's surname is there incorrectly given; it must be pronounced *Dhu 'l-Nasabayn*.

\* 2 March,—Ed.

† 27 November,—Ed.

Muqattam, as I have been informed by his son; I was told also, by his brother's son, that he had his uncle more than once say that he was born on the first of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 546 (February, A. C. 1152\*). *Balansi* means *belonging to Balansiya* (*Valencia*) which is a city in the east of Spain. Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān Ibn al-Ḥasan, Ibn Dihya's elder brother, was well acquainted with the phraseology of the Desert Arabs, which he knew by heart and taught publicly. When the sultān al-Malik al-Kāmil removed Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Dihyah from his professorship in the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (or college of Traditions), which that prince had founded at Cairo, Abū 'Amr, the brother, was installed in the vacant place, and he continued to hold it till his death. He died at Cairo, on Tuesday, the 13th of the first, Jumādā, A. H. 634 (January, A. C. 1237),† and was interred at the foot of Mount Muqattam. He left some epistles in which he employed obsolete expressions.

#### 473 ABU 'ALĪ AL-SHALAWBINĪ.

Abū 'Alī 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad (Ibn 'Umar) Ibn 'Abd Allāh, surnamed al-Shalawbinī, was a member of the tribe of Azd, and a native of Seville, in Spain. He held the first rank as a grammarian, and possessed in an extraordinary degree the faculty of recalling to mind the various rules of that science. I met a number of his pupils, all of them men of talent, and they unanimously declared that the *shaykh* Abū 'Alī al-Shalawbinī was in no degree inferior to the *shaykh* Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī. The terms in which they spoke of him were commendatory in the highest degree; but they observed that, with all his talent, he neglected his personal appearance, and was subject to absence of mind. Of this they related as an example, that as he was one day on the bank of river, with some sheets of a book in his hand, he let one

---

\* 9 February.—*Ed.*

† 13 January.—*Ed.*

of them fall into water; and as it floated off so that he could not reach it with his hands, he took another of the sheets to pull it near him; so that both sheets were spoiled. Other similar anecdotes are related in proof of his absence of mind. He composed a large and a small commentary on al-Juzūlī's *Prolegomena*,<sup>1</sup> and a work on grammar, entitled *al-Tawṭīyah* (*the beating out of the track*). He resided at Seville, but pupils of his were occasionally arriving amongst us and informing us of his proceedings. On the whole, he really was, as they styled him, the last of the grammarians. He was born at Seville, A. H. 562 (A. C. 1166-7), and he died in the same city, in the month of the latter Rabi', some say of Šafar, A. H. 645 (August, A. C. 1247). *Šhalawbīnī* is derived from al-*Šhalawbīn*, which is a word of the Spanish language, and means, it is said, *the white and red*.<sup>2</sup>

#### 474 IBN ṬABARZAD.

Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Umar Ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Mu'ammār Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥasan, surnamed al-Muwaddib (*the preceptor*), Muwaffaq al-Dīn (*aided in religion by God's favour*), and generally known by the name of Ibn Ṭabarzad, was a Traditionist of great celebrity, and a native of Baghdād. He inhabited that quarter of that city, on the west bank of the Tigris, which is called Dār al-Qazz, and he was sometimes styled, for that reason, al-Dāraqazzi. The Traditions which he had received by oral transmission were remarkable as coming from the highest authorities, and, as he travelled through various countries teaching (*them*) to others, he became the link which connected the rising generation of Traditionists with the past; he filled the earth with

1 The life of al-Juzūlī will be found in this work.

2 Abu 'l-Feda says, in his Geography, that *Šhalawbīn* means *belonging to Šhalawbīniyah* (*Salobrenna*), a fortress near Granada. He adds that those persons are mistaken who derive it from a word signifying *red* in the language spoken by the (*Christian*) inhabitants of Spain. He here certainly alludes to the statement made by Ibn Kḥallikān in this passage.

the certificates which he gave to those who heard him deliver Traditions, and with the licences to teach, which he had granted to his disciples. He lived to so advanced an age that he remained without a rival, and his conduct was uniformly marked by piety and virtue. He was born in the month of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 516 (February, A. C. 1123), and he died at *Baghdād* on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 9th of *Rajab*, A. H. 507 (December, A. C. 1210)\*. The next morning he was interred in the cemetery at the *Harb Gate*.—*Ṭabarazad* is the name of a sort of sugar (*sugarcandy*).

#### 475 AL-SHARAF IBN AL-FĀRIḌ

Abū Ḥafṣ, surnamed also Abu 'l-Qāsim, 'Umar Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan 'Alī Ibn Murshid Ibn 'Alī, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and distinguished by the honorary title of al-*Sharaf*<sup>1</sup> drew his descent from a family which inhabited Ḥamāt, but he himself was born in Egypt, which was also the country of his residence, and that of his death. In his poetical works, of which the collection forms a thin volume, he displays a cast of style and thought which charms the reader by the grace and beauty, whilst their whole tenour is in accordance with the mystic ideas of the *Ṣūfis*<sup>2</sup>. He has composed also a *qaṣīdah* of about six hundred verses, wherein he sets forth the doctrines and adopts the technical language of that sect. With what elegance has he said, in one of his long poem.

"How welcome the favour which I never deserved : these words of one announcing deliverance after despair : 'To thee

---

1 *Al-Sharaf* is the equivalent of *Sharaf al-Dīn* (*nobleness of religion*). In surnames formed of the word *al-Dīn* preceded by a noun or an adjective, *al-Dīn* may be suppressed. In this case, the article is generally added to the preceding word. See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. I. p. 448.

2 Literally : He follows the direction of the path of the *faqīrs*.

\* 27 December,—*Ed.*

I bear good tidings, therefore cast off thy covering ! thou art remembered there (*above*) notwithstanding thy imperfections.<sup>1</sup> "

In another of his *qaṣīdahs* he says :

"I am always envied on account of (*the favours I receive from*) thee ; put not then an end to my watchfulness by the speedy visit of thy image fleeting (*towards me whilst I sleep*)<sup>2</sup>. Ask the stars of the night if sleep has ever visited my eyelids ! and how could it visit a person with whom it is not acquainted ?"

He says again in the same piece.

"Whilst the admirers of his beauty are extolling it in every style of description, time is spent out, and yet some of his charms remain to be described<sup>3</sup>."

He has left also some distichs, *mawāliyyās*<sup>4</sup> and enigmas<sup>5</sup>, I am told that he was most holy and virtuous man, and that he led a life of continual self-abnegation. During some time, motives of devotion kept him a resident at Makkah : may God increase it in honour ! He was a most pleasing companion, and the charms of his society were highly extolled. I have been informed by one of his disciples, that, one day, whilst he was alone, he happened to sing the following verse, composed by al-Ḥarīrī, the author of the *Maqāmāt* :

"Who is he who never wrought evil, and who possessed excellent qualities only ?"

1 The piece from which these lines are taken has been published by M. Grangeret de Lagrange in his *anthologie arabe*. Respecting these verses, a curious anecdote is related by the commentator, and will be found page 130 of M. de Lagrange's work.

2 He means to say : I always keep awake in expectation of thy visits ; oblige me not to forego my watchfulness, for then, in my dreams, I should see thy image only, sent by thyself to visit me, and not see thyself. See my Introduction to vol. I. For the meaning of the very obscure verses cited by Ibn Khallikān in this article, I have consulted Ibn al-Fāriḍ's commentators and chosen the most probable of the various interpretations which they give.

3 It is almost unnecessary to observe that, in all these verses, the beloved is the divinity.

4 See vol. I. Introduction.

5 Some of the enigmas are given by M. de Sacy in his *Chrestomathie*, and others by M. Grangeret de Lagrange in his *Anthologie arabe*.

And he heard a voice repeat these words, but could not discover by whom they were uttered :

"Muḥammad, the director ; upon whom Gabriel descended."

Some of his disciples recited to me the following *mawāliyā* of his, composed on a youth who followed the trade of a butcher ; it is very igneniously done ; and I have not seen it in the collection of his works<sup>1</sup>.

"I said to a butcher : I love you, yet you cut me to pieces and slay me. That, replied he, is my trade, and yet you blame me ! He then bent towards me and kissed my foot to subjugate me ; he wanted to kill me, and blew me (*enchanted me*) that he might skin me."

I have transcribed it according to their system (*of pronunciation*), as they have totally neglected the motions (*final vowels*) and the rules of orthography ; any more, they have committed faults of pronunciation ; or rather, the greater part of it is faulty : the reader is therefore requested to withhold his blame<sup>2</sup>. Ibn al-Fāriḍ relates that he composed the following verses in his sleep :

"I swear by the reality of my love for thee and by the respect due to (*me for my*) dignified patience (*under suffering*), that my eyes never looked on any but thee, and that I never felt love for any other friend !"

This poet was born at Cairo on the 4th of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 576 (March, A.C. 1181)\* and he died in the same city, on Tuesday, the 2nd of the first Jumādā, A. H. 632 (January, A. C. 1235)†. The next morning, he was interred at the foot of Mount

1 Were it not for the curiosity of these verses, which are vulgar in Arabic, I should have abstained from translating them.

2 Ibn Khallikān writes : تشرحنى و ير بختنى where I have printed تشرحنى and ير بختنى which last words give the true reading قلتو is for قلت ; لجزا' , or , as he writes it لجرر . , is for لجزار ; مل is for مال , and بس for باس .

\* 22 March, —Ed.

† 23 January, —Ed.

Muqaṭṭam. *Al-Fāriḍ* is the name given to the person who draws up contracts (*furūd*) for women in their dealing, with men<sup>1</sup>.

#### 476 TAQĪ AL-DĪN 'UMAR, PRINCE OF ḤAMĀT.

Abū Sa'īd 'Umar, the son of Nūr al-Dawlat *Shāhanshāh* (no. 273), was lord of Ḥamāt, and bore the surnames of al-Malik al-Muzaḥḥar (*the victorious prince*), Taqī al-Dīn (*pious in religion*). His father, *Shāhanshāh*, was brother to the Sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn. Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar was brave and intrepid, successful in his wars, victorious in his engagements, renowned for his conflicts with the Franks<sup>2</sup>, and his glorious deeds in battle are signalized by history. In all the various works of piety, he displayed every excellence, and of these we need only mention one: the founding of the college at Old Cairo, which bears the name of Manāzil al-'Izz<sup>3</sup>, and which is said to have been previously his own place of residence. For the support of this establishment, he erected a large property into a *waqf*<sup>4</sup>. The city and province of al-Fayyūm were held by him in fief, and he founded there two colleges, one for the *Shāfi*tes, and the other for *Mālik*ites: on these also he

1 *Fāriḍ* is therefore the active participle of the verb *faraḍa*, and must be pronounced with an *i*, not with an *a*, as Ibn *Khalikān* states in his autograph; most probably through inattention. Indeed, the form فاعل as participle of adjective does not exist in Arabic, as I can discover, and we find in the notice on Ibn al-Fāriḍ, prefixed to the commentary on his works, some verses in which his name *al-Fāriḍ* is made to rhyme with *al-'Āriḍ*, *al-Ġhamiḍ*, and others active participles. For further information respecting Ibn al-Fāriḍ, see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II., M. Grangeret de Lagrange's *Anthologie arabe*, and the *Catalogus MSS. orient. Bible. Bodl.*

2 In the printed text read دوائمه. Taqī al-Dīn particularly signalized himself at the battle of Tiberias in A. H. 583, when the Christian army was almost exterminated.

3 The place called Manāzil al-'Irz was built on the bank of the Nile by the mother of the *ḫ*alīf al-'Azīz bi-Allāh, and served the Fatimide *ḫ*alīfs as a place of recreation (*nuzḥah*). (Al-Maqrīzī's *Ḫitāṭ*.)

4 See no. 21 note on *waqf*

settled large *waqfs*. Another college was erected by him in the city of Edessa. He was also sovereign of the Eastern provinces (*Mesopotamia*). In his conduct towards the learned (*in the law*), the *Şūfis* (*faqīrs*), and the men of holy life, he manifested great beneficence. He acted at one period as viceroy of Egypt, during the absence of his uncle *Şalāḥ al-Dīn*; the circumstance which led to his appointment was the following: *Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil* held the government of Egypt as lieutenant to his brother, *Şalḥ al-Dīn*; but, in the month of *Rajab*, A. H. 579 (Oct. - Nov., A. C. 1183), that prince, who was then besieging *al-Karak*<sup>1</sup>, required his presence with that of the troops under his orders, and *Taqī al-Dīn*, being sent to Egypt to replace him, arrived there towards the middle of the month of *Şhaʿbān*. He was afterwards recalled to Syria by *Şalāḥ al-Dīn*, who appointed his own son *al-Malik al-ʿAziz* (*no. 398*) to the viceroyalty of Egypt. *Taqī al-Dīn*'s feelings were so deeply hurt at his proceedings that he resolved to go forth into *Maghrib* and conquer that country; but this project was strongly opposed by his friends, and he finally acceded to the request of his uncle, *Şalāḥ al-Dīn*, who had invited him to come and serve under him. The *Sulṭān* went forth as far as *Marj al-Şuffar*<sup>2</sup> to receive him, and they met there on the 23rd of *Şhaʿbān*, A. H. 582 (Nov., A. C. 1186).<sup>\*</sup> *Şalāḥ al-Dīn* derived great pleasure from the sight of his nephew, and bestowed on him the city of *Ḥamāt*. *Taqī al-Dīn* proceeded thither, and, reached afterwards into the province of *Khilāt*, with the intention of taking the castle of *Manāzgird*. The siege had continued for some time, when he died on Friday, the 19th of *Ramaḍān*, A. H. 587 (October, A. C. 1191)<sup>†</sup>. This statement has been contradicted, however, by persons who declare that he died at a place between *Khilāt* and *Mayyāfāriqīn*. His body was transported to *Ḥamāt* for interment. His son, *al-Malik al-Manşūr* (*the victorious prince*) *Nāşir al-Dīn* (*the champion of the faith*) *Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad*

1 See M. Riensud's *Extraits relatifs aux Croisades*, pp. 187 and 189.

2 *Marj al-Şuffar* lies a short distance from Damascus.

\* 8 November—*Ed.*

† 11 October—*Ed.*



was appointed his successor. This prince died at Ḥamāt, on Monday, the 22nd of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 617 (January, A.C. 1221).<sup>1\*</sup>

#### 477 ABU ISHĀQ AL-SABĪ'I.

Abu Ishāq 'Amr† Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Dhi Yaḥmud Ibn al-Sabī', surnamed al-Sabī'i, was a member of the tribe of Ḥamdān, a native of Kūfah, and one of the principal *Tābi'is*, having seen 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar, and others of the Prophet's companions. Traditions were handed down on his authority by al-A'mash (no. 259), Shu'bah (no. 207 note, on Shu'bah), al-Thawri (no. 254), and others; and a great quantity of traditional information was communicated by him to his disciples. He was born three years before the Khalif 'Uthmān's death<sup>2</sup>, and he died A. H. 127 (A. C. 744-5); and others say 128 or 129; but Yaḥya Ibn Ma'in<sup>3</sup> and al-Madā'ini<sup>4</sup> mention that his death took place A. H. 132. *Sabī'i* means *descended from Sabī'*, who himself drew his origin from the tribe of Ḥamdān. Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'i relates as follows: "My father held me up that I might see 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib preach, and (*I perceived that*) his hair and his beard were white."<sup>4</sup>

#### 478 'AMR IBN 'UBAYD

Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Bāb, a celebrated ascetic and a scholastic theologian, was a *mawlā* to the Banū 'Aqīl, a

1 This Muḥammad was the paternal grandfather of the geographer and historian, Abu 'l-Fedā.

2 'Uthmān was murdered in the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 35 (June, A. C. 656).

3 His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

4 See no. 183 note on al-Madā'ini.

\* 16 January—*Ed.*

† M. de Slane gives 'Umar, Cairo edition also follows him,—*Ed.*

family which drew its descent from 'Arādah Ibn Yarbū' Ibn Mālik. His father Bāb was one of the prisoners taken at Kabul<sup>1</sup>, a place situated in the mountains of Sind. His father acted as lieutenant<sup>2</sup> to the (*successive*) chiefs of the police guards at Baṣrah, and the people used to say, when they saw his son 'Amr with him: "There goes Best-of-men, the son of Worst-of-men!" on which the father would reply: "You speak truly; this is Abraham, and I am 'Āzar<sup>3</sup>. On being told that his son frequented the society of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*no.* 148), and that some good might therefore come of him, he exclaimed: "What good can come of my son? his mother was a captive fraudulently purloined from the common-wealth<sup>4</sup>, and it is I who am his father." 'Amr was the chief of Motazilite sect in that age; we shall relate, in the life of Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā, the motive which induced him to *secede*, and the reason why his followers were named *Motazilites* (*seceders*). 'Amr was of a light complexion, a middle size, and marked between the eyes with a callosity produced by his frequent prostrations in prayer. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was once asked his opinion respecting him,

---

1 The autograph has كابل (*Kābil*) but I suspect كابل (*Kābul*) is meant.

The passage is written in the margin of that manuscript, and in Ibn Khallikān's own hand.

2 Read يخلف .

3 According to the Muslim doctrine, Abraham's father bore the name of 'Āzar. He and all his people adored idols, and for this he was reprehended by his son, who said to him: *Verily, I perceive that thou and thy people are in a manifest error.* (*Qur'ān, sūrat 6, verse 74*). The father of 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd seems to have alluded to these words, and thus told indirectly his townsmen that they were all reprobates.

4 According to the Muslim law, the booty and slaves carried from an enemy's country must be delivered up by the soldiers to the chief. The spoil and prisoners are then shared amongst *all* the persons in the army after the reservation of the *quint*, or fifth of the whole, for the use of the poor. The booty obtained even by the smallest detachment of the army must not be reserved by the captors; the law requires imperiously that it should be joined to the general mass. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if the captors sometimes concealed their prisoners and spoil for their own advantage. 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd's mother had been *embezzled* in this manner, and his father imagined that no good could come to *property* so ill gotten.

and he replied in these terms : "You question me concerning a man who seems to have been educated by angels, and brought up by the prophets ; if he rises to perform a task, his mind is impressed therewith when he sits down ; and when he sits down with a resolution, he rises, with the same ; if he be ordered to do a work, he is the most assiduous of men therein ; and if he be prohibited from anything, he is the most strict of men in abstaining therefrom ; I never saw an exterior so similar to the interior as his ; nor an interior so similar to the exterior." Before Abū Ja'far al-Manşūr's elevation to the khalīfate, 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd had been his companion and intimate friend, and many anecdotes are related of their sittings and conversations : when al-Manşūr came to the throne, 'Amr went one day into his presence, and was told by him to draw near and sit down, after which the khalīf asked to hear an exhortation from him. 'Amr acceded to his request, and addressed him an admonition, in which he said, amongst other things : "The power which thou now wieldest, had it remained in the hands of thy predecessors, had never come unto thee ; be warned then of that night which shall give birth to a day never more to be followed by another night." When he rose to depart al-Manşūr said : "We have ordered thee ten thousand pieces of silver." "I stand not in need thereof;" replied 'Amr. "By Allāh ! thou shalt take it," exclaimed the khalīf. "By Allāh ! I shall not take it ;" answered the other. On this al-Manşūr's son, al-Mahdī, who happened to be present, said to 'Amr : "The Commander of the faithful swears that a thing shall be done ; and yet thou art bold enough to swear that it shall not !" "Who is this youth ?" said 'Amr, turning to al-Manşūr. "He is the declared successor to the khalīfate, my son al-Mahdī," replied the prince. "Thou hast clothed him in raiment," said 'Amr, "which is not the raiment of the righteous, and thou hast given him a name which he deserveth not<sup>1</sup>, and thou hast smoothed for him a path wherein the more profit the less the heed." He then turned towards al-Mahdī, and addressed him thus : "Yes, I do so, O son of my brother ! when thy father maketh an oath,

1 *Mahdī* is the passive participle of the verb *ahda* (to direct), and signifies, when used as a surname, the *well-directed*, or the *well-guided*.

thy uncle causes him to perjure ; for thy father is abler to pay the expiation of broken oaths than is thy uncle<sup>1</sup>." Al-Manşūr then asked him if there was any thing which he might require, and 'Amr made answer : "Send not for me, but wait till I come to thee." "In that case," said al-Manşūr, "thou wilt never meet me." "That," replied 'Amr, "is precisely what I desire." He then withdrew, and al-Manşūr kept his eyes fixed upon him and said ;

"All of you walk with stealthy steps ; all of you are in pursuit of prey ; all, except 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd !"

'Amr composed some epistles ; and sermons ; he drew up also an explanation of the *Qur'ān*, in the words of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī ; a refutation of the Qadarite sect ; long discourse on the doctrine of justice and the profession of God's unity<sup>2</sup> ; with other treatises besides. When his last hour drew near, he said to a friend : "Death has come unto me, and I am not prepared to receive it." He then exclaimed: "Thou knowest, O Almighty God ! that whenever two things were presented to my choice, one of them pleasing to Thee and the other to myself, I always preferred Thy pleasure to my own satisfaction ; have therefore mercy on me !" His birth took place A. H. 80 (A. C. 699-700), and he died A. H. 144 (A. C. 761-2), ; others say 142 or 143, or 148. He expired at a place called al-Marrān, on his return from<sup>3</sup> Makkah. Al-Manşūr composed the following elegy on his death :

"May God's blessing be on thee who art reposing in the tomb by which I passed, at Marrān ! a tomb containing an orthodox believer, who placed his faith in God and served him from conviction. Did time ever spare the life of a saint, he would have spared us that of 'Amr Abū 'Uthmān."

That a *khalif* should thus lament the death of a person beneath him in rank is a circumstance unparalleled. *Marrān* is a place between Makkah and Baṣrah, at two days' journey from the

1 See no. 24 note on 'adl.

2 These were the chief points of the Motazelite doctrine.

3 Read ٤ in the printed text.

former city. There also was interred Tamīm Ibn Murr, that the name of his grandfather Bāb (باب) is sometimes incorrectly written Nāb (ناب).

## 479 SIBAWAYH.

Abū Bishr 'Amr Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn Qanbar surnamed Sibawayh, a *mawla* to the family of Hārith Ibn Ka'b or (according to another statement) to the family of al-Rabi' Ibn Zayd al-Hārithī--was a learned grammarian, and surpassed in this science every person of former and latter times : as for his *Kitāb*, or *Book*, composed by him on that subject, it has never had its equal. Speaking of this work one day, al-Jāhiz said : "Never was the like of such a book written on grammar, and the books of other men have drawn their substance from it." He said another time : "Having formed the design of visiting Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, the wazīr of al-Mu'taṣim, I considered what present I should offer him, and could find none more precious than the *Kitāb* of Sibawayh. On my arrival, I said to him : 'I have not been able to find any thing to offer you equal to this book ; I bought it after the demise of al-Farrā', at the sale of his property. 'By Allāh !' exclaimed the wazīr, 'you could not present me with anything more pleasing to me.' " I read (*however, another account of this interview*) in a historical work, where it is stated that al-Jāhiz, on arriving at the wazīr's with the book of Sibawayh, informed him of the circumstance before offering it. On this Ibn al-Zayyāt said to him : "Did you think that our libraries were without this book ?" and al-Jāhiz replied ; "I did not think so ; but this copy is in the handwriting of al-Farrā' ; it had been collated by al-Kisā'i<sup>2</sup>, and corrected by 'Amr Ibn Baḥr ;" meaning himself. "It is the best and most precious copy in existence ;" said the wazīr. Al-Jāhiz then produced, it, and Ibn al-Zayyāt

1 The life of al-Farrā' will be found in this work.

2 See no. 408.

manifested such joy in receiving it as proved how highly he appreciated the gift. Sibawayh acquired his grammatical information from al-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad (no. 208), 'Isā Ibn 'Umar, Yūnus Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>1</sup>, and others : and learned philology from Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, surnamed al-Akhfash al-Akbar<sup>2</sup>, and other masters. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ<sup>3</sup> relates that, being one day with al-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad, Sibawayh came in ; on which al-Khalil said : "Welcome to a visitor whose company is never tiresome !" And Abū 'Amr al-Makhzūmī, who had often sat in al-Khalil's society, remarked that he never heard him say the same thing to any other person but Sibawayh. At the time in which al-Kisā'i was preceptor to al-Amin, the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, Sibawayh happened to arrive at Baghdād from Baṣrah, and they were both brought together : in this meeting, they had a discussion of which it would be too long to give the particulars : Al-Kisā'i pretended that the Arabs of the desert would say : I thought that the wasp stung more severely than the bee, and behold ! it was (*fa idhā hua iyyāha*).<sup>4</sup> Sibawayh here observed that the example was not as al-Kisā'i gave it, and that it should be *fa idhā hua hiya* (et ecce ! illud est illa res). After a long dispute on this point, they agreed to refer it to a genuine Arab of the desert, speaking a language unmixed with that used by the towns-people. Al-Amin, who was extremely partial to al-Kisā'i, because he had been his preceptor

1 The lives of 'Isā Ibn 'Umar and Yūnus Ibn Ḥabīb are given in this work.

2 See no. 412.

3 Abū Wā'il Bakr Ibn an-Naṭṭāḥ Ibn Ḥimār al-Ḥanafī was distinguished as a poet in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He settled at Baghdād and frequented the society of Abū 'l-'Atāhiyah and his companions. Abū 'l-'Atāhiyah composed an elegy on his death. (The Khaṭīb's abridged History of Baghdād ; MS. No. 634, fol. 78).

4 Literally ; Et ecce (*fuit*) illud illam (*rem*). The question was, whether in Arabic the particle *idhā* governs the subject in the nominative and the predicate in the accusative, or not. It is certain that both terms are governed by it (as the Arabs say) in the nominative. The anecdote is related more fully by Ibn Hiṣhām, and M. de Sacy has extracted it from the work of the latter author and inserted it in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*, page 199 at seq. He gives there also an extract from Sibawayh's celebrated *Kitāb*.

caused an Arab to be brought in, and questioned him on the subject but the reply was in accordance with Sibawayh's assertion. On this, he told the Arab that they wished him to give the phrase as al-Kisā'i had done, but the man observed that, in such a case, he could not master his own tongue, which would certainly pronounce the right expression notwithstanding his effort to the contrary. They then proposed to him that a person should say : "Sibawayh said so and so, and al-Kisā'i said so and so ; which of them is right ?" and that to this he should answer : "Al-Kisā'i is right." "That," said the Arab, "is a thing which can be done." A meeting was then held at which all the principal grammarians were assembled, and, the Arab being brought in, the question was presented to him in that form. He immediately answered ; "Al-Kisā'i is right, and it is thus the Arabs of the desert say it." Sibawayh perceived by this that they had all conspired against him through partiality for al-Kisā'i and he left Baghdād, filled with indignation at the treatment he had received. He then proceeded to the province of Fārs and died at a village near Shīrāz, called al-Bayḍā, in the year 180 (A. C. 796-7) ; some say 177. He was then aged between forty and fifty. Ibn Qānī<sup>2</sup> states that he died at Baṣrah, A. H. 161, or according to another account, in 188 ; whilst the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī places his death in A. H. 194, at the age of thirty-two years, and in the town of Sāwah<sup>2</sup> ; but the *Khaṭīb* declares, in his History of Baghdād, on the authority of Ibn Durayd, that Sibawayh died at Shīrāz, and that his tomb is there. Some say that it was his birth which took place at al-Bayḍā, not his death. Abū Sa'īd al-Ṭuwāl mentions that he saw inscribed on the tomb of Sibawayh the following verses by Ibn Yazīd al-'Adawī :

"The friends are departed whose visits thou didst receive so often ; far from the place of meeting are they now ! they have retired and abandoned thee for ever ! They have left thee desolate in the wilderness : they soothed thee not, neither did they dispel thy care. The decree of fate has been accomplished, and now thy

1 See no. 149 note on Ibn Qānī'.

2 Sāwah lay betwix Ray and Hamadān.

sole possession is a tomb, but thy friends have turned away and left thee."

Mention being made of Sibawayh in the presence of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Bkr al-'Ulaymī, he said: "I saw him when he was a young man; and I was told that at that time, none possessed a more complete acquaintance than he with the information which had been transmitted by at-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad. I heard him discourse, and argue points of grammar; he had an impediment in his speech, and when I (*afterwards*) looked over his book, I perceived that his pen expressed his ideas better than his tongue." "Sibawayh was a boy," said Abu Zayd<sup>1</sup> al-Anṣārī, "when he attended my lectures; he wore at that time two locks of hair which hung down over his shoulders; and whenever you hear him say: 'I learned from a person in whose knowledge of pure Arabic I have great confidence, "you must know that he means me." Sibawayh used frequently to recite the following verse:

"When a man recovers from illness, he thinks he is safe; but he bears within himself the malady of which he is to die."

In *Ṣibawayh* the last letter is an *h* (•); it is a Persian surname, and means *scent of the apple*. It is thus that Arabic scholars pronounced this word and others of a similar form, such as *Niṣṭawayh*, *Amrawayh*, etc; but the Persians say *Sibūyah*, being averse to terminating the name with the word *wayh* (*alas!*) because it is used in lamentations. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbi<sup>2</sup> says; He was called *Sibawayh* because he had cheeks like apples and was extremely handsome."

#### 480 ABŪ 'AMR IBN AL-'ALĀ.

Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā, a member of the tribe of Māzin which is a branch of that of Tamīm, and a native of Baṣrah, was one

1 The manuscripts are wrong here; we must read أبو زيد . see no. 245 .

2 See no. 19 note on al-Ḥarbi.



of the seven great *Qur'ān* readers. His father al-'Alā, was the son of 'Ammār Ibn al-'Uryān Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn. I found among my rough notes, and in my own handwriting his genealogy set forth thus: "Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā Ibn 'Ammār Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Julhum Ibn Khuzā'i Ibn Māzin Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Amr Ibn Tamīm; some say that Julhum was the son of Ḥujr Ibn Khuzā'i, and that his real name was al-'Uryān." Abū 'Amr was the most learned of men in the sacred *Qur'ān*, the Arabic language, and poetry; as a grammarian, he ranked in the fourth generation from 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib<sup>1</sup>. It is related by al-Aṣma'ī that he heard Abū 'Amr say: "I know more grammar than al-A'maṣh (no. 259) ever did; and were my grammatical information put down in writing, he would not be able to lift it." He said also: "I proposed to Abū 'Amr one thousand grammatical queries, and he furnished me with one thousand examples decisive of these questions." Abū 'Amr already held a high rank among his contemporaries in the lifetime of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (no. 148), and Abū 'Ubaydah<sup>2</sup> declared him the most learned of men in philology, grammar, poetry, and the *Qur'ān*. The books containing the expressions which he had written down from the lips of the purest speakers among the Arabs of the desert nearly filled one of his rooms up to the ceiling, but when he took to reading (*the Qur'ān*), that is, when he commenced the practice of devotion, he threw them all away, and, when he returned to the study of his old science, he possessed nothing on it except what he had learned by heart. The greater part of his (*philological*) information was derived from Arabs who were already living before the promulgation of Islamism. Al-Aṣma'ī said: "I frequented Abū 'Amr's sittings for ten years, and during that time I never heard him quote a single verse of those composed subsequently to the promulgation of Islamism, in support (*of his philological and grammatical doctrines*)." He said, another time: "It was of Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā that al-Farazdaq said:

1 It was 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib who laid down the first principles of Arabic grammar. See no. 285 note on Arabic Grammar.

2 His life is given in this work.

"I ceased not opening and shutting doors (*in search of knowledge*), till I went to Abu 'l-'Alā Ibn 'Ammār."

It is certain that the ordinary surname *Abū 'Amr* was his real name, although some pretend that he was called Zabbān, and others mention other names. He drew his descent from *Khuzā'i* Ibn Māzin, and, according to one of the traditional accounts of his genealogy, he was the son of al-'Alā Ibn 'Ammār Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Julhum Ibn *Khuzā'i* Ibn Māzin Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Amr Ibn Tamīm; but some say that Julhum was son of Ḥujr Ibn al-*Khuzā'i*: God best knows the truth! The following anecdote was related by Abū 'Amr: "Al-Ḥājjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Ṭaḡafī had caused search to be made for my father, who, in consequence, fled to Yaman, we were overtaken by a person who recited this verse:

'Often our hearts reject a thing which would have brought deliverance (*farjah*) like the undoing of bonds.'

"My father then asked him: 'What news?, and he answered; 'Al-Ḥājjāj is dead.' But I was more delighted to hear the word *farjah* (*with which I was not acquainted before*) than to hear of the death of al-Ḥājjāj. My father then said: 'Let us turn our camels towards Baṣrah.'" "I asked Abū 'Amr," said Abū 'Ubaydah, "what age he was at that time? and he replied: 'I had then strangled (*i. e.*, outlived) more than twenty years!'" *Farjah* signifies the separation between two things; and *furjah*, the separation between two mountains. The passage which follows is taken from the *Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāt*, or classified list of the grammarians<sup>1</sup>: "Al-Aṣma'i relates that Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala said, in speaking of these words of the Prophet's: *A person causing miscarriage must redeem his crime by bestowing a male or a female slave* (*fi 'l-janīn ghurratun 'abdun aw amatun*)<sup>2</sup>, that, unless the Prophet had meant to express some idea by the word *ghurrah* (*al-bedo*), he would have said: *Fi 'l-janīn 'abdun aw amatun*<sup>3</sup>; but he really did mean the

1 Ḥājjī Khalīfah notices a number of works bearing this title. I suspect that it was the one by al-Mubarrad from which the following extract is taken.

2 The Arabic words translated literally would run thus: *Pro faetu, albedo servi aut uncillae* (detur).

3 Literally: *Pro faetu, servus aut ancilla*.

white colour, and that none but a white male or female slave should be received as the price of redemption; forbidding thus the accepting of a black male or female slave for that object!'' This is a strange opinion, and I am unable to say whether it concords or not with that of any of the *mujtahid Imāms*<sup>1</sup>; I give it here merely on account of its singularity. In the same book we read that al-Aṣma'i said; "I asked Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā if the Arabs of the desert made any distinction between the fourth and the second form of the verb *rahaba* (*to fear*), and he replied: 'The two are not equivalent.' I then said: 'The second form must mean *to frighten greatly*, and the fourth *to make fear enter the heart*'<sup>2</sup>; on which he observed that the person who knew the difference died thirty years before."<sup>3</sup> Ibn Munādhīr<sup>4</sup> said: I asked Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā till what period of life a man should continue acquiring learning? And he made answer: 'It befits him to do so as long as his life lasts.'" Abū 'Amr states that he received the following relation from Qatādah al-Sadūsī<sup>5</sup>: When the first copy of the *Qur'ān* was written out and presented to (*the khalif*) 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, he said: 'There are faults of language in it, and let the Arabs of the desert rectify them with their tongues.'<sup>6</sup>' It was Abū 'Amr's (*pious*) custom not to pronounce a single verse from the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān to the end of it. He spent every day a penny for anew (*and therefore a pure*) pitcher to drink out of that day, and another penny for a nosegay; when he had done with the pitcher, he gave

1 See Introduction.

2 The second form of the verb *rahab* رهب does not signify *to frighten*, and al-Aṣma'i seems merely to have intended to obtain Abu 'l-'Alā's opinion on the subject, by hazarding a conjectural signification.

3 He probably alludes to al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf (no. 144), who died A. H. 95, and was considered as one of the most elegant and correct speakers of the age. Abu 'l-'Alā abstains from uttering his name, to avoid the necessity of saying after it, *Raḍīya Allāh 'anhu* (*May God show favour to him*), which formula is always pronounced when the name of a deceased Muslim is mentioned,

4 See no. 127 note on Ibn Munādhīr.

5 His life will be found in this work.

6 That is: Let them pronounce the word right, but not attempt to correct it in the written copy.

it to his family, and every evening he would order his maid to dry the nosegay and throw the fragments of the flowers into the water-skins (*to perfume them*). Yūnus Ibn Ḥabīb, the grammarian, relates as follows: "I heard Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā say: "I never interpolated the poems of the desert Arabs but with one single verse, and that was:

'She rejected me, yet nothing displeased her, of all the effects of time, except my grey beard and bald head.'

" 'And this verse is still extant in a celebrated poem, composed by al-A'shā.' "1 Abu 'Ubaydah relates as follows: Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā went to Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī, the uncle of al-Saffāh, and this prince asked him a question to which Abū 'Amr answered, stating the truth; Sulaymān was by no means pleased with his frankness, and Abū 'Amr being vexed at this, left the room, reciting these lines as he went out:

'I disdain to humble myself before princes, even though they honour me and place me near them; when I spoke truth to them, I had to dread their anger, and had I told them lies, I should have pleased them.' "

The following anecdote was related by 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān al-Nawfalī: I heard my father say to Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā. Tell me of the work you composed on that subject which you call *arabism*; does it contain all the language of the desert Arabs? ' Abū 'Amr answered that it did not, and my father then said: 'How do you manage when the Arabs furnish you with examples contrary to your own rules?' To this Abū 'Amr replied: 'I follow the majority of the cases and call the rest *dialects*.' "

The anecdote related of Abū 'Amr are very numerous. He was born at Makkah, A. H. 70 (A. C. 689-90); some say A. H. 65; and he died at Kūfah, A. H. 154 (A. C. 770-1); other accounts, however, place his death in A. H. 159, and 157, and 156. He had gone to Syria to solicit the benevolence of the governor of Damascus, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the son of Ibrāhīm the imām<sup>2</sup>, and he expired on his return to Kūfah. Ibn Qutaybah asserts, however,

1 See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, vol. II, page 471.

2 Further notice is taken of 'Abd al-Wahhāb at the end of this article.

that he died on his way to Syria, but in this he is pronounced to be mistaken; and a certain transmitter of traditional knowledge declares that he saw Abū Amr's tomb at Kūfah, having these words inscribed on it: "This is the tomb of Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala. When his last hour drew near, he experienced a succession of fainting fits; and as he was recovering from one of them, he perceived his son Bishr shedding tears, on which he said: 'Why do you weep, now that eighty-four years have passed over me?'" The following elegiac lines were composed on his death by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa':<sup>1</sup>

\*["We have lost Abū 'Amr, and none like him survives! O how the strokes of misfortune stun him who is afflicted!] Thou hast departed and left a void among us which we can never hope to see filled up; but thy loss procures us one advantage every new misfortune will find us insensible to affliction."

Some say, however, that this elegy was composed by him on Yaḥyā Ibn Ziyād Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Madān<sup>2</sup> al-Hārithī al-Kūfī, a poet of celebrity and a maternal cousin of al-Ṣaffāḥ, the first Abbaside *khalīf*. Others again mention that Ibn al-Muqaffa' composed it on 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā,<sup>3</sup> but the first opinion is that generally held. These verses have been also attributed to Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa'. I shall now observe that if this elegy was made on Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā, it could not have been composed by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muqaffa', for he died before Abū 'Amr; but it is possible that it was written by his son, and it is generally believed to refer to Abū 'Amr. Although Abū 'Amr be merely a surname, I have placed Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala's life under this letter for the reason already stated in the life of Abū Bakr Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (no. 114), and to that article I shall therefore refer the reader. As for the 'Abd al-Wahhāb of whom mention

1 See no. 183.

2 It appears from the *Qāmūs* that al-Madān was the name of an idol. See also Pocock's *specimen*, second edition, page 104.

3 The autograph has العوجا.

\* From 'we' to 'afflicted' not in the autograph—Ed.

has been made in this notice, we may here state that he was the son of the Ibrāhīm, generally denominated al-Imām, whose name occurs in the life of his father Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās'. 'Abd al-Wahhāb was the governor of Syria in the name of his uncle al-Manṣūr, but this prince felt so apprehensive of his ulterior projects that when he lay at the point of death near the Well of Maymūn, at the gate of Makkah, he said to his chamberlain al-Rabī' Ibn Yūnus (no. 223): "The only person (*whose intentions*) I fear is the governor of Syria, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the son of Ibrāhīm the Imām"! He then raised his hands towards heaven and exclaimed: "Almighty God! deliver me from 'Abd al-Wahhāb"! "When al-Manṣūr expired," said al-Rabī' Ibn Yūnus, "I lowered his body into the grave, and I had just placed the tombstone over it, when I heard a voice from the interior of it pronounce these words: 'Abd al-Wahhāb is dead, and the prayer is fulfilled.' I was struck with terror at this occurrence, and six or seven days afterwards, intelligence was brought of 'Abd al-Wahhāb's death." It is Ibn Badrān who relates this anecdote in his commentary on the *qaṣīdah* of Ibn 'Abdūn, which begins with these words:

"After (*inflicting*) the reality (*of misfortune*), time still torments (*us*) with the traces of it."

He introduces the story when explaining the following verse:

"Time struck with dread each Māmūn (*tutus*) and Mūtamin (*securus*), and it betrayed each Manṣūr (*victor*) and Muntaṣir (*adjutus*)<sup>2</sup>."

#### 481 AL-JĀḤIẒ.

Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr Ibn Baḥr Ibn Maḥbūb al-Kinānī al-Laythī, generally known by the surname of al-Jāḥiẓ and a native of

<sup>1</sup> See also no. 347.

<sup>2</sup> The *Māmūn* here mentioned is the *khalīf*. His brother *Mūtamin* was designed as his successor by al-Raḡhā, but this nomination al-Māmūn set aside on the death of al-Amīn. *Manṣūr* was the second Abbaside *khalīf*, and *Muntaṣir* was the son and successor of al-Mutawakkil.

[The figure of speech employed in this verse is. ايها تناسب.]

Baṣrah, was a man celebrated for his learning and author of numerous works on every branch of science. He composed a discourse on the fundamentals of religion, and an offset of the Mu'tazilite sect was called *al-Jāhīziyyah* after him. He had been a disciple of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Sayyār al-Balkhī, surnamed al-Nazzām,<sup>1</sup> and was maternal uncle to Yamūt Ibn al-Muzarra', a person whose life we shall give. One of his finest and most instructive works is the *Kitāb al-Ḥaywān* (*book of animals*), as it contains every sort of curious information. The same may be said of his *Kitāb al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn*, (*distinction and exposition*).<sup>2</sup> His productions are extremely numerous, and his talents are fully recognised; but he was deformed in person, and the prominence of his eyes, which seemed to be starting out of his head, procured him the surnames of *al-Jāhīz* (*the starrer*) and al-Ḥadaqi (*goggle-eye*). Amongst the anecdotes concerning him, is the following, related by himself: "I was mentioned to al-Mutawakkil as a proper person to instruct one of his sons; but, on seeing me, he disliked my looks and dismissed me with a present of ten thousand dirhams. On leaving the palace, I met with Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm,<sup>3</sup> who was on the point of returning to Madīnat al-Ṣalām (*Baghdād*), and he proposed to me that I should accompany him in his barge. I should remark that we were then at Sarra man Ra'ā. I embarked with him, and, on reaching the mouth of the canal al-Qāṭūl,<sup>4</sup> a curtained tent was

1 See no. 84 note on Sayyār.

2 The autograph has التبيين; the later MSS, and Hājjī Khalīfah give the same reading as the printed text.

3 Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣ'ab was governor of the province of Fārs. In A. H. 236 (A. C. 850-1) his nephew Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm, made a complaint against him to al-Mutawakkil, and obtained permission to treat him as he pleased. Ibn Ishāq immediately proceeded to Fārs and removed his uncle from the government, which he conferred on his cousin al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣ'ab. He then placed his uncle in confinement and let him die of thirst. (Ibn al-Aṭhīr).

4 The Qāṭūl, a canal on the east side of the Tigris branched off from it two parasangs lower down than Sarra man ra'ā. It passed through Jarjarā'l and then returned into the Tigris.

set up and he called for music, on which a female lute-player commenced singing an air, of which the words were :

'Our days are passed in quarrels and reproaches ; our time is spent in anger. Can it be that such an affliction is peculiar to me alone, or is it common to every lover ?'

She then stopped, and he told a female-guitar-player to begin. The words she sung were :

'Show pity to true lovers ! I see no one to assist them ; how often do they part ! how often are they severed ! how often do they separate ! how great must be their patience !'

Here the lute-player said to her :

'And then what must they do ?'

To which the other female answered :

' 'Tis this they have to do'

She then struck her hand through the curtain, and, coming out at the rent she thus made, she appeared to us like a half-moon<sup>1</sup> and threw herself into the water. A young page who was standing behind Muḥammad, with a fly-flap in his hand, and who resembled her in beauty, went over to the place where she fell in, and saw her borne away under the water, on which he recited this verse :

(' 'Tis thou who drownest me<sup>2</sup> after meeting with thy fate ! ) O that thou couldst know it !'

He then sprung in after her, and the rowers having turned the barge round, perceived them sinking and clasped in each other's arms. They were never seen after. Muḥammad was greatly shocked at the circumstance, but he at length said to me : 'O Abū 'Amr ! tell me some story which may diminish my grief for the death of that unfortunate couple, or else I shall send thee to join them !' I immediately recollected an occurrence which happened to Yazīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and I related as follows : The Khalif Yazīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik was holding a public sitting for the redressing of grievances, and amongst the memorials which passed under his examination, he found one containing these words : 'If

1 Al-Jāhīz means to say that he saw her in profile only.

2 The autograph alone gives the right reading, which is غرقنى .



it be the pleasure of the Commander of the faithful, he will have such and such a slave-girl of his brought out to me, so that she may sing me three airs.' On reading this note, Yazid was seized with anger, and he sent out a person with orders to bring in the writer's head, but he then dispatched another messenger after the first, with directions to bring in the individual himself. When the man appeared before him, the khalif addressed him thus: 'What induced thee to do what thou hast done?' 'My confidence in thy mildness,' replied the man, 'and my trust in thy indulgence.' Here the prince ordered all the assembly to withdraw, not excepting the members of the Omayyide family, and the girl was brought in with a lute in her hand. The youth then said to her: 'Sing these words:

'Gently, O Fāṭimah! moderate thy disdain! if thou hast resolved to sever our attachment, yet be gentle.'<sup>1</sup>

When she had sung it, Yazid said to him: 'Speak': and the other said: 'Sing:

'The lightning gleamed in the direction of Najd, and I said: O lightning! I am too much engaged to watch thee.'<sup>2</sup>

And she sung it. Yazid then said to him: 'Speak;' and he said: 'Order me a pint of wine;' and it was brought to him. He had hardly drunk it off, when he sprung up, and, having climbed to the top of the dome under which Yazid was sitting, he threw himself down and dashed out his brains. 'We belong to God', exclaimed Yazid (*horror-struck*), 'and unto Him we must rereturn! See that madman! he was silly enough to think that if I brought out my slave-girl to him, I should take her back again into my own possession. Pages! lead her out and bear her to his family, if he have a family; and if not, sell her and let the price be distributed as alms in his name.' They immediately departed with her for the man's family, but, on crossing the court of the palace, she saw an excavation prepared for preserving the rain-waters, on which she burst from their hands, and recited this line:

1 This verse belongs to the *Mu'allaqah* of 'Imra al-Qays.

2 See no. 191, note on Ṭuḥrā's verse on lightning.

'Those that die of love, let them die thus; there is no good in love without death.'

And throwing herself head foremost into the cistern she died on the spot. Muḥammad received some distraction from this narration, and he made me a large present." The following anecdote is related by Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Sīrāfi: "We went to the assembly held by the lord Wazīr Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amīd, and, the name of al-Jāḥiẓ happening to be mentioned, a person present depreciated his abilities and spoke of him slightly. The Wazīr made no observation, and, when the man had retired, I said to him: 'My lord! Why did you not reply to that fellow, you are accustomed to refute the assertions of persons like him?' To this the Wazīr replied: 'I thought any reply less effectual than leaving him in his ignorance; had I argued with him and brought proofs against him, he would then have commenced reading the works of al-Jāḥiẓ, and that, Abu 'l-Qāsim! would have made a man of him; for they teach us to reason first, and instruct us in literature next; and I did not think that fellow worthy of such an advantage.'" Towards the close of his life, al-Jāḥiẓ had an attack of palsy, and one of his sides was so much inflamed, that he had to rub it with sandal-ointment and camphor, whilst the latter was so cold and benumbed, that, were it seized with pincers, it had been insensible. During his illness he used to say: "Maladies of a contrary nature have conspired against my body; if I eat any thing cold, it seizes on my feet, and if I eat any thing hot, it seizes on my head." He would say again: "My left side is paralysed to such a degree that, if it were torn with pincers, I should not be aware of it; and my right side is so affected with gout, that if a fly walked on it, it would give me pain. I am afflicted also with gravel, which prevents me from passing urine; but what bears hardest on me is the weight of ninety-six years." He would then repeat the verse:

"Didst thou, who art an aged man, hope to be as thou wast in the days of thy youth? Thou deceivest thyself; a threadbare garment is not like one that is new."

The following anecdote was related by a member of the Barmak family: "Having been appointed governor of Sind, I

remained there for a considerable time, till I learned that I had been removed from office. Having gained thirty thousand *dīnārs* during my administration, and fearing, if my successor arrived suddenly, that he would learn where the money was deposited and try to seize it, I had it melted down into ten thousand plum (*-shaped masses*), each of them weighing three *mithqāls*<sup>1</sup>. My successor arrived soon after, on which I took ship and arrived at Baṣrah. Being informed that al-Jāḥiẓ was in that city, laid up with the palsy, I felt desirous of seeing him before he died; and I therefore went to find him. On arriving at his house, which was but a small one, I knocked at the door, and a female slave of a tawny complexion came out and asked me what I wanted. 'I am from a foreign country,' said I, 'and wish to have the pleasure of seeing the *shaykh*.' She then went to inform him of my desire, and I heard him utter these words: 'Say to him: What would you have with a body bent to one side, a mouth driveling, and a complexion faded?' On this I told the girl that I should insist on seeing him, and he said, on being informed of my determination: 'This is some man passing through Baṣrah, who, hearing that I was unwell, has said to himself: I should like to get a sight of him before he dies, so that I may say: I have seen al-Jāḥiẓ.' He then consented to receive me, and, on entering his room, I saluted him. He answered me most politely, and said: 'Who are you? may God exalt you.' I informed him of my name and family, on which he replied: 'May God have mercy on your ancestors and forefathers, the generous and beneficent! their days were as gardens in the path of time, and many were those whom they restored to prosperity! May the Divine favour and blessing be upon them!' In return, I offered up an invocation for his own welfare, and said: 'I request of you to recite me some of your poetry, on which he pronounced the following verses:

'Though now some have outstripped me, how often in former times did I advance leisurely, and yet outstrip all rivals. But here is time with its vicissitudes ruining what was firm and renewing what was ruined.'

---

1 It appears from this that the *dīnār* of that time weighed a *mithqāl*.

I then rose up to retire, but, as I was entering the court of the house, he called out : 'Tell me, sir ! did you ever see a palsied man derive advantage from plums ?'—'No,' said I.—'I ask you the question,' replied he, 'because plums such as you have would do me good ; send some to me !' I told him that I would, and left the house, wondering in myself how he could have discovered a secret which I had concealed so carefully. I then sent him one hundred of those plums."—Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Barmaki said : "Al-Jāḥiẓ recited to me these lines :

'We had once friends, but they are now departed and passed away ; they were not suffered to live for ever ! They all passed about the cup of death ; the friend is dead, and so is the foe.' "

Al-Jāḥiẓ died at Baṣrah in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 255 (Dec.-Jan., A. C. 868-9) : aged upwards of ninety years.—*Laythī* means *descended from Layth* Ibn Bakr Ibn 'Abd Manāt Ibn Kinānah Ibn *Khuzaymah*.

#### 482 'AMR IBN MAS'ADAH.

Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah Ibn Sa'id Ibn Ṣūl, the *kātib*, was one of al-Māmūn's wazīrs. The *Khāṭib* (no. 33) mentions, in his History of Baghdād, that he was an uncle's son to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī (no. 10). As a *kātib*, 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah acquired great distinction by an elegant style, pregnant with meaning and concise, clear in purport and precise in thought. when al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl, the brother of al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl, held the post of wazīr under al-Māmūn, he acquired such predominant influence that no one could find means of speaking to that prince ; but, when he was put to death, the persons who were afterwards wazīrs obtained the opportunities of offering their respects to their sovereign. These were Aḥmad Ibn Abī *Khālīd* al-Aḥwal (no. 8 note), 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah and Abu 'Abbād'. Al-Māmūn ordered

1 Abū 'Abd Allāh *Thābit* Ibn Yaḥyā al-Rāẓī, surnamed Ibn 'Abbād, was one of al-Māmūn's wazīrs. As a *Kātib* he displayed the highest abilities, but was very precipitate and passionate. (MS. No. 895, fol. 202).

him, one day, to write to one of the provincial agents a letter of recommendation for a person whom he wished to be well received, and the following note was drawn up by him in consequence : "This, my letter to thee, is that of a person relying on him to whom he writes, and interested for him in whose favour he writes. So, between (*my*) reliance (*on thee*) and (*my*) interest (*for him*), the bearer will not lose his pains. Adieu !" Some say that this note was composed by al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb, but the general and, at the same time, the right opinion is, that Ibn Mas'adah was the author. The following anecdote was related by 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah : 'I was writing answers to memorials in the presence of Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā the Barmakide, when one of the pages presented him a paper containing a request for an increase of salary. He handed the letter to me, telling me to answer it, and I wrote as follows : 'Small and lasting (*pensions*) are better than large and transitory (*ones*).' Having perused it, he clapped on the back and said :— 'What a wazīr is contained in your skin !' "The style of 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah was replete with fine ideas. He died A. H. 217 (A. C. 832-3) at a place called *Adhanah*, but al-Jihshiyārī (*no. 359 note*) states, in his book of wazīrs, that he died in the month of the latter Rabi', A. H. 215 (June, A. C. 830).— On his death, al-Māmūn received a memorial in which it was stated that he had left a fortune of eighty millions of dirhams<sup>1</sup> (*and that he must have therefore defrauded the state*), but the *khalif* wrote on the back of it : "This is but little for one who was attached to our service so long ; may his sons enjoy, with the blessing of God, what he has left, and may He guide them its management." Al-Mas'ūdī mentions, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, that, when Ibn Mas'adah died, (*the government*) made an inventory of his property, which had never been the case with any other wazīr.— *Adhanah* is the name of a town on the coast of Syria, near Ṭarsūs ; its castle was erected A. H. 144 (A. C. 761-62).— Having written thus far, I discovered a very elegant epistle of his, addressed to a person of high rank who was greatly displeased at his mother's contracting a second marriage ; on perusing it, he

---

1 About two millions of pounds sterling.

felt quite consoled, and was delivered from his affliction. It is a beautiful a production that I am induced to insert it here: "Praise be to God Who hath removed from us the veil of passion, and guided us to the concealing of our disgrace! Who, by declaring certain things lawful, has confounded our jealous pride, and forbidden us to hinder mothers from marrying again, as He hath forbidden us to bury daughters alive! thus reducing disconsolate minds from haughtiness—haughtiness such as that which prevailed in pagan times. He then held out an ample recompense to him who awaits with resignation the accomplishment of His decree, and promised a vast treasure to him who bears with patience the trials which He sends him. May He Who hath opened thy heart to piety, increased thy patience under afflictions, and inspired thee with resignation to His will and submission to His judgments, grant thee to enjoy the blessing of that grace by which He disposed thee to fulfil thy duty to a parent, one who has the highest of claims upon thee. May He, Whose glory should ever be extolled, grant that His mortification of thy pride and this grief which thou strivest to suppress, be counted as titles to an increase of recompense and to an augmentation of treasure (*in the world to come*). To thy present anger at her conduct may He join thy future sorrow at her burial, so that the stroke of affliction may be complete and thy reward perfect! May God permit that the bitterness which thy Lordship felt at her marriage be united to the patience with which thou shalt endure her loss; and may He soon replace, for thy sake, this nuptial couch by the bier; May God Whose glory should ever be extolled grant that the satisfaction thou mayest feel at her death be unattended by His displeasure, and that the gifts which He may bestow thee on taking her to Himself be unmingled with future probations! the judgments of God—may His glory be exalted and His name hallowed!—hold their course, in spite of human will but He, may He be exalted! chooseth for His servants, the true believers, that which is best for them in this transitory world and more lasting for them in the other life. May God, in talking her to Himself chose what is best for her and most profitable, and make the tomb her fit abode. Adieu!" This letter is attributed by some to al-Faql Ibn al-'Amid, whose life we shall

give later ; and it recalls to my mind two verses which were composed by the *Ṣāḥib* Ibn 'Abbad ( no. 93 ) on a person who got a new husband for his mother ; they are as follows :

"I blamed him for allowing his mother to marry, but he answered : 'I have done a thing lawful.'—'True,' I replied ; 'what you have done is lawful, but you have given away the cracked pitcher<sup>1</sup>.'"

'Amr Ibn Mas'adah wrote to one of his friends the following letter of recommendation in favour of a person to whom he was greatly attached : "The bearer of my letter to you is Sālim. Adieu !" In this he alluded to a verse wherein a poet says :

"They withhold me from Sālim and I repel them ; his very skin is *sālim* (in safety) between my eyes and my nose."

That is : (*this person is so dear to me that, if it were possible*), I should place him in that spot. The following lines were given, by Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn al-Jarrāḥ<sup>2</sup> as having been composed by Muḥammad al-Baydaq al-Naṣībī on 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah, who had been complaining of his health :

"'Abu 'l-Faḍl,' said they, 'is ill.'—I answered : 'I would lay down my life to save him from every danger. O that I had his illness ; he the reward of those who suffer, and I no reward whatever !'"

Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī having fallen into distress for want of employment, 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah, who was his friend, sent him a sum of money. Ibrāhīm then wrote to him these lines :

"Till the end of my life I shall be thankful to 'Amr for kindness so freely granted and yet so great ! He is one who never refuses money to his friend, and never utters a complaint at his failings. He saw my poverty, though I essayed to conceal it ; and it hurt his eyes till it was removed."

---

1 The original text may also signify *concedisti diffissionem vetulae* ; but this is so poor a quibble, that I suspect allusion is made to some proverbial saying, with which I am not acquainted.

2 See no. 10, note on Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn al-Jarrāḥ.

The following anecdote is given by Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib<sup>1</sup>: "I one day went in where al-Māmūn was, and found him with a letter in his hand. He kept looking at it for a long time, and I remained observing him. He then said: 'O Aḥmad! I perceive that my conduct maketh thee reflect!' 'It is true,' I replied, 'and may God avert from the Commander of the faithful every cause of trouble and protect him against every danger!' He answered; 'There is nothing in the letter to trouble me, but I found in it a passage which struck me by its similarity to an observation which I heard (*the khalif*) al-Rashīd make; speaking of eloquence, he defined it to be: distance from prolixity, closeness to the thought intended and the expressing of it in few words. I did not think it possible for any person to attain such a degree of perfection, till I read this letter!' He then handed it to me, saying: 'It is addressed to me from 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah' I read it and its contents were these: 'From the under-signed to the Commander of the faithful. Those of his generals and troops who are under me show such obedience as that of brave men whose stipends are withheld. By this, they are disorganised and ruined;' When I had perused the letter he said: 'The admiration which it excited in me induced me to give orders that the troops under his command should receive a donation equal to seven month' pay. And I am considering how to recompense a writer in a manner befitting one who holds such a rank in his profession!'"

## 483 IBN BĀNAH

'Amr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Rashīd, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Bānah, was a *mawla* to Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī and a singer of the very highest talent. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ispahānī mentions him in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and says: "His father was the head of one of the government offices and held a distinguished rank among the *kātib*s. He (*himself*)

1 See no. 117, note on Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf.



was an excellent singer and a good poet. He left a work on *Aghānī*, or popular songs. His haguhtiness and pride were excessive, and although afflicted with leprosy, the *khalifs* included him in the number of their boon companions and singers." He died A. H. 278 (A. C. 891-2) at Sarra man ra'ā. The *khalif* al-Muta-wakkil admitted him into his closest intimacy and familiarity. Ibn Bānah learned his art from Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (no. 84) and other eminent masters. The work which he composed on singing is sufficient proof of his abilities. Baghdād was the place of his residence, but he occasionally visited Sarra man ra'ā. His mother, *Bānah*, was the daughter of Rūh, the secretary to Salamah al-Waṣīf. In the life of Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn (no. 288) we have given two satirical lines of his, directed against the prince.

#### 484 IBN AL-MŪṢALĀYĀ.

The *Kātib* Abu Sa'd al-'Alā Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Wabb Ibn al-Mūṣalāyā, surnamed Amin al-Dawlat (*the trusty servant of the state*), was a native of Baghdād and *Munṣhī* (*drawer up of state papers*) to the *khalifate*. He had been originally a Christian, but made his profession of Islamism to the *khalif* al-Muqtadi bi-Allāh and proved himself a sincere convert. He composed a number of elegant epistles and good poems, which have been collected and form two volumes, one of prose and one of verse. His talents were of the highest order. In the year 432 (A. C. 1040-1) he entered into the service of the *khalif* al-Qā'im, as writer in the chancery office. Some time before his death, he lost his sight. He died on the 19th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 497 (February, A. C. 1104\*). He had a sister's son, called Abu Naṣr Hibat Allāh Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ḳhayr al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, and surnamed Tāj al-Ruwasā (*crown of the chiefs*), who was a *Kātib* and a man of abilities, possessing a knowledge of the belles letters and a talent for eloquence. He also wrote a beautiful hand, and composed

\* 18 February.—Ed.

some good epistles which bear a high reputation and have been collected into a volume. He died at Baghdād, after a five days' illness, on the eve of Monday, the 11th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 498 (January, A. C. 1135\*), aged seventy years; and was interred at the Abrez Gate. He became a Muslim at the same time as his uncle, this occurred, A. H. 484 (A. C. 1091-2). *Mūṣalāyā* is a name used among Christians<sup>1</sup>.

#### 485 IBN AL-SAWĀDĪ.

Abu 'l-Faraj al-'Alā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a native of Wāsiṭ and surnamed Ibn al-Sawādī, was a *Kātib* and a poet. In the art of verse he displayed a great natural talent, combined with a subtle wit and some of licentiousness of humour. His family was one of the first in the city, and had been noted for producing able *Kātib*s and men of talent. In one of his pieces which are all very fine, he says :

"I complain to thee of thy own disdain, and, blinded by love, I imagine thou wilt grant me justice. I avoid thee, lest it should be seen that thou avoidest me; for then my jealous foes would receive some satisfaction."

This idea is borrowed from another poet, who says :

"I strive to conceal the love I bear you from those who might reproach (*me with folly*); I should not wish them to see what pains you cause me, for that would give them satisfaction."

I met this last verse before I knew those of Ibn al-Sawādī, and, being pleased with the idea, I versified it in the following couplet :

---

<sup>1</sup> *Mūṣalāyā* or *Mūsaloīyo* signifies in Syriac native of Mosul.

\* 29 January,—*Ed.*

"( *Fair maid*, ) wand of the sands ! thy stature is pliant ; the days of thy kindness, are, for me, days of rejoicing. If I conceal my grief when shunned by thee, 'tis done to prevent my envious rivals from exulting."

'Imād al-Dīn mentions, in the *Kharīdah*, that Ibn al-Sawādī recited to him the following line of his own composing :

"I swear by the (*sacred victims*) contained in the Muṣallā<sup>1</sup> and those within the ample valley of Minā<sup>2</sup>, that for thee my heart yearns with love !"

There are three verses in all, but, as I think this the best, I abstain from giving the others. Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allah Ibn al-Faḍl, surnamed Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, a person whose life we shall give, directed against the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* al-Zaynabī<sup>3</sup> a satirical poem, rhyming in *k* and beginning thus :

"Brother ! the condition (*of my existence*) is too strong (*to be resisted*) ; I cannot refrain from exposing vice."

It is a long poem, consisting of one hundred and eighteen verses, and, having been transmitted orally from one person to another, it obtained great publicity. When al-Zaynabī heard it, he sent for Ibn al-Faḍl and clapped him into prison after boxing his ears. The poet subsequently recovered his liberty, and it happened that, towards the same period, Ibn al-Sawādī arrived at Baghdād and recited a panegyric on the *qāḍī* in his presence. As

1 The meaning of this word is explained in 262 note on Muḥalla.

2 Minā is the name of the valley near Makkah where the pilgrims offer up sacrifice.

3 Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Zaynabī, an eminent *imām*, the chief doctor and principal *qāḍī* of the Ḥanifite sect at Baḥdād, was born A. H. 420 (A. C. 1029). Having studied the *Qur'ān*, the Traditions and jurisprudence, he became mufti, professor, and chief of the sect. He received the honorary title of Nūr al-Hudā (*light of the direction*), and was frequently employed by the *Khalīf* as his envoy to the neighbouring princes. He had also the posts of *naqīb*, or chief, of the descendants of 'Alī and of those of al-'Abbās. He died on the 21st of Ṣafar, A. H. 512 (June, A. C. 1118),\* and was interred in the funeral chapel of Abū Ḥanīfah, (*Nujūm*).

\* 30 May—Ed.

the recompense which he expected did not make its appearance, he went frequently to the *qāḍī*'s assemblies, but could obtain nothing. He then met Ibn al-Faḍl and acquainted him with the circumstance, adding that he intended going down to Wāsiṭ, his native place, and composing a satire on him. On this Ibn al-Faḍl wrote to Abu 'l-Faḥḥ, a friend of al-Zaynabī's, a piece of verse in which was the following passage :

"Abu 'l-Faḥḥ ! when the heart boils, satire abounds. Rhymes will then assail the victim, and Satan himself will back them. Beware of the verses, rhyming in *k* of one who is going down the river and whose ears you and your friends can never hope to box."

These verses came to al-Zaynabī's knowledge, and he immediately sent a present to Ibn al-Sawādī and calmed him. This poet was born at Wāsiṭ on the eve of Wednesday, the 15th of the first Rabi' A. H. 482 (May, A. C. 1089)\*, and he died at the same place, A. H. 556 (A. C. 1161).—*Sawādī* means *belonging to the Sawād* (or *cultivated plains*) of 'Irāq. This region was so called because the Arabs of the desert, when they first saw the verdure of the trees, exclaimed : "What is that *sawād* (dark thing) ?" and this ever afterwards continued to be its name.

#### 486 THE QĀḌĪ 'IYĀḌ.

The *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Iyāḍ Ibn Mūsā Ibn Iyāḍ Ibn 'Amr† Ibn Mūsā Ibn 'Iyāḍ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn 'Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣubī was a native of Ceuta (*al-Sibtī*) and the first authority of his time in the Traditions, the sciences connected with the, grammar, philology, and the sayings, feats and genealogies of the Arabs of the desert. He wrote some highly instructive works, such as the *Ikmāl*, or *Completion*, being an elucidation of the commentary composed by al-Māzarī on Muslim's collection of the Traditions, and entitled by him *al-Mu'lim*<sup>1</sup>. Another of his

<sup>1</sup> The life of al-Māzarī will be found in this work.

\* 13 June—*Ed.*

† The Cairo edition gives 'Umar,—*Ed.*

productions the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* (*orient-points of the lights*), contains an explanation of the obscure terms occurring in three *Ṣaḥiḥs*; namely, the *Muwattaʿa* (of *Mālik*), the collection of al-Bukhārī and that of Muslim; it is a most instructive book. He wrote also a complete commentary on Umm Zara's Tradition<sup>1</sup>, and, in another work, entitled *al-Tanbihāt* (*indications*), he compiled much curious and useful information. In short, we may say that all his productions are excellent. Ibn Bashkuwāl (*no.* 204) speaks of him in these terms in the *Ṣilat*; "He came to Spain in pursuit of learning, and received lessons at Cordova from a number of masters;— he collected a great quantity of Traditions, and, in this task, he devoted much pains and care to the obtaining of them in a correct form. All the various branches of science<sup>2</sup> were objects of his study, and his acuteness, perspicacity, and intelligence were most remarkable. During a long period he acted as *qāḍī* in his native town"—Ibn Bashkuwāl means Ceuta... "and discharged the duties of his place to general satisfaction. From thence he passed to the qāḍiship of Granada, but this post he did not long hold." The Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ composed some good poetry, of which we may quote these verses, given as his by his son Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *qāḍī* of Denia: "My father recited to me," said he, "the following lines descriptive of the *khāmāt*, or green stalks of corn, when shaken by the wind, with the anemony blossoms appearing among them:

'Behold the green stalks of the corn-field bending to the gale; they resemble a green swardron<sup>3</sup> put to rout, and the red anemonies represent the wounds.' "

His son gave also the following verses as his:

1 Hajjī Khalifah notices this work, but does not seem to have been acquainted with it, as he merely copies Ibn Khallikān's words. I have been unable to discover who the woman called Umm Zara' was.

2 Read *الفنن* in the printed text.

3 Or a dark squadron. When Muḥammad took Makkah, he had a boy-guard so denominated, according to the author of the *Sīrat al-Rasūl*, from the green or dark colour of their armour. These two adjectives were nearly synonymous with the ancient Arabs;—see no. 485 of this volume.

"Since I saw thee for the last time, God knows that I am as a bird whose wings disappoint his efforts. Were I able, I would cross the sea to meet thee, for thy absence causeth my death<sup>1</sup>."

I met with an epistle addressed to him by Ibn al-'Arif (no. 67), and was tempted to insert it here, but found it too long. The qāḍī 'Iyād was born at Ceuta on the 15th of Shābān, A. H. 476 (December, A. C. 1083)\*, and he died at Morocco on Friday, the 7th of the latter Jumādā—others say, in Ramaḍān A. H. 544 (October, A. C. 1149)†. He was interred within the city near the Ilān Gate. The place of qāḍī at Granada was conferred upon him in the year 532 (A. C. 1137-38)<sup>2</sup>. His son Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, died A. H. 575 (A. C. 1179-80). *Yaḥsubī*, pronounced also *Yaḥṣabī* and *Yaḥṣibi*, means *descended from Yaḥsub* (or *Yaḥṣab* or else *Yaḥṣib* Ibn Mālik, the progenitor of a Ḥimyarite tribe. *Ceuta* (*Sibta*) is a well-known town in Maghrib. *Granada* (*Gharnāṭah*) is a city of Spain.

#### 487 'ISĀ IBN 'UMAR AL-THAQAFI.

Abu 'Amr 'Isā Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī (a member of tribe *Thaqif*) was a grammarian and a native of Baṣrah. Some say that he was a *mawlā* to khalīf Ibn al-Walīd (who belonged to the tribe of *Quraysh*), but that he afterwards settled among the tribe of Thaqif, for which reason he obtained that patronymic. He had a habit of employing pompous terms and unusual words in ordinary discourse and (even) in his reading of his *Qur'ān*<sup>3</sup>.

1 The only thing remarkable in these two verses is the artifice of the rhyme, which is *janāḥayni* in both.

2 The MS. of the Bib. du Roi, No. 1377, *ancien fonds*, contains the first part of a treatise on the qāḍī 'Iyād, his professors, literary productions, etc. It is an excessively prolix work; the author, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī was nephew to compiler of the history of Spain, extracts of which have been translated and published by M. de Gayangos.

3 Such licences were permitted in early times. See no. 480 of this volume.

\* 28 December,—*Ed.*

† 14 October.

A close intimacy subsisted between him and Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā (*no.* 480), and some of their epistles with a portion of their (*sittings, or private*) literary discussions, are still preserved. He learned the *reading* of the *Qur'ān* from 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Ishāq by repeating it aloud under his tuition, and he acquired his knowledge of the various readings of the sacred text from 'Abd Allāh Ibn Kathīr (*no.* 305) and Ibn Muḥayṣin\* ; he took also lessons from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*no.* 148), and some curious anecdotes are related of the mode in which he read certain passages of the *Qur'ān* so as to adapt them to the rules of grammar. The *readings* of the *Qur'ān* were transmitted down to him orally by Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā al-Lūlū'i<sup>2</sup>, Hārūn Ibn Mūsā the grammarian<sup>3</sup>, al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad (*no.* 206) Sahl Ibn Yūsuf, and 'Ubayd Ibn 'Aqīl. He taught grammar to Sībawayh (*no.* 479), and is the author of the work on that subject, entitled *al-Jāmi'* (*the collector*). It is said that Sībawayh took this book, and having developed its contents, he inserted in it the observations made by al-Khalīl (*Ibn Aḥmad*) and others; when he had terminated the investigation of the various grammatical points and interpolated these observations, the work was attributed to him, and it is the same which is still known under the title of the *Kitāb*, or *Book* of Sībawayh. In proof of the truth of this statement, an anecdote

1 Ibn Muḥayṣin a *mawlā* to the tribe of Saḥm and a native of Makkah was the principal *Qur'ān-reader* of his time in that city. His authority as a traditionist is well established. He died at Makkah, A. H. 123 (A. C. 740-1). Some say that his real name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān, others, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān. (*Ṭabaqāt al-Qurra*, MS. No. 742, fol. 21).

2 Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā Ibn Abi Maryam al-Lūlū'i, a member of the tribe of Khuzā'ah, was a teacher of the *Qur'ān-readings* and the Traditions. *Ṭab. al-Qurra*, fol. 43. The date of his death is not mentioned.

3 Abū 'Abd Allāh Hārūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ṣharīk, a member of the tribe of Taḡlib and a native of Damascus, was chief of the teachers of the *Qur'ān-readings* in that city, and was generally designated by the name of Hārūn al-Aḥḥafash. In the pursuit of knowledge he visited various countries and received Traditions from numerous masters. He composed some works on the *readings* and on grammar, and died in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 292 (Dec.—Jan. A. C. 904-5), aged ninety-two years *Ṭab al-Qurra*, fol. 67).

\* The name is not legible in the autograph, Cairo edition gives Ibn Muḥayṣin.—*Ed.*

may be inserted here: When Sibawayh left 'Isā Ibn 'Umar and went to attend the lessons of al-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad, he was questioned by the latter concerning 'Isā's works, and his reply was: "He composed upwards of seventy treatises on grammar, which were all collected by a rich amateur and were accidentally destroyed, when in his possession. None of them remain in existence, except two; the *Ikṁāl* (completion), which is now in Fārs, in the hands of such a one, and the *Jāmi'* that which I am now studying and on the obscurities of which I am consulting you." Al-Khalil here reflected for some time with down-cast eyes, and then, looking up, he exclaimed: "May God have mercy on 'Isā!" and recited the following lines:

"All the science of grammar is lost, except the portion which 'Isā Ibn 'Umar discovered to the world. There is the *Ikṁāl* and here the *Jāmi'*; they are a sun and a moon to enlighten mankind."

Al-Khalil himself received (some grammatical information) from him, and it is said, that whilst Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'ālī had treated of the *fā'il* and *maf'ūl* (the agent and patient) only, 'Isā Ibn 'Umar composed a book on grammar, founding his rules on the accordance of the majority of examples; that he had divided it into chapters, drawn it up in a regular form, and styled idioms the exceptions offered by the examples which were in minority. He used also to attack the Arabs of the desert (in their productions), and point out the faults into which the most famous of them, such as al-Nābighah and others, had fallen. The anecdote which follows is related by al-Aṣma'i: 'Isā Ibn 'Umar said to 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā: "I speak more correctly than Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān ever did!" On this Abū 'Amr said to him: "You are going too far; how would you recite this verse:

'Formerly they concealed their faces with a veil, but to-day, when they appear (*badāna*) to the spectators—

Would you say *badāna* or *badīna*?" "I should say *badīna*," said 'Isā. "Then you are wrong," replied the other; "the verb

1 See no. 222 note on Arabic prosody.



*badā*, with the aorist *yabdū*, signifies *to commence a thing*<sup>1</sup>; the right reading is *badūnā*” It was Abū ‘Amr’s design to lead him into the mistake, for, in this case, the Arabs of the desert neither say *badāna* nor *badīna* but *badūna*. An example of his pompous language is thus given by al-Jawharī in his *Ṣaḥāḥ*: ‘Isā Ibn ‘Umar fell off his ass and the people gathered round him, on which he said: *ma lakum? takākātum ‘alayya takākuwakum ‘alā dhi jinnatin! infranqī’ū ‘ammī*; which means; *ma lakum? tajamma’tum ‘alayya tajammu’akum ‘alā majnūn! inkashifū ‘anni* (what is the matter with you? you gather round me as you would round a madman! be off and leave me).” “I find this story told differently in a collection of anecdotes, where it is said that, being troubled with asthma, he fell down in the street one day, and the people gathered round him, saying: “He has the falling-sickness;” and some began to recite passages of the *Qur’ān* (to conjure the evil spirit out of him), whilst others prayed for protection against the genii. When he recovered from his swoon and saw the crowd about him, he pronounced the above words and one of the spectators said: “The spirit which possesses him is speaking Indian.” It is related also that ‘Umar Ibn Hubayrah al-Fazārī, the governor of Persian and Arabian ‘Irāq, having inflicted on him the punishment of whipping, the only words he said were: *wallahi! in kanat illa uṭhayyāban fī usayfā’in qabaḍaha ‘ashshārūka* (by Allāh it was only some trifles of clothes in small baskets, and your tithe collectors have taken them). Numerous anecdotes of a similar nature are told of him. He died A. H. 149 (A. C. 766-7). Some say that it was Yūsuf Ibn ‘Umar, another governor of the two ‘Irāqs, who had him punished. The reason of this was, that, on taking possession of his government as successor to Khālīd Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī (no. 202), he persecuted all his predecessor’s friends, and one of them having confided some property to ‘Isā, he received information of the circumstance and dispatched a written order to his lieutenant at Baṣrah, directing him to put ‘Isā Ibn ‘Umar in chains and send him to him. The lieutenant called in a black-

---

1 It must be observed that *badāna*, the reading approved of by ‘Isā, is derivation from the verb *badā* (to commence.)

smith and ordered him to rivet the fetters; this operation being performed, he said to the prisoner: "You have nothing to fear; the *amīr* merely wants you to instruct his son." "And what then is the meaning of the fetters?" said 'Isā; which words passed into a proverb at Baṣrah, When brought before Yūsuf and questioned concerning the deposit, he denied it, on which the *amīr* ordered him to be flogged; and, on feeling the effects of the first strokes, he pronounced the words above mentioned.

#### 488 ABŪ MŪSĀ 'ISĀ AL-JUZŪLĪ.

Abū Mūsā 'Isā Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Yalalbakht Ibn 'Isā Ibn Yūmārili al-Juzūlī al-Yazdaktanī was a grammarian of the highest eminence, skilled in the subtilities of the science, and well acquainted with its difficulties and exceptional points. He composed on this subject a *muqaddamah* or introduction which he entitled *al-Qānūn* (*the canon*), and wherein he conveyed information of the most curious kind. Though extremely concise, it contains a great quantity of grammatical matter, and this particularity distinguishes it from all previous works on the same subject. It has drawn the attention of many learned men, some of whom composed commentaries to explain it, and others made collections of examples to illustrate its rules; but all their labours are not sufficient to render the book intelligible, and those grammarians who have not read it under the tuition of a person well qualified to point out and explain its peculiar difficulties<sup>1</sup> acknowledge their inability to seize the meaning of the writer: the fact being that it is all enigmas and obscure allusions. I even heard a grammarian of great note say: "I do not understand this introduction, but it does not therefore result that I have no knowledge of grammar." In a word, it is a most original production. I have been informed that he made dictations<sup>2</sup> on grammar, but that they

<sup>1</sup> Literally: Who have not read it under a *Muwaqqif*. The verb *waqqafa*, of which this is the active participle means to cause a person to notice and comprehend.

<sup>2</sup> See no. 370.

were never published. I saw also a work of his, containing an abridgment of the commentary intitled *al-Faṣr*, which Ibn Jinnl (no. 387) composed on al-Mutanabbī's poems. It is stated that he had also some knowledge of logic. Having made a journey to Egypt, he studied under the tuition of Ibn Bāri' (no. 328), whose authority he cites in some passages of the *Muqaddamah*; and a modern author says: "Al-Juzūli read the *Jumal* under Ibn Bāri' and consulted him on various points connected with the different sections of (*Sibawayh's*) *Kitāb* (no. 479) and obtained satisfactory answers. These questions having given rise to discussions among the other pupils, some useful remarks were elicited which al-Juzūli wrote down in a separate book. These materials served to form the *Muqaddamah* an obscure work, abounding in difficulties full of subtle meaning, and indicating the principles of grammar by ingenious allusions. This treatise, with its signification, he taught to his scholars." He then adds: "I have been told that, when he was asked if he had composed that work himself, he replied in the negative; being prohibited by his strictly religious sentiments from claiming as his own the results of a discussion which were in fact the offspring of many minds. It was even said by his master Ibn Bāri' that, although the work went under his name because he had drawn it up, he could not possibly claim it as his own." Al-Juzūli then returned to Maghrib after performing the pilgrimage, and took up his residence at Bijāyah (*Bougia*), where he remained for some time, giving lessons to numerous pupils, with some of whom I was afterwards acquainted and he died at Morocco (*Marrākush*), A. H. 610 (A. C. 1213-4). Such is the date given me by various persons, but I since met with an account of his life, by Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Abbār al-Qudā'i,<sup>1</sup>

---

1 The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi Bakr al-Qudā'i, surnamed Ibn al-Abbār, the author of the *Takmilah*, or *completion* of Ibn Baṣṭakūwāl's *Ṣilat*, was a native of Valentia in Spain, and secretary to different princes of the Ḥafṣide dynasty. He was put to death by order of al-Mustanṣir, the sovereign of Tūnis, in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 658 (Dec.-Jan. A. C. 1259-60). Ibn Khaldūn given an account of this event in his *History of the Berbers*, a work which the writer is now publishing for the French government.

wherein it is stated that his death occurred in A. H. 606 or 607. *Yalalbukht* and *Yūmārill* are Berber names. *Juzūli* means *belonging to Juzūlah* or *Kuzūlah*,<sup>1</sup> a tribe of the Berbers. *Yazdaktanl* means *belonging to Yazdaktan* a branch of the tribe of *Juzūlah*. I have since found the following passage among my rough notes: al-Juzūli filled the place of *khaṭīb*, or preacher, at the principal mosque of Morocco. The tribe of *Juzūlah* is nomadic, and inhabits the plains of Sūs, in the farthest extremity of Maghrib. As a teacher of the *Qur'ān-readings*, grammar, and philology he held the highest rank, and he gave public lessons in the great mosque. He wrote a large volume as a commentary on his *Muqaddamah*, containing much curious and instructive matter. One of his scholars relates that he went to him with the intention of reading over Abū 'Amr's (no. 480) edition, or *reading*, of the *Qur'ān* under his tuition, and that a person present asked him if he wanted to take lessons in grammar from the master? He replied that he did not, and another asked him the same question and obtained a similar answer; then the *shaykh* said to him: "Answer them thus:" and recited these verses:

"I did not come to you for grammar, and have no wish to learn it. Leave *Zayd* to mind his business, and let him go wherever he likes. What have I to do with a man who is always *beating his neighbours*."<sup>2</sup>

He died at Haskūrah<sup>3</sup> a canton in the kingdom of Morocco.

#### 489 AL-FĀ'IZ AL-'UBAYDĪ.

Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Isā, surnamed al-Fā'iz, was the son of of al-Zāfir Ibn al-Hāfiẓ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mustanṣir Ibn al-Hākim

1 The true pronunciation of this name is *Guzūlah*, with a hard *G*.

2 This is an allusion to the well-known grammatical example: *ḡaraba Zaidun 'Amran* (verberavit Zaidus Amrum.)

3 Read *بہسکورہ* in the printed text. All the secondary MSS. which I have consulted write this name wrong.

\* Egyptian edition gives *مكونه* which is different from autograph reading.

Ibn al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Manṣūr Ibn al-Qā'im Ibn al-Mahdi. We have already spoken of his father and other members of the family, and related how his father was murdered by Naṣr Ibn 'Abbās (*no. 96*), the same person who took away the life of al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār (*no. 460*), and, in our notice on the latter, we have indicated Naṣr's origin. On the morning which succeeded to the night of al-Zāfir's death, 'Abbās went to the Castle to pay his respects as usual, without appearing to have any knowledge of what had occurred and asked to see the prince. The people of the Castle were not yet aware of his death, for he had gone out secretly, as has been mentioned in the article to which we have just referred. As none of them knew that he had left the Castle, the eunuchs went in to ask his permission for 'Abbās to enter, but they found him not. They then proceeded to the hall of the *ḥaram*, but were informed that he had not passed the night there. In short, they sought for him in every part of the Castle where he might be expected to be found, but they could discover no sign of him, and they acquired the conviction that he had disappeared. 'Abbās then ordered the two brothers of al-Zāfir, Jibril and Yūsuf, the father of al-'Āḍid (*no. 96-329*), to be brought forth and addressed them thus: "You two have murdered our imām, and it is from you alone that we can learn where he is." They replied with great earnestness and perfect truth that they were innocent, but 'Abbās, put them to death on the spot, with the hope of thus diverting every suspicion from himself and his son. He then sent for al-Fā'iz, the son of al-Zāfir, a child of about five years old—some say, only two—and having seated him on his shoulder, he took his station in the palace-yard and gave orders that the *amirs* should be introduced. When they had entered, he said to them: "Here is the son of your master; his uncles have murdered his father, and I put them to death, as you may perceive. What is essential now is, that the authority of this infant should be fully recognised." To this they replied: "We hear and we obey!" and they uttered one single shout, so loud that the child was stunned by it and urined on 'Abbās's shoulder. They then gave him the surname of al-Fā'iz (*the successful*) and sent him back to his mother; but that shout

had troubled his reason, and ever after, he suffered from constant attacks of falling-sickness and trembling fits. 'Abbās now proceeded to his own palace and, taking the direction of the state into his own hands, he ruled with uncontrolled authority. The secret of al-Zāfir's murder was discovered, however, by the people of the Castle, and they secretly plotted the death of 'Abbās and his son Naṣr. They wrote also to al-Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ruzzik the Armenian (*no. 283*) who was then governor of Munyah Ibn Khaṣīb in Upper Egypt, asking his assistance for themselves and their master, and encouraging him to revolt against 'Abbās. They cut off their hair (*as a sign of mourning*) and sent it to him in the letter, which was coloured in black (*for the same reason*). On reading the contents, al-Ṣāliḥ communicated them to the soldiers who were about him, and consulted with them on the subject. Having obtained their promise to support him, he drew over to his cause a troop of nomadic Arabs, and they all marched in a body towards Cairo, dressed in black (*mourning*). On their approach, the *amlrs*, soldiers, and Negro troops went forth from the city to join him, and 'Abbās, finding himself totally abandoned, left Cairo without a moment's delay, and fled with a portion of his riches. He was accompanied in his flight by his son Naṣr, the assassin of al-Zāfir, and by Usāmah Ibn Munqidh (*no. 81*) who, it is said, had given them the counsel of murdering their sovereign. Of this we have already spoken in the life of Ibn al-Sallār, but it is God only Who knoweth things hidden! They set out with a small band of followers, and took the road which leads to Syria through Aylah.<sup>1</sup> It was on the 14th of the first Rabi', A. H. 549 (May, A. C. 1154),\* and they left Cairo, and Ibn Ruzzik entered the city without meeting any resistance. His first act was to dismount at the palace where 'Abbās made his residence, and which then bore the designation of the *dār* or palace of al-Māmūn al-Baṭā'iḥi,<sup>2</sup> but

1 'Aylah, or 'Aqabāt 'Aylah, is the fortress situated at the extremity of the eastern bifurcation of the Red Sea.

2 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Mukhtār Ibn Bābak Baṭā'iḥi, surnamed al-Māmūn, was elected wazīr by the amirs of Egypt on the death of al-Afdal Shāhan-shāh. He was arrested and put to death by the Fāṭimite Khalīf al-ʿAmir, A. H. 519 (A. C. 1125-6). It was for al-Baṭā'iḥi that Abū Bakr al-Turtūshī composed his *Sirāj al-Mulūk*. (*Nujūm. Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah*).

\* 29 May,—*Ed.*

which now serves as a Ḥanifite college and bears the name of al-Madrasah al-Suyūfiyah<sup>1</sup>, Having then sent for the little eunuch who had been with al-Ẓāfir when he was murdered, he told him to show where the body was interred. The eunuch pointed out the spot and, on tearing up the pavement which had been placed over it, they brought forth the corpse of al-Ẓāfir and those of the persons who had accompanied him and had been slain at the same time. The bodies were carried out, and people cut off their hair (*in sign of mourning*), whilst Cairo was filled with grief and lamentation. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ruzzīk, accompanied by all the persons in the city, walked on foot before the bier to the funeral chapel appropriated to the family, and which was a conspicuous object within the precincts of the Castle. He then took charge of the child al-Fā'iz and administered the state in his name. The sister of al-Ẓāfir wrote to the Franks at 'Asqalān,<sup>2</sup> offering a large sum of money in case they arrested 'Abbās. This induced them to sally forth to meet him, and in the combat which ensued, he lost his life, with his treasures, and his son was taken prisoner. Some of their companions escaped to Syria and, amongst the number, Ibn Munqidh. The Franks then placed Naṣr, the son of 'Abbās, in an iron cage and sent him under escort to Cairo, where the promised reward was immediately paid into the hands of their envoy. Naṣr being then delivered up, was deprived of his nose and ears, paraded through the city, and finally attached to a cross at the Zawilah Gate. The body was taken down and burnt on the day of 'Āshurah (10th of Muḥarram) A. H. 551 (March, A. C. 1156),\* This, though rather a long relation, is only a summary of what passed. Naṣr, the son of 'Abbās, was taken into the Castle of Cairo on the 27th of the first Rabī', A. H. 550,† and he was brought out on Monday, the 26th of the latter Rabī'‡ of the same year. In the interval, his right hand had been cut

1 See no. 96 note on Suyūfiyah college.

2 The relation which follows agrees in many points with that of William of Tyre (l. xviii, c. 9).

\* 5 March.—*Ed.*

† 30 May A. C. 1155,—*Ed.*

‡ 27 June A. C. 1155,—*Ed.*

off and his body torn with pincers. Some say, however, that he was brought out to be exposed on Friday, the eighth of the month. As for al-Fā'iz, he did not reign long; his birth took place on Friday the 21st of Muḥarram, A. H. 544 (June, A. C. 1149); \* he was raised to the throne on the death of his father (*in Muḥarram A. H. 549*), and he died on the eve of Friday, the 17th of Rajab, A. H. 555 (July, A. C. 1160).† He had for successor al-Āḍid, of whom we have already spoken (*no. 329*) and who was the last prince of the dynasty.

#### 490 AL-MALIK AL-MU'AZZAM IBN AL-ĀDIL.

Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam (*the mighty prince*) Sharaf al-Dīn (*the nobleness of religion*) 'Isā, the son of al-Malik al-Ādil (*the just prince*) Sayf al-Dīn (*the sword of religion*) Abū Bakr, the son of Ayyūb, was a sovereign of Damascus, highly respected for his lofty spirit, resolution, courage, and abilities, and in whom every man of talent found a patron and a friend. He was the first of the Ayyūbite family who professed the principles of the Ḥanīfite sect; to this doctrine he displayed a devoted attachment, and, in its study, he made no inconsiderable progress: the example which he thus set was followed by his children. Having set out from al-Karak to perform the pilgrimage to Makkah, on the 11th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 611 (A. C. 1215),‡ he took for his conveyance the ordinary camels used by travellers, and followed the road to al-'Ulā' and Tabūk, with a band of chosen friends. This was the year in which he took Ṣarkhad from Ibn Qarājā and conferred it on his mamlūk 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak (*afterwards*) known by the title of Lord Ṣarkhad. Aybak held this place till A. H. 644 (A. C. 1246-7), when al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the son of

1 'Al-'Ula, a village in the canton of Wādī 'l-Qurā, is nearer to Madīnah than Diyār Ṭhamūd (*the country of Ṭhamūd*)." *Marāʾid*)

\* 30 May.—*Ed.*

† 22 July.—*Ed.*

‡ 14 March.—*Ed.*



al-Malik al-Kāmil, wrested it from him and sent him to Cairo, where he was imprisoned in the palace of Ṣuwāb al-Ṭawāshī (the eunuch). Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam was a friend to literature, and a number of eminent poets celebrated his merit in their poems; the belles letters were cultivated by him as an amateur, and I have heard some pieces of verse which were stated to be his, but, as I neglected writing them down, I have forgotten them. It is said that he promised a gift of one hundred pieces of gold and a robe of honour to every person who got by heart al-Zamakhshārī's treatise (on grammar) the *Mufaṣṣal*, and this induced numbers to commit it to memory. I even met individuals at Damascus who were said to have learned it from this motive. It is related also that at the period of his death, there were some who had finished the book, and others who had got to the middle according to the time at which they had begun it. I never heard of any other person's having done so honourable an act. His principality was very large, extending from Emessa to al-'Arīsh (on the Egyptian frontier), and including all the (Syrian) coast then possessed by the Muslims, the Ghawr (or valley of the Jordan), Palestine, Jerusalem, al-Karak, al-Shawbak, Ṣarkhad, and other places. His birth took place, A. H. 578 (A. C. 1182-) but *Ṣibt* Ibn al-Jawzī<sup>1</sup> says in his Historical work, the *Mir'āt al-Zamān*: "Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam was born, A. H. 576, at Cairo, and his (half-) brother al-Ashraf Musā came into the world on the night before; he died on the eve of the first day of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 624 (November, A. C. 1227)."<sup>\*</sup> Another author states, however, that his death happened at Damascus, on the eighth hour of Friday, the 30th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 624. His body was interred in the castle of that city, but, on the eve of Tuesday, the first of Muharram A. H. 627 (November, A. C. 1229),<sup>\*</sup> it was removed to the College at Mount Ṣālihiyah,<sup>2</sup> which contains the tombs of some of his brothers and other members of the family. This college was founded by himself and therefore bore the designation of the *Mu'azzamiyah*. He used frequently to recite this passage:

1 See no. 183, note on Shams al-Din.

2 See no. 431 note.

\* 12 November,—Ed.

"The mole on the rosy cheek of that slender waisted nymph adorns her with an excess of beauty.<sup>1</sup> She darkened her eyes with antimony though already dark of themselves, and I exclaimed; 'She gives us to drink of the sword, and has poisoned the draught.'"

This idea is similar to that which Ibn Ḥamdis al-Ṣaqqālī (no. 371) has expressed in the following line:

"To increase the darkness of her eyes, she applied antimony around them; poisoning the dart of which the point was already mortal."

May God have mercy upon this prince; he was so noble and so intelligent! Some anecdotes were related to me of what passed between him and Ibn 'Unayn,<sup>2</sup> wherein the penetration of the prince and the pertinency of his replies appeared to great advantage: one of them was, that Ibn 'Unayn, being unwell, wrote to him these lines:

"Look on me with the eye of a master ever beneficent; hasten to relieve me or I perish. Me and what I want, you require not; but gain my gratitude and a just eulogium."

Al-Mu'azzam immediately took a purse of three hundred pieces of gold and went in to visit him, and saying: "Here is the gift (*ṣilat*) and I am the visiter ('*ā'id*)."<sup>3</sup> Had this expression occurred to an able professional grammarian, to one who had

---

1 In this line there is a play upon the words *خال* and *عم*, the first of which signifies a mole and a maternal uncle, and the second to cover over, and a paternal uncle.

2 The life of Ibn 'Unayn is given in this work.

3 These words contain a very good quibble on two technical terms of grammar. To render it intelligible, let us take the Latin phrase *homo quem vidi*, and put it into Arabic. It would then become *al-rajul alladhi ratuhu*, literally, *homo que vidi-m*, where the *m* represents the *m* of *quem*. This construction is necessary in the Semitic languages because the relative pronoun is indeclinable. In such cases the relative is called the *ṣilah*, and the pronoun employed to mark its case is the '*ā'id*. It may be seen from this that the '*ā'id* must be accompanied by a *ṣilah*. Al-Mu'azzam avails himself of the double meaning of these terms to tell Ibn 'Unayn that visits and gifts go together.

passed his life in grammatical studies, it would have appeared surprisingly remarkable, coming even from him; how much more so then, when uttered by this prince! Numerous other anecdotes are told of him, too long to relate, but this may give an idea of the rest. He was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir (*the assisting prince*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*excellence of religion*) Dāwūd. This prince died on the 27th of the first Jumāda, A. H. 656 (May, A. C. 1258),\* at a village called al-Buwayḍā, situated close to the gate of Damascus, and he was interred near his father. His birth took place at Damascus, on Saturday, the 17th of the first Jumāda, A. H. 603 (December, A. C. 1206).† 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak, the lord of Ṣarkhad, died in his prison at Cairo towards the beginning of the first Jumādā, A. H. 646 (August, A. C. 1248). He was interred outside the gate called Bāb al-Naṣr, in the college of Ṣhams al-Dawlat, and I attended his funeral service. His body was afterwards removed to a mausoleum in the college which he had erected on (*the hill called*) *al-Sharaf al-A'lā* (*the loftiest pinnacle*), outside Damascus, and which looks down on the Great Green Hippodrome.

#### 491 'ISĀ AL-HAKKĀRĪ THE JURISCONSULT.

The *faqih* (*jurisconsult*) Abū Muḥammad 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad al-Hakkārī, surnamed Diyā al-Dīn (*light of the faith*), was one of the most influential *amirs* under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, highly respected for his rank and honoured (*with the sovereign's*) confidence for the justness of his views and the soundness of his advice. His genealogy, as follows here, was dictated to me by his nephew's son: 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Zayd Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn

\* 1 June.—Ed.

† 20 December, but the day according to Mahler's calculation was Wednesday. In the autograph it is not very legible but appears to be 27 Jumādā al-Ūlā (30 December) when the day also tallies.—Ed.

**Abi Tālib.** He began his career by studying jurisprudence at the Zajjājiyah College in Aleppo; <sup>1</sup> he then became imām to Asad al-Dīn Shirkūh, the uncle of Ṣalāh al-Dīn, and used to say the five prescribed prayers with him every day. When the amīr Asad al-Dīn proceeded to Egypt and obtained the Wazirship of that country (*no.* 272), 'Isā accompanied him, and, on his death, he concerted a plan with the eunuch Bahā al-Dīn Qarāqūsh<sup>2</sup> for raising Ṣalāh al-Dīn to the vacant post. The consummate address with which they conducted this intrigue was completely successful, but it would be too long to relate the particulars. Ṣalāh al-Dīn, being thus invested with authority, felt grateful to 'Isā for the service he had rendered, and, from that time, he placed the utmost reliance on him as a counsellor, and never rejected his advice. 'Isā continued to treat him with great familiarity, and spoke to him in terms so unceremonious that no other would have dared to use them. He was the means of doing much good, and numbers profited by the influence he derived from his rank; his favour continued with interruption till the last, and he died at the Camp (*al-Mukhāyyam*) near al-Kharrūbah, on the morning of Tuesday, the 9th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 585 (December, A. C. 1189.\* His body was borne to Jerusalem and interred outside the city. He used to wear the military dress with the turban of a jurisconsult, thus combining the two costumes; and I saw his brother, the amīr Majd al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar, attired in a similar manner. *Al-Kharrūbah* is the name of a place near Acro ('Akkā). Majd al-Dīn 'Umar was born in Rajab, A. H. 560 (May-June, A. C. 1165), and he died at Cairo on the 23rd of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 636 (July, A. C. 1239),† He was interred at the foot of Mount Muqāṭṭam, and I attended his funeral service.

#### 492 FAKHR AL-DĪN 'ISĀ IBN MAWDŪD LORD OF TIKRĪT

Abū 'l-Manṣūr 'Isā Ibn Mawdūd Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Shu'ayb, surnamed Fakhr al-Dīn (*glory of religion*), and lord

<sup>1</sup> See no. 99.

<sup>2</sup> His life is given by our author.

\* 19 December,—*Ed.*

† 27 July,—*Ed.*

of the city of Tikrit, belonged to one of the Turcoman tribes settled in Syria. He possessed considerable talents, and left a *dīwān* of good poetry, spirited epistles, and tender couplets. As a specimen of his verses we may quote the following.

"The ringdove on the acacia branch, cooing plaintively in the darkness—driven from home by the hands of absence, and far removed from its family—now settled at the Zawrā of 'Irāq (*Baghdād*) whilst its callow brood remain fatigued at 'Uṣfān<sup>1</sup>—sighting for them when the sun sheds abroad his rays—lamenting and complaining during the hour of night—shaken in its afflicted heart by that recollection, and revealing the passion it concealed—the sufferings of that dove are less intense than mine, when the lightning-flash (*announcing the blessings of rain*) or the (*perfumed*) breath of the zephyr recall (*your country, my friends ! or*) yourselves to my remembrance."

A passage of a similar cast is the following, taken from one of his epistles : "(Imagine) a straggling flock of gazelles in the wide expanse of a desert<sup>2</sup> where the foot of man never trod, into which *no fire-created demon ever entered*,<sup>3</sup> and which the breath of noon gifted with the parching sighs of burning heat ;—a flock sinking under fatigue and overcome by the proximity of destruction ; after three nights of emulous speed they reach the pool they sought, emaciated by hardship and almost within the grasp of death ; they find the water clear, its surface rippling beneath the unsteady tread of the zephyr, and agitated by streamlets<sup>4</sup> gushing

1 "'Uṣfān is situated between al-Juhfah and Makkah ; or, it is said, between Makkah and Madīnah, at two days' journey from the former place ; some say that it is a large village, thirty-six miles from Makkah on the frontier of Tihāmah". (*Marāṣid*).

2 In the original Arabic this passage commences with a negative, and the scene is suspended till the reader comes to the second of the verses with which the phrase concludes. The effect is excellent in Arabic, but could not possibly be reproduced in English. It was therefore necessary in the translation to make a slight alteration in the form of the passages.

3 See *Qurān*, *sūrat* 55, verse 14, and read *جان* in the printed text.

4 Literally : *manes* ; waterfalls being compared to the manes of white horses

from a heavenly source ; but they perceive no path whereby to reach that spot and take repeated draughts ;

'They eye it askance,<sup>1</sup> impelled by the pains of thirst to make a desperate (*spring*). (*Well, my friends !*) thirst such as theirs is not more ardent than mine for your presence, since that time wherein my heart was accustomed to your saluations.'

My wish and prayer are therefore addressed to Him Who prescribed duties to man,—Him the Lord of whatever moves and whatever remains fixed, that He to realise my hopes and replace our separation by mutual proximity ! It is He Who hearkeneth to the call (*of the afflicted*)."

The following is one of his *dubayts*<sup>2</sup> or couplets :

"Thou art mistress to grant or to refuse thy love ; O thou whose waving ringlets<sup>3</sup> revive my hopes. They say thou art a gazelle ; I answer : Mistake not ! where could the inhabitant of the desert procure ear-rings ?"

Ibn Mawdūd left many very elegant pieces in prose and verse. He was born in the city of Ḥamāt, and was murdered by his brothers in the Castle of Tikrit, A. H. 584 (A. C. 1188-9) ; the following year in the month of *Shawwāl*, one of them, named al-Yās, delivered up this place to the *khalif* al-Nāṣir. It will be perceived, in perusing the life of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kükubürī, lord of Arbela, that Tikrit was one of the possessions of his father Zayn al-Dīn. The latter had a page called Tabar (a word written by some with the ordinary ت (t) and by others with the accented one (ṭ), on whom he conferred the government of al-'Imādiyyah, another of his possessions, and afterwards sent him to Tikrit. Zayn al-Dīn, having attained an advanced age and formed the resolution of removing to Arbela (see the life of his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn), ceded all the cities under his authority to Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, the sovereign of Mosul ; but Tabar refused to deliver up Tikrit, and sent to Mawdūd informing him of his intention to

1 Read in the printed text خوازرآ .

2 The autograph has دو بیتمايه .

3 Literally ; O thou whose gracefully-formed '*idhār* is my desire. See vol. I, Introduction.

hold it, and, as it was absolutely necessary for him (*Mawdūd*) to have a lieutenant in that place, that he was the man. *Mawdūd*, not daring to resist his pretensions lest he should deliver Tikrit to the *khalif*, passed over his conduct in silence and confirmed him in his post. On Tabar's refusal to let Tikrit out of his possession, Zayn al-Dīn was frequently heard to exclaim: "May God bring thee to shame, O Tabar! as thou hast brought me to shame before Qutb al-Dīn." Tabar held the fortress till his death, and left an only daughter, who became the wife of his brother's son, 'Isā Ibn Mawdūd, the subject of this notice. 'Isā obtained possession of Tikrit through this marriage, and he afterwards took a second wife, Maṭariyah,\* by whom he had two sons, *Shams al-Dīn*, and *Fakhr al-Dīn*. Maṭariyah subsequently sought, by a (*matrimonial*) alliance, to secure the succession to her own offspring, and having married her son *Shams al-Dīn* to a daughter of Ḥasan Ibn Qifjāq<sup>1</sup> the amīr of the Turcomans, she requested of him a troop of fifty horsemen, to remain with them in Tikrit and guard that fortress. When news of this arrangement came to the knowledge of 'Isā Ibn Mawdūd's brothers, who were twelve in number, they attacked him and strangled him. Tikrit then fell into their power, but dissensions having arisen among them, the leading brother sold it to the imām (*khalif*) al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh. *Tikrit* is a large town with a strong castle; it is situated on the Tigris, at about thirty parasangs above Baghdād, and on the same side of the river as Mosul. Tikrit was so called after Tikrit the daughter of Wā'il and sister to Bakr Ibn Wā'il. The castle itself was built by Sāpūr Ibn Ardashīr Ibn Bābak, the second prince of that Persian dynasty (*the Sasanides*).

#### 493 AL-ḤĀJIRI AL-IRBILI.

Abū Yahyā, surnamed also Abu 'l-Faḍl, 'Isā Ibn Sinjar Ibn Bahrām Ibn Jibril Ibn Khumārtikin Ibn Ṭāshṭikin al-Irbili (*native*

1 Read قنجاق in the Arabic text.

\* The name is not legible in the autograph. The Cairo edition gives Muṭribah. (*a stinging girl*) which may be a common noun, since in Egyptian edition subsequently al- (definite article) is also prefixed,—Ed.

of *Arbela*), generally known by the name of al-Ḥājirī and surnamed Ḥusām al-Dīn (*sword of the faith*) was a soldier of the regular troops (*jundi*), as his father before him. He left a *diwān* of poetry, principally in the sentimental style, and offering beautiful thoughts. This collection consists of poems, couplets (*dubayt*), and *mawāliyyās*<sup>1</sup>; three species of composition wherein he displayed great talent; this is a circumstance which is seldom observed, as the person who excels in one of them generally fails in the others. He wrote also some pieces of the kind called *kāna wa kānu*,<sup>2</sup> and these he occasionally turned with great elegance. He was an acquaintance of mine and recited to me a great deal of his poetry; I shall give here the following passage of his, containing a very good thought:

"That youth swore by every oath that, as long as time should endure, he would keep me company. He shunned me afterwards, and the '*idhār* (*dark hair*) shaded his cheeks: 'Behold?' said I, 'how blackness covers the face of the liar!'"

He recited to me also the following lines:

"You have there a mole seated on a throne of anemony (*a rosy cheek*), which has sent thy ringlets as messengers to order mankind to love thee<sup>3</sup>."

A piece of his composition which he recited to me, descriptive of a mole, contained this verse:

"That cheek had not borne a mole, were it not designed to resemble the anemony flower.<sup>4</sup>

On the same subject:

"Behold that maid with the slender waist; her hair and her forehead shed darkness and light upon mankind. Blame not the mole upon her cheek; all anemonies have a black spot."

1 See vol. I, Introduction.

2 See Freytag's *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, p. 461.

3 In this verse, the word *كاسر* here rendered by *messengers*, bears also the meaning of *propendula* (coma). It is a mere quibble, but pleasing enough in Arabic.

4 The petals of the anemony are red and parts of fructification black.



Similar to this are the following lines by Ibn Waki' al-Tinnisi (no. 163) :

"The anemomy, on seeing the beauties of her face, wished to imitate them all ; it thus borrowed its redness from her cheek and its blackness from her mole."

Al-Ḥājiri recited to me the greater part of his couplets, and amongst others, the following, which he told me was one of the last things he composed, and that he was better satisfied with it than with any other piece of the kind which he had ever produced :

"A copious shower shed new life over the grounds (*of the tribe of my beloved*) ; O, how joyful was that year (*Regions of*) 'Alwah ! I shall never think of the days I passed in thy (*happy valley*) without complaining of the cruelty of later days."

I had a brother named Diyā al-Dīn (*light of religion*) 'Isā, and a close friendship subsisted between him and al-Ḥājiri. In the year 619 (A.C. 1222-3), whilst he was at Arbela, the latter wrote him the following lines from Mosul :

"O thou whose presence is my sole desire ! God well knows that our separation has left nought but a lingering spark of life ! Send then a letter and console therein the friends who may lament me, for I shall probably die before it arrives."

His collected poetical works are so well known and so generally read that it is an unnecessary task to lengthen this article by inserting more passages than we have already given. When I left Arbela towards the end of the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 626 (August, A.C. 1229), he was detained a prisoner in the citadel there, for reasons too long to relate ; he had been confined, first in the fortress of *Khufṭidakān*, and then removed to Arbela. He composed some poems on his imprisonment, one of them commencing thus :

"Chains and a narrow prison causes my sufferings ; and often is the hair turned gray by anxious thoughts.

This poem contains the following passage :

"O lightning-flash ! if you approach the mansions of Arbela, and when your brightness is dimmed by the lustre of that proxi-

mity, offer there the salutation of an outcast whose sighs still follow closely in the train of love. Say to it for me: 'O beloved city! thou for whose welfare I would die! thy imprisoned son is the most ardent of thy lovers! By Allāh! never did the evening zephyr fleet towards the land of Najd, but I was always drowned in tears. How shall we meet, since frowning walls and bolted doors prevent us?"

The following lines also were composed by him when in prison:

"O my friends! what voice pronounces our separation! what misfortune has befallen us to tear us asunder? O, may time never more afflict us with the grief of parting!—that grief which already rent my inmost heart! Absent from you, I was ill at ease in the wide world; how now must I be, shut up in a narrow prison?"

I have been informed that, subsequently to this, he obtained his liberty and, having entered into the service of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the sovereign of Arbela, he rose highly in his favour and adopted the dress of the *Sūfīs*. On the death of his patron (A. H. 630) left Arbela, but afterwards returned when it was in the possession of *Shams al-Dīn* Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Bātikīn, lieutenant of the Commander of the faithful [al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh.\*] During a long period he made it his constant residence, but, one day in the forenoon, as he went out, he was poignarded by an assassin who, for some time previously, had been in pursuit of him. When in the agonies of death, with his bowels protruding from the wound, he penned the following lines to Bātikīn:

"To thee, ruler of the land, I address my complaints; behold me in a state of terror which leaves not a member of body in repose! If a miserable wretch (*laqīṭa*) plunder me of my camels, in whose heart but thine can I hope to find a *Māzin*<sup>1</sup>? How strange

<sup>1</sup> This is an allusion to a well known line of an ancient poet, given in the *Ḥamāsah* p. 4, and of which the meaning is: Had I been related to al-Māzin, the sons of al-Laḳī'a, of the tribe of *Dhuhl* Ibn *Shaybān*, had not carried off my camels."

\* The name is omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

that a man cannot walk without dread, although protected by the sanctuary of the Khalifate !”

He expired the same, day, Thursday, the 2nd of Shawwāl, A. H. 632 (June, A. C. 1235)\*, and was interred in the cemetery at the Hippodrome Gate (*Bāb al-Maydān*). He was then aged about fifty years.—*Bātikīn* was an Armenion by birth, and had been a *mamlūk* to the khalif al-Nāṣir's mother. When the Tartars took Arbela in their first invasion, towards the end of the year 634 (A. C. 1237), he returned to Baghdād, he died there on Wednesday, the 23rd of Shawwāl, A. H. 640 (April, A. C. 1243)†. His body was interred in the Shūnīzī cemetery.—*Ḥājirī* means *native of Ḥājir*; this was a village in Hijāz, but is now in ruins.—Al-Ḥājirī himself did not really belong to this place, but, as he made frequent mention of it in his poems, he obtained that particular surname; Arbela was however the native place of his family, the city in which he himself was born and had passed his youth. Notwithstanding this, the appellation of al-Ḥājirī prevailed, and became at length for him as a proper name. In allusion to this, he composed the following couplet :

“Had I been spared the pains of separation whilst I loved thee, my tears each night had not resembled a gushing spring. Were it not for thee, my mouth had never pronounced the name of Najd<sup>1</sup>; how far, how very far am I from Ḥājir !”

He again makes a similar declaration in a passage of a charming poem, which begins thus : “O the pretty dark eyes of that gazelle, the brunette” and of which the last verse is : “O thou little maid of Arbela, the unfortunate Ḥājirī is captivated by thy love.” Ibn al-Mustawfī mentions, in his History of Arbela, that *Qurayyah Jibrīl*, a place in that city, takes its name from the Jibrīl above mentioned.—*Khuftīdakūn* is a well-known fortress in

---

1 Najd, as has been already observed, was the arcadia of the Arabian poets.

\* 21 June.—*Ed.*

† 15 April.—*Ed.*

the town of Arbela, it is called the *Khufīdakān* of *Šārim al-Dīn*, to distinguish it from the *Khufīdakān* of *Abu 'Alī*.

#### 494 T̤UWAYS THE SINGER.

Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣṣpāhānī says, in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, that the real name of T̤uways was 'Isā Ibn 'Abd Allāh, and that he bore the surname of Abū 'Abd al-Mun'im till the *Mukhannath*<sup>2</sup> changed it into 'Abd al-Na'im (*the slave of pleasure*). He was a *Mawlā* to the Makh̤zūm family, and bore the surname of T̤uways. Ibn Qutaybah says, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, in the article where he speaks of 'Āmir Ibn 'Abd Allāh, the companion of Muḥammad. "One of those who were *mawlās* to the Kurayz family was T̤uways, *mawlā* of 'Arwā, the daughter of Kurayz, her who was mother to 'Uthman Ibn 'Affān. His name was al-Mālik and his surname Abū 'Abd al-Na'im." Al-Jawharī says, in his *Ṣaḥāḥ*: "His real name was T̤awūs (*peacock*); but, when he became a *Mukhannath*, they changed it into T̤uways (*little peacock*), and he received also the name of al-Na'im." Such, as the reader may perceive, is the difference in the statements respecting his name; but it is generally said that 'Isā was his real name, in as much as it is a point on which the majority of the learned are agreed. T̤uways attained so high a reputation as a singer that his talent became proverbial; and it is to him a certain poet alludes in the following verse wherein he praises Ma'bad (*see no. 465 note*):

1 *Khufīdakān*: two large castles in the dependencies of Arbela; one situated on a hill by the road leading to Marāghah and called *Khufīdakān* al-Zarzari; the other, on the road to to *Shahrazūr* and called *Khufīdakān* Sarḥān; the latter is the larger and stronger of the two." (*Marāṣid*) It appears from this and from the words of Ibn *Khallikān* that those castles bore different names at different times.

2 The word *Mukhannath* signifies *hermaphrodite*, but it bears also the meanings of *fool*, *an effeminate person*, *impotent*, and *muliebria patiens*. I refer to what Reiske says on the subject in his notes on Abu 'l-Fedā; see *Annales*, tom. I adnot. hist. No. 200;

"Tuways sang, and after him al-Surayjī; but Ma'bad alone deserved the palm."

A long account of him is given in the *Kirāb al-Aghānī*. In the proverb, *more inauspicious than Tuways*, he is the person meant and the reason was this: he came into the world on the day of the Prophet's death; he was weaned the same day on which Abū Bakr died; he was circumcised on the day in which 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was assassinated—some say that he attained the age of puberty on that day—he got married on the day in which 'Uthmān was slain; and he became a father on the day in which 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, was murdered—some say, the day in which al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī, died. This was certainly a singular series of coincidences. He was extremely tall, awkward in his movement, and squinted. He resided at Madīnah, but afterwards removed to al-Suwaydā, a place at the distance of two 'days' journey from that city and on the road to Syria; he continued to dwell there till his death, which happened in A. H. 92

---

I Ce Souraydjī est le meme qu' Ibn Soruaydj, chanteur et compositeur d'un grand merite. II s'appelait Obayd et son prenom etait Abou Yahyā. II etait affranchi, on ne sait pas au juste de quelle famille et son pere etait Turc. II avait l'habitude de se voiler le visage Iorsqu'il chantait, afin de cacher aa laideur. Ce fut lui qui premier chanta a la Mekke des chansons arabes en s'accompagnant lui-meme avec un luth fait a la maniere des luths persans. II etait ne en cette ville sous le califat d'Omar fils de Kḥattab et il commença a chanter sous Othman. II etait d'abord simple *nayeh* (pleureur de morts, ou chanteur d'elegies funebres). Il abandonna ensuite ce genre dans lequel il avait trouve un egal en son eleve Gharidh, et se livra exclusivement au chant des autres poesies. Entre autres traits qui montrent la puissance de son talent, on cite celui-ci: Un jour etant assis aupres du jardin d'Ibn Amir, aumoment ou le cortege des pelerins defilait, il se mit a chanter. Le cortege s'arreta a l'instant; les pelerins montaient les uns sur autres pour l'approcher et l'entendre. II en resulta une affreuse confusion. Enfin un homme perçant la foule, dit a Ibn Soruaydj Crains Dieu et laisse continuer la marche. Ibn Souraydj cessa de chanter et s'en alla. Aussitot les pelerins reprirent leurs rangs et la colonne se remit en marche. Ibn Souraydj mourut d'elephantiasis a la Mekke. les uns disent sous le regne de 'Iscḥam fils d'Abdelmelik, a l'age d'environ 85 ans; suivant quelques autres, sous le califat de Souleyman fils d'Abdelmalik, selon d'autres, a la fin du regne de Welid fils d'Abdelmelik. (A. Caussin de Perceval.)

(A. C. 710-11), being then eighty-two years of age. Some state that he died at Madinah. Ya'qūb\* al-Ḥamawī mentions, in his *Muṣṭarīk*, that Ṭuways the *Mukhannath* was interred at Suqya 'l-Jazl, but he does not indicate the situation of this place.—“Ṭuways,” says al-Jawharī, in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, is the “diminutive of *Tāwūs* (peacock); and is regularly formed after the suppression of the redundant letters in the primitive word.” Mention is made of him by Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī<sup>2</sup> in his work, the *Kitāb al-Awā'il*

#### 495 SAYF AL-DĪN ḠHĀZĪ IBN ZINKĪ.

Sayf al-Dīn (*the sword of the faith*) Ḡhāzī, the son of 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, (no. 229), the son of 'Āq Sunqur was sovereign of Mosul. We have already mentioned that his father Zinkī was murdered whilst beginning the castle of Ja'bar. Alp Arsilān, the son of the Sultān Maḥmūd, and surnamed al-Khafāji the Saljuq was there with him. On Zinkī's death, the chief men of the empire assembled, and with them the wazīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Iṣpahānī, surnamed al-Jawād (*the generous*), and the qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Shahruzūrī, persons of whom notice will be again taken in another part of this work. They then proceeded to the tent of Alp Arsilān, and addressed him thus: “Zinkī was thy servant (*ghulām*), and we also thy servants, and all the country is thine.” By these words they calmed the general agitation, and the army separated in two

1 His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sahl Ibn Mihrān al-'Askarī, a learned philologist, studied under Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī (see no. 156). He composed the following works; a commentary on the *Qur'ān* in five volumes; the *Awā'il* (origins), the *Kitāb al-Ṣan'atayn* (book of the two arts), on prose and verse; the *Amthāl*, (proverbs); a commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* (see Ḥājji Khalīfah). He left also a *Dīwān* of poetry. In his conduct he was most exemplary. He died subsequently to A. H. 400 (A. C. 1009). (Al-Suyūṭī de *Inter-pretibus Corani*; ed. Meursinge. Lugd Bat. 1839). Ḥājji Khalīfah places his death in 395 (A. C. 1004-5). (See Flügel's *Hājji Khalīfah*, tom. I, p. 490).

\* Cairo edition gives Yāqūt the surname of Ya'qūb.—Ed.

divisions, one of which marched off for Syria, under the orders of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, son to 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī<sup>1</sup>; and the other, being joined by the troops of Mosul and Diyār Rabī'ah, proceeded with Alp Arsilān towards Mosul. On their arrival at Sinjār Alp Arsilān suspected treason and took to flight, but was overtaken by a troop of soldiers and brought back. When they arrived at Mosul, presents were distributed to them by Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, who had been residing till then at Shahrūzūr, which place he held as a fief from the Saljūq Sultān Mas'ūd. (We shall give the life of this prince). As soon as Ghāzī was established at Mosul, he caused Alp Arsilān to be arrested, and sent him to a fortress where he remained a prisoner. Having thus become master of Mosul, and recovered the portion of Diyār Bakr which had been possessed by his father, he gave a regular organisation to his empire. As for his brother, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, a prince of whom we shall again have occasion to speak, he obtained possession of Aleppo and the neighbouring parts of Syria, but Damascus at that time was in the power of neither. Ghāzī was animated with the spirit of piety and virtue; he loved learning and learned men, and he built a college at Mosul, now known by the name of al-'Atīqah (*the Old*). His reign was but short, and he expired on the 29th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 544 (November, A. C. 1149)\*, aged about forty years. He was interred in the college of which we have just spoken. His brother Qutb al-Dīn Mawdūd, a prince whose life we shall give, succeeded to the vacant throne.

#### 496 GhĀZĪ IBN MAWDŪD.

Sayf al-Dīn (*the sword of the faith*) Ghāzī, the son of Qutb al-Dīn Mawdūd<sup>2</sup>, the son of Zinkī (*no. 229*), the son of 'Āq-Sunqur, and sovereign of Mosul, was a brother's son of the

1 The life of this Mawdūd is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 The life of Maḥmūd will be found in this work.

\* 3 November.—*Ed.*

prince whose life has just been given. He succeeded to the empire on the death of his father Mawdūd. His son, Sanjar Shāh, ruled at Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar. When his father died (A. H. 562), the intelligence reached Nūr al-Dīn at Tall Bāshir, who set out the same night for Mosul. He reached al-Raqqah in the month of Muḥarrama, A. H. 566 (Sept.-Oct., A. C. 1170), and having taken possession of that city, he proceeded to Naṣībīn and occupied it towards the end of the same month; he then reduced Sinjār, in the month of the latter Rabi', and marched from thence towards Mosul. Having led his army across the ford at Balad, a village near Mosul, he continued to advance, and finally established his camp opposite the city. Not wishing to reduce it by force, he acquainted Sayf al-Dīn, who was his brother's son, with his real intentions, and, a peace having been concluded between them, he made his entry into Mosul on the 13th of the first Jumādā (Jan., A. C. 1171)\*; having then confirmed the reigning sovereign in the possession of the throne, he received his daughter in marriage, and gave up Sinjār to his own brother, 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, the same prince of whom mention has been already made in the life of his grandfather, 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī. On leaving Mosul, he returned to Syria, and entered Aleppo in the month of Shābān of the same year (April-May). On the death of Nūr al-Dīn (*the Sultān*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn obtained possession of Damascus, and afterwards laid siege to Aleppo. Sayf al-Dīn then sent an army (*against him*) under the command of his own brother, 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, a prince whose life will be found in this work, and the two parties came to an engagement at Qurūn, near Ḥamāt. The particulars of this action will be given in our biography of Mas'ūd. 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd having been defeated, Sayf al-Dīn marched out in person, and the two armies drew up at Tall al-Sultān, a village between Aleppo and Ḥamāt. This was on Thursday morning, the 10th of Shawwāl, A. H. 571 (April, A. C. 1176)†. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣpahānī states in his work entitled *al-Barq al-Shāmi*, as also Ibn Shaddād, in his History of Ṣalāḥ

---

\* 22 January.—*Ed.*

† 22 April.—*Ed.*



al-Dīn<sup>1</sup>, that the left wing of that prince's army was broken by Muẓaffar al-Dīn, son of Zayn al-Dīn<sup>2</sup> who commanded Sayf ad-dīn's right wing; then Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn charged at the head of his troops, and routed the army of Sayf al-Dīn who returned to Aleppo and proceeded afterwards to Mosul. The Muẓaffar al-Dīn of whom we have spoken was sovereign of Arbela, and his life will be found in this work—Ghāzī continued in possession of his empire, but, being attacked by a chronical disorder, he died on Sunday, the 3rd of Ṣafar, A. H. 576 (June, A. C. 1180)\*, after a reign of ten years and some months. He was succeeded by his brother 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd.—The malady which afflicted him was a lingering consumption, and he died at the age of about thirty years.

#### 497 AL-MALIK AL-ZĀHIR, SOVEREIGN OF ALEPPO.

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ghāzī, surnamed also Abū Maṣṣūr, and entitled al-Malik al-Zāhir (*the protecting prince*) Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*aid to the faith*), was a son of the Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, and sovereign of Aleppo. The character of this prince procured him general respect; he was resolute, vigilant, studious of the welfare of his subjects, well acquainted with the proceedings of (*contemporary*) princes, animated with a lofty spirit, skilful in the administration and government of the empire, diffusing justice throughout the land, fond of the learned, and generous to poets. His father granted him the kingdom of Aleppo in the year 582 (A. C. 1186-7), on the abdication of his (*al-Zāhir's*) uncle, al-Malik al-'Ādil<sup>2</sup>, who, as is well known, accepted another post. From amongst the curious anecdotes told of his quick apprehension, the following may be cited as an example: Having taken his seat one day to review his troops, the (*members of the*) war office, who were in

1 See Schulten's *Vita et res gestae Saladini*, p. 43.

2 The lives of all these persons will be found in this work.

3 His life will be found in this work.

\* 29 June.—*Ed.*

their place before him, questioned each soldier successively as he came up, and inscribed his name in the register. One of them being asked what he was called, kissed the ground in reply. None of the clerks understood his meaning, and when they repeated the question, al-Malik al-Zāhir, who had immediately perceived the motive of his conduct, said : "His name is Ghāzi ;" and this was really the case : the soldier having abstained through respect, from pronouncing a name similar to that of the Sulṭān. Numerous stories of this kind are related of him, but it is needless to lengthen our article by repeating them. He was at Cairo, on the 16th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 568 (May, A. C. 1173)\*, in the eighth year of his father's reign in Egypt ; and he died at the castle of Aleppo, on the eve of 23rd of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 613 (October, A. C. 1216)†. He was interred in the castle, but the Ṭuwāshī (*eunuch*) Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭughril the *atābek* (*tutor*) of his son, al-Malik al-'Azīz, having founded a college at the foot of the castle and erected in it a funeral chapel, caused the body of al-Zāhir to be removed thither. It is a singular coincidence that the very day and very month in which he died were the same in which he made his entry into Aleppo as sovereign in the year 585. The poet Abu 'l-Wafā Sharaf al-Dīn Rājiḥ<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Abi 'l-Qāsim al-Asadi al-Ḥillī has displayed no inferior talent in the following *qaṣīdāh*, wherein he laments al-Malik al-Zāhir's death, and celebrates the praises of his two sons, the Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Malik al-'Azīz ( *the mighty prince* ) and ( *Aḥmad* ) al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ( *the virtuous prince* ), the sovereign of 'Ayn Tāb<sup>2</sup> :

"Ask of the fate, provided it hearken to him that summons it, whom it has clutched in its beak and its talons ? Reproach it, I implore thee, with the calamities it inflicts, even though it turn away the ear from him who reproaches it. May God protect me ! how often, in my amazement, have I turned my eyes towards the

---

1 Read راجح . Further notice is taken of this poet at the end of this article.

2 'Ayn Tāb lies at three days's journey to the north of Aleppo.

\* 30 April,—*Ed.*

† 7 October,—*Ed.*

sky of glory of which all the stars have set ! What has happened to me ? The light of al-Shahbā (*Aleppo*) is, for me, changed into impenetrable darkness ! Is it then true that the sacred person of the warrior al-Ghāzī the assister (*Ghiyāth*), the son of Yūsuf, has not been respected, and that his splendid retinue is frustrated of his presence ?—Alas ! 'tis too true ! the sun of our eulogiums is eclipsed ; the heavens of glorious deeds have been rolled up, and the paths of prosperity are straitened. Who can tell me about that mountain (*of glory*) ? did its foundations sink ? or did its side yield to the stroke of death ? Yes ! that mountain, firm as it was, has been shaken ; and its shoulders have trembled before the storms of fate. That ocean of (*beneficence*), once overflowing, and whose waves dashed to earth's remotest bounds, is now dried up ! Blasted be the hand of fate ! what a spiteful sword did it wield against such glory ! broken be the blade of that sword ! Though the rain drops of *Ghiyāth* al-Dīn's beneficence be now withheld, its showers were once shed over every land. How can the man who lived in hope and now finds his effort fruitless—how can he feel pleasure in life after the loss of Ibn Yūsuf ? His desires have obtained no success ; his camels have not halted in a land of bounty ; their pasture was the parsimonious gift of a frowning year<sup>1</sup> and his (*empty*) saddlebag is dissatisfied with its owner. He is gone, the prince, who placed mankind under the shadow of his justice, and secured them from the treacherous strings of fate<sup>2</sup>. How many haughty fortresses have been violated by his sword ! how many the unprotected whom his squadrons have defended ! I now see the throne of the empire vacant ; is there one among you to tell me where is its master ? If any ask me wherefore flow my tears, my heart may give him answer with its sighs. How many wounds cover (*our*) faithful hearts, consumed, alas ! with burning grief whilst the female mourners are lamenting ! Has he yielded before the points of his spears were broken ?—before the edges of his swords were blunted in the combat ? before his warriors

---

1 Read معبس حقه .

2 Literally: Who secured them from fate of which the scorpions crawl.

recoiled from the shock of death ? before his war-horses were overwhelmed by the ranks of the foe ? Was no vengeance taken in a day of dreadful battle, where his steeds might be seen dashing through the clouds of dust ? O thou who hast clothed me in an ample robe of grief ! would it be right in me to let consolation strip it off ? I served thee faithfully whilst the garden of thy glory covered me with its shade—whilst the lake of thy generosity offered its limpid draughts. Thou badest me draw near and sit in a place of honour, because I spoke thy praises ; yet these were acted by thy virtues and could apply to thee alone. (*But now, when I seek thy wonted presence*) why does the permission tarry ? I who was never of those whom the usher repelled from the palace-door ! On the day we lost thee, the sun withheld his light ; and yet, that day no eclipse obscured his disk. How could the sword of thy resolution be thus blunted ? How could the steed of generosity have stumbled whilst thou were its rider. O Ghiyāth ! who will shed kindness upon the orphans, when showers quench<sup>1</sup> no longer the thirsty years ? Who will now uphold the princes for whom thou wert a protecting shade in every vicissitude of fortune. O thou who hast abandoned me ! behold me now offer peace to my enemy ; when he injures me in earnest, I must take it as a jest. May the grey<sup>2</sup> clouds of morning water thy grave ; may the copious rains of evening descend upon it ! Though the light of thy flambeau be quenched, yet long did its rays dispel the darkness of night. But now, in the *Mighty prince*<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad, we find what we were expecting—a morning dawn to guide us—a hero in whom the lofty pride and dignity of his fathers fail not ; who subdues every adversary. But he who had his father for guide in noble enterprises, cannot but reach the object of his efforts. And al-Ṣāliḥ promotes the welfare of his subjects ; he is for them a guardian whose salary shall not be withheld. To behold true kings, let mortals look on Aḥmad and Muḥammad ; all other princes will then appear contemptible. They have attained the goal of honour which Ghāzi the son of Yūsuf already reached, and the

1 Read ينقع , and, two verses higher up, read كاف .

2 Read الغمر .

3 This is an allusion to the prince's surname.

glory which he acquired did not fade in their possession. Were it not for them, the horizon of the world had been darkened from east to west on the death of Ghāzī. Despite of Fortune, their territories shall be protected by lances the points of which bear death to lions. How many misfortunes whose first stroke was painful, and which yet ended in a joy! O ye two propitious moons which have dispelled the darkness (*of affliction*), so that the last of its flying bands turned not back towards the earth; shall thy father's slave and eulogist remain in Aleppo, or must his camels depart with their burden? We have lost al-Ghiyāth; but if you will, you can assist a man wounded by the arrows which misfortune aimed against him. I am now as if I had never stood before him, addressing him (*on each success*) with loud congratulations, whilst his gifts smiled in the faces of my hopes. May you both enjoy the rank you have attained, and may you be preserved till you reach the highest station in an exalted empire!"

This *qaṣīdah*, so remarkable for its elegance, contains some passages borrowed from the elegy composed by 'Umārat al-Yamāni on the death of al-Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ruzzīk, and of which we have already quoted a portion (*no.* 283). It would seem that our poet had taken the piece for his model; the measure is certainly the same, and although the penultimate letter in which it rhymes is different, the *waṣl*, or final letter, is the same. He must probably have read 'Umārah's poem and composed his own in imitation of it.—On the death of al-Malik al-Zāhir, the supreme authority and the sovereignty of Aleppo devolved to his son, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad, surnamed al-Malik al-'Aziz (*the mighty prince*) Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*aid to the faith*). This prince was born at Aleppo, on Thursday the 5th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 610 (April, A. C. 1214)\*, and he died in that city on Wednesday, the fourth of the first Rabi', A. H. 634 (November, A. C. 1236†. I was at Aleppo when his death took place. He was interred in the castle, and his son, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, surnamed al-Malik al-Nāṣir (*the helping prince*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn

\* 17 April,—*Ed.*

† 5 November,—*Ed.*

(*the weal of religion*), was raised to the throne. This prince's kingdom acquired great extension, as he obtained possession of a number of towns in Mesopotamia after the death of the *Khuwārazmites*, towards the latter end of the year 641 and the commencement of 642<sup>1</sup>. In that campaign his army was commanded by al-Malik al-Manṣūr, lord of Emessa. He then obtained possession of Damascus and the province of Syria, on Sunday, 17th of the latter Rabi', A. H. 648 (July, A. C. 1250\*). His birth took place in the castle of Aleppo, on the 12th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 627 (August, A. C. 1230†). When the Tartars came against him and obtained possession of Syria, he went forth from Damascus, in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 658 (Jan.-Feb., A. C. 1260), and lost his life near Marāghah, in the province of Adh̄arbā'iyyān, on the 23rd of Shawwāl (October) of that year‡: so, at least, it has been stated. His history is well known<sup>2</sup>.—His uncle Aḥmad the son of al-Malik al-Zāhir, lord of 'Ayn Tāb. and surnamed al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (*the virtuous prince*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*weal of religion*), died at that place in the month of Sha'bān, A. H. 651 (October, A. C. 1253). He was born at Aleppo, in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 600 (Oct.-Nov., A. C. 1203).—Although al-'Aziz was younger than his brother al-Ṣāliḥ, they chose him for sovereign, because his mother, Ṣafīyyah Khātūn, was daughter to al-Malik al-'Adil Ibn Ayyūb; they were decided in their preference by the fact of his descent from such a grandfather, and of his possessing (*such powerful*) maternal uncles, whilst al-Ṣāliḥ's mother was only a concubine.—Al-Sharaf (*Sharaf al-Dīn*) al-Ḥilli (*native of Hillah*), one of the most celebrated poets of that time, died at Damascus on the eve of the 27th day of Sha'bān, A. H. 627 (July, A. C. 1230§). He was interred outside the city, near the mosque of al-Nārinj, which edifice is situated to the east of Muṣalla of

1 See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals* and M. Reinaud's *Extraits*, page 444.

2 See, in the index to Deguignes's *Histoire generale des Huns*, the name: Iousouf (naser).

\* 17 July,—Ed.

† 1 August,—Ed.

‡ 1 October,—Ed.

§ 12 July,—Ed.

the Festival. He was born in the middle of the month of the latter Rabi' A. H. 570 (November, A. C. 1174).

#### 498 DHU 'L-RUMMAH

Abu 'l-Hārith Ghaylān Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Buhaysh<sup>1</sup> Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Hārithah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Sā'idah Ibn Ka'b Ibn 'Awf Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Milkān Ibn 'Adi Ibn 'Abd Manāt Ibn Udd Ibn Ṭābikhah Ibn al-Yās Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān, generally known by the surname of Dhu 'l-Rumma, was a poet of the first rank and enjoyed great celebrity. It is related that, as he was reciting his verses in the camel-market, he said to al-Farazdaq, who stopped to hear him: "Well, Abū Firās! what dost thou think of that which thou hast heard?" and that al-Farazdaq replied: "What thou hast uttered is really admirable." "Why then," said the other, "is my name not mentioned with those of the first-rate poets?"—"Thou hast been prevented from attaining their eminence," answered al-Farazdaq, "by the lamentations over dunghills, and thy descriptions of the excrements of cattle and their pinfolds<sup>2</sup>."—He was one of the celebrated Arabian lovers and his mistress Mayyah was the daughter of Muqātil Ibn Ṭalabah Ibn Qays Ibn 'Āṣim al-Minqari. This Qays Ibn 'Āṣim was the same who went to the Prophet with the deputies of the tribe of Tamim; The Prophet received him honourably and said: "Thou art the lord of the people of the hair (tents)<sup>3</sup>."—"But Abū 'Ubayd<sup>4</sup> al-Bakrī calls her Mayyah, the daughter of 'Āṣim Ibn Ṭalaba Ibn Qays Ibn 'Āṣim—Dhu 'l-Rumma of tent extolled her beauty in his poems, and it is to this couple of lovers

1 The autograph has هش.

2 Al-Farazdaq's observation will be perfectly comprehensible to any person who has read the opening lines of an Arabic *qasidah* composed in the first ages of that literature. See the Introduction to vol. I.

3 The people of the hair-tents, the Bedwine Arabs.

4 Read عبد. See no. 130.

that Abū Tammām (no. 143) alludes in one of his *qaṣīdahs*, where he says :

"Mayyah's cottage inhabited by herself, with Ghaylān lurking about it, was not more fair, by its hills, than the cottage of my mistress though it be now deserted."

Ibn Qutaybah (no. 306) relates as follows in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* : "Abū ʿĪrār al-Ghanawī said<sup>1</sup> : 'I saw Mayyah and, behold she had with her children of her own !'—'Describe her ;' said I.—'Her face and cheeks were long,' said he, 'her nose was aquiline and her countenance still exhibited traces of beauty !' 'Did she repeat to thee any of Dhū 'l-Rummah's verses ?'—She did."—For a long time Mayyah had been hearing the verses of Dhū 'l-Rummah but had never yet seen him ; she therefore vowed to sacrifice a camel the very day she cast her eyes upon him. But when she did see him, she found him an ugly swarthy man, whilst she herself possessed great beauty : "O, how ugly ;" she exclaimed, "how horrid !" and to this Dhū 'l-Rummah replied by the following lines :

"On Mayyah's face is a varnish of beauty, but be assured her dress conceals her ugliness. Knowest thou not that the taste of water is bad, and yet its colour is clear and pure ? How completely thrown away was that poetry so long continued and which ended in Mayyah's praise ! but then I could not control my heart."

Amongst the verses of his which have become quite popular, are the following on Mayyah :

The breezes, blowing from the quarter of Mayyah's people, agitate my heart with a passion which draws tears from my eyes ; but every soul loves the spot where its mistress dwells."

Dhū 'l-Rummah celebrated also the charms of Kharqā ; a member of the tribe of Bakkā<sup>2</sup> Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, The cause

1 It is chronologically impossible that this conversation could have taken place between Abū ʿĪrār and Ibn Qutaybah. The latter must be supposed to speak here, not in his own name, but in that of the person who related to him the anecdote.

2 Bakkā'i was the surname of Rabī'ah Ibn 'Āmir. I have since discovered the origin of this surname in al-Maydānī, and it is really, as Ibn Khallikān states (no. 232) too improper to be mentioned. See Freytag's *Meldani*, vol. I, p. 404, No. 176.



of his praising her beauty was, that, being on a journey, he passed near some Bedwin Arabs, and lo ! *Kharqā* came forth from a tent. And he looked at her, and she left an impression on his heart. He therefore tore his water-skins and, approaching her that he might taste of her discourse, he said : "I am a man (*mounted*) on the back of travel, and my water-skins have been torn ; so mend them for me,"—"By Allāh !" she exclaimed, "a very pretty occupation for me who am the *Kharqā*."—The *Kharqā* is a female who is allowed to do no work on account of the fondness which her family bear her.—From that time *Dhu 'l-Rumma* extolled her beauty and called her *Kharqā*, and it is she whom he means in the following verses, which are extremely emphatic :

"*Kharqā's* two water-skins, worn and weak in the seams, which the water-carrier wishes to pour out, but finds not therein a single drop<sup>1</sup>, are even more retentive of their contents than thy eyes are of their tears, as often as thou thinkest of a vernal cottage or of a station where a tribe sojourns."

Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍubbi<sup>2</sup> related as follows ; "As I was going on the pilgrimage I stopped with a desert Arab, and he said to me one day : 'Wouldst thou like me to show the *Kharqā*, the beloved of *Dhu 'l-Rumma* ?' 'If thou doest that,' said I, 'thou wilt cure me (*of all my pains*).' We then proceeded together to find her, and he made me turn off the road for about a mile, till we came to some tents covered with hair cloth. He then asked at a tent to open for him and, on its opening, there came out to us a female, tall, *hussānah* and in the force of age."—A *hussānah* woman is one greater in beauty than the (*simple*) *ḥasnā*, or handsome. "I then saluted, and sat down, and we conversed for a time, when she said to me : 'Didst thou ever make the pilgrimage ?'—'More than once,' said I.—'And what then has hindered thee from visiting me ? dost thou not know that I am one of the objects to be visited during the pilgrimage ?'—'And how is that ?'—'Hast thou never heard what thy uncle *Dhu 'l-Rumma* said :

1 Literally : Which the water-carrier pours out, but is not wetted.

2 This philologist is noticed by Ibn Khallikān.

'To complete the pilgrimage, the caravan should stop at Kharaqā's (*abode*) whilst she is laying aside her veil.'

Dhu 'l-Rumma composed numerous eulogiums on Bilāl Ibn Abī Burdah (*no. 295*), and it is of him he speaks in the following line addressed to camel Ṣaydaḥ.

"When thou reachest Bilāl the son of Abū Mūsā, the butcher may wield his axe to disjoint thy limbs."

This idea was taken by him from a verse of a poem addressed by al-Shammākh<sup>1</sup> to 'Arābat al-Awsī<sup>2</sup>, and in which he says to his camel :

"When thou hast borne me and my baggage to 'Arābah be choked with thy heart's blood !"

After him came Abū Nūwās, who in his poem on al-Amīn Muḥammad, the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, revealed the real nature of the thought and set it forth clearly saying :

"When the camels bear us to Muḥammad, let their backs be for ever interdicted to riders !"

A learned man, whose name I do not at present recollect, expressed himself thus, on reading the verse of Abū Nuwās : "By Allāh ! this is the very thought about which the Arabs were always turning, but could not hit it : al-Shammākh expressed it thus, and Dhu 'l-Rumma thus"—here he quoted the lines above mentioned—"But none of them set it forth in its true light except Abū Nuwās, and he there attained the height of beauty. The origin of this idea is to be found in the words addressed by the Anṣārian female who had been imprisoned at Makkah and succeeded in making her escape on a camel and joining the Prophet. When she reached him, she said : "O messenger of God ! I vowed that, if I escaped on this camel I would sacrifice it."

1 Chammakh fils de Dhirar de la tribu de Dhobyān, est un poète qui a vécu dans le paganisme et l'islamisme. Son véritable nom était Makal مقل , Il est un de ceux qui ont satirisé leur propre tribu et leurs hōtes. Il excellait à faire la description des ânes. Le calife Weliid fils d'Abd el-Malik disait à ce sujet : Chammakh connaît et peint si bien les ânes qu'il faut croire qu'il en compte quelqu'un parmi ses ancêtres. A. C. de Perceval.

2 'Arābat al-Awsī was probably one of the Prophet's companions.

And the Prophet replied : 'It is a bad recompense thou makest it.' The thought of which we are speaking is equivalent to the following : 'I have no need of travelling to any other than thee, for thou hast satisfied my wants and made me rich.' But al-Shammākh promised to his camel that she should be sacrificed, and Dhu 'l-Rummah makes a similar vow ; but Abū Nuwās declares that the back of his shall never be profaned by a rider, and he grants rest to the animal after the fatigues of its travels ; this is the best expression of the sentiment, for he does good to the camel in return for the service which it rendered by bearing him to the person whose qualities he means to laud."—"Dhu 'l-Rummah had three brothers, Hishām, Awfā, and Mas'ūd ; Awfā died first, and Dhu 'l-Rummah followed, and Mas'ūd lamented their death in the following lines."—Such are the words of Ibn Qutaybah, but the author of the *Ḥamāsah* gives a different account of the verses in the elegiac section of his work<sup>1</sup> :

"The loss of Ghaylān suspended my grief for Awfā's death, although my eyes were already filled with tears. My latter afflictions did not make me forget Awfā, but a wound on a part already wounded is the most painful of any."

These verses are merely an extract from Mas'ūd's piece. It is to the same Mas'ūd that Abū Tammām alludes in a poem where he says :

"Did even Mas'ūd water their ruined dwellings with torrents from his eyes, I should not be one of Mas'ūd's ( *men* )."

Speaking of this verse Abu 'l-Qāsim al-'Āmidī<sup>2</sup> says in his *Muwāzanah* : Mas'ūd was brother to Dhu 'l-Rummah, and he used to blame him for his (*composing*) lamentations on ruined dwellings (*in the desert*) ; this led Dhu 'l-Rummah to speak of him in these terms ;

---

1 The author of the *Ḥamāsah* says that this elegy was made on the deaths of Dhu 'l-Rummah and Awfā Ibn Dalham, a different person from Dhu 'l-Rummah's brother. See *Ḥamāsah*, page 368, where the piece is given with a commentary.

2 See no. 143

'—On the evening when the tear-drop trickled down my cheek and Mas'ūd said: Is it over a (*deserted*) dwelling that thou weepest when the pains of love excite thy tears? and yet thou art a man whom our people consider as a sage.'

Abū Tammām means to say (*in the verse before these*) that if Mas'ūd abandoned his opinion and became a weeper over ruins, he would not be (*one of*) his. Now as Mas'ūd really held the opinion (*that lamenting over ruins was absurd*), Abū Tammām's threat of renouncing him is expressed with the utmost energy; indeed it is analogous to the following: *If Ḥātim were avaricious or al-Samaw'al faithless, I should not be one of theirs*<sup>1</sup>, and this is a certainly much more energetic than to say: *If the miser were avaricious, and if the traitor were faithless, I should not be one of theirs.*" Such is the meaning of al-'Āmidī's observations, but he expressed them in other terms.—The anecdotes told of Dhū 'l-Rummaḥ are very numerous but we prefer being brief. He died A. H. 117 (A. C. 735-6). On the approach of death he said: "I have reached my fortieth year." He then recited this verse: "O thou who art to take away my soul when it must appear for judgment! O pardoner of sins! keep me far from the fires of hell."

He was called Dhū 'l-Rummaḥ for having said of a tent-peg: "A stake fastened to a piece of an old rope (*rummaḥ*) which had been used as a halter<sup>2</sup>." *Rummaḥ* means a worn-out rope, and the same word, but pronounced *rimmaḥ*, signifies a mouldering bone. Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā said (*no. 480*): "Poetry finished with Dhū 'l-Rummaḥ and *rajjaz*<sup>3</sup> with Rū'bah Ibn al-'Ajjāj." It was here observed to him that Rū'bah was still living, on which he answered: "It is true, but his talent for poetry is worn out like his clothes and gone like his faculty for tasting, and for enjoying sexual pleasure." They then said to him: "And these, our later poets (*what thinkest thou of them*)?" To which he replied: "They are patchers and botchers, and a burden to all but themselves."

1 Ḥātim's name was proverbial for the generosity of his conduct, and the fidelity of al-Samaw'al was not less celebrated. See Rasmussen's *Addimenta*, page 14.

2 The surname Dhū 'l-Rummaḥ means *old-ropeman*.

3 See *no. 222*,

He said again: "Poetry began with Imra' al-Qays and ended with Dhu 'l-Rummah." \* [It was related by Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā that Jarīr (no. 127) said: "Had Dhu 'l-Rummah kept silent from the time he recited his *qaṣīdah* which begins thus: 'Why flow these tears from thy eyes?' he would have been the greatest poet among men."—Abū 'Amr relates also that he heard Dhu 'l-Rummah say: "When a traveller stops at our tent, we ask him which he prefers, new milk or buttermilk? and if he answers: 'Buttermilk'; we say: whose slave art thou? but if he answers: 'New milk' we say. 'Who art thou?'—"Dhu 'l-Rummah's verses", said Abū 'Amr, "are like the sugar-plums scattered at a marriage feast; disappear quickly: or they are like the dung of gazelles; at first, it has an odour but it soon becomes mere dung." We shall now close our observations by the summary remark that he was one of the most illustrious among the poets of his age, and one of the most able versifiers of his time.—Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Sahl al-Kharā'ī<sup>1</sup> states, in his *I'tilāl al-Qulūb* (*distractions for the heart*) that Muḥammad Ibn Salamah al-Ḍubbi<sup>2</sup> retated as follows: "I made the pilgrimage, and, on my return, I went towards a certain watering-place; and I saw a house at distance from the road. I then halted in the court of it and said: 'May I get down?' And the lady of the house answered: 'Get down.'—'May I go in?' said I; and she replied: 'Come in.' And lo! there was a maiden fairer than the sun, and I sat down to converse with her, and (*words like*) pearls were scattered from her lips. Whilst we were thus engaged, an old woman, with a coarse cloak wrapped round her loins and another thrown over her shoulder, came in from (*another apartment*) and said: 'O 'Abd Allāh (*servant of God*)! why sittest thou here with this gazelle of Najd<sup>3</sup>, from whose toils thou canst not escape, and whose possessions thou canst not hope for?' On this the maiden said to her: 'Dear grandmother, let him beguile his feelings to the degree which Dhu 'l-Rummah describes where he says:

1 See no.130 note on Kharā'ī.

2 His life will be found in this work.

3 The province of Najd, in Arabia, was the Arcadia of the Arabic poets.

\* [From] "it" to end not in the autograph,—Ed.

"And though thou beguilest my hopes, and that but for a short hour, yet that short hour will suffice me!"

"I passed my day thus, and when I retired, my heart was inflamed with love!."]

---

\*We have now completed Volume one ; and Volume two will begin with the letter F, if A'lāh be He Exalted will.

All praises be to Allāh and may Allāh bless the best of all that He has created, Muḥammad, his family and his companions.

†I finished it on Friday after prayers, 4 Rabi' al-Awwal A. H. 655 in Cairo, the protected city.

---

1 Literally : In my heart were as if live coals of *ghadā* wood, owing to my love for her.—The charcoal of the *ghadā* tree is frequently mentioned by the poets as retaining its fire a great length of time.

\* de Siane's translation does not contain this important statement by the author. It is difficult to explain why he had omitted it.

† Corresponding at 23 March A. C. 1257.



A photostat copy of the last page of Vol. I of the autograph. For the author's statement about Vol. II see four lines from the bottom.

# INDEX

## A

- Ādharbā'ijān, 527  
 al-'Ādīd al-'Ubaydi, 219, 437n, 441, 502, 505  
 al-'Ādil Ibn al- Sallār, 416, 502  
 'Āmid 388, 391  
 Āmidi, 395n  
 Āmidi, Abu al-Qāsim, 532, 533  
 'Āmedi, Sayf al-Dīn, 284, 286  
 'Āmir Ibn Ša'qa'h, 448  
 'Āmir al-'Ubaydi, 217, 217n  
 'Āmir al-Zawāhi, 410  
 'Amir Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 517  
 al-'Āmir 'Ubaydi, 217, 503n  
 Āmul, 181, 182  
 Āq Sunqur, 112, 519  
 'Āqim Ibn Yūnus al-'Ijli, 131  
 'Āyishah (Umm al-Mūminin), 241  
 'Āyishah Bint Ṭalḥah, 242, 245n  
 Āzar, 467, 467n  
 Abbādān, 56  
 al-'Abbās, 79  
 'Abbās, 502, 503, 504  
 'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Murṭalib, 132n, 178, 258, 259, 260, 260n, 267, 267n, 492n  
 al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf, 19, 20n, 21, 22, 63, 274, 448  
 al-'Abbās Ibn al-Ḥasan, 429, 430  
 'Abbās Ibn al-Māmūn, 71  
 al-'Abbās Ibn Mirdās, 362n  
 'Abbāsids, 3, 70, 71n  
 'Abd al-'Āqim al-Mundhiri, 283, 304, 304n  
 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Umar, 346  
 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisi, 118, 185, 188n, 189, 206, 277  
 'Abd al-Ghani, 292, 299  
 'Abd al-Ḥamid, 233, 237, 240n, 241n, 242n, 247  
 'Abd al-Ḥamid Kātib, 210, 213  
 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, 212  
 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayri, 207  
 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Abī 'l-'Awja, 478  
 Abdallah, fils de Djafar, 444  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi Ishāq, 496  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Haytham, 381  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Ali 'Abbāsīd, 136  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣi, 253, 253n  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Hārith, 253  
 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sa'd, 358  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Hudayr, 152, 152n  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khulayd, 67  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Katīr of Quraysh, 391  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak, 28, 30, 31, 114  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Anī-mūyah, 185  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, 105, 105n  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Tāhir, 70, 71, 71n, 72, 73, 74, 74n, 75, 75n, 77, 77  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar, 24, 25, 26, 27, 252, 255  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar al-Warrāq, 448  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Utbah, 104  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Waṣīf, 367  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, 25, 26, 26n, 76, 241, 244, 245, 248, 264n  
 'Abd Allāh al-Sulayāi, 414  
 'Abd al-Laṭīf, 10  
 'Abd al-Majid (Iḥāfiḡ), 98  
 'Abd al-Malik (Caliph), 17, 26, 76n, 82, 149, 150, 244, 245, 257, 264, 265  
 'Abd al-Malik al-Saqāṭi, 339  
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr, 113, 149,



- 150  
 'Abd Manāf, 178  
 'Abd al-Muḥaymin al-Ḥaḍrami, 12  
 'Abd al-Muḥsin Ibn Ḥalabūn, 213, 215, 217  
 'Aḍd al-Mūmin al-Kūmi, 220, 220n, 221, 222  
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 178, 267  
 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Ṣūri, 400  
 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilī, 208, 208n, 209n, 240, 454  
 'Abd al-Qādir al-Shahrzūri, 240  
 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjāni, 91, 333  
 'Abd al-Qāhir Abu 'l-Najīb, 454  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 157  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 32  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi Layla, 113  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim, 33  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sha'bi, 113  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Uṭaqi, 115, 116  
 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Hāshimi, 178, 179  
 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn al-Mu'addal, 399, 399n  
 Abdelmalik, 444n  
 'Abd Ṣhams, 178, 302  
 'Abd al-Wahhāb 477, 477n, 478, 479  
 'Abd al-Wahhāb (Qādī), 176, 204  
 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Māliki, 201  
 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqaṭi, 447, 447n  
 'Abd Ibn Abi Rabi'ah 446, 447  
 'Abdūn, 64, 66  
 al-Abiwardi, 120, 120n  
 Abou Abbad Mabad, 445n  
 Abouyezid, 444n  
 Abraham, 467, 467n  
 Abrez Gasc, 125, 247, 365, 491  
 'Abu Tribe, 242  
 Abu 'l-'Āliyah al-Ḥasan, 160  
 Abu 'Abbād, 485  
 Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Abbali, 12  
 Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan, 338  
 Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Qudā'i, 116  
 Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Rāzi, 95  
 Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, 494, 495  
 Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Mūmin, 223, 223n  
 Abu 'Abd Allāh (Shī'ite), 105, 106  
 Abu 'Abd al-Ḥarrāni, 420  
 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Lahī'ah, 37  
 Abu 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulami, 13, 13n  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Nāshī, 79  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās (grandson of Ibn Furāt), 426, 427  
 Abu Aḥmad al-'Askari, 519n  
 Abu 'Ali al-Ḡhassānī 30  
 al-'Āḍid (Ibn Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf), 97, 98, 98n, 99  
 al-'Āḍil, 417, 418, 419  
 al-'Āḍil Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ruzzik, 146  
 Abu Aḥmad al-'Askari, 158, 298  
 Abu Aḥmad al-Ṣūfi, 345  
 Abu 'l-'Ala, 84, 497  
 Abu 'l-'Ala al-Mu'arri, 175, 202, 217n, 224, 342, 362, 382, 382n  
 Abu 'l-'Ala Ibn 'Ammār, 475, 476n  
 Abu 'Ali Aḥmad, 217  
 Abu 'Ali al-Fārisi, 88, 230, 232, 332n, 459  
 Abu 'Ali al-Jubbā'i, 166  
 Abu 'Ali al-Muqri, 205  
 Abu 'Ali al-Qāli, 303  
 Abu 'Ali al-Shalawbiūs, 459  
 Abu 'Ali 'l-Qāli, 20  
 Abu 'Ali Muḥammad Ibn Waḡḡah, 176  
 Abu 'l-'Amayḡhal, 76, 77, 78  
 Abu 'Amr al-Hāshimi, 312  
 Abu 'Amr al-Makḡzūmi, 471  
 Abu 'Amr Tujibi, 117, 117n  
 Abu 'Amr 'Uṭḡmān 459  
 Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala, 314, 533,

- 534  
 Abu 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala, 314, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 481, 476, 497, 498, 501  
 Abu 'Amr al-Shaybānī, 327n  
 Abu 'l-'Arab al-Zubayrī, 330, 331  
 Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'ali, 497  
 Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah, 65, 350, 471,  
 Abu 'l-'Aynī, 160, 160n  
 Abu Ayyub al-Anṣārī, 113, 113n  
 Abu al-Bassām, 457  
 Abu Bakr Ibn Mujāhid, 39  
 Abu Bakr Ibn Qura'ah, 364  
 Abu Bakr Ibn Shādhān, 307  
 Abu Bakr Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 478  
 Abu Bakr Ibn al-'Arabi, 9, 9n, 313  
 Abu Bakr al-Ḥāzimi, 267  
 Abu Bakr al-Adfuwū, 294  
 Abu Bakr al-'Allāf, 426  
 Abu Bakr al-Khaṭīb, 159  
 Abu Bakr al-Khuwarazmi, 367  
 Abu Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, 126, 126n, 127, 185, 241, 241n, 454, 518  
 Abu Bakr al-Sirāfi, 277, 277n  
 Abu Bakr al-Ṣūlī, 21, 355, 358, 358n, 360, 424, 425  
 Abu Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshi, 216n, 503n  
 Abu Bakr Ibn 'Ayyāsh, 289  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Fūrak, 187, 188  
 Abu Bakr al-Mazrafi, 52, 52n  
 Abu Bakr (Physician), 32n  
 Abu Bakr al-Ṭūsi, 187, 187n  
 Abu Bakr Muḥamad, 402  
 Abu Bakr Muḥammad al-Sam'āni, 194  
 Abu Bakr Muḥammad al-Shunātrīnī, 95, 95n  
 Abu 'l-Baqa al-'Ukbari ('Abd Allāh Ibn Abi 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn), 78  
 Abu Burdah Ibn Abi Mūsā, 13, 14, 15, 16, 276  
 Abū Dāwud, 152, 152n, 292n  
 Abu Ḍirār al-Ghanawī, 529, 526n  
 Abu Dulaf al-'Ijli, 130, 131, 131n, 175, 175n, 298, 300, 347, 348, 349  
 Abu Dulāmah, 140  
 Abu 'l-Faḍā'il, 404, 405  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abbās Ibn Abi 'l-Futūḥ, 418, 424, 428  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad, 344  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mikāl, 162  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn Māmūn, 307  
 Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ispahani, 303, 301, 301n, 302, 315, 350, 489  
 Abū Farās, 50, 63n, 400  
 Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ispahani, 167n, 374  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Busti, 375, 376, 377  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad, 88, 88n  
 Abu 'l-Fayyāḍ al-Baḡri, 272n  
 Abu 'l-Fidā, 18n, 24n, 30n, 39n, 71n, 140n, 143n, 165n, 197n, 220, 248n, 258n, 328n, 370n, 375n, 412n, 428n, 449n, 460n, 496n, 517n  
 Abul Feda, 527n  
 Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-'Ijli, 248  
 Abū Ḥalīb Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sahl, 175  
 Abu 'l-Ghanā'm, 452, 453  
 Abu Ḥānīnī, 109, 109n, 110  
 Abu Ḥafṣ al-'Aṭṭār, 432n  
 Abu 'l-Hakam al-Maghribi, 110, 111  
 'Abu 'l-Hakam al-Maghribi ('Ubayd Allāh), 110  
 Abn Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'ini 172, 272, 293  
 Abu Ḥāmid al-Marw al-Rūdi, 272n  
 Abu Ḥnīfah, 47, 54n, 165n, 173, 193, 199'n, 249n, 279, 492n  
 Abū l-Ḥārith al-Nawfali, 358, 359  
 Abū l-Ḥārith al-Sarakhsī, 120  
 Abbu'l-Ḥasan, 12  
 AAbu 'l-Ḥasan (grandson of Ibn al-

- Furāt), 426  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-'Askari, 261, 262, 263  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḡh'ari, 18  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Barmaki, 485  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqi, 385  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Marzubān, 172  
 AB 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad al-Baḡhdādi, 175, 176  
 Abu Hāshim al-Jubbā'i, 166, 167, 167n  
 Abu Hāfīm al-Rāzi, 448, 448n  
 Abu Hāfīm al-Sijistāni, 40, 157  
 Abu Hilāl al-'Askari, 519, 519n  
 Abū Hukaymah (Kātib), 65  
 Abu Hurarab, 103, 253  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṭarābulusi, 111  
 Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ḡhazzi, 282  
 Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ziyādi, 40, 40n  
 Abu Ishāq al-Isfarā'ini, 187, 188  
 Abū Ishāq al-Marwazi, 172, 275  
 Abu Ishāq (Mu'ta'im), 74, 75  
 Abu Ishāq al-Ḥābi, 182  
 Abu Ishāq al-Sab'i, 464  
 Abu Ishāq al-Ḥirāzi, 87, 119, 120, 125, 154, 185, 190, 200, 201, 225, 226, 227, 232, 247, 268, 281, 453  
 Abū Ismā'il Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusayni al-Rassi, 70  
 Abu Jahl, 447  
 Abu Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 42  
 Abu Ja'far Muslim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusayni, 70  
 Abu Jahwar, 324  
 Abu Jawād Ḡhiyāthī, 336, 336n  
 Abu Khalaf, 172  
 Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ja'far, 427  
 Abu 'l-Khayrwarīsi, 274  
 Abū Khuzaymah, 36, 36n  
 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, 156  
 Abu Ma'bad, 38, 38n  
 Abu 'l-Maḥṣin, 30n, 75n, 91, 98n, 116n, 117n, 180, 181, 182, 291n, 369n, 396n  
 Abu Manṣūr al-Baḡhdādi, 184  
 Abu Manṣūr al-Daylami, 231  
 Abu Maryam, 135  
 Abu Maysarah al-Fihri, 248  
 Abu 'l-Miḥḡagh, 257  
 Abu Muḥammad ('Abd al-Ḥakam), 32  
 Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, 358  
 Abu Muḥammad al-'Ijli, 192  
 Abu Muḥammad al-Juwayni, 153, 155  
 Abu Muḥammad (Khaṭīb), 318  
 Abu Muḥammad al-Yazīdi, 289  
 Abu Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd, 454  
 Abu Muḥammad Ibn al-Kh: ḡshāb, 87  
 Abu 'l-Mu'issim, 424, 426  
 Abū Mūsā al-'Anazi, 36  
 Abu Mūsā Aḡh'ari, 13, 14, 14n, 15  
 Abu Muslim al-Khurasāni, 130, 131, 132, 133, 133n, 134, 135, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 140n, 212, 251,  
 Abu Muḥanna Ibn Ya'qūb, 429, 430  
 Abu 'l-Muḡaffar, 193  
 Abu 'l-Muḡaffar 'Abd al-Rahīm, 194, 195  
 Abu al-Najīb al-Suhrwardy, 185, 186, 454, 456  
 Abu Naṣr al-Shirāzi, 313, 314  
 Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahāni, 154, 264, 291  
 Abu Nuwās, 65, 79, 157, 168, 169, 259, 266, 348, 531, 532  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Barhān, 452  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim, 483  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ahwāzi, 313  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Anmāfi, 224, 225  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Dāraki, 171, 172, 173  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh, 251, 492  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Maḡribi (Wazīr),

- 75, 75n, 215, 377  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Iskāf, 153, 153n  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, 187, 188, 189, 206  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Saymari, 272, 272n, 273n  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī, 364, 365, 366  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh, 197  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Imām al-Haramayn, 156  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥajjaj, 123  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Maṭṭarībi, 141  
 Abu Rabī'ah, 446, 447  
 Abu 'l-Raddād ('Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Salām), 99  
 Abu Rān' al-Faḍl, 323, 326  
 Abū Raja, 37n  
 Abu Rakwa, 379n  
 Abu 'l-Raqa'maq, 381  
 Abu Rifā'ah, 314  
 Abu Sa'd al-Mālīnī 313, 313n  
 Abu Sa'd al-Mutawallī ('Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Māmūn), 119, 200, 201  
 Abu Sa'd Qushayrī, 206  
 Abu Sahl, 367  
 Abu Sabī Ibn Ziyād, 360  
 Abu Sa'īd al-Dawlat, 381  
 Abd Sa'id al-Iṣṭakhri, 290  
 Abū Sa'id, 123, 159, 206  
 Abu Sa'id al-Khudrī, 253, 253n  
 Abu Sa'id al-Tuwāl, 472  
 Abu Salamah al-Majīshūn, 150  
 Abu Šālīh (Mufiwadhḥīn), 46  
 Abu Ḥayyāh Ibn al-Ḡharīq, 14  
 Abu Sufyān Ibn Ḥarb, 178, 341  
 Abu Sulaymān al-Dārānī, ('Abd al-Rahmān al-Ansī), 117  
 Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, 182, 236, 236n, 278, 283, 314  
 Abu Ṭāhir al-Tamīmī, 198n  
 Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Awf al-Zuhri, 236, 236n  
 Abu Ṭālib 408n  
 Abu Ṭālib al-Mubārak 392, 392n  
 Abu Ṭālib al-Zaynabī, 281, 281n  
 Abū Ṭālib (uncle to al-Mu'izz), 33n  
 Abu Ṭālib 'Abd al-Jabbār, 326  
 Abu Tammām, 11, 58, 72, 73, 76, 78, 335, 362, 529, 532, 533  
 Abu al-Ṭarīf, 109  
 Abu 'l-Tayyib copyist, 355  
 Abu 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, 338, 528  
 Abu 'Ubayd Ibn Sallām, 289  
 Abu 'Ubaydah, 23, 167n, 295, 474, 475, 477  
 Abu 'Ubaydah (Grammarian), 41n, 157, 158  
 Abu 'Umar Aḥmad, 324, 325  
 Abu Usāmah Junādah, 205  
 Abu 'Uḥmān al-Nājim, 357, 358  
 Abu 'Uḥmān Sa'id, 402  
 Abu 'l-Wafa al-Ḥalwānī, 240  
 Abu 'l-Waḥsh, 111  
 Abu 'l-Walīd al-Bāji, 324  
 Abn 'l-Waqt al-Sijzi, 207, 209  
 Abu Zar'ah, 34n  
 Abu Zayd al-Anṣarī, 194  
 Abu Zayd al-Dabūsī, 194  
 Abu Zayd al-Marwazī, 316, 316n  
 Abu 'l-Zinād, 25, 103  
 Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir Ibn Muḥammad, 88  
 Abyssinia, 39  
 Abyssinian, 414  
*Adab al-Kātib*, 40, 40n, 42, 84  
*Adab al-Khawāṣṣ*, 75  
 Adam, 251, 350  
 al-'Addās, 313  
 'Aden, 412  
 Adham, 29n, 30n  
 Adḥanah, 486

- Adharbijan, 130  
 Adl in Ibn Bundad, 130  
 'Adi al-Hakkārī, 240  
 'Adī Ibn Hanīfah (tribe), 14n  
 'Adnān Tribe, 319n  
 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, 205, 310, 396, 398  
 Afdal Shāhanshāh, 217, 217n  
 Afrāṭīn, 410n  
 Africa, 39n, 98, 106, 107, 116n, 165n, 196n, 197, 198n, 222, 266, 313n, 318  
 Aḡhmāt, 197  
 Aḥmad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, 12n  
 Aḥmad Ibn Afdal, 218, 219  
 Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Farghānī, 89  
 Aḥmad Ibn Abi Kḥālīd, 485  
 Aḥmad Ibn Faraj, 448  
 Aḥmad Ibn Ghāzī, 525  
 Aḥmad s/o al-Malik al-Zāhir, 527  
 Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib, 100, 101, 102  
 Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā al-Lūlū'i, 496, 496n  
 Aḥmad s/o Abu Qutaybah, 40  
 Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf, 489, 489n  
 al-Ahtam (Tamīmī), 15  
 al-Aḥwaṣ, 363, 363n  
 al-Ahwāz, 300, 354, 364, 396  
 Al-Aḥzan Ibn 'Awf al-'Abdī, 22  
 al-'Akawwak, 306, 306n, 346, 347, 348, 349, 351  
 Akḥbār al-Ṣaḥābah, 345  
 Akḥfash, 43  
 al-Akḥfash al-Aḡḡhar, 295, 296  
 al-Akḥfash al-Awsaṭ, 295  
 al-'Ala Ibn 'Ammār, 474  
 al-'Alawī al-Baḡrī, 23, 23n  
 Aleppo, 52, 53, 71n, 128n, 141, 167n, 184n, 201n, 215n, 217, 217n, 227, 228, 229, 229n, 315n, 339, 342, 343, 345, 346, 352, 367, 368, 401, 403, 404, 404n, 407, 415n, 420, 422, 422n, 520, 521, 522, 523, 523n  
 Alexander, 132, 140n, 235, 236, 344n  
 Alexand r Dhu 'l-Qarnayn, 140, 140n  
 Alexenderia, 36n, 116, 146, 283, 284, 336, 344n, 416, 417, 420  
 Alfonso Raimond, 49n  
 Algiers, 7  
 'Ali al-Harawī, 342  
 'Ali 'l-Riḍa, 258, 258n, 260, 261  
 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās, 133, 178, 179, 253, 263, 265, 266, 267, 268  
 'Ali Ibn Abi Tālib, 97, 105, 113, 132n, 149, 159, 252, 255, 258, 260, 264, 268, 302, 308, 309, 352, 363, 367n, 443, 466, 474, 474n, 492n, 518  
 'Ali Ibn Aḡma', 159  
 'Ali Ibn Balīk, 449n  
 'Ali Ibn Ḥamzah Iṣpāhānī, 134  
 'Ali Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad, 104  
 'Ali Ibn 'Isā Wazīr, 296  
 'Ali Ibn Juday', 136  
 'Ali Ibn Muḥammad al-Nawfili, 477  
 'Ali Ibn Naḡr, 204  
 'Ali Ibn Rayṭah, 350  
 'Ali Ibn 'Umar al-Talamankī, 327  
 Almeira, 83, 94, 94n, 110  
 Alp Arslān, 153, 519, 520  
 'Alqamah, 11n  
 Amālī, 181n, 192n  
 Amālī (al-Qālī), 20  
 Amat al-Raḥīm d/o 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī, 207  
 Amat al-Raḥmān, 457  
 al-'Āmirī (Majd al-'Arab), 50, 50n  
 'Ali Ibn Ḥusayn al-Maḡhrabī, 214  
 al-A'mash, 248, 466  
 'Amīd al-Dawlat, 369, 369n  
 Amīn (Caliph), 71n, 287, 471, 479n, 531  
 Amin al-Dawlat, 490

- 'Amr b. al-Ahtam, 12, 15n  
 'Amr Ibn 'Alqamah al-Kināni, 39n  
 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣi, 116  
 'Amr Ibn al-Baḥr, 470  
 'Amr Ibn al-Dinār, 248, 253  
 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥārith, 37, 37n  
 'Amr Ibn al-Mallik, 143, 143n  
 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah, 485, 486, 488, 489  
 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd, 466, 467, 467n, 468, 469  
 'Amr Ibn Umayyah, 67, 144  
 'Amr Ibn Zibriqān, 15n  
 Amro 'l-Qays, 203n  
 Anas Ibn Mālik, 152n  
 al-Anbār, 31, 56, 79, 80, 125, 137, 139, 192, 212, 340, 341  
 Andulsian, 341  
 al-'Ants al-'Badi' al-'Tāts, 375  
 Annals (Abu 'l-Feda), 18n  
 'Antarah, 11n  
 Anthologie Grammaticale, 11n, 19n, 47n  
 Antioch, 362, 363, 366  
 Anujūr, 122n  
 Anūshirwān, 39n, 130n, 138n, 140n  
 al-'Aqabah, 248n  
 al-'Aqīdat al-Nizūmyah, 154  
 'Aqil, 185, 207  
 'Aqil al-Manahi, 240  
 al-'Aqīqiyah, 356, 356n  
 Arab, 1, 5, 116, 198n, 297, 330n, 347, 383n, 401, 471n, 472, 530  
 'Arābat al-Awsi, 531, 531n  
 Arabia, 143n, 534n  
 Arabian, 1, 14, 82, 83, 131, 140, 156, 161, 199, 205n, 349n, 396, 448, 498, 528  
 Arabic, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 31n, 33n, 36n, 45n, 50n, 63n, 64n, 66n, 71n, 72n, 73n, 83, 84n, 86, 112n, 114n, 126n, 127n, 132n, 134, 135n, 151, 157, 166, 180, 184n, 196n, 197n, 226n, 229n, 233, 252, 275n, 277n, 294n, 302n, 305n, 307n, 309n, 318n, 323, 328n, 340, 340n, 341, 367n, 371n, 373, 376n, 377n, 379n, 382n, 383n, 384n, 385n, 393n, 402n, 404n, 410n, 415n, 432n, 436n, 442n, 450n, 452n, 471n, 473, 474, 474n, 475n, 507n, 510n, 513n, 528n, 534n  
 Arabisite Acrzte, 33n  
 Arabs, 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 17, 23, 40n, 41n, 66, 71n, 93, 116, 140n, 158, 161, 167, 187, 234, 247, 355, 288n, 290, 295, 300, 302, 317n, 328n, 330, 334, 335, 343n, 345, 346, 401, 413n, 423, 446n, 457, 459, 471, 472, 474, 476, 477, 493, 498, 503, 528n, 530  
 'Aradah Ibn Yarbū, 467  
 'Arafah, 28  
 Arbela, 136, 225, 229, 240, 335, 346, 455, 458, 511, 513, 514, 515, 516, 522  
 Ardaghīr, 132, 132n, 354  
 al-'Arīgh, 506  
 Aristotle, 440n  
 Armenia, 170, 233  
 Armenian, 516  
 Arrangon, 94n  
 Arranjāni, 395  
 Arsitan, 264n  
 Arwa Bint Kurayz, 517  
 Asad (tribe), 287  
 Asad Ibn Jawhar, 361  
 Asad Ibn Sa'd, 34, 34n  
 Asad al-Din Shīrkūh, 228, 229, 509  
 As'ad al-'Ijlī, 120  
 As'ad al-Mihānī, 186, 285, 306  
 As'ad Ibn Shihāb, 413  
 Asadiyah, 165n, 166, 229  
 al-Aṣṣār, 136, 302, 302n  
 A'gha, 477  
 al-Ash'ari, 347, 275, 275n, 276, 277

Agh'ari, 189, 190  
 Aḡhab, 31, 152n, 164, 204  
 Agharites, 13, 275  
 Aḡhānān, 132n  
 'Aṣim Ibn Abi 'l-Najūd, 13, 447  
 'Āsiyah, 139  
 Aslam Ibn Sidrah, 341  
 Asma, 235, 413  
 Asma Bint Abi Bakr, 241, 241n  
 Asma Bint Muḥharribah, 447, 447n  
 al-Aṣma'i, 18, 23, 25, 76n, 78, 156,  
 157, 158, 159, 160, 160n, 163, 314,  
 340, 474, 476, 476, 476n  
 'Asqalān, 146, 216, 218, 336, 604  
 'Asqalāni, 447n  
 Agram Ibn Ḥumayd, 73  
 Asrār (Dabūsī), 47  
 Asrār al-'Arabīyah, 125  
 'Aṭa Ibn Abi Rabāḥ, 114, 248, 249,  
 249n, 250, 250n  
 Avicenna, 10  
 'Awārif al-Ma'arīf, 455, 456  
 al-'Awāṣim, 362  
 al-Awḍi, 39, 39n  
 'Awn b. Muḥammad, 21  
 'Awf Ibn Muḥallim al-Shaybāni, 73,  
 73n, 74, 74n  
 Awfa Ibn Dalham, 532n  
 Awfa Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Buḥaṣh,  
 532  
 al-Awfā'i Ibn 'Amr 'Abd al-Raḥmān  
 Ibn 'Amr, 32n 113, 114, 115, 199,  
 248  
 Aswaf, 194  
 Awzā'ab, 115  
 'Aydhāb, 143, 143n, 144, 331  
 Aydhāj, 312, 312n  
 'Āyishah (Prophet's Wife), 103, 127,  
 253  
 'Āyishah Bint 'Alī Umayyid, 444  
 'Āyishah Bint Ṭalḥah, 25, 26n  
 Aylah, 503, 503n

'Ayn Tāb, 523, 523n, 527  
 'Ayn Zarbah, 401, 401n  
 Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyāni, 447  
 al-Azaj Gate, 92, 247, 394  
 Azd Tribe, 195, 199, 205, 459  
 al-'Aziz, 527  
 al-'Aziz Nizār Ibn al-Mu'izz, 89  
 al-'Aziz 'Ubaydi, 434  
 'Azzah, 254, 353

## B

Bāb, 479  
 Bābak al-Ḥurrami, 70  
 al-Babbaḡha, 182, 183, 184, 184n,  
 200, 403  
 Babylon, 140n  
 Bādarāya, 202, 204  
 Baghdād, 20, 21, 31, 40, 41, 42, 43,  
 47, 52, 52n, 56n, 60, 62n, 73, 79, 80,  
 86, 87, 88, 90, 92, 107, 110, 111,  
 112, 119, 120, 121, 122n, 124, 125,  
 127, 128, 128n, 148, 149, 153, 157,  
 167, 170, 172, 175, 171, 179, 780,  
 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192,  
 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 208, 209n,  
 210, 224, 229, 232, 247, 254, 254n,  
 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 377, 278,  
 281, 284, 285n, 287, 290, 291, 292n,  
 295, 296, 298, 299, 300, 303, 304,  
 306, 307, 312, 332, 333, 334, 335,  
 339n, 344, 349, 351, 353, 354, 356,  
 357, 362, 364n, 365, 366, 369, 369n,  
 370, 372, 381, 388, 391, 394, 396n,  
 423, 425, 427, 429, 430, 430n, 431,  
 431n, 434n, 449, 449n, 452, 453,  
 454, 455n 456, 458, 460, 461, 471,  
 471n 472, 480, 485, 490, 491, 392,  
 492n, 510, 512, 516  
 Baha al-Dawlah, 205  
 Baha al-Dīn Qarāṣh, 509, 238  
 Bahā al-Dīn al-Qāsim, 306

- Baba al-Din Shaddād, 407,  
 407n  
 Baḥrayn, 160, 363n  
 Bahdalah, 13  
 Bāhilah, 173n, 157, 152n  
 Bahnasah, 417n  
 Bajilah, 135  
*Ḥaḥr al-Maḥhab*, 181  
 Bakka Ibn 'Amir, 529, 529n  
 Bākūsāya, 202, 204  
 al-Bāḫharzi, 1g9, 384, 385, 386  
 Bakr Ibn Wā'il, 512  
 Bakr (Tribe), 80  
 al-Bakri, 838n  
 Bajaya, 197  
 Bāḫharz, 386  
 Ba'labek, 53, 114, 114n, 240  
 Balḫ, 29n, 44, 344  
 Balqa, 179, 268  
 Bānat, 490  
 Banu Qurrah, 379, 379n  
 Barājah, 159, 160  
 Barcelona, 94n  
 Barmak, 483  
 al-Barq al-Shāmi, 521  
 al-Barda'i (Abū Sa'id, 11  
 Barhān al-Uḡl, 52  
 Bark Yāruq, 278  
 al-Barmaki, 304  
 Barqah, 417  
 Barqa'id, 346  
 al-Basāsiri, 43  
 Baḡshār Ibn Burd, 20  
 Baḡrah, 14, 17, 21, 22, 23, 23n, 24, 38,  
 76n, 99, 113; 137n, 157, 158, 159,  
 159n, 160, 161, 167, 199, 252, 254n,  
 260, 261, 272, 273n, 275, 276, 312,  
 354, 354n, 364, 366, 382, 447, 447n,  
 448n, 449n, 454, 467, 469, 471, 472,  
 475, 480, 484, 485, 495, 498, 499  
 al-Bassāmi, 358, 359, 362  
 Baṣām, 76  
 al-Batalyawas 85  
 al-Baṭalyawsi, 42, 86, 166  
 al-Baṭṭa, 438, 438n  
 Bāsikin, 515, 516  
 Bāqillāni, 188, 275  
 al-Bayḍa, 472  
 al-Bayḍāwi, 273n  
 al-Bayān, 54n  
 al-Bayāḍi, 384  
 Bayhaq, 277  
 al-Bayhaqi, 123, 153n, 188  
 al-Bayrut, 113, 114, 115  
 Baysān, 146, 146n  
 Bayt Fār, 240  
 al-Bazzi, 40, 40n  
 Berlier, 501  
 Berghana, 144n, 268n, 412n  
 al-Bazzāz (Abū 'Umar), 13, 13n  
 Berbar, 8  
 Bib Orient, 38n  
 Bijayāh, 500  
 Bilāl Ibn Abi Burdah, 14, 15, 277, 531  
*Biographical Dictionary* (Ibn Khallī-  
kān), 1  
 al-Biqā' 114, 114n  
 al-Bīrah, 128n  
 Biḡhr Ibn Abu 'Anir, 478  
 Biḡhr Ibn Bakr, 32, 32n  
 Biḡhr Ibn Ghayāth, 369n  
 Bouo Makhzoum, 445n  
 Brockous, 314n  
 al-Buḥturi, 109, 109n, 163, 174, 269,  
 426, 426n  
 Bilbays, 417, 418  
 Bilqis, 440  
 Buḫārī, (Imām), 34n, 207, 208, 292n,  
 294, 316, 494  
 Bulbays, 294  
 Bulārāh w/o Abu 'l-Futūh, 418  
 al-Buwayḍa, 508  
 Būrān, 351  
 Buḫārā, 57, 120, 101, 377



Burckhardt, 4, 33, 214n  
*Burhān*, 154, 194  
 Buṣṭr, 136, 212, 213, 213n  
 al-Buṣṭri, 336, 336n  
 al-Buṣṭrawi Poet, 310  
 Buṭḥaynah, 145, 145n  
 Buwayḍa, 396n  
 Buzurjimihr, 130

## C

Carlyle, 400n  
 Catalonia, 94n  
 Ceuta, 221, 313n, 328, 331493, 494, 495  
 Chinese, 341  
 Chosroes, 39  
*Chrestomathic*, 353n  
 Christian, 5n, 38n, 43n, 94n, 137,  
 301n, 330, 331, 460n, 490, 491  
 Constantinople, 113n  
 Coptic, 341  
 Cordova, 92, 93, 321, 322, 494  
 Courayba, 444n  
 Cairo, 24n, 26n, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36,  
 36n, 42, 52n, 54, 60, 60n, 68, 69,  
 73, 75n, 79, 80, 97, 98, 100, 102,  
 106, 115, 116, 117, 118n, 122n,  
 134n, 147, 148, 161, 177, 204, 206,  
 214n, 217, 218, 225, 226, 233, 234,  
 236, 237, 237n, 549n, 284, 285, 294,  
 314, 315, 320, 336, 336n, 379, 381,  
 382, 391, 406, 407n, 410n, 416, 417,  
 419, 422, 432, 435n, 430, 441, 450n,  
 457n, 459, 463, 464, 493n, 503, 504,  
 506, 508  
 Cureston Dr. 276n, 451n  
 Chammakh, 531n

## D

al-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Qays al-Harūri, 135  
 Dahlak, 413

al-Dajjāl, 128  
 Da'laj Ibn Aḥmad, 172, 172n  
 Damascus, 52, 53, 54, 87, 111, 112,  
 114n, 115, 118, 121, 122, 136, 186,  
 225, 229, 227, 228, 229n, 233, 234,  
 236, 268, 304, 306, 336, 337n, 346,  
 391, 403n, 404, 420, 421, 431n,  
 434n, 449, 465n, 477, 496n, 505,  
 506, 508, 520, 527  
 Dāmi 'Ḥān, 76n  
 Dammūn 14  
 al-Dabūsī (Abū Zayd), 47, 47n  
 Dabūsiyah, 47  
 al-Daqqāq (Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī), 187,  
 188, 190, 191, 206  
 Dāwūd al-Ispahani (Zāhiri), 209n,  
 al-Dāwūdī, 209  
 al-Dār (Tribe), 38  
 al-Dāraqūṭni, 43, 289, 290, 299, 432n  
 Dārīn, 39, 39n  
*Daw al-Siqf*, 84  
 al-Dāwūdī Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-  
 Raḥmān, 208  
 Dāwūd al-Zāhiri, 209n, 331n  
 Dead Sea, 143n  
 Deguigne, 527n  
 Denia, 327, 494  
 de Perceval, 531n  
 Dayr al-Jamājīm, 113  
 de Slane, 371n, 376n, 409n, 413n,  
 419n, 434n, 450n, 457n  
 de Sacy, 11n, 19n, 41n, 85n, 105n,  
 106n, 138n, 140n, 180n, 192n, 194n,  
 195n, 277n, 294n, 302n, 353n, 359n,  
 379n, 407n, 417n, 419n, 420n, 440n,  
 461n, 462n, 464n, 471n, 477n  
 al-Dḥahabi, 33n, 39n, 40n, 117n,  
 209n, 273n, 332n, 392n, 448n, 439n  
 Dharr 451n  
 d' Herbelot, 38n, 130n, 223n, 402n  
 Dhuḥl, 162, 162n, 515n  
 Ḍiya al-Dīn 'Isā, 514

*Dhahīrah*, 81, 162, 202, 204, 309, 328, 359  
*Dhu 'l-Rummah*, 14, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 532n, 533n, 534  
*Dhu Kibār*, 16  
*Dhu Nuwās*, 19n  
*Dhu 'l-Qarnayn Ibn Hamdān*, 189  
*Dhu Sha'bayn*, 19  
*Dilaq*, 417, 417n  
*Diya al-Dīn (Ḥarīf)*, 56, 60  
*Diya al-Dīn al-Hadbānī*, 225  
*Diya al-Dīn al-Shahruzūri (qāḍī)*, 53  
*Dhu Shanātīr*, 19n  
*Dhu Tuwa*, 27: 113  
*Dī'bil al-khuzā'i*, 175  
*Diḥyah al-Kalbi*, 457, 457n  
*d' Ibn Souraydj*, 444n, 445n  
*Dik al-Jinn*, 167, 167n, 168, 169, 179  
*Dimyāt (Damietta)*, 60  
*Dioscorides*, 77n  
*Dinawar*, 41, 42, 70, 71, 233  
*Diwān d' Amro 'l-Kais*, 11n  
*Diya al-Dīn Na r Allāh*, 346  
*Diyār Bakr*, 286, 520  
*d' Omar-ibn-abi-Rabia*, 444n  
*al-Duhaym*, 413, 413n, 414  
*Dujayl Ahwāz*, 354  
*Dujayl Baḥdād*, 113, 453, 354  
*Diyār Bakr*, 53, 335  
*Dumayāt al-Qaṣr*, 189, 385  
*Dunya (Dick al-Jinn's hand-maid)*, 170  
*al-Duwal al-Islamiya*, 42n  
*al-Duwal al-Munqaṭ'ah*, 69, 69n, 70n  
*Durrat al-Ḥawāṣ*, 96, 307

E

*Edessa*, 465  
*Egypt*, 19, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37n, 56, 57, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75n, 82n, 89, 95, 96, 97, 98, 106, 117n, 122, 122n,

123, 124, 124n, 136, 143n, 144, 145, 146, 147, 152n, 162, 165n, 168, 175, 177, 196n, 198, 199, 202, 203, 205, 212, 218, 219, 225, 226n, 235, 236, 253n, 254, 285, 291, 294, 296, 304, 313, 313n, 315, 319, 328n, 331n, 334, 336, 336n, 337, 344, 345, 379, 379n, 380, 382, 391, 405, 406, 412, 416, 417n, 418, 419, 420, 421, 428, 431, 331, 431n, 434, 436, 437n, 439, 441, 442, 444, 448n, 457, 461, 465, 500, 503, 509, 523  
*Egyptian*, 98, 123, 162, 179n, 402, 501, 506  
*Eichhorn*, 40n, 173n, 340n  
*Elias Saint*, 269  
*Emessab*, 34n, 53, 57, 59, 107, 114n, 165n, 167, 168, 228, 330, 506, 527  
*Encyclopaedia of Islām*, 234n  
*English*, 4, 5, 10, 63n, 127n, 135n, 184n, 337n, 442n, 510n  
*Euphrates*, 3, 56, 71n, 80, 145, 125, 201n, 361n, 415n, 422  
*European*, 143n, 221n, 143n, 385n

F

*Al-Faḍl, Ibn al-'Amīd*, 487  
*al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī*, 158  
*al-Faḍl Ibn Saḥl*, 485  
*al-Fā'iz al-'Ubaydi*, 97, 431, 501, 502, 504  
*Fakhr al-Dīn, Jihār kas*, 2381  
*Fakhr al-Dīn 'Isā Ibn Mawdūd*, 509  
*Fakhr al-Dawlah Ibn Jābir*, 384  
*Fakhr al-Dīn*, 512  
*Famm al-'alḥ*, 351  
*al-Farazdaq*: 15, 66, 353, 528, 528n  
*al-Fāli*, 311, 312, 312n  
*Fāmiyat*, 314, 314n  
*al-Fārabi (Ibn Maṭar)*, 208  
*al-Farāwi*, 189

- al-Farazdaq, 353, 354n, 474, 528  
     528n  
 al-Farḡhānī, 75  
 Faridūn, 130  
 al-Fāriqī (Abu 'Alī), 52  
 al-Fārisī, 2, 2n, 43, 181, 229  
 Farḡh : 43  
 al-Farq wa 'l-Mī'yār Bayn Awḡḡād  
     wa 'l-Aḡrār : 374  
 al-Farra : 44, 92, 288, 288n, 289, 470,  
     470n  
 Fārs : 19, 39n, 43, 206, 372, 396, 398,  
     472, 480n  
 Fasa : 43  
 Fasāwi : 43  
 al-Faḡlīh : 43, 43n, 333  
 al-Fasr, 500  
 Fātik, 364, 364n.  
 Fātik al-Majnūn, 298  
 Fāṭimah d/o al-Daqqāq 206  
 Fāṭimah d/o Prophet, 261  
 Fāṭimah, 482  
 Fatwa 'Ālamgīrī, 235n  
 Fawā'id al-Muḡadḡḡah, 52  
 Fayyūm, 136, 212, 237  
 Fayyūm, 464,  
 Fez, 221  
 Fihri : (tribe) 32, 248  
 Fiqh al-Lu, at, 164  
 Fluegell : 11n, 59n, 519n  
 Fihrist, 355n  
 French : 10, 140n, 184n, 305n, 500n  
 Freytag, 404n, 513n, 529n  
 Franks, 464, 504  
 Fuqaym (tribe) : 14  
 Fur'a, 244, 244n  
 Fur'an : 36n  
 Fūrān, 118, 119  
 al-Fūrānī (Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-  
     Raḡmān Ibn Muḡammad), 118,  
     120  
 Fuṣṭat
- Fuṣūṣ, 177
- G
- German, 184n, 398n  
 al-Gḡābah, 267, 268  
 Ghadir Khumm, 367, 367n  
 Ghāfiq (tribe) 35, 35n  
 Ghārib al-Mīṣannaf, 327, 327n  
 al-Gḡharīd, 444, 444n, 445  
 Ghāriḡ, 444n, 445n  
 al-Gḡharq : 14, 14n  
 Ghars al-Nī'mah Ibn al-Ṣāhi, 15  
 Ghaver, 506  
 Ghayāth al-Umawī, 155  
 Ghaylān, 529  
 Ghāzi Ibn Muwḡūd, 520  
 Ghāzi Ibn Yūsuf, 524, 525, 526  
 Ghazzālī, 54n, 60, 228, 277, 279, 281,  
     285n, 297, 453, 453n  
 Ghaznah, 181, 207  
 al-Gḡhazzi, 295  
 Ghazzah, 428  
 Gīyāth, 524, 526  
 Ghunyat al-Mustarḡidīn, 155  
 al-Gḡurar wa 'l-Durar, 308  
 Granada, 38n, 460n, 494, 495  
 Greek : 33n, 63n, 78n, 230, 231n, 285,  
     341, 399, 404, 407, 427  
 Greeks : 17, 138
- H
- al-Ḥabbāl, 313, 313n  
 Ḥabīb Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Raḡḡbān,  
     169, 170  
 Ḥabīb Ibn Maslamah, al-Fihri, 167,  
     167n, 170  
 Ḥādī Caliph, 178  
 Ḥadithab, 56  
 Ḥaḡramawt, 415  
 Ḥaḡramūt : 34n, 36, 37

- Ḥaḍrami : 35, 37, 123, 123n  
 al-Ḥāfīz al-'Ubaydi 217, 218, 219, 420  
 al-Ḥāfīz al-Silāfi 317, 333, 336  
 Ḥaḥḥah (Umm al-Muminin), 25  
 Ḥajar tribe, 115, 116  
 Hajar (country), 160  
 Ḥajar, 295  
 Ḥājir, 516  
 al-Ḥājiri al-Irbili, 512, 513, 514, 516  
 Ḥajjāj Ibn Arṭāh, 448n  
 Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafi, 255, 324, 475, 476n  
 Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf Thaqafi : 18, 27, 28, 159  
 Ḥājī Khalīfah : 11n, 23n, 41n, 43n, 46n, 59n, 70n, 78n, 111n, 117n, 123n, 128n, 169n, 192n, 195n, 198n, 201n, 207n, 224n, 245n, 285n, 327n, 259n, 369n, 375n, 393n, 410n, 452n, 475n, 580n, 494n, 519n  
 al-Ḥakam Ibn Sa'd al-Ashirah, 437  
 al-Ḥukam 'Ubaydi, 379n  
 al-Ḥākim, 205  
 al-Ḥākim al-'Ubaydi, 405, 406, 434, 436  
 Hakkār, 240  
 al-Hakkārī Shaykh al-Islām, 226, 239, 342  
 al-Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyī', 119  
 Hamadūn, 73, 136  
 Ḥamāt, 53  
 Hamdān (tribe), 16, 19, 115  
 Ḥayyāt Ibn Shurayh, 34, 34n, 35  
 Hamadān, 191, 246, 246n, 451, 572n  
 al-Hamadāni, 451  
 al-Hamadāni, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ja'far, 356  
 al-Hamadāni Muḥammad  
 Ḥamārah : 11, 19n, 73, 159n, 327, 335, 515n, 532n  
 Ḥamāt, 286, 461, 464, 465, 466  
 Hamdān, 450, 510, 521, 551, 551n  
 466  
 Ḥamdān, 398, 403, 411n  
 Ḥamdūn al-Nadīm, 360, 360n  
 Hamiltom : 31n, 288n  
 Ḥammāds, 157, 157n  
 Ḥammād Ibn Zayd 292n  
 al-Ḥamra, 70  
 Ḥamzah al-Isfahāni, 19n  
 Ḥamzah, Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Umar 27  
 Ḥamzah al-Zayyāt, 289  
 Ḥanbalites, 190  
 Ḥāni Ibn Tawbah, 314  
 Ḥanīfah (tribe) : 20, 22, 23  
 Ḥanzala tribe, 448n  
 Ḥanzalah Ibn Ṣafwān, 89  
 al-Harawī, 343, 344, 422, 422n  
 Ḥarb Gate, 92, 210, 275, 461  
 Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah, 178, 341  
 al-Ḥarīri, 96, 307, 396n, 462  
 Ḥārīth (tribe), 133  
 Ḥārīth Ibn Ka'b, 133, 134, 470  
 Ḥarrān, 53, 133, 210  
 Ḥārūn al-Rashīd (Caliph), 73, 471, 471n, 531  
 Ḥārūn Ibn 'Alī al-Munajjim, 375, 375n  
 Ḥārūn Ibn Mūsā 496, 496n  
 al-Ḥasan al-Baḡrī, 444, 467, 469, 496  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 253, 518  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, 104  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 170  
 al-Ḥasan al-Baḡrī : 17, 18, 249n, 250n, 474  
 Ḥasan Ibn Qifjūq, 512  
 al-Ḥasan (Imām), 67, 67n, 258, 363  
 al-Ḥasan attendant, 100  
 Ḥasan Ibn Amr Himyarite : 19  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥāfīz, 98n

- al-Ḥasan Ibn Hārūn, 449n  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Ṣahl, 485  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb, 486  
 Ḥāshim Ibn 'Abd Manāf, 61, 133, 178  
 Ḥāshim *Khuzā'i*, 21  
 Haskūrah, 501, 501n  
 Hawāzin (tribe), 363n  
 al-Ḥawfi Abu 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm, 177, 294, 313  
 Ḥāwī, 273  
 Haythān Ibn 'Adī, 341, 446  
 Hebrew, 341  
 Hecham fild 'Abd al-Malik 518n  
*Heddayah*: 31n  
 Helarew: 33n  
 Heraclius, 231n, 457n  
 Herāt, 203, 304, 313n  
 Hibat Allāh Abu 'I-Qāsim, 298, 420, 492  
 Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Aḥib al-*Khayr*, 490  
 Hibat Allāh al-Ṣā'in, 306  
 Hibat Allāh Ibn Sanā 'I-Mulk, 377  
 Hijāz, 89, 153, 188, 191, 193, 197n, 266, 341, 379, 380, 448n  
 Hilāl tribe, 297  
 Hīrah, 78  
*Historia Anteislamica*, 15n, 16n  
 Hit: 30, 31  
*Hilyat al-Awliya*, 154, 264, 291  
 Hushaymah al-*Khammarah*, 21  
 al-Ḥimā, 57  
 Ḥimyar tribe, 115, 116, 124, 161, 199, 341, 495  
 341, 495  
 Hind, 82  
 Hīrah, 137, 340, 341  
 Hijāz, 23, 26, 67, 76  
 Ḥimyar: 16  
 Hishām Caliph 266  
 Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, 244  
 Hishām al-Maḥzūme, 266, 447  
 Hishām al-Muwayyad, 93  
 Hishām (Caliph), 212  
 Hishām Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Buhaysh, 532  
 Ḥubaysh, 160, 160n  
 Hudhayl (tribe), 151  
 Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsi 347, 348, 350, 351  
 al-Ḥumaydi 300, 300n, 313, 313n, 322, 323, 324, 325, 328  
 al-Ḥusrah, 415  
 Ḥusām, al-Dīn, 513  
 Ḥulwān, 56  
 Ḥusayn (qāḍī), 44, 44n  
 al-Ḥusayn (Abu 'Abd Allāh), 52  
 al-Ḥusayn, Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 105, 150, 168, 255, 266, 279, 362, 363  
 Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥirr, 252  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Ḥamdān, 429  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ismā'il, 480n  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn Nizār (al-Mintaḥir bi Allāh), 97-98  
 Ḥuṣayyim, 292n  
 Ḥumaydah, 83  
 Ḥumaymah, 133, 179, 268  
 Ḥusn al-Muḥaḍḍirah, 82n, 503n  
 al-Ḥusri, Abu 'I-Ḥasan, 328, 329, 330  
 al-Ḥusri, Alim Ishāq, 328  
 al-Ḥasayn, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn, 61

## I

- Ibn al-Abbār, 500, 500n  
 Ibn 'Abbās: 25, 89, 103, 178, 248, 252, 253, 264, 264n, 267, 466  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr: 11, 11n, 34, 151  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam 31, 32  
 Ibn 'Abdūn, 479  
 Ibn 'Abd us, 355, 355n  
 Ibn Abī Mūsa al-Ḥaṣḥmi, 431  
 Ibn al-'Adīm, 90, 175, 210, 211, 212,

- 404n  
 Ibn Abi 'l-Dunya, 23  
 Ibn Abi Layla 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 250n,  
 Ibn Abi Layla (Muḥammad) 250,  
 250n  
 Ibn Abi Rabūh, 248  
 Ibn Abi Uḡaybi'ah 33n, 62n  
 Ibn Abi-'Uḡrūn, (Ṣḥaraf al-Dīn), 52,  
 54, 55, 225, 229  
 Ibn al-Aḡlāl, 386, 387  
 Ibn al-Āmidī, Abu 'l-Faḍā'il, 338n  
 Ibn al-Anbārī, 122, 124, 332  
 Ibn al-'Arīf, 324  
 Ibn As'ad al-Mawqili, 56, 57, 58, 59  
 Ibn Asad, 338, 339  
 Ibn 'Asākīr Abi 'l-Qāsim, 54, 114, 121  
 Ibn al-'Asākīr, Fakḥr al-Dīn, 121,  
 275, 282, 303, 306  
 Ibn al-Ash'atī, 113, 165n  
 Ibn al-'Askari, 201, 365  
 Ibn al-'Aṣṣār, 333  
 Ibn Aṭṭār : 16n, 24, 71n, 192, 219, 344,  
 345, 346, 448n, 480n  
 Ibn 'Awf, 336, 420  
 Ibn al-Azraq, al-Fāriql, 141  
 Ibn Bābak, 179  
 Ibn Bābshāh, 96  
 Ibn Bānah, 489, 490  
 Ibn Bari (Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh  
 Ibn Abi 'l-Waḥshī, 95, 97, 198, 236,  
 334, 336n, 420  
 Ibn Bārī', 500  
 Ibn al-Barqī, 152, 152n  
 Ibn al-Barr, 319  
 Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl, 38, 92, 322, 328,  
 359n, 494  
 Ibn al-Bassām, al-Ṣḥantarāni, 359n  
 Ibn Bassām, 63, 63n, 81, 81n, 162,  
 195, 202, 204, 309, 328, 358, 359n,  
 362, 363, 277  
 Ibn al-Bawwāb Kātib, 337, 338, 339,  
 340, 392n, 393,  
 Ibn Bayṭhar, 77n  
 Ibn al-Bayyī', 207, 271  
 Ibn al-Bazri, 452, 453  
 Ibn al-Dāmaḡlāni, 281  
 Ibn al-Buḥturī, 79  
 Ibn Badrūn, 479  
 Ibn al-Dabbās (al-Bārī) 55  
 Ibn Daghlal, 405  
 Ibn Dahhān al-Mawsili, 56, 110  
 Ibn Dihyah, 128, 129, 457, 458, 458n,  
 459  
 Ibn Dīnār al-Wāsiṭī, 307  
 Ibn al-Dubās (Abu 'l-Karīm Mubā-  
 rak), 91  
 Ibn al-Dubayḥī, 112  
 Ibn Durayd, 109n, 112, 122, 167, 311,  
 365  
 Ibn Durustūlyah, 40, 40n, 43  
 Ibn al-Faḍl, 492, 493  
 Ibn Faḍlān, 285, 285n  
 Ibn al-Faraḍī, (Abu 'l-Walīd, 'Abd  
 Allāh al-'Aḍī), 92  
 Ibn al-Farīḍ (al-Ṣḥaraf), 461, 461n,  
 462n  
 Ibn al-Farra, 35  
 Ibn al-Fayyāḍ, 399, 399n  
 Ibn Firrūt, 11, 11n, 336n  
 Ibn al-Furāt, 62n, 165, 165n, 166,  
 423, 424, 425, 426, 426n, 428, 430,  
 431, 431n, 432, 433  
 Ibn Ḡhāniand, 94n  
 Ibn al-Ḥaddād, al-Miṣri, 45  
 Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqālāni : 12n  
 Ibn Ḥājib, 11, 233, 235  
 Ibn al-Hakkāri, 453, 453n  
 Ibn Ḡhalbūn, al-Ṣūri, 213, 215  
 Ibn al-Ḥamadāmi, 275  
 Ibn Ḥamdis al-Ṣaḡalli, 195, 197, 507,  
 bn Ḥamnūyah al-Sarakhsī, 208  
 Ibn Ḥawzāh, al-Sulami, 420  
 Ibn Ḥanbal Aḥmad, 126, 150, 199,  
 210, 278, 284, 292n, 339, 339n,

- 448n, 449  
 Ibn al-Ḥārith, 122  
 Ibn al-Ḥasim, 458  
 Ibn Ḥāzim, 65, 66  
 Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhiri, 310n, 320n, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326,  
 Ibn Hibat Allāh 207, 209  
 Ibn Hilāl, 340  
 Ibn Ḥinzūbah, 291, 292, 427  
 Ibn Hishām, 128, 161, 471n  
 Ibn Hubayrah ('Umar), 17, 18  
 Ibn Ishāq, 161, 161n  
 Ibn al-Jahm, 351, 352, 353, 354  
 Ibn Jahwar, 324, 324n  
 Ibn Jārūd, 448  
 Ibn al-Jaṣṣāṣ, 62  
 Ibn al-Jawāliqi, 125, 125n  
 Ibn al-Jawzī, Abu 'l-Faraj, 125, 126, 178, 260, 263, 289, 290, 408  
 Ibn al-Jazzār (Abū Ja'far): 32, 32n  
 Ibn Jinni, 88, 91, 184, 230, 231, 451, 452n, 500  
 Ibn Jurayj ('Abd al-Malik), 148, 149, 152n, 199  
 Ibn al-Kalbi, 266, 341, 450  
 Ibn Kaṭṭān, 38, 39, 39n, 496  
 Ibn al-Kattāni, 322  
 Ibn Khallikān: 1, 11n, 31n, 33n, 35n, 50n, 52n, 54n, 59n, 63n, 68n, 71n, 74n, 78n, 98n, 105n, 106n, 117n, 120n, 123n, 124n, 134n, 140n, 151n, 153n, 157n, 160n, 161n, 163n, 164n, 168n, 175n, 177n, 179n, 188n, 193n  
 Ibn Kaṭṭān of Quraysh, 39, 39n  
 Ibn Khālaf Abu Ṭ-ḥir Ismā'il, 177  
 Ibn Khaldūn: 1, 2n, 3, 7, 10, 11n, 12, 73n, 220n, 222n, 223n, 328n, 406n, 410n, 411n, 437n, 443n, 500n  
 Ibn al-Khall, 393, 393n  
 Ibn al-Khallāl, 334  
 Ibn Khallikān: 197n, 205n  
 Ibn Khallikān, 220, 222, 245n, 248n, 252n, 256n, 267n, 285n, 287n, 293n, 295n, 296n, 298n, 301n, 316n, 319n, 327n, 331n, 334n, 336n, 341n, 349n, 359n, 363n, 364n, 368n, 369n, 372n, 382n, 385n, 393n, 396n, 403n, 411n, 435n, 437n, 447n, 449n, 453n, 460n, 462n, 463n, 464n, 466n, 467n, 494n, 417n, 319n, 520n, 529n  
 Ibn Khamīs al-Mawṣili, 52  
 Ibn Khāqān, 42, 42n, 81, 197n, 359n, 372  
 Ibn Kharūf, 331, 332  
 Ibn al-Khashshāb, (Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad) 90, 91, 92, 96, 335  
 Ibn Khayrān, 380, 381  
 Ibn Khayyāt, 408  
 Ibn Khudayj: 36, 36n  
 Ibn al-Khuwārazmi, 374  
 Ibn Kulayb al-Ḥarrāni, 210  
 Ibn al-Labbīnah, 197, 197n  
 Ibn Lahī'ah ('Abd Allāh), 35, 36, 36n, 37  
 Ibn Ma'dān al-Yaḥṣubi: 36  
 Ibn al-Madīni, 292, 292n, 448n  
 Ibn Ma'īn, 448n  
 Ibn Mājāh, 292n, 448  
 Ibn al-Mājjishūn 'Abd al-Malik, 150, 151, 152  
 Ibn Mākūlā: 43, 298, 299, 300, 322  
 Ibn Mālik: 11  
 Ibn Mammāti, 458  
 Ibn Mandah, 182  
 Ibn al-Mannī, 285, 286  
 Ibn Ma'rūf Qāḍī, 291, 364  
 Ibn al-Marzubān, 271, 360, 360n  
 Ibn Mas'adah, 486  
 Ibn Maṣāl, 416, 417  
 Ibn Mas'ūd, ('Abd Allāh) 103  
 Ibn Mawdūd, 511  
 Ibn Mirdās, 405  
 Ibn al-Mubārak, 34n, 37, 37n

- Ibn Muḥallīs al-Andalusī, 177  
 Ibn al-Muḥassin al-ʿĀbī, 431  
 Ibn Muḥayyī, 496, 496n  
 Ibn Mujahid, 290  
 Ibn Munāẓẓir, 476, 476n  
 Ibn al-Munajjim, 350, 350n, 368, 368n, 372, 373, 374, 375, 403, 403n  
 Ibn Munir, 111  
 Ibn Munqidh, 407, 504  
 Ibn Muqaffa', 478  
 Ibn Muqlab, 163, 269, 296, 296n, 337, 338, 392n, 393n, 427  
 Ibn Muqallad, 358  
 Ibn al-Murakkaḥīm, 112  
 Ibn Mūṣalāya, 490  
 Ibn al-Musayyab (Sa'id): 16, 25, 256  
 Ibn Muḥīr al-Mawwālī, 388, 389, 390  
 Ibn al-Mustawfī, 240, 335, 346, 516  
 Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 108, 144, 197, 348, 387, 428, 429, 430, 431  
 Ibn Nabīḥ al-Miṣrī, 82, 82n  
 Ibn al-Naḥḥūs, 313, 409:  
 Ibn al-Najjār, 185, 200  
 Ibn Nāqiyā. (Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad), 86, 87  
 Ibn Naṣr al-Mālikī, 203, 205  
 Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ, 471, 471n,  
 Ibn Niftawayh, 357  
 Ibn Nūbakhtī, 369n, 380  
 Ibn Nubātah, 88, 140, 141, 142, 173, 175, 176, 184  
 Ibn Nuṭṭah, 299  
 Ibn al-Qābisi, 316, 317  
 Ibn Qalāqis, 163  
 Ibn Qānī' 472, 472n  
 Ibn Qarājī, 505  
 Ibn al-Qāsim al-Mālikī (Abu 'Abd Allāh, Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Utaqi) 115, 164, 165, 165n, 166, 204)  
 Ibn Quray'ah 364n,  
 Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' 318, 319  
 Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, 272, 492  
 Ibn Qutaybah, 18, 40, 42, 43, 78, 78n, 84, 126, 137, 137n, 142, 152, 223, 241, 243, 257, 477, 517, 529, 529n  
 Ibn Qūṭiyah, 319  
 Ibn Rā'iḳ, 428  
 Ibn Rawāḥab al-Ḥamawī, 227  
 Ibn Raghibān, 170  
 Ibn al-Rūmī, 79, 295, 296, 354, 355, 357  
 Ibn Ruzzīk, 56, 57  
 Ibn al-Sā'atī, 390, 390n, 391  
 Ibn Ṣabannak, 201  
 Ibn al-Ṣabbāḡh, 199, 200, 201  
 Ibn al-Ṣūbī, 200  
 Ibn Sa'd: 13, 16, 35, 152, 244, 254, 254n  
 Ibn Ṣadaqah, 345, Ibn Ṣafī, 333  
 Ibn Ṣafī, 33  
 Ibn Sa'id Ḥāfiṣ, 205, 206  
 Ibn Sa'id, al-Kilābī, 403  
 Ibn Ṣalāḥ: 11  
 Ibn al-Salāḥ, Sharakḥānī, 226, 227, 228  
 Ibn Sallām, 157, 157n, 327n  
 Ibn Sallār, 417, 418  
 Ibn Sūrah al-Shantarīnī, (Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad), 80, 83  
 Ibn al-Sarrāj Abu Bakr, 293  
 Ibn al-Sarrāj al-Ṣūrī, 388  
 Ibn al-Sawāḍī, 491, 492, 493  
 Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 331, 331n  
 Ibn Sayyār, 480, 480n  
 Ibn Shaddād, 332, 521  
 Ibn Shāh, 378  
 Ibn Shāhin, 201  
 Ibn al-Shajari, 125, 125n, 234  
 Ibn Shākir, 73n, 76n



- Ibn al-Shalwaḥānī, 355n  
 Ibn Shās, 60  
 Ibn Shīrshīr, 79  
 Ibn al-Shujā', 265  
 Ibn Shukr, 284  
 Ibn Sīd al-Ba'aliyawsi (Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad) 83  
 Ibn Sīdah, 326, 327  
 Ibn al-Sikkīt, 42, 43n  
 Ibn Sīnān, 296  
 Ibn al-Sitri, 338  
 Ibn Surayj, 224, 518n  
 Ibn Ṭabarzād, 460  
 Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, 67, 67n, 68, 69, 70, 451, 452  
 Ibn al-Ṭabā Ṭabā (Fakhr al-Dīn), 42n  
 Ibn al-Ṭahhān, 206  
 Ibn Ṭaghīfīn, 220, 317n, 326  
 Ibn Tūmart, 220, 221, 317n  
 Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, 57, 59, 358  
 Ibn al-Ukhwat al-Bay' 389, 399, 404  
 Ibn 'Umar, 16, 24, 25, 27n, 28, 346, 466  
 Ibn 'Unayn, 347, 348, 507, 507n  
 Ibn Usamah: 31  
 Ibn 'Uyaynah, 152n, 199, 289, 292n  
 Ibn Wahb: 32, 33, 34, 34n, 37n, 152n, 164  
 Ibn Waki' al-Tinnisi, 514  
 Ibn al-Walīd (Caliph), 495  
 Ibn al-Yamāni, 380  
 Ibn Ya'qūb al-Najīrī, 177  
 Ibn Yāsīn, 336, 336n  
 Ibn Yazīd, al-'Adawī, 472  
 Ibn Yūnus Astronomer, 434, 434n, 435, 436  
 Ibn Yūnus (Historian 'Abd al-Rahmān), 122, 123, 123, 124, 162, 206  
 Ibn Yūnus 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid, 227  
 Ibn Yūnus, al-Miqrī: 34, 36  
 Ibn Yūsuf, 524  
 Ibn Zanbūr al-Māridāni, 431, 431n, 432, 433  
 Ibn al-Zayyāt, 58, 470  
 Ibn al-Zubayr, 27n  
 Ibn al-Zubayr al-Kūfi, 339-382  
 Ibrāhīm, Aydmūr, 401  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī: 201, 211, 430, 485, 488  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham, 29, 29n, 30n  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn Jabalah, 213  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdi, 326, 374  
 Ibrāhīm (Imām) Ibn Muḥammad Ab-basīd, 130, 131, 132, 133, 479  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭalḥah, 242  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Umar Ibn Kaysān, 248  
 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbi, 23, 473, 473n  
 Ibrāhīm al-Mawḡilī (al-Nadīm), 21  
 Ibrāhīm al-Rassi, 70  
 Ḍaḥ, 88, 272n, 276, 332  
 Idrīs Ibn Ma'qil, 130, 131  
 al-Idrīsī, 402n  
 Ifrīqiyah: 8, 9, 405  
 Iḥyā al-'Ulūm, 54n  
 al-'Ijl, 22, 30n  
 al-Ikhshīd, 403, 403n  
 Ikhshīdites: 122, 122n  
 Ikmal, 299, 497  
 'Imād al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, 396, 397  
 'Imād al-Dīn, 50n, 51, 54, 57, 59n, 60, 90, 91, 197n, 222, 436n, 441, 442, 442n, 492  
 Imād al-Dīn al-Ispahani, 86, 110, 142, 143, 143n, 196n, 359n, 385, 390, 409, 415, 521  
 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, 112, 519, 520 521  
 'Imādiyah, 511  
 Imām al-Ḥaramayn, 118 188, 190, 206  
 Imām al-Ḥaramayn 'Abd al-Malik

44, 45, 46, 53, 152, 153, 154, 155,  
277, 384  
'Ikrimah, 252, 253, 254  
Imra al-Qays, 11n, 482n, 534  
al-'Imrāni (Abu 'l-Ḥasan), 53, 53n  
India, 207  
Indian, 341  
*al-Intiqār*, 194  
*al-Iqtidāb fi Sharḥ Adab al-Kuṭṭāb*,  
42n  
'Irāq : 14, 17, 26, 26n, 31, 36, 42, 50n,  
72, 75, 76, 77, 131, 135, 165n, 168,  
185, 191, 204, 245, 246n, 255, 259,  
269, 277, 298, 304, 315, 334, 346,  
352, 364, 396, 401, 406, 415, 423,  
448n, 458, 459, 493, 498, 510  
*al-Irshād*, 43, 273n  
*al-Irshād al-Muṣṣabib*, 53  
Īsā Ibn Ja'far Ibn al-Muṣṣabib, 356  
'Īsā Ibn Ma'qil, 130, 130n  
'Īsā Ibn Mawdūd, 512  
'Īsā Ibn Muḥammad al-Hakkāri, 453  
'Īsā Ibn 'Umar, 471, 471n  
'Īsā Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi, 495, 496,  
498, 498n, 499  
'Īsā al-Hakkāri, 508, 509  
Īsā al-Juzuli, 499  
*Iṣṣal-illa fahm-i-Kitāb al-Khiṣṣāl*, 321  
Iṣṣahān, 131, 173, 181, 190, 191, 254  
Isfarā'in 153, 153n, 185  
Ishāq Ibn Rāhwayh, 40  
Ishāq Ibn Sulaym, 32n  
Ishāq al-Mawṣili, 372, 374, 490  
*ishḥarat*, 108  
Is'ird, 204, 204n  
Iskandarāni, (Abu 'l Tāhir), 54  
*Iṣlāḥ al-Ghalaṭ*, 41  
*Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*, 42  
Ismā'il al-Fārisi, 207  
Ismā'il Kātib, 213  
Ispahān, 50n, 298, 300, 304, 315, 354,  
458

*Istīlām*, 194  
Istirabād, 333  
Italian, 184n  
*I't ilāl al-Qulūb*, 534  
Iyāḍ (tribe), 142  
'Iyāḍ al-Yāḥsubi Qāḍi, 313, 313n  
Izz al-Dīn Aybak, 505, 508  
'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd 521, 522  
'Izz al-Dīn Mūsak al-Ṣalabi 233

J

Jabalah Ibn Mālik, 447  
Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 25, 152n, 149,  
149n, 248, 248n  
Jacob, 250n  
Jadhīmah (tribe) : 13, 22  
*Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, 325  
Ja'far Ibn Ḥanẓalah, 139, 139n  
Ja'far Ibn Ḥamṣ al-Khilāfah, 343  
Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā Barmakide, 485  
Ja'far al-Khuldi, 339  
Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, 223, 223n, 224, 447n  
al-Jāhiz, 269, 346, 346n, 470, 479,  
480, 481n, 483, 484, 486  
al-Jahm, 351  
Jalāl al-Dawlah, 369n, 370n  
Jalāl Mulk, 408  
Jalūla : 18, 18n, 19  
Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥājjib, 246, 246n  
Jamāl al-Dīn Ispahami 519  
*Jāmi'*, 497  
*Jāmi'* (Ibn Wahb), 34  
*Jamharat al-Nisab*, 266, 302, 450  
*Jamharah Ibn Durayd*, 311  
Jamāl 'Udlri, 145, 145n  
*Jam'u* (Juwayni), 46  
al-Janad, 250, 412, 412n  
Jarbaḥāqān, 298  
Jarīr, 534  
al-Jargara'i, 406, 406n, 480n  
al-Jarmi, 43, 332

- Jāsim, 168  
 Jas's al-Fulk 406, 406n  
*Jawāhir al-'Ilmīnah fi Madhhab 'Alim 'l-Madinah*, 60  
 al-Jawāliqi, 334  
*Jawāriḥ wa 'l-Ṣayl*, 63  
 Jawhar (General), 68  
 al-Jawhari: 19, 78, 95, 293, 304, 304n, 498, 517, 519  
 al-Jawz, 128, 128n  
 al-Jayyāsh, 413  
 Jazīrah, 453, 453n  
 Jazīrat Ibn 'Unar, 66, 66n, 344, 346, 452, 453, 453n, 521  
 al-Jazūli (Abu Mūsā 'Isa), 96  
 Jerusalem, 89, 95, 186, 227, 283, 284, 345, 419, 506, 509  
 Jesus, 89  
 Jew, 5n  
 Jibril, 516  
 Jibril Ibn Ḥāfi', 502  
 al-Jihābiyāri, 169, 169n, 355n, 486  
 Jordan, 144n, 146n, 506  
 Joseph, 402, 402n  
 Jubba, 167, 167n  
 Jūdi Mountain, 452  
 Juḥfah, 510n  
*Jumal*, 84, 91, 122, 333n, 500  
 Jurayj, 148  
 Jurjān, 271, 299, 300, 333  
 Jurjāni, 151, 181, 181n, 268, 269, 270, 271, 333n  
 Juwayn, 45  
 al-Juwayni, 45, 188, 384  
 al-Juzulāh, 501, 501n  
 al-Juzūli, 460, 460n, 500, 501
- K
- Ka'b (tribe), 44  
 al-Ka'bi, 44  
 Kabul, 467, 467n  
 al-Kadra, 412, 412n  
 Kāfi, 232  
 al-Kāfiyūh, 233  
 Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdi, 291, 303  
 al-Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdi, 67, 68, 122n  
 Kahlān (tribe): 35n, 451n  
 al-Kalb (tribe), 151, 167, 352  
 Kamāl al-Dīn (qādi): 47, 519  
 Kāmil (Ibn Atḥīr): 16n, 24, 71n  
 al-Kāmil, 256, 263, 264, 264n, 267, 345  
 al-Kāmil Ibn Shāwar, 440  
 Karak, 143, 143n, 144, 465, 505, 506  
 Karkh, 276, 425, 452  
 Kash, 252, 252n  
 Kaṭṭīrah, 179, 179n  
 al-Khaṭāji, 408, 403n  
 Khālaf Ibn Marwān, 350  
 Kaysūm, 71n  
 Kāzimah, 160  
 al-Kāzrūni, 181  
 Khālif Ibn Ma'dān, 320  
 al-Khalal, 84  
 Khālid, (Abū Ṣafwān Ibn Ṣafwān), 15, 16  
 Khālid Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasri, 498  
 Khālid Ibn Sinān al-'Absī, 89  
 Khālid Ibn 'Azīd Ibn Mu'āwiyah, 253, 265  
 Khālid al-Qasri, 14, 131  
 Khālidites, 315, 315n  
 Khālifah Ibn Khayyāt, 18, 268  
 Khāliḥ Ibn Aḥmad 43, 79, 374, 471, 473, 496, 497  
 al-Khallāl, 146  
 al-Kharā'iṭi, 534, 534n  
 Kharidah, 50n, 51, 54, 57, 60, 86, 90, 111, 143, 196n, 197n, 222, 385, 390, 409, 415, 441, 492  
 Kharqa, 529, 530  
 Kharrūbah, 509

- al-Khashshāb, 123  
Khasib, 168  
 al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī, 134, 184, 189,  
 192, 201, 254, 254n, 273, 274, 277,  
 287, 299, 304, 307, 312, 351, 366,  
 369, 471n, 485  
Khayzurūn, 175  
 al-Khiddab, 332  
 al-Khidr Ibn 'Aqīl, 225  
Khidr (saint), 269, 269n  
 al-Khilā'i 312, 313, 314  
 al-Khiraqi, 449, 449n  
Khilāt, 465,  
Khilaf : 31, 33, 33n, 464n  
Khuftidskān, 514, 516, 517,  
 517n  
Khurāsān, 62n, 70, 71, 75n, 76, 107,  
 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137,  
 137n, 138, 165n, 187, 187n, 191,  
 193, 194, 227, 252, 254, 255, 298,  
 299, 300, 304, 344, 352,  
 352n, 384, 446n, 448n, 458  
 al-Khut'hami (poet) 381  
Khuwārizm, 207, 246n  
Khuzā'ah, 75, 108, 496n  
Khuzā'i Ibn Māzin, 475  
Khuzistān, 167n  
 al-Kisfayah, 272n, 273n  
 Kinānah (tribe), 115, 336n  
 al-Kisā'i (Shams al-Dīn), 11  
 al-Kisā'i, 21, 470, 471, 472  
 al-Kisā'i (Abu 'l-Hasan), 287, 288,  
 288n, 282  
 Kisra, 125  
*Kitāb al-'Adāb*, 63  
*Kitāb al-Aḡhānī* : 73, 86, 300, 301,  
 350, 374n, 489, 518  
*Kitāb al-Aḥkām li uḡl al-Aḥkām*,  
 322  
*Kitāb al-A'māl*, 43  
*Kitāb Aḡh'ār al-Mulūk*, 63  
*Kitāb al-Ashribah*, 41  
*Kitāb al-Awā'il* 419, 419n  
*Kitāb al-A'yān wa 'l-Amāt'hil*, 431  
*Kitāb al-Badī'*, 63  
*Kitāb al-Barā'at*, 108  
*Kitāb al-Bārī'*, 350, 375  
*Kitāb al-Bayān*, 53, 53n  
*Kitāb al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn*, 430  
*Kitāb al-Dhārī'ah fi Ma'rāfat al-*  
*Shārī'ah*, 53  
*Kitāb al-Diyārāt*, 315  
*Kitāb al-Faṣl*, 322  
*Kitāb al-Fawā'id*, 53  
*Kitāb al-Ḥaywān*, 480  
*Kitāb al-Ḥayy'i wa 'l-Mayyīt*, 43, 43n  
*Kitāb al-Iqān*, 38, 38n  
*Kitāb al-Intiqār* 53  
*Kitāb al-'Iqd*, 349  
*Kitāb al-Ishārāt*, 343  
*Kitāb al-Jinān*, 381  
*Kitāb al-Jumal al-Kubra*, 122  
*Kitāb al-Jumān*, 86  
*Kitāb al-Khayl*, 41  
*Kitāb al-Khuṭab*, 343  
*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, 18, 40, 40n, 78, 126,  
 152, 241, 257, 517  
*Kitāb al-Lafz al-Muḥīt*, 374  
*Kitāb Ibn Murrah*, 241n, 302  
*Kitāb al-Madḥḥab fi Dhikre A'immat*  
*al-Madḥḥab*, 225  
*Kitāb al-Maḡhāzi*, 242n  
*Kitāb al-Man Ḡāb 'anhu 'l-Mu'rib*,  
 164  
*Kitāh al-Masā'il*, 41  
*Kitāb al-Maysir wa 'l-Qiddūh*, 41  
*Kitāb al-Munīr fi Mawli Si-aj al-*  
*Munīr*, 458  
*Kitāb al-Murshid*, 53  
*Kitāb al-Mustazhiri*, 453, 453n  
*Kitāb al-Sariqāt*, 63  
*Kitāb al-Sibawayh*, 470, 471n, 496,  
 500  
*Kitāb al-Ṣuwar*, 410, 410n

- Kitāb al-Taṣṣiḥ*, 41  
*Kitāb al-Ta'rif wa 'l-l'ām*, 128  
*Kitāb al-Tawassuṭ*, 43  
*Kitāb al-Zahr wa 'l-Riyāḍ*, 63  
 al-Kiya al-Harrāsī ('Alī Ibn Muḥammad), 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 454  
 Kosegarten, 301n, 443n  
 Kūfah, 13, 13n, 14, 16, 17, 18, 41, 78, 107, 113, 130, 131, 135, 136, 137, 149, 169n, 268, 287, 289, 337, 355n, 367, 393, 450, 466, 477, 478  
 Kuṣṣāf, 126  
 Kuṣṣājīm, 33n, 79  
 Kurāmāh, 106  
 Kuṭayyir 'Azzah (Abu Ṣaḥḥar), 254, 353, 354

## L

- Lakḥm (tribe), 38, 94, 149, 283  
 Lane, 102n  
 Laṭā'f al-Ishārāt, 207  
 Latin, 10, 33n, 301n, 404n, 407n  
 Layla, 48, 51, 190  
 al-Layṭī Ibn Bakr, 485  
 al-Layṭī Ibn Sa'd, 36, 37, 37n  
 Leyden, 164n  
 Lisbon, 220n  
 Lubābah Bint 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far Ibn Abi Ṭālib, 265  
 Lubayna, 383  
 Lubbānah, 265  
 Lukk, 417  
 Luma', 226, 232, 276, 451, 452n

## M

- Ma'āfir Ibn Ya'fur, 162, 199, 314  
 al-Ma'āfirī, 95, 95n, 162, 198  
 Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah, 148, 149  
 Ma'arrat al-Nu mān, 202, 362  
 Ma'bad, 444, 517, 518  
 al-Madā'in, 134, 134n, 139, 140, 466, 466n  
 al-Madān, 478n

- Madārik al-Uqūl*, 154  
 Maḍḥij, 118, 437, 442  
 Maḍḥij (Mālik Ibn Udud), 442  
 Madīnah, 16, 24, 26n, 37, 60, 69, 103, 113n, 149n, 150, 153, 165n, 241, 241n, 242, 244, 244n, 253n, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 262, 263, 267, 268, 414, 443, 444, 505n, 510n, 518, 519  
 al-Madīni (A u Ṣādiq), 95  
 al-Madrasah al-Suyūfiyah, 504  
 Maḥāzi wa 'l-Siyar, 161  
 Maḥrib (Algiers and Morocco), 7, 8, 9, 106, 107, 164, 165, 165n, 166, 220, 222, 252, 600, 501  
 Magian, 5n  
 Maḥbūb Ibn al-Ḥasan, 447  
 al-Mahdi (Caliph), 16n, 178, 213, 468, 468n  
 Mahdiyah, 106, 107, 318  
 al-Mahjam, 413, 414n  
 Maḥmūd, 520n  
 Maḥmūd Ibn Ṣāliḥ, 408, 409  
 Majd al-Dīn Abu Ḥafṣ Umar, 509  
 Majd al-Dīn al-Mubārak, 346  
 Maḥḥadh al-Nazar, 53  
 Maḥḥūl, 17, 17n  
 Maḥḥwān, 130  
 Maḥḥzūm, 40n, 447, 517  
 al-Makin, 24n, 360n  
 Makkah, 26n, 27, 29n, 38, 39, 40n, 92, 104, 113n, 114n, 116n, 122, 131, 137, 148, 153, 178, 188, 241n, 244n, 245, 245n, 248, 249n, 253, 253n, 261, 266, 269n, 316, 341, 344, 380, 411, 414, 423n, 437, 437n, 439, 462, 469, 477, 479, 492, 494n, 496n, 500, 510n, 531  
 Malāṭiyah, 139n, 422  
 Mālik (Imām), 11, 29, 31, 32, 33, 33n, 37, 38, 60, 84, 95n, 115, 150, 152n, 164, 165, 165n, 166, 201, 203, 233, 236n, 279, 316, 494

- Malik Ibn al-A'ṣar, 157  
 Malik Ibn Dīnār, 248  
 Mālik Ibn Sa'īd Qādī, 436  
 Mālik Ibn Udad, 118  
 Malik Ibn Ṭawq, 201  
 Malik Ibn Wuhayb, 316, 317n  
 al-Malik al-'Adil, 147, 227, 239, 421, 465, 522, 527  
 al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn, 147, 186, 420, 421, 422, 422n  
 al-Malik al-Aḡḡraf, 227  
 al-Malik al-'Azīz, 145, 146, 147, 204, 236, 237, 238, 239, 345, 420, 421, 465, 523, 526  
 Mālik al-Kāmil, 148, 459, 506  
 al-Malik al-Manṣūr, 147, 236, 421, 465, 466n, 527  
 al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam, 458, 505, 506, 507, 507n, 515  
 al-Malik al-Mukarram, 413  
 al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, 526  
 al-Malik al-Nāḡir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 142, 143, 145, 147, 227, 508, 526  
 al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ibn al-Malik al-'Azīz, 238  
 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn, 50  
 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 527  
 Malik Ṣhāḥ Saljūqī, 278  
 al-Malik al-Zāḥir, 343, 345, 420, 522, 523, 527  
 Māliqah, 129  
 Ma'mar, 182, 182n, 199  
 al-Māmūn (Cliph), 21, 70, 71, 71n, 72n, 75n, 107, 132, 158, 165n, 258, 258n, 259, 260, 326, 348, 349, 351, 352, 396n, 434n, 479, 479n, 485, 489  
 al-Māmūn al-Baṭā'iḥi, 503, 503n  
 al-Māmūni, 396, 396n  
 al-Māmūniyah, 430, 430n  
 Manāzgird, 465  
 Manbaj, 401, 415, 415n  
 al-Manṣūr (Caliph), 34, 35, 36, 135n, 137, 137n, 138, 139, 140, 169, 178, 254, 254n, 263, 266, 268, 431, 468, 469, 479, 479n  
 al-Manṣūr al-Farāwī, 458  
 al-Manṣūr Ḥājib, 324  
 al-Manṣūr Sam'ini, 193  
 al-Manṣūr 'Ubaydi, 106  
 Maqāmāt, 462  
 al-Maqdisi Ḥāfiẓ, 283, 284  
 al-Maqqari, 359n, 495n  
 al-Maqrizi, 33n, 464n  
 Maqq, 407, 407n  
 Maqqūrah, 365  
 Marāḡḡah, 517n, 527  
 Mārān (tribe), 226  
 Marāḡid, 14n, 39n, 128n, 134n, 159n, 167n, 202n, 226n, 411n, 415n, 417n, 430n, 505n, 515n  
 Mārib, 440  
 Marj al-Rābiṭ, 135  
 Marj al-ḡuffar, 465, 465n  
 Marrān, 569  
 Marṭān, 436  
 Marṭḡad Ibn Zayd, 115  
 Ma'rūf al-Karkhi, 293, 293n  
 Marw, 14n, 28, 31, 40, 41, 44, 76, 118, 120, 130, 134, 159, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 250, 258, 344  
 Marw al-Rūd, 120  
 Marwān Ibn Abi Ḥafṣah, 353  
 Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam, 212, 265  
 Marwān Ibn Muḡammad al-Jadi, 133, 135, 136, 137, 137n, 211, 213, 213n  
 Marwān Ibn Muḡammad al-Nāḡiq, 300  
 al-Maṣḡid wa 'l-Maṣḡid, 79  
 Maṣḡārt (Mountain), 411  
 Maṣḡariq al-Anwār, 494  
 Masmūdah, 221  
 Maṣḡū'at, 126

- Marzubān, 272  
 al-Marzubāni, 159, 159n, 295  
 Mas'ūd Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Buhays,  
     532, 533  
 al-Mas'ūdi, 21, 43n, 212, 212n, 365,  
     468  
 Maṭariyah, 512, 512n  
 Mathew, 15n, 90n, 94n,  
     241n  
 Maṭīrah, 64, 66  
 Ma'ūnah, 201  
 al-Māwardi, 272, 274, 275  
 Mawdūd, 511, 512, 520n, 521  
 Mawqif al-Imām, 46  
 al-Maydāni, 446n, 458, 529n  
 Maymūn Ibn Mahrān, 25  
 Maymūn al-Qaddāh, 105  
 Mayyāfāriḡin, 141, 204n, 403, 452,  
     465  
 Mayyah, 528, 529  
 Mayyurqah, 197  
 al-Māzari, 493, 493n  
 Māzandrān, 271, 333, 458  
 Māzin (tribe), 473  
 al-Māzin, 515  
 al-Māzini, 232  
 Mazrafah, 52  
 M. Caussin de Perceval, 290n, 434n,  
     436n, 444n, 446n  
 M. de Gayanagos, 359n, 495n  
 Medīne, 445  
 Medinas, 445  
 Makke, 444n, 445n  
 Mekkois, 444n  
 Mesopotamia, 71, 71n, 135, 191,  
     204n, 212, 315, 348, 349, 362, 404,  
     458, 465, 527  
 M. Grengeret de Langrange, 364n,  
     462n, 464n  
 Midrār, 105, 105n  
 al-Mihani (Abu As'ad), 52  
 Mina, 492, 492n  
 Minhāj Ahl al-Sunnah, 194  
 al-Minqari, 16, 16n  
 Miqdād Ibn Aswad, 443  
 Mir'āt al-Jinān, 208n  
 Mir'āt al-Zamān, 167n  
 Mir Khaund, 140n  
 Mir Khond, 370n  
 Mis'ar Ibn Kidām, 157  
*Mishkāt*, 15n  
 al-*Mishkāt*, 90n, 94n, 241n  
 Misk n al-Dārimi, 19, 19n  
 Miṣr, 116  
*Mizān*, 125  
*Mizān al-Shi'r*,  
 Moawia fils d' Abu Sofyan, 445n  
 Morocco, 7, 192, 221, 222n, 317n,  
     457, 495, 500, 501  
 Moses, 89, 247  
 Mogul, 47, 50, 50n, 52, 55, 56, 59,  
     66n, 136, 186, 191, 226, 227, 230,  
     232, 240, 313, 315, 333, 342, 344,  
     345, 346, 388, 404, 491n, 511, 512,  
     514, 519, 520, 521, 522  
 al-Mu'āfa, 335, 335n  
 al-Mu'āfa al-Jariri, 295  
*Mu'allaqah*, 317  
 Mu'āwiyah (Caliph), 30, 113n, 116n,  
     170, 178, 245, 264, 449n  
 Mu'āwiyah Ibn Bakr al-'Ulaymi, 473  
 Mu'āwiyah Ibn Ḥudayj, 116, 116n  
 Mubārak Ibn Mubārak, 338  
 al-Mubarrad, 43, 61, 242n, 256, 263,  
     264, 264n, 267, 267n, 295, 348,  
     475n  
 Muḍar (tribe), 30n, 116  
*Mudawwanah*, 11, 165  
 al-*Muḍḥayyal fi 'l-Luḡḥah*, 198  
 al-Mufaḍḍal, 447, 447n  
 al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍubbi, 43, 530  
 al-*Mufaṣṣal*, 336, 506  
 al-*Mufaḥḥah*, 175, 204  
*Muḡīth al-Khalq*, 155

- Muḥadīd ḥab*, 54n, 225, 227, 232, 453  
*Mu'jam al-Aṣḥāb*, 38n  
 al-Muḥallab, 66  
 al-Muḥallabi, 302, 364, 370, 374  
 Muḥammad 451  
 Muḥammad (Prophet), 1, 13, 14, 15, 15n, 19, 38n, 39n, 43n, 67n, 89, 90n, 94, 97, 100, 102, 103, 112, 113n, 116n, 126n, 132n, 143, 178, 203n, 231n, 241, 241n, 248n, 253, 253n, 259n, 264n, 322n, 362n, 370, 435n, 438, 443, 447n, 457n, 494n, 517  
 Muḥammad al-Baydaq, 488  
 Muḥammad (Abu 'Abd Allāh)' 32, 268  
 Muḥammad al-Jawād, 261  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās al-Yazīdī, 122  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn al-Jarrāḥ 429, 429n, 430, 488, 488n  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, 107  
 al-Muqaffa' 478  
 Muḥammad Ibn Abi Bakr, 116n  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī 'Abbāsīd, 131, 133, 178, 179, 479  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ghāzī 525  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Hanafīyyah 290n  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Madh-hajī 322  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Naq-qūsh, 290  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Shāybanī, 287, 288, 288n, 289  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Mu'ab 480, 480n, 481  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Mu'abi 372, 480n  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ja'far al-ṣādiq, 104, 105  
 Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr, 361  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān, 435, 435n  
 Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id al-Azraq, 429  
 Muḥammad Ibn Salamah al-Ḍubbi, 534  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Sari Ibn al-Ḥakam 75n  
 Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart, 220  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Urwab, 242  
 al-Muḥassan, 366  
 Muḥi al-Dīn Muḥammad 53  
*Muḥkam*, 326  
 al-Mu'izz al-'Ubaydī, 68, 69, 69n, 70, 105, 105n, 106  
 Mu'izz al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, 303, 396  
 Mujāhid, 113, 248  
*Mūjaz*, 276  
*Mukātabāt al-Iḥlūwān bi'l-Shi'r*, 63  
*Mu'ḥaṣṣiṣ*, 327  
*al-Mukhtalif wa Mutalif*, 291, 299  
 al-Muḥṭār al-Musabbīḥī, 70  
 al-Mukhtār al-Ṭḥaqafī, 150  
*Muḥṭaṣir*, 449  
 al-Muktafī (Caliph), 111, 358, 449n  
*Mulaḥ al-Mumālīḥah*, 86  
 al-Mu'lim, 493  
*Munāqaḍāt al-Shu'ara*, 363  
 al-Mundhīrī (Zakī al-Dīn), 69  
 Muṭis, 62, 62n  
 Mūnis Eunuch, 429, 430, 431n, 449n  
*Mūnis al-Walīd*, 164  
 Munqidh, 111  
 Muntaṣir Caliph, 479, 479n  
*al-Muntaẓim*, 126  
 Munyah Ibn Khāṣīb, 503  
 Muqaddis Ibn Sayfī al-Khalāqī, 74n  
 al-Muqanna' al-Khurāsānī, 250, 251, 252  
 Muqātil al-Minqarī, 528



- Muqatṭam Mt, 147, 391, 435, 459 509  
*Muqtaḍib*, 232  
 al-Muqtadi bi-Allāh, 490  
 al-Muqtadir, 61, 62, 62n, 423, 427,  
 428, 429, 430, 431n  
 Murāmīr Ibn Marwah, 340  
 Murāmīr Ibn Murrah, 341  
 Murcia, 94, 326, 327  
 Murrah tribe, 340  
 al-Murtaḍa Ibn al-Shahrazūri, 47,  
 50, 51, 52  
 Murtaḍa 'l-Dawlat, 405  
*al-Murtajal*, 91  
 Murūj (Moḡul), 226, 226n  
*Murūj al-Dhahab*, 21, 43n, 212, 365,  
 486  
 Mūsa al-Naṣrānī, 219  
 Māsa Ibn Hārūn, 292, 292n  
 Muḡ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, 25, 26, 26n,  
 76n, 149, 241, 244, 245, 245n  
 Musabbihī, 70, 315, 435, 436  
 Muḡalla, 527  
 Musaylamah, 23  
*Mushkil al-Ḥadīth*, 41  
*Mushkil al-Qur'ān* 41  
*Mushṭabih al-Nisbah*, 205, 299  
*al-Mushṭarik*, 167n, 519  
 Muslim (Imām), 11, 493, 494  
 Muslim Ibn al-Walīd, 72, 72n  
 Muslim Ibn Ziyād Ibn Abīh, 75  
 Muslim (Abū Ja'far Ibn 'Ubayd  
 Allāh) 70  
*Musnad*, 291, 291n, 292  
 al-Musta'in 85, 85n, 93n, 352  
 Musta'li, 98n  
 al-Mustangir, 218, 407, 412,  
 515  
 al-Mu'taḍid, 356, 361, 362, 423  
*Mu'talif wa 'l-Mukhtalif*, 205  
 al-Mu'tamid (Caliph), 373  
 al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, 196, 197n  
 326, 330, 331  
 Mu'tamin (Caliph), 479, 479n  
 Mutanabbi, 11, 73, 84, 88, 90, 141,  
 216, 231, 232, 235, 235n, 297, 310,  
 317, 355, 364n, 367, 371, 403, 404,  
 500  
 al-Mu'tayim, 58, 71, 75, 470  
 al-Mutawakkil (Caliph), 42, 42n, 100,  
 101, 102, 261, 262, 263, 352, 360n,  
 362, 372, 479n, 480, 480n, 490  
 al-Muṭawī' 224, 224n  
 al-Mu'tazz Ibn Shākir, 105  
*al-Muḥallat*, 83, 83n  
 al-Muṭṭalib al-Khuzā'i, 175  
 al-Muwaffaq Abu 'l-Karam Ibn Ma'-  
 šūm, 417, 418  
 al-Muwaffaq Yūsuf Ibn Khallāl,  
 146  
*Muwatta*, 11, 29, 31, 37, 38, 84, 95n,  
 165n, 166, 236n, 316, 494  
 Muwayyid al-Naysapuri, 245n  
 Muẓaffar al-Dīn, 240, 522  
 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kükubri, 511  
 al-Muzani, 46, 224, 275

## N

- Nābi"ḥah, 12n, 244, 497  
 al-Naḍr al-'Abdari, 443  
 Nāṣ', 27, 209n, 328  
 Nafī fīls d'Alcema, 444n  
 Nahawand, 121, 233  
 al-Naḥḥās, Abu Ja'far, 294  
 al-Naḥḥās Abu Naṣr, 408  
*Nahj al-Balāḡ*, 308  
 Nahrawān, 202  
 Nahḡal tribe, 447  
 Najāh, 412, 413  
 Najd, 89, 108, 383, 383n, 411n, 515  
 516, 516n, 534n  
 Najīb al-Dawlat, 405,  
 al-Najjād, 339, 339n  
 Najm al-Dīn al-Khubūshānī, 99

- Najrān, 43n  
 Naḳḳlah, 104  
 al-Nāmi, 403  
 al-Nasā'i, 292n  
 al-Nāshī (Abu 'l- 'Abbās 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī), 79  
 al-Nāshī 'l-Aḡḡhar (Abu 'l-Hasan) 366, 367, 368  
 Naḡibīn, 53, 66n, 521  
 Nāḡir al-Dawlat, 397  
 al-Nāḡir (Imām), 421, 424  
 Nāḡir al-Marwazi, 181, 185  
 Nāḡir li Dīn Allāh (Caliph), 511, 512, 516  
 Nāḡir al-Dīn, 228  
 al-Nāḡir 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 324n, 325  
 Naḡr Ibn Shabāṭh, 71, 71n  
 Na r Ibn 'Abbās, 418, 419, 420, 502, 503, 504  
 Na r Ibn 'Maḡḡūr, 362  
 Naḡr Ibn Sayyār al-Layṭhī, 134, 135, 135n, 136  
 Natū'if al-Fikr, 128  
 Nawānah, 134, 134n  
 al-Nawfali, 358  
 Nawqān, 187n  
 Naysapur, 45, 46, 70, 119, 120, 136, 153, 156, 162, 181, 185, 189, 190, 191, 193, 195, 197, 207, 271, 277, 285n, 298, 304, 344, 352, 371, 385, 401, 458  
 Nāzūk, 426  
 al-Naẓẓām, 480  
 Niebuhr, 412n  
 Nihāyat al-Maṭlab, 53  
 Nihāyat al-Maṭlab fi Dirāyat al-Maḡḡhab, 154, 206  
 Nile, 145, 390, 464n  
 Nizām al-Mulk, 58  
 Nizām al-Mulk al-Ṭūsi 153, 181, 190, 200  
 Nizār ('Ubaydi) 98n  
 Nizār (tribe), 332  
 Noab, 251, 444n, 452  
 Nuḡūm, 30n, 75n, 98n, 139n, 219n, 248n, 253n, 254n, 291n, 313n, 369n, 396n, 432n, 503n  
 Nukat al-'Aḡḡyah, 146  
 al-Nu'mān Ibn Baḡḡir al-Ansāri, 82, 83  
 Nu'mān Ibn al-Munḡḡhir, 78  
 Nūr al-Dīn Maḡmūd, 520  
 Nūr al-Dīn Zinki, 52, 53, 229n, 407, 520, 521  
 Nūr al-Huda, 492n  
 al-Nuwayri, 165n, 266n
- O
- Omer Fils de Khattab, 518n  
 Oran, 221  
 Oumm Othman, 444n  
 Outhman, 518n
- P
- Paris, 160n, 404n  
 Persia, 66, 80, 255, 320, 354, 396  
 Persian, 2, 13, 14, 66, 130, 131, 134, 138, 139, 140, 206, 209n, 255, 272, 341, 373, 396, 398n, 473, 498, 512  
 Persian 'Irāq, 186, 199, 458  
 Persians, 2, 3, 39, 125, 126n, 231n  
 Pocock, 41n, 275n  
 Portuguese, 184n  
 Price, 18n, 24n, 446n  
 Prolegomena (Ibn Khaldūn), 1, 3, 7  
 Ptolemy, 317n
- Q
- al-Qābisi, 399

- Qābūs Amir, 316  
 Qāḍi Abu Naḡr, 401  
 Qāḍi 'l-Āmidī, 391, 395  
 Qāḍi 'l-Anjab, 284  
 al-Qāḍi 'l-Ashraf, 147, 147n  
 al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil, 54, 55, 142, 145, 146, 147, 236, 237, 239, 421  
 Qāḍi Husayn, 120  
 Qāḍi 'Iyāḍ, 493, 494, 495, 495n  
 Qāḍi al-Raḡhīd, 310  
 al-Qāḍi 'l-Tanūkhī, 363  
 Qāḍi 'l-'Uḥmānī, 415  
 al-Qādisiyah, 56, 354  
 al-Qaffāl, 44, 45, 46, 118  
 al-Qāhir (Caliph), 62n, 427, 431, 449n,  
 Qaḥṭān (tribe), 437  
 al-Qā'im, 106, 298, 490  
 Qalā'id al-'Iqyān, 81, 197n, 359  
 Qal'at Kawkab, 144n  
 al-Qamrāwī, 329, 329n, 331  
 al-Qāmūs, 36n, 78n, 153, 478n  
 al-Qa'nabī, 37, 38  
 al-Qānūn, (Isa), 499  
 Qarāfab, 68, 147, 204, 226, 239, 285, 313  
 Qarmāṭ, 449n  
 al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abi Bakr, 256, 257  
 Qāsim Ibn Hāghīm Ibn Falīṭah, 437, 437n, 439  
 al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, 357, 358, 359, 361, 362  
 al-Qāsim al-Shāghhī, 154  
 Qāsiyūn, 286, 434n  
 Qatādah, 18, 37n, 248, 248n  
 Qatādah al-Sadūsī, 476  
 Qātūl, 480, 480n  
 Qayrawān, 32n, 104, 104n, 107, 165, 165n, 166, 254, 317, 328, 328n, 330  
 Qays 'Aylān, 156, 156n  
 Qays (tribe), 177, 309  
 Qays Ibn 'Aḡīm al-Minqari, 16, 16n, 528  
 Qays Ibn Zubayr al-'Absī, 143, 143n  
 Qazwīn, 246  
 al-Qazzāz, 290  
 Qinnisrin, 167n, 362  
 Qirmisīn, 42n  
 Qubul, 40  
 Quḍā'ah, 142, 199n, 363, 365  
 al-Quḍā'i, 31, 33, 102, 406, 406n  
 Qumas, Qumis, 76, 191  
 Qūmis, 72, 76, 76n  
 Qur'an, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12n, 38, 40, 43, 45, 46, 48, 52, 52n, 66n, 86, 88, 90, 100, 128, 140, 140n, 158, 165n, 170n, 177, 188, 188n, 204, 205, 206, 207n, 223, 229n, 231n, 233, 238, 241, 243, 243n, 247n, 250n, 251n, 257n, 259n, 260n, 261, 273, 276, 280n, 281n, 287, 290, 292n, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 317n, 320n, 321, 321n, 328, 335, 336, 342n, 355n, 409, 409n, 410, 413n, 414, 415n, 435n, 440n, 447, 448, 451n, 467n, 469, 474, 476, 495, 496, 496n, 498, 501, 510n, 519n  
 Qur'an, 36n  
 Qurayb 159  
 Quraysh (tribe), 32, 37n, 126, 126n, 148, 150, 152, 152n, 170, 236n, 255, 256, 263, 266, 300, 328, 330, 340, 341, 351, 370, 388, 443, 495  
 Qurun, 521  
 Qushayr Ibn Ka'b 191  
 Qūsiyah, 235  
 Quss Ibn Sā'idah, 43, 43n, 143, 143n  
 Qutaybah Ibn Muslim, 157n, 255  
 Qutaybah Ibn Sa'id, 448n  
 Qutaybah Bint Naḍr, 443  
 Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, 511, 512, 520  
 Quṭb al-Dīn Naysapuri, 121, 306  
 Quṭrub, 841  
 Quṭrubbul, 364, 364n

## R

Rabadhah, 244n  
 al-Raba'i Abu 'l-'Ala Sa'id, 177  
 al-Raba'i, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, 332  
 al-Rabi', 172  
 al-Rabi' Ibn Sulaymān, 158, 224  
 al-Rabi' 'Ibn Yūnus, 479  
 al-Rabi' 'Ibn Zayd, 470  
 Rabi'ah (tribe), 30n, 162n, 332  
 Rabi' al-Abrār, 134n, 255  
 al-Rāḍi (Caliph), 374, 427, 429  
 Raḍi al-Dīn al-Naysapuri, 245, 245n  
 al-Raḍi, 105  
 Raḡhbān Ibn Dunya, 171  
 Raḡbah, 201, 201n  
 Ramlah, 405, 428  
 Raqqah, 71, 71n, 212, 215, 334, 521  
 Raqqādah, 107  
 Rās al-Dawā'ir, 331  
 al-Rasḥīd (Caliph), 2, 21, 157, 178, 259, 287, 289, 362, 479n, 489  
 al-Rasḥīd Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, 381  
 al-Rasḥīd Ibn al-Zuhayr, 409  
 al-Rass, 89, 89n  
 Rassmussen, 363n, 533  
 Rawāḡah, 229  
 Rawḍ al-Unuf, 148, 161, 443  
 Rawḡ Ibn Zanzā', 82  
 Ray, 21, 77, 175, 181, 191, 289, 448n, 472n  
 Rayḡūnah, 32  
 Rāyṭah, 447, 447n  
 Rayṭah, d/o 'Ubayd Allāh, 133  
 al-Rāzī Abu 'Abd Allāh, 236n  
 Reinaud, 140n, 165n, 269n, 294n, 421n, 465n, 527n,  
 Reiske, 517n  
 Retrospect (Price), 18n, 24n, 446n  
 Riḡlah (Ibn al-'Arabi), 9  
 al-Riyāḡhi Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās,

23, 22, 157  
 Roman, 341  
 Romans, 302n  
 Roudhayya, 444n  
 Ru'bah Ibn al-'Ajjāj, 533  
 Rūḡ, 490  
 Rukn al-Dawlat, 205n, 396, 398  
 Rūm (Asia Minor), 138  
 Rumaynah, 27  
 Rūmiyat al-Madā'in, 138, 139, 140, 140n  
 al-Rummāni, 293  
 al-Ruḡḡāṭi, (Abu Muḡammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī), 94  
 Rusa, 89  
 Russel, Dr. 180n, 229n  
 Ruwaym, 209, 209n  
 Ruzayq, 75

## S

al-Ṣābi, 163, 315, 340  
 al-Sabī'i, 253, 253n  
 Sa'd al-Dawlat, 404  
 Sadid al-Mulk, 407, 408, 409  
 Sa'd al-'Ashīrah, 115  
 Sa'd (Tribe), 173  
 Ṣadafi, 124  
 Sadid, 111  
 Sadif Ibn Sahl (tribe), 124  
 Ṣadr al-Dīn Qāḍi, 225, 226  
 Ṣafawān, 159, 159n 160  
 al-Saffūḡ, 133, 134, 136, 137, 178, 212, 263, 266, 268, 290n, 477, 478  
 Ṣafīyyah Bint 'Abd al-Muṡṡalib, 241  
 Ṣafīyyah Khātūn, 527  
 Ṣafwat al-Muḡḡḡah, 53  
 Ṣahyyah Umm al-Muminīn, 357  
 Ṣaḡḡah, 78, 95, 498, 517, 519  
 Ṣāḡib Ibn 'Abbād, 166, 167, 270, 301, 363, 373, 426, 428

- Sahl Ibn Yūsuf, 496  
 Saḥnūn, 164, 165n, 166  
 Şa'id (place), 235, 391  
 Sa'id al-Aḥwal, 413, 414, 415  
 Sa'id al-Ba 'ḥdād, 327  
 Sa'id Ibn 'Alī, 206  
 Sa'id Ibn 'Ahd al-'Aziz, 114  
 Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 404  
 Sa'id Ibn Hārūn al-'Ijlī, 223, 223n  
 Sa'id Ibn Ḥumayd al-Tūsi, 65, 66  
 Sa'id Ibn Jubayr, 253  
 Sa'id Ibn Muḥḥad, 66  
 Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyib, 256  
 Sa'id Ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah, 137n  
 Sa'id al-Dawlat, 184  
 Sa'id al-Jarīri 447n  
 al-Sakḥāwī, 335, 336, 337  
 al-Sakḥī wi (Shams al-Dīn), 12n, 229n  
 Sal'a, 267, 268  
 al-Salāḥ Kurd, 227, 228  
 Şalāḥ al-Dīn (Ayyubī), 35n, 54, 57, 98, 99, 99n, 106, 219, 219n, 226n, 229n, 236, 236n, 237, 306, 343, 407, 420, 440, 441, 442, 464, 465, 508, 509, 521, 522  
 Salamah al-Waṣīf 490  
 Salamiyah, 107, 167, 171  
 Sale city, 221  
 Şan'a, 411n, 412  
 Sālīm (Hishāms Mawla), 212  
 al-Salāmi, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad, 76, 81  
 Şālīḥ Ibn Aḥmad, 526  
 Şālīḥ Ibn Mirdās, 405  
 Şālīḥ Ibn Ruzzik, 97, 438, 439, 441n, 442, 442n, 503, 504, 526  
 Şālīḥiyah, 506  
 Salīḥ Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, 139  
 Sālīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Umar, 256, 257  
 Saljūq, 519  
 Saljūqs, 181  
 Sallār, 419  
 al-Sam'āni, 43, 46, 94, 119, 129, 172, 181, 186, 191, 192, 193, 246, 275, 276, 289, 293, 294, 304, 345, 358, 371, 385, 389  
 Sarḥān, 517n  
 Samaw'al, 533, 533n  
 Sanām, 252  
 al-Şan'āni, 199  
 Sanjar, 521  
 Sanjird, 130  
 Sāpūr Ibn Ardešīr, 512  
 Şarāt, 361, 361n  
 Sari al-Raffa, 403  
 Sāriyah, 333  
 Şarkḥad, 331, 421, 505, 506, 508  
 Sarr Man Ra'a, 66, 73, 448, 480, 480n, 490  
 Samarqand, 471  
 al-Sarāt, 411  
 al-Sarūjī (Abu 'l-Ḡhanā'im), 52  
 Sasanides, 132n  
 Sāwah, 135  
 Sawākin, 331  
 al-Şawma'i 209n  
 Şaydah, 14  
 Şaydah, 531  
 al-Şaydalāni, 458  
 Sayf Ibn Dhi Yazan, 39n  
 Sayf al-Dawlat, 141, 173, 174, 184, 215n, 231, 301, 303, 315n, 364, 368, 368n, 370, 398, 398n, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 404n, 419  
 Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzi, 519, 520, 521, 522  
 al-Sayyid al-Ḥumyari, 209, 290n  
 Schulten, 522n  
 Seleucus Nicato, 140n  
 Seljūq, 246n  
 Semitic, 507n  
 Seville, 81, 326, 330, 331, 332, 459, 460

- Shā'ib, 19  
al-Shā'ibī, 16, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27, 149, 252  
Shāhib Ibn Shabbah, 16  
al-Shābushī, 301n, 315, 316  
Shāḥīyākh, 352  
al-Shāfi'i, 31, 32, 33, 44, 45, 53n, 118, 119, 121, 123, 151, 158, 172, 181, 184, 187, 191, 193, 194, 204, 224, 226, 239, 247, 268, 272, 277, 282, 285, 285n, 290, 304, 313, 314, 417, 448n, 453  
al-Shāfiyah, 233  
Shāhanshāh, 464  
Shahba, 524  
al-Shahhāmi Zāhir Ibn Ṭāhir, 181  
Shahrastāni, 275n  
Shahrastāni, 276n, 451n  
Shahrūzūr, 226, 229, 517n, 520  
Shalawbin, 460  
Shāmil, 154, 200  
Shammākh, 531, 532  
Shammosiyah, 434  
Shams al-Dawlah, 508  
Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh, 227  
Shams al-Dīn, 506n, 512  
Shams al-Dīn Bāfīkīn, 515  
Shanfara, 11n  
Shantarīn, 83  
al-Shara, 415, 415n  
Sharaf al-Dīn, 54, 54n  
Sharaf al-Dīn Rāj h, 523  
al-Sharaf al-Hillī, 527  
Sharāḥīl Ibn 'Abd, 16  
Sharāt, 268, 268n  
Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughni, 76n  
Sharīf al-Baṭḥā'i, 382  
Sharīf al-Murtaḍa, 308, 309, 310, 310n, 311, 312, 312n  
Sharīf al-Raḍī, 308  
al-Shāshī, 453, 453n  
Shawbak, 506  
Shawbek, 268  
Shāwar, 98, 439, 440, 441n  
Shaybān, 515n  
Shaybān (tribe), 302  
Shayḍhalah, 246, 247  
Shayrkūh, 98  
Shayzar, 111, 407, 408, 409  
Shihāb al-Dīn al-Subrwardī, 186, 454  
Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭughril, 523  
al-Shirūwī, 193  
Shāmāt, 349, 349n  
Shāhi Ibn 'Alqamah, 35n  
al-Shā'ibī, 336  
Shi'b Jabalah, 363n  
Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Salamah, 229, 229n  
al-Shimghāti, 399  
Shirāz, 332, 391, 472  
al-Shirāzi (Abū Ishāq), 53n, 54n  
Shirmāh Daylamite, 219  
Shu'bah Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 157  
Shudhūr al-'Uqūd, 178, 260, 289, 408  
Shu'lah, 152n, 466  
Shumaym al-Hillī, 334, 335  
Shurayh, 14  
Sicily, 195, 195n, 196, 196n, 197, 319, 319n, 330, 331  
Sibī Ibn Ḥujr, 36n  
Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi, 219n  
Siḥr al-Balaghah,  
Sijilnāsah, 105, 106, 107  
Ṣilat, 494  
Sīrat al-Rasūl, 161  
Sībawayh, 2, 96, 289, 295, 331, 470, 471, 471n, 472, 473, 496, 497, 500  
Silsilah (Juwayni), 46  
Simnān, 76  
al-Simsimāni, 307, 308  
Sinān al-Ahtami, 16  
Sinān al-Khafāji, 217, 217n

- Sinān Ibn Thābit, 62, 62n  
 Sind, 257, 467  
 Sinjār, 52, 53, 521  
 al-Sinji, Abū 'Alī, 44, 44n, 45  
*Siq al-Zind*, 84  
 al-Sirāfi, 332  
*Sirāj al-Mulūk*, 29n, 30, 503n  
*Sīrot al-Rasūl*, 11, 128, 494n  
*al-Sirr*, 128  
*Sirr al-Bard'ah*, 164  
 Sitt al-Shām Zamarrud Kī ātūn, 227,  
 227n, 228, 229  
*Siyar al-Sulaf*, 38n  
 Sijistān, 45, 75, 76, 446  
 Silāfi Hāfiḡ, 417  
 Solomon, 85, 85n, 402n  
 Souleyman fils d' Abdelmelik, 444n,  
 518n  
 Spain, 8, 9, 80, 83, 86, 92, 94, 110,  
 128, 129, 39n, 177, 196, 198n, 222,  
 319, 319n, 321, 323, 326, 327, 331,  
 332, 338, 457, 458, 459, 460n, 494,  
 495, 495n, 500n  
 Spanish, 9, 81, 92, 184n, 324, 359  
 Sprenger Dr. 43n  
 Suddā, 85, 85n  
 Suhayl Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Awf  
 444  
 al-Suhayli ('Abd al-Rahmān al-  
 Khat'h'ami), 128, 129  
 al-Suhayli, (Abu 'l-Qāsim), 161, 443  
 Suhrward. 185, 456  
 Sukhnūn, 164n  
 Sukaynah Bint Husayn, 25, 26, 26n,  
 151, 245  
 Sulāfah Bint Yezdegird, 255, 257  
 al-Sulayhi, 409, 410, 412, 413, 414,  
 415, 416  
 Sulaym (tribe), 165n  
 Sulayma, 378, 382  
 Sulaymān (Caliph), 266  
 Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī, 477  
 Surayj, 518n  
 Surayji, 518  
 Šurr Durr (poet), 300, 383, 383n,  
 384  
 Sūs, 50  
 Sūsah, 318  
 Šuwāb al-Ṭuwāshi, 506  
 al-Suwayda, 518  
 Sulaymān Ibn Fahd, 230  
 Sulaymān Ibn Kathīr Harrāni, 132  
 Sulaymān Ibn Mansūr Caliph, 178  
 Sulaymān Ibn Rafī', 249  
 Sulymān Ibn Wahb, 100  
 al-Šuli, 425  
 al-Šu'lūki (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Sahl), 45,  
 224n  
 Sumaysāf, 71n, 421, 422  
 Sumayyī Ibn Sinān, 15  
 Suqmān Ibn Urtuq, 419  
 Syria, 17, 19, 71, 73, 107, 111, 113,  
 115, 136, 144, 165n, 167n, 168, 179n,  
 186, 191, 196n, 213, 227, 236, 241,  
 242, 253, 268, 268n, 269, 285,  
 286, 299, 304, 314n, 315n, 331, 334,  
 335, 345, 349n, 352, 362, 404, 405,  
 407, 408, 418, 420, 422, 427, 428,  
 448n, 458, 465, 477, 478, 479, 486,  
 503, 504, 510, 518, 520, 521, 527  
 Syriac, 491n  
 Syrian, 21, 31, 60, 62n, 341, 422,  
 506  
 Suyūti, 76, 82n, 152n, 236n  
 St. Germain, 38n  
 Šubhī Ibn Kāhil, 104  
 Sufyān al-Thawri, 26, 29, 113  
 Syracuse, 165n

## T

Ta'daqub, 232

- Ṭabaqūt* (Ibn al-Anbārī), 125  
*Ṭabaqūt* (Ibn Sa'd), 13, 152  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqaha*, 54n, 157n, 268  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*, 32n, 34n, 37n, 157n  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāt*, 475  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Qurra*, 38n, 39n, 40n, 496n  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*, 46n, 54n, 153n, 154n, 285n, 392n  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara*, 41, 369, 369n, 381, 381n, 529  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'ara* (Ibn al-Mu'tazz), 63, 348  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Udaba*, 332  
 Tabar, 511, 512  
 Ṭabarān, 187  
 al-Ṭabarānī, 435  
 al-Ṭabarī, Abu Ṭayyib, 45  
 Ṭabarī (Jarir), 71, 76, 126n, 172, 268, 276, 351, 362, 424n, 428, 429, 430  
 Ṭabarī, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn, 290  
 Ṭabaristān, 181, 182, 208n, 464n  
 Ṭabarzad, 461  
 Ṭābiḥ, 30n  
 al-Ṭabrizī, 159n  
*Tabṣīrah*, (Juwaynī), 46  
 Tabūk, 505  
*Tadhkirah* (Juwaynī), 46  
*Tafsīr*, 53  
 Taḡhlab (tribe), 302, 496n  
*Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, 447n  
 al-Ṭaḥḥān, 123n  
 Ṭāhir, 71, 73, 74, 74n, 352, 352n  
 Ṭāhir (Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Khuzā'i, 77, 490  
 Ṭā'if, 253n, 394n, 411, 411n  
 Taj al-Dawlat, 409n  
 Tāj al-Mulūk, 408  
 Tāj al-'Ula, 330  
*Tājī*, 315  
*Takassi*, 11  
 Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 76n  
 Ṭalḥah al-Jūd (Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Abd Allāh) 76n  
 Ṭalḥah al-Khayr (Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Tamūnī), 76n  
 Ṭalḥah al-Nidi (Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awā), 76n  
 Ṭalḥah al-Ṭalḥāt (Abu Muḥammad Ṭalḥah al-Khuzā'i, 75, 76, 76n  
 Ṭalḥah (d. of 'Abu Ṭalḥah), 76  
 Ṭalḥah Ibn Ṭāhir, 71  
*Talḡin*, 232  
*Talḡih Fuhūm al-Aḥar*, 126  
 Tamim (tribe), 15, 15n, 16n, 30n, 173, 191, 194, 379, 473, 528  
 Tamīm Kalbi, 167  
 Tamīm al-Dārl, 38, 389  
 Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn al-Bādīs, 381  
 Tamīm Ibn Murr, 470  
*Tanbih*, 84  
 Tangier, 328, 330, 331  
 Ṭaniyah, 14  
 al-Tanūkh (tribe), 363, 363n, 365  
 al-Tanūkhī, Abu 'l-Qāsim, 293, 301, 301n, 304, 304n, 363  
 al-Taḡī (Ḥusayn), 104, 105  
 Taḡī al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, 226, 230  
 Taḡī al-Dīn Ibn Shāhanshāh, 464, 464n, 465  
*Taqrib*, 322  
*Taqwīm al-Adillah*, 47  
 Ṭarafah, 11n  
*Tarṭīf Ṭahṣīḥ al-Tārīkh*, 33n  
*Tārīkh al-Ḥukama*, 62n, 433n  
*Tārīkh al-Islām*, 33n  
 Ṭāriq Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, 26  
*al-Tarīqat al-Anīqah fi 'l-Tajnis*, 375  
*Tarīqat fi Khilāf*, 246  
 Ṭarsūs, 486  
*Tashīl*, 11



*Taḡrif*, 451

*al-Tawṣīyah*, 460

al-Ṭāwūs Ibn Kaysān 246

al-Ṭāwūsī, 245

Taym (tribe), 126, 150, 152

Tayy (tribe), 186, 379n

Teheran, 26n

al-Tha'ālībī, 63n, 162, 164, 164n, 182, 184, 215, 269, 363, 365, 368, 368n, 371, 385, 398, 399, 403n

Thābit Ibn Yahya al-Rāzi, 485n

Tha'lab, 43, 43n, 61, 295, 314, 333

al-Tha'labī, 298

al-Thamānīnī, 451, 452

Thaqlif (tribe), 448n, 495

al-Thawri, 152n, 448n, 466

Thiqat al-Dawlat al-Anbārī, 394n

Thurayya Ibn 'Ali Umayyed, 443, 444

Tiberias, 122, 146n

*Tigris*, 56, 66, 66n, 74n, 128n, 139, 175, 186, 204n, 209n, 274, 277, 356, 354, 361n, 388, 430, 460, 480n, 512

Tihāmāh, 411n, 412, 413, 415, 415n, 437, 510n

al-Tihāmi (poet), 377, 379, 379n, 380, 382

Tikrit, 354, 510, 511, 512

Tilmsen, 221, 223

Tinnis, 402, 402n, 417

al-Tirmidhī, 292n

Transoxiana, 191, 194, 252, 252n, 275

Travels in Arabia, 214n

al-Tuḡhrā', 58, 482n

Tuḡhril, 246n, 345

Tuḡhtiklo, 134n

Tukush Khān, 246n

Tunis, 8, 11, 12, 106, 165n

Tūrān Shāh (Shams al-Dawlat), 99

Turcoman, 510, 512

Turkigh, 126n, 261, 266n, 300, 369n,

370n

al-Turtūshī, 30, 30n

Tūs, 21, 187n, 289, 344

Tuways (Īsa), 517, 518, 519

Tyre, 213

## U

'Ubayd Ibn 'Aqīl, 496

'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās Qādī, 431

'Ubay Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Hudhali, 103, 104

'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, 76, 107, 109, 110

'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Īsa, 355

'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt, 76, 179, 179

'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sari Ibn al-Ḥakam, 75, 75n

'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaynān, 424, 425

'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ziyād, 150

'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, 33n, 60, 104, 105, 106, 107, 171, 217

Uḥud, 253

'Ukāz, 43n

'Ukbarah, 52, 299, 300, 364, 364n

Umāmāh d/o Ḥamdūn, 359

'Umān, 294

'Umar (Caliph), 14, 18, 25

Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, 30, 103, 103n, 133, 134

Umar Ibn Abi Rabī'ah, 148, 148n, 149, 363, 363n, 442, 446

'Umar Ibn 'Alī, 447, 448n

'Umar Ibn Dharr, 450, 451

'Umar Ibn Hubayrah al-Fazārī, 498

'Umar Ibn al-Khattāb, 113, 117n, 255, 278, 446, 518

'Umar Ibn Shabbah, 21, 157, 447

'Umārah al-Yamāni, 146, 416, 437, 440, 441, 442, 526

'Umārah Ibn Ḥamzah, 254, 254n

'Umayyah Ibn Khālid, 148  
 Umayyah less. 443n  
 Umm Ḥabīb, 148, 258  
 Umm al-Khayr Fāṭimāh, 209  
 Umm Kulthūm Bint Abi Bakr, 245n  
 Umm Mālik, 312  
 Umm Thābit, 109  
 Umm Zara', 494, 494n  
 'Unwān, 177  
 'Ūriuwalah, 94  
 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr, 25, 26n, 152n,  
 241, 242, 243, 244, 245  
 Usāmah grandson of Sadīd al-Mulk,  
 409  
 Usāmah Ibn Munqidh, 418, 419,  
 503  
 Usāmah Ibn Zayd al-Tanūkhī, 100  
 Usāmah Ibn al-Zubayr, 409  
 'Uṣfān, 510, 510n  
 Ustuwa, 187, 191  
 'Uṭbah, 394  
 'Uṭbah Ibn Abi Sufyān, 342  
 al-'Uṭbi, 244  
 'Uṭhmān (Cliph), 14, 18, 25n, 113,  
 116n, 166, 466, 466n, 476, 518  
 'Uṭhmān Ibn Muḥammad, 401  
 'Uṭhmān al-Judhami, 37  
 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, 41, 41n  
 'Uyūn al-Siyar, 428  
 'Uyūn al-Tawārikh, 74n, 76n

## V

Valencia, 85, 86, 457, 459

## W

al-Walī (Ahmad), 104, 105  
 al-Wāḥidī, 297, 298  
 Wā'il, 512  
 al-Wajiz (al-Ḡhazzālī), 60, 249, 297  
 al-Wajiz (al-Wāḥidī), 297

Wakī', 249n, 356  
 Walī al-Dawlah, 380  
 al-Walīd (Caliph), 241, 242, 244, 255,  
 265, 266, 268  
 al-Wāqidi, 254, 254n, 268  
 Wasa' (Valley), 437  
 al-Wasāṭāh Bayn al-Mutanabbi wa  
 Khushūmihi, 271  
 Washīqah, 130  
 Washmgir Amīr, 315, 316  
 Waṣīf (Dik al-Jinn's slave), 170, 367  
 Waṣīf Ibn Sawāritikīn, 429  
 Wāsil Ibn 'Aṭa, 467  
 Wāsiṭ, 52, 209n, 293, 365, 391, 394,  
 404, 458, 491, 493  
 Wasīṭ, 228, 249, 297  
 Wāwa, 403, 403n  
 Welid, fils d' Abdelmelek, 444n, 446n,  
 518n, 531n  
 Weyers, M. 164n, 317n  
 Wilken, 370n, 498n  
 William of Tyre, 504n  
 Wustenfeld, 33n

## Y

Yadhbūl, 395, 396n  
 al-Yāfi', 30n, 123n, 157n, 201n, 208n,  
 225n, 272n, 285n, 396n  
 Yahya (Qāḍi), 71  
 Yahya al-Tabrizi, 311  
 Ya'qūb, 11, 11n  
 Yamāmah, 14n, 22  
 Yahsub Ibn Mālik, 495  
 Yahya Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Mu'addal,  
 151  
 Yahya Ibn Ma'īn, 448n, 466  
 Yahya Ibn Tamīm, 418  
 Yahya Ibn Yahya, 37  
 Yahya Ibn Ziyād, 478  
 Yahya al-Māmūni, 434  
 Ya'ish Ibn Ṣadaqah, 393

- Yalalbakht, 501  
 Yalamlam, 394, 394n  
 Yaman, 13, 16, 19, 37, 39, 43n, 53n,  
 110, 112, 115, 148, 149, 199, 250,  
 331, 341, 380, 409, 411, 411n, 412,  
 416, 437, 441, 442, 448n, 451n, 475  
 Yamūt Ibn al-Muzarra', 480  
 Ya'qūb al-Ḥamawī, 519  
 Ya'qub al-Manḡūr, 129  
 Ya'qūb Ibn Dāwūd, 213  
 Ya'qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Ḥaḍramī, 52n  
 Yāqūt, 118n, 252  
 Yāqūṭah, 16n  
 al-Yās, 511  
 al-Yasa', 105, 106  
 Yasār al-Ispahani, 134  
 Yatimah, 63n, 163, 163n, 164, 164n,  
 182, 183n, 215, 215n, 226, 269, 385,  
 398, 399, 399n, 403n  
 Yazīd Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 100  
 Yazīd Ibn 'Abd Malik, 481, 482  
 Yazīd Ibn Ḥātim, 36n  
 Yazīd Ibn Ḥātim al-Muhallabi, 36,  
 165n  
 Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiyah, 178, 278, 279,  
 280, 281  
 Yazīd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah,  
 137n  
 Yazīd Ibn al-Walīd, 255  
 Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiyah, 178  
 Yazīd Ibn Unays, 34  
 Yemen, 444n  
 Yemenites, 13n  
 Yezdgird, 455  
 Yūnus Ibn 'Abd al-A'la, 33,  
 123  
 Yūnus Ibn Ḥabīb, 471, 471n, 477  
 Yazīd Ibn Rummanah, 34  
 Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifin, 81, 326, 328  
 Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi, 14, 489,  
 498, 499  
 Yūsuf Ibn Yaḥya, 62n  
 Yūsuf, 524  
 Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Mumin, 223, 423n  
 Yūsuf Ibn Ḥāfiz, 77, 502  
 Yūsuf, (Abū Ya'qūb), 45
- Z
- Zāb, 56, 136  
 Zabbān, 475  
 Zabīd, 413, 415, 437, 439  
 Zād al-Masīr fi 'Ilm al-Tafsīr, 126  
 Zād al-Musāfir, 33n  
 al-Zāfir, 97, 416, 420, 502, 503, 504  
 al-Zāhi, 369, 370, 371, 372, 379n, 380,  
 382  
 al-Zāhir al-Ubaydi, 405, 406, 407  
 Zahr al-Ādāb, 328, 376  
 al-Zajjāj, 2, 2n, 84, 122  
 al-Zājī. Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn 'Abd al-  
 Raḥmān Ibn Ishāq, 121, 122, 331,  
 333n  
 Zaki al-Dīn, 69, 70  
 Zallāqah, 326  
 Zamaḥshari, 88, 89, 134n, 229n, 255,  
 336, 506  
 Zanjān, 186  
 Zarzāri (tribe), 416  
 Zayn al-Islām al-Qughayri, 185  
 Zawā'id, 54n  
 Zawra, 510  
 Zayd Imām, 223n  
 Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah, 258  
 Zayd Ibn Mūsā, 260, 261  
 Zayn al-Ābidīn, 255, 256, 257, 258,  
 261, 263  
 Zayn al-Dīn, 511, 512  
 Zaynab Bint Ja'far, 258  
 Zaynabi Qāḍi 'l-Qudāt, 492, 492n,  
 493  
 Zanj, 23, 24  
 Zij al-Ḥakīmī, 434  
 Zij Ibn Yūnus, 434

- Zij Yahya*, 434  
Z'inki, 519  
Zirr Ibn Ḥubays**h**, 13, 13n  
Ziyādat Allāh (Aghlabite), 32n, 165n  
Zubayd, 257  
Zubayd Ibn al-Ḥārith al-'Ulāqi, 116  
al-Zubaydi, 168  
Zuhayr Ibn Abi Sulma, 317  
al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwām, 241  
al-Zubayr Ibn al-Bakkār, 108  
Zubayr, 11n  
Zuhrah (tribe), 236n  
al-Zuhri, 16, 33, 103, 114, 241, 248, 248n, 253, 255  
Zūlāq, 70  
Zulayk**h**a, 402n

***Ibn Khallikan's***

**WAFAYAT AL-A'YAN  
WA ANBĀ' ABNA' AL-ZAMĀN**

**(A Biographical Dictionary)**

**Vol. 1**

**Eng. Translation  
M. de Slane**

**Edited by  
Dr. S. Moinul Haq**

## **BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE QUR'AN**

By **MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD**

Translated by **DR. SYED ABDUL LATIF**

Being a Resume of the views advanced by him in his Commentary of the *Surat-ul-Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an

The volume sets out on a brief canvas the ideology of the Qur'an as estimated by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and should serve as an illuminating Introduction to the Study of the Qur'an.

ISBN 81-7151-217-8 23x36/16 pp. 16+118 1996

Book Code No. 000075

**Rs 60/-**

## **AN ORIENTAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY**

**L. R. SEALE**

Thomas Seale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, revised and edited by L. R. Seale, is still the most comprehensive work of its kind. It gives detailed biographical information on prominent persons in the history of the East from the first century B.C. to the nineteenth century.

The Dictionary is a work of scholarship and has been highly acclaimed by Oriental scholars and historians all over the world. It is indispensable for scholars and students of the history of Muslim India, consisting as it does material gathered from Persian, Arabic, Urdu and European sources. The history of the Maratha and Rajput States and Kingdoms is also covered in full detail. Students of Muslim India's art, music and literature will find much of great interest and use in the volume.

More than 4500 entries are listed according to the English variant of each individual's name together with their Persian form in the parenthesis.

ISBN 81-7151-214-3 20x26/8 pp. 8+432 1996

Book Code No. 000018

**Rs. 300/-**

# **KITAB BHAVAN**

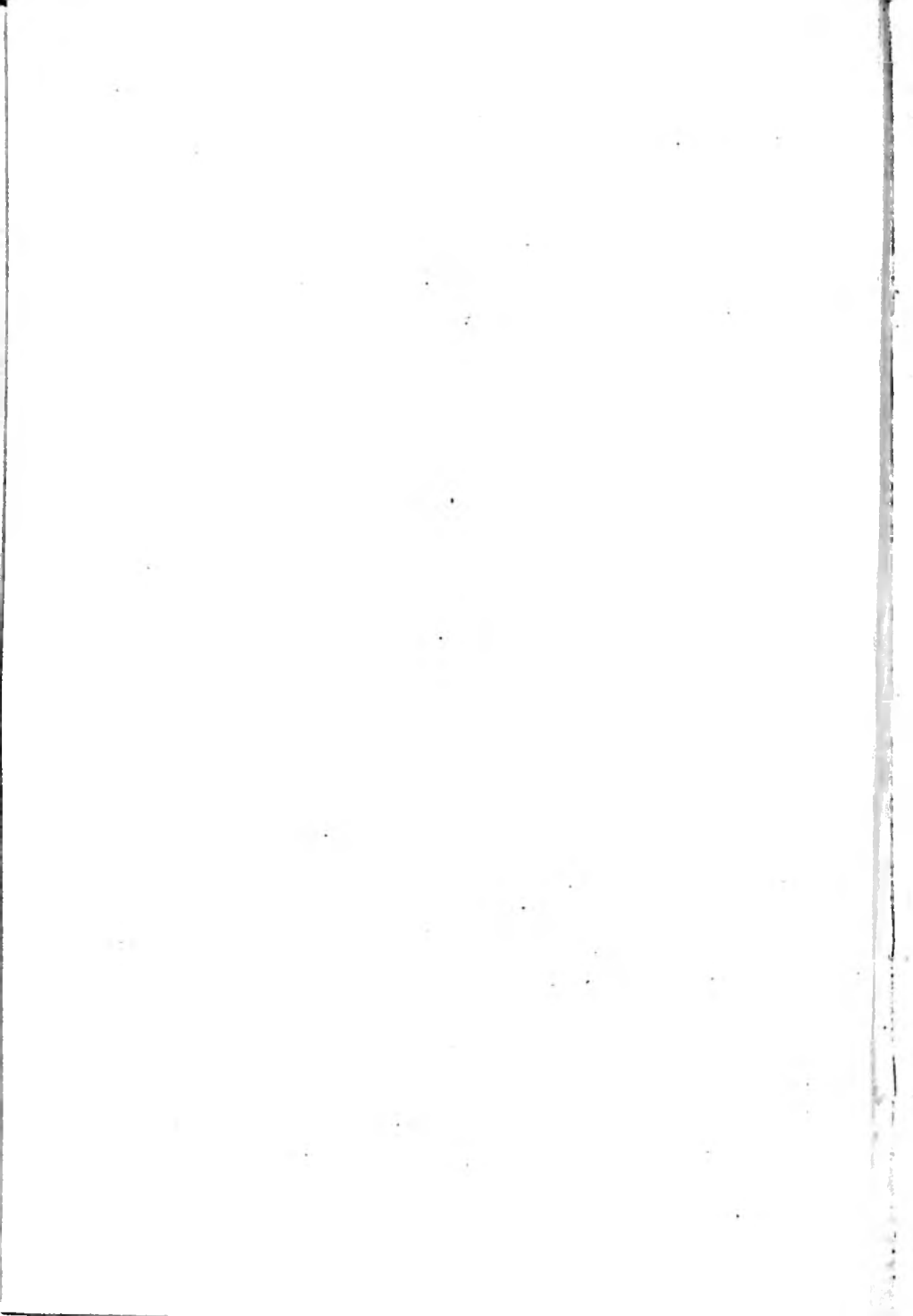
**1784, Kalan Mahal, Darya Ganj**

**New Delhi-110002 (India)**

**Phones : 3274686, 3277392-93**

**Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN**

**Fax : 91-11-3263383**



Ibn Khallikan's  
**Wafayat al-A'yan**

wa  
**Anbā' Abna' al-Zamān**  
(A Biographical Dictionary)

(M. de Slane's English Translation)

**VOLUME IV**

*Edited by:*

**S. MOINUL HAQ**

M.A., Ph.D.

**KITAB BHAVAN**

New Delhi - 110002 (India)



**KITAB BHAVAN**

Exporters & Importers

1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj

New Delhi-110002, [India]

*Phones* : 3274686, 3277392, 3277393

*Fax* : 91-11-3263383

*Telex* : 31-63106 ALI IN

ISBN 81-7151-170-8 Set

ISBN 81-7151-174-0 (Vol. IV)

First Published in India      1996

*Published by:*

Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan

1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj

New Delhi-110002

*Printed in India at:*

Johar Offset Printers

Maujpur, Ghonda

Delhi-110053

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
499 Fātik al-Majnūn ... ..	1
500 Al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān ... ..	3
501 Fityān al-Shaghūrī ... ..	4
502 Al-Faḍl Ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī ... ..	7
503 Al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' ... ..	18
504 Al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl ... ..	22
505 Al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān ... ..	27
506 Al-Fuḍayl Ibn Iyād al-Ṭālaqānī ... ..	29
507 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh ... ..	32
508 Al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad ... ..	38
509 Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām ... ..	39
510 Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥarirī ... ..	42
511 Abū Aḥmad al-Qāsim al-Shahrūzūrī ... ..	51
512 Ibn Firruh al-Shāṭibī ... ..	54
513 Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī ... ..	57
514 Qābūs Ibn Waḥamgīr ... ..	64
515 Mujāhid al-Dīn Qā'imāz al-Zaynī ... ..	67
516 Qaṭadah Ibn Dī'āmāh al-Sadūsī ... ..	70
517 Qutaybah Ibn Muslim ... ..	71
518 Qarāqūsh ... ..	78
519 Qaṭarī Ibn al-Fujā'ah ... ..	80
520 Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī ... ..	83
521 Kuthayyir the lover of 'Azzah ... ..	88
522 Kūkubrī ... ..	95
523 Al-Layth Ibn Sa'd ... ..	105
524 The Imām Mālik ... ..	107
525 Mālik Ibn Dīnār ... ..	112
526 Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr ... ..	113
527 Majd al-Dīn al-Mubārak Ibn Munqidh ... ..	117
528 Ibn al-Mustawfī al-Irbilī ... ..	119
529 Ibn al-Dahhān ... ..	126

	PAGE
530 Mujallī Ibn Jummayyī'	128
531 Abū 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, the Qāḍī	129
532 Al-Shāfi'	134
533 Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah	140
534 Muḥammad al-Bāqir	145
535 Muḥammad al-Jawād	146
536 Muḥammad al-Ḥujjah	148
537 Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri	148
538 Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Laylā	151
539 Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn	153
540 Ibn Abī Dhī'b	157
541 Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan	158
542 Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Hāshimī	159
543 Al-Bukhārī	162
544 Ibn Jarīr al-Tabārī	165
545 Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam	166
546 Al-Tirmidhī the Jurisconsult	169
547 Ibn al-Ḥaddād, the Jurisconsult	171
548 Abū Bakr al-Ṣayrafī	173
549 Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī	173
550 Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Māsarjisi	175
551 Al-Khātan	176
552 Abū Sahl al-Ṣu'lūki	178
553 Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Ibn Salāmah al-Ḍabbī	179
554 Ibn al-Mundhir al-Naysābūri	182
555 Abū Zayd al-Marwazī	182
556 Ibn Warqā al-ʿUdanī	184
557 Abū Bakr al-Fārisī	185
558 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qudā'i	186
559 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mas'ūdi	187
560 Abū 'Āsim al-'Abbādī	188
561 Al-Khidrī	189
562 Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī	191
563 Abū Bakr al-Shāshī	195
564 Abū Naṣr al-Arghiyānī	196
565 Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā	197
566 Abū Manṣūr al-Barāwī	200

	PAGE
567 Abu 'l-Hasan Ibn al- <u>Khall</u> ...	202
568 Muḥī al-Dīn Ibn al-Zakī ...	204
569 Al-Sadīd al-Salamāsi ...	214
570 Hafadat al-Ṭūsī ...	215
571 Al- <u>Khubūshāni</u> ...	216
572 Kamāl al-Dīn al- <u>Shahrūzūrī</u> ...	217
573 Muḥī al-Dīn al- <u>Shahrūzūrī</u> ...	221
574 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī ...	224
575 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Man'ah ...	229
576 Al-Jājarinī ...	233
577 Rukn al-Dīn al-'Amīdī ...	234
578 Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhirī ...	237
579 Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī ...	239
580 Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf ...	242
581 Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī ...	244
582 The Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Bāqilānī ...	246
583 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī ...	247
584 Ibn Fūrak ...	248
485 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al- <u>Shahrastānī</u> ...	249
586 Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq ...	252
587 Al-Tirmidhī the Traditionist ...	254
588 Ibn Mājah ...	255
589 Al-Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyī' al-Naysābūrī ...	256
590 Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī ...	258
591 Al-Māzari al-Mālikī ...	260
592 Abū Mūsa al-Iṣḥānī ...	261
593 Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Qaysarānī al-Maqdisī ...	262
594 Abū 'Abd Ailāh Ibn Mandah ...	264
595 Al-Farabrī ...	265
596 Al-Furāwī ...	265
597 Al-'Ājurri ...	257
598 Al-Salāmi the Ḥāfiẓ ...	267
599 Al-Ḥāzimi the Ḥāfiẓ ...	268
600 Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī ...	270
601 Al-Naqqāsh al-Baghdādī ...	272
602 Ibn <u>Shanbūdh</u> ...	274
603 Ibn al-Sammāk ...	277

	PAGE
604 Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī al-Ḥarithī ...	279
605 Ibn Sam'ūn ...	280
606 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hāshimī the Ascetic ...	281
607 Ibn al-A'rābī ...	282
608 Muḥammad Ibn al-Kalbī ...	286
609 Quṭrub ...	289
610 Al-Mubarrad ...	290
611 Ibn Durayd ...	297
612 Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz ...	305
613 Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azhari ...	311
614 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Yazidī ...	313
615 Ibn al-Sarrāj the Grammarian ...	315
616 Ibn al-Anbārī the Grammarian ...	317
617 Abū 'l-'Aynā ...	319
618 Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī ...	326
619 Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd ...	329
620 Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī ...	330
621 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī ...	331
622 Abū Bakr al-Sūlī ...	333
623 Al-Ḥātimī ...	339
624 Ibn al-Qūṭayyah ...	345
625 Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī ...	350
626 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qazzāz ...	353
627 The Amīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbihī ...	355
628 Ibn Ḥamdūn the Kātib ...	359
629 Ibn Quray'ah ...	361
630 Ibn Muḥriz al-Wahrānī ...	363
631 Ibn Taymiyah al-Ḥarrānī ...	364
632 Al-'Attābī the Grammarian ...	367
633 Al-Mas'ūdī al-Bandahī ...	368
634 Ibn Nuqṭah ...	370
635 Ibn al-Dubaythī ...	372
636 Ibn Ḥafar al-Ṣaḥallī ...	373
637 Al-'Utbi the Poet ...	375
638 Abū Bakr al-Khuwārazmī ...	378
639 Al-Salāmī the Poet ...	380
640 Ibn Sukkarah al-Hāshimī ...	386

# CONTENTS

v

## PAGE

641	The <u>Sharif</u> al-Raḍī	...	...	390
642	Ibn Ḥānī the Poet	...	...	395
643	Ibn 'Ammār <u>D</u> ḥu 'l-Wizāratayn	...	...	400
644	Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ṣā'igh Ibn Bājjah (Avempace)			404
645	Ibn al-Raḥḥā al-Ruṣāfī	...	...	407
646	Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar)	...	...	409
647	Ibn Ḥayyūs	...	...	414



## P R E F A C E

Ibn Khallikān has divided his work into two\* volumes; the first volume ended with the names under غ (ghayn).† In the present edition the first volume is covered by volumes I, II and III.

As the complete autograph of the second volume of the original has not been traced and we have only a fragment of it, we have collated and compared M. de Slane's version (Vol. IV and V of the present edition) with the latest Egyptian edition (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamid), and the Teherān edition. As in the previous volumes, the English translation of passages omitted by de Slane have been included.

M. de Slane's English translation (Vol. III) was published in 1845; its revised edition appeared in 1868. We have used the latter from notice No. 580 (p. 242) in the present volume.

The publication of Vols. II and III have been delayed for some unavoidable reasons; they are now under print and will appear shortly.

KARACHI :

S. MOINUL HAQ

*June, 1964.*

---

\* M. de Slane published his English translation in four volumes.

† Cf. Autograph, Vol. I, f. 286.





IBN KHALLIKAN'S  
BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

---

499 FĀTIK AL-MAJNŪN

The amīr Abū Shujā' Fātik, the Great, surnamed al-Majnūn, was a Greek by birth. He, his brother and his sister had been carried off captives from a place near the castle called Dhu 'l-Kilā'a, in Asia Minor. He learned writing in Palestine, and was one of those slaves whom al-Ikḥshīd took away from Rarīlah against the will of their masters and without even paying their value. His former master then declared him free, and from that time he continued to live a freeman among the *mamlūks* belonging to the Ikḥshīd family. He was distinguished for his generosity, lofty spirit, and daring courage, and this quality procured him the surname of *al-Majnūn* (*the madman*). During the life of al-Ikḥshīd, he and Kāfūr were both in his service, but, when he died, leaving a son to the care of Kāfūr, Fātik refused to remain in Old Cairo, lest he should be obliged to give the precedence to his former comrade and ride in his suite. He therefore retired to his fief, which consisted of al-Fayyūm and its territory, and he there took up his residence, although the air and the water of that province were noxious in their qualities and prejudicial to the constitution. Kāfūr stood in dread of him, and treated him with high respect whilst he dissimulated his real feelings. Fātik's indisposition continuing to increase, he was obliged to proceed to Old Cairo for medical assistance, and he arrived there whilst al-Mutanabbī was living as a guest with Kāfūr. The poet had often heard of Fātik's generous character and undaunted courage, but dared not now wait upon him lest he should offend Kāfūr; as for Fātik, he inquired after him regularly and sent him polite letters. They

met at length by accident in the desert (*outside the city*), and had a long conversation. When Fātik returned to his house, he immediately sent to al-Mutanabbī a present to the value of one thousand dīnārs, and this he followed up by others. The poet then obtained permission from Kāfūr to celebrate the praises of his benefactor, and, on the 9th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 348 (August, A.C. 959)\* he pronounced the eulogium of Fātik in the celebrated and splendid *qaṣīdah* which begins thus.

"As thou (*O poet*) hast neither steeds nor wealth to offer, let eloquence aid thee, since fortune aids thee not."

It is the same poem which contains this admirable verse :

"(*Glory belongs only*) to the like of Fātik ! nay, '*the like of*' weakens the idea ;—to the like of the sun, then, it belongs ; but where has the sun its like ?"

Fātik died at Old Cairo on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of Shawwāl, A.H. 350 (November, A.C. 961)†, and al-Mutanabbī, who had left Egypt some time before, lamented his death in the *qaṣīdah* which begins thus :

"Grief troubles the mind and resignation calms it ; thus, between them both, (*my*) tears are rebellious and obedient."

In this poem we find the following elegant thoughts :

"I am weak on quitting my friends, but if my soul hears of death and battle, I am strong. I am increased in force by the wrath of the foe ; but if a friend even hint a reproach, I tremble with sorrow. The stream of life is limpid for the fool, for him who thinks not of the past and of the future ; for him who is blind to inevitable fate, and, in pursuit of vanity, yields to the delusions of hope. Where is he who built the pyramids? what was his people? what, his life? his death? Monuments remain for a time after their founders ; then ruin strikes them and they follow (*them to oblivion*)."

\* 17 August.—Ed.

† 24 November.—Ed.

The whole elegy is of singular beauty<sup>1</sup>. When al-Mutanabbi left Baghdād, he composed a poem in which he described his journey from Egypt and deplored the loss of Fātik. This piece, which was recited by him on Tuesday, the 9th Shā'bān, A.H. 352 (September, A.C. 953)\*; begins thus :

"How long must we travel as the stars do, through the darkness : (*the unwearied stars*) which travel not with the feet of camels or with those of men?"

The following are the lines in which he mentions Fātik :

"Egypt has no other Fātik whom we may visit ; he has left no successor amongst men. He whom the living could not equal in virtues is now on an equal with the dead in the dust of the tomb. I have lost him, and I seem to be journeying in search of him, but the world only offers me a void."

#### 500 AL-FATĤ IBN KHĀQĀN

Abū Naṣr al-Fatĥ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Khāqān Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qaysī (*member of the tribe of Qais*) al-Ishbīlī (*native of Seville*) was the author of the *Qalā'id al-'Iqyān* (*collars of gold*) and of other works. In the *Qalā'id* he has united (*a series of notices on*) a great number of Moorish poets, and he employs, in each of these articles, a highly elegant style and the most refined allusions. He is also the author of the work called *Maṭmah al-Anfus wa Masrah al-Ta'annus fī Mulaḥ Ahl il-Andalus* (*the aspiring-point for souls and open field for familiarity, containing elegant anecdotes of Spaniards*). He gave three editions of this treatise, a large one, a medium, and a compendium ; it contains much information, but is rarely to be found in our countries (*the East*). In these works the great genius and extraordinary accomplishments of the author are eminently conspicuous. He was a great traveller, and seldom

1 See it in M. Grangeret de Lagrange's *Anthologie Arabe*.

\* 1 September.—Ed.

stayed long in one place. He died a violent death, A.H. 535 (A.C. 1140-1), in the *funduq* (or *caravan-serai*) of Morocco.—The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Dihyah (No. 472) says, in his work entitled *al-Muḥrib fī Aṣḥār Ahl il-Maghrib\** (the amusing book, treating of the poetry of the Western Arabs): "I met a number of his disciples, and they spoke to me of his works and astonishing (talents); in his conduct he was a libertine he but in his written compositions he displayed a style which might be called lawful magic and limped water. He was murdered in the *funduq* where he resided, in the capital of Morocco, towards the commencement of the year 529 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1134). The person who abetted this crime was the Amīr of the Muslims himself, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn." This Amīr of the Muslims was the brother of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn, him for whom Abū Naṣr had composed his *Qala'id al-'Iqyān*, as it appears from his own statement in the preface of the work<sup>1</sup>.

### 501 FITYĀN AL-SHĀGHURĪ

Fityān Ibn 'Alī Ibn Fityān Ibn *Thumāl*, surnamed al-Shihāb (i.e. *Shihāb al-Dīn, flambeau of the faith*), was a member of the tribe of Asad, a follower of the Ḥanīfite doctorines and a native of Damascus. He bore the designation of al-Shāghūrī al-Mu'allim† (the preceptor), and he acquired distinction by his abilities and by his talent for poetry. He was engaged in the service of different princes, and their praises were celebrated by him whilst he instruct-

---

1 For further information respecting Ibn Khāqān and his productions, see M. Weyer's *Specimen criticum exhibens locos Ibn Khacanis de Ibn Zeidouno*, and the first volume of his *Orientalia*. I feel myself bound to say that the *Qala'id al-'Iqyān* is a work as barren in facts as it is brilliant in style.

\* M. de Slane gives: Muḥrib.—Ed.

†M. de Slane gives: Mu'allam (past participle) which signifies 'pupil' not the 'preceptor'.—Ed.

ed their children. The *dīwān*, or collection of his poems contains a number of fine passages, and, as he dwelt for a time at al-Zabadānī, he made it the subject of some charming pieces. One of these, which we here give and in which he has reached the acme of perfection<sup>1</sup>, is on the garden of al-Zabadānī, an extensive tract of country offering a delightful sight in spring for the variety of its flowers, but, in winter, covered with snow :

“Kānūn (*January*) has congealed the wine in every cup, and even extinguished the embers which were lighted in the brasier (*kānūn*). O Garden of al-Zabadānī ! thou displayest a handsome face even when the face of the weather is contracted with frowns. The snow which covers thee is like cotton ; the clouds shake it out, the air cleans it, and the rainbow is the bow<sup>2</sup>.”

Happening, when an old man, to take a bath, and finding the water very hot, he said :

“I think your water is as hot as hell, and I suffer from it pains and smarting. I remember seeing you scald kids, but what makes you now scald old goats?”

I have since found, in the *Kharidah*, a piece of five verses, containing the same idea ; they are inserted in a biographical notice on the *kātib* Sa'd Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī al-As'ardī (*a native of As'ard in Mesopotamia*), and surnamed al-Majd (i.e. *Majd al-Dīn*, or *glory of religion*). Speaking of these lines, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣpāhānī, the author of the *Kharidah*, says : “They were recited to me by Sa'd himself to exemplify what could be said in dispraise of a bath, but he did not give them as his own.” The fifth verse is as follows :

“It was a well-known custom to scald kids, but what has induced you to scald old goats?”

---

1 He means perfection of style to suit the taste of that age. The piece is a mere issue of quibbles.

2 This is an allusion to the mode then employed of cleaning cotton. In modern times the operation is performed by a machine called a *gin*.

'Imād al-Dīn continues: "He (*Sa'd*) was still alive on the 6th of the latter Rabi', in the year 587 (A.C. 1191) and serving with the victorious army outside Acre<sup>1</sup>. "I warn the reader not to take the verse for Fityān's; he has merely inserted it amongst his own.—Fityān was attached to the service of the amīr Nūr al-Dīn Mawdūd Ibn al-Mubārak, the resident agent<sup>2</sup> at Damascus and brother of 'Izz al-Dīn Farrūkh Shāh, the son of the Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother by the mother's side. He was employed to teach Mawdūd's children writing, and this induced Ibn 'Unayn to address him the following lines :

"O thou who art wrongly surnamed al-Shihāb,<sup>3</sup> for thy darkness would infect even the shooting stars in the heavens ! be not too proud of thy place in the Mawdūd's empire, even though thou thinkest to hold it in firm possession. If thou utterest a single bark therein, thou wilt have to twist thy tail about thy nose.<sup>4</sup>"

This last verse is borrowed from a passage in the *Ḥamāsah*.<sup>5</sup>—Ibn 'Unayn and al-Shāghūrī were in correspondence, and some raillery passed between them, too long to be related.—Al-Shāghūrī was born at Bānyās, somewhat later than A.H. 530 (A.C. 1135-6). ---In one of his pieces he says :

"Why should I be active and stirring, since tranquillity is happiness ? Yet I do not disapprove the search of fortune ; but I see the worthless wretch placed by his vices above the honest man whose advancement is impeded by his virtues."

He left a second *diwān* of verses, a small collection, and consisting exclusively of couplets. I saw a copy of it at Damascus and extracted from it the following :

1 'Imād al-Dīn means the army commanded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, which endeavoured, vainly however, to prevent the Crusaders under Richard Cœur de Lion from besieging and capturing the city of Acre.

2 Resident Agent, or *Shahnah*; see No. 77, note on *Shahnah*.

3 This word signifies properly *shooting star*.

4 In English we should say: Thou wilt have to clap thy tail between thy legs.

5 See *Ḥamāsah*, page 687.

"The rose in thy cheek is brilliant and blooming; the magic in thy eyes is complete and copious; the lover who adores thee is absent-minded and sleeps not; he hopes and fears, complains and is grateful.<sup>1</sup>"

He died on the morning of the 22nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 615 (April, A.C. 1218)\*, and was interred in the cemetery outside the Lesser Gate (*al-Bābā al-Ṣaghīr, at Damascus*).—*Shāghūrī* means *belonging to al-Shāghūr*, a habitation in the vicinity of Damascus.—*Al-Zabadānī* is a village between Damascus and Ba'lbek, abounding with trees and well watered; I saw it repeatedly and consider it a most beautiful and delightful spot.

## 502 AL-FAḌL IBN YAḤYĀ AL-BARMAKĪ

Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl was the son of Yaḥyā Ibn Khālīd Ibn Barmak (*or Bermek*) al-Barmakī (*the Barmekide*). He surpassed in generosity all the members of the family, beneficent as they were, nay even his brother Ja'far (*No. 129*) who, however, was his superior as a letter-writer and a *kātib*. Al-Faḍl acted as wazīr to Hārūn al-Rashīd previously to his brother Ja'far's appointment, and the *khalīf*, who wished to confer that post on the latter, said to their father Yaḥyā: "Dear father;"---for he used to call him father,—"I wish to transport to Ja'far the signet which is now held by my brother al-Faḍl."---He used to call al-Faḍl his brother, because they were born nearly at the same time, and his mother al-Khayzurān had given the breast to al-Faḍl whilst al-Faḍl's mother, Zubaydah, who was a mullatto girl from Madīnah, had given hers to al-Rashīd. They were therefore foster-brothers<sup>1</sup>. Alluding to this circumstance, Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah said in a eulogium on al-Faḍl:

1 In the original Arabic these verses are turned most ingeniously.

2 By the Muslim law, foster-brothers and foster-sisters are assimilated in most respects to real brothers and real sisters.

\* 20 April.—Ed.



"A single advantage is quite sufficient for thy glory; the noblest of free women nourished thee and the khālīf with the same breast. Thou art an honour to Yaḥyā in every solemn assembly, as Yaḥyā is an honour to Khālīd."

Al-Rashīd then said to Yaḥyā: "I am ashamed to write that order to al-Faḍl; do it for me." Yaḥyā in consequence wrote these words to his son al-Faḍl: "The Commander of the Faithful has ordered that the signet should be passed from thy right hand to thy left." In reply to this, al-Faḍl wrote as follows: "I have heard the Commander of the Faithful's words respecting my brother, and I obey them. No favour is lost for me which goes from me to Ja'far, and no rank has been taken from me when he receives it." On hearing this answer, Ja'far exclaimed: "What an admirable being is my brother! how noble his soul! how clearly the marks of his excellence appear! how great the gift of intelligence he possesses! how vast his abilities in the just expressing of his thoughts!!--Al-Rashīd confided his son Muḥammad (al-Amin) to the special care of al-Faḍl, and his other son al-Māmūn, to that of Ja'far.—Al-Faḍl being afterwards entrusted by him with the administration of Khurāsān, proceeded to that province and remained in it for some time. Al-Rashīd then received a letter from the postmaster<sup>2</sup>, of Khurāsān, stating that al-Faḍl Ibn Yaḥyā was so much occupied with hunting and the enjoyment of pleasures that he neglected the affairs of the people. Having perused the contents of this dispatch, he handed it to Yaḥyā, who was sitting in his presence (*to transact business*), and said: "Dear father; read that letter and write to al-Faḍl what may turn him from those courses." Yaḥyā then wrote on the back of the letter: "God keep thee, my dear son, and grant thee to enjoy the pleasures of life! the Commander of the Faithful has learned with displeasure that thy passion for hunting and thy continual parties of pleasure

---

1 Ibn al-Athīr, the historian, does not fail to remark, in his *Kāmil*, that, as long as al-Khayzurān lived, al-Rashīd did not attempt to deprive al-Faḍl of his wazirate; but, the very year in which she died, he put that project into execution.

2 See No. 143, note on postmaster.

make thee neglect the affairs of the people. Return to a conduct more becoming to thee; for he who returns to what is becoming or to what is dishonourable becomes publicly known by that line which he adopts. Adieu!" At the foot of the letter he inscribed the following lines:

"Pass the day in the pursuit of honours and bear with patience the absence of thy beloved. But when the darkness approaches and veils our vices, pass the night to thy satisfaction, for night is the clever man's day. How many of the men whom you think devotees, that play strange pranks in the face of the night! It lets down the veils of darkness around them, and they spend their hours in pastime and enjoyments till morning. The fool exposes his pleasures to public gaze, and all his watchful foes denounce the scandal."

Al-Rashīd, who was looking on whilst Yaḥyā wrote this letter, exclaimed when it was finished: "Father, thou hast hit the mark!" From the moment al-Faḍl received it, he passed all his days in the mosque, till he was removed from his post. One of his deeds is thus related: When the government of Khurāsān was conferred on him, he entered the city of Balkh, which was the native place of the family and contained the fire-temple called al-Nūbihār. The Magians adored this element, and his ancestor Barmak had been the servant (*or priest*) of that temple<sup>1</sup>. Al-Faḍl now wished to destroy the edifice, but solidity of its construction resisting his efforts, he could succeed in ruining a portion of it only, and therein he built a mosque.---Al-Jihshyārī<sup>2</sup> mentions, in his History of the wazīrs, that, in the year 176 (A. C. 792-3) al-Rashīd conferred on Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā the government of all the western provinces, from al-Anbār to Ifriqiyah, and invested al-Faḍl with the administration of all the eastern provinces from Sharwān<sup>3</sup> to

---

1 Al-Mas'ūdī says, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*: "The grandee entrusted with the guardianship (*sidānah*) of this temple (*the Nūbihār at Balḥ*) was entitled al-Barmak (*the Barmak*).

2 See No. 359, note on al-Jihshyārī.

3 This town lay in Adḥarbaijān. A manuscript has here *Nahrawān*, which seems preferable, this place is being situated in 'Irāq.

the farthest extremity of the country of the Turks. Ja'far fixed his residence in Egypt and appointed deputies to govern the provinces placed under his care, and, in the year 178, al-Faḍl proceeded to his post. On arriving in Khūrāsān, he put an end to the rule of injustice, founded mosques, constructed cisterns, erected *ribāṭs*<sup>1</sup>, burned the registers of the arrear taxes, increased the pay of the troops, and, in the following year, spent ten millions<sup>2</sup> of dirhams on the military leaders, the *kātib*s and the persons who went to visit him. Having appointed deputies to administer the provinces, he returned to 'Irāq towards the close of the year, and was received with the highest honours by al-Rashīd and the assembled people. This prince even commanded the poets and the *Khatibs* to extol the merits of al-Faḍl, so that his eulogists increased manifold. Amongst the number was Iṣḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (No. 84), who composed a piece containing these verses :

"Were I known to excellence (*faḍl*), to Faḍl the son of Yaḥyā, he would assist me in my adversity. He is truly a man; illustrious by his deeds and fortunate in his undertakings, he risks all to purchase glory."

Abu 'l-Ḥawl al-Ḥimyarī made a satire on al-Faḍl, but afterwards went to ask him a favour. Al-Faḍl then said to him : "Shame on thee! with what sort of a face canst thou come into my presence ?"---"With the same," replied the other, with which I shall appear before Almighty God, and certainly I have committed worse faults against Him than against thee." On hearing this, al-Faḍl laughed and made him a present. One of his sayings was : "The joy of him who is promised a favour is not equal to mine in granting one." A person having observed to him one day that his generous character would be perfect were he not so abrupt in his manner, he made this reply : "I learned generosity and abruptness of manner from 'Umārah

---

1 See No. 72, note on *ribāṭ*.

2 1 read *الان الف*, but all my manuscripts give the reading reproduced in the printed text.

Ibn Ḥamzah<sup>1</sup>." Being then asked on what occasion, he related as follows: "My father was administering the revenue in a province of Persia, when he lost an immense sum by a bankruptcy. Being then carried a prisoner to Baghdād, he was called upon to account for the money (*as it belonged to the state*), and had to deliver up all his personal property. Three millions of dirhams, which still remained due, were urgently required, and as he could devise no means to procure them, he remained in utter despair. There was only one man, as he knew, capable of assisting him, but that was 'Umārah Ibn Ḥamzah, and a profound enmity subsisted between them. He at length said to me one day, and I was then a boy: 'Go to 'Umārah and make him my salutations; then inform him of the misery to which I am reduced, and request of him this sum as a loan till such time as God may enable me to repay it!'"---'Thou knowest,' said I, 'your mutual feelings towards each other; why then should I go on such a message to thy enemy. I am certain that if he were able to bring thee to ruin, he would do it.'"---'Thou must go to him'; said my father, 'God may subdue him and open his heart to pity.'—To this I could make no reply, and I set out reluctantly, now advancing and then receding, till I at length arrived at 'Umārah's house. Having obtained permission to go in, I found him at the farthest extremity of his hall of state, reclining on soft cushions his hair perfumed with civet<sup>2</sup> and his beard with musk, and with his face turned towards the wall."---'Umārah's absence of mind was so great that he never sat in any other way. "I stood at the foot of the hall and offered him my salutation, but he did not return it; I then saluted him in the name of my father, and told him my business. He remained silent for a time and at length said: "We shall see about it." On this I retired, bitterly repenting to have directed my steps towards him, and

---

1 See No. 396, note on Umārah.

2 The verb غالى signifies: To perfume the hair or beard with *ghāliyah* غالية. This word, the precise meaning of which I did not recollect when writing the note on غالية (No. 111) means *civet*. The Arabs call a *civet-cat*, *Qatṭ al-Ḡhāliyah*, and the same word *gato de algalia*, has passed into the Spanish and Portuguese languages.

convinced that he meant to refuse my application; I uttered complaints against my father for exposing me uselessly to such humiliation, and my anger against 'Umārah was so great that I even resolved not to go back to him. I stayed away about an hour, but, having got cool, I returned and found a number of loaded mules at the door. Having asked what they were, I was informed that 'Umārah was just sending them off to us with the money. I then went home to my father and, not to diminish the value of the favour thus conferred, I abstained from mentioning what had passed between 'Umārah and me. A short time after, my father was reinstated in his post, and having soon gained great wealth, he gave me the amount of the debt, telling me to take it to 'Umārah. On arriving, I went in and found him as before: I saluted him, but he made no reply; and I then offered him my father's salutation, thanked him for his kindness to us and informed him that I had brought the money. On hearing these words, he exclaimed, in a passion: 'Was I then thy father's banker, scoundrel? be off and be damned to thee! and keep the money.' I immediately withdrew and returned the money to my father, who was much astonished as myself at the singularity of 'Umārah's character. He then said to me: 'By Allāh! my son, I cannot consent to let thee have it all; so take one million of dirhams and leave two to thy father.'---The same anecdote, with some slight variations, is related by al-Jihshīyārī in his History of the wāzirs: thus he states that the sum lent was one million of dirhams; that the occurrence took place in the reign of al-Mahdī; that Yaḥyā was farming the revenues of the province of Fārs when he lost his money by the bankruptcy; and that al-Mahdī, who was angry with him, had told the person commissioned to make him pay in his receipts to government, that if he did not receive the amount before sunset, he should bring him Yaḥyā's head.—“It was thus,” continued al-Faḍl, “that I learned generosity and abruptness of manner from 'Umārah!” ‘Umārah Ibn Ḥamzah

---

1 Here in the Arabic, follow the words *والقسط راالصيرنى* *al-Qisṭār al-ṣayrafī* (*nummularious callidus*). If they form a surname, the phrase

(Continued on page 13)

descended from 'Ikrimah the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Abbās (No. 396), and was himself a *mawlā* and *kātib* to Abū Ja'far al-Manšūr. He was hasty, proud, generous, eloquent and one-eyed. Al-Manšūr and his son al-Mahdī admitted him to their convivial parties, and bore with his strange humours on account of his merit, his elegant language, and faithful services. He had been employed by them in the highest posts of the (*financial*) administration. A collection of epistles was left by him, and one of them, called *Risālat al-Khamīs* (the *Thursday epistle*), was usually read to the members of the 'Abbāsīd family. It is related that al-Faḍl's chamberlain went in to him one day and said: "There is a man at the door who claims relationship with thee."—"Let him come in", said al-Faḍl; and the stranger was introduced. He was still young and well-looking, but miserably dressed. When he made his salutation, al-Faḍl signed to him to be seated, and he sat down. Al-Faḍl waited for some time, and at length asked him what he wanted.—"The shabbiness of my dress," replied the other "will inform thee."—"That is true; but how art thou related to me?"—"I was born about the time of thy birth, I lived in thy neighbourhood, and my name is derived from thine."—"As for the neighbourhood, that may be," said al-Faḍl, "and the names may be similar, but who told thee of our births?"—"It was my mother; when she brought me forth, a person said to her: 'On this very night Yaḥyā Ibn Khālīd has got a son to whom they have given the name of al-Faḍl.'—My mother therefore testified her respect for thy name by bestowing it on me, but she gave it the diminutive form of Fuḍayl (*little Faḍl*) to indicate my inferiority." Al-Faḍl smiled and asked him his age. "Thirty-five years."—"True; that is the age I count myself to be. What has become of thy mother?"—"She is dead."—"And what hindered thee from coming to me long before this?"—"I could not induce

---

(Continued from page 12)

which follows must begin thus in the translation: *Al-Qiṣṣa al-Sayrafī and 'Umārah Ibn Ḥamzah descended, etc.* But in two of my MSS, the phrase *Al-Jihshiyarī relates the same anecdote etc.*, is inserted between the words *al-Sayrafī* and *'Umārah*. The true reading is therefore uncertain, and I prefer not hazarding a translation.

myself to do so, because I felt that my ignorance and youth were obstacles to my entering into the society of princes; but as this desire had clung to my heart since many years, I made such studies as might qualify me to meet thee, and this I at length decided to do."—"What art thou good for?"—"For business of any kind, important or trifling." Al-Faḍl immediately ordered his attendant to give the man one thousand dirhams for each year of his age, and ten thousand more to defray his personal expenses till such time as he could be placed. To this he added the present of a noble horse.—When al-Rashīd put Ja'far to death, as we have already related (*No. 129*), he arrested his father Yahyā, and his brother al-Faḍl, who were then living in the palace. On setting out for al-Raqqah, he took them both with him, and kept all the members of the Barmekide family in custody, with the exception of Yahyā. When they reached al-Raqqah, al-Rashīd sent to inform Yahyā that he might take up his residence in that city or whatever he pleased. Yahyā replied that he preferred being with his son, and the *khalīf* then sent to ask him, if he would like to dwell in a prison. Yahyā declared that he would, and from that time he was kept with al-Faḍl in confinement. At first they were allowed some liberty, but subsequently they experienced alternations of rigour and relaxation, according to the nature of the reports which reached al-Rashīd concerning them. He then confiscated the property of every member of the family.—It is said that Masrūr the eunuch was sent by him to the prison, and that he told the guardian to bring al-Faḍl before him. When he was brought out, he addressed him thus: The Commander of the Faithful sends me to say that he ordered thee to make a true statement of thy property, and that thou didst pretend to do so, but he is assured that thou hast still great wealth in reserve; and his orders to me are, that, if thou dost not inform me where the money is, I am to give thee two hundred strokes of a whip. I should therefore advise thee not to prefer thy riches to thyself." On this al-Faḍl looked up at him and said: "By Allāh! I made no false statements, and were the choice offered to me of being sent out of the world or receiving a single stroke of a whip, I should prefer the former alternative: that, the Commander of the Faithful well knoweth, and thou

also knowest full well that we maintained our reputation at the expense of our wealth ; how then could we now shield our wealth at the expense of our bodies? If thou hast really got any orders, let them be executed. "On this, Masrūr produced some whips which he brought with him rolled up in a napkin, and ordered his servants to inflict on al-Faḍl two hundred strips. They struck him with all their force, using no moderation in their blows, so that they nearly killed him. There was in that place a man skilled in treating (*wounds*), who was called in to attend al-Faḍl. When he saw him, he observed that fifty strokes had been inflicted on him, and when the others declared that two hundred had been given, he asserted that his back bore the traces of fifty and not more. He then told al-Faḍl that he must lie down on his back on a reed-mat, so that they might tread on his breast. Al-Faḍl shuddered at the proposal, but having at length given his consent, they placed him on his back. The operator then trod on him, after which he took him by the arms and dragged him along the mat, by which means a great quantity of flesh was torn off the back. He then proceeded to dress the wounds, and continued his services regularly, till one day, when, on examining them, he immediately prostrated himself in thanksgiving to God. They asked him what was the matter, and he replied that the patient was saved, because new flesh was forming. He then said : "Did I not say that he had received fifty strokes? Well, by Allāh! one thousand strokes could not have left worse marks ; but I merely said so that he might take courage, and thus aid my efforts to cure him." Al-Faḍl, on his recovery, borrowed ten thousand dirhams from a friend and sent them to the doctor, who returned them. Thinking that he had offered too little he borrowed ten thousand more, but the man refused them and said : "I cannot accept a salary for curing the greatest among the generous; were it even twenty thousand dinārs, I should refuse them." When this was told to al-Faḍl, he declared that such an act of generosity surpassed all that he himself had done during the course of his life. For he had learned that the doctor was poor and in great distress.—The following verses, which, I believe, are by Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah, were frequently recited by al-Faḍl in his prison :

"We address our complaints to God in our sufferings for it is His hand which removeth pain and affliction. We have quitted the



world, and yet we exist therein; we are not of the living, neither we are of the dead. When the gaoler happens to enter our cell, we wonder and exclaim : 'This man has come from the world !' "

I have since discovered that these verses are by Ṣāliḥ Ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs; they form part of a poem which he composed when in prison. Some, however, attribute them to 'Alī Ibn al-Khālīd, who having been suspected of atheism at the same time as Ṣāliḥ, was imprisoned along with him by the order of the khalīf al-Mahdī.—The praises of the Barmekides were celebrated by all the contemporary poets. Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah, or Abu 'l-Hajnā as some say, composed the following lines on al-Faḍl :

"The power of doing good and of harming is in the hands of princes, but the Barmekides do good and harm not. If punishment is to be inflicted, that duty is imposed on others; but to them all good is justly attributed. When thou knowst not the origin and ancestry of a man, examine his acts; when the roots are swollen with moisture<sup>1</sup>, the sprouts flourish and the crop is abundant."

Al-'Attābī<sup>2</sup> the poet incurred the displeasure of al-Rashīd, but was pardoned through al-Faḍl's intercession. On this occasion he pronounced these lines :

"I was cast into the abyss of death, from which neither counsel nor artifice could save me. But your words ceased not in my favour till you snatched my life from the grasp of fate.

Abū Nuwās praised him also in a *qaṣīdah* wherein he said:

"I shall complain to al-Faḍl, the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd, of the pains of love; perhaps he may unite me to my mistress."

---

1 The word ندى *nadd* means both *moisture* and *generosity*. Here the poet confounds the two ideas.

2 Abū 'Amr Kulthūm Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Taḥḥlib al-Taḥḥlibī, a poet and *kātib*, was a native of Damascus, established at Qinnisrīn. He bore the surname of al-'Attābī. The Barmekides honoured him with their patronage, and at a later period he enjoyed the friendship of Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn.—(*Fihrist*, fol. 166).

On its being remarked to the poet that he was wrong in addressing such a strange request to al-Faḍl, he replied that he meant a union of preference (*and affection*), not a union of the persons. Al-Mutanabbī imitated this where he says :

“Perhaps the amīr may see my abasement, and intercede with her who made me an example of (*unrequited*) love.”

A certain poet composed one single line on al-Faḍl, which was this :

“What we have all experienced from al-Faḍl’s generosity has converted the human race into (*grateful*) poets.”

Fault having been found with this verse because it was isolated, al-‘Udhāfur Ibn Ward Ibn Sa’d al-Qummi composed the following to match it :

“He taught the most unprolific geniuses amongst us how to compose in verse, and the avaricious how to show generosity.”

This line was much admired.—The affection of al-Faḍl for his father was extreme : it is related that, when they were in prison and unable to procure warm water, which however was necessary for his father, as he could not make use of cold water in winter, al-Faḍl took the copper ewer which contained the water for their use and applied it to his stomach, that he might thus, in some measure, diminish its coldness and render it fit for his father’s use.—The anecdotes told of al-Faḍl are very numerous. He was born on the 22nd of Dhu ‘l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 147 (February, A.C. 765)\*, but al-Ṭabarī says, in his History, towards the commencement of his chapter on the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd : “The birth of al-Faḍl Ibn Yaḥyā took place in the year 148.”—God best knows the truth!—He died in prison, at al-Raqqah, on a Friday morning in the month of al-Muḥarram, A.H. 193 (Oct.-Nov. A.C. 808); some say, in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 192. When al-Rashīd was informed of his death, he said: “My fate is near unto ”his; and so it proved, for he expired at Tūs, on the eve of Saturday, the 3rd

---

\* 19 February.—Ed.

of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 193 (March, A.C. 809);\* some state, however, that he died on the 15th of the month, and others, that he breathed his last on the eve of Thursday, the 15th of the first Jumādā; but Ibn al-Labbān al-Farāḍī<sup>1</sup> mentions that his death occurred in the month of the latter Rabi'; they all agree, however, as to the year. We have already stated that al-Faḍl and al-Rashīd were born about the same time.—On the death of al-Rashīd, his sons, Muḥammad al-Amīn and (*Abū Ja'far*) al-Manṣūr the governor of Khurāsān, were established as his successors in the khalīfat.

### 503 AL-FAḌL IBN AL-RABĪ'

Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl was the son of al-Rabī' Ibn Yūnus Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Furwāh.—This last, whose real name was Kaysān, was a *mawlā* to (*the khalīf*) 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān (*No. 223*).—We have already spoken of his father al-Rabī' (*No. 223*) and mentioned something of what passed between him and Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr.—When the sovereign authority devolved to al-Rashīd, this prince chose the Barmakides for his wazīrs, and al-Faḍl, who had aspired to an equality with them and hoped to rival them in influence, conceived a deep hatred against them on

---

1 Abu 'l-Husayn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (*a native of Baṣrah*), and surnamed Ibn al-Labbān (*the son of the milkman*), was an eminent jurisconsult of the Shaf'ite sect, and possessed such skill in the calculation of inheritance-shares that he obtained the surname of al-Farāḍī. A number of works were composed by him on this subject, and Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī declared that no one had ever produced any thing like them. Ibn al-Labbān was heard to say that there was not an inheritance-calculator on earth who had not been his disciple or a disciple of his disciples; otherwise that person could do nothing good in his profession. He gave his lessons in a college built purposely for him at Baḡhdād, and he died in the month of the first Rabi' A. H. 402 (October, A. C. 1011).—(*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'in.*)—We here again find another college built before the time of Nizām al-Mulk, who has been generally supposed to have founded the first establishment of the kind. See Introduction to Vol. I.

\* 24 March.—Ed.

finding all his efforts for that purpose, ineffectual. 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Wahb (*No. 12, note on 'Ubayd Allāh*) said: "When God wills the destruction of a family (*or people*) and the rain of their prosperity, he disposes certain causes to effect that purpose; and one of the causes which contributed to the fall of the Barmakides was their disdain for al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī'. He therefore wrought against them underhand, and having succeeded in forming a close intimacy with al-Rashīd, he turned that prince's heart against them. In this he was seconded by the *kātib* Ismā'il Ibn Ṣabīḥ till the event was brought to pass." It is related that Yaḥyā Ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī was one day holding a court for the dispatch of public business, with his son Ja'far seated before him to write his decisions on the memorials which were presented, when al-Faḍl came in with ten written applications from different persons. To each of these Yaḥyā made an objection, and ended by refusing his sanction to every one of them, on which al-Faḍl gathered them up, saying: "Go back (*to those who sent applications*) repelled and rejected!" He then turned to go out and recited the following lines:

"Fortune may yet alter her present course and produce some change; Fortune is apt to stumble in her gait. She may grant certain wishes, procure satisfaction for certain offences, and replace this state of things by another."

Yaḥyā, overhearing these words, immediately recalled him, saying: "Come back, Abu 'I-'Abbās! I insist upon it;" and set his approval to all the memorials. It was very shortly after this, that the fall of the Barmakides was brought about through al-Faḍl's means, and he then became wazīr to al-Rashīd. In allusion to this event, Abū Nuwās (*No. 162*), or Abū Ḥazrah according to some, recited the following lines:

"Fortune slighted the merits of the Barmakides when she overthrew their power by a fatal stroke. But certainly that same fortune which respected not the desert of Yaḥyā will have no regard for those of the family of al-Rabī'."

A discussion having arisen one day in the presence of al-Rashīd between Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā and al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' the

former called his adversary a foundling, in allusion to the circumstance that no one knew who al-Rabī's father was (*No.* 223). Stung with the insult, al-Faḍl exclaimed: "Bear witness to that, Commander of the Faithful!" On this Ja'far turned to al-Rashīd and said: "Commander of the Faithful! before whom does this ignorant man cite thee to bear witness? thee, who art the judge of the judges!"—After the death of al-Rashīd, al-Faḍl continued to act as wazīr; having enjoyed the confidence of that prince, he procured al-Amīn's elevation to the throne, without taking the least notice of al-Māmūn, who was then in *Khurāsān*. This prince immediately resolved on dispatching a body of troops to intercept him on his return from *Ṭūs*, where al-Rashīd had breathed his last, but he was dissuaded from his purpose by his wazīr al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl who felt apprehensive of the consequences. Al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī then foresaw the danger which awaited him in case of al-Māmūn's accession to the *khalīfate*, and he therefore persuaded al-Amīn to deprive him of his rights as declared successor to the throne, and confer them on his own son Mūsā Ibn al-Amīn. This produced a misunderstanding between the two brothers, and at length al-Māmūn, by the advice of his wazīr al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl, dispatched an army from *Khurāsān* under the command of Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn (*No.* 281)<sup>1</sup>. Al-Amīn then took counsel of al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī, and sent 'Alī Ibn 'Isā Ibn Māhān at the head of an army from *Baghdād* to repel the invaders. In the battle which ensued, the latter general lost his life. This occurred A.H. 194 (809-10). From that moment the affairs of al-Amīn fell into confusion and the power of al-Māmūn was consolidated; as for al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī, he retired to a place of concealment in the month of Rajab, A.H. 196 (March, April, A.C. 812), on perceiv-

---

1 When al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī advised al-Amīn to deprive al-Māmūn of his right to the throne and confer it on his own son Mūsā, some of the more prudent of that prince's counsellors endeavoured to dissuade him from so dangerous a project: but their representations were of no avail, and the fatal influence of al-Faḍl predominated. Al-Amīn then essayed to draw al-Māmūn to *Baghdād*, so that he might secure his person, but the latter would not let himself be circumvented in this manner, and sent a letter of excuse. The two princes

ing that all his plans had gone to ruin. He appeared in public, some time after, when Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdi (No. 8) usurped the khalīfate at Baghdād and he entered into his service. On the failure of Ibrāhīm undertaking, al-Rabī' concealed himself a second time, and finally obtained his pardon from al-Māmūn through the intercession of Tāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn, who conducted him into the presence of the prince. This circumstance is sometime related in a different manner. From that time till his death he remained unemployed, having never, as far as I can discover, occupied any post under al-Māmūn. The poet Abū Nuwās wrote al-Faḍl the following lines to console him on the loss of al-Rashīd and congratulate him on the accession of al-Amin :

"O Abu 'l-'Abbās! be consoled in thy sorrows over the noblest of the dead by the aspect of the best that ever was or will be among the living. The vicissitudes of time revolve and now produce evil, now good. The prince who lives repays for (*the loss of*) him who is dead and hidden in the dust of the grave ; thou hast not suffered by the exchange, neither hath the dead deceived (*thee by appointing an unworthy successor*)."

In another piece of verse composed in praise of al-Amin, Abū Nuwās said of him :

"It is not repugnant to God that (*the good qualities of*) all mankind should be united in a single individual."

(*Speaking of the verses given before this last,*) Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī said: "The *kātib* Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf (No. 117, note on Aḥmad)

---

(Continued from page 20)

then entered into a long correspondence, and al-Māmūn was almost induced to transfer his rights to Mūsā, when his wazīr al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl had a private interview with him and encouraged him to resist, assuring him that, by adopting resolute proceedings, he could not fail to obtain possession of the khalifate. Al-Māmūn followed his wazīr's advice, and al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl began to gain partisans to the cause of his master and to strengthen the frontier garrisons. The war broke out soon after, and al-Amin fell a victim to the injudicious counsels of his minister al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī'.—(*Al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah*, MS. No. 895, fol. 200).

took the idea of these verses, and having enlarged upon it he addressed his piece to one of his *brethren* whose parrot had died, and who had a brother of a most untractable temper, called 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, still living." The piece is as follows :

"Thou survivest ; and may our lives be the ransom of thine ! May God, the possessor of all grandeur, grant thee consolation ! Great was the stroke which fate inflicted on thee when it killed thy parrot. How strange that death should come unto it and miss 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, thy brother. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was a fitter object for death than thy parrot. Every sort of misfortune has come over us; the loss of the one and the presence of the other."

In the life of Ibn al-Rūmī (*No.* 438) we have inserted two pieces similar to this, and addressed to the wazīr Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh on the death of one of his sons and the existence of the other. The idea is borrowed from the verses just given, but it was Abū Nuwās who opened the way. Succeeding poets appropriated the thought with some slight difference in the mode of its expression.—Al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 208 (March-April, A.C. 824); some say in the month of the latter Rabī'. It was on him that Abū Nuwās composed his poem, rhyming in *d*, which contains the expression : *and good works became* (for him) *a custom*.

#### 504 AL-FAḌL IBN SAHL

Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl al-Sarakḥsī was the brother of al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl, him whose life has been given (*No.* 169). He made his profession of Islāmism<sup>1</sup> to al-Māmūn in the year 190 (A.C. 805-6); but some say that it was his father Sahl who made the profession, and that it was al-Mahdī who received it. Al-

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athīr says in his *Kāmil*, year 190, that al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl was originally a *Majūsī* or fire-worshipper.

Faḍl Ibn Sahl served Al-Māmūn as wazīr and domineered over him to such a degree that he once outbid him for a female slave whom he wanted to purchase. When Ja'far the Barmakide resolved on placing al-Faḍl in the service of al-Māmūn, Yaḥya (*Ja'far's father*) spoke of him so favourably in the presence of al-Raṣhīd, that the latter ordered him to be brought in. On appearing before the khalif, al-Faḍl was so completely overcome with confusion that he could not utter a word. Al-Raṣhīd then turned towards Yaḥyā with the look of one who blamed his choice, but Faḍl (*recovered himself and*) said: "Commander of the Faithful! it is an excellent proof of a servant's merit that his heart is seized with respect in the presence of his master." "To this al-Raṣhīd replied: "If you kept silent that you might frame this answer, I must say that you have succeeded well; but if it came to you extempore, it is still better and better." To every succeeding question which the khalif addressed him, he replied in a manner suited to justify the character given of him by Yaḥyā. Al-Faḍl was highly accomplished, and he received the surname of Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn (*the holder of the two commands*) because he exercised the authority of the wazīrate, and that of the sword (*as commander in chief of the army.*) (*Like his master al-Māmūn*) he acknowledged the rights of the family of 'Alī.<sup>1</sup> In astrology he displayed the greatest skill, and most of his predictions received their accomplishment. Abu 'l-Husayn 'Alī al-Salāmī relates, in his History of the governors of Khurāsān, that, when al-Māmūn resolved on sending Ṭāhir Ibn al-Husayn (*No. 281*) against his brother Muḥammad al-Amin, al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl examined the horoscope of this general, and finding the *indicator* in the middle of the sky and that it was Dhū yamīnayn<sup>2</sup>, he told al-Māmūn that Ṭāhir would conquer al-Amin provided he were surnamed Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn. Al-Māmūn then conceived a high admiration for al-Faḍl's talent, and gave this surname to Ṭāhir; he became also an assiduous student in the science of the stars. The same writer says: "One of al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl's astrological predictions wherein he perfectly succeeded was

---

1 "It was he" says Ibn al-Athīr, "who advised al-Māmūn to designate 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā as successor to the khalifate."

2 *Dhu yaminayn* signifies doubly fortunate, and ambidexter.



the following : when Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn was nominated to march forth against al-Amin, al-Faḍl designated a fortunate hour for his departure and, at that moment, he knotted his standard<sup>1</sup> and placed it in his hand, saying: 'I here knot for thee a standard which shall not be untied for six and fifty years'. Now, from the time of Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn's going forth against 'Alī Ibn 'Isa, al-Amin's general, till that of Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn's capture of Nāysāpūr by Ya'qūb Ibn al-Layth al-Ṣaffār, precisely six and fifty years intervened. Ibn al-Layth took Muḥammad prisoner on Sunday, the 2nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 259 (August, A.C. 873).<sup>\*</sup>—Another instance of his successful predictions was that concerning himself : when al-Māmūn obliged al-Faḍl's mother to deliver up all the property which he had left on his decease, she brought to him a coffer, locked and sealed. On opening it he found a little box, closed also with a seal, and within it a paper folded up and containing a piece of silk bearing the following inscription in his own handwriting : "In the name of God, the Merciful, The Clement! This is the fate which al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl has predicted for himself : he will live forty-eight years, and be killed between water and fire." He lived precisely to this age, and was murdered in his bath at Sarakhs by Ghālīb, the maternal uncle of al-Māmūn. Many other instances are given of his successful predictions.—It is related that he one day said to Ṭhumāmah Ibn al-Ashras<sup>2</sup> : "I know not what to do ; I am overwhelmed by the number of persons who apply to me for favours."—"Quit thy

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 361, note on spear and horse.

<sup>2</sup> Abū Ma'an Ṭhumāmah Ibn al-Ashrar, a member of the tribe of Numayr and a native of Baṣrah, was surnamed al-Mājīn (*the libertine*) for his disorderly life. The Khalifs al-Raṣhīd and al-Māmūn admitted him into their society, and many amusing anecdotes are told of him. One evening after sunset, he went out in a state of inebriation, and seeing al-Māmūn riding towards him, he took the other side of the street ; but the Khalif remarked him and rode up, upon which the following dialogue ensued : "Is it you, Ṭhumāmah ?"—"Yes."—"Are you drunk ?"—"No."—"Do you know me ?"—"Yes."—"Who am I ?"—"I do not know." This answer threw al-Māmūn into such a fit of laughter, that he nearly fell off his horse. Ṭhumāmah died

(Continued on page 25)

<sup>\*</sup> 2 August.—Ed.

seat," said Thumamah, "and it shall be my business to prevent a single one of them from meeting thee." Al-Faḍl acknowledged the counsel to be good, and from that period Thumamah remained charged with all his personal affairs. During his residence in Khurāsān, al-Faḍl had a fit of sickness which brought him to the brink of death; on his recovery, he held an audience, in which numerous congratulations, all drawn up with great elegance, were addressed to him. When the speakers had finished, he turned to them and said: "Sickness has advantages which no reasonable man can deny: it expiates sins; it prepares for us the reward due to patient suffering; it rouses us from supineness; it makes us grateful for the benefit of health; it calls us to repentance, and it incites us to charity."—"His praises were celebrated by some of the most eminent poets of the age; thus Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūlī (No. 10) said of him:

"There is no hand like that of al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl. Its gifts are wealth, and its stroke is death. Its palm is formed for liberality, and its back to receive grateful kisses."

It was from this that Ibn al-Rūmī took the idea of the following passage; it belongs to one of his poems in which he addresses the wazīr al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Wahb:

"I am placed between poverty and the necessity of maintaining a respectable appearance; in this position the worthiest of men would die of inanition. Stretch then forth to me that hand of which the palm is accustomed to bestow, and the back to be kissed."

It was of al-Faḍl that Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad (some say Ibn Ayyūb) al-Taymī<sup>1</sup> said:

(Continued from page 24)

A.H. 213 (A.C. 828-29) (*al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*). He professed the Mu'tazilite doctrines, but held some other peculiar to himself, and of which al-Ḥabhrastānī gives an account: see Dr. Cureton's *Shahrestānī*, Arabic text, page 49.

1 Al-Taymī (التيمي) is the true reading. The *Khaṭīb*, says, in his History of Baḍād (MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 634, fol. 119, and fonds Asselin, MS. No. 541, fol. 25 verso), that Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ayyūb al-Taymī, a member of the tribe of Taym Allāh Ibn Ḥu'alaḥ, was one of the eminent poets of the 'Abbaside dynasty, and celebrated the praises of al-Amin and al-Māmūn.

"Rest assured that the noblest in every city, great though they be, are all al-Faḍl's inferiors. When it pleases him, you may see the greatest of mankind humbled before him, and he humbleth himself only before God. The more God exalts him, the more he is humble and the more each man of rank is humble before him."

Muslim Ibn al-Walīd al-Anṣārī, surnamed Sarī al-Ghawānī (*No. 10, note*), said of him in one of his *qaṣīdahs* :

"You established one khālīfate and overthrew another; great was that which you established and that which you overthrew."

Al-Jihshiyārī (*No. 359, note*) relates that al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl having been plunged into the deepest affliction by the loss of a son called al-'Abbās, Ibrāhīm Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far al-'Alawī<sup>1</sup> went in to him and recited this verse :

"Better for thee than the possession of al-'Abbās is that indemnity for his loss which God reserves thee ; and a better company than thine for al-'Abbās is that of God."

Al-Faḍl acknowledged the truth of his words and made him a present ; from that time, he felt consoled.—Al-Māmūn at length found the influence which al-Faḍl had acquired so onerous to himself, that he suborned his maternal uncle Ghālīb al-Sa'ūdī the black<sup>2</sup> to murder him. Al-Faḍl was at Sarakhs and in his bath, when Ghālīb entered suddenly with some others and slew him : this occurred on Thursday, the 2nd of Shā'bān, A.H. 202 (February, A.C. 818);\* some say, A.H. 203. He was then aged forty-eight years ; some say, forty-one years and five months. Al-Ṭabarī states, in his History, that al-Faḍl died at the age of sixty ; others again say that he was murdered on Friday,† the 2 of Shā'bān, A.H. 202. This last date I consider to be the true one. Elegies were composed on his death by Muslim Ibn al-Walīd,

1 This is the same 'Alide who revolted in Yamen, A.H. 200.—See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*'.

2 Al-Māmūn's complexion was dark or tawny ; what is here said by Ibn Khalikān accounts for that peculiarity.

\* Thursday was first Shā'bān (11 February).—Ed.

† Friday fell on 2 Shā'bān (12 February).—Ed.

Di'bil (*No. 213*), and Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās (*No. 10*).—His father Sahl died also in the year 202, soon after the assassination of his son. His mother, who was also the mother of his brother al-Ḥasan (*No. 169*), lived to witness the marriage of Būrān (*No. 117*) with al-Māmūn. On the death of al-Faḍl, this prince went to console his mother and said: "Grieve not for him, neither be afflicted at his loss; for God has given thee a son in me to replace him; so you need not conceal from me the sentiments which you used to confide to him." On this she wept and answered: "O Commander of the Faithful! why should I not grieve for a son who gained me another such as you?"—*Sarakhs* means *belonging to Sarakhs*, a city in *Khurāsān*.

#### 505 AL-FADL IBN MARWĀN

Abu 'l-Abbās al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān Ibn Māsarkhas was wazīr to al-Mu'taṣim. That prince having accompanied his brother al-Māmūn to Asia Minor and being with him when he died there, it was al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān who administered the oath of fealty to the people. Al-Mu'taṣim, having thus succeeded to his brother, hastened to testify his satisfaction to al-Faḍl for his conduct, and, having made his entry into Baghdād on Saturday, the 1st of Ramaḍān, A.H. 218 (September, A.C. 833),\* he invested him with the dignity of wazīr, confiding to him at the same time the administration of all his affairs. Al-Faḍl had directed his education, and, by the length of time thus passed in his service, he acquired the highest influence over him, even before the expiration of al-Māmūn's reign. He was originally a Christian, and possessed but a slight knowledge of (*Muslim*) science; he displayed, however, a full acquaintance with the duties of his office. A collection has been made of the epistles composed by him, and he left a work entitled *al-Mushāhadāt wa 'l-Akḥbār* (*observations and narrations*), containing an account of the events which had passed under his

---

\* 20 September.—Ed.

own observation. One of his sayings was : "A *kātib* is like a wheel for raising water; he gets out of order if not kept at work". At an audience which he held one day for the dispatch of public business, he noticed, among the memorials presented to him, a paper on which were inscribed these lines :

"Thou actest like Pharaoh, O Faḍl Ibn Marwān ! but take warning. Thy predecessors were al-Faḍl, al-Faḍl, and al-Faḍl ; three princes now gone their ways ; whom fetters, prison, and violence deprived of life. Thou hast become a tyrant among men, and thou shalt perish as those three before thee have perished."

The Faḍls here meant were those whose lives have been just given ; namely al-Faḍl Ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' and al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl. These verses are attributed by al-Marzubānī<sup>1</sup> in his *Mu'jam al-Shu'arā*, to al-Haytham Ibn Firās al-Sāmī, a descendant of Sāmāh Ibn Luwayy, and al-Zamakhsharī, makes a similar statement in his *Rabī' al-Abrār*. An anecdote of a similar kind is told of Asad Ibn Razīn the *kātib* : when Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī was appointed to replace Abū Ja'far Ibn Shīrẓād<sup>2</sup> and had occupied the residence and filled the seat of his predecessor, Asad wished to go into his presence, but the usher refused him admittance. On this he returned home and wrote al-Kūfī these lines :

"We have seen the curtain of thy door drawn against us, but this humiliation was not effected by thy will. Hear my words, and be not angry with me ; I seek neither money nor honours : Gratitude survives when all else perisheth ; how many attained, like thee, a princely station, yet their power ended and they themselves departed. In that palace—in that hall—on that very throne—I saw the power high exalted which is now overthrown."

---

1 The life of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Marzubānī is given by our author.

2 I am inclined to think that this Abū Ja'far Ibn Shīrẓād was the same person whom the author of the *al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah* calls Aḥmad Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Shīrẓād al-Quṣrubullī. According to this writer, he possessed great abilities and became wazīr to al-Mu'tamid, but he held this post for about a month only, and died A.H. 266 (A.C. 879-80).—(MS. No. 895, fol. 235).

When Abū 'Abd Allāh read these verses, he sent for the author and after many apologies, he granted the request which he had intended to make. Something similar to this will be found in the life of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr, where we mention the observation made by him to 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, when the head of Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr was presented to him (*No. 351*).—The feelings of al-Mu'taṣim for al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān underwent at length a total change, and he caused him to be arrested in the month of Rajab, A.H. 221 (June-July, A.C. 836); he said at the same time: "He was disobedient to God whilst serving me, so God hath given me power over him." Al-Faḍl was afterwards employed by other *khalīfs*, and he died in the month of the latter Rabi' A.H. 250 (May-June, A.C. 864); aged eighty years. It is stated, however, in the *Fihrist*<sup>1</sup> that he lived to the age of ninety-three: God only knows the truth! Al-Ṭabarī places his fall in the month of Ṣafar of the year before mentioned. Al-Ṣūlī (*No. 10*) says: "When al-Mu'taṣim disgraced him, he seized in his house one million of *dīnārs*<sup>2</sup> and took away, besides, furniture and vases to the value of another million. He detained him in prison five months, and having then ordered him to remain a prisoner in his house, he chose for wazīr Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammār<sup>3</sup>."—A favourite saying of al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān was: Attack not thy enemy when he is advancing, for he has thus an advantage over thee; neither attack him in his retreat, for thou hast already got rid of him."

### 506 AL-FUḌAYL IBN 'IYĀḌ AL-ṬĀLAQĀNĪ

Abū 'Alī al-Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Bishr al-Ṭālaqānī al-Fundīnī, a celebrated ascetic and one of the *Men of the Path*,<sup>4</sup> drew his origin from a family of the tribe of Tamīm which had settled at Ṭālaqān. He commenced his life as a highway robber

1 See No. 273, note on *Fehrist*.

2 About five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

3 See the life of Muḥammad Ibn al-Zayyāt.

4 See No. 418.

and intercepted travellers on the road from Abiward to Sarakhs, but his conversion was operated by the following circumstance : As he was climbing over a wall to see a girl whom he loved, he heard a voice pronounce this verse of the *Qur'ān* : *Is not the time yet come unto those who believe that their hearts should humbly submit to admonition of God?*<sup>1</sup> On this he exclaimed : "O Lord ! that time is come." He then went away from the place, and the approach of night induced him to repair for shelter to a ruined edifice. He there found a band of travellers, one of whom said to the others : "Let us set out ;" but another answered : "Let us rather wait till daylight, for al-Fuḍayl is on the road and will stop us." Al-Fuḍayl then turned his heart to God, and assured them that they had nothing to fear. He ranked amongst the greatest of the *Sayyids* (or *saints*). Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (*No. 249*) relates the following anecdote concerning him : "Hārūn al-Rashīd called for us, and when we entered into his presence, al-Fuḍayl followed, with his cloak drawn over his face, and said to me : 'Tell me, Sufyān ! which of these is the Commander of the Faithful?'—'There he is ;' said I, pointing out al-Rashīd. He then addressed (*the khalif*) in these terms : 'O thou with the handsome face ! art thou the man whose hand governeth this poeple and who hast taken that duty on thy shoulders ? verily, thou hast taken on thyself a heavy burden. !' Al-Rashīd wept on hearing these words, and ordered to each of us a purse of money. We all received the gift, except al-Fuḍayl ; and al-Rashīd said to him : 'O Abū 'Alī ! if thou dost not think it lawful to accept it, give it to some poor debtor, or else feed therewith the hungry, or clothe the naked.' He requested, however, the permission to refuse it ; and, when we went out, I said to him : 'Thou hast done wrong, O Abū 'Alī ! why didst thou not take it and spend it in works of charity?' On this he seized me by the beard, and exclaimed : 'O Abū Muḥammad ! how canst thou, who art the chief jurisconsult of this city and a man whom all look up to, how canst thou make such a blunder ? had the money been lawfully acquired by those people (*the khalif and his officers*) it had been lawful for me to accept it.'"—It is related that al-Rashīd once said to him : "How great is thy

---

1 *Qur'an*, sūrat 57, verse 15.

self-abnegation !” to which he made the answer: “Thine is greater.” —“How so?” said the *khalif*.—“Because I make abnegation of this world, and thou makest the abnegation of the next; now, this world is transitory and the next will endure for ever.” —The following anecdote is related by al-Zamakḥsharī in his *Rabīʿ al-Abrār*, Chapter on Food: “Al-Fuḍayl said one day to his companions: ‘What say you of a man who, having some dates in his sleeve, sits down in the privy and throws them into it one after the other?’ They answered that he must be mad. ‘Then’! said he, ‘whosever throws them into his belly till he fills it is yet more insane; for that privy is filled from this one.’” It was a saying of his that, when God loves a man, he increases his afflictions, and when he hates a man, he increases his worldly prosperity. He said another time: “If the world with all it contains were offered to me even on the condition of my not being taken to an account for it, I should shun it as you would shun a carrion, lest it should defile your clothes.” —“The display<sup>1</sup> of devotional works,” said he again, “to please men is hypocrisy, and acts of devotion done to please men are acts of polytheism.” Other sayings of his were: “I am certainly disobedient to God, and I perceive it in considering the tempers of my ass and of my slave (*for they do not always act to please me*).” “If I had the power of offering up a prayer which should certainly be fulfilled, I should ask for nothing else than a proper *imām* (or head of the Muslim community); for with a good *imām* the people would enjoy peace.” —“For a man to be polite to his company and make himself agreeable to them, is better than to pass nights in prayer and days in fasting.” —Abū ‘Alī al-Rāzī<sup>2</sup> said: “I kept company with al-Fuḍayl during thirty years, and I

---

1 In place of *ترك*, as given in the printed text and the MSS., I am confident we must read *تراء*.

2 According to the author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanifiyyah* (MS. Fonds St-Germain, No. 132, fol. 102), Abū ‘Alī al-Rāzī was an *imām* (of the law) and had been taught jurisprudence by the celebrated Abū Yūsuf.

\* “To abstain from doing (prohibited) deeds .....” is faithful translation.—Ed.



never saw him laugh or smile but on one occasion and that was the death of his son. On my asking him the reason, he replied : 'Whatever is pleasing to God, is pleasing to me.' " His son was a generous-minded youth and ranks among the greatest of the holy men ; he was one of those who died through love of the Creator. They are all mentioned in a book which I heard read a long time ago, but I cannot now recollect the name of the author. It was said by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (*No. 300*) that, when al-Fuḍayl died, sadness (*in person*) was removed from the world. He was born at Abiward—some say at Samarqand—he passed his youth at Abiward and then went to Kūfah, where he heard Traditions ; from thence he removed to Makkah and continued to reside there till his death, which occurred in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 187 (January, A.C. 803)—*Ṭālaqānī* means *belonging to Ṭālaqān* in *Khurāsān* (*No. 93*).—*Fundīnī* means *native of Fundīn*, a village in the dependencies of Marw.—*Abiward* is a small town in *Khurāsān*.—*Samarqand* is the greatest city of Transoxiana ; Ibn Qutaibah says in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, under the head of *Shamir Ibn Ifriqish*, king of Yaman : "This prince went forth with a vast army, and entered 'Irāq, whence he set out for China ; he directed his course through Fārs, Sijistān and *Khurāsān*, taking cities and castles, slaying and making captives. He entered the city of al-Ṣughd and destroyed it, for which reason it was called *Shamirkand* (شمرکند), which means : *Shamir destroyed it ; kend*, in Persian signifying *to destroy*. This name was then altered to suit the genius of the Arabic idiom and it became *Samarqand* (سمرقند). This city was afterwards rebuilt and it still remains the name."

### 507 'AḌUD AL-DAWLAH IBN BUWAYH

Abū *Shujā'* Fannākhusrū, surnamed 'Aḍud al-Dawlah (*the arm of the empire*), was the son of Rukn al-Dawlah Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Buwayh al-Daylamī. The remainder of the genealogy has been already given in the life of his uncle Mu'izz al-Dawlah Aḥmad (*No. 71*). When his uncle 'Imād al-Dawlah was on his death-bed in Fārs, he received the visit of his brother Rukn al-Dawlah, and

they agreed that Abū Shujā' Fannākhusrū should be put in possession of that province; it was at this period that he received the title of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. We have already spoken of his father (*No.* 168), of his eldest uncle, 'Imād al-Dawlah (*No.* 455), and of his cousin Bakhtiyār (*No.* 106); but none of them, notwithstanding their great power and authority, possessed so extensive an empire and held sway over so many kings and kingdoms as 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. In fact, he not only united his relations' states to his, (and we have already mentiond, in the lives of each, what these states were,) but he joined thereto Moṣul, Mesopotamia, and other provinces; having brought countries and nations into subjection, and reduced the most refractory to obedience. He was the first monarch after the promulgation of Islamism who was addressed by the title of *Malik* (king), and the first also for whom prayers were offered up from the pulpits of Baghdād after those offered for the prosperity of the *khalif*. Another of his titles was *Tāj al-Millat* (crown of the faith), and this led Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī to give the title of *at-Tājī* (the imperial, or coronarius) to the history of the Buwayh family which he composed by this prince's orders. Of this circumstance we have already spoken (*No.* 14) Aḍud al-Dawlah possessed a considerable degree of information in various sciences, and, being a man of talent, he loved the society of the learned. It was for him that the *shaykh* Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī composed his grammatical treatises, the '*Idāh*' and the '*Takmilah*' (*No.* 155). The greatest poets of the day visited his court and celebrated his praises in magnificent *qaṣīdahs*; one of them was al-Mutanabbī (*No.* 49), who arrived at Shīrāz in the month of the first Jumādā, A. H. 354 (May, A.C. 965), and recited his celebrated *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *h*, wherein he bestows on the prince the following eulogium :

"Having seen all other kings, I journeyed on till I saw their master—him whose hand controls their fate, and who orders it to strike or to spare them—Abū Shujā' of Persia, Aḍud al-Dawlah Fannākhusrū Shāhanshāh (king of kings). Such are his names; they cannot make him better known, but it gives us pleasure to pronounce them."

This was the first *qaṣīdah* he recited in his presence; and a month had not elapsed when he pronounced another, rhyming in

n, and containing the following passage, in which he mentions the Valley of Bawwān (*Shi'b Bawwān*):

"My steed said (*to me*) in the Valley of Bawwān: 'Must we then quit this (*delightful spot*) for the battle-field? Adam, thy forefather, has given thee the example of disobedience and taught thee how to abandon Paradise'. I replied: 'When thou seest Abū Shujā', thou wilt forget the rest of men and think of this spot no more; for mankind and the world itself are but a road whereby to reach him who has no equal amongst men'."

He afterwards praised him in a number of other poems, and the same year, in the beginning of *Sha'bān*, he recited to him the *qaṣidah* rhyming in *k*, in which he offers his adieu to the prince and promises to revisit his court. This was the last piece composed by al-Mutanabbī, as he was killed on his way home. It contains the following passage:

"I now depart after closing up my heart with the seal of thy love, lest any other mortal should essay to harbour there. (*I depart*), burdened with (*a debt of*) lasting gratitude, so heavy that I have not strength to move. I fear that its weight will break down my camels; (*but*) then, they will not bear me (*from thee*) to another. It is perhaps God's will that this journey enable me (*later*) to fix my abode at thy court. Were it possible I should keep my eyes closed and shut out the sight (*of all other men*) till I see thee again. Deprived of thy presence, how shall I endure with patience? thy copious bounties have overwhelmed me, and yet they seemed to thee insufficient."

How ingeniously has he said in the same poem:

"When we part, whom shall I find to replace thee? since (*the merit of*) all other men is but a false illusion! I am like an arrow shot into the air; it finds nought to retain it and returns again."

His praises were celebrated also by the greatest poet of 'Irāq, Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Salāmī, a person whose life will be found in this work. The admirable *qaṣidah* which he recited to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah contains this passage:

"To reach thee, a man who made the sight of thy palace the term of his camel's journey crossed the wide-extended desert. I, and my courage in the depths of darkness, and my sword, were three (*closely-united*) companions, like the stars of (*the constellation of*) the eagle. I encouraged my hopes with the sight of a king who, for me, would replace mankind, of a palace which, for me, would be the world, and of a day of meeting which, to me, would be worth an eternity<sup>1</sup>."

Such verses, I must say, do really deserve the name of *lawful magic*. The idea here expressed had been wrought up by Abū Bakar Aḥmad al-Arrajānī (*No. 62*) into this form :

"Know that he whom I went to praise is a man without defects. How often, at eve, has the recital of his virtues been suspended, like handsome ear-rings, to the ears of listeners. I saw him, and, for me, he was the human race; eternity was in that hour, and the world in that abode."

But how far above the earth are the Pleiads! al-Mutanabbī has expressed the very same idea in the last hemistich of a single verse; he says :

"(*Thy dwelling-place*) is the sole object of my journey; a sight of thee is all I wish for; thy dwelling is the world, and thou art all created beings."

He has not, indeed, completed the thought, neither has his verse the beauty of al-Salāmi's, because he omitted the *day worth an eternity*. Let us return to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah: this prince once received a letter from Abū Maṣṣūr Iftikīn the Turk, governor of Damascus, containing the following communication: "Syria is free (*from the presence of foreign troops*), it is now within our grasp, and the rule of the monarch of Egypt has ceased therein; aid me therefore with money and soldiers, so that I may attack those people even in the seat of their power." To this, he replied by a note of which (*every two words*) were similar in their written form, so that it could not be read until the vowels and diacritical points

---

1 In *No. 52*, this verse has been mistranslated.

were added ; it ran thus : "Thy power has misled thee, and the result of that undertaking would be thy disgrace ; fear therefore the dishonour which may attend it. By this, perhaps, thou mayest be guided. In the composition of this letter he has displayed the utmost ingenuity. Iftikin was originally a *mawlā* to Mu'izz al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, and afterwards obtained dominion over Damascus : he marched in person against al-'Aziz al-'Ubaydī, the sovereign of Egypt, and a sanguinary conflict ensued ; the troops of Iftikin were routed, and he himself was intercepted in his flight by Dagħfal Ibn al-Jarrāh al-Badawī who passed a rope about his neck and led him to al-'Aziz. That prince set him at liberty and treated him with great kindness, Iftikin survived his defeat but a short time, and died (*in Egypt*) on Tuesday, the 7th of Rajab, A.H. 372 (December, A.C. 982)\*.—'Aḍud al-Dawlah left some pieces of poetry, and the following passage is quoted from one of his *qaṣīdahs* by al-Tha'ālibī, in the *Yatimah* ; this writer says : "I selected it from that *qaṣīdah* which contains an unequalled verse :

'We drink not wine unless the rain (*keep us at home*) ; and in the morning only, we hearken to the song of the maidens, perfect in beauty, stealing away the reason whilst they sing<sup>2</sup> to the double-corded lyre ; they bring forth the goblet from its shrine, and pour out the liquor to him who surpasses all mankind—the arm of the empire (*Aḍud al-Dawlah*) the son of its pillar (*Rukn al-Dawlah*), the king of kings, the vanquisher of fate.' "

It is related that when 'Aḍud al-Dawlah was on the point of death, the only words which he could pronounce were the following, and these he did not speak but chant : "Nought has availed my wealth ! my power has expired !" It is said that he died very soon after. He was carried off by an epileptic attack on Monday, the 8th of *Ṣhawwāl* A.H. 372 (March, A.C. 983)† at

1 See *Abulfeda Annales*, tom. II, p. 521 et seq.

2 The MSS. and the printed text have ناعمات, but I read ناعمات.

\* 26 December.—Fd.

† 26 March.—Ed.

Baghdād, and his body was interred in the palace, till removed to Kūfah, where it was deposited in the *Mashhad* of 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib. Aḍud al-Dawlah died at the age of fortyseven years, eleven months and three days. The Aḍudian Hospital (*al-Bīmāristān al-Aḍudī*) situated on the west side (of the river Tigris) was so called after him: he spent an immense sum on this establishment which, for excellent arrangements, has not its equal in the world. He completed its erection in the year 368 (A.C. 978) and provided it with more furniture and utensils than could possibly be described.—It was he who brought to light the tomb of 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib, at Kūfah, and erected over it the *Mashhad* or funeral chapel, which is still subsisting. He spent a large sum on this building, and left directions that he should be buried in it. A great difference of opinion prevails respecting the tomb (*discovered by 'Aḍud al-Dawlah*); some consider it to be the tomb of al-Moghayrah Ibn Shu'bah al-Thaqafī, and pretend that the place of 'Alī's tomb is not known; but the truth, I am inclined to believe, is, that 'Alī was buried in the government palace (*Qaṣr al-Imārah*) at Kūfah—*Shīb Bawwān* (*the valley of Bawwān*) is a spot near Shīrāz, abounding in trees and water. It was so called after Bawwān, the son of Irān, the son of al-Aswad, the son of Sem, the son of Noah. Abū Bakr al-Khwarazmī states that there are four delightful spots in the world. The Ghūṭah of Damascus, the river al-Uballah<sup>2</sup>, the valley of Bawwān, and the Ṣughd of Samarqand, but the Ghūṭah of Damascus, says he, surpasses the others.

---

1 Abū 'Isā (or Abū Mu ammad) al-Muḡhayrah Ibn Shu'bah Ibn 'Āmir, well known as one of Muḥammad's Companions, bore so high a reputation for sagacity that he was surnamed *Muḡhayrat al-Rāy* (*Muḡhayrah of foresight*). He contracted, it is said, seventy marriages; a number which his readiness in divorcing his wives easily accounts for. He died A. H. 50 (A. C. 670-1).—(*Nujūm*). The *Khaṭīb* says, in his abridged history of Baghdad (MS. No. 634, fol. 9), that al-Muḡhayrah accompanied Muḥammad to al-Hudaybiyah (A. H. 6) and was with him in the rest of his expeditions; he made the campaigns of 'Irāq against the Persians, and then governed Baṣrah, as the Khalīf 'Umar's lieutenant, for about two years. Mu'āwiyah entrusted him with the government of Kūfah, in A. H. 41 (*al-Baḥr al-Zā'ir*, MS. No. 659 A), and he died in that city.

2 The *Nahr*, or river of al-Uballa, was the name given to a canal branching off the Tigris and falling into the canal of al-Makīl near Baṣrah.

## 508 AL-QĀSIM IBN MUḤAMMAD

The genealogy of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr is so well known that we need not retrace it here.<sup>1</sup> He was one of the most eminent of the *Tābi'īs*, and of the seven great juriconsults of Madīnah (No. 114). In real merit he surpassed all his contemporaries. He handed down Traditions from a great number of Muḥammad's Companions, and Traditions were received from him and taught to others by many of the principal *Tābi'īs*. "I never met any one" said Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id,<sup>2</sup> "whom I could pronounce superior in merit to al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad". (*The Imām*) Mālik pronounced al-Qāsim one of the (*great*) juriconsults of the Muslim people. The following anecdote is related by Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq<sup>3</sup>: "A man went to al-Qāsim and asked him whether he or Sālim (No. 236) was the most learned in the law; and he replied: 'Such, with the blessing of God, is Sālim'. He made this reply to avoid telling a falsehood by saying that Sālim was more learned than himself, and to avoid estolling his own merits by declaring himself more learned than Sālim; and yet he was really the more learned of the two." In making his prostrations during prayer, he used to implore God to pardon his father's criminal conduct towards 'Uthmān.<sup>4</sup> We have stated in the life of the 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (No. 397) that he, al-Qāsim and Sālim Ibn Muḥammad were cousins by the mother's side, and that their mothers were daughters to Yazdegird, the last of the Persian Kings. Al-Qāsim died at Qudayd, A.H. 101 (A.C. 719-20) or 102; others say A.H. 108 or 112. On his death-bed he said:

---

1 See No. 345, note on Abū Bakr.

2 Abū Sa'id Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id Ibn Qays, a member of the tribe of Najjār, a native of Madīnah and one of the *Tābi'īs* received Traditions from Anas Ibn Mālik, amongst others and taught them to Mālik, al-Layth Ibn Sa'd, and other celebrated imāms. Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr appointed him *qāḍī* of al-Hāshimiyah in 'Irāq, and he died there A. H. 143 (A. C. 760-1).—*Tab. al-Muḥaddithīn. Syar al-Salaf*).

3 His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

4 Muḥammad the son of Abū Bakr was accessory to the murder of 'Uthmān. See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 35.

"Shroud me in the clothes which I always wore at prayers; my shirt, my *izār*, and my *ridā*<sup>1</sup>." To this his daughter replied: "My dear father, shall we not add two suits more?" and he answered: "Abū Bakr was thus shrouded, but *the living have more need for new clothes than the dead*.<sup>2</sup>" He died at the age of seventy or seventy-two years. *Qudayd* is a halting place for caravans between Makkah and Madīnah.

### 509 ABŪ 'UBAYD AL-QĀSIM IBN SALLĀM

Sallām, the father of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām was a Greek slave belonging to an inhabitant of Herāt. His son Abū 'Ubayd made the Traditions, philology, and jurisprudence the objects of his studies, and was distinguished for piety, virtuous conduct, orthodox principles and eminent talents. "Abū 'Ubayd," said the *qāḍī* Aḥmad Ibn Kāmil<sup>3</sup> "was conspicuous for piety and learning, a doctor versed in the various branches of Islamic science, such as the Qu'rān readings, jurisprudence, grammar, and history, and a correct transmitter of poems and narrations preserved by oral tradition. Never, to my knowledge, has any person impeached the sincerity of his faith."—"Abū 'Ubayd," said Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (*No. 19, note*), "was like a mountain into which the breath of life had been breathed, so that it produced every thing well." He exercised the functions of *qāḍī* in the city of Ṭarasūs (*Tarsus*) during eighteen years. The traditional knowledge which he handed down was received by him from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (*No. 245*), al-Aṣma'ī (*No. 354*), Abū 'Ubaydah, Ibn al-A'rābī<sup>4</sup>, al-Kisā'ī (*No. 408*), al-Farrā<sup>5</sup>, and many others. Of

1 See Author's Preface, note on ثوبان.

2 These were Abū Bakr's words when a similar question made to him. He asked to be buried in his old clothes. See Kosegarten's *Taberistanesis Annales*, tom. II, p. 141.

3 See No. 83, note.

4 The lives of Abū 'Ubaydah and Ibn al-A'rābī will be found in this work.

5 The life of Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd al-Farrā is given by Ibn Kḥallikān.



his own productions (*kutub muṣannafah*) upwards of twenty, relating to the *Qur'ān*, the Traditions and the obscure expressions occurring in the Traditions were delivered down orally. He composed works entitled: (*al-Ḡharīb al-Muṣannaf* (original collection of rare expressions); *al-Amṭhāl* (proverbs); *Ma'āni al-Shi'r* (the ideas recurring in poetry) and a number of other instructive treatises: it is said that he was the first who composed a book on the obscure expressions occurring in the Traditions (*Ḡharīb al-Ḥadīth*). He attached himself, for some time, to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir (No. 318), and, when he wrote out his *Ḡharīb*, he presented it to this amīr<sup>1</sup>, who expressed his satisfaction and said: "A mind which led its master to compose a book like this deserves to be dispensed from the necessity of searching for him the means of subsistence." He then settled on him a monthly pension of ten thousand dirhams.<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Ibn Wahb al-Mas'ūdī<sup>3</sup> said: "I heard Abū 'Ubayd relate as follows: 'I was forty years composing this work, and whenever I happened to receive a useful hint from the mouths of men, I wrote it down in its proper place in this book, and I was unable to sleep that night, through joy at having procured such a piece of information. Now, one of you (scholars) will come to me for four or five months, and then say: 'I have remained here very long'. "—"Almighty God," said Hilāl Ibn al-'Alā al-Raqqī<sup>4</sup>, "bestow-

1 In the Introduction to the first volume, note, I risked two conjectures on the meaning of the word *muṣannaf*. We here find Abū 'Ubayd presenting his *Ḡharīb al-Muṣannaf* to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, and Ibn K<sup>1</sup> allikān has just stated, that a number of this doctor's *kutub muṣannafah* were taught by oral transmissions. From this it would appear that my first conjecture is untenable. I therefore conclude that the *kutub muṣannafah* were original works, and that the *kutub* were mere compilations of traditional information.

2 About two hundred and sixty pounds sterling. A large monthly pension, if the statement be true.

3 This may perhaps be the same person as Muḥammad Ibn Wahb, a celebrated devotee and a disciple of al-Junayd, whose death is placed by the author of the *Mir'at* (MS. No. 640, fol 211) in A.H. 271 (A.C. 884-5).

4 I find in al-D<sup>h</sup>ahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām*, year 337, that Hilāl Ibn al-'Alā was one of the masters of Isḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī, a *ḥāfiẓ* who died in that year.

ed out of His bounty, four men on this (*Muslim*) people at different times : He gave them al-Shāfi'ī, who founded a system of jurisprudence on the Traditions; Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*) who showed such firmness under persecution that, without his example, the people had relapsed into infidelity; Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in<sup>1</sup>, who, from among the genuine Traditions relative to the Prophet, expelled those which were false; and Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām, who explained the obscure terms of the Traditions, and had he not done so, the people had rushed into error." —Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī<sup>2</sup> said : "Abū 'Ubayd divided the night in three parts, one of them for prayer, one for sleep, and one for the composition of his works." —"Abū 'Ubayd," said Ishāq Ibn Rāhwayh (*No. 82*), "surpasses us all in science, in philological knowledge, and in the mass of information which he has collected; we stand in need of Abū 'Ubayd, and he standeth not in need of us." Tha'lab (*No. 42*) declared that if Abū 'Ubayd had been (*born*) among the children of Israil, he would have been the admiration of his people. Abū 'Ubayd always wore his hair and beard dyed red with *ḥinnā*<sup>3</sup>, and he had a dignified and venerable aspect. On arriving at Baghdād he read his works to the public, after which, in the year 222 (A.C. 837) or 223, he set out to perform the pilgrimage, and having fulfilled that duty, he died at Makkah, or, according to another statement, at Madīnah. Al-Bukhārī<sup>4</sup> places his death in the year 224, and another author adds, in the month of Muḥarram. The *Khaṭīb* (*No. 33*) says, in his History of Baghdād, that Abū 'Ubayd died at the age of sixty-seven years; the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Jawzi, (*No. 345*) refers his birth to the year 150 (A.C. 767-8), and Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī<sup>5</sup> states, in his *Kitāb al-Taqrīẓ*, that he was born A.H. 154.—It is related that, when Abū 'Ubayd had accomplished the pilgrimage and hired (*camels*) to take him back to 'Irāq, he had a dream in the night preceding his intended departure, and, in this dream, he saw the Prophet sitting, with

---

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 The life of Ibn al-Anbārī is given by our author.

3 See No. 19, note on *ḥinnā*

4 His life is given in this work.

5 His life will be found in this work.

persons standing near him to keep off the crowd; whilst a number of persons went in and saluted him and placed their hands in his. "As often as I tried to enter," said Abū 'Ubayd, "the ushers kept me back, and I spoke to them, saying: 'Why will you not leave the way free between me and the Apostle of God?' to which they answered: 'No by Allāh! thou shalt not enter, neither shalt thou salute him, because thou intendest to go hence to-morrow for 'Irāq.' On this I replied: 'In that case, I shall not depart'. They then took my engagement to that effect and allowed me to approach the Prophet; and I went in and saluted him, and he took me by the hand. The next morning, I broke off my bargain for the hire of the camels, and took up my abode at Makkah." He continued to inhabit this city till his death, and he was interred in the quarter called Duwar Ja'far. Some say that he had this dream at Madīnah, and that he died three days after the departure of the pilgrims. He was born at Herāt.—*Ṭarasūs* (*Tarsus*) is a city on the coast of Syria, near al-Sīs and al-Miṣṣiṣah (*No.* 50). It was (*re-*)built by al-Mahdī, the son of al-Manṣūr, A.H. 168 (A. C. 784-5), according to Ibn al-Jazzār (*No.* 97, *Note*), in his History.—Besides the works abovementioned, Abū 'Ubayd composed treatises on the words which terminate in a long or in a short *alif* on the *Qur'ān-readings*, and on the genders; the book entitled *Kitāb al-Niṣab* (*book of genealogies*), the *Kitāb-al-Ahdāth* (*book of accidents*)<sup>1</sup> *Ādāb al-Qādi* (*duties of a Qādi*), on the number of verses contained in the *Qur'ān*, on faith, on Vows, *de Menstruis*, the *Kitāb al-Amwāl* (*liber opum*), etc.

### 510 ABU 'L-QĀSIM AL-ḤARĪRĪ

Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Uthmān al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (*Native of Baṣrah*) al-Ḥarāmī, the author of the *Muqāmāt* (*stations*), was one of the ablest writers of his

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been a treatise on the pollutions and other *accidents* which invalidate prayer. Every work on Muslim law contains a chapter on this subject.

time, and obtained the most complete success in the composition of his *Maqāmahs*, wherein is contained a large portion of the language spoken by the Arabs of the desert, such as its idioms, its proverbs, and its subtle delicacies of expression. Any person who acquires a sufficient acquaintance with this book to understand it rightly, will be led to acknowledge the eminent merit of this man, his extensive information and his vast abilities. The circumstance which induced him to compose it is thus related by his son, Abu 'I-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh<sup>1</sup>: "My father was sitting in his mosque, (*situated*) in the (*street of Baṣrah* called) Banū Ḥarām, when in came an elderly man dressed in tattered clothes<sup>2</sup>, carrying the implements of travel<sup>3</sup>, and miserable in his appearance, who spoke with great purity and expressed himself with elegance. The assembly asked him whence he came, and he replied: from Sarūj; they then desired to know his name, and he answered: Abū Zayd. In consequence of this, my father composed the *Maqāmah* called *al-Ḥarāmiyah*, now the forty-eighth of the collection, and gave it under the name of this Abū Zayd. It then got into circulation, and its existence came to the knowledge of Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Anūshīrwān Ibn Khālīd Ibn Muḥammad al-Qāshānī, wazīr of the *imām* (*khalīf*) al-Mustarshīd billāh; and he, having read it, was so highly pleased that he advised my father to add some more to it. My father therefore completed his work in fifty *Maqāmahs*".— It is to this wazīr that he alludes in the passage of his introduction to the *Māqāmahs* wherein he says: "And one whose advice is an order, and whom all are eager to obey<sup>4</sup>, recommended

1 'Imād al-Dīn says, in the *Ḥarīdah* (MS. No. fol 169), that Abu 'I-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh, the son of al-Ḥarīrī, held an eminent post under government and inhabited Baḡhdād.

2 Literally wearing two tattered garments. I have already made the remark that, with the Arabs, two garments, an upper and a lower, formed a complete suit of clothes.

3 The implements of travel: a staff, a cup for drinking, a long knife, a bag of provisions, and perhaps a cloak.

4 Literally: The obeying of whom is a booty. That is, all strive to obtain the opportunity of obeying him, as they would strive for a rich booty.

me to compose some *Maqāma's* in the style of Badī' al-Zamān's<sup>1</sup>; yet (*I knew that*) the foundered steed could never come up to the point which the sound one had already reached."— I found the circumstance thus related in a number of historical works<sup>2</sup>, but I have since met at Cairo, in the year 656 (A. C. 1258), with a copy of the *Maqāmahs*, the whole of it in the handwriting of the author al-Ḥarīrī, and I found written on the cover in his own hand also, that he had composed the work for the wazīr Jamāl al-Dīn 'Amīd al-Dawlah Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Abi 'l-ʿIzz 'Alī Ibn Ṣadaqah. Jamāl al-Dīn also was one of al-Mustarshid's wazīrs, and there can be no doubt that this statement is more exact than the former, since it is the author himself who makes it. The wazīr Jamāl al-Dīn died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 522 (July, A. C. 1128).—Such was al-Ḥarīrī's motive for putting the *Maqāmahs* under the name of Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī<sup>3</sup>. It is stated by al-Qāḍī 'l-Akrām Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf al-Ḥaybānī al-Qifṭī, the wazīr of Aleppo<sup>4</sup>, in his work entitled *Anbā al-Ruwāt fī Abnā al-Nuḥāt (relations of historical traditionists concerning the sons of grammarians)*, that the real name of the person designated as Abū Zayd was al-Muṭahhar Ibn Salām<sup>5</sup>, "who was", says he, "a native of Baṣrah, a grammarian, and a pupil of al-Ḥarīrī, under whom he studied in that city, and by whose lessons he attained proficiency :

1 See No. 51.

2 The author here refers to the narration made by al-Ḥarīrī's son. The intervening passage is a later addition.

3 It may be perceived from this that the preceding passages are later additions, but they are certainly by the author himself.

4 This qāḍī was born at Qifṭ, a town in Upper Egypt, whence his surname. He was distinguished for the great variety of the sciences which he cultivated and for the number of his works, one of which, containing the history of philosophers (*Tārīḥ al-Ḥukamā*), is very often cited by Abu'l-Faraj in his *Dynasties*; an abridgment of it by al-Zūzīnī is in the Bib. du Roi. Al-Qifṭī died A. H. 646 (A. C. 1248-9). For an account of his life, see Fleischer's *Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica*, pp. 234-5.

5 In some of the manuscripts, this name is written Sallār, سَلَّار and such is also the reading of the *Ḥarīdah*, in the notice on Zayn al-Islām Abu 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad, one of al-Ḥarīrī's sons (MS. No. 1373, fol 169. verso).

he was licensed also by al-Ḥarīrī to teach orally some pieces of traditional literature which he had communicated to him. The qāḍī Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Mandā'ī al-Wāsiṭī taught al-Ḥarīrī's *Mulḥat al-l'rāb* with the authorisation of Abū Zayd, and he mentioned that he had learned it from him as he had learned it from the author. He came to us at Wāsiṭ in the year 538, and we learned that work from his lips. He then went up to Baghdād and died there after a short residence<sup>1</sup>." Such also is the statement made by

1 The following note communicated to me by M. Reinaud, member of the Institut, contains some interesting remarks on the origin of *Mūqamahs* :

arīrī s'est peint dans ses Macamas sous le nom de Harets fils de Hemmam. A l'égard d 'Abou-Zeyd, qui joue le principal rôle dans cette longue suite de tableaux, c'en était pas un personnage imaginaire ; on a vu le témoignage du fils de Hariri, rapporté par Ibn Khallekan. Hariri lui-même s'est exprimé à cet égard d'une manière positive. Il dit qu 'Abou-Zeyd était originaire de Saroudj en Mesopotamie ; que cette ville ayant été prise de force par les chrétiens, fut mise au pillage, que sa propre fille fut faite captive, et que, dépouillé de tout, il n'eut pas d'autre ressource que de prendre la fuite et de recourir à la générosité publique. Hariri fait ainsi parler Abou-Zeyd dans sa Macama XLVIII, laquelle fut composée la première de toutes (voy. l'édition de Hariri, par M. Silvestre de Sacy, pag. 570 et 571) : "Je suis un des anciens habitants de Saroudj ; je vivais au milieu de l'abondance et environné de la considération publique. Tout-à-coup Dieu voulut que ma situation changeât. Les Romains sont entrés dans mon pays en ennemis furieux ; ils ont fait les femmes captives et se sont emparés de tous les biens. J'ai pris la fuite, et je me suis mis à implorer la générosité de chacun, après avoir vu si souvent implorer la mienne. Maintenant il pèse une charge sur moi, dont il me tarde de me débarrasser. Ma fille est restée captive entre les mains de l'ennemi, et je suis impatient de recueillir la somme nécessaire pour la racheter." Dans la Macama XIV Abou-Zayd s'exprime ainsi : "Saroudj est ma patrie ; mais comment y retourner ? L'ennemi y a établi sa demeure et s'y livre à tous les excès (voy. *ibidem*, page 140)." D'un autre côté, un écrivain arabe dit avoir entendu faire ce récit à Hariri : "L'homme de Saroudj est un scheyk éloquent et un esprit plein de ressources. Étant venu à Bassora, il entra un jour dans la mosquée des benou Haram, et se mit à adresser la parole à un chacun, demandant des secours. Un des valī de la ville était présent, et la mosquée renfermait beaucoup de personnes de mérite. L'élégance qu'Abou-Zeyd mettait dans ses discours, la facilité qu'il avait à s'exprimer sur tous les tons, les traits piquants dont il assaisonnait ses paroles frappèrent les assistants d'admiration. Le soir de ce même jour

(Continued on page 46)

al-Sam'ānī in his *Ḥcyl (supplement)* (No. 368), and by 'Imād al-Dīn; in the *Kharīdah*.—The latter adds "His honorary title was Fakhr al-Dīn; he exercised the *Ṣadriyah* (magistracy)<sup>1</sup> at al-Mashhān and died there subsequently to the year 540 (A.C. 1145-6)."—"In choosing the name of *Ḥārith* the son of *Ḥammām* for the person who is supposed to relate the *Māqāmahs*, al-

(Continued from page 45)

plusieurs personnes distinguées de la ville s'étant réunies chez moi, je témoignai mon étonnement du talent singulier dont ce mendiant faisait preuve. La-dessus les diverses personnes de l'assemblée se mirent à raconter ce qu'elles avaient eu chacune occasion de voir dans les autres mosquées de Bassora; Abou-Zeyd les avait parcourues successivement, chaque fois sous un costume différent et chaque fois employant un artifice nouveau. Frappe d'un fait si singulier, je me mis la nuit même à composer sur ce modèle ma première *Macama*, qui eut un succès extraordinaire."—(Voy. I édition de Hariri, par M. de Sacy, page. 563). Or les Romains dont parle Hariri ne sont pas autres que les Francs ou guerriers d'Occident qui avaient pris part à la première croisade et qui ne tardèrent pas à s'emparer de Saroudj. Voici ce qui raconte Ibn Alatir, dans son *Kamel al-Tverykh*, sous l'année 494 (1101): "Les Francs se rendent maîtres de la ville de Saroudj en Mesopotamie. Précédemment les Francs s'étaient emparés de la ville d'Edesse, à la suite d'une invitation des habitants eux-mêmes. En effet, la plupart des habitants étaient de race arménienne, et il n'y avait parmi eux qu'un petit nombre de Musulmans. Cette année, Socman rassembla dans Saroudj une troupe considérable de Turcomans et se disposa à attaquer les Francs. Ceux-ci s'avancèrent à sa rencontre. On en vint aux mains au mois de rebi premier (janvier 1101), et Socman fut mis en fuite. Après la défaite des Musulmans, les Francs se portèrent vers Saroudj et en entreprirent le siège. La ville ayant été prise, un grand nombre des habitants furent mis à mort; les femmes furent faites esclaves et leurs biens pillés; il ne se sauva que les personnes qui s'étaient dérobées au danger par la fuite."

1 M. de Sacy, in his translation of Ibn Khallikān's life of al-Ḥariri (see *Chrestomathie*, tom. III, p. 175, and his edition of the *Maqāmahs* introduction, p. xv) considers the word *Ṣadriyah* as the equivalent of *Ṣadr al-Islām*, which title he renders by *chef du clergé musulman*. As the Muslims have no established clergy, I hesitate adopting his opinion, and the following extract from the *Kharīdah*, in which the author, 'Imād al-Dīn speaks for himself, may serve to fix the real meaning of the word: "In the year 556 (A.C. 1161) I met Abu 'l-Abbās Muḥammad, the son of al-Qāsim al-Ḥariri, and surnamed Zayn al-Islāmī (ornament of Islamism), at al-Mashhān; and I read under him forty of his father's *Maqāmahs*. He was a man of merit and spoke with elegance and fluency. I was (then) employed in the *Ṣadriyāt*"—(this word

(Continued on page 47)

Ḥarīrī meant to designate himself." So I have found it written in some commentaries on that work; and the name itself is taken from the saying of Muḥammad; "Every one of you is a *ḥārith* and every one of you is a *hammām*," wherein *ḥārith* means *gainer*, and *hammām*, *one who has many cares*; and there is no person but is *ḥārith* and *hammām*, because every one is employed in *gaining* his livelihood and is *solicitous* about his affairs. A great number of persons have commented the *Maqāmahs*, some in long, and others in short, treatises.—I read in a certain compilation that, when al-Ḥarīrī had composed his *Maqāmahs*, which were at first only forty in number, he left Baṣrah and went with the work to Baḡdād, where he gave it as his own production. But a number of the literary men of that city refused to believe him, and they declared that it was not he who composed it, but a native of Maḡrib, an elegant writer, who died at Baṣrah and whose papers al-Ḥarīrī had appropriated. The wazīr therefore called al-Ḥarīrī before the *dīwān* or council, and asked him his profession; to which he replied that he was a *munshī*<sup>1</sup>. The wazīr then required him to

---

(Continued from page 46)

is the plural of *Sadriyah*)— "as lieutenant of the wazīr 'Aūn al-Dīn, and, as this son of al-Ḥarīrī was extremely modest and reserved, I had to employ a stratagem in order to induce him to come to me. As he had omitted to pay up the full amount of his land-tax, I sent him a summons, and, when he appeared before me, I forgave him the debt and said: 'My object was merely to bring you here and make your acquaintance, etc.'"—(MS.No 1373, fol. 169 v). From this it appears that the *Sadriyah* was a court of justice, and that one of its attributions was to pursue the recovery of arrear taxes. I may add that the first magistrate of the Ottoman empire is called the *Sadr-Rūm*, and one of his prerogatives is to take the cognizance of all causes in which the pecuniary interests of the state are concerned.—See d'Ohsson's *Tableau general de l' Empire othoman*, tom. IV, page 538.

1 M. de Sacy has rendered the word *munshī* by *ecrivain-redacteur*. Such persons were employed by government to draw up the official correspondence, etc.—Al Ḥarīrī did not here indicate his real profession, which was that of *Ṣāḥib al-Khabar*, or government spy. Intelligence officer.—Ed. He exercised these functions at Baṣrah, as we learn from 'Imād al-Dīn (*Kharīdah*, MS. No. 1373, fol. 169). He corresponded directly with the *dīwān* of the *Khalīf* at Baḡdād, and probably, like the postmaster, who acted also in the same capacity, he kept an eye on the conduct of the provincial governor.



compose an epistle on a subject which he indicated, and al-Ḥarīrī retired, with ink and paper, into a corner of the *diwān*, where he remained a long time without being favoured with any inspiration on the subject. He at length rose up and withdrew in confusion<sup>1</sup>. Among the persons who denied al-Ḥarīrī's claim to the composition of the *Maqāmahs* was the poet Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Aflah (*No.* 451); and he, on this occasion, made the two following verses, which are, however, attributed by others to Abū Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥarīrī, surnamed Ibn Jakīnā<sup>2</sup>, a native of Baghdād and a celebrated poet :

"We have a *shaykh*, sprung from Rabī'at al-Faras, who now plucks his beard through frenzy. May God send him back to prate at al-Mashān<sup>3</sup>, as he already struck him dumb in the *diwān*".

It must be here observed that al-Ḥarīrī pretended to draw his origin from Rabī'at al-Faras<sup>4</sup>, that he had a custom of plucking his beard when absorbed in thought, and that he inhabited al-Mashān in the neighbourhood of Baṣrah.—Having returned to his native town, al-Ḥarīrī composed ten more *Maqāmahs*, and sent them (to Baghdād), attributing, at the same time, the embarrassment and inability which he manifested in the *diwān* to the awful respect with which he had been overcome.—Al-Ḥarīrī has left some *other* fine works; such are the *Durrat al-Ḥawwāṣ fi awḥām il-khawāṣṣ* [*the pearl of the diver, being a treatise on the mistakes committed by*

---

1 Any person who reads the long extracts from al-Ḥarīrī's poems and epistles given in the *Kharīdah*, must come to the conviction that he was fully capable of composing the *Maqāmahs*. I may be allowed to add that I consider the *Maqāmahs* as the most elegantly written and the most amusing work in the Arabic language.

2 See No 76, note on Ibn Jakīnā.

3 "Mashān was a place in the dependencies of Baghdād to which persons were banished who had incurred the displeasure of the sovereign."—Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 515. See also *Chrestomathie*, tom. III, p. 180.

4 C'est Rebia, fils de Modhar.—Voy. *Spec. hist. Ar.* ed. White, p. 47; et Eichhorn, *Monum. antiquis. hist. Ar.* p. 120 :—(Note de M. de Sacy.)

persons of rank in speaking Arabic<sup>1</sup>): the *Mulḥat al-I'rāb* (elegancies of grammar)<sup>2</sup>, a treatise in verse which he afterwards explained in a commentary; a *dlwān*, or collection of epistles, and a great number of poetical pieces besides those contained in his *Maqāmahs*. One of them offers a very fine thought and merits insertion<sup>3</sup>. The following verses are given as his by 'Imād al-Dīn, in the *Kharīdah*:

"How many (were) the gazelles at Ḥajir<sup>4</sup> which fascinated with their eyes! How many the noble minds struck with amazement by fair maidens! How often did the graceful movements of a nymph, advancing with a stately gait, excite an ardent passion in (my) bosom! How many were the pretty cheeks whose aspect induced the censurer (of my foolish love) to excuse me! How many pains combined to afflict my heart when the ringlets of her I loved were unveiled and disclosed to sight!"

Al-Ḥarīrī left some *qaṣīdahs* in which he made a frequent use of the rhetorical ornament called *tajnīs* (alliteration). It is related that he was dwarfish and ugly: a stranger who went to visit him for the purpose of learning something (of his compositions) from his own lips, could not dissemble his contempt when he saw him. Al-Ḥarīrī observed it, and the visitor having asked him to dictate something to him, he replied: "Write down as follows:—

"Thou art not the first nocturnal traveller whom moonlight has deceived<sup>5</sup>, nor the first pasture-searcher (of a nomadic

1 A long extract from this excellent philological work has been given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale*.

2 M. de Sacy has inserted an extract of the *Mulḥah*, with the commentary, in the *Anthologie Grammaticale*. Some chapters of the commentary are excellent.

3 The piece consists of three lines, but it does not seem to me fit for translation. [The translation is:

The accusers say: Even now, this infatuation? Do you not see hair growing on his cheeks?

I replied: If he who accuses me, looks carefully at the winkings of his eyes, shall certainly not remain firm.

He who has stayed in the barren land cannot leave it when the spring sets in.—Ed.]

4 See No. 493.

5 That is: Who has taken moonlight for day; who was deceived by appearances.

tribe) who was pleased at the sight of the green herbs which flourish on dung<sup>1</sup>. Choose some one else, for I am like al-Mu'aydi: listen to what is said of me, but look not at me.' "

These words covered the stranger with confusion and he hastened to withdraw. Al-Ḥarīrī was born, A.H. 446 (A.C. 1054-5), and he died at Baṣrah, in the street of Banū Ḥarām, A. H. 516 (A. C. 1122-3); some say A. H. 515. He left two sons; Abū Maṣṣūr \* al-Jawālīqī<sup>2</sup> said: "I was authorised to teach the *Maqāmahs* by Najm al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh and the chief *qāḍī* of Baṣrah, Ḍiyā al-Islām 'Ubayd Allāh<sup>3</sup>, who had both received a similar authorisation from their father, the author of that production."—Al-Ḥarīrī received the surname of *al-Ḥarāmī* because he dwelt in the street of Banū Ḥarām. These people were an Arabian tribe which took up their residence in that street and it was called after them.—*Ḥarīrī* means a *manufacturer* or *seller of ḥarīr (silk)*.—*Al-Maṣḥān* is a village above Baṣrah, abounding with date-trees and notorious for its unhealthiness: it was the native place of al-Ḥarīrī's family; it is said that he possessed there eighteen thousand date-trees and was a wealthy man.—The wazīr Anūshīrwān held a high eminence by his talents, his learning and his influence; he composed a small historical work entitled *Ṣudūr Zamān il-Futūr wa Futūr Zamān il-Ṣudūr (the great men of the times of relaxment, and relaxment of the times of great men)*, from which copious extracts are made by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī in his history of the Saljūq dynasty, entitled: *Nuṣrat al-Fitrah wa 'Uṣrat al-Fitrah [succour against languor and asylum for the human race (?)]*. This wazīr died in the year 532 (A. C. 1137-8).—As for the person called Ibn Mandā'ī, and whose real names were Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Bakhtiyār Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ja'far al-Wāsiṭī [*native of Wāsiṭ*], he had a number of distinguished men for disciples, and, amongst others, Abū Bakar al-Ḥāzimī<sup>4</sup>. He was born at

1 Such herbage has a fair appearance, but is worthless as food for cattle.

2 His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

3 Al-Ḥarīrī had therefore three sons: 'Abd Allāh (see note on p. 43), Muḥammad see note on p. 44 and 'Ubayd Allāh.

4 The life of al-Ḥāzimī is given by Ibn Khallikān.

\* The Cairo edition has: Abu 'l-Man ūr Ibn al-Jawālīqī...Ed.

Wāsiṭ in the month of the latter Rabi', A. H. 517 (June, A. C. 1123), and he died in the same city on the 8th of Shā'bān, A. H. 605 (Feb, A. C. 1209).<sup>\*</sup>—The name of *al-Mu'aydl* occurs in the proverb; *Hear speak of al-Mu'aydl, but avoid seeing him*, or, as it is sometimes expressed: *Hear speak of al-Mu'aydl, that is better than to see him*. Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍubbi<sup>1</sup> states that this saying was first uttered by al-Munḍhir Ibn Mā al-Samā in addressing Shiqqah Ibn Ḍumra al-Tamimi al-Dārimi, of whom he heard a great deal. On seeing him, he was so much struck by his ill looks that he made use of this expression, which thenceforward became proverbial. Shiqqah then made the following reply: "Prince, mayest thou be preserved from every malediction<sup>2</sup>! men are not to be chosen for their bodies like animals selected for slaughter; to appreciate a man thou must examine the two smallest of his members; his heart and his tongue." Al-Munḍhir highly admired his answer, as being a proof of his wisdom and his talent for elegant expression. This proverb is employed when speaking of a man who bears a high reputation, but is deficient in personal appearance<sup>3</sup>. The word *Mu'aydl* means *descended from Ma'add, the son of 'Adnān*; it is an adjective formed from the diminutive *Mu'ayd*, which is itself formed regularly from *Mu'add*, after suppressing a *d*.

## 511 ABŪ AḤMAD AL-QĀSIM AL-SHAHRUZŪRĪ

Abū Aḥmad al-Qāsim Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qāsim al-Shahrūzūrī, the father of the qāḍī 'l-khāfiqayn Abū Bakr Muḥammad, of al-Murtaḍā Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, and of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Muẓaffar, was the progenitor of the Shahrūzūrī family which gave so many qāḍīs of that surname to Syria,

---

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 See Pococke's *Specimen hist. Arab*, p. 57.

3 See Freytag's *Meldanil Proverbia*, tom. I. p. 223, where the anecdote of al-Munḍhir and Shiqqah more fully related.

\* 15 February.—Ed.

Moşul and Mesopotamia. He acted for some time as *hākim*<sup>1</sup> in the city of Arbela, and passed also some time at Sinjār in the discharge of the same functions. A number of his sons and grand-children, all pre-eminently distinguished for learning and personal worth, attained the highest posts under government, and merited the special favour of (*their*) sovereign; they acted as *hākims* or as *qādīs*, and their reputation rendered them the marked object of general favour; such were his grandson, the *qādl* Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, and his great grandson Muḥī al-Dīn, the son of Kamāl al-Dīn. We shall give notices on these two in a subsequent part of this work. The descendants of al-Qāsim form a numerous body, and they have continued, till this day, to be the *qādīs* of Moşul and the most eminent persons of the city. He visited Bagh<sup>h</sup>dād more than once, and the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī has spoken of him in the *Kitāb al-Dhayl* (*supplement to the history of Bagh<sup>h</sup>dād*). The same writer also noticed him twice in the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*; the first time under the word al-Irbili, where he says: "And it," meaning Arbela, "has produced a number of learned men, one of whom was the *qādl* Abū Aḥmad al-Qāsim al-Shahruzūrī;" to which he adds that he belonged to the tribe of *Shaybān*. The second time he speaks of him is under the head of al-Shahruzūrī, where he mentions also his son the *Qādi 'l-Khāfiqayn* with high commendation. Ibn al-Mustawfī notices him in the History of Arbela, and inserts therein some of his poetry from which we select the following lines:

"My desires extend beyond al-Suhā and al-Zubānā<sup>2</sup>; the object of my wishes is high exalted and admits not my approach<sup>3</sup>. I shall continue in toil and anxiety till time is no more or till my life has ceased"

Having found the same verses in al-Sam'ānī's *Dhayl* and attributed by him to the *qādi 'l-Khāfiqayn*, I am unable to

---

1 *Hākim* is a general name for magistrates of every rank.

2 Al-Suhā is a small star in the tail of the Greater Bear; it is marked Z (zeta) in Flamsteed's celestial Atlas. The Arabs give the name of the two *Zubānās* to the stars A (alpha) and B (beta) of the Balance.

3 He means the Divinity.

declare which of the two was their author. Al-Qāsim died at Moṣul, A. H. 489 (A. C. 1096), and was interred in the funeral chapel bearing his name and situated near the mosque erected by his ancestor Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Farghān<sup>1</sup>.—His son 'Abd Allāh al-Murtaḍā the author of the *Mawṣiliyān Qaṣīdah* (No. 312) was the father of Kamāl al-Dīn.—As for the *qāḍī 'l-Khāfiqayn*, al-Sam'ānī says of him that he studied the science (of the law) under Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5) and that he acted as *qāḍī* in a number of towns; he travelled to 'Irāq *Khurāsān*, and al-Jibāl (*Persian 'Irāq*), where he received by oral transmission a great quantity of Traditions, some of which he communicated to al-Sam'ānī himself. He was born at Arbela, A. H. 453 (A. C. 1061-33) or 454; he died at Baghdād in the month of the first Jumādā, A. H. 538 (Nov.-Dec. A. C. 1143), and was interred at the Abrez Gate. The title of *Qāḍī 'l-Khāfiqayn* (*qāḍī of the East and West*) was given to him in consequence of his having exercised the functions of that office in a great number of towns.—His brother Abū Maṣṣūr al-Muzaḥḥar is thus noticed by al-Sam'ānī, in his *Dhayl*: "He was born at Arbela and brought up at Moṣul, whence he removed to Baghdād, and studied under the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī. He then returned to Moṣul, and at a very advanced period of life, he accepted the post of *qāḍī* at Sinjār although he had lost his sight<sup>2</sup>.—I asked him the year of his birth, and he informed me that he was born in the month of the latter Jumādā, or of Rajab, A. H. 457 (May-June, A. C. 1065), at Arbela". He does not indicate the year of his death. *Shahrzūr* means *belonging to Shahrzūr*, a large town which is now counted among the dependencies of Arbela; it was built by Zūr, the son of al-Ḍaḥḥāk<sup>3</sup>. *Shahrzūr* signifies in Persian, *the city of Zūr*; al-Iskandar (*Alexander*) *Dhu 'l-Qarnayn* died there on his return from the

1 One of the manuscripts has *the ancestor of*, and I acknowledge that the text seems to me corrupted, as I read in the *Qāmūs*; FARGHAN; *an ancestor of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī* (of Moṣul), *the traditionist*.

2 See the observations of our author in No. 313.

3 *Ḍaḥḥāk* or *al-Ḍaḥḥāk*, as the Arabs pronounce the name, was the tyrant who makes so conspicuous a figure in the fabulous history of ancient Persia.

East<sup>1</sup>; I asked a native of the place about his tomb, and he informed me that a tomb did exist there, called the Tomb of al-Iskandar, but that the inhabitants did not know who this person was. It is a city of great antiquity. The Khaṭīb (No. 33) says, in his History of Baghdād, that al-Iskandar made Madā'in Kisrā (*Ctesiphon*) his residence, and that he continued to inhabit that city till his death; his coffin was then transported to Alexandria, because his mother was dwelling there, and he was interred near her<sup>2</sup>.

### 512 IBN FIRRUH AL-SHĀṬIBĪ

Abu Muḥammad al-Qāsim Ibn Firruh Ibn Abi 'l-Qāsim Khaḥaf Ibn Aḥmad al-Ru'aynī al-Shāṭibī al-Ḍarīr (*the blind*) al-Muqri' (*the teacher of the Qur'ān-readings*), is the author of the *qaṣīdah* on the Qur'ān-readings, named by him *Ḥirz al-Amān wa Wajh al-Tahānī* (*Wishes accomplished, and open congratulations*<sup>3</sup>), consisting of one thousand one hundred and seventy-three verses, and displaying in its composition the utmost ingenuity. It is the main authority on which the *Qur'ān-readers* of this age rely, in their instructions to pupils, and very few persons undertake to study the *readings* till they have learned this poem by heart and mastered its meaning. It is filled with extraordinary allusions, obscure and subtle indications, and I do not believe that any work of a similar kind was ever produced before. He is declared to have said: "No one will read this *qaṣīdah* of mine without Almighty God's permitting him to derive profit from it; for I composed it purely and simply with the view of serving Almighty God." He composed also another *qaṣīdah* of five hundred verses and rhyming in *d*, from which, if learned by heart, a complete acquaintance is obtained with the contents of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *Tamhīd*<sup>4</sup>. Ibn Firruh was

1 Alexander the Great died at Babylon, as is well known.

2 Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, never inhabited Alexandria, and she lost her life in Macedonia, eight years after the death of her son.

3 Literally: *Custodia votorum et facies gratulationum*.

4 The life of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr is given in this work. In the 8th vol. of the *Notices et Extraits*, M. de Sacy has given a notice on the *Akila* or *Ratya*, another poem of Ibn Firruh's, on the orthography of the Qur'ān.

learned in the *reading* and interpretation of the Book of God (*the Qur'ān*), and pre-eminent by his knowledge of the Traditions relative to the Prophet; when pupils read to him out of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, or that of Muslim, or the *Muwaffā* (of Mālik), he would correct the text of their copies from memory, and indicate the necessary vowels and diacritical points, wherever their presence was required. In grammar and philology he stood unrivalled; in the interpretation of dream he displayed great skill; in all his conduct he was actuated by the purest motives, and his deeds, like his words, proceeded from a heart devoted to God. He read the *Qur'ān*, according to the different *readings* under Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-'Aṣi al-Nafrī<sup>1</sup>, and under Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hudhayl al-Andalusī; he learned Traditions from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Sa'ādah<sup>2</sup>,

1 Al-Maqqarī mentions this al-Nafrī in his notice on Ibn Firruh. See MS. No. 704, fol. 160.

2 'Abd Allāh Mu ammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Sa'ādah was an inhabitant of Xativa. but his ancestors dwelt in Valencia. Having received lessons in his native place from many men distinguished for learning, he travelled to the western provinces of Spain for the same purpose. In A.H. 520 (A.C. 1126) he journeyed to the East, and there cultivated jurisprudence and other branches of knowledge. He made the pilgrimage in the following year, and on his return to Egypt, he frequented the society of Abū Tāhir Ibn 'Awf (No. 389. note.) al-Silafi (No. 43) and other illustrious doctors. In the year 526 (A.C. 1131-2) he returned to Murcia with a vast stock of information in the Traditions, *Qur'an-reading*, *Qur'anic* interpretation, law, philology and scholastic theology. He had an inclination for Sūfism. Being appointed member of the town-council الشورى and preacher at the great mosque of Murcia, he began to teach the Traditions and jurisprudence, and he exercised the functions of *qāḍī* in the same city till the downfall of the Almoravides. He then passed to the *qāḍīship* of Xativa, and taught Traditions not only there, but in Murcia and Valencia, in which places also he filled the office of *ḥaṭīb*, or public preacher. Previously to this, he had taught Traditions at Almeria. He died at Xativa on the last day of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 565 (Sept. A.C. 1170),\* leaving one single work on quite an original plan and entitled سخرة الوهم المرتقى الى ذروة انهم. He was born in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 496 (June-July, A.C. 1103).-- (Al-Maqqarī; MS. No. 704, fol. 187).

\* 13 September.



Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd-al-Raḥīm al-Khazrajī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥudhayl, the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ni'mah<sup>1</sup> and others. A great number of persons studied under him with profit, and I met in Egypt with many of his former pupils. In his discourse he avoided prolixness; never, on any occasion, did he pronounce a word without necessity, and he never took his seat to teach the readings of the *Qur'ān* without being in a state of purity<sup>2</sup>, and assuming an air of dignified gravity and profound humility. When suffering under a severe illness, he neither complained nor uttered a groan, and, being asked how he was, he replied "In health," without adding another word. One of his disciples recited some verses to me and said: "Our *Shaykh* frequently repeated them; they form an enigma the word of which is *bier*." I asked him if they were the *Shaykh's* and he replied that he did not know. Some time afterwards, I met with them in the *dlwān* of the *Khaṭīb* Yaḥyā Ibn Salāmah al-Ḥaṣkafī, a person whose life will be found in this work. These verses are:

"Do you know an object to which one similar exists in the sky<sup>3</sup>? When it moves forward, people utter loud exclamations. When we meet it, it bears a burden and is borne as one, and every chief who may ride on it is a prisoner. It incites to piety, and yet it is avoided; it admonishes mankind, and yet they shun it. (When it visits a house), it was not called for through a wish for its presence, but it comes unwelcome to the person visited."

Al-Shāṭibī was born towards the end of A.H. 538 (June, A.C. 1444), and, at a very early age he officiated as *Khaṭīb* (preacher) in his native town. He came to Egypt in the year 572 (A.C. 1176-7) and said on arriving: "I know by heart enough of the sciences to load a camel so heavily that, if a

1 The name of Ibn al-Ni'mah is mentioned by al-Maqqarī; MS. No. 704. fol. 160 *recto*.

2 That is: In the state of bodily purity which is required of every Muslim when he proceeds to say his prayers.

3 Part of the constellation of the Greater Bear is called *al-Na'sh* (the bier) by the Arabs.

single leaf more were added, it could not support the burden." He lodged at the house of al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil (*No.* 349) who appointed him professor of *Qur'ān-reading*, grammar, and philology. He died on Sunday, the 28th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 590 (June, A.C. 1194),\* a little later than the hour of the afternoon prayer, and was interred on the Monday following in the funeral chapel of al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil. I have frequently visited his tomb, which is situated in the Lesser Qarāfah Cemetery. The prayer was said over his grave by Abū Ishāq al-'Irāqī (*No.* 6) the *khaṭīb* of the Great Mosque of Old Cairo.—*Firruh* signifies *iron* in the Latin language of the non-Muslim inhabitants of Spain. *Ru'ayn* means *descended from Dhū Ru'ayn*, who was one of the princes of Yaman; a great number of persons have drawn their surnames from this ancestor.—*Shāṭibī* means *belonging to Shāṭibah (Xativa)*, a large city with a strong citadel in the east of Spain, which has produced many men eminent for learning. It fell into the power of the Franks on one of the last ten days of Ramaḍān, A.C. 645 (end of January, A.C. 1248).—Some say that al-Shāṭibī's name was Muḥammad and his surname Abū 'l-Qāsim, but I found his name written Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim in different *ijāzahs* (*licences to teach and certificates of capacity*) granted to him by his masters.

### 513 ABŪ DULAF AL-'IJLĪ

Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim Ibn 'Isā Ibn Idrīs Ibn Ma'qil Ibn 'Umayr Ibn *Shaykh* Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn *Khuzā'i* Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā Ibn Dulaf Ibn Jusham† Ibn Qays Ibn Sā'd Ibn 'Ijl Ibn Lujam‡ Ibn Ṣa'b Ibn 'Alī Ibn Bakr Ibn Wa'il Ibn Qāsiḥ Ibn Hinn Ibn Afṣā Ibn Du'mī Ibn Jadilah Ibn Asad Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn Nizār Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Adnān al-'Ijlī was one of al-Māmūn's generals, and served also that *khalīf*'s successor, al-Mu'taṣim, in the same

\* 19 June.—Ed.

† M. de Slane gives Jushm.—Ed.

‡ The Egyptian edition gives Luḥaym.—Ed.

capacity. We have already mentioned his name in the life of al-'Akawwak (No. 436), with some verses composed by that poet in his praise, and we have observed (No. 347) that Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī had been brought up under the care of ('*Isā Ibn Ma'qil, the brother of Idris*), Abū Dulaf's grandfather. The life of the amīr Abū Naṣr 'Alī Ibn Mākūlā, the author of *Ikmāl* and one of Abū Dulaf's descendants, has also been given in this work (No. 414). Abū Dulaf was a spirited, noble, and generous chief, highly extolled for his liberality, courageous and enterprising, noted for his victories and his beneficence; men distinguished in literature and the sciences derived instruction from his discourse, and his talent was conspicuous even in the art of vocal music. Amongst the works which he composed are the following: the *Kitāb al-Buzāt wa 'l-Ṣayd* (on falcons and game), the *Kitāb al-Ṣalāḥ* (on weapons), the *Kitāb al-Nuzah* (on agreeable country retreats), and the *Kitāb Siyāsat al-Mulūk* (on the policy of princes). His praises were celebrated, in *qasīdahs* of the greatest beauty, by Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'ī (No. 143), and by Bakr Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ (No. 164); the latter said of him:

"O thou who pursuest the study of alchemy, the great alchemy (the philosopher's stone) consists in praising the son of 'Isā. Was there but one dirham in the world, thou wouldst obtain it by this means."

It is stated that, for these two verses, Abū Dulaf gave Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ ten thousand dirhams. The poet then ceased visiting him for some time and employed the money in the purchase of a village (or estate) on the river Ubullah. He afterwards went to see him and addressed him in these words:

"Thanks to thee, I have purchased an estate on the Ubullah, crowned by a pavilion erected in marble. It has a sister beside it which is now on sale, and you have always money to bestow."

"How much," said Abū Dulaf, "is the price of that sister?" The poet answered: "Ten thousand dirhams." Abū Dulaf gave him the money and said: Recollect that the Ubullah is a large river, with many estates situated on it, and that each of these sisters has another at her side; so, if thou openest such a door as that, it will lead to a breach between us. Be content then

with what thou hast now got, and let this be a point agreed on." —The poet then offered up prayers for his welfare and withdrew. Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Hāshim, one of the *Khālidites* (No. 240) imitated the idea of the first passage (*here cited*) in the following lines :

"The poets are convinced that their hopes in thee are safe from the strokes of despair. Alchemy is a false science for all other mortals whom we know, but not for them. Thou givest them money in bags when they bring the words on paper."

Abū Dulaf, having encountered some Kurds who were intercepting travellers in the province under his rule, struck one (*camel*—) rider through with his lance and the point entered into the body of another who was sitting behind him : he thus killed them both at a stroke. Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ took this occasion for composing the following verses :

"On the day of battle when his spear<sup>1</sup>, which thou never seest blunted, pierced through two riders, people said : 'Wonder not at that ; were his lance a mile long, it would pierce through a mile's length of riders' ".

Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Abī Faṭḥ Ṣāliḥ, a *mawlā* to the Hāshimide family, was dark complexioned, dwarfish, and very poor. His wife once said to him : "I see, my man ! that the star of literature has set and that its arrow has missed the mark ; take then thy sword, spear, and bow, and go forth with the others to the wars ; God may perhaps grant thee a share of booty." In reply, he recited the following verses :

"What can induce thee to advise such an extravagance to a man like me?—to oblige me to bear arms and hear warriors in armour order me to halt ! Dost thou suppose me one of those men of death who from morn to eve aspire after destruction ? When death approaches another, I observe it with horror ; how then could I go and face it myself ? Dost thou think that single combats with the foe are my passion, and that my bosom contains the heart of Abū Dulaf?"

1 I read بطنه not بطنه

2 Literally : That my heart contains the breast of Abū Dulaf. A similar peculiarity of the Arabic idiom would allow us to say : My shoe cannot enter my foot, in place of my foot cannot enter my shoe. — See on this subject M. de. Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II. p. 399.

Abū Dulaf heard of this, and sent him a thousand dīnārs.— The profusion of Abū Dulaf in his donations involved him in debt, and the circumstance having become public, one of these solicitors went into his presence and said :

“O lord of gift and donations ! O thou of the open countenance and the open hand ! I am told that thou art in debt ; increase then its amount and discharge what I owe.”

Abū Dulaf made him a present and discharged his debt. A poet went to him one day and recited these lines :

“When God entrusted thy hand with the distribution of favours, he knew (*that He would be well served*). O Abū Dulaf ! never have the two (*recording angels*) written *no* in the register of thy words, though often it be written in those of other mortals. Thou hast rivalled in beneficence the rapid winds (*which bear rain to the regions of the earth*) ; and when they cease to blow, thou ceasest not to give.”

The poems composed in his praise are very numerous ; he himself composed some good poetry, from which I should transcribe passages were it not my desire to avoid prolixity. He completed the building of the city of al-Karaj (*in Persia 'Irāq*) which had been commenced by his father, and it became the residence of his tribe, family, and children. Whilst he was staying there, a poet (said by some to have been Maṣṣūr Ibn Bādān, and by others, Bakr Ibn al-Naṭṭāh) recited to him a eulogy, but did not obtain a recompense equal to his expectations ; he therefore departed, reciting this verse :

“Let me go and travel over the deserts of the earth ; for al-Karaj is not the whole world, neither is Qāsim (*Abū Dulaf*) the human race !”

Similar to this are the following lines ; by another poet, but I am unable to state which of them copied the other :

“If you resume your wonted generosity, it will be, as before, your obedient slave. If you will not, the earth is large ; you are not all the human race, neither is Khurāsān the world.”

I have since found these last verses in 'al-Sam'ānī's *Dhayl*, in the article of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Balkhī

he there says: "The following lines were recited to me at Dawraq<sup>1</sup> by the *qādī* 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Balkhī; he gave them as the words of the amīr Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Muntakhib, and he may have possibly heard them from the lips of that person." Here he inserts the verses.—It is related that when Abū Dulaf returned from al-Karaj, the amīr 'Alī Ibn 'Isā Ibn Māhān prepared a repast on a most magnificent scale, and invited him to partake of it; but a poet, who then went to 'Alī's house and was refused admittance by the porter, awaited the passage of Abū Dulaf and handed him a palm-leaf, on which were inscribed these words:

"If you meet him (*Abū Dulaf*) lingering carelessly say: 'You come from al-Karaj, with one thousand horsemen, to a feast. After that, let not other men be reproached for acts of baseness'."

Abū Dulaf immediately returned, swearing that he would neither enter the house nor eat a morsel of that dinner. I have read in a compilation of anecdotes that the name of this poet was 'Abbād Ibn al-Ḥarīsh, and that the repast was given at Baghdād.—I read in another compilation that, when Abū Dulaf was suffering from the malady of which he died, his indisposition became so grave that the public were refused admittance into his presence. It happened, however, that, one day, feeling much better, he asked the chamberlain what applicants might be then at the palace-door, and was informed that ten *sharīfs* (*descendants of Muḥammad*) from Khurāsān had been waiting many days, without being able to enter. He immediately sat up on his bed and having sent for them, he received them with great politeness and asked them the news of their country, what might be their private circumstances, and the motive of their visit. They replied that, being in narrow circumstances and hearing of his generous character, they had come to apply to him. On this, he ordered his treasurer to bring in one of the money-chests and having taken out of it twenty bags, containing each one thousand

<sup>1</sup> Dawraq, the *Dorak* or *Felahi* on our maps, is a town of Persia, in the province of Khūzistān. It lies about seventy-five miles south of Shūstar.

pieces of gold, he gave two of them to each of his visitors, with an additional sum for their travelling expenses home. "Touch not the bags," said he, "till you arrive in safety and join your families; here is a sum to defray your journey. But, let each of you write for me a note, stating that he is the son of such a one, the son of such a one, etc., the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, by Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Apostle of God. Let him then add these words: 'O Apostle of God! I was suffering from distress and misery in my native town, and I went to Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī who gave me two thousand pieces of gold through respect for thee and through the desire of conciliating thy favour, hoping thus to procure thy intercession.'" Each of the *sharifs* wrote out a note in these terms and delivered it to him. He then directed by his will that, when he died, the person who arranged his corpse for burial should place these papers in his winding-sheet, so that he might present them to the Apostle of God. Another proof of his respect to family of 'Alī is given in a relation of what passed one day between him and his son: he happened to say that whosoever did not carry to the utmost pitch his attachment to the family of 'Alī was conceived in fornication; on which his son observed that, for himself, he did not hold such principles: "There is a good reason for that," said the father; "when thy mother conceived thee, I had not given her time to perform the *istibrā*." The authenticity of this anecdote is best known to God. A number of historical writers give the following narration as having been made by Dulaf, the son of Abū Dulaf: "I saw in a dream a person come towards me and say: 'The amīr requires thy presence'. I went with him and he took me into a deserted and miserable house with blackened walls, roofless and without doors: he led me up a flight of stairs and made me enter into a garret, of which the walls bore the

---

1 When a man purchases a female slave, it is not lawful for him to cohabit with her till she has had her next ensuing monthly indisposition. The waiting for this term is called *istibrā* (purification, or more exactly, waiting for purification). The end proposed in this regulation is, that it may be ascertained whether conception has not already taken place in the womb, in order that the issue may not be doubtful.—(Hamilton's *Hedāya*, vol. IV, p. 103.)

marks of fire, and the floor was strewed with ashes : I there beheld my father, quite naked<sup>1</sup> and leaning his hand on his knees ; he said to me in interrogative tone : 'Dulaf ?' and I replied 'Dulaf ;' on which he repeated these verses :

"Tell our family, and conceal it not from them, what we have met with in the narrow tomb<sup>2</sup>. We have been questioned as to all our deeds ; O pity my desolation and my sufferings !"

"He here said : 'Dost thou understand ?' and I answered 'Yes ;' and he then recited as follows :

'If after death, we were left (*in peace*), death would be a repose for all living beings ; but when we die, we are raised up again and questioned respecting all we ever did. '

'Dost thou understand me ?' I answered : 'Yes ;' and awoke. " Abū Dulaf died at Baghdād, A.H. 226 (A.C. 840-1) ; some say, A.H. 225.—*Dulaf* is a proper name, and, as it combines this quality to that of being formed, with some alteration, from another word, it belongs to the second declension<sup>3</sup>. The word from which it is derived is *dalif* (*lente incedens*).—We have already explained the word '*Ijl*' (No. 87). Ubullah is the name of an ancient town at four parasangs from Baṣrah ; it is now included in the district of that city. It is, as we have said of *Shi'b Bawwān* and other places, in the life of 'Aḡud al-Dawlah (No. 507), an earthly paradise and one of the four most delightful spots in the world.—*Al-Karaj* is a city of al-Jabal, between Iṣfahān and Hamadān.—*Al-Jabal* is an extensive territory between 'Irāq and *Khurāsān* ; the common people call it '*Irāq al-Ajam* (*the 'Irāq of the Persians or Persian 'Irāq*). It contains some large cities, such as Hamadān, Iṣfahān, al-Ray and Zanjān.

1 The correct reading is عريان .

2 The word here rendered by tomb is *barza'*<sup>1</sup>. It signifies, the interval between this world and the next, or between death and the resurrection. See Sale's note on this word ; Koran, surat 23, verse 102, and his preliminary discourse, sect. IV.

3 See M. de Sacy's Grammaire arabe, tom. 1, p. 408 of the second edition.



514 QĀBŪS IBN WUSHMAGĪR and the famous  
 Shams al-Ma'ālī (the sun of exalted qualities) Abu 'l-Ḥasan  
 Qābūs al-Jilī, the son of Abū Ṭāhir Wushmagīr<sup>1</sup>, the son of Ziyār<sup>2</sup>,  
 the son of Wardān Shāh, amīr of Jurjān, and Tabaristan is spoken of  
 in these terms by al-Ṭha'ālībī (No. 356), in the *Yatimah*: "I shall  
 conclude this section by mentioning the greatest of princes, the  
 star of the age, the source of justice and beneficence; one in  
 whose person Almighty God hath united power and learning,  
 the gift of wisdom and the plenitude of authority." "Further  
 on, he says:" And "amongst the best known of the pieces attribut-  
 ed to him are the following :

"O thou who reproachest us with our misfortunes ! knowest  
 thou not that adversity wars only with the truly great ? Hast thou  
 not observed that putrid corpses float on the surface of the sea,  
 whilst the pearls dwell in its lowest depths ? If we have become  
 the sport of Fortune—if we have suffered from her protracted  
 cruelty, recollect that in the heavens are stars without number,  
 but only the sun and the moon suffer an eclipse.

"Each time thy memory bursts upon my mind, it excites my  
 love to flame, and I feel its thrill in my heart. Every member  
 of my body contains a portion of that love, and they might be  
 said to have become hearts."

The author quotes also a quantity of passages from his prose  
 compositions. Qābūs wrote a most beautiful hand, and when the  
 Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād (No. 93) saw pieces in his handwriting, he used  
 to say : "This is either the writing of Qābūs or the wing of a  
 peacock"; and he would then recite these verses of al-  
 Mu'anabbī's :

"In every heart is a passion for his handwriting ; it might be  
 said that the ink which he employed was (a cause of) love. His  
 presence is a comfort for every eye, and his absence an afflic-  
 tion."

1 The signification of this name seems to be *Quail-catcher*.

2 For the orthography of this name, I follow the autograph manuscript  
 of the *Annals* of Abu 'l-Feda; it occurs under the year 366.

The amīr Qābūs ruled over Jurjān and the neighbouring provinces, as did his father before him; his (*grand*) father died in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 337 (July-Aug., A.C. 948) at Jurjān. Then (*after the death of Minūcheher the son of Qābūs*), the empire of Jurjān fell into the possession of another family<sup>1</sup>; but it would be long to relate the history of these events. Qābūs came to the throne in the month of Shā'bān, A.H. 388<sup>2</sup>. The kingdom of Jurjān had passed to his father on the death of Mardāwīj Ibn Ziyār Ibn Wardān Shāh al-Jilī, his father's brother. This Mardāwīj was a powerful and aspiring prince; 'Imād al-Dawlah Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Buwayh (*No.* 455) had served under him as commander in chief, and this circumstance mainly contributed to raise him to a throne<sup>3</sup>.—Qābūs was an honour and ornament to the world, but, with all his noble qualities and political foresight, the cup of his (*domination*) was ungrateful to the taste; no one felt secure from the outbursts of his violence and severity; the least slip was requited with bloodshed, and, in his anger, he never thought of mercy. The ferocity of his character at length discontented all minds and alienated all hearts; the principal officers of his army conspired to depose him and submit no longer to his orders, and, as he happened at that time to be absent from Jurjān at a camp near one of his fortresses, these proceedings escaped his observation. He did not become aware of their design till they came to arrest him and plundered him of his treasures and his horses; but the band of chosen adherents who then accompanied him made so brave a defence that the conspirators returned to Jurjān.

---

<sup>1</sup> The text of Ibn Khallikān is here drawn up so carelessly, that, to save his reputation as an historian, I have been obliged to help it out by parentheses. Wasḥmagīr died A. H. 356, and was succeeded by his son Bīsetun. Qābūs reigned after him.

<sup>2</sup> This is a mistake, in which however all the manuscripts agree; I consequently adopted the reading in the printed text, although aware of the error. Qābūs succeeded to the throne of Jurjān on the death of his brother Bīsetun, A.H. 366 (A.C. 976-7). I suspect the error to have originated with our author.

<sup>3</sup> I here suppress some observations which the author has already made in the life of 'Imād al-Dawlah.

Having taken possession of the city, they dispatched a messenger to his son Abū Maṣṣūr Minūcheher, who was then in Ṭabaristān, requiring him to come without delay and receive their homage as sovereign. He set out immediately, and, on his arrival, they promised to acknowledge his authority provided he dethroned his father. Apprehensive that the empire might escape from the hands of his family, if he rejected their offers, he felt himself obliged to comply, and the amīr Qābūs, perceiving the turn which affairs had taken, retired with his adherents to the neighbourhood of Baṣṭām, where he resolved to await the results. When the muntineers were informed of this movement, they forced his son Minucheher to march out with them, that they might expel their former master from the place of his retreat. On arriving there, the son had an interview with the father, and, after much weeping and lamentation on both sides, he offered to stand up in defence of his parent against every enemy, though it cost him his life. Qābūs perceived, however, that such a proceeding would be of no use, and feeling that he could not have a better successor than his son, he delivered the royal signet into his hands, with the request that he himself might be treated with kindness whilst he remained in the bonds of life; and it was therefore agreed on between them that he should reside in a certain castle till he reached the term of his existence. After the removal of Qābūs to the place of his detention, the son proceeded to load the troops with favours, but so apprehensive were they of the father's coming again into power that they never rested till they effected his death. He was murdered, A.H. 403 (A.C. 1012-3) and interred outside the city of Jurjān. It is said that, on his imprisonment in the castle, they refused him a cloak or any warm covering, and the extreme coldness of the weather deprived him of life—*Jill*, here means *belonging to Jill*; *Jil* was the brother of Daylam, and they each left descendants who were surnamed after them respectively. It is necessary to remark that this surname is quite different from that of *Jill* signifying *native of (Jilān)*, the country beyond Ṭabaristān. As they have been sometimes confounded together, I think it right to warn the reader.—We have already spoken of Jurjān (*No. 401*), and we need not therefore repeat our observations here.

## 515 MUJĀHID AL-DĪN QĀ'IMĀZ AL-ZAYNĪ

Abū Maṣṣūr Qā'imāz Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zaynī (*a freedman of Zayn al-Dīn*), surnamed Mujāhid al-Dīn (*champion of the faith*), was a eunuch and an enfranchised slave of Zayn al-Dīn\* 'Alī Ibn Baktikīn, the father of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Muẓaffar al-Dīn, sovereign of Arbela. He was of a white complexion and a native of Ṭabaristān, whence he had been carried off when a child; and, as he gave tokens of great abilities, his patron promoted him and appointed him *atābek* (*or tutor*) to his children. On the fifth day of the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 559 (July, A.C. 1164)†, he entrusted him with the whole management of public affairs at Arbela, and, in this office, Qā'imāz distinguished himself by the excellence of his administration and the justice with which he ruled the prince's subjects. Ever actuated by the spirit of virtue and piety, he built at Arbela a college and a (*muslim*) convent, on which he settled large estates (*waqf*). In the year 571 (A.C. 1175) he removed to Moṣul, and, having fixed his residence in the citadel, he took in hand the direction of affairs, and, in his correspondence with the neighbouring princes, he acquired more influence over them by his letters than any other had ever done before. The *atābek* Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī Ibn Mawdūd (*No. 496*), the sovereign of Moṣul, struck with the uprightness of his conduct, confided to him the government of all his possessions and placed full reliance on him in every circumstance, so that the lieutenant in title was the sulṭān in reality. The greater part of the revenues of Arbela was delivered over to him, and he left many fair monuments of his piety at Moṣul, such as the great mosque, the college, and the (*Muslim*) convent which he erected outside the city, and all close to each other. He endowed the public charitable fund with numerous estates; he founded and provided for an orphan school, and he threw a new bridge across the river of Moṣul, to the great convenience of the public for whose service the old bridge was insufficient. He founded many other charitable institutions. A number of poets celebrated his

---

\* The Egyptian edition inserts *kunya* Abū Sa'id before 'Alī.—Ed.

† 27 July.—Ed.

praises, Ḥayṣ Bayṣ amongst others (No. 241), and Sibṭ Ibn al-Ta'āwidhī; the latter, whose life will be found in this work, composed a *qaṣīdah* in his honour, commencing thus:

"When will he be restored to health who languishes with desire for thy presence? How can he ever recover who has been intoxicated with thy love? My heart and consolation are at war, but my eyes and tears are at peace (*and inseparable*)."

This poem, which is one of his best, was sent by him from Baghdād to Qā'imāz, who forwarded to him, in return, an ample pecuniary recompense and the present of a mule. When the latter arrived, he found it very much fallen away from the fatigue of the journey, and wrote these lines to his patron:

"Mujāhid al-Dīn! mayest thou be always a resource and a treasure for the indigent! Thou hast sent me a mule, but, on the way, it was metamorphosed into a goat."

Bahā al-Dīn As'ad al-Sinjārī (No. 89) composed also a poem in his honour, which is much celebrated and has been set to music. One of its passages is this:

"Beshrew my heart for a wearisome companion! it and my eyes have caused the torments which I suffer. How happy the days I spent at Rāmāh! how sweet the hours I passed at Ḥājir! they fled so quickly, that the first moments touched the last."

It was in pursuance of the amir Mujāhid al-Dīn's orders that Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'd<sup>2</sup> al-Ḥazīnī composed this work, entitled *Kitāb al-I'jāz fi Ḥall il-Aḥājil wa 'l-Ālghāz* (the book of superiority, on the solution of enigmatical questions). He then took it to him

1. Rāmāh and Ḥājir were two romantic spots in Arabia. See No. 493 and No. 89, note.

2 The manuscripts and the printed text have here *As'ad* اسعد: this is an oversight of the copyists and the editor, as the poet's name was Sa'd.—See No. 242.

at Arbela and resided in the palace for some time, but feeling at length a longing desire to revisit his family al-Ḥazirah, he said :

"Who will condole with a fond parent who has but little consolation, and who now, in a distant city, sighs for his home ? In Arbela he calls on those he loves; but O, how far is al-Ḥazirah from Arbela ! "

Qā'imāz loved literature and poetry ; one of my acquaintances informed me that he frequently recited a piece of verse which contained the following passage :

"When thy sarcasms wound my heart, I support the pain with patience ; I conceal my sufferings and visit thee with a smiling countenance, as if I had heard nothing and seen nothing. "

The piece to which these verses belong is by Usāmah Ibn Munqidh (No. 81)—Of Mujāhid al-Dīn Qā'imāz we may say, in a word, that he left a wide renown. Majd al-Dīn al-Mubārak Ibn al-Aṭhīr<sup>1</sup>, the author of the *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*, was employed by him as secretary, and drew up the documents which he addressed to the neighbouring princes. On the death of the *atābek* Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzi, his brother and successor, 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, listened to the frequent insinuations of evil-minded men and relative to the conduct of Qā'imāz, and, in the year 589 (A.C. 1193), he caused him to be arrested. Having afterwards discovered that he had been deceived, he set his prisoner at liberty and reinstated him in his former post. During the rest of his life, Qā'imāz continued in office. He died in the Castle of Moṣul on the 15th of the first Rabi'—some say the sixth—A.H. 595 (January, A.C. 1199)\*. Ibn al-Mustawfi states, in his History of Arbela, that his death took place in the month of Ṣafar of that year. It was in A.H. 572 (A.C. 1176-7) that he commenced the erection of the mosque at Moṣul which bears his name.

1 His life will be found in this work.

## 516 QATĀDAH IBN DI'ĀMAH AL-SADŪSĪ

Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Qatādah Ibn Di'āmah Ibn 'Azīz Ibn 'Umar Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Sadūs al-Sadūsī, a native of Baṣrah and one of the *Tābi'īs*, was, though blind from his birth, a man of the greatest learning: "Not a day passed," said Abū 'Ubaydah (*Ma'mar Ibn al-Muthannā*), "without our seeing a messenger arrive from some of the Omayyide family, and stop his camel at Qatādah's door; being sent for the express purpose of questioning him on some point of history, genealogy, or poetry." The fact was that Qatādah surpassed all his contemporaries by the quantity of information which he had collected. Ma'mar said also: "I asked Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā the meaning of these words of the *Qur'ān* مَقْرِنِينَ *Maqrinīn*, and as he made me no answer, I mentioned that I had heard Qatādah explain the word مَقْرِنِينَ by *valentes ad*; as he still remained silent, I said: 'And what is thy opinion, Abū 'Amr?' To which he replied: 'Let Qatādah's opinion always suffice thee, except when he discoursed of freewill and predestination (*Qadar*); had not the Prophet himself said: *When qadar is spoken of, avoid the subject*, I should put none of Qatādah's contemporaries on a level with him.'"—"Qatādah", said Abū 'Amr, "was the most learned genealogist of his time, and, in his youth, he met Daḡfal<sup>2</sup>. He used to go from one end of Baṣrah to the other without a guide, and, one day, he entered the mosque of Baṣrah when 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd (*No. 478*) and some others had just gone apart from the circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's auditors and formed one of their own. As they were speaking in a loud tone, he went over to them, imagining it to be al-Ḥasan's circle, but as he found, on joining them, that it was not so, he said: 'These are the *seceders* (*al-mu'tazilah*)!' and, standing up, he left them; from that time they were called the *Mutazilites* (*seceders*)". Qatādah was born A.H. 60 (A.C. 679-80), and he died at Wāsiṭ, A.H. 117 (A.C.

1 *Qur'ān*, sūraht 43, verse 12. These words signify. For we should not have been able to accomplish that.

2 Daḡfal Ibn Ḥanṣalah, the genealogist, belonged to the tribe of Shaybān Ibn 'Uhl. The year of his death is indicated further on. His abilities rendered his name proverbial: see Freytag's Meidini tom. I, p. 19, and tom. II, pages 162, 233 and 774.

735-6); some say, 118. *Sadūsī* means *descended from Sadūs Ibn Shaybān*, the progenitor of a great tribe which has produced many remarkable men, some of them eminent for learning.—*Daghfal*, the ablest of the Arabian genealogists, was the son of Ḥanzalah al-Sadūsī; he saw the Prophet, but did not hear him deliver any of his sayings. He afterwards joined Mu'āwiyah and was killed by the *Azāriqah*<sup>1</sup>. According to another, and a more authentic statement, he was drowned in the Dujayl at the battle of Dūlāb<sup>2</sup>.

517. QUTAYBAH IBN MUSLIM. The amīr, Qutaybah Ibn Abī Šāliḥ Muslim Ibn 'Amr<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Ḥuşayn Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Khālīd Ibn Asīd al-Khayr Ibn Qudā'i Ibn Hilāl Ibn Salāmah Ibn Ḥa'labah Ibn Wā'il Ibn Ma'n Ibn Mālik Ibn A'ṣar Ibn Sa'd Ibn Qays Ibn Ghaylān\* Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn

<sup>1</sup> The heretical sect of the Azāriqah or followers of Ibn al-Azraq, a branch of the Khārījites, rejected equally the claims of 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. Under the command of their chief and founder, Nāfi' Ibn al-Azraq, they joined 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr at Makkah and fought in his defence, but, on discovering that he considered 'Uthmān as a rightful khalīf, they abandoned his cause and proceeded to Ba rah in A.H. 64 (A.C. 683-4), where they took the oath of allegiance to Nāfi' and established themselves at al-Ahwaz. The following year, their power increased considerably, and the people of Baṣrah, who had incurred their enmity, obtained from 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr that a body of troops, under the orders of Muslim Ibn 'Abis عيسى, should march against them. The Azāriqah were repulsed from the territory of Ba rah and retreated to Dūlāb (دولاب) in the land of al-Ahwāz, where both parties encountered. The Azāriqah were here defeated with great loss, and Nāfi' Ibn al-Azraq fell in the battle, which was also fatal to Muslim Ibn 'Abis. As the insurgents still continued to be dangerous, Muḥalab Ibn Abi 'ufrah, an able general, marched against them by order of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Hārith, Governor of Ba rah. Their final subjugation was not effected till about A.H. 70 (A.C. 689).—(*Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn's al-Bāḥr al-Za'ī*, 'Al-Mākin's *Historia Saracénica*, p. 60. See also Price's *Retrospect*, vol. 1, page 429, 440, and 446. For their political and religious doctrines, see Dr. Cureton's *Shuḥrastañi*, page 98.

2 Dūlāb is spoken of in the preceding note.

3 The *Qāmūs*, under the root ق و ن, writes this name 'Umār; the *Ṣaḥāb*, under the same word, has 'Amr.

\* The Egyptian edition gives 'Aylān.—Ed.



'Adnān al-Bāhili was amīr of Khurāsān in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. He ruled this province during thirteen years, and he held his appointment from al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, who as governor of the two 'Irāqs and the neighbouring countries, had Khurāsān in his jurisdiction. Previously to this, Qutaybah had been governor of Ray, but, on the deposition of Yazīd Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah, he was appointed ruler over Khurāsān. In the life of Yazīd we shall indicate the particulars of this event. It was Qutaybah Ibn Muslim who reduced Khuwārizm, Samarqand, and Bukhāra, the inhabitants of which had broken their treaties. Clear-sightedness, interpidity, and generosity formed the leading features of his character. His father, Muslim, possessed the greatest influence at the court of Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiyah, and was the owner of the celebrated horse al-Ḥarūn, whose qualities gave rise to a proverb<sup>1</sup>. In the year 95 (A.C. 713-4), towards the close of al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's reign, Qutaybah Ibn Muslim took the city of Farḡānah. Historians declare that, by his wars with the Turks, his expeditions into the heart of the regions beyond the Oxus, his taking of fortresses, his subduing of provinces, his carrying off of wealth and his slaying of brigands, Qutaybah surpassed al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah and every other general. As an example of his activity it may be stated that he effected the conquest of Khwārizm and Samarqand in a single year; by the capture of two such great cities<sup>2</sup>, prosperity was re-established in the country and contributions were brought in from all quarters. When Qutaybah had achieved these deeds, he sent for Nahār Ibn Tawsi'ah the favorite poet of al-Muhallab and his sons, and said to him: "What has now become of your verses on the death of al-Muhallab? You said:

---

1 This proverb I have not been able to discover.—Al-Jawharī, the author of the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, says that the horse Ḥarūn was celebrated for his speed, and gives his pedigree after al-Aṣmā'i, who makes him descend from Auwāj (No. 413).

2 This was in A. H. 93. Al-Ṭabarī calls the city of Khwārizm *Madīnat al-Fīl* (the city of the elephant).

'The expeditions which placed wealth within our reach are at an end ; generosity and beneficence have ceased with the life of al-Muhallab ! '

"Do you consider this last act of ours an expedition or not?" "Nay," said the poet, "it is something better ; I too have said : 'Never since we lived have we seen the like of Ibn Muslim ; his equal never existed before our time, and will never appear after us. With his sword he wrapt the whole Turkish nation in death, and shared the booty amongst us in donations ample and oft-repeated.' "

When al-Ḥajjāj (*Ibn Yūsuf*) received intelligence of Qutaybah's conquests, the number of enemies whom he slew and of prisoners whom he carried off, he said : "I sent out Qutaybah quite an inexperienced<sup>1</sup> boy, and I never gave him an inch without his giving me an ell in return." In the year 96 (A.C. 714-5) (*the khalif*) al-Walid died, and was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who disliked Qutaybah for reasons too long for us to relate<sup>2</sup>. The apprehensions of Qutaybah being excited by this event, he renounced his allegiance and rose in open revolt against his sovereign, but the great majority of those under his orders withheld their concurrence. Some time previously, he had deprived Waki' Ibn Ḥassān Ibn Qays of his commandment over the tribe of Tamīm<sup>3</sup>, and this Waki', who bore the surname of Abu 'l-Muṭarrif al-Ḡhudānī, now laboured underhand to seduce the troops, and kept away from Qutaybah's presence under the pretext of sickness. He then attacked him at Farghānah and slew him with eleven other persons of the family, in the month of

1 I read *فاجر* in place of *فارس* although the manuscripts and the printed text give the latter reading.

2 See Price's *Retrospect*. Vol. 1, page 486.

3 There were ten thousand men of the tribe of Tamīm in Qutaybah's army. The Tamīmītes remained in these provinces till al-Māmūn was proclaimed *khalif* ; they then accompanied him to Baḡdād, whence they were sent into North Africa, where one of their chiefs founded, a few years afterwards, the hereditary, but not independent dynasty of the Aḡhlabites.

The expedition which placed wealth within our reach are Dhu'l-Hijjah, A.H. 96 (Aug.-Sept. A.C. 715); some say, A.H. 97. Qutaybah Ibn Muslim was born in the year 49 (A.C. 669-70). Al-Salāmī<sup>1</sup> says, in his History of the governors of *Khurāsān*: "He ruled over *Khurāsān* nine years and seven months; but this is in contradiction with what is stated above. Al-Tabarī gives the year 88 as that of his nomination. Alluding to his death, Jarīr (No. 127) pronounced the following lines:

"You repented, having slain the noble son of Muslim; but, when you appear before God, you will repent still more. Thanks to his victories, you revelled in spoil; but now you are yourselves the spoil of every opponent. He has been transported to the dark-eyed maidens of Paradise, and you—Hell shall enclose you with its torments."

Muslim Ibn 'Amr, the father of Qutaybah, was slain with Mus'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, A.H. 72 (A.C. 691-2).—Abū 'Umar Sa'id Ibn Muslim, the grandson of Qutaybah, was a powerful chief, highly celebrated (by the poets). 'Abd al-Samad Ibn al-Mu'adhhdhal (No. 43) lamented his death in these lines:

"How many the orphans whom you protected in their destitution! how many the indigent whom you raised from poverty to riches! (Each of them now) exclaims, when adversity shows its fangs: 'May God's blessing be on Sa'id, the son of Muslim!'"

Sa'id governed Armenia, Mosul, Sind, Tabaristān, Sijistān and Mesopotamia; he died A.H. 217 (A.C. 832-3). The following anecdote was related by himself:

"When I was governor of Armenia, Abū Dahmān al-Ghalānī<sup>2</sup> came to see me and stayed for some days at my door (waiting for admittance). When he entered, he sat down before me, in the open space left by the other visitors who were drawn up in two lines reaching from my throne to the door<sup>3</sup>, and he then pronounced these

<sup>1</sup> See No. 282.

<sup>2</sup> The best historians place the death of Mus'ab in the year 71.

<sup>3</sup> One of my manuscripts has *al-Ghalālī* (الغلالی). The Arabic has *بين السمتين* the usatv down between the two lines (simāts).

\* The Egyptian edition gives al-'Allābī.—Ed.

words! 'By Allāh ! I know people who, if they were informed that, by swallowing dust, they could straighten the curvature of their reins (i. e. raise themselves from a humble to an exalted station) would take it for nourishment through their desire of escaping from a modest station of life; but I, by Allāh, make a distant leap (i. e. have a high aim in view) and am slow in turning aside (from my purpose)'. The only thing which averts me from thee is that which repels thee from me. (i. e. I avoid thee because thou art rich and thou avoidest me because I am poor) but I prefer poverty with the favour (of God) to wealth with reprobation. And by Allāh! we (sūfis) never ask the gift of a government, but we receive it, or of wealth but we obtain more than we require. This power which is now in thy hands was once in the hands of others, and by Allāh! nothing remains of them here, but their reputation; it is good if they did good, and bad if they wrought evil. Answer them (the applications) of God's servants by receiving them with affability and granting them an easy access unto thee; for the love shown to God's servants is allied to the love due to God; and they are chosen by God to bear witness as to the conduct of his creatures and to observe those who turn away from the path of righteousness. Peace be with thee!'"<sup>4</sup> On the death of 'Umar, the son of Sa'īd Ibn Muslim, the following elegy was pro-

1. It is necessary to observe that the original Arabic of the very obscure address which follows, has been miserably altered by the copyists. I combined readings from different manuscripts in order to form a text offering some appearances of meaning, but not, I fear, with full success. The import of the discourse is rendered very difficult of comprehension by the speaker's not only affecting to employ the elliptic language and the idioms of the genuine Arabs of the desert, but giving to these terms a mystic signification.

2. For the meaning of the expression رَیْقِ الْجَوَاشِی see Schulten's *Harizii consessus*, 2nd part, p. 183.

3. Here the printed text, supported by the authority of all the manuscripts has رَیْقِ, but I cannot give any meaning whatever to the passage unless I replace it by نَحْوِ. The government and wealth which he here speaks of must mean spiritual gifts.

4. I can by no means give this as a correct translation of Abb. Dāhman's speech; the Arabic text may not be exempt from faults, and, if it be exactly given as our author transcribed it, I must have misunderstood at least one passage of it.

nounced by Abū 'Amr *Ashja'* Ibn 'Amr al-Sulamī, a celebrated poet of Raqqah who inhabited Baṣrah<sup>1</sup>.

"The son of Sa'id departed when not a spot of the East and of the West remained without some person to extol his virtues. I did not know with what profusion his hands bestowed their gifts, till the tombstone had hidden him from our sight. That man is now in a narrow cavity under ground, whose (*renown*) the extended plains of the earth could not contain. As long as my tears flow, I shall weep thy loss, and, if I exhaust them, let that (*heart*) which my bosom encloses answer for my feelings. Now, since thou art dead, I shall remain untroubled, even by the greatest afflictions, and unmoved by any joys. (*We grieve for thee*) as if thou hadst been the only person who ever died—the only one over whom the female mourners ever raised (*the funeral cry*). It now becomes (*us*) to lament thee in elegies, as it formerly became (*us*) us to praise thee in eulogiums."

This beautiful elegy is extracted from the *Ḥamāsah*<sup>2</sup>. The idea expressed in the last verse is similar to that contained in the following :

"O, best of those who to-day are worthiest of lamentations, and who yesterday were worthiest of praise !"

This verse is taken from a piece composed by Muṭi' Ibn Iyās Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ziyād, and which is given in the *Ḥamāsah* (page 390).—The numerous deeds of Qutaybah Ibn Muslim occupy a place in History<sup>3</sup>.—In our notice on al-Aṣma'i (No. 354), we have spoken of the word *Bāhill* and given its derivation. The Arabs of the desert (*who were members of the tribe of Bāhilah*) had an extreme repugnance to bearing this surname ; this feeling was so general that a poet said :

"It availeth a man nothing to be descended from *Hāshim* if he bears within him a *Bāhilite* soul."

1 See No. 91, note.

2 See Freytag's *Hamasa*, page 392.

3 Literally : The relations of his doings are numerous. See his history in Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I.

And another poet has pronounced that :

"If the words *thou Bāhilite* ! were addressed to a dog, the animal would howl from the ignominy of such an appellation."

It was observed to Abū 'Ubaydah that al-Aṣma'i claimed to be descended from Bāhilah, but he declared that could never have been the case. On being asked the reason, he replied: "Persons belonging to the tribe of Bāhilah disclaim all connexion with it ; how then is it possible that a man who did not belong to it should come forward and claim to belong to it ?" I read in a collection of anecdotes that al-Aṣḥ'aṭh Ibn Qays al-Kindī<sup>1</sup> said to the Prophet: "Are we all equally subjected to the law of talion ?" and he made answer : "Yes ; even if you slayed a man of the tribe of Bāhilah, I should slay you to avenge him." Qutaybah Ibn Muslim said to Hubayrah Ibn Masrūh<sup>2</sup> : "What a man thou wouldst be did thy maternal ancestors not belong to the tribe of Salūl<sup>3</sup> ! Suppose that I change them for others?" To this Hubayrah replied : "May God prosper the amīr ! change them for whom thou wilt of all the Arabic tribes, but spare me from Bāhilah." It is related also that an Arab of the desert met a person on the road and asked him who he was ? The other replied that he belonged to the tribe of Bāhilah. The Arab having expressed his commiseration for such a misfortune, the man said : "I must inform thee, more-

1 Al-Aṣḥ'aṭh Ibn Qays, a powerful Chieftain of the tribe of Kindah and one of the Companions of the Prophet, was the ancestor of Ya'qūb al-Kindī, the celebrated philosopher.—(See No 281, Note.)

2 Masrūh مَسْرُوح is an error of Ibn Khallikān or of his copyists ; the true reading is *Mushamraj* مشرج.—Hubayrah Ibn Mushamraj al-Kilābī (*member of the tribe of Kilāb*), was one of Qutaybah Ibn Muslim's generals, and highly distinguished for eloquence. In Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I, page 483, we find his name transcribed *Hubayrah the Kulābite* (read the *Kilābite*), and it occurs again repeatedly in the following page. The volume of the *Annals of al-Ṭabari*, in the original Arabic, preserved in the Bib. du Roi (*supplement*, p. 248), writes his father's name *Mushamraj*, and this historian cites two pieces of verse, p. 259 and p. 260, in one of which it rhymes with *manhaj* and *maḥraj*: from this we must conclude that the final letter to be j (ج) ; and moreover, the measure of both verses requires us to read in each *Mushamraj*, as there written, for if *Masrūh* be substituted, the verses cannot be scanned.

3 This tribe was also greatly despised by the Arabs.—(See Freytag's *Meidanil Proverbia*, t. II, p. 172).

over, that I am not sprung from that race, but am one of their slaves." The Arab immediately went over to him and kissed his hands and feet. "Why dost thou so?" exclaimed the man. The other answered: "Almighty God, blessed be his name! would not inflict on thee such a misfortune in this life, unless he intended to remunerate thee with Paradise in the next." An Arab was asked if he would consent to be a Bāhilite on the condition of entering into Paradise and he replied: "Yes, provided that the inhabitants of Paradise are not informed of my being a Bāhilite." They tell many anecdotes of this kind. Husayn Ibn Bakr al-Kilabi, the genealogist, being asked why the tribes of Bāhilah and Ghani were held in such depreciation by the Arabs, he replied: "They were once possessed of riches and honour, but what abased their reputation was, that being surpassed by their brethren of the tribes of Fazārah and Dhubyān in a rivalry of glorious deeds, their own merit appeared slight in comparison. This circumstance is stated by the wazīr Abū'l-Qāsim al-Maghribī (No. 187) in his *Adab al-Khawāṣṣ*.—We have spoken of Qutaybah in the life of Abd. Allāh Ibn Mūsīm. Ibn Qutaybah (No. 306),

## 518 QARĀQUSH

The amir Qarāqush Ibn Abd. Allāh al-Asadi, (client of Asad al-Dīn), surnamed Bahā al-Dīn (splendour of religion), was a slave to the sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn, or, by another account, to that prince's uncle, Asad al-Dīn Shāyfkūh (No. 272), from whom he received his liberty. We have already made mention of him in the life of the juriscōnsult Tsā al-Hakkāfi (No. 49). When Ṣalāh al-Dīn established his dominion in Egypt, he confided to Qarāqush the government of the palace, and, at a later period, he nominated him his lieutenant in Egypt, and entrusted him with the entire direction of public affairs. Qarāqush was a man of lofty spirit and singularly favoured by fortune. I have read in a manuscript, which I have since consulted, offerings in place of

all his proceedings. It was he who built the wall which encloses Old and New Cairo with the intervening grounds; he built also the Qal'ah al-Jabal<sup>1</sup> and the bridges at Jizah on the road leading to the Pyramids. All those monuments are proofs of an exalted mind. He erected a *ribā*, or convent, at al-Maqs, and the *Khān Sabil*<sup>2</sup> outside Old Cairo, at (the gate called) Bāb al-Futūh. He founded besides a great number of *Waqfs* (No. 20, note), producing revenues to an unknown amount. In all his intentions and proceedings he was actuated by the purest motives. When the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took Acre from the Franks (A.H. 583, A.C. 1187-8), he gave (the command of) the city to Qarāqūsh, who, when the enemy returned and obtained possession of it a second time, remained a prisoner in their hands. It is stated that he paid ten thousand dinārs for his ransom. Our *shaykh*, the *qādī* Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād says, in his History of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn<sup>3</sup>, that Qarāqūsh was delivered from captivity on Tuesday, the 11th of Shawwāl, A.H. 588 (October, A.C. 1192)\*, and came to pay his respects to the sultān; this prince manifested an extreme joy on again seeing a person to whom he, Islamism, and the Muslims were so deeply indebted. Qarāqūsh then asked and obtained permission to go and procure money for his ransom, which was stated to be thirty thousand pieces (of gold). A number of extraordinary decisions are attributed to Qarāqūsh, as having been pronounced by him during his administration; nay, things have gone so far that al-As'ad Ibn Mammātī (No. 88) composed a small volume under the title of *Kitāb al-Fashūsh fi Ahkām Qarāqūsh* (stupidity, or the decisions, of Qarāqūsh), and containing things which it is highly improbable that such a man as Qarāqūsh could have said or done. They are manifestly mere inventions.

The Qal'ah-Jabal, or Castle of the Mountain, forms the citadel of Cairo. See the description of it in M. de Sacy's *Abdullatif*, page 208, note (4), and, in the first-line of the same note, read قلعة الجبل in place of قصر الشمع.

2 The *Khān Sabil* was a caravan serai built by Qarāqūsh for the gratuitous reception of travellers, *liabud is Sabli (wa al-Khamsa firin)*. (Al-Maqrizī's *Khitat*.)

3 See Schulten's *Saladini vita et res gesta*, p. 267.

4 Ibn Shaddād, *loco laudato*, has eighty thousand.

\* 23 October.—Ed.



for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn would not have confided to him the affairs of the empire unless he had an entire confidence in his knowledge and abilities<sup>1</sup>. Qarāqūsh died at Cairo, on the 1st of Rajab, A.H. 597 (April, A.C. 1201)\* and was interred at the foot of Mount Muqaṭṭam, in the funeral chapel which bears his name. This monument is situated near the well and pond which he had caused to be made at the border of the trench (*which surrounds the city*)—*Qarāqūsh* is the Turkish name of the bird called '*uqāb* (*eagle*) in Arabic<sup>2</sup>; it is employed also as a proper name of a man.

### 519 QAṬARĪ IBN AL-FUJĀ'AH

Abū Na'āmah Qaṭarī Ibn al-Fujā'ah Ja'ūnah Ibn Māzin Ibn Yazīd Ibn Zayd Manāt Ibn Ḥanṭhar Ibn Kinānah Ibn Ḥurfūṣ† Ibn Māzin Ibn Mālik Ibn 'Amr Ibn Tamīm Ibn Murr al-Māzini al-Khārijī (*the Khārijite*) commenced his revolt when Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr was governing 'Irāq as lieutenant of his brother 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr. Muṣ'ab was appointed to this post, A.H. 66 (A.C. 685-6), and Qaṭarī continued, during twenty years, to wage war and to be saluted, by the title of *khalīf*. Al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī sent army after army against him, but they were always defeated. It is related that, in one of his battles, he rode forth from the ranks on a lean horse, with a cudgel in his hand, and challenged the opposite party to send out a man to fight him. One of them sallied forth to encounter him, but immediately fled when Qaṭarī removed the covering off his face to let him see who he was. "Where art thou going?" exclaimed Qaṭarī. "No man need be ashamed of flying from thee," answered his adversary. Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad has a long section in his *Kāmil* on the his-

1 See M. de Sacy's *Abdallatif*, page 206.

2 Not precisely ; *qarāqūsh* signifies literally, *niger avis*.

\* 7 April.—Ed.

† The Cairo edition gives Ḥurqūs.—Ed.

tory and wars of these Khārijites. Qaṭarī held his career without interruption till Sufyān. Ibn al-Abrad al-Kalbī marched against him, defeated and slew him in the year 78 (A.C. 697-8). He fell by the hand of Sawdah Ibn Abḥar al-Dārimī. Some say that he lost his life in Ṭabaristān, A.H. 79, and others state that he died in consequence of his having broken his thigh by his horse falling with him. His head was cut off and sent to al-Ḥajjāj. I must here notice a statement of historians which I am unable to explain; according to them, Qaṭarī waged war and bore the title of khalif for the space of twenty years, yet this is contradicted by the dates of his first revolt and of his death. This is a point to which I call the attention of the reader. Qaṭarī left no posterity. His father was called *Fujā'ah* because he had gone to Yaman and returned to his family *quite unexpectedly* (*fujā'ah*). They then gave him this surname, and it stuck to him ever after. It is Qaṭarī to whom al-Ḥarīrī alludes in the following passage of his sixth *Maqāmah*. "And they entrusted him with the management of this business, as the Khārijites entrusted (*theirs*) to Abū Na'āmah<sup>1</sup>." "He was a man of courage and daring, noted for his frequent wars and numerous battles, his intrepidity and contempt of death. On this last subject he composed the following lines :

"I said to myself when I wavered at the sight of warriors : 'Shame upon thee ! fear not ! wert thou to ask the delay of a single day above the term prescribed to thy existence, thy request would not be heard ; be firm then in the career of death ! be firm ! to obtain an everlasting life is a thing impossible. The robe of existence is not so precious that the heartless dastard should fold it up (*to preserve it*). The path of death must be trod by every mortal; the inhabitants of the earth must all listen to his summons. He who dies not young must live in suffering and fall into decrepitude, whilst fate delivers him over to solitary misery. Life is of no use to a man when he has become an object of contempt<sup>2</sup>."

1 See M. de Sacy's *Ḥarīrī*, page 57.

2 Literally, in French : Qui est compte pour une marchandise de rebut.

These verses are inserted in the first section of the *Hamāsah*<sup>1</sup>; they would give courage to the greatest coward. God ever created, and I know of nothing on the subject to be compared with them; they could only have proceeded from a haughty spirit, ardently aspiring after glory. Qafārī is counted as one of the Arabian pulpit-orators the most celebrated for precision of thought and elegance of style.—It is related that al-Hajjaj said to the brother of Qafārī: "I shall surely put thee to death."—"Why so?" replied the other "On account of thy brother's revolt;" answered al-Hajjaj. "But I have a letter from the Commander of the Faithful, ordering thee not to punish for the fault of my brother."—"Produce it." "I have with me something stronger than that."—"What is it?" "The book of Almighty God, wherein he says: *And no burdened soul shall bear the burden of another*<sup>2</sup>." Al-Hajjaj was struck with his answer, and gave him his liberty. Husayn Ibn Ḥafṣah al-Saḍī said of Qafārī in one of his poems:

"Thou art he whose loss we cannot support; though useless thy life, thy death was a calamity."

I have marked the pronunciation of the names of his ancestors; it is, therefore, unnecessary for me to lengthen this article by indicating the orthography of each, letter by letter; and the persons who copy this work may rely on the genuineness of what we have there marked; I have also put the vowel points to all the words in the verses.—It is said by some that *Qafārī* was not his name, but a surname, and that it is derived from the name of a town situated between al-Bahrayn and Umān; Abu Na'āmah, being a native of it, received this appellation. Some say also that it is the *qaṣabah* of Umān; the word *Qasabah* means the capital of a province (lit. the throne of region); see *Hamāsah*, page 144. See *Qur'ān*, *Isrāh* (verse 164).

3 The copyists have all neglected to insert the vowel and orthographical signs.

4 The author of the *Mārāsīd* notices a village called *Qafār* on the sea-shore in the province of al-Bahrayn, between Umān and al-Uqayr.

520. KĀFÜR AL-IKHSHIDI

Abu 'l-Misk (the father of) *misk* Kāfūr (camphor)<sup>1</sup> was the son of Abd Allāh and bore the surname of al-Ikhshidī (enfranchised slave of al-Ikhshidī). We have already mentioned some circumstances respecting him in the life of Fātik (No. 499). He had been possessed as a slave by a native of Old Cairo, but, in the year 312 (A.C. 924-5), he was sold in that city by his master Maḥmūd Ibn Wāḥb Ibn 'Abbās to Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid, a person whose life we intend to give. He then rose into such favour with al-Ikhshid that the latter appointed him *atabek* (guardian)<sup>2</sup> of his two sons. When al-Ikhshid died (A.H. 334, A.C. 946) his eldest son, Abū 'l-Qāsim Anūjūr (the word *anūjūr* signifies *maḥmūd*, praised in Arabic), obtained the government of Egypt and Syria from the khalif al-Rādī<sup>3</sup>, who issued a written instrument to that effect. Kāfūr continued to administer the state with great ability till the death of Anūjūr. This event took place on Saturday, the 18th—some say the seventh—of *Dhū'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 349 Dec. (A.C. 960)\*; his body was transported to Jerusalem and interred near that of his father; he was born at Damascus on Thursday, the 9th of *Dhū'l-Hijjah* A.H. 319 (December, A.C. 931)†. His brother Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī succeeded to the throne; in this prince's reign the Greeks took Aleppo, Miṣṣiṣah Tarsūs, and all that territory, whilst Kāfūr continued to act as his faithful guardian and the deputy of his power. 'Alī died on the 11th of Muharram, A.H. 355 (January, A.C. 966)‡; he was born at Old Cairo on Tuesday, the 25th of Ṣafar, A.H. 326 (January, A.C. 938)§. From this epoch, Kāfūr assumed the

1 This name was given by him by antiphrasis: Camphor is white and he was a negro.

2 See No. 137.

3 This is an anachronism, al-Rādī died five years before. We must read *al-Mutī*, with Abū 'l-Mahasin, who says, in his *Nujūm*, that al-Ikhshid's nomination of Anūjūr as his successor was confirmed by the Khalif al-Mutī.

\* 29 December.—Ed.

† 22 December.—Ed.

‡ 7 January.—Ed.

§ 2 January.—Ed.

uncontrolled government of the empire, and, when advised to proclaim the son of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, he answered that so young a boy was not fit to reign. He then rode out escorted by spearmen, and exhibited the pelisses of investiture which had been sent to him from (*the court of the Khalif in*) 'Irāq; he published also a document conferring on him an honorary title (*as governor of Egypt*), and at length, on Tuesday, the 10th of Ṣafar, A.H. 355 (February, A.C. 966)\*, he rode out wearing these pelisses. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt (*No. 130*) served him in the capacity of Wazīr. Kāfūr loved the society of virtuous men, and treated them with marked honour. He was a negro of a deep black colour, with a smooth shining skin. It has been delivered down that al-Ikhshīd purchased him for eighteen pieces of gold (*dīnārs*). In the life of the *sharīf* Ibn Tabāṭabā (*No. 317*) will be found an anecdote respecting him. When Abu 'l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī (*No. 49*) departed in anger from the court of Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān (*No. 456*), he proceeded to Egypt, and celebrated the praises of Kāfūr in some *qaṣīdahs* of great beauty. In the month of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 346 (Sept. A.C. 957) he recited to him one of these pieces wherein he says, when describing the horses (*which bore him to Egypt*):

"They went to Kāfūr and neglected all other men; for he who seeks the sea, despiseth the rivulets. They bore us to the (*dark*) pupil of the eye of the age, and left behind them the white (*of the eye*) and its corners<sup>1</sup>."

Here the poet has attained the acme of perfection. In the month of *Shawwāl*, 347 (Dec.-Jan., A.C. 958-9), he recited to Kāfūr the poem rhyming in *b*, wherein he says:

"Whether I wish or not to praise Kāfūr, his noble qualities dictate to me and I must write. When a man leaves his family behind and visits Kāfūr, he again finds himself at home."

1 The commentators say, on this verse, that the poet, alluding to Kāfūr's dark complexion and to his merit, represents him as the most noble object upon earth, the pupil of the eye of the age; and that, for the worthlessness of other men, he designates them as the white and the corners of the eye, in which parts the sense of sight does not exist.

\* 6 February.—Ed.

The same poem contains the following passage :

"On that day of rejoicing every man meets his friend with smiles, but I weep and lament (*the absence of*) those I love. I sigh for my family and long to meet them, but how far is that distant 'anqā' removed from my ardent wishes. If a choice must be made between (*thee*) Abu 'l-Misk and them, thou art sweeter to my heart than they are. The beneficent man is ever beloved, and the land which produces the plant of noble generosity is ever delightful."

It is related that al-Mutanabbī said : "When I went into Kāfūr's presence with the intention of reciting verses to him, he always laughed on seeing me and smiled in my face, but when I repeated to him these lines :

"Since friendship has become a mere deception, I am repaid for my smiles with smiles ; and when I choose a friend, my mind misgives me, for I know he is but a man !"

He never did so again, as long I remained with him. I was astonished at this proof of his sagacity and intelligence." In the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 349 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 960), al-Mutanabbī recited verses in his presence for the last time, and never went to see him again. The *qaṣīdah* which he repeated to him on this occasion rhymes in *b*, and contains some passages in which the poet betrays his dissatisfaction. We extract from it the following passage :

"When near to thee, my eyes are rejoiced, but that nearness is combined with the remoteness (*of those I love*). Does it profit

---

1 This is an allusion to an old Arabian proverb : *Mora difficile to find the 'Anqā*. The 'Anqā was an enormous bird which carried off two children, on which Ḥan'alah Ibn Ṣafwān, a prophet of that time, invoked God against it, and it never appeared after. The commentator on al-Mutanabbī, who furnishes this information, says that the word مغرب in the expression عناء مغرب may be made to agree with عناء as an adjective agrees with a substantive ; but I have generally found it governed by it in the genitive as one noun governs another.—See M. de Sacy's commentary on *al-Harīrī*, page 594. Mr. Lane speaks of the 'Anqā in his translation of the *Thousand and one Nights*, Vol. III, page 91.

me to approach thy person, if that which I desire be refused me? I visit thee seldom, that I may not be burdensome; and I keep silent to spare thee the trouble of a reply. What I want I declare not; thou art fted with sagacity, and my silence is a sufficient explanation, nay, a plain request. But yet I am not one of those who require to be bribed into love, and whose attachment must be strengthened by rewards. I came to confound my calumniators, and my confidence in thy friendship was fully justified; I came to prove to persons who were hostile to me and went to (praise the princes of the) East, that I, who visited the West, was successful when they failed. Opinions differ, except respecting thee, thou art without a rival, and a lion where other kings are mere wolves. Nay, in this comparison, if the word *wolves* (ذباب) were not pointed and the reader took it for *flies* (ذباب), he would make no mistake. Praise bestowed on other men is falsehood mixed with truth; but that which thou receivest is truth pure from alloy. When I obtain proofs of thy friendship, I contemn wealth and look on all other men as dust. Were it not for thee, I had been always a traveller, every day changing town and companions. For me, thou art the world; to that world I am attached; and, were I to leave thee, I should be obliged to return to thee again."

After reciting this poem, al-Mutanabbi remained a year in Egypt without going to see Kāfūr, against whom he was greatly incensed; he merely rode out in his train to avoid incurring his displeasure.

Having then made secret preparations for his departure, and every thing being arranged, he recited, on the ninth of Dhu'l Hijjah, A.H. 350 (January, A.C. 962)\*, the *qasidah* rhyming in *d* wherein he satirized Kāfūr. The next day he left Cairo. This poem ends with the following lines:

Who could teach noble sentiments to this castrated negro?  
his white masters? or his ancestors who were hunted like wild  
beasts? or his ear, bleeding under the hands of the coppersmith?

The coppersmith put a brass ring in his ear to show that he was a slave.

\* 19 January.—Ed.

or the price set upon him, when none would give two oboles to purchase him? But so it is! the best of the whites are incapable of honourable deeds; how then could any be expected from black eunuchs?"

He composed many more satires against Kāfūr, all of which are inserted in the collection of his poems. On leaving him he went to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, at Shīrāz, as we have already related. In a compilation of anecdotes, I read the following relation: "I was at the court of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī, when a man came in and prayed for him, saying: 'May God prolong the days of our master!' but the word *days* he pronounced as if it were in the genitive case. Some of the company began to converse about this mistake and blamed the man for making it, when a person of eminent rank, who happened to be present, repeated extempore these lines:

'Wonder not if the man who invokes God's blessing on our master commit a fault of grammar, or that, struck with confusion, he falter and stammer. For the awe which the prince's aspect inspires is so great, that it renders the man of education embarrassed in his speech. If it be a fault to put *days* in the genitive instead of the accusative, it was not committed through heedlessness; he thus offered a good omen to our master; and the belief in omens has been transmitted to us from (*Muḥammad*) the chief of the human race. He meant to pray that the prince's days should be days of *enjoyment*, not days of *affliction*, and that his life should be free from trouble!.'"

The author of these lines was the philologist and historian Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hashīsh al-Jīzī, one of Kāfūr's *kātib*s, and the person who prayed for Kāfūr and made the blunder was Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn Shabās. The anecdotes told of Kāfūr are very numerous: having obtained possession of the sovereign authority after a series of occurrences too long to relate, he continued to hold it till his death. This event

---

1 The word خَفَضَ is not only the technical term designating the genitive case, but it signifies also *wealth, ease*. The word نَسَبَ which, as a technical term, denotes the accusative case, signifies also *pain, affliction*.



took place at Old Cairo, on Tuesday, the 20th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 356 (May, A.C. 957)\*; but some say that he died on a Wednesday, and others place his death in the year 355 or 357; this last is the date given by al-Qūḍā'ī in his work, the *Khīṭaṭ*, and al-Farghānī<sup>1</sup> indicates the same date in his History. Kāfūr was interred in the Lesser Qarāfah, and his tomb is a well-known object in that cemetery. His reign did not continue long, as may be perceived, since it commenced on the death of 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshīd. His dominion extended not only over Egypt, but Syria also, and public prayers were offered up for him *as sovereign* from the pulpits of Makkah, Hijaz, Egypt, and the cities of Syria, including Damascus, Aleppo, Antioch, Ṭarsūs, and al-Miṣṣ-ṣah. According to al-Farghānī, in his History, he died at the age of sixty-five years. Kāfūr ruled with justness and mildness; on his death, contestations arose respecting the choice of a successor, but it was at length unanimously decided that the son of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshīd should be raised to the throne. Kāfūr reigned two years, two months, and twenty-three days. On Firday, the 23rd of the first Jumādā, A.H. 357 (April, A.C. 968)\*; public prayers were offered up for Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshīd. The history of these princes will be given in the life of their grandfather, Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd.

## 521 KUTHAYYIR THE LOVER OF 'AZZAH

Abū Ṣakhr Kuthayyir Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Jum'ah al-Aswad Ibn 'Āmir Ibn 'Uwaymir al-Khuḏā'ī was one of the most celebrated Arabian lovers. Ibn al-Kalbī gives his genealogy as follows, in the *Jamharat al-Nisab*: "Kuthayyir Ibn Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Aswad Ibn 'Uwaymir Ibn Makhlād Ibn Sa'īd† Ibn Khath-'amah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Maliḥ Ibn 'Amr Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Ḥārithah

<sup>1</sup> See No. 70 and 125, note.

\* Tuesday fell on 17 Jumādā al-Awwal corresponding to 30 April.—Ed.

† The Cairo edition adds, Ibn Sabī'.—Ed.

Ibn 'Amr Ibn Muzayqiyā Ibn 'Āmir Mā al-Samā Ibn Ḥārithah Imra al-Qays Ibn Ḥa'labah Ibn Māzin Ibn al-Azd." The remainder of this genealogy is well known<sup>1</sup>. "The Rabī'ah Ibn Ḥārithah mentioned in this list is the same person as Luḥayyi and it was 'Amr, the son of this Luḥayyi whom the blessed Prophet saw dragging his own entrails in hell. 'Amr Ibn Luḥayyi was the first who introduced the custom of making camels *sā'ibahs*, and *baḥīrah*s<sup>2</sup>, who altered the religion of Abraham, and called on the Arabs to worship idols. Luḥayyi and Afṣā, the sons of Ḥārithah, were the persons denominated *Khuzā'ah*, and, from them, the tribe bearing this name drew its descent. They were called *Khuzā'ah* (*segment*) because they separated from the tribe of Azd, when it left Yaman at the epoch of the Torrent of the Dike (*Sayl al-Aram*)<sup>3</sup>; they then settled at Makkah, and the rest of their people proceeded to Madinah, Syria, and 'Umān." A little before this, Ibn al-Kalbī says: "Al-Aṣḥyam, the same person as Abū Jum'ah, was the son of Khālīd Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Mubashshir Ibn Rabāḥ, and father of the mother of Kuṭhayyir, the lover of 'Azzāh; for this reason, Kuṭhayyir was called the grandson of Abū Jum'ah. His mistress, 'Azzah was the daughter of Jamil Ibn Ḥaṣṣ Ibn Ayyās Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā Ibn Ḥājib Ibn 'Arār\* Ibn Mālik Ibn Ḍamrah Ibn Bakr Ibn Abd Manāf† Ibn Kinānah Ibn Khuzaymah Ibn Mudrikah Ibn al-Yās Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān." It is stated, however, by al-Sam'ānī, that Jamil was the son of Waqqāṣ Ibn Ḥaṣṣ Ibn Ayyās. The anecdotes told of Kuṭhayyir's affection for 'Azzah and of his interviews with her are numerous and well-known. The greater part of his poems were composed in her praise. Although a *Rāfiḍī*<sup>4</sup> and ardently devoted to the cause of the family of Abū 'Iṣṭalib, he used to go to the court of (*the Umayyad khalif*) 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, and recite

1 See Eichhorn's *Monumenta*, tab. XIII.

2 See Pococke's *Specimen Hist. Ar.*, pp. 97. 319 et seq.

3 See M. de Sacy's *Memoire sur divers evenements de l'histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions to Belles-lettres*, tom. 47.

4 See No. 63, Note.

\* The Cairo edition has Ghafār.—Ed.

† The Cairo edition has Manāt.—Ed.

poems in his presence : Ibn Qutaybah relates, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* (No. 305), that Kuṭhayyir went one day into the presence of 'Abd al-Malik, and this prince said to him : "I conjure thee by the rights of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib to inform me if thou ever sawest a truer lover than thyself." To this Kuṭhayyir replied : "Commander of the Faithful ! conjure me by your own rights, and I shall answer you". "Well," said the prince, "I conjure thee by my own rights ; wilt thou not tell it to me now?" "Certainly," said Kuṭhayyir ; "I will. As I was travelling in a certain desert, I beheld a man who had just pitched his toils to catch game, and I said to him : 'Why art thou sitting here ?' And he replied : 'I and my people are dying with hunger, and I have pitched these toils that I may catch something which may sustain our lives till tomorrow.' 'Tell me,' said I, 'if I remain with thee and if thou takest any game, wilt thou give me a share?' He answered that he would, and whilst we were waiting, behold, a gazelle got into the net. We both rushed forward, but he outran me, and having disentangled the animal, he let it go. 'What', said I, 'could have induced thee to do so, ?' He replied : 'On seeing her so like (*my beloved*) Laylā (*in the eyes*), I was touched with pity.' He then repeated these verses :

'Timid animal, so like to Laylā, fear not ! today, I am thy friend. When I delivered it from the toils, I exclaimed : 'As long as I live, thou shalt go free for Laylā's sake.' "

When 'Abd al-Malik resolved on marching out to combat Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, his wife 'Ātikah, the daughter of Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiyah, implored him not to go forth in person, but to send some one in his place. The more she pressed him, the more resolutely he refused, and when she found her entreaties unavailing, she burst into tears. On this, all the female slaves and attendants who surrounded her uttered loud lamentations, and 'Abd al-Malik exclaimed : "Damn that fellow, Ibn Abī Jum'ah !" meaning Kuṭhayyir, "one would think that he had witnessed this scene when he said :

"When he resolved on going forth to fight, the noble lady bedecked with necklaces of pearls could not turn him from his purpose. She forbade him, and finding that her prohibitions

withheld him not, she burst into tears, on which her attendants wept in sympathy for her affliction.' "

He then insisted on her ceasing to weep, and she obeyed ; after which he set out as he had intended. It is said that 'Azzah went one day to see Umm al-Banīn, who was the daughter of 'Abd al-'Azīz, the sister of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, and the wife of al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. This princess asked her what was the nature of the debt to which Kuthayyir alluded in the verse where he says :

'Every other debtor pays, and his creditor is satisfied ; but 'Azzāh's creditor is put off, and remains afflicted.'

To this question 'Azzah replied that she promised him a kiss, but refused to keep her word. Umm al-Banīn then said : "Fulfil thy promise, and let the sin of the deed be upon me." "Kuthayyir had a slave-boy who kept a grocer's shop (*for his master*) at Madīnah, and the Arab women sometimes bought from him on credit. He once sold perfumes to 'Azzah, whom he did not then know, and he remained some days without being paid. She at length came back to the shop with some other woman, and he asked her for payment. "O," said she, "I am quite willing ; it shall be done very, very soon." On this he repeated these words :

'Every other debtor pays, and his creditor is satisfied ; but 'Azzah's creditor is put off, and remains afflicted.'

On this, the other woman asked him if he knew the name of his debtor, and, as he answered that he did not, they exclaimed : "By Allāh ! it is 'Azzah herself." On hearing these words, he said to them : "I take you to witness that I declare her liberated from what she may owe me." He then went to his master, and, having told him what had passed, Kuthayyir replied : "I take God to witness that thou art free for His sake ; and I give thee the shop with all its contents." The coincidence was certainly singular. Kuthayyir composed a great number of pieces on 'Azzah's deferring the fulfilment of her promise ; in one of these, he says :

'Charming 'Azzah! you defer the payment of thy debt ; and, surely, the worst of maidens are those who defer. To this she

replied: 'Silly man! how can I pay a creditor from whom I never received money.'"

In another piece he says:

"She pretends that I am changed since our last separation; but who, O 'Azzah! does not undergo a change? My body is changed, but my soul remains as thou hast known it, and nothing (*in me*) has ever betrayed the secret of our love."

When Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Şufrah was slain with a number of his family at 'Aqr Bābī, as we shall relate in his life, the news of this event reached Kuthayyir, who had been always treated by them with great kindness; on which he shed a flood of tears, and exclaimed: "What awful calamities! the sons of Ḥarb destroyed religion on the day of al-Ṭaff<sup>1</sup>, and the sons of Marwān destroyed generosity on the day of al-'Aqr<sup>2</sup>!" Abu 'l-Faraj al-Işbahānī (*No. 415*), the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, relates as follows: "Kuthayyir was coming out from 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān's, dressed in a gown of flowered silk, when an old woman, who was carrying home some fire in a lump of dried horse-dung, met him in the street. He expressed his disgust so openly that she asked him his name. He replied: Kuthayyir, the lover of 'Azzah. 'Are not you,' said she, 'the person who said:

'A blooming meadow, on a fertile soil, whose shrubs<sup>3</sup> overflow with sap, spreads not a sweeter perfume than the sleeves of

1 Al-Zamakḥṣharī says in his geographical dictionary that the word *al-Ṭaff* is employed to designate those high lands of Arabia which overlook the cultivated country of 'Irāq. The author of the *Marāşid* applies this denomination to the open country of Kūfah, on the road leading to the desert, and he adds that al-'ūsayn was slain there. It is therefore the name of the territory in which Karbalā is situated; and Kuthayyir most certainly alludes here to the murder of al-'ūsayn, the grandson of Muḥammad, and of his followers by the troops of the Umayyad Khalīf, Yazid, the grandson of Abū Sufyān, and great-grandson of Ṣaḥḥr.

2 The verb *ضجرب* signifies *to expose to the sun, to wither, to injure*. By the *sons of Marwān* he means the Umayyide princes.

3 The original has; *whose jaḥjāth* and whose '*Adhār exude sap*. Those plants are unknown to me.

'Azzah at the midnight hour, when she places green aloes-wood on her fire.' "

Kuthayyir replied that he was, and she said: "Were green aloes-wood placed on this lump of dung, it would give out a sweet perfume also. Why did you not say, like Imra 'l-Qays :

'Did you not observe that, every night on which I went to visit her, I found her smell of perfumes, and yet she uses them not!?' "

He immediately gave her the gown he wore, and implored her to conceal his blunder. At the time of my literary studies, I heard a teacher of the belles-lettres say that the latter part of the second verse composed by Kuthayyir referred to the meadow and served to complete the description of it; it was therefore as if the poet had said, that this meadow, whose soil is so fertile, and whose shrubs overflow with sap, smells not sweeter (*when green aloes-wood is burned on its fire*)<sup>2</sup>, than do the sleeves of 'Azzah. If the verse be explained in this manner, the objection falls to the ground; but it appears very improbable that such could have been the poet's meaning. Kuthayyir was noted for his thoughtlessness. It is related that he went one day into the presence of Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and said: "Commander of the faithful! what did al-ḡammākh<sup>3</sup> mean by these words :

إذا لا رطى توسدا برديه—خذ ود جوارى بالرمل عین

The khalif answered: "And what harm can it do me if I know not what that boorish Arab of the desert meant to say? turn this fool out!" When 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwān, the father of (*the Khalif*) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, was governor of Egypt, he had an attack of sickness, and his family wished to amuse him

1 See my *Dīwan d'Amro 'l-Kais*, page 37.

2 I insert here a passage absolutely necessary for the sense, although omitted in all my MSS.

3 See No. 499.

4 The verse is certainly difficult, and it is surprising that the khalif was unable to understand it. Its meaning appears to me to be this: "When the cheeks of large-eyed maidens in the desert are pillowed at morning and at evening under the shade of the *arḡḍ*-tree..."

and make him laugh. Kuthayyir (*therefore*) went to visit him, and pronounced these words as he stood at his bed-side: "Were it not that your pleasure would be incomplete in case that I got sick in order to restore you to health, I should implore the Lord God to pass your sickness over to me. I shall, however, pray him to grant thee health and me a life of enjoyment under thy protection." This made 'Abd al-'Aziz laugh, and Kuthayyir repeated these verses:

"We visit the sick-bed of our prince, the prince of all mankind; O that his sufferings could be transferred to his visitors! If his health could be redeemed at any price, I should sacrifice for it the most precious of my possessions.

One of Kuthayyir's most admired *qasīdahs* is that rhyming in *t*, wherein he says:

"In my wild passion for 'Azzah, after our mutual affection had cooled, I resembled the man who at noon waits for the coming of a cloud, but, when he lies down to sleep under its shade, it disappears."

Kuthayyir was in Egypt and 'Azzah in Madinah, when he conceived an anxious wish to see her. He therefore set out to visit her, and, as she was then travelling towards Egypt, they met on the road. A conversation, too long to relate, passed between them, and she then left him pursue her journey. Some time after, Kuthayyir returned to Egypt and went to see her, but found the people coming home from her funeral. He immediately proceeded to the grave, and, making his camel kneel down, remained there for some time, and then departed, reciting a piece of verse in which were the following lines:

"I exclaimed, when my emaciated camel stopped at her tomb, and my eyes overflowed with tears: 'Receive the salutation of meeting! when thou wert alive, I used to weep on leaving thee, but now, alas! thou art farther from me than ever!'"

The stories told of him and 'Azzah are very numerous. He died A.H. 105 (A.C. 723-4). Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd al-Wāqidi relates that Khālīd Ibn al-Qāsim al-Bayāḍī said: "Kuthayyir and

'Ikrimah, the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Abbās, died on the same day, in the year 105. I was present at the funeral prayer; it was said over them both together, in the afternoon, and the people declared that they had lost the ablest jurisconsult and the best poet in the world. They died at Madīnah." We have already noticed, in the life of 'Ikrimah (*No. 396*), the conflicting statements relative to the date of the latter's death; to that article we refer therefore to the reader. The meaning of the word *Khuzā'i* has been already explained (*in this article*). *Kuthayyir* is the diminutive form of the adjective *kathīr* (*great*); he received this name on account of his extremely diminutive size. He was so short that, when he went to visit 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān, that prince used to banter him and say: "Stoop your head, lest you hurt it against the ceiling. He was also called *Rabb al-Dhubāb* (*the king of the flies*), for the same reason. One of his contemporaries said: "I saw him making the circuits round the Ka'bah; and if any one tell you that his stature exceeded three spans, that person is a liar."

## 522 KŪKUBRĪ

Abū Sa'īd Kūkuburī Ibn Abi 'l Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Baktikīn Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed al-Malik al-Mu'azzam (*the exalted prince*) Muẓẓafar al-Dīn (*the triumphant in religion*), and lord of Arbela, was the son of Zayn al-Dīn (*ornament of religion*), 'Alī, surnamed Kūchak, who was blessed by Providence with a great number of other children. Zayn al-Dīn, being low in stature, received the appellation of *Kūchak*, a Persian word, which means *little*<sup>1</sup>. He was by race a Turcoman. Having obtained possession of Arbela and many other cities in the same territory, he distributed them among the sons of the *atābak* Qutb al-Dīn Mawdūd<sup>2</sup>, the son of Zinkī and lord of Moṣul, reserving for himself Arbela only. The history of these transactions would lead us too far. He lived to an advanced age, some say upwards of a hundred years, and he lost his sight towards the close of his life. (*Zayn al-Dīn having*

1 This word is written کوچک in the Persian.

2 The life of Mawdūd will be found in this work.



*distributed his estates,)* remained ever afterwards at Arbela, and he died there on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 563 (August, A.C. 1168). \* Ibn *Shaddād* says, in his life of *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*<sup>1</sup>, that his death occurred in the month of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah* of that year. He was interred in the sepulchral chapel which bears his name and is situated within the city-walls, near the Old Mosque. His great courage and strength rendered him particularly conspicuous. A number of colleges and other remarkable establishments for pious purposes were founded and endowed by him at *Moṣul*. My master 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr the *ḥāfiẓ* (see No. 435) says, in his lesser historical work, composed by him at the desire of the *Banū Atābak*, sovereign of *Moṣul*: "Zayn al-Dīn departed from *Moṣul* for Arbela in the year 563, and delivered all the cities and fortresses which he possessed into the hands of the *atābak* *Qutb al-Dīn*. Amongst them were *Sinjār*, *Ḥarrān*, *Qal'at 'Aqr al-Ḥumaydiyah*<sup>2</sup>, all the castles in the country belonging to the tribe of *Hakkār*, *Tikrīt*, *Shahrūzūr*, etc., reserving only Arbela for himself. He made the pilgrimage, A.H. 555 (A.C. 1160), in company with *Asad al-Dīn Shayrkūh* (No. 279)."—"On the death of Zayn al-Dīn, his son *Muẓaffar al-Dīn (Kūkuburi)*, who was then fourteen years of age, succeeded to the throne, but remained under the tuition of his *atābak* *Mujāhid al-Dīn Qā'imāz* (No. 515), who, having conceived a strong prejudice against him, wrote to the *August Dīwān* (or court of *Baghdād*), representing him as unfit to govern, and requesting to know what should be done. He then imprisoned him and placed his younger brother, Zayn al-Dīn *Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf*, on the throne. Some time afterwards, *Muẓaffar al-Dīn* left the country and proceeded to *Baghdād*, whence, after some fruitless endeavours to obtain justice, he removed to *Moṣul*. *Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn Mawdūd* (No. 496), the sovereign of that city, then took him into his service and granted him the towns of *Ḥarrān* as a fief. Having removed to *Ḥarrān*, he continued to make it his place of residence till he at length entered into the service of the sultān *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, by whom he was treated with great favour. In the year 578 (A.C. 1182-3), this prince, who had

<sup>1</sup> Schulten's *Saladini vita et res gesta*, page 33.

<sup>2</sup> The *qal'at*, or castle of 'Aqr al-Ḥumaydiyah, was situated in the territory of *Moṣul*.

<sup>3</sup> 18 August.—Ed.

conceived a high esteem for his dependent, took the city of Edessa\* from Ibn al-Za'farānī and bestowed it on Muẓaffar al-Dīn in addition to Harrān; he then indemnified Ibn al-Za'farānī with the gift of al-Raqqah, which city he took from Ibn Hassān. It would be too long to relate the particulars of this transaction<sup>1</sup>. Some time afterwards, he bestowed on him the city of Sumaysāt, and married him to his sister, al-Sitt Rabi'ah Khātūn (*her ladyship the princess Rabi'ah*), the daughter of Ayyūb (*No. 104*). Before that, she had been the wife of Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ibn Mu'in al-Dīn, lord of the Castle of Mu'in al-Dīn in the province of al-Ghawr<sup>2</sup>, who died in the year 581 (A.C. 1185-6). Muẓaffar al-Dīn fought in a great number of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's battles and displayed the highest bravery and resolution, standing firm in conflicts from which all others receded, as is testified by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isbahānī, Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, and other historians. These facts are so well known, that it is needless to insist on the subject, and his conduct at the battle of Ḥiṭṭīn<sup>3</sup> would alone suffice for his reputation. In this battle he and the prince of Hamāt, Taqī al-Dīn (*No. 476*), held their ground, although the whole army was routed and driven back; the soldiers then heard that these two chiefs still continued to resist the enemy, on which they returned to the charge, and the victory was decided in favour of the Muslims. When the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was besieging

1 The following passage from the *Two Gardens* (see *No. 386, Note*) may serve to elucidate these events. "The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn says: The sulṭān (*Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*) then wrote (*to the princes of Mesopotamia*), requiring them to come and make alliance with him. All those who obeyed were allowed to preserve their estates, on the condition of serving in the sulṭān's army and following him in his warfare against the infidels. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Qarā Arsilān, lord of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, sent in his submission with an ambassador, and the sulṭān then departed from al-Birah and came to a halt under the walls of Edessa. Fakḥr al-Dīn Ma'sūd Ibn al-Za'farānī who was then in the city, made his submission, and it was bestowed on Muẓaffar al-Dīn in addition to Harrān. The sulṭān then proceeded to Harrān and from thence to al-Raqqah, which was then held by the amīr Quṭb al-Dīn Ināl Ibn Hassān, who also made his submission."—(MS. No. 707-A, fol. 167, verso.)

2 See *No. 119*. Al-Ghawr is the name given to the valley of the Jordan.

3 See M. Reinaud's *Extraits d'auteurs arabes relatifs aux Croisades*, page 194.

\* The Egyptian edition has: al-Rohā.—Ed.

Acre, which city had fallen into the hands of the Franks, the princes of the East came to his assistance, and placed themselves under his orders, and amongst the number was the lord of Arbela, Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, the brother of Muẓaffar al-Dīn. Soon after his arrival he fell sick, and, on the 28th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 586 (October, A.C. 1190),\* he expired at Nāṣirah (*Nazareth*), a village near Acre, in which, according to one of several conflicting statements, the blessed Messiah was born. On the death of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, his brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn requested to obtain Arbela in exchange for Ḥarrān, Edessa, and Sumaysāt; the sultān having acceded to his wish, and granted him *Shahrūzūr* besides, he set out, and made his entry into Arbela in the month of *Dhu'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 586 (January, A.C. 1191). This is the summary of his history, but, as to the proceedings which mark his character, we may say that, in works of charity, he performed what no single man was ever known to have done before. He delighted in nothing so much as alms-giving, and every day he caused immense sums to be distributed, in different parts of the city, to crowds of needy persons assembled to receive them. His first distribution was made at daybreak, and, when he dismounted from his horse (*on returning from the mosque*), he found great numbers waiting at the palace-door; these he ordered to be brought in, and gave to each a dress adapted to the season, according as it was winter or summer, and with the dress he bestowed on him two or three pieces of gold, sometimes more, sometimes less. He built four asylums for the blind, and persons suffering from chronic distempers; these were always full, and every day he provided the inmates with all the things requisite for their wants: every Monday and Thursday evening he visited these establishments and entered into all the chambers, bestowing on<sup>1</sup> the occupants a small sum for extraordinary expenses, and inquiring into the state of their health. In this manner he visited each chamber

---

1 The fifth form of the verb *قَدَّ* is here employed by Ibn *Khallikān* with the signification of *to bring*. A similar signification is given by Ibn Baṭūṭah to the eighth form. In the account of his voyage to Sūdān, he says : *كانت تنقلنا بالطعام* "she brought us food".

\* 27 October.—Ed.

successively, conversing affably with inmates and jesting with them so as to soothe their hearts. He built a house for the reception of widows, another for orphan children, and a third for foundlings; in this last a number of nurses were always in waiting, ready to suckle whatever children might be brought in. Every day, the occupants of these establishments were provided by his directions with all they required; he went very frequently to see them and ask them about their health, accompanying his inquiry with a donation over and above that which was regularly allotted to them. When he visited the hospital, he stopped at the bedside of each patient successively, and inquired how he had passed the night and how he felt. He founded also a house of hospitality, where all jurisconsults, dervishes, and other persons who came to the city might go to lodge. Indeed, none were refused admittance; a regular meal was furnished to them morning and evening, and when any of them resolved on continuing his journey, he received a sum proportioned to his wants. A college was built by him also and provided with professors for the *Shafi'i* and *Hanafite* students; he frequently went to visit them, dine with them, and pass the night in hearing religious music, to which he was so sensible that, when excited by its influence, he used to pull off part of his clothes: the next morning he always sent to the community some marks of his beneficence. The only pleasure in which he indulged was that of listening to music, for he never took the forbidden thing (*wine*), neither would he suffer it to be brought into the city. He built two convents for *ṣūfis*; these were always filled with fixed residents and visitors; on the days of solemn festival, the number of persons assembled there was astonishingly great, and these two establishments were endowed with estates (*waqf*) sufficient to defray the expenses of providing for all these strangers, who, when they intended to depart, were even obliged to accept a donation. He often went to see the *ṣūfis* and have concerts performed in his presence. Twice every year he dispatched a number of trusty agents to the cities on the sea-coast, and furnished them with large sums for the redemption of such Muslims as might be in the hands of the infidels (*the crusaders*). When any of the persons thus delivered went to see him, they received from him a sum

of money, and his agents had directions to bestow a present on the others. Every year, he provided a *sabil*<sup>1</sup> for the pilgrims, furnished with every thing which they might require on the way; he dispatched it off with a trusty servant, bearing five or six thousand pieces of gold destined to be distributed among the needy and the persons employed in the mosques of the two holy cities (*Makkah and Madinah*). At Makkah he left numerous monuments of his piety, and these are still existing. He was the first person who brought water by an aqueduct to Mount 'Arafât for the use of the pilgrims on the night during which they station there; this work cost him a large sum. He constructed a number of fountains at the same mountain, because the pilgrims used to suffer greatly for want of water, and he erected there also a funeral chapel for himself. The pomp with which he celebrated the birthday of the Prophet surpassed all description; I shall, however, give a feeble outline of the ceremony. The people of the neighbouring provinces, having heard what veneration he testified for the Prophet, hastened to Arbela every year, and an immense multitude of jurisconsults, *şūfis*, preachers, *Qur'ân-readers*, and poets arrived there, at the same time, from Baghdād, Moşul, Mesopotamia, Sinjār, Naşibīn, Prersain 'Irāq, and all the other places in the vicinity. This influx of strangers continued without interruption from the month of Muḥarram till the commencement of the first Rabi'. Already, by his orders, upwards of twenty wooden pavilions, divided into four or five stories, were erected; one being appropriated to himself and each of the others to an amir or some person holding a high rank in the state. On the first day of the month of Şafar, these pavilions were decorated in a most splendid manner; a choir of singers, a band of musicians, and a troop of exhibitors of Chinese shadows were established in each; not a story being left without a company of these artists. During the whole period all business remained suspended, and the sole occupation of the people was to amuse themselves and walk from one band to another. These pavilions were erected on a line

---

1 The word *sabil* ( *vay* ) is often employed to signify a *fountain* for the use of *wayfaring* men (*şāḥib al-sabil*). It is here employed to signify a *convoy of provisions*.

from the gate of the citadel to the entrance of the convent near the hippodrome, and every day, after the 'aṣr prayer<sup>1</sup>, Muẓaffar al-Dīn went forth and stopped at each pavilion successively; listening to the music, and amusing himself with looking at the Chinese shadows or whatever else might be going on. He then passed the night in the convent, listening to religious music, and the next morning, after the prayer, he rode out to hunt, and returned to the citadel before the hour of noon. He continued in the same practice, every day, till the eve of the anniversary, and this he celebrated, one year on the eighth day of the month, and the next on the twelfth, in consequence of the different opinions held respecting the true date. Two days previously to the anniversary, he sent an immense flock of camels, oxen, and sheep to the hippodrome, accompanied with all his drummers, singers, and musicians. These animals were there sacrificed as victims and a number of caldrons being set up, the flesh was cooked in various manners. On the eve of the anniversary, after the *maghrib* (or sunset) prayer, he listened to a concert in the citadel, and then went forth<sup>2</sup>, preceded by a great number of persons bearing wax-lights. Two, or four of these lights, I am not sure of the exact number, were such as are employed in the grand ceremonies, being fastened, each of them, on the back of a mule, with a man seated behind to support it. He advanced in this manner to the convent, and the next day, at an early hour, a quantity of pelisses were brought out of that establishment<sup>3</sup> by the *ṣūfis*, each of them bearing a bundle of them in each hand, and advancing one after another. A great number of these dresses, I do not know exactly how many, having been brought out, he went down to the convent, where the persons of high distinction, the chiefs, and a great number of other eminent individuals had already assembled. A chair was then placed for the preacher, and Muẓaffar al-Dīn went up into a wooden tower, erected to receive him. This edifice had windows overlooking the place where the assembly and the

---

1 See No 257, note on times of prayers.

2 Insert in the Arabic text *ثم ينزل*.

3 The text varies here in the MSS. I take the true reading to be "from the citadel (and carried) to the convent." من القلعة الى الخانقا.

preacher were, and another set of windows opened on the hippodrome which was extremely wide. There, the soldiery were collected in a body, and the prince passed them in review, now looking at them, and then at the public and the preacher. When the soldiers had all defiled successively, a repast was brought into the hippodrome for the poor; a public repast, consisting of an immense quantity of meat and bread. Another repast was prepared in the convent for the persons who had attended the preaching. Whilst the troops were defiling and the preachers exhorting, he sent for all the chiefs and eminent men, and for the doctors, preachers, *Qur'ân-readers*, and poets, who had come from the neighbouring countries to witness the solemnity; each of these persons was separately introduced and clothed in a pelisse, after which he returned to his place. When all had been presented, the repast was brought in, and a portion of it was sent to the house of such of the company as were judged worthy of that honour. Towards the hour of the 'aṣr-prayer, or somewhat later, the repast ended, and the prince passed that night in the convent, listening to religious concerts till day-break. Such was his custom every year, and I have given merely an abridged account of the ceremony, because a full description of it would lead me too far. When the solemnity was ended, all prepared for their departure, and every one of them received from him a donation. We have already mentioned (No. 472) that, when the *hāfiẓ* Ibn Diḥyah arrived at Arbela and remarked the zeal displayed by Muẓaffar al-Dīn in celebrating this anniversary, he composed for him the work entitled *al-Tanwīr*, etc., and that the prince made him a present of one thousand pieces of gold; this was exclusive of the abundant gifts which he received for his subsistence during his stay. When Muẓaffar al-Dīn (may God be merciful to him!) tasted of any dish and found it good, he never reserved it for himself, but told one of the persons in waiting to carry it to such and such a *Shaykh*, or to such and such a woman, and these were always persons whom he had noted for their piety. He did the same with the sweetmeats, fruit, and every other article set before him. Noble qualities, profound humility, sincerity of belief, and soundness of moral principle were all combined in Muẓaffar al-Dīn; he showed a strong partiality to the followers

of the *Sunnite* doctrine and orthodox believers; the only class of learned men which he treated with special favour was that of the jurisconsults and Traditionists; none of the others ever obtained any thing from him unless some particular considerations induced him to show them attention; the poets were also in the same case; he had but little esteem for them, and never made them any presents unless they came to recite him poems composed in his honour; then indeed he granted them a recompense, not wishing to frustrate the hopes of any person who counted on his generosity. He cultivated with pleasure the study of history, and his acquirements in that branch of knowledge were evident from his conversation. In his encounters and battles, numerous as they were, he was invariably victorious, the accounts which have been transmitted down of his battles not indicating a single defeat. Were I to enumerate all his virtues and noble deeds, I should be obliged to give a great extension to this work, but they are so well known that it is needless to enter into any details. If the reader remark that this article has been extended to too great a length, he will excuse me when I tell him that our family were under such obligations to Muẓaffar al-Dīn, that, to repay even a part of them, our utmost efforts would be vain; gratitude to a benefactor is, however, a binding precept. May God reward him for us with the best of retributions! in as much as the benefits and favours conferred by him on us, and by his forefathers on ours, were boundless, and men's affections are gained by acts of kindness. Having now proclaimed his virtues, I shall only add that all which I have stated has my own ocular testimony to support it, and that I have throughout avoided even the slightest exaggeration; nay, some of his acts I have passed over in silence, through my desire of avoiding prolixity. He was born in the castle of Moṣul, on Tuesday the 27th of Muḥarram, A.H. 549 (April, A.C. 1154),\* and he died at the hour of noon on Wednesday, the 18th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 630 (June, A.C. 1233)† in his house at al-Balad. This town formed the state of Shihāb al-Dīn Qarāṭā, but, when Muẓaffar

---

\* 13 April.--Ed.

† 29 June.--Ed.



al-Dīn Kūkubūrī arrested him in the year 614 (A.C. 1217-8) and took it into his own possession, he made it his occasional residence. His body was transported to Arbela and buried in the citadel, but, in pursuance to his dying injunctions, it was subsequently sent off to Makkah, where he had erected a mausoleum at the foot of the mountain to receive it, as has been already stated. When the pilgrim-caravan set out for Ḥijāz in the year 631, the body was sent with them, but it so happened that, on arriving at Lī'nah, they were obliged to return without effecting their journey, and the corpse was carried back and interred at Kūfah, near the Mash'had (*or funeral chapel of 'Alī*). May God in his mercy requite him well, and accept his good works, and receive him into everlasting happiness!—His wife Rabī'ah Khātūn, the daughter of Ayyūb, died at Damascus, in the month of Sha'bān A.H. 643 Dec.-Jan., A.C. 1245-6), and, to the best of my opinion, she had then passed her eightieth year. She was interred in the college which she had erected at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn, and endowed for the Ḥanbalites. The number of her male relatives, such as brothers and nephews, whom I saw, and who were also princes, surpassed fifty—exclusive of those who were not princes. To name them individually would extend this notice too far, but I shall simply state, that her husband was prince of Arbela; her daughter's sons, princes of Moṣul; the son of one of her brothers, prince of Kḥalāt and that region; al-Ashraf, another brother's son, prince of Mesopotamia; the other nephews were princes of Syria and Egypt, whilst Ḥijāz and Yaman were possessed by her brothers and their sons. From this indication the whole number may be imagined. Kūkubūrī is a Turkish name, and signifies *blue wolf*<sup>1</sup>. Baktikīn is also a Turkish name. Līnah is the name of a station on the road from 'Irāq to Ḥijāz, but nearer to 'Irāq. In the year before mentioned, the caravan turned back on reaching it, in consequence of the extreme suffering they underwent for want of water<sup>2</sup>.

---

1 *Gūk* in Turkish means *sky-blue*, and *būrī* may perhaps mean *wolf* in some ancient dialect of that language.

2 Līnah is placed by Berghaus on his map of Arabia in lat. 30° 5' long, 42° 51' E. from Paris.

## 523 AL-LAYTH IBN SA'D

Abu 'l-Hārith al-Layth Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the great *imām* of the people of Egypt in the sciences of jurisprudence and the Traditions, drew his origin from an Iṣbahān family, and was a *mawlā* to Qays Ibn Rifā'ah who himself was a *mawlā* to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khālīd Ibn Musāfir al-Fahmī. The credibility and exactitude of al-Layth Ibn Sa'd as a Traditionist were of the highest order, nor was he less distinguished for his noble character and liberality. "I had written down," said he, "a great quantity of the (*legal*) information (*communicated*) by Muḥammad Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (*to his disciples*), and I then asked to obtain the use of the post-horses, so that I might go and see him at al-Ruṣāfah<sup>2</sup>; but being then apprehensive that, in taking such (*an easy mode of conveyance*), I should not be acting in the sole view of God's favour, I abandoned my project." Al-Shāfi'i said of him. "Al-Layth Ibn Sa'd is a more learned jurisconsult than Mālik, only his disciples do not exalt him sufficiently." (*Some students were one day*) reading, under the tuition of Ibn Wahb (*No. 302*), the collection of legal questions which had been decided by al-Layth, when a person who was not a native of the place exclaimed, on hearing one of these questions read (*with its solution*): "Cleverly done for al-Layth! one would think he had heard Mālik, and then repeated his words: On this, Ibn Wahb said to him: "Say rather that Mālik heard al-Layth answer, and then repeated *his* words; I swear by the only true God, that we never saw a more learned jurisconsult than al-Layth!" This *imām* was noted for his generosity and liberality; he enjoyed a yearly income of five thousand pieces of gold (*dīnārs*), and this sum he distributed in gifts and other ways: "I went to see al-Layth" said Maṣṣūr Ibn 'Ammār<sup>3</sup>, "and

1 The life of al-Zuhrī is given in this work.

2 See No. 127, note.

3 Abu 'l-Ṣarf Maṣṣūr Ibn 'Ammār Ibn Kaṭhīr, a native of Khurāsān, or of Baṣrah, as some say, was celebrated for his wisdom, his piety, the elegance of his language, and his function as a preacher. Having gone to 'Irāq, he delivered Traditions there, and afterwards passed into Egypt, where

he gave me one thousand *dīnārs*, saying : 'Let this help to preserve the wisdom with which God has endowed thee.' " I saw, in a certain compilation, that al-Layth held the principles of Ḥanafite sect, and that he exercised the functions of *qāḍī* in Old Cairo. I found stated, in the same work, that Mālik having sent to him a China cup filled with dates, he returned it filled with gold. He used to have almond-cake made for his disciples, and in it he inserted pieces of gold, so that he who eat most cake might get most money. In the year 113 (A.C. 731-2), being then twenty years of age, he made the pilgrimage, and heard the Traditions delivered by Nāfi<sup>1</sup>, the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar. He said that, according to what he had been told by his family, he was born A.H. 92 (A.C. 710-1), but it has been positively ascertained that the real date is A.H. 94, in the month of *Sha'bān*. He died at Old Cairo on Thursday (some say Friday), the 15th of *Sha'bān*, A.H. 175 (December, A.C. 791)\* ; and was interred the next day in the Lesser Qarāfah cemetery, where his tomb still continues to be frequented by pious visitors. Al-Sam'ānī placed his birth in the month of *Sha'bān*, A.H. 124, and another writer, in A.H. 93 ; but our former statement appears to be the most correct. One of his disciples related as follows : "When we had buried al-Layth Ibn Sa'd, we heard a voice say :

---

(Continued from page 105)

he pronounced moral discourses and exhortations. Al-Layth Ibn Sa'd, having heard of his proceedings, sent for him, and asked him how he presumed to hold discourses in the city without being authorised by the doctors of the law. He replied that zeal for religion was his only motive, and that, if al-Layth permitted him, he would make a discourse in his presence, promising that, if he then forbid him to preach, he should obey him. Al-Layth agreed to the proposal, and having heard from him a sermon which brought tears to his eyes, he made him a present of one thousand *dīnārs*, saying : "Go forth and preach to the people." During his residence in Old Cairo, the house and purse of al-Layth were at his disposal, and, on his departure for Baḡdād, the sons of that *imām* made him another present of one thousand *dīnārs*. He died A.H. 225 (A.C. 839-40).—(*Mir'āt al-Zamān*, MS. No 640, fol. 115, *Nujūm*).

1 His life will be found in this work.

\* Friday, 16 December.—Ed.

'Al-Layṭh is departed, and you possess him no longer ! soon also shall learning depart and be interred !'

On hearing these words we turned round, but could see no one." It is said that he belonged to *Qalqashandah* a village about three parasangs to the north of Cairo—*Fahmī* means *belonging to the tribe of Fahm*, a branch of that descended from Qays (son of) *Ghaylān*\*. It has produced many eminent individuals.

## 524 THE IMĀM MĀLIK

Abū 'Abd Allāh Mālik Ibn Anas Ibn Mālik Ibn Abī 'Āmir Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Ghaymān, Ibn Jaṭhīl Ibn 'Amr Ibn Dhī Aṣḥab al-Ḥārith al-Aṣḥabī, a native of Madīnah and the great *imām* of that city (*Imām dār il-Hijrah*), was one of the most eminent among the *imāms* of Islamism. In his genealogy as here set forth, some substitute 'Uṭhmān for *Ghaymān*, and, in place of *Jaṭhīl*, (*Muḥammad*) Ibn Sa'd (*al-Wāqidi*) writes *Khuṭhayl*. Mālik learned to read the Qur'ān under the tuition of Nāfi' Ibn Abī Nu'aym ; he heard Traditions delivered by (*Ibn Shihāb*) al-Zuhri and Nāfi', the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar<sup>1</sup> he taught Traditions on the authority of al-Awzā'i (*No. 336*) and Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id<sup>2</sup>, and he acquired his knowledge of the law from Rabi'ah al-Rā'i (*No. 220*), with whom he acted as *mufti*, or consulting lawyer, to the government. "There were very few men," said Mālik, from whom I received lessons, who did not come to me before they

1 The lives of these persons are given in this work.

2 The *qāḍī* Abū Sa'd Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id al-Anṣarī was a native of Madīnah. His authority as a traditionist was cited by Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfah, Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah, and Sufyān al-Thawrī. Having gone to Kūfah to see Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, that *Khalīf* appointed him *qāḍī* of Hāshimiyah. He died A.H. 143 (A.C. 760-1).—(*Al-Dhahabī's (Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz)*. Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn's *Nujūm*.)

\* The editor of the Cairo edition observes that the correct name was Qays 'Aylān and not *Ghaylān*. As regards the insertion of ابن (the son of) is allowed by certain scholars. The *Qāmūs* supports the editor of the Egyptian edition *vide* لىع.—Ed.

died, to ask my opinion on some point of law." And Ibn Wahb (No. 302) relates that he heard these words proclaimed by a public crier in Madīnah : "Let no person act as *muftī* to the people except Mālik Ibn Anas and Ibn Abī Dhī'b¹." When Mālik felt inclined to deliver Traditions, he made an ablution, then seated himself in the middle of his mattress, and, spreading out his beard, he assumed a grave and dignified deportment, after which preparations he commenced. When asked his motives for so doing, he replied : "I delight in testifying my profound respect for the sayings of the Apostle of God, and I never repeat one unless I feel myself in a state of perfect purity." He avoided delivering Traditions when travelling, or standing, or when pressed for time : "for I like," said he, "to feel the meaning of the Apostle's words when I repeat them to others." He never went about on horseback in Madīnah, even when much enfeebled and advanced in years : "No," he would say, "I shall never ride in the city wherein the corpse of God's Apostle lies interred." Al-Shāfi'ī relates as follows : Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan² said to me : "Which of the two is the more learned ; our master or yours? meaning Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik. "Dost thou wish," said I, "that I should answer with impartiality?" He replied that he did, and I said : "I then ask thee before God, which of the two is the more learned in *Qur'ān* ; our master or yours ?"—"Yours, to a certainty," said he. "I again ask thee seriously," said I, "which of the two is the more learned in the *Sunnah* ; our master or yours?"—"Yours, to a certainty," he replied. "I shall again ask thee," said I, "which of the two is the best acquainted with the sayings (*sentences forming legal decisions*) pronounced by the companions of God's Apostle ; our master or yours." "Why, yours, to a certainty," was the answer. "Then," said I, "there only remain the analogical deductions (*qiyās*)³ ; and if they be not drawn from the three sources we have just mentioned, from whence can they be drawn?" Al-Wāqidī says : "Mālik used to go regularly to the mosque and attend the daily prayers, and the prayers of Friday,

---

1 The life of Ibn Abī Dhī'b is given in this work

2 A notice on Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan is contained in this work.

3 See vol. I, Introduction.

and the funerals, and visit the sick, and fulfil all the duties (*of social life*) and take his seat in the mosque, with his disciples collected round him; he then discontinued sitting in the mosque, but attended the prayers, after which he would return to his seat and teach; he ceased also accompanying funerals, but still continued to go and condole with the family of the deceased; but, at a later period, he gave up all those customs, neither going to the mosque for daily prayers nor for the prayer of Friday, nor making any visits of condolence, nor fulfilling any of the social duties; yet the people bore this patiently, and he continued, till his death, in the same practice. He was sometimes questioned on his motives for so doing, and he used to reply: 'It is not given to every man to speak out his own excuses.' " "Some persons went secretly to Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās, the uncle of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, and accused him of declaring that he did not consider the oath of allegiance to the 'Abbāsids as binding. Ja'far was so highly incensed on hearing this, that he caused Mālik to be brought before him, and having ordered him to be stripped, he inflicted on him a severe flogging, and caused his arm to be drawn out to such a degree that it was dislocated at the shoulder; in fact, he treated him in a most scandalous manner. But, from the time Mālik received the flogging, he rose higher and higher in public estimation, so that the punishment he underwent seemed as if it had been an honour conferred upon him. In Ibn al-Jawzī's *Shuḥḥūr al-'uqūd*<sup>1</sup>, under the year 147, we find the following passage: "In this year, Mālik Ibn Anas received seventy stripes of a whip, on account of some legal opinions which did not correspond with the wishes of the *sulṭāns* (the persons invested with the civil power)." This may probably refer to the same occurrence which we have just noticed. Mālik was born A.H. 95 (A.C. 713-4), three years after conception<sup>2</sup>

---

1 Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī's work, the *Shuḥḥūr al-'Uqūd fī Tārīkh il-'Uhūd* (necklace beads, on the events of history), is not noticed by Ibn Khallikān when giving the life of that historian. He quotes it, however, very frequently.

2 Abū Ḥanīfah declares that the longest period of pregnancy is twenty-four lunar months; but al-Shāfi'ī lengthens that term to four years and Mālik to six. See d'Ohsson's *Tab. gen de l'Empire Othman*, tom. V., p. 251.—It would appear that Mālik was born three years after his reputed father's death.

and he died in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 179 (May-June, A.C. 795), aged eighty-four years. Al-Wāqidī<sup>1</sup> says that he died at the age of ninety, and Ibn al-Furāt<sup>2</sup> has the following passage in his historical work drawn up in the form of annals: "Mālik Ibn Anas al-Aṣḥabī died on the 10th of the first Rabi' A.H. 179." Others place his death in the year 178, and some state that his birth occurred in the year 90. Al-Sam'ānī says in his *Ansāb* (or dictionary of patronymics), under the word *al-Aṣḥabī*, that Mālik was born in 93 or 94; the truth is known to God alone! The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī has inserted in his *Judḥwat al-Muqtābis*<sup>3</sup> the following relation, which had been first made by al-Qa'nabī (No. 304): "I went to Mālik Ibn Anas in his last illness, and saluted him; I then sat down and, perceiving that he wept, I said: 'O Abū 'Abd Allāh! what maketh thee weep?' And he answered: 'O Ibn Qa'nab! why should I not weep? and who has more reason to weep than I? By Allāh! I wish I had been flogged and reflogged for every question of law on which I pronounced an opinion founded on my own private judgment<sup>4</sup>! I had it in my power to abstain from doing so; O that I had never given opinions founded on my own private judgment!' or other words to that effect." He died at Madīnah, and was interred in the cemetery called al-Baqī'. Mālik was of a very fair complexion, inclining to red; tall in stature, having a large head, and the forehead bald; he wore clothes of those excellent stuffs which are brought from Aden, and he disapproved of shaving off the mustaches, considering it to be a sort of mutilation: he never changed the colour of his grey hair, by dying it. The following elegy was composed on his death by Abū Muḥammad Ja'far Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Sarrāj (No. 131):

"May the grave which has untied Mālik to al-Baqī' be watered with benignant showers from the dark thunder-cloud,

1 His life is given by our author.

2 See No. 42. note.

3 The life of al-Ḥumaydiyyeh will be found in this work.

4 See Introduction to first vol.

flashing its lightnings. He was the *imām* whose *Muwaḥḥid*<sup>1</sup> has spread his doctrines throughout the earth. The prophet Muḥammad, whose law he exalted, will protect him and preserve him from harm. His Traditions were of the highest authority; his gravity was impressive; and, when he delivered them, all his auditors were plunged in admiration. He had also (*disciples*), upright friends of truth, land-marks (*to guide us*); you might (*vainly*) ask which of them was the most learned. The son of Idrīs alone (*al-Shāfi'i*) would suffice for his glory, but that good fortune was only one of many favours."

*Aṣḥab* means descended from *Dhū Aṣḥab*; this person's name was al-Hārith, and his father, 'Awf Ibn Mālik Ibn Zayd Ibn *Shaddād* Ibn Zar'ah, was one of the posterity of Ya'rub Ibn Qaḥṭān. The tribe of *Dhū Aṣḥab* is one of the largest in Yaman, and it is from it that the whips called *aṣḥabite* (*al-Siyāṭ al-Aṣḥābiyah*) derive their name. In the *Jamharat al-Nisab*, Ibn al-Kalbī gives the genealogy of *Dhū Aṣḥab* in the following manner: "Hārith, called *Dhū Aṣḥab*, was the son of Mālik Ibn Zayd Ibn *Ghawṭh* Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Awf Ibn 'Adī Ibn Mālik Ibn Zayd Ibn Sahl Ibn 'Amr Ibn Qays Ibn Mu'āwiyh Ibn Yusham Ibn 'Abd *Shams* Ibn Wāṭil\* Ibn al-*Ghawṭh* Ibn Qaṭan Ibn 'Arib Ibn Zuhayr Ibn Ayman Ibn Humaysa Ibn Ḥimyar Ibn Sabā Ibn Yashjub Ibn Ya'rub Ibn Qaḥṭān; Qaḥṭān, whose real name was Yuqṭan<sup>2</sup>, was the son of 'Aabir (*Eber*) Ibn *Shālikh* (*Shālāh*) Ibn Arfakhshad (*Arfaxad*) Ibn Sām (*Sem*) Ibn Nūḥ (*Noah*)."<sup>3</sup> I must here observe that the genealogy of *Dhū Aṣḥab*, as I have given it at the beginning of this article, is copied from al-Hāzimi's work, the *Kitāb al-'Ajālah*<sup>3</sup>.

---

1 *Al-Muwaḥḥid*, or the beaten path, is the title of the collections of Traditions which forms part of the basis on which the Mālikite system of jurisprudence is grounded. The greater part of its contents are legal maxims and opinions delivered by the Companions of Muḥammad.

2 This is the *Joktan* of the English translation of the Bible; *Gen. X. 25*.

3 The life of Hāzimi will be found in this work.

\* The Cairo edition has Wā'il—Ed.



## 525 MĀLIK IBN DĪNĀR

Abū Yaḥyā Mālik Ibn Dīnār, a native of Baṣrah and a *mawlā* to the family of the tribe of Quraysh called the Banū Sāmah Ibn Luwayyi, was distinguished for his learning, selfmortification, profound piety, and devout resignation. He never tasted of any food but that which he had procured with the produce of his own labour, his profession being to write copies of the *Qur'ān*, for which he received a pecuniary retribution. It is related of him that he said: "I read in the Old Testament that whosoever worketh with his hand shall have blessings in his life-time and at his death." He was one day present at an assembly where a story-teller related a tale which drew tears from the eyes of the audience; almost immediately after, some sheeps' heads were brought in, and they began to eat of them. Being invited to partake of their fare, he replied: "Those who wept may eat thereof, but I wept not." His merits were most abundant, and the recollection of them still subsists. It is thus that Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl (*No. 206*) relates, in his work entitled *Kitāb al-Mustaghīthin*. etc. (*book of the implorers of God's assistance*): "Mālik Ibn Dīnār had one day taken his seat (*to teach*), when a man went up to him, and said: 'O Abū Yaḥyā! invoke God to help a woman who is four years gone with child, and is in great tribulation!'. At these words Mālik got angry and, having shut the volume of the *Qur'ān* (*in which he was reading*), he remained silent for some time, and then said. 'These people will positively have us to be prophets!' and recommenced reading. Having ended, he called upon God, saying: 'O Lord! if that which is in the womb of this woman be a girl, change it for her into a boy! for Thou canst undo and maintain what thou plearest; and the book of fate is in thy possession!'. He then raised up his hands, and the people did the same, when a messenger came to tell the man that his wife was on the point of being delivered. Mālik had scarcely time to lower his hands, when the man reappeared at the door of the mosque, bearing on his shoulder a four year old boy, with short curly hair and a complete set of teeth, although his navel-string was yet uncut." He

---

1 See No. 524, note on the duration of pregnancy.

was one of the great saints. His death took place at Baṣrah, A.H. 131 (A.C. 748-9), a short time before the plague<sup>1</sup>. Writing of Mālik Ibn Dīnār, I am reminded of some verses which were recited to me by their author, my friend, Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn 'Abd. He had composed them on a certain prince, who waged war against another and vanquished him, taking his treasures, and making captives of his chiefs and his warriors. When he had got all his adversary's property into his own possession, he distributed the money to his troops, and put his prisoners in chains. It was then that Ibn 'Abd celebrated his praises in a *qaṣīdah* of the highest excellence. He describes in it that battle, and in one passage, which we give here, he has a very clever play on the name of Mālik Ibn Dīnār ; he says:

" You set at liberty the wealth which they had kept in confinement, and you reduced to bondage those who before were free. Then each of them who had been a *mālik* (*a person possessing property*) was induced to wish that he were now a *dīnār* 2."

This is remarkably fine, and I have been induced to mention it for that reason.

## 526 MAJD AL-DĪN IBN AL-ATHĪR

Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt al-Mubārak Ibn Abi 'l-Karam Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn al-Wāhid al-Shaybānī, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, was distinguished (*from his brother*) by the title of Majd al-Dīn (*glory of religion*). Ibn al-Mustawfī says of him in his History (*of Arbēla*): "He was the most renowned of the learned, the most

---

1 "In this year (A.H. 131) occurred the great plague which carried off immense numbers. Ibn al-Jawzī says that seventy thousand persons died of it in a single day."—(*Nujūm*.)

2 Because all the *dīnārs* or gold pieces, so long treasured up and confined, had been just set at liberty.

respected of the men of talent; one of those distinguished characters at whom the finger of admiration is pointed, and whose skill in the conduct of affairs acquired them the highest confidence. " He studied the science of grammar under Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd Ibn al-Dahhān (*No. 247.*) but did not hear Traditions delivered, neither did he teach them, till he was more advanced in life. He is the author of some elegantly written works, and he composed a number of epistles replete with talent. In one of his productions, the *Jāmi' al-Usūl fi-Aḥādith il-Rasūl* (*the combiner of the fundamental treatises on the Traditions of the Apostle*), he inserted the contents of six authentic collections<sup>1</sup>; it is drawn up on the plan of Ruzayn's\* work<sup>2</sup>, but contains a great quantity of additional matter. His other productions are : The *Kitāb al-Nihāyah* (*utmost efforts*), which is a treatise on the obscure terms occurring in the Traditions, and fills five volumes; the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, etc. (*impartial comparison between the Kashf and the Kashshāf*<sup>3</sup>; a commentary on the *Qur'ān* selected from the similar works of al-Tha'labī (*No. 30*) and al-Zamakhsharī; the *al-Muṣṭafā wa 'l-Mukhtār fi'l-Ad'iyat wa'l-Adhkār* (*the selected and chosen, treating of the forms of invocation to God, and of the prayers commemorative of his*

---

1 The six authentic collections of Traditions are those of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī, and Ibn Mājjah each of whom has a separate article in this work.

2 Abu' l-Ḥasan Ruzayn Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn 'Ammār al-'Abdarī (*a member of the tribe of 'Abd al-Dar*) and a native of Sergossa in Spain, was imām of the Mālikite sect at Makkah. He is the author of a work generally designated by the name of *Ruzayn's Book* (*Kitāb, Ruzayn*) in which he assembled and classed all the Traditions contained in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, the *Muwatt'ū* of Mālik, the *Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī and the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd. Another of his productions is a history of Makkah, abridged from the work of al-Azraqī. He died at that city in the month of Muḥarram. A.H. 525 (December, A.C. 1130). He was one of the masters who conferred licences to teach Traditions on the *hāfiz* al-Silafī (*No. 43.*—(Hājji) *Khalifah*—. *Al-'Iqd al-Shamīn*, MS. No. 720, fol. 233 verso.)

3 The *Kashshāf* is the title of al-Zamakhsharī's commentary on the *Qur'ān*, and the *Kashf wa'l-Bayān* is that of al-Tha'labī's work on the same subject.

\*M. de Slane writes Razīn.—Ed.

bounties); a small volume on the art of penmanship; the *Kitāb al-Badī'* (*liber egregiæ materiae*), being a commentary on Ibn al-Dahhān's Principles of Grammar; a collection of his own epistles; the *Shāfi*, or *healing*, being a commentary on the Imām al-Shāfi'i's *Musnad* or collection of authenticated Traditions, etc. He was born at Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar, in one of the months of Rabi' A.H. 544 (July-Aug., A.C. 1149). After passing his early youth in that place, he removed to Moṣul, and entered into the service of Mujāhid al-Dīn Qā'imāz (*No. 515*), the lieutenant-governor of that state, and was employed by him to write his correspondence. On the imprisonment of Qā'imāz, he passed into the service of 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ibn Mawdūd, the lord of Moṣul, and was placed at the head of the board of correspondence, which post he continued to fill till that prince's death. He was then attached to the service of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān-Shāh (*No. 79*), the son of 'Izz al-Dīn Mawdūd, by whom he was treated with great favour, and under whose protection he enjoyed the utmost honour and respect. He served him for some time in the capacity of secretary of state, till a malady deprived him of the use of his arms and legs; this completely debarred him from fulfilling the duties of his office, and obliged him to confine himself to his house, where he had all the men of rank and learning for constant visitors. He erected a *ribāṭ* (or *convent*) at a village near Moṣul, called Qaṣr Ḥarb, and (*having consecrated*) the house which he inhabited at Moṣul (*to a similar pious purpose*), he settled all his property on these two establishments. I have been informed that he composed all the works above-mentioned after his retirement from office, having then sufficient leisure for the task, and being assisted by a number of persons in the labour of making extracts and copying. Amongst the few pieces of verse which he composed, I may notice the following, addressed to the lord *arābak* of Moṣul, on his mule's stumbling under him:

"If his mule stumble under him, there is a reason for it. It bears one whose learning is vast (*as a mountain*) and whose liberality is (*ample as*) the ocean."

This idea has now become common-place, and occurs frequently in poetry. It is related by his brother, 'Izz al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, that, when he was deprived of the use of his limbs, a native

of Maghrib went to them and engaged to cure him ; declaring at the same time that he would not require any payment unless the treatment which he intended to employ were successful in its results. "We readily accepted his proposal," said 'Izz al-Dīn, "and he commenced by the application of an ointment which he prepared himself. The good effects of this remedy were soon evident ; the patient's legs acquired flexibility, and he was able to stretch them out ; but, when there was every prospect of a complete cure, he said to me: 'Give that Maghribiyan a remuneration sufficient to satisfy him, and let him be dismissed.' 'Why,' said I, 'should we do so, since the success of his mode of treatment is so manifest.' To this he replied: 'It is as thou sayest; but, in my present state, I am delivered from the necessity of frequenting the great, and treating them with that ceremony to which their rank entitles them; besides, I have settled down into repose and solitude, I, who but yesterday, when in the enjoyment of good health, had to demean myself by courting their favour. Whereas, now, I remain at home; and when any thing serious occurs, they come in person to ask my advice: thou seest that, between these two states, the difference is very great. Now, I am indebted to my infirmity for this advantage; and I do not therefore think it reasonable to have it removed, or to be treated for it. Besides, I have but a short time to live ; let me therefore pass the remainder of my days as a free man, exempted from the obligation of self-abasement : I have already had an abundant share of worldly honour.' We admitted the validity of these reasons and dismissed the man with an ample reward." Majd al-Dīn died at Moṣul, on Thursday, the 29th of Dhu'l-Hijjah, A.H. 606 (June. A.C. 1210)\* and he was interred within the city in the *ribāʿ* founded by himself in the street of Darraj (*Darb Darrāj*). We have already spoken of his brother, 'Izz al-Dīn (*No. 456*), and, in a subsequent part of this work, we shall insert a notice on his other brother, *Ḍiyā al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh. Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar* is a city on the Tigris, higher up than Moṣul; it is called *Jazīrah (isle)*, because it is surrounded by the Tigris. Al-Wāqidī says that it was built by a native of Barqa'id called 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Umar.

---

\*24 June—Ed.

## 527 MAJD AL-DĪN AL-MUBĀRAK IBN MUNQIDH

Abu 'l-Maymūn al Mubārak Ibn Kāmil Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muqallad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Munqidh al-Kinānī, surnamed Sayf al-Dawlah (*sword of the empire*) Majd al-Dīn (*glory of religion*), was one of the great amīrs of the empire founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and comptroller of the board of administration for Egyptian affairs. He belonged to a powerful family, two members of which, his grandfather, Sadīd al-Dawlah<sup>1</sup> 'Alī (*No. 458*) and his cousin Usāmah Ibn Muṣṣahid (*No. 81*) we have already noticed. When Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh (*No. 124*) was sent into Yaman by his brother Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, he reduced that country to submission, and appointed Ibn Munqidh to act as his lieutenant in Zabīd. On his return to Syria, Ibn Munqidh, who had been authorized by him to delegate his authority to his own brother, Ḥaṭṭān proceeded to Damascus, and they both returned to Egypt together. On the death of Shams al-Dawlah, Ibn Munqidh was thrown into prison by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who had been informed that a number of persons had been put to death, and their property seized on, by this amīr. He took from him at the same time eighty thousand dinārs, and goods to the value of twenty thousand more. This occurred in the year 577 (A. C. 1181-2). Sayf al-Islām Tuḡhtikīn (*No. 282*)<sup>2</sup> then set out for Yaman, and having laid siege to the fortress in which Ḥaṭṭān had taken refuge, he induced him to capitulate by promises which he had no intention to fulfil. Having obtained possession of his person, he seized on all his wealth, and imprisoned him in a castle. From that moment, Ḥaṭṭān was never heard of more; some even say that Tuḡhtikīn put him to death. It is mentioned also that Tuḡhtikīn took from his prisoner seventy chests filled with gold. As for Sayf al-Dawlah, he always continued in high influence, and he acquired great renown as an enterprising chief. Being a man of learning, he was fond of it in others: some of the most illustrious poets celebrated his praises, and one

---

1 I suspect that the author meant to write here *Sadīd al-Mulk*.

2 This person must not be confounded with Abū Maṣṣūr Tuḡhtikīn, prince of Damascus at the time of the first crusade. —See no. 119.

of them, al-Qāḍī al-Wajīh (*the honourable qāḍī*) Raḍī al-Dīn (*accepted for piety*) Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn 'Abi 'l-Hasan Yaḥyā Ibn Aḥmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Dḥarawī, composed in his honour a *qaṣīdah* which gained publicity equal to that of a proverb. It begins thus:

"Conduct me, and may prosperity attend thee ! to the all mansions where (*the family of my beloved*) passed the vernal season. Those dwellings still diffuse the perfume of musk which they acquired from the presence of her I loved. O thou whose heart is wounded with desire! this is a valley held sacred by lovers: take off therefore thy sandals ; none must tread therein with covered feet."

In this poem we find the following passage :

"I have a tame gazelle (*a young page*) on whom God hath bestowed perfect beauty, and who obliges the mouths of mankind to exclaim : 'God preserve us from temptation!' His ruby lips disclose a row of pearls bathed in moisture, and he displays on his cheek a line of emerald<sup>1</sup>. Censurers reprove me, but I affect to heed them not, though they indulge in every form of blame. They say: who is the person for whom thou diest of love in thy sadness?' Thanks to the Lord ! they know not that person !' A learned scholar travelled abroad, but found not a generous man, who, when he said 'Give!' would answer 'Take!' When about to ride in anger, and ready to undergo the toil of a long journey, I said to him at the moment the camel driver commenced his song. 'Lucky (*mubāarak*) is the arrival, when the camels stop at the door of al-Mubāarak! and who can deliver (*munqidh*) suitors (*from their cares*), unless the son of Munqidh".

In that part of the poem which contains the eulogium, we meet a line composed with wonderful art. It is this :

"Smoother, in peace, than the belly of the serpent;  
Rougher, in war, than the back of the porcupine."

1 In this metaphorical language, the *emerald* has the same signification as the *myrtle*. For the meaning of the latter in poetry, see the introduction to vol. I.

It is a *qaṣīdah* highly to be prized, but I confine myself to these extracts so as to avoid prolixity. 'Abd 'l-Maymūn al-Mubārak himself composed some poetry; the following, for instance, in which he alludes to fleas:

"A race whom man is permitted to slay, and who profane (*draw*) the blood of the pilgrim, even in the sanctuary. When my hand sheds their blood, it is not their own, but mine which is shed."

It is thus that these two verses were recited and given as his, by 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi 'Alī al-Ḥusayn Ibn Abi Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Rawāḥah Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rawāḥah Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rawāḥah al-Anṣārī, a native of Ḥamāt. This Ibn Rawāḥah was born off the coast of Sicily, in A.H. 560 (A.C. 1164-5), and he died A.H. 646 (A.C. 1248-9), at Jibāb al-Turkmān (*the Turkoman wells*), a halting-place between Aleppo and Ḥamāt. He died riding on a camel, and he was born in ship. Sayf al-Dawlah al-Mubārak was born at the castle of Shayzar A.H. 526 (A.C. 1131-2), and he died at Cairo, on Tuesday, the 8 of Ramaḍān, A.H. 589 (September, A.C. 1193).\* Dharawī means *belonging to Dharw*, a village in Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt).

## 528 IBN AL-MUSTAWFĪ AL-IRBILĪ

Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Mubārak Ibn Abi 'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn Mawhūb Ibn Ghanimah Ibn Ghālīb al-Lakhmī, surnamed Sharaf al-Dīn (*nobleness of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Mustawfī al-Irbilī (*native of Arbela*), was a *ra'īs* (*officer in the civil service*) of high influence, and equally noted for his extreme modesty and noble character. Whenever a stranger distinguished by his talents arrived at Arbela, Ibn al-Mustawfī hastened to visit him, and, having offered him a

1 In giving this long list of names, Ibn Khalikān's object was to show that 'Izz al-Dīn was a lineal descendant of Ibn Rawāḥah al-Anṣārī, a celebrated poet, who had devoted his talents to the service of Muḥammad and proved himself a most useful ally. See Sale's *Koran*, last note to *surat* 26

\* 7 September.—Ed.



present suited to his merit, he employed every means to gain his heart. This was particularly the case with literary men, who were always sure of being well received. He was a most accomplished scholar, versed in numerous branches of learning: the Traditions, the sciences connected with them, and the names of the persons by whom they were handed down, were so familiar to him, that, on such subjects he merited to be considered as a master of the highest authority. In the belles lettres his acquirements were also of no inferior order: grammar, philology, prosody, the laws of rhythm and literary composition, the poetry of the ancient Arabs, their history, contests, battles, and proverbs were all equally well known to him, and he displayed also a superior talent in the *science of dīwān*<sup>1</sup>, the mode of accounting (*employed*) there, and the keeping of the registers; adhering to the conventional forms on which persons of the profession set such high importance. He compiled a (*literary*) history of Arbela, in four volumes, and to this production I have frequently referred in the course of the present work. His *Kitāb al-Naẓām* (*book of the stringer of pearls*) forms ten volumes, and contains a commentary on the poetical works of al-Mutanabbī and Abū Tammām. In the two volumes of which his *Kitāb Iḥbāt al-Muḥaṣṣal* (*ascertained results of investigation*)<sup>2</sup> is composed, he elucidates the meaning of the verses cited as grammatical examples, by al-Zamakhsharī, in his *Mufaṣṣal*. He composed also a work entitled *Sirr al-Ṣanī'ah* (*the secret of laying persons under obligations*) (?), and another to which he gave the title of *Abū Qumāsh*<sup>3</sup>, containing much literary information, curious anecdotes, etc. It was his custom to read this book to the learned men who visited

---

1 *Dīwān* may here mean *register, account-book*, or perhaps the *office* for keeping the public accounts. From the passage which follows, I am induced to think that the art of book-keeping was not unknown to the Arabs.

2 For the meaning I here give to the passive participle *muḥaṣṣal*, I shall assign as my authority that given by M. de Sacy in his *Abdallatif*, page 244, to the corresponding active participle *muḥaṣṣil*. I consider the word here as bearing the passive form, because, in the complete Arabic title, it rhymes to *Mufaṣṣal*.

3 *Abū Qumāsh*; in Latin, *pater supellectilis* or *supellectilem congerens*. A sort of common-place book.

Arbela, and, as I was generally present at the time, I heard a great portion of its contents. He left also a *dīwān* of very good poetry. In a couplet of his composition he thus expresses his preference of white to brown<sup>1</sup> :

"Let not a seductive brownness deceive thee : beauty belongs to the white (*or brig'ht*) alone. The brown lance slays, but with a part which by nature belongs not to it, whilst the (*bright*) sword slays with every part, and all those parts are of its own substance."

He took this idea from the following verses composed by Abu 'l-Nidā Ḥassān Ibn Numayr al-Kalbi, a celebrated poet of Damascus, and generally known by appellation of al-'Arqalah<sup>2</sup>.

"If thou art seduced by a dark olive complexion, ask the pains I endure what is the effect produced by the silvery white. The part of the (*brown*) lance which slayeth is but a span in length, whilst every part of the (*bright*) sword, except one span (*the handle*), gives deadly wounds."

When Sharaf al-Dīn (Ibn al-Mustawfī) composed the two verses given above, a certain literary man observed that he would have more fully expressed the idea, had he said, that the portion of the lance which slayeth is of the same substance as the sword. An amateur of the belles lettres (whether Ibn al-Mustawfī himself or some other I know not,) then composed the following lines, in which the thought is expressed with that addition :

1 By *white* and *brown* are meant fair complexioned females and brunettes.

2 Abu 'l-Nidā Ḥasan Ibn Numayr, surnamed 'Arqalah, belonged to a branch of the tribe of Kalb, settled in the neighbourhood of Damascus. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, who met him at that city, says that he was a great favourite with the princes of the Ayyūbid family, and the constant companion of their convivial parties, which he enlivened by his gaiety. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn promised to give him one thousand dinārs on becoming master of Egypt, and when that event took place, 'Arqalah proceeded thither and received the sum. He then returned to Damascus and died there towards the year 556 (A.C. 1170). The *kātib*, who knew him personally, has given us long extracts from his poetical works, arranged in alphabetical order, according to the rhymes. See *Kharīdah* ; MS. of the Bib. du Roi, No. 1414, fol. 25 et seq.

"The bright-complexioned (*the swords*) inflict the most fatal wounds, and the wounds of my heart were inflicted by bright beauties (*of mortal race*). If the brown (*the lances*) slay, it is because their points are formed of the same substance as the bright (*swords*)."

Amongst the poems of Ibn al-Mustawfī which were set to music<sup>1</sup>, we may notice the following piece :

"O night during which I remained awake till morning comparing (*the beauty of*) thy full moon with (*that of*) its fellow (*which I held in my arms*) ! Fortune at length granted me that happy night, and if the lover complained of its length, it was surely with sweet reproaches. I made it a night of life (*and happiness*), but I concealed its existence from my envious foes, whose only thought was to scatter calumnies. She<sup>2</sup> who clung to my neck was sweet in disposition, slender-waisted and possessing all the charms of beauty. Her port might be thought erect, but her slender waist, whilst the zephyr wantoned with it, was ever bending. (*She trod with faltering steps like one*) intoxicated ; passion hurried me towards her, but piety withheld me, and I blushed at my amorous folly. My hand rested on her neck ; I touched her cheeks ; these I kissed, and the charms of that neck I rifled. Had my sighs not been intermingled with hers (*and been thus concealed*), they had discovered us both to the spy who wished to betray her. The morning was jealous and angry at the night for having joined us, and its precursor (*the dawn*) forced us to separate."

The lines which follow are also of his composing :

"Blessings on those nights, short though they were, which brought us together ! may genial showers refresh them and give them new life. From that time, I never said *Proceed* ! (*'lhi*) to the friend with whom I whiled away the evenings in conversation, but my heart said : *alas* ! (*'āhā*)."

---

1 Literally : Which are sung.

2 Throughout this piece I have changed the gender of the pronouns and made other modifications of a similar kind.

These verses are to be met with in a *qasīdah* composed by my friend Husām al-Dīn al-Hājirī (No. 493) but most of my acquaintances say that *Sharaf al-Dīn (Ibn al-Mustawfī)* was their real author. One night, as Ibn al-Mustawfī was returning home from the mosque in the neighbourhood of his house, a man sprung upon him and aimed a dagger at his heart; but he warded off the stroke with his arm, and in so doing received on it a severe wound, which was immediately stitched up, anointed, and bandaged by a barber-surgeon who had been called in. Ibn al-Mustawfī then wrote the following lines to al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, the sovereign of Arbela, informing him of the attempt which had been made against his life. To the best of my belief, this took place in the year 618 (A.C. 1221-2): I was then a boy, but I remember the circumstance perfectly well. The lines I speak of are these:

“O prince whose prowess would excite the admiration of Mars himself! marks of thy generosity are deeply impressed (*upon our hearts*), and none of them ever effaces the other<sup>2</sup>. To thee I denounce a heinous deed, the like of which I never suffered from before; a deed which will form an epoch in history. It is the night of my birth, and in proof thereof I cite as witnesses, the

---

1 Abu ‘l-Ma’shar al-Balkhī, generally known in Europe by the name of Albumaser, says in one of his astrological works (MS. of the Bib. du Roi, founts Ducaurroi, No. 24): “*Mars* is the indicator of (*presides over*) warriors, armed men, men of might, libertines, and highway-robber. *Saturn* is the indicator of kings, old men, gardeners, and farmers. *Jupiter*, of nobles, judges, wazirs, and devout and religious men. *Venus*, of women, eunuchs, and girls. *Mercury*, of *katibs* (*penmen, secretaries*), arithmeticians, merchants, artisans, and boys. *The Sun*, of kings and princes; and the *Moon*, of the post-house establishment (*barīd*), the common people, their trades, and the means, by which they gain their daily bread.” It may be seen from this that the Arabs have borrowed the attributes of the planets from the Greeks.

2 This verse is entirely composed of technical terms, such as are employed by dogmatic theologians in discussing the verses of the *Qur’ān*. The meaning of these terms being familiar to persons who have read Pococke’s *Specimen* and Sale’s preface to the *Qur’ān*, I think it unnecessary to explain them; the more so, as they are here used with a different signification.

bandages in which I am swathed and the oil with which I have been anointed<sup>1</sup>."

This idea is singularly original. He related that he composed the following lines in his sleep :

"We passed the night together, and my jealous foe bit his hands with anger. So ardent is my passion, that I should give the dark (*pupils*) of my eyes to prolong the darkness of the night."

In the year 628 (A.C. 1230-1) Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan Ibn 'Isā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ya'rūb al-Bawāzījī, the poet arrived at Arbela, and Ibn al-Mustawfī, who was at that time wazīr, sent him a *mathlūm* by al-Kamāl Ibn al-Si'ār al-Mawṣilī, a person employed in his service, and the author of a historical work. By *mathlūm* is meant a dinār from which a small portion has been clipped off. This is a general practice in 'Irāq and the neighbouring countries; they employ these clippings in making purchases, and they called them *qurāḍalī* (*clippings*) ; the *mathlūms* are also employed by them in the same manner ; both sorts are very common among them. Al-Kamāl went to the poet, and said: "The *Ṣāhib*<sup>2</sup> greets thee, and requests thee to employ this sum for thy present wants, as he will soon send thee something more adequate to thy merit." The poet perceived that the coin was not perfect, and, thinking that Sharaf al-Dīn had sent it to him whole, he suspected al-Kamāl of having clipped it. Desirous of learning the truth of the matter from Sharaf al-Dīn, he wrote to him these lines :

"My lord wazīr ! you whose generosity is proverbial ! you sent me a moon perfect in beauty when at its full (or *when with Kamāl!*), but the servant brought it to me a crescent. It would not have decreased, had it not reached its full (or *got into the hands of Kamāl*), for such is the prescribed course of things."

The thought and the double meaning contained in these lines pleased Ibn al-Mustawfī so highly that he bestowed a reward on the poet, and treated him afterwards with great favour.

1 It seems from this that it was then customary to anoint infants with oil.

2 See No. 93.

When I left Arbela, in the year 626 (A.C. 1228-9), Sharaf al-Dīn was *mustawfī* of the *Diwān* (or *council of state*). In that country the *istifa* (or *post of mustawfī*) is one of the highest places under government being second only to that of *wazīr*. In the year 629 he was raised to the *wazīrate*, and he fulfilled the duties of this office to general satisfaction. He continued in place till the death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn (A.H. 630 ; see No. 522), but then, towards the middle of the month of Shawwāl, the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Mustanṣir took possession of Arbela, and Ibn al-Mustawfī received his dismissal. From that time he lived in domestic retirement, receiving, as I have been informed, constant tokens of public respect, till the city was taken by the Tartars, on the 27th of the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 634 (June. A.C. 1237)\*. The fatal consequences of this event for Arbela and its inhabitants are well known<sup>1</sup>. (*Ibn al-Mustawfī*) Sharaf al-Dīn was one of those who took refuge in the citadel, and thus escaped. When the enemy raised the siege of the citadel, he proceeded to Moṣul, where he obtained a pension, and passed the rest of his life universally respected. He possessed a large collection of valuable books. His death took place at Moṣul, on Sunday, the 5 of Muḥarram, A.H. 637, (August, A.C. 1239),† and he was interred in the Sābilah cemetery, outside the Jaṣāṣah Gate. He was born on the 15 of Shawwāl, A.H. 564 (July, A.C. 1169)‡, in the citadel of Arbela. He came of a powerful family which produced a number of men distinguished by the posts which they held under government, or by their learning. The place of *istifā* at Arbela had been (*previously*) filled by his father, and by his uncle Ṣafī al-Dīn (*pure in religion*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Mubārak, a man of eminent abilities. It was he who translated

---

1 In the year 634, the Muḥḥuls took Arbela by storm, and put to the sword all the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the citadel. They then plundered the city, and having burned it down, they directed their attacks against the citadel, but after a forty days' siege, they evacuated the place on receiving a large sum from the garrison. During this period, the inhabitants defended themselves with great courage, but many of them died of thirst. (D'Ohsson's *Hist. des Monghols*, t. III, p. 73).

\* 23 June.—Ed.

† 7 August.—Ed.

‡ 12 July.—Ed.

Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī's *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* (*counsel for kings*) from Persian into Arabic, for al-Ghazzālī had composed it in the former language. Sharaf al-Dīn (*Ibn al-Mustawfī*) notices this circumstance in his History, and I heard it mentioned also, during my residence in that country, as a well known fact. An elegiac poem was composed on the death of Ibn al-Mustawfī, by my friend Shams al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Izz Yūsūf Ibn al-Nafīs al-Irbilī, surnamed Shayṭān al-Shām (*the demon of Syria*). Shayṭān al-Shām was born at Arbela, A.H. 586 (A.C. 1190-1); he died at Moṣul, on the 16th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 638 (April, A.C. 1241)\*, and was interred in the cemetery at the Jaṣāṣah gate. Speaking of Ibn al-Mustawfī, he said :

"O Abū 'l-Barakat ! had death known that thou wert the paragon of the age, it would not have smitten thee. The greatest of misfortunes which Islāmism could experience was the loss of one whom men and genii are lamenting."

Were I not apprehensive of extending this article too much, I should give a great many more anecdotes concerning him, and notice further particulars of his life, with some of the pieces composed in his praise ; for, God be merciful to him ! he was one of the ornaments of the age, and the like of him, for merit and influence, has never since existed in that city. We have already explained the meaning of the word Lakḥmī (*No. 65*) and need not therefore repeat it here.

## 529 IBN AL-DAHĤĀN

Abū Bakr al-Mubārak Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Mubārak Ibn Abi 'l-Azhar Sa'id, surnamed al-Wajīh (*the respectable*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Dahḥān (*the son of the ointment maker*), was a native of Wāsiṭ, and a grammarian. The designation of al-Ḍarīr (*the blind*) was also given to him because he had lost his sight. He was born at Wāsiṭ, and passed his youth

---

\* 31 March —Ed.

in that city ; he there learned the *Qur'ān* by heart, and was taught to read it according to the different systems ; he studied also the science (*of jurisprudence*), and took lessons there from Abū Sa'īd Naṣr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sālim, the philologist, Abu 'l-Faraj āl-'Alā Ibn al-Sawādī, the poet (*No.* 485), and other masters. He then removed to Baghdād, and, having taken up his residence in the *Mūẓaffariyah* (*college*), he became the disciple of Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Khashshāb, the grammarian (*No.* 325), and Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī (*No.* 344). He attended Abu 'l-Barakāt's lessons with assiduity, and acquired vast information under his tuition. He learned Traditions from Abū Zar'ah\* Ṭāhir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqḍisī, and, having abandoned the Ḥanbalite sect, he applied himself to the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence. Some time after this, the place of grammatical professor at the *Nizāmiyah* college became vacant, and, as the founder of that professorship had ordained that it should never be filled by any but a *Shafite*, al-Wajīh Ibn al-Dahhān passed over to the *Shafite* sect, and obtained the situation. It was on this occasion that al-Muwayyad Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn Zayd, a native of Tikrīt, composed the following verses :

"Who will bear from me a message to al-Wajīh ? yet I know that every message will be useless !—Say to him : You passed to the sect of (*Abū Ḥanīfah*) al-Nu'mān, after following that of Ibn Ḥanbal ; you did so because you had nothing to eat. It was not through devotion that you next adopted the doctrines of al-Shāfi'ī, but through the desire of obtaining a profitable result. You will surely soon go over to the sect of Mālik ; mark what I say !"

Al-Wajīh composed some works on grammar, and taught the *Qur'ān-readings* during a long period. His conversation was excessively silly, his discourses prolix, his avarice extreme, and his pretensions exorbitant. He composed some poetry, of which may be quoted these verses :

---

1 Ibn Khallikān gives some account of Abū Zar'ah Ṭāhir al-Maqḍisī in the life of that Traditionist's father Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqḍisī.

\*The Egyptian edition gives Zur'aḥ which is supported by Qānūs.—Ed.



"Although thou art the prince of generous men, I do not blame thee for requiring to be pressed before thou fulfillest a promise. The Lord of heaven bound himself to furnish food to all men, yet He must be solicited by prayer."

He was born at Wāsiṭ, A.H. 532 (A.C. 1137-8) ; he died at Baghdād, on the eve of Sunday, the 26 of Shā'bān, A.H. 612 (December, A.C. 1215)\*, and was interred in the Wardiyah cemetery.

### 530 MUJALLĪ IBN JUMAYYI'

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Mujallī Ibn Jumayyi' Ibn Najā, a member of the tribe of Quraysh and of the family of Makhzūm, a native of Ursūf, and an inhabitant of Egypt, in which country also he died, was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i, and one of the most eminent in that age. He is the author of an ample treatise on jurisprudence, entitled *Kitāb al-Jahkhā'ir* (*book of treasures*), containing a great quantity of matter connected with the Shafite doctrine, and in which he has inserted a number of extraordinary cases, not, perhaps, to be found in any other work. This is an esteemed production, and in great request. In the year 547 (A.C. 1152), he was appointed *qādī* of Old Cairo by al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār (*No. 460*), who at that time held all Egypt under his rule ; and he was removed from office towards the beginning of the year 549 ; in one of the last ten days of Shā'bān (November, A.C. 1154), it is said. He died in the month of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 550 (December-January, A.C. 1155-6), and was interred in the Lesser Qarāfah cemetery. *Ursūf* is the name of a small town on the coast of Syria, which has produced many men eminent for learning, and was frequented by numbers of Muslims who kept garrison there (*against the crusaders*). It is now in the hands of the Franks (*the crusaders*) ; may God frustrate their project ! *Postscript.* Ursūf was retaken by al-Mālik al-Zāhir Bibars, in the year 663 (A.C. 1265).

---

\* 20 December.—Ed.

## 531 ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-TANŪKHĪ THE QĀḌĪ

The *qāḍī* Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin Ibn Abi 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Fahm Dāwūd Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Tamīm al-Tanūkhī: we have already spoken of his father (No. 440), and given some account of his life, with extracts from his poetry, and al-Tha'ālibī (No. 356) speaks of them both in the same chapter (of his *Yatīmah*). He begins with his father, and then says of Abū 'Alī: He was a crescent of that moon; a branch of that tree; a decisive testimony of the glory and merit of that father; the master-shoot of that stem; his substitute during his life-time, and his successor after his death." It was of him that the poet Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (No. 186) said:

"If we speak of elderly *qāḍīs*, I acknowledge that I prefer the young to the old. Him who concurs not (*with me*), I should never strike but in the presence of our lord the *qāḍī* al-Tanūkhī<sup>1</sup>."

Abū 'Alī al-Tanūkhī is the author of a book called *al-Farj ba'd al-Shiddah* (*solace after suffering*). In the beginning of this work he says that, in the year 346 (A.C. 957), he was director of the weighing-office at the mint in Sūq al-Ahwāz<sup>2</sup>; and, a little further on, he states, that he had occupied the place of *qāḍī* at Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar. He left a *diwān* of poetry more voluminous than that of his father, and two other works, one entitled *Kitāb Nashwān al-Muḥāḍarah* (*the excitement of conversation*), and the other, *Kitāb al-Mustajād min Fa'ālāt al-Ajwād* (*the noblest of the deeds of the generous*). He took lessons at Baṣrah from Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Aḥram, Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī<sup>3</sup>, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn

---

1 I translate literally, but fear that I have neither perceived nor rendered the point of the verses. The poet perhaps means to say that, were they in the presence of al-Tanūkhī, he would strike his contradictor for not admitting the justness of his sentiments; al-Tanūkhī being himself a young man and of an amiable character.

2 This is the same city as al-Ahwāz. It was called also Hurmuz-shahr.

3 His life will be found in this work.

Yaḥyā Ibn 'Uṭhmān al-Nasawī, and other eminent masters of that day ; he then went down to Baghdād, and, having settled there, he continued to teach Traditions till his death. The masters from whom he obtained these Traditions were persons of the highest authority for veracity. He was an elegant scholar a poet, and an historian. He began to learn Traditions in the year 333 (A.C. 944-5), and he commenced his judicial career in A.H. 349 (A.C. 960-1) as *qāḍī* of al-Qaṣr, Bābil<sup>1</sup>, and the neighbouring districts, acting in the name of Abu 'l-Sā'ib 'Utbah Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. The *khalīf* al-Muṭī' lillah then appointed him *qāḍī* of 'Askar Mukram, Ayḍaj<sup>2</sup>, and Rāmḥurmuz. After that, he (*successively*) filled a great number of posts in the civil administration, at different places. The following verses of his were composed on a certain *shaykh* who went out (*one day with the people*) to pray for rain : there was a cloud in the sky at the time, but when the *shaykh* finished, it cleared off :

"We went out to obtain rain from the blessed effect of his prayers, and the skirt of the cloud was then nearly touching the earth. But when he began to pray, the sky cleared up ; and he had not ended, before the cloud disappeared."

The following verses were composed, on a similar occasion, by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Sulaymān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭarāwah, a grammarian, and a native of Malāqah in Spain :

"They went out to implore rain, and a cloud which promised a copious shower had already appeared in the West. When they took their places to pray, and it had begun to drizzle in their sight, it cleared off in answer to their invocations ; one

---

1 In later times the city of Babel (*Bābil* in Arabic) gave its name to a village which rose in the neighbourhood. As for al-Qaṣr (*the castle*), it may perhaps be the same as that which al-Idrīsī indicates as situated on the Tigris between Wāsiṭ and Baṣrah.

2 According to the author of the *Marāṣīf*, the city and canton of Ayḍaj lie between *Khuzistān* and *I'bahān*. He says that it possesses a bridge which is one of the wonders of the world.

might have thought they had gone forth to ask for fair weather."

The lines which follow are attributed to Abū 'Alī al-Tanūkhī :

"Say to the fair maiden in the gold-embroidered veil : Thou hast spoiled the devotion of a pious godly man. Between the brightness of thy veil and that of thy cheek, 'tis strange that thy face is not in flames. Thou hast combined the two means (*of charming our hearts*), and between the lustre of them both, thou canst not escape being beautiful<sup>1</sup>. When an eye is turned to steal a glance (*at thee*) the radiance of thy face says to it : Be gone, lest thy sight be gone<sup>2</sup>. ! "

How ingeniously imagined is that expression : *Be gone, lest thy sight be gone* ! These verses, on a veil embroidered with gold, remind me of a story which I read some time back at Moṣul. A certain merchant went to Madīnah with a camel-load of black veils, but, not finding any purchasers, his goods remained on his hands, and he gave way to sadness. A person then said to him that no one could assist him in obtaining a profitable sale for them except Miskīn al-Dārimī<sup>3</sup>. This Miskīn was an excellent poet, celebrated for his wit and licentiousness. The merchant went to him, and found that he had taken to devotion, and never stirred out of the mosque. Having explained his business to him, he received this answer : "What can I do for you ? I have renounced poetry, and given myself up to my present occu-

---

1 This is the meaning of the Arabic verse, which is in reality a succession of puns on a single word.

2 I have here endeavoured to express both the meaning and the quibbling of the original Arabic. The poet, continuing his puns on the different grammatical forms of the root *dhahaba* adds here : *adhābī la tadhhabī*. Away ! lest thou shouldst become blind ; or, lest thou shouldst be destroyed.

3 Of the poet Rabī'ah Ibn 'Āmir, surnamed Miskīn al-Dārimī, I have been unable to discover any further information, than that given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologic, Grammaticale*, p. 399.

pation." The merchant answered : "I am a stranger here, and have no other goods but that load." In short, he spared no entreaty, till at length Miskīn left the mosque, and having put on the clothes he formerly wore, he composed these verses and gave them to the public :

"Say to the handsome maiden in the black veil : 'What design have you formed against a pious devotee ? He had just girded his loins for prayer, when you sat in ambush for him at the door of the mosque ! ' "

The report immediately spread about that Miskīn al-Dārimī had relapsed into his former mode of life, and become enamoured with a female who wore a black veil. On this, there was not a belle in the city but wanted a black veil, and such was their eagerness to procure them, that the merchant disposed of those he had at exorbitant prices. When all were sold, Miskīn returned to his devout exercises in the retirement of the Mosque. The *qāḍī* Abū 'Alī al-Tanūkhī wrote the following lines to a man of high rank, in the month of Ramaḍān :

"May you obtain by this fast whatever you desire, and may God protect you from whatever you may dread. As this month excels all the others, so you surpass all mankind ; nay, you are like the night of *al-Qadr*<sup>1</sup> in it."

He composed many other exquisite pieces. His death took place at Baghdād, on the eve of Monday, the 25 of Muḥarram, A.H. 384 (March, A.C. 994)\*. He was born at Baṣrah, on the eve of Sunday, the 26 of the first Rabī', A.H. 327 (January, A.C. 939)†. His son, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, was an accomplished scholar and a man of great merit. He composed some poetry, but I have never seen any of it. He had been a pupil of Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (No. 46), and acquired much

---

1 "The night of al-Qadr is better than a thousand months". See *Qur'ān*, sūrah 97, and Sale's note.

\* 18 April.—Ed.

† 2 April.—Ed.

information under his tuition. A great quantity of poetical pieces were transmitted by him to his own pupils. The family to which he and his brother belonged was noted for producing literary men of distinguished wit and talent. He was born at Baṣrah, on the 15 of Shā'bān, A.H. 365 (April, A.C. 976)\*, and he died on Sunday, the 1st of Muḥarram, A.H. 447 (April, A.C. 1055)†. A close intimacy was formed between him and the khaṭīb Abū Zakariyā al-Tabrizī<sup>1</sup>, through the medium of Abu 'l-'Ala al-Ma'arrī. The Khaṭīb (*Abū Bakr*) (*No.* 33) has a notice on him in the History of Baghdād, and enumerates the masters from whom he received and transmitted his traditional information; he then mentions that he himself wrote down some pieces under his dictation, and he assigns to his birth and death the same dates as those given here, with the sole difference that, according to him, he died on the eve of Monday, the 2 of Muḥarram, at his own house, in the street of al-Tall. He states also that he attended his funeral, the next day, and said prayers over him. To this he adds, that he (*Abu 'l-Qāsim*) first began to acquire traditional information in the month of Shā'bān, A.H. 370<sup>2</sup>. He says also that, when quite a youth, the testimony of Abu 'l-Qāsim was received as valid, and that it continued to be so till the end of his life (*a decisive proof that his character for morality had never been impeached*). He was extremely cautious in giving evidence, guarded in his conduct, and veracious in his discourse. He filled the place of *qādl* in a number of places, such as al-Madā'in and its dependencies, Ādharbā'ijān, al-Baradān<sup>3</sup>, Qirmīsh (*Kirmānshāh*), etc.—We have already spoken of the word *Tanūkhī* (*No.* 46). It was to Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī that Abu 'l-'Ala al-Ma'arrī addressed the *qaṣīdah* beginning thus: *Speak to me of Baghdād or of Hīt*.

---

1 His life will be found in this work (*No.* 773).

2 He means to say that, at the age of five years, Abū 'l-Qāsim had already learned by heart some Traditions, pieces of verse, etc.

3 Al-Baradān lay on the east bank of the Tigris, at five parasangs above Baghdād.

\* 10 March.—Ed.

† 20 January.—Ed.

## 532 AL-SHĀFI'Ī

The imām Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī was a member of the tribe of Quraysh, and drew his descent from al-Muṭṭalib, the son of 'Abd Manāf and the ancestor of the Prophet; his father, Idrīs, being the son of al-'Abbās Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn Shāfi' Ibn al-Sā'ib Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn 'Abd Yazīd Ibn Hishām Ibn al-Muṭṭalib Ibn 'Abd Manāf. The remainder of the genealogy, up to 'Adnān, is sufficiently known<sup>1</sup>. His great-grandfather Shāfi' when a boy just grown up, saw the Envoy of God (*Muḥammad*). Al-Sā'ib, the father of Shāfi'ī, bore the standard of the Hāshimid family at the battle of Badr; he was taken prisoner in that combat, but redeemed himself from captivity. When he subsequently became a Muslim, he was asked why he did not embrace the true faith when made prisoner, and thus avoid paying the ransom; he replied that he was not a man to frustrate the expectations which the Muslims had founded on it. Al-Shāfi'ī (*the subject of this article*) stood unrivalled by his abundant merits and illustrious qualities; to the knowledge of all the sciences connected with the book of God (*the Qur'ān*), the *Sunnah* (*the Traditions*), the sayings of the Companions, their history, the conflicting opinions of the learned (*jurisconsults*), etc., he untied a deep acquaintance with the language of the Arabs of the Desert, philology, grammar, and poetry; indeed, he was so well conversant with the last sciences, that al-Aṣma'ī, eminent as he was in these branches of learning, read over the poems of the Hudhaylites under his tuition. He combined in himself such a variety of scientific information as never possessed by any other man, and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*) went so far as to say: "I did not know the annulling from the annulled Traditions, till I took lessons from al-Shāfi'ī". "Never did I see a man, said Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim-Ibn Sallām (*No. 509*), "more accomplished than al-Shāfi'ī". 'Abd Allāh, the son of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, related as follows: "I said to my father: 'What sort of a man was al-Shāfi'ī, that I hear you pray blessings on him so often?' and he replied: 'My dear boy! al-Shāfi'ī was (*to mankind*) as the sun is to the world

<sup>1</sup> See Sale, introduction to *Qur'ān*; Pococke's *Specimen, Hist. ar.* page. 49, 50, 51; Eichhorn's *Monumenta hist. ar.* Tab. I.

and health to body; what can replace them?" "Aḥmād Ibn Ḥanbal said also: "Never, for the last thirty years, have I passed a night without praying God's mercy and blessings upon al-Shāfi'. " Yaḥyā Ibn Mā'in<sup>1</sup> said: "Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal forbade us (*attending the lessons of*) al-Shāfi'; but, meeting him one day walking on foot after al-Shāfi', who was mounted on a mule, I said, to him: 'Abū 'Abd Allāh! you forbade us to frequent him, and you yourself are walking after him!' To which he replied: 'Silence! if I even kept company with his mule, I should profit by it.'" The *khaṭīb* (No. 33) has inserted in his History of Baghdād the following relation given by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam<sup>2</sup>: "When al-Shāfi' was still in his mother's womb, she dreamt that the planet Jupiter came forth from it and proceeded to Egypt, where it fell, but that a portion of its rays reached every city upon earth. The interpreters of dreams declared this to signify that she would give birth to a learned man, who would communicate his knowledge to the people of Egypt alone, but that it would spread into all other countries." "I went to take lessons from Mālik," said al-Shāfi' "after having learned by heart his *Muwaffā*, and he told me to go to some person who would repeat the book to me (*so that I might learn it*), but I replied that I would repeat it myself (*to him*). I then did so from memory, and he pronounced these words: 'If any person is ever to prosper, it is this youth!'" When Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (No. 249) was consulted on the meaning of a passage of the *Qur'ān*, or on a point of law, he would turn towards al-Shāfi' and say: "Ask that boy." Al-Ḥumaydī<sup>3</sup> relates that he heard Muslim

---

1 His life is given by Ibn *Khallikān*.

2 The life of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam is given by our author.

3 The imām Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Asadī al-Ḥumaydī, a member of the tribe of Quraysh and a native of Makkah, was a disciple of the Imām al-Shāfi' and accompanied him to Egypt. The Ḥakīm Ibn al-Bālī styles him the *Muṣṭafī* and Traditionist of Makkah, and declares that he was for the people of Hijāz what Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal was for those of 'Irāq. He died in the month of the first Rabī', A.H. 219 (March-April, A.C. 834). (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'*).



Ibn Khālid al-Zanjī<sup>1</sup> say to al-Shāfi'i "Give opinions on points of law, O Abū 'Abd Allāh ! it is time for you to do so ; " and that al-Shāfi'i was only fifteen years of age at the time. Maḥfūz Ibn Abī Tawbah, a native of Baghdād, relates as follows : " I saw Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal near al-Shāfi'i in the Sacred Mosque, and I told him that Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah was then teaching Traditions in another part of the edifice ; on which he said : 'This one would be a loss to me, but the other would not.' " Abu 'l-Ḥassān al-Ziyādī said : "I never saw Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan<sup>2</sup> show so much honour to any doctor as he did to al-Shāfi'i. He was just mounting his horse, one day, when al-Shāfi'i came to see him, and he immediately returned with him into the house, and they remained in private (*conversation*) till the night set in. Yet Muḥammad Ibn Hasan never admitted any person into his presence." Al-Shāfi'i was the first who ever gave lectures on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, and that branch of science had him for its author. Abū Thawr (*No. 2*) said : "Whoever pretends that he saw the like of al-Shāfi'i for learning, elegance of language, general knowledge, and solid information, is a liar. He lived without a rival, and, on his death, he left none to replace him." "There is not a person," said Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, "who holds an inkhorn or a sheet of paper, but is under the deepest obligations to al-Shāfi'i." And as for al-Za'farānī (*No. 149*), he said that the Traditionists were sleeping till al-Shāfi'i came and awoke them. His merits were innumerable. He was born A.H. 150 (A.C. 767-8) ; on the day, it is said, on which Abū Ḥanīfah died ; his birth took place at Ghazzah ; some say, but erroneously, at 'Asqalān, or in Yaman. At the age of two years he was carried from Ghazzah to Makkah, where he passed his youth and studied the *Qur'ān*.

1 Abū Khālid Muslim Ibn Khālid Ibn Sa'īd, surnamed, for his red complexion, al-Zanjī (*native of Zangebār*, was one of the imām al-Shāfi'i's masters. He belonged to the tribe of Quraysh and the family of Muḥzūm, being a *mawla* to Sufyān Ibn 'Abd Allāh. He was an able doctor and juris-consult, but his authority as a Traditionist has been rejected by Ibn al-Madīnī and al-Bukhārī. He succeeded Ibn Jurayj as *Muftī* of Makkah, and he died in that city, A.H. 180 (A.C. 796-7) *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*. MSS. No. 755, fol. 21.)

2 The life of this celebrated doctor will be found in this work.

The history of his journey to see Mālik is so well known that it is needless to lengthen this article by repeating it<sup>1</sup>. In the year 195 (A.C. 810-1) he went to Baghdād, and, having passed two years in that city, he returned to Makkah. In the year 198 he revisited Baghdād, and after a month's residence he set out for Old Cairo, where he arrived A.H. 199 (A.C. 814-5), or 201, by another account. He continued to dwell there till his death; this event occurred on Friday, the last day of Rajab, A.H. 204 (Jan, A.C. 820)\* and, on the evening of the same day, he was buried in the lesser Qarāfah cemetery. His tomb is much frequented by pious visitors, and is situated near mount Muqattam. Al-Rabī' Ibn Sulaymān al-Murādi (No. 221) mentioned that he perceived the new moon of the month of *Shā'bān* as he was returning from the funeral (*and this would prove that he was interred on the eve of the first day of the month*). "Some time after his death," said al-Rabī', "I saw him in a dream, and said to him: 'O Abū 'Abd Ailāh) how did God treat thee?' and he replied. "He seated me on a throne of gold, and pearls, fresh (*from the sea,*) were scattered over me. '" All the learned men without exception, Traditionists, juriconsults, dogmatic theologians, philologers, grammarians, etc., agree in acknowledging his veracity, integrity, probity, piety, unblemished character, purity of morals, mortified life, virtuous conduct, intrinsic merit, and generosity<sup>2</sup>. He composed a great quantity of poetry, and I shall insert here a piece of his composition, which I copied from the handwriting of the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī (No. 43):

"He who is blessed with riches and has not received praises or commendation, is a luckless wight. Wealth brings the most

---

1 The only thing particular in this journey was the short conversation which passed between him and Mālik, and which our author has already given in al-*Shāfi'*'s own words.

2 The manuscript of the Bib. du Roi, *ancien fonds*, No. 856, contains an account of al-*Shāfi'*, his life, sayings, virtues, etc. It is a short and interesting work; nearly all of what Ibn *Khallikān* says in the present article is to be found there, and expressed in the same terms.

\* 20 January.—Ed.

distant object within reach ; wealth opens every well-barred door. If you hear that 2 piece of wood produced fruits when held in a rich man's hand, believe it. If you hear that a poor man went to drink at a spring, and that the water sank into the earth, hold it to be true. If riches could be obtained by subtle policy, you would have found me clinging to the stars of heaven in search thereof. But he who is gifted with intellect is denied riches : how widely do intellect and riches stand apart ! A proof of God's providence is found in the indigence of the sage and the pleasant life of the fool."

The following verses are attributed to al-Shāfi'ī :

"What will thy guest answer if his family ask how was his reception? Shall he say that he crossed the Euphrates without being able to obtain a drop of its waters, although its waves rolled high? that, when he mounted the ascent of glory, the narrowness of the path prevented him from reaching the object of his wishes? By my adulation you may discover my poverty, as the glass shows the dregs in the water which it contains. But I possess the jewels and the pearls of poetry ; I wear the diadem and the crown of style ; its flowers surpass those of the gardens on the hills, and its smoothness outvies that of an irrigated meadow<sup>1</sup>. An elegant poet is a dangerous serpent, and verses are his poisonous slaver and foam. The enmity of a poet is a dire calamity, but it is easy for the generous man to avert it. "

It was he who said :

"Were it not discredit for men of learning to cultivate poetry, I should be to-day a better poet than Labīd<sup>2</sup>?

The following lines are attributed to al-Shāfi'ī.

"The more experience instructs me, the more I see the weakness of my reason ; and the more I increase my knowledge, the more I learn the extent of my ignorance."

---

1 In the original Arabic, the last words of this verse have such various significations, that I may possibly have mistaken the idea which the poet meant to convey.

2 He means Labīd, the author of one of the seven *Mu'allaqahs*.

The following verse is also attributed to him :

"He meant good, and wrought harm undesignedly ; thus acts of piety may sometimes become acts of disobedience."

He related that having married a woman of the tribe of Quraysh, at Makkah, he happened to say her in sport :

"How unfortunate that you love one who loves you not! "

And that she answered (*in the same rhyme and measure*) :

"She averts her face, and you entreat her, but succeed not. "

One of our most eminent *shaykhs* informed me that he composed thirteen works on the merits of al-Shāfi'ī. When this great imām died, his death was lamented in numerous elegies. One of these elegies is attributed to Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd<sup>1</sup>, and the *Khaṭīb* has noticed in his History of Baghdād. It contains the following passages :

"See you not the memorials which the son of Idrīs has left of his existence ? in the obscurities of science their guiding lights direct us ; eternal monuments on which time spends its efforts in vain ; they still rear their pinnacles aloft, though ages have expired. (*They make the*) paths which conduct (*to knowledge*) and trace (*for us*) the ways of rectitude. Their obvious meaning is wisdom itself, and the deductions drawn from them embody principles which, till then, had been completely disunited. When calamity darkens the world, the genius of the son of Idrīs, the cousin of Muḥammad, spreads over it a brilliant light. When grave difficulties embarrass the mind, the brightness of that genius clears up all obscurities. God chose to raise him and exalt him ; none can depress the man who is exalted by the master of the (*heavenly*) throne. Truth was his aim, and piety preserved him from error ; 'tis terror that degrades a man. He recurred to the example of the Prophet, and his decisions are held to be second only to the Prophet's. In his decisions and judgments he placed his reliance on what is fixed by Divine revelation : truth is always plain and clear.

---

1 His life will be found in this work.

In childhood and youth he arrayed himself in piety ; when a boy, he was favoured with the wisdom of old age. He shaped his conduct so sagely, that, when merit was sought for, every finger pointed towards him. He who takes al-Shāfi'i's learning for guide, will find an ample pasture in the field of learning. Salutations to the tomb which encloses his body ! may the dark rain-clouds refresh it with copious showers. The earth of that grave has covered from our view the body of an illustrious man, once highly honoured when auditors flocked around him. Misfortune has afflicted us by his death, but, for its conduct towards him, it must receive affliction in its turn : for his maxims subsist among us, refulgent as the moon ; and his traces remain, luminous as the rising stars."

If it be asked how it came that Ibn Durayd, who was not contemporary with al-Shāfi'i, composed an elegy on his death, we answer that there is nothing extraordinary in such a circumstance, and that it is perfectly natural ; we have besides met other examples of it, as in the case of al-Ḥusayn (*the son of 'Alī,*) etc.

### 533 IBN AL-ḤANAFIYAH

Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, was generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah (*the son of the Ḥanafite female*), because his mother Khawlah was the daughter of Ja'far Ibn Qays Ibn Salamah Ibn Tha'labah Ibn Yarbū' Ibn Tha'labah Ibn al-Du'al Ibn Ḥanīfah Ibn Lujaym. Some say, however, that she was one of the captives taken in Yamāmah<sup>1</sup>, and that she passed into the possession of 'Alī. Others again say that she was of a black colour and a native of Sind ; that she had been a servant to a member of the tribe of

---

<sup>1</sup> The expedition into the province of Yamāmah by Khālīd Ibn al-Walīd had for object the destruction of the false prophet Musaylamah and his partisans. A very full account of it is given by al-Ṭabarī. See Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, vol. I, page. 149. et seq. See also Price's *Retrospect*, vol. I. p. 41, etc., and Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 11.

Ḥanīfah, and that she did not belong to it by birth. They add, that Khālīd Ibn al-Walīd granted peace to this tribe on condition that they should surrender up to him their slaves, not themselves. Relative to the surname of Abu 'l-Qāsim borne by Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, it is said that he was indebted for it to the kindness of God's blessed Envoy (*Muḥammad*), who said to 'Alī: "After my death, a son shall be born to thee, and I bestow on him from this moment my own name and surname; but let no other of my people bear them both." (*Yet*) among the persons who bore the name of Muḥammad joined to the surname of Abu 'l-Qāsim were Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (*the first Khālīf*); Muḥammad, the son of Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh; Muḥammad, the son of Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Awf; Muḥammad, the son of Ja'far Ibn Abī Ṭālib; Muḥammad, the son of Ḥāṭib Ibn Abī Balta'ah, and Muḥammad, the son of al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays. Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah was a man of great learning (*in the law*), and profound piety; the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Ḥārāzī (*No. 5*) has even given him a place in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, or classified list of jurisconsults. Some extraordinary anecdotes are told of his great bodily strength, and one of them is thus related by al-Mubarrad, in his *Kāmil*: " 'Alī, the father of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, had a coat of mail which he found too long, and he therefore ordered a certain quantity of the ring work to be cut off it. On this, his son Muḥammad took the skirt of it with one hand and the body with the other, and tore off the piece at the spot marked by his father. When this circumstance was told to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, he was seized with an *afkal*, or trembling fit, so jealous did he feel of Ibn Ḥanafīyah's strength." Ibn al-Zubayr also possessed great strength, and on this subject al-Mubarrad relates the following anecdote in his work<sup>1</sup>: "He that was king of the Greeks in the days of Mu'āwīyah sent to that Khālīf a message expressed in these terms: 'The kings thy predecessors used to send envoys to our kings, and each party endeavoured to produce something by which it might surpass the other; permit me then to do as they.' Mu'āwīyah gave his permission, and the king sent him

<sup>1</sup> The life of al-Mubarrad will be found in this work.

two men, one, very tall and bulky, the other possessing great strength. Mu'āwiyah then said to 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣī: 'As for the tall fellow, we can find his match in Qays Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ubaydah, but, with regard to the strong one, we stand in need of your advice.' 'Amr made answer: 'There are here two (*strong*) men, but you dislike them both; I mean Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah and 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubair.' 'Come what may,' replied Mu'āwiyah, 'take the one who is nearest (*related*) to us.' When the two men (*sent by the king of the Greeks*) were brought in, a message was sent to inform Qays Ibn Sa'd, and he entered soon after. Having made his salutation to Mu'āwiyah, he took off his trousers and handed them to the foreign infidel (*who tried them on*), and they came up to his breast, on which he hung down his head as one who is vanquished. It is mentioned that they blamed Qays for this action, saying to him: 'Why didst thou take such a liberty in the presence of Mu'āwiyah? why didst thou not send thy adversary another pair?' And he replied:

'I wished all to know, and in the presence of the envoys, that these trousers belonged to Qays; lest it might be said: 'Qays has kept away, and these trousers belong to a man descended from 'Ād and related to Thamūd'. But I am the chief of eighty men, and mankind consists of those who command and those who are commanded. By my origin and rank I resemble other men, but by the length of my body I surpass them.'

Mu'āwiyah then sent for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah, and, when he came in, he informed him for what purpose his presence was required. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah then said (*to the interpreters*): 'Tell him to take his choice, either to sit down and give me his hand so that I may try and pull him up, or else to stand and I

1 'Ād and Thamūd were two Arabic tribes of great antiquity. The Ādites were of prodigious stature, the largest being one hundred cubits high, and the least sixty; so Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Zamaksharī inform us in their commentaries on the *Qur'ān*, when explaining these words, addressed by the prophet Hūd to the 'Ādites: "Call to mind how He hath appointed you successors unto the people of Noah, and hath added unto your stature largely." (*Qur'ān*, *sūrah* 7, verse 67).

shall sit down'. The Greek preferred sitting down, and Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah pulled him up on his feet, whilst he was unable to pull Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah down. Having then asked Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah to sit, he pulled at him, but was pulled down himself. Both Greeks retired vanquished<sup>1</sup>." Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah bore his father's standard at the battle of the Camel; it is said that, in the early part of the day, he hesitated to take it because it was a war between Muslims, a thing which had never been witnessed before; but his father 'Alī said to him: "Canst thou have doubts concerning (*the just cause of*) an army commanded by thy father?" These words decided him, and he took charge of the standard. He was once asked how it happened that his father exposed him to dangers and thrust him into difficulties, whilst he never risked his other sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn? To this he replied "They were his two eyes and I was his hands, and he protected his eyes with his hands." One of his sayings was: "He is not a man of prudence who, when in company with a person whom he cannot avoid, does not treat him with politeness, till such times as God may set him free." When 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr proclaimed himself Khalif and received the oath of allegiance from the people of Hījāz, he told 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās and Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah to take the oath, but they refused, saying: "We shall not enter into such an engagement with thee till thou hast all the land under thy orders, and the people unanimous in thy favour." From that moment he rendered their residence in his neighbourhood extremely irksome, and employed every means of annoying them; he even threatened to burn them alive unless they took the oath. But the history of these proceedings would lead us too far. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah came into the world (A.H. 21, A.C. 642) two years before the death of the Khalif 'Umar, and he died at Madīnah, on the first of Muḥarram, A.H. 81 (Feb. A.C. 700);\* others say 83, 82 and 73. The funeral service was said over

---

1 I have already made the remark that al-Mubarrad's work seems unworthy of confidence, and I must here express my regret that Ibn Khallikān should have been tempted to quote it so often as he does.

\* 26 February—Ed.



him by Abbān, the son of 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, who was then governor of the city. His corpse was deposited in the Baqī' Cemetery; but some persons state that he had fled to Ṭā'if in order to escape from Ibn al-Zubayr, and that he died there. Others again say that he died at Aylāh. The sect called *al-Kaysāniyah* believe him to be one of the Imāms, and that he is still residing at Mount Raḍwāh. Kuthayyir, the lover of 'Azzah, who was himself a Kaysānite, alludes to this opinion in the following verses from one of his poems:

"A grandson (*of the Prophet's*) who shall not taste of death till he lead on the cavalry preceded by the standards. He remains concealed and invisible for a time, at Raḍwāh, having honey near him and water."

Al-Mukhtār Ibn 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī was the person who called on the people to acknowledge Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah for Imām, pretending that he was the Mahdī<sup>1</sup>. Al-Jawharī says in his *Ṣaḥāḥ*, that *Kaysān* was the surname of this Mukhtār. Other authors say that Kaysān was a *mawlā* to 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. The Kaysānites pretend that Ibn al-Ḥanafīyah is still residing in a valley of Mount Raḍwā, and that he is not dead. According to them, he entered there with forty of his companions, and that they were never heard of after; they are still alive, however, and receive their sustenance (*from God*). They say also that he remains in this mountain with a lion on one side of him and a panther on the other; near him are two springs, running with water and honey, and he will return to

---

1 *Mahdī* (for so this word must be pronounced, inasmuch as it is the passive participle of the first form of the verb *hadda*, to direct) signifies *the guided*, or *the well-directed*. Sale and others are mistaken in pronouncing it *Muhdī* and translating it *the director*. According to the Muslims, the end of the world will be announced by a number of signs, one of which is to be the appearance of the *Mahdī*, "concerning whom Muḥammad prophesied that the world should not have an end till one of his own family should govern the Arabians, whose name should be the same with his own name, and whose father's name should also be the same with his father's name; and who should fill the earth with righteousness." (Sale's *Preliminary Discourse* to the *Qur'an*).

the world and fill it with justice. Muḥammad (*Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah*) dyed his hair with *ḥinnā* and *katam*<sup>1</sup>; he used also to wear his ring on the left hand. The histories told of him are well known. The imāmate passed from him to his son, Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh and from him to Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, the father of (*the Khalifs*) al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr. Of this we shall speak in the life of Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī. Al-Ṭabarī says, in his great historical work, under the year 144, that *Raḍwā* is the mountain of (*the tribe of*) Juhaynah, and that it is situated in the canton of Yanbū'. Others state that it lies at a day's journey from Yanbū', and at seven days' journey from Madīnah; to the right of it passes the road leading to Madīnah, and, to the left, the road leading to the desert, if the traveller be going up to Makkah. It is at two days' journey from the sea. God knows if this be correct! Abu 'l-Yaqzān<sup>2</sup> says, in his *Kitāb al-Nisab* that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah had a son called al-Haytham, and he was held away (*muwakhkhadh*) from the mosque of the Prophet, being unable to enter it. As a word of the (*Arabic*) language, *al-akhidh* (*the held*) means a prisoner: and *al-ukhdha*, signifies any charm, such as magic. It would appear from this that the youth was enchanted.

### 534 MUḤAMMAD AL-BĀQIR

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad, the son of Zayn al-'Ābidīn 'Alī (No. 397), the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, surnamed al-Bāqir, was one of the twelve Imāms according to the belief of those who admit the imāmate<sup>3</sup>, and the father

1 The *Kalm* (*buxus dioica* of Forskel) is a species of *ḥinnā*. For its description and use, see Dr. Sontheimer's *Heil-und Nahrungsmittel von Ibn Baithar*, vol. II, page 348.

2 Abu 'l-Yaqzān 'Āmir Ibn Hafa, surnamed Suḥaym, was a traditionist of acknowledged authority in whatever regarded the history, genealogy, virtues, and vices of the Arabs. He composed a great number of works, mostly genealogical and the titles of which are given in the *Fihrist* (MS. 874, fol. 31). According to the author of that work, he died A.H. 170 (A.C. 786-7).

3 That is, "Who maintain that 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib was lawful *khalif* and *imām*, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others or their own fear." (Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*.)

of Ja'far al-Šādiq (*No. 128*). Al-Bāqir held a high rank not only by birth but by learning. He received the appellation of *al-Bāqir* (*the ample*) because he collected an ample fund (*tabaqqar*) of knowledge<sup>1</sup>. It is of him that the poet says:

"O thou, copious collector (*bāqir*) of knowledge for (*the instruction of*) the pious! and best of those who ever said *labbayka*<sup>2</sup> on the mountain!"

He was born at Madīnah on Tuesday, the third of the month of Šafar, A. H. 57 (Dec, A. C. 676),\* and he completed his third year on the day in which his grandfather al-Ḥusayn was murdered. His mother, Umm 'Abd Allāh, was the daughter of al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. He died at al-Ḥummaymah, in the month of the first Rabi', A. H. 113 (May-June, A. C. 731); others say, on the 23rd of Šafar, A. H. 114, or in 117, or the year following. His corpse was carried to Madīnah and interred at the Baqī' cemetery, in the tomb wherein are deposited the bodies of his father, and his father's uncle, al-Ḥasan the son of 'Alī; it is placed under the same dome which covers the tomb of al-'Abbās. We have already spoken of *al-Ḥumaymah*, in the life of 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās (*No. 400*).

### 535 MUḤAMMAD AL-JAWĀD

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī al-Riḍā (*No. 398*) the son of Mūsā al-Kāzim<sup>3</sup>, the son of Ja'far al-Šādiq (*No. 128*), the son of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (*see the preceding article*), and

1 Others say that he was called *al-Bāqir* because he *split open* (*Baqara* knowledge, that is, he scrutinized it, and examined into the depths of it.

2 *Labbayka* signifies: *Here I am at thy service!* It is an exclamation employed by the pilgrims on approaching the city of Makkah. In d' Ohsson's *Tab. gen. de l'Empire Othom.* tom. III, pages 66 and 67, will be found full information on this subject.

3 His life will be found in this work.

\* 16 December.—Ed.

† 24 April (A.C. 732) or 24 March (A.C. 735). Ed.

surnamed al-Jawād (*the generous*), was one of the twelve *imāms*. Having gone to Baghdād with his wife, Umm al-Faḍl, the daughter of (*the khalif*) al-Māmūn, on a visit to (*the khalif*) al-Mu'taṣim, he died in that city. His wife was then borne to the palace of her uncle al-Mu'taṣin and placed in the *harem* with the other women. Al-Jawād used to repeat the following saying of 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib's citing, at the same time, the names of his ancestors through whom it had been successively transmitted down: "The blessed Prophet sent me to Yaman, and he counselled me, saying: 'O 'Alī! he is never disappointed who asks good (*from God*); and he never has a motive for repenting who asks advice. Make it a point to travel by night, for more ground can be got over by night than by day. O 'Alī! rise betimes! in the name of God for God hath bestowed a blessing on my people in their early rising.' " He used to say: "Whosoever gaineth unto himself a brother in God, hath gained for himself a mansion in Paradise." Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mazyad relates as follows: "I happened to be in Baghdād, when Muḥammad Ibn Mandah Ibn Mihra-yazd said to me: 'Would you like me to introduce you to Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī al-Riḍā?' I replied: 'Certainly, I would.' He then took me in to him, and we saluted and sat down. He (*the imām*) then said: 'A saying of the blessed Prophet was, that Fāṭimah lived chastely, wherefore God pronounced that her offspring should not be touched by the fire (*of hell*). But this applied specially to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.' " Numerous anecdotes are told of him. He was born on Tuesday, the 5 of Ramaḍān, some say the 15, A.H. 195 (June, A.C. 811)\*, and he died at Baghdād on Tuesday, the 5 of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 220 (December, A.C. 835)†. Some say that he died in the year 219. He was interred near his grandfather, Mūsā, the son of Ja'far, in the Cemetery of the Quraysh, and the funeral service was said over him by al-Wāṭhiq, the son of " (*the khalif*) al-Mu'taṣim.

1 In the printed text, for *لعل* read. *لعل*

\* According to Edward Mahler's calculation Tuesday did not fall on the fifth or the fifteenth of the month of Ramaḍān. However if three months in succession were of 29 days each, in that case Tuesday could fall on 15 Ramaḍān corresponding to June A.C. 811 or else it was 11 June or 1 June. -Ed.

† 30 November. -Ed.

## 536 MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤUJJAH

Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad, the son of al-Ḥasan al-'Askari (No. 161) the son of 'Alī al-Hādī (No. 399), the son of Muḥammad al-Jawād (see the preceding article), was one of the twelve *Imāms*, according to the opinion of the Imamites. He was surnamed al-Ḥujjah (*the proof of the truth*), and it is he whom the Shi'ites pretend to be the (*Muntaẓar the expected*), the *Qā'im* (*the chief of the age*), and the Mahdī (*the directed*). According to them, he is the *Ṣāhib al-Sirdāb* (*the dweller in the cistern*) and the opinions they hold with regard to him are very numerous. They expect his return (*into the world*) from a cistern at Sarra man ra'ā, when time is near its end. He was born on Friday, the 15 of Shā'bān, A.H. 255 (July, A.C. 869)\*. When his father died, he was five years of age. His mother's name was al-Khamaṭ, but some called her Narjis (*narcissus*). The Shi'ites say that he entered into the cistern at his father's house whilst his mother was looking on, and that he never again came out. This occurred in the year 265 (A.C. 878-9), and he was at that time nine years of age. Ibn al-Arzaq says, in his History of Mayyāfāriqin: "The birth of the Ḥujjah took place on the 9 of the first Rabi', A.H. 258; others say, and with greater truth, on the 8 of Shā'bān, 256 (July, A.C. 870)†. When he went into the cistern, his age was four years; some say five; and others again state that he entered it in A.H. 275 (A.C. 888-9), at the age of seventeen years." God best knows which of these statement is true.

## 537 IBN SHIHĀB AL-ZUHRI

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Muslim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Shihāb Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Zuhrah, a member of the tribe of Quraysh, and surnamed al-Zuhri, was one of the most eminent *Tābi'is*, jurisconsults, and Traditionists of

\* 29 July.—Ed.

† 11 July.—Ed.

Madinah. He saw ten of Muḥammad's Companions, and a number of the *imāms* of that age received Traditions from him and transmitted them to others. Of these we may mention Mālik Ibn Anas (*No.* 524) Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (*No.* 249), and Sufyān al-Thawrī (*No.* 248). It is related that 'Amr Ibn Dīnār (*No.* 249, *n.*) said : "Let al-Zuhri know what he may, I have met Ibn 'Umar (*No.* 243, *n.*1), who never went to meet him; and I have met also Ibn 'Abbās (*No.* 43, *n.*) who never went to meet him." Al-Zuhri then came to Makkah, and 'Amr said : "Carry me to him ;" for he had lost the use of his limbs. They carried him to al-Zuhri, and he did not return to his disciples till the next morning. They then asked him how he found al-Zuhri, and he replied : "By Allāh ! I never in my life saw the life of that Qurayshite". Makhūl<sup>1</sup> having been asked who was the most learned man he ever saw, answered : "Ibn Shihāb." He was then asked who came next to him, and he answered : "Ibn Shihāb." Being again asked who came next, he replied : "Ibn Shihāb." Al-Zuhri had learned by heart all the legal information possessed by the seven jurisconsults (*No.* 114) and (the *khālif*) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote these words to all the provinces of the empire : "Take the opinion of Ibn Shihāb (*on point of law*) ; for you will find no one better acquainted than he is with the *Sunnah* (*or usages*) of times past." Al-Zuhri was one day at an assembly (*majlis*) held by Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and Abu 'l-Zinād 'Abd Allāh Ibn Dhakwān (*No.* 249, *n.*) happened to be present. Hishām then asked al-Zuhri in what month the (*regular*) donations (*from the treasury*) were issued to the people of Madīnah ? and the other replied that he did not know. He then addressed the same question to Abu 'l-Zinād, who answered : "In Muḥarram." On this, Hishām said to al-Zuhri : "O Abū Bakr ! there is a piece of information which you have acquired to-day." To this al-Zuhri replied : "The Commander of the Faithful's assembly is the fittest place for acquiring information." When al-Zuhri kept at home, he remained seated with his books around him, and so deeply was he absorbed by their study that he forgot all worldly concerns ; this induced

1 The life of Makhūl is given by Ibn Khallikān.

his wife to say to him one day : "By Allāh ! these books annoy me more than three other wives would do (*if you had them*). " 'Abd Allāh Ibn Shihāb, his great-grandfather, fought on the side of the infidels at the battle of Badr, and he was one of those who, on the day in which the battle of Uḥud was fought, bound themselves by oath to kill God's Apostle if they saw him, or die in the attempt. It is related that a person said to al-Zuhri : "Was thy ancestor present at the battle of Badr ?" and that he replied : "Yes ; but on the other side ;" meaning that he has been in the ranks of the infidels. Muslim, al-Zuhri's father, was a partisan of Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Zuhri remained constantly with 'Abd al-Malik<sup>1</sup> till that khalif's death, and he then continued with Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. (*The Khalif*) Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik chose him for *qāḍī*. He died on the eve of Tuesday, the 17 of Ramaḍān, A.H. 124 (July, A.C. 742)\*, (others say, A.H. 123, or 105)†, at the age of seventy-two, some say, seventy-three. It is stated, I know not with what degree of truth, that he was born A.H. 51 (A.C. 671). He was interred at *Adāmā*, or *Adamā*, a farm which belonged to him. This place is situated on the other side of Shaghb and *Badā*, which are valleys (some say villages), between al-Ḥijāz and Syria, on the line of separation between these two provinces. It is mentioned, in the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*,<sup>2</sup> that he died at his house in Na'f, a village near those we have just named, and the same at which Umm Ḥazrah, the wife of al-Jarir (*No. 127*), expired. That poet alludes to the circumstance in the following line from one of his poems :

"Was a valley at Na'f, covered with mouldering stones,  
a fit companion (*for thee*) who was the dearest object I  
possessed ?"

1 We must perhaps read : With Yazid 'Abd al-Malik. The printed text agrees, however, with the manuscripts in giving the reading translated here.

2 Ḥājī khalīfah indicates a number of works bearing this title ; see Flügel's edition, tom. II, p. 422, 423.

\* 24 July.—Ed.

† The editor of the Cairo edition observes it is an error and it should be 125.—Ed.

The tomb of al-Zhūrī was placed at the road-side, so that every person who passed by might pray for him. *Zuhri* means *belonging to Zuhrah* Ibn Kilāb Ibn Murrah, a great branch of the Quraysh tribe, the same branch which produced 'Āminah, the mother of the Prophet, and a great number of the Companions. Speaking of *Shaghb* and Badā, Kuthayyir (*No. 521*), the lover of 'Azza, said :

"It was thou who madest me love the region between *Shaghb* and Badā, although another country was my native land. When my eyes drop tears, I pretend that it is the dust which makes them water ; but that dust is 'Azzah, if the doctor knew it ! She dwelt for a season at the one, then at the other, and, from her, both these valleys have derived their perfume. "

This passage seems to prove that they are valleys, not villages.

### 538 MUḤAMMAD IBN ABĪ 'L-LAYLĀ

Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā Yasār (*alias* Dāwūd) Ibn Bilāl Ibn Uḥayyāh Ibn al-Jullāh al-Anṣārī was a native of Kūfah. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 335*). Muḥammad was one of those *imāms* who decided certain points of law by their own private judgement<sup>1</sup>, and he exercised the functions of qādī at Kūfah for thirty-three years ; first, in the name of the Umayyads, and afterwards, in that of the 'Abbāsids. He was also a jurisconsult and a *muftī*. Speaking of his father, he said : "I know nothing of my father, except that he had two wives, and two green jars in each of which he made *nabīdh*, on alternate days<sup>2</sup>." He studied the law under al-Sha'bī (*No. 296*), and gave lessons to Sufyān al-Thawrī (*No. 248*). Al-Thawrī said : Our jurisconsults are Ibn Abī Laylā and Ibn Shubrumah (*No. 288, note*)" Muḥammad Ibn Abī Laylā relates as follows : "I went in

<sup>1</sup> *Aṣḥāb al-Rā'i*, No. 227, note.

<sup>2</sup> This is cited as a proof that he never acquired any legal information from his father, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā, the celebrated *Ṭābi'* although it would have been natural to suppose the contrary.



to 'Aṭā (*No.* 394) and he began to consult me, on which one of the persons present disapproved of what he did and spoke to him on the subject, but he replied: 'He is more learned than I.' A slight degree of coolness subsisted between him and Abū Ḥanīfah. It is related that, as he was one day returning from the mosque at Kūfah, wherein he had been sitting in judgment, he heard a woman say to a man: "Thou son of a prostitute and a fornicator (*Ya Ibn al-Zāniyah*)!" on which he caused her to be arrested, and, having returned to his tribunal, he ordered her to be flagellated twice, inflicting on her each time the number of strokes prescribed by law, and this punishment she underwent standing. When Abū Ḥanīfah was informed of his proceeding, he said: "In this single affair, the *qādl* has committed six faults, first, in returning to his mosque after the sitting was ended, which it was not requisite for him to do; secondly, by inflicting the punishment of flagellation in the mosque, a thing expressly forbidden by the blessed Prophet; thirdly by flagellating her, and she standing, whereas women should be flagellated in a sitting posture and their clothes on; fourthly, by inflicting the flagellation twice, whereas the calumniator incurs only one flagellation, even if he address the insulting word to a number of persons; fifthly, were the double flagellation incurred, he should have waited, before inflicting the second, till the pain caused by the first had ceased; sixthly he sentenced her to be flagellated, although, no prosecutor had made a complaint against her." When this came to the ears of Muḥammad Ibn Abī Laylā, he sent this message to the governor of Kūfah: "There is here a youth, called Abū Ḥanīfah, who attacks my judgments, and gives opinions in opposition to them, and insults me by saying that I have erred. I wish you would prevent him from so doing." On this, the governor sent to Abū Ḥanīfah, ordering him not to give opinions on points of law. They then relate that Abū Ḥanīfah, was one day in his house, with his wife beside him, and his daughter, and his son Ḥammād, when his daughter said to him: "Papa! I am keeping a fast (*of abstinence*,) and some blood has come out from between my teeth, but I spat it out till my saliva came clear, without any trace of blood. Should I break the fast if I swallowed my saliva now?" To this her father replied: "Ask

thy brother Ḥammād, for the governor has forbidden me to give opinions on points of law". This anecdote is cited as an example of Abū Ḥanīfah's signal merits and of his respectful obedience to the constituted authority; so much so, that he obeyed even in private, and abstained from giving an answer to his daughter; this is the utmost extent to which obedience could be carried. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Layla was born A.H. 74 (A.C. 693-4), and he died at Kūfah, A.H. 148 (A.C. 765-6). He held the post of *qāḍī* up to the moment of his death, and the place was then conferred on his nephew by the *Khalīf* Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr.

### 539 MUḤAMMAD IBN SİRĪN

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn, was a native of Baṣrah. His father was a slave to Anas Ibn Mālik<sup>1</sup>, but deemed himself

---

1 Abū Ḥamzah Anas Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Naḍr النضر Ibn al-Najjār al-Anṣārī, surnamed *the servant of God's Apostle* (*khādīm rasūl Allāh*), was one of the most eminent among the Companions. When a boy, his mother placed him in the service of Muḥammad, from whom she requested, at the same time, a prayer for her son. In compliance with her wish, Muḥammad pronounced these words: "Almighty God! give him great wealth and numerous children, and make him enter Paradise." The effects of this prayer were manifested later; the riches of Anas multiplied, his date-trees bore fruit twice a year (it is said, and he became the father of seventy-eight sons. At the time of Ibn al-Aṣḥ'ath's revolt, al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf reviled Anas in the grossest terms for having sided with that rebel as he had already done with 'Alī and Ibn al-Zubayr. Anas immediately wrote to 'Abd al-Mālik Ibn Marwān, complaining of the indignity with which he, the Prophet's faithful domestic, had been treated; and this brought him a letter of excuses from that *khalīf*, who addressed at the same time a severe reprimand to al-Ḥajjāj. Anas was ten years in Muḥammad's service, and, on his master's death, he removed to Baṣrah. A great quantity of Traditions were delivered by him, some consisted of the sayings which he had gathered from the lips of Muḥammad himself, and the rest of those which he received from Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṭhmān, and others. He died A.H. 93 (A.C. 711-2) (*Siyar al-Salaf*,—*Uyūn al-Tawārikh*.)

by giving him a written bond for forty, some say twenty thousand dirhams, the amount of which he finally paid up. He was one of the captives taken at Maysān (*No. 148, note*); others say, at 'Ayn al-Tamr<sup>1</sup>. Sīrīn bore the surname of Abū 'Amrah; he belonged to Jarjarāyā and was a maker of copper pots (*for cooking*); having gone to 'Ayn al-Tamr, he there followed his trade till made prisoner by Khālīd Ibn al-Walīd, along with forty young men not natives of the place. (*This circumstance they represented to Khālīd*), but he refused to believe them, and, on their saying that they belonged to good families, he distributed them (*as slaves*) to persons (*in his army*)<sup>2</sup>. Šafīyyah, the mother of Abū Bakr Ibn Sīrīn, was a *mawlā* to (*the khalif*) Abū Bakr. (*Preparatory to her marriage*), she was perfumed by three of the Prophet's wives, and they also invoked God's blessing on her; eighteen of the Prophet's Companions who had fought under him at Badr were present at the marriage ceremony; one of them, Ubayyi Ibn Ka'b, offered up prayers, and the rest said *Amen*. Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn delivered Traditions on the authority of Abū Hurayrah (*No. 244, note*), 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar (*No. 243, note*), 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Imrān Ibn Huṣayn<sup>3</sup>, and Anas Ibn Mālīk; Traditions were learned from him and delivered to others by Qatādah Ibn Dī'āmāh (*No. 516*), Khālīd al-Hadhhdhā<sup>4</sup>, Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī<sup>5</sup>, and others of the *Imāms*. He was one of the jurisconsults by whose opinions

1 See Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, vol. II, p. 63.

2 Here Ibn Khallikān's text is obscure, and perhaps corrupted. Al-Tabarī relates the fact thus: "In templo quadraginta juvenes invenerunt (*Arabes*) evangelio students, qui fores occluserant. Fores effregit Chalid, iisque: quinam estis? inquit. Illi vero: obsides sumus. Tunc fortissimis militibus eos dispertivit. Erant ex iis Abū Sīād..... Sīrīn, pater Mohammedis beu Sīrīn, etc." (Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, vol. II, p. 65).

3 'Imrān Ibn Huṣayn al-Khuza'i one of the Prophet's Companions, became *qāḍī* of Baṣrah, and died there in the exercise of his functions, A.H. 53 (A.C. 672-3). (*Siyar al-Salaf*.)

4 The ḥafīẓ Khālīd al-Hadhhdhā was a native of Baṣrah and an eminent *Tabī'i*. He delivered Traditions on the authority of Anas, and died A.H. 142 (A.C. 759-60). He received the surname of al-Hadhhdhā, because he used to sit with the shoemakers (*ḥadhhdhā*) of the place where he resided. (Al-Yāfi'i's *Mir'at*).

5 Abū Bakr Ayyūb Ibn Abī Tamīmāh, a native of Ghazzah and a *mawlā*,

the people of Baṣrah were guided, and one of the persons of that age the most noted for their piety. He went to al-Madā'in to see 'Abīdah al-Salmānī<sup>1</sup>, and (*speaking of this interview*) he said: "I prayed with him, and, when he had finished his prayer, he called for breakfast; on which, bread and milk and butter were brought in. He ate thereof, and we ate with him, and we remained sitting till the hour of the afternoon prayer. 'Abīdah then rose up, and having pronounced the *adhān* and the *iqāmah*<sup>2</sup>, he said with us the afternoon prayer; and yet neither he nor any of those who breakfasted with him had made an ablution between the two prayers<sup>3</sup>" Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn was a friend of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (No. 148) but they at length came to a rupture, and, on al-Ḥasan's death, Ibn Sīrīn absented himself from the funeral. Al-Sha'bī (No. 296) used to say (*to students of the law*): "Stick to that deaf man!" meaning thereby Ibn Sīrīn; because he was dull of hearing. Ibn Sīrīn possessed great skill in the interpretation of dreams. He was born

(Continued from page 154)

received the surname of al-Sakḥṭiyānī because he sold dyed leather (*sakḥṭiyān*) at Baṣrah. He held a high rank as a *Ṭabī'ī*, and he saw some of the most eminent of that body, such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ibn Sīrīn, Sālim, and Nāfi'. He met also Anas Ibn Mālik. Traditions were given on his authority by Ibn Sīrīn, Qatādah, al-A'maṣh, the *imāms* Mālik, al-Thawrī Ibn 'Uyaynah, the two Ḥammāds, etc. All doctors agree in assigning him the highest place for learning in the law and for credibility as a Traditionist. Shu'bah called him the chief of the jurisconsults, and Ibn 'Uyaynah declared that amongst eighty-six of the *Ṭabī'īs* whom he knew, he never met the like of Ayyūb. He died A.H. 131 (A.C. 748-9). (*Ṭab. al-Fuqahā*).

1 Abū Muslim 'Abīdah al-Salmānī, a native of Kūfah and a *Ṭabī'ī* of the first rank, embraced Islāmism two years before the Prophet's death, but never had an opportunity of seeing him. He acquired his legal information from some of the principal Companions. He left Kūfah to assist the *Khālif* 'Alī in his wars against the *Khārījites*. When Shurayḥ was unable to resolve a knotty point of law, he sent it to 'Abīdah. This doctor died A.H. 72 (A.C. 691-2). (*Ṭab. al-Fuqahā*).

2 If the Musalman, before he begins his prayers, has not distinctly heard the call to prayer (or *adhān* pronounced by the *mu'adhḍhin*, it is incumbent on him to repeat it and the *iqāmah* before commencing the regular prayer. The *iqāmah* is a repetition of the *adhān* with some additional words. See D'Ohrson's *Tab. gen. de l'Emp. Osthom*, tom. II, p. 116.

3 This circumstance is cited to prove that 'Abīdah did not consider the act of eating as productive of legal impurity.

(in A. H. 33, A.C. 653-4) two years before the death of Khalif 'Uthmān, and he died at Baṣrah on Friday, the 9th of Shawwāl, A. H. 110 (January, A.C. 729)\*, one hundred days after the death of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. He was a draper by profession but, having fallen into debt, he was imprisoned. He had thirty sons by the same wife, and eleven daughters; none of them, however, survived except 'Abd Allāh. He died thirty thousand dirhams in debt, but his son 'Abd Allāh paid off the whole, and, before his own death, his property was estimated at three hundred thousand dirhams. Muḥammad Ibn Sirīn had served Anas Ibn Mālīk in the capacity of a secretary when in Persia<sup>1</sup>. Aṣm'ai (No. 354) used to say: "Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*was, in furnishing Traditions, like*) a generous prince; but when the deaf man (meaning Ibn Sirīn) furnishes Traditions, retain them carefully; as for Qatādah (*he was, as a collector of Traditions, like*) one who gathers fire-wood in the dark, (*picking up both bad and good*)." Ibn 'Awwf<sup>2</sup> relates as follows: "When Anas Ibn Mālīk was on his death-bed, he desired that Ibn Sirīn should wash his corpse and say over it the funeral prayers. As Ibn Sirīn was then in prison, their friends went to the governor of the city, who was a member of the tribe of Asad, and obtained permission for him to go out. Ibn Sirīn then went and washed the body, shrouded it, and prayed over it in the castle at al-Ṭaff<sup>3</sup>, where Anas made his residence, and then returned directly to prison without going to see his family." I must observe, however, that 'Umar Ibn Shabbah, (No. 466) says, in his History of Baṣrah, that the person who washed the corpse of Anas Ibn Mālīk was Qaṭan Ibn Mudrik al-Kilābī, the governor of Baṣrah; and a similar statement is made by Abū Yaqqān (No. 533, note). Maysān is the name of a village situated in the lower part of the territory of Baṣrah. Of 'Ayn al-Tamr we have already spoken (No. 91).

1 The original Arabic may here bear another signification namely: It was in Persia that (*to purchase his liberty*) gave his bond to Anas Ibn Mālīk.

2 I read here Ibn 'Awn. Abū 'Awn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awn Ibn Artabān, a *mawla* of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Durrah, was a distinguished traditionist and one of Ibn Sirīn's disciples. He died A.H. 151 (A.C. 768). *Nujūm*.

3 No. 521, note. The *Qatīl al-Ṭaff* (*slain at Ṭaff*) was Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī. (Ibn Khaldūn, MS. No. 2402, f. 52 v.)

\* 14 January.—Ed.

## 540 IBN ABĪ DHĪ'B

Abu 'l-Hārith Muḥammad, a member of the tribe of Quraysh and of the family of 'Āmir, and surnamed Ibn Abī Dhī'b, was the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Mughayrah Ibn al-Hārith Ibn Abī Dhī'b Hishām Ibn Sa'īd Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Qays Ibn 'Abd Wadd Ibn Naṣr Ibn Mālik Ibn Ḥisl Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Luwayyi Ibn Ghālib Ibn Fihrr Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Naḍr Ibn Kinārah Ibn Khuzaymah Ibn Mudrikah Ibn al-Yās Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān. This illustrious jurisconsult was one of the imām Mālik's disciples, and a sincere freindship united them in the closest attachment. When Mālik went to Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, that khalif asked him what masters (*in the science of jurisprudence*) he had left behind him at Madinah, and he replied: "Commander of the Faithful! Ibn Abī Dhī'b, Ibn Abī Salamah<sup>1</sup>, and Ibn Abī Sabrah<sup>2</sup>." 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the father of Ibn Abī Dhī'b, went to see the emperor of the Greeks (*Qaysar*), but in consequence of some malicious reports which were made against him, that sovereign had him arrested and confined in prison for life. Abu 'l-Hārith Ibn Abī Dhī'b died at Kūfah. A.H. 159 (A.C. 775-6); some say, 158. He was born in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 81 (Feb.-March, A.C. 700); some say, A.H. 80, the year of the great torrent (*al-Sayl al-Juhāf*<sup>3</sup> Ḥisl (*as an appellative name*) signifies the young of the dubb<sup>4</sup>. If the second syllable of the word Luwayyi be considered as *hamza*, this name is the diminutive form of *lay* (bull); but, if not, it is the diminutive of *lawā* (a sand-hill). Fihrr means a stone.

---

1 Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Abī Salamah, surnamed al-Mājisḥūn died at Baḡhdād, A.H. 160 (A.C. 776-7). *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*.

2 Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Sabrah, a member of the tribe of Quraysh, was employed as *qāḍī* by Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. He died A.H. 172 (A.C. 788-9), aged sixty years. *Ṭab. al-Fuqahā*.)

3 "The year 80 (A.C. 699-700), was that of the great torrent at Makkah called *al-Juhāf*. It was so denominated because it bore away (*jaḥaf*) men, women, and camels with their loads." *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh*.)

4 See no. 42, note.

## 541 MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-ḤASAN

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Farqad, a doctor of the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah, and a *mawlā* to the tribe of Shaybān, came of a family which resided at Ḥarastā, a village outside the gate of Damascus and in the midst of the Ghūṭah. His father left Syria and proceeded to Wāsiṭ in 'Irāq, where he settled. Muḥammad, the subject of this article, was born in that city, and he passed his early life in Kūfah. He then travelled to collect Traditions, and met a number of the most eminent *imāms*. During some years, he attended the sittings of Abū Ḥanīfah, after which, he studied jurisprudence under Abū Yūsuf, the disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah. He composed many valuable works, such as the Great and the Lesser *Jāmi'*, or collection of Traditions etc. In his various productions he inserted disquisitions on various obscure points, particularly those connected with grammar. He contributed actively to the propogation of the doctrines taught by Abū Ḥanīfah. He expressed himself with great elegance, and, when he discoursed on any subject, it seemed to the hearer as if the *Qur'ān* had been sent down to mankind in the language which he spoke. When the imām al-Shāfi'i (No. 532), went to Baghdād, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan was there, and they both met frequently and discussed points of law in the presence of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Shāfi'i was (*afterwards*) heard to say: "I never saw a person, who, when questioned on a point which required reflection, did not betray some uneasiness by his countenance; but I must except Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan." He said again: "The information which I learned by heart from Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan would suffice to load a camel." The following anecdote was related by al-Rabī' Ibn Sulaymān al-Murādī (No. 221): "Al-Shāfi'i having asked from Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan the loan of some books which he wished to copy, waited for a considerable time without obtaining them, and he at length wrote to him the following lines:

'Say to him whose like was never seen by any eye you ever saw—to him whose aspect would make the spectator think that he had before his eyes (*the united merit of*) all former doctors:

'Learning forbids the learned to withhold it from the learned.' Perhaps he may bestow it on one deserving ! perhaps he may !'

"Immediately on receiving this note, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan sent him the books." I found these verses also in the collected poetical works of Maṣṣūr Ibn Ismā'il, a jurisconsult whose life I shall give. He is there said to be the author of them, and to have written them to Abū Bakr Ibn Qāsim ; as for the former statement, it is made by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5) in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*. It is related that al-Shāfi'i said : "I never met with a fat man possessing acuteness of mind, except Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan." Al-Rashīd conferred the *qādīship* of al-Raqqah on Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, but afterwards removed him, and this doctor then proceeded to Baghdād. "The following anecdote was related by Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan : "Some persons went to consult Abū Ḥanīfah about a woman who had just died, and in whose womb they felt a child stirring. He told them to extract the infant by making an incision, and it proved to be a boy. The child survived and grew up to a youth ; and this youth, having commenced his studies, used to attend my sittings, where he was known by the appellation of the son of Abū Ḥanīfah." Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan remained constantly with al-Rashīd, till that *khalīf* made his first journey to Ray ; he then set out with him, and died at Ranbawayh, a village near Ray, in the year 189 (A.C. 804-5). He was born A.H. 135 (A.C. 752-3) ; some say 131 or 132. Al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) says that Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan and al-Kisā'i (No. 408) died at Ray on the same day. It is mentioned that al-Rashīd was heard to say : "I buried at Ray the sciences of jurisprudence and grammar." Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan was cousin by the mother's side to al-Farrā, the celebrated grammarian and philologist.

#### 542 MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ALĪ AL-HĀSHIMĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī was the father of the two *khalīfs* al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr. We have already spoken of his



father 'Alī (See No. 400) "This Muḥammad," says Ibn Qutaybah, "was a most handsome man, and lived honoured with the deepest respect. A space of only fourteen years intervend between his birth and that of his son, 'Alī. The latter used to dye his hair black, and the former red; it therefore happened that persons who were not well acquainted with them mistook one for the other." Yazīd Ibn Abī Muslim, the secretary of al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf (No. 144), states that he heard his master relate the following anecdote: "We happened to be with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, at a country-seat of his, near Dūmat al-Jandal<sup>1</sup>; he was conversing with a physiognomist and addressing questions to him, when 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās came in, accompanied by his son Muḥammad. On seeing him approach, 'Abd al-Malik ceased from conversation; his colour changed, and he began to mutter some words between his lips. I immediately sprung up with the intention of preventing 'Alī from advancing, but the *khalīf* made me a sign that I should let him alone. He then drew near and made his salutation, on which 'Abd al-Malik seated him by his side; and whilst he was passing his hand (*carelessly*) over his ('Alī's) clothes, he signed to Muḥammad that he also should be seated. He then commenced discoursing with 'Alī, the agreeable tone of whose conversation was well known. A repast being brought in, the *khalīf* washed his hands, and ordered the tray to be placed near Abū Maḥammad ('Alī), but he said that he was then keeping a fast, and, rising up suddenly, he retired. 'Abd al-Malik followed him with his eyes till he had nearly disappeared from sight, and then, turning to the physiognomist, he asked him if he knew who that was? The man replied that he did not, but that he knew one thing respecting him. The *khalīf* desired to know what that was, and the physiognomist said: 'If the youth who is with him be his son, there will come forth from his loins a number of Pharaohs, destined to possess the earth and slay whoever attempts, to resist them!' On hearing these words, 'Abd al-Malik, turned pale, and said: 'A monk from

1 The author of the *Marāṣid* notices a number of places bearing the name of *Dūmat al-Jandal*; one of them, a castle in the district of Madīnah; another, a village at five parasangs from Damascus; and the third, a place in the vicinity of the Two Mountains of Ṭay (*Jabali Ṭay*). That which is mentioned in this article seems to be the second indicated in the *Marāṣid*.

Aylā who once saw him with me, pretended that thirteen kings should come forth from his loins, and he described to me the appearance of each.' ” The authority (*of the imāmate*) was transmitted to him in the following manner: Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah, of whom we have already spoken (*No. 533*), was considered by the Shi'ites as having acquired the qualities of the true *imām* on the death of his brother, al-Ḥusayn. When Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah died, his authority passed to his son Abū Ḥāshim (*No. 533*). The influence which Abū, Ḥāshim possessed was immense, and the Shi'ites acknowledged him for their chief. Being taken ill in Syria, and at the point of death, he left the authority to Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, as he had himself no offspring, and he said: “Thou art now the possessor of this authority, and it shall remain with thy children.” He then delivered him his books (*or letters*), and the Shi'ites immediately turned towards him. When Muḥammad was on his death-bed in Syria he left his authority to his son, Ibrāhīm, surnamed (*thence forward*) the *Imām*. Ibrāhīm was imprisoned in the city of Ḥarrān, by Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyads, and, feeling convinced that this prince meant to put him to death, he transmitted the authority to his brother, al-Saffāḥ, who was the first of the 'Abbāsīd family who obtained the khālīfate. Such are the main points of the whole proceeding, but to expose the particulars of it would lead us too far. Muḥammad (*Ibn 'Alī*) was born A.H. 60 (A.C. 679-80); so, at least, I have found it mentioned; but this date cannot be reconciled with that of his father's birth, if, as has been already stated, fourteen years only intervened between them: we have observed (*No. 400*) that his father's birth took place in the life time of 'Alī, or, in admitting another statement, on the night in which that khālīf was assassinated; now, 'Alī's death occurred in the month of Ramadān, A.H. 40 (January, A.C. 661); how then could fourteen years only have elapsed, when it appears, on the contrary, that there must have been at least twenty years between the two events?—Muḥammad died A.H. 126 (A.C. 743-4), some say 122, the same year in which was born al-Mahdī, the son of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, and the father of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. Others refer the death of Muḥammad to the year 125, and state that he breathed his last at al-Sharāt. Al-Ṭabarī says, in his History: “Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī expired on the

first of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 126 (August, A.C. 744)\* at the age of sixty-three years." We have spoken of al-Sharāt in the life of his father 'Ali (No. 433). In al-Ṭabarī's historical work, the following passage is inserted under A.H. 98: "Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh, the son of Maḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah, went to see Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, by whom he was received with marked honour. He then set out for Palestine, and Sulaymān suborned a person to await his passage on the road, and offer him a draught of poisoned milk. Abū Hāshim had no sooner swallowed the milk than he felt death to be at hand, and he immediately turned off from his way, and proceeded to al-Ḥumaymah. He there found Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās, and told him that he transmitted his rights as legitimate khalīf to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥārithiyah, the son of Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī." This Ibn al-Ḥārithiyah is the same person who afterwards bore the title of al-Saffāh. He then delivered to him the letters written by the missionaries (or political agents)<sup>1</sup> and instructed him how to act at al-Ḥumaymah. Al-Ṭabarī takes no notice here of Ibrāhīm the Imām, yet all other historians agree in stating that Abū Hāshim's rights to the khalīfate were transmitted to Ibrāhīm, who did not, however, attain to their full exercise.

#### 543 AL-BUKHĀRĪ

The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ismā'il Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mughayrah Ibn al-Aḥnaf Yazdibah (or Yazdezbah, according to Ibn Mākūlā), a *mawlā* to the tribe of Ju'fī, and surnamed, al-Bukhārī, was the great *imām* in the science of the Traditions, and the author of the work entitled *al-*

<sup>1</sup> It has been already observed, (No. 10, note), that some of the Muslim dynasties had the way prepared for their establishment by political agents or missionaries. Those dynasties all claimed kindred with Muḥammad, and this was the basis on which they founded their pretensions to the khalīfate. In M. de Sacy's *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*, a very clear light is thrown on the proceedings of the Ismā'ilian missionaries.

\* 15 August, A. C. 744.—Ed.

*Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (the authentic collector) and of the (well-known) history<sup>1</sup>. Animated with the desire of collecting Traditions, he went to see most of the Traditionists in all the great cities, and he wrote down in *Khurāsān*, in the cities of 'Irāq, in *Ḥijāz*, in Syria, and in Egypt (the information he thus acquired). On visiting *Baghdād*, the inhabitants gathered round him, and acknowledging his merit, declaring him to be the first man of the age for his learning in the Traditions, and for his talent in delivering them to others. It is related by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī, in his *Jadhwat al-Muqtabis*, and by the *Khaṭīb*, in his History of *Baghdād*, that, when al-Bukhārī arrived at that city, the Traditionists assembled, and, having selected one hundred Traditions, they applied to the text of each a wrong *isnād*<sup>2</sup>, and gave them by tens to ten different persons, whom they directed to attend the conference held by al-Bukhārī, and submit to him these Traditions. When the appointed day came, a great number of Traditionists from *Khurāsān* proceeded with those of *Baghdād* to the meeting. The assembly having taken their places, one of the ten men came forward and questioned al-Bukhārī on one of these Traditions. This doctor answered that he was not acquainted with it, and the other proceeded to ask his opinion on the remaining nine, which he submitted to him successively. As al-Bukhārī continued to answer: "I am not acquainted with it;" the jurisconsults present at the meeting began to turn from one to another and say: "The man knows what he is about;" but some of the auditors were led to conclude that he was a man of great incapacity and slight information. Another of the ten men then came forward, and, having proposed in a similar manner his ten altered Traditions, he obtained the same answers as his predecessor. The eight others then advanced successively but the result was always the same. When al-Bukhārī perceived that they had done, he turned to the first man and said: "Thy first Tradition should be said so and so; thy second so and so;" repeating them till he came to the last, and prefixing to the text of each the *isnād* which belonged to it. He then commenced with the second man, answering him

1 See Flügel's *Hajjī Khalifah*, tom. II, page 117, No. 2174.

2 See vol. I. Introduction.

in the same way, and he continued till he ended by the tenth. The whole assembly then acknowledged his abilities as a *ḥāfiẓ*, and admitted his superior merit. When Ibn Sa'īd<sup>1</sup> spoke of al-Bukhārī, he called him *the butting ram (whom none could withstand)*. Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf al-Farabrī<sup>2</sup> relates that he heard al-Bukhārī say: "I never inserted a Tradition in my *Ṣaḥīḥ* till after I had made an ablution, and offered up a prayer of two *rak'ats*<sup>3</sup>." It is also stated that al-Bukhārī said: "It took me sixteen years to draw up the *Kitāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. I selected the matter which forms its contents from a mass of six hundred thousand Traditions, and I have offered it up to God as a title to his favour." Al-Farabrī mentioned that ninety thousand persons had learned the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from al-Bukhārī, and, that of all who taught it on the authority of the author, he himself was the sole survivor. Abū-'Isā al-Tirmidhī<sup>4</sup> also taught Traditions on the authority of al-Bukhārī. The birth of al-Bukhārī took place after the public prayer of Friday, the 13th of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 194 (July, A.C. 810)\*; but Abū Ya'lā al-Khalīlī (*No. 24, note*) states, in his *Kitāb al-Irshād*, that it happened on the 12th of the above mentioned month. He died at *Khartank*, on the eve of Saturday, the first of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 256 (September, A.C. 870)†, after the evening prayer, and he was buried the following day, on the termination of the afternoon prayer. Ibn Yūnus mentions, in his *History of Foreigners (No. 343)*, that al-Bukhārī came to Egypt and died there. This is, however, a mistake, and the truth is as we have just stated. Khālīd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Khālīd al-Dhuhli, the governor of *Khurāsān*, banished al-Bukhārī from *Bukhārā*, and sent him to *Khartank*; Khālīd then made the pilgrimage, and, on arriving at *Baghdād*, he was imprisoned by al-Muwaffaq Ibn al-Mutawakkil, the brother of the *khalīf* al-Mu'tamid, and detained in confinement till he died. Al-Bukhārī was a lean-bodied man

1 Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd, a native of *Baghdād* and a *mawlā* to Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, was one of the most eminent *ḥāfiẓ* of 'Irāq. He died A.H. 318 (A.C. 930-1) (*Nujūm. Al-Yaḥi'ī*)

2 His life will be found in this work.

3 See No. 270, note.

4 His life will be found in this work.

\* 19 July. — Ed.

† 2 September. — Ed.

and of the middle size. Different opinions are held respecting the true name of his ancestor (*surnamed* al-Aḥnaf); some say that he was called *Yazdibah*, but Ibn Mākūlā says, in his *Ikmāl* (No. 414), that his name was *Yazdizbah*. This person was a Magian and died in that religion. The first of his ancestors who embraced Islāmism was al-Mughayrah. In another work, I find the former of al-Bukhārī's ancestors called al-Aḥnaf, it is therefore possible that Yazdibah was really *aḥnaf*, or club-footed. *Bukhārī* means *belonging to Bukhārā*, a great city in Transoxiana, at eight days' journey from Samarqand. *Khartank* is a village in the district of Samarqand. We have already spoken of Ju'fī (No. 49). Al-Bukhārī bore the surname of Ju'fī because his family were *niawlās* to Sa'id Ibn Ja'far al-Ju'fī, governor, of Khurāsān.

#### 544 IBN JARİR AL-ṬABARĪ

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr Ibn Yazīd Ibn Khālīd al-Ṭabarī (*native of Ṭabaristān*) is the author of the great commentary on the *Qur'ān* and of the celebrated history. Some say that his grandfather Yazīd was the son of Kathīr Ibn Ghālib. Al-Ṭabarī was an *imām* (*master of the highest authority*) in many various branches of knowledge, such as *Qur'ānic* interpretation, Traditions, jurisprudence, history, etc. He composed some fine works on various subjects, and these productions are a testimony of his extensive information and great abilities. He was one of the *mujtahid imāms*<sup>1</sup>, as he (*judged for himself and*) adopted the opinions of no particular doctor. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā Ibn Zakariyā al-Nahrawānī, surnamed Ibn Ṭarāra, was a follower of his doctrines. We shall give a notice on this person. Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī is held to merit the highest confidence as a transmitter of traditional information, and his history is the most authentic and the most exact of any. The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5) places him among the *mujtahids* in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā* (*classified list of*

1 See vol. I. Introduction.

*jurisconsults*). I found in some compilation or other the following verses attributed to al-Ṭabarī :

“When I am reduced to poverty, I let my brother know it not ; and when I am rich, I enrich my friends. My honest pride prevents me from losing my self-respect ; and if I do ask a favour, modesty is always my companion. But did I condescend to forego my self-respect, I should soon be on a beaten path to riches.”

He was born A.H. 224 (A.C. 838-9). at 'Āmul in Ṭabaristān and he died at Baghdād on Saturday evening, the 25th of Shawwāl, A.H. 310 (February, A.C. 923)\*. He was buried, the next day, in *the court of* his own house. I saw in the Lesser Qarāfah cemetery, at the foot of Mount Muqāṭṭam near Old Cairo, a tomb which is often visited, and at the head of which is a stone bearing this inscription : “This is the tomb of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī.” The public imagine it to belong to the author of the history, but this opinion is erroneous, the fact being that he was buried at Baghdād ; and Ibn Yūnus himself says, in his History of the foreigners who came to Egypt<sup>1</sup>, that such was really the case. Abū Bakr al-Kh̲wārizmī, a celebrated poet whose life we shall give, was a sister's son to al-Ṭabarī.

#### 545 MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-ḤAKAM

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam Ibn A'yan Ibn Layth Ibn Rāfi' was a native of Egypt and a doctor of the Shāfite sect. He commenced by receiving lessons from Ibn Wahb (*No.* 302) and Ashhab (*No.* 97), the disciples of the *imām* Mālik, but, when al-Shāfi'i went to Egypt, he became his pupil and studied jurisprudence under him. During the persecution at Baghdād<sup>2</sup>, he was taken before the *qāḍi* Ibn Abī Duwād

1 See no. 343.

2 This was the persecution in which Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal displayed the fortitude which rendered him illustrious. (See No 19.) The kalif al-Mu'ta'im endeavoured to force the doctors of that time to hold that *Qur'ān* was created. See Abu 'l-Ficā's *Annals*, year 219.

\* 15 February,—Ed.

al-Iyādi (*No. 31*), but, as he refused to do what was required of him, they sent him back to Egypt, where he finally became chief of the Shāfi'ite sect. He was born A.H. 182 (A.C. 798-9), and he died on Wednesday, the first of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah (some say the 15th, A.H. 268 (May, A.C. 882) \*). His tomb is stated to be near those of his father and of his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and these two are situated close to al-Shāfi'i's. Of this we have already spoken (*No. 301*). Ibn Qānī (*No. 149, note*) mentions that he died at Old Cairo, A.H. 269. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī cites him as his authority for some of the Traditions which he gives in the *Sunan* (*No. 28*). Al-Muzanī (*No. 90*) relates as follows: "We used to go to al-Shāfi'i that we might hear his lessons, and we would sit down at the door of his house. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam would then come, and go in, and make a long stay; he would even sometimes breakfast with him. On coming down al-Shāfi'i would begin to read to us, and, on finishing, he would bring Muḥammad's mule and help him to mount, after which, he would keep watching him till he disappeared, and then say: 'To obtain a son like him, I should consent to be in debt for a thousand dinārs and unable to find wherewithal to pay them.' " It is related that Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam said: "I used to go frequently to al-Shāfi'i, and in consequence of this, a number of persons belonging to our sect went to my father," who, as has been said (*No. 301*), was a Mālikite "and said to him: 'Abū Muḥammad! (thy son) Muḥammad attaches himself exclusively to this man, and frequents him constantly. This indicates that thy son has a dislike for the sect to which he belongs.' My father essayed to cain them, saying: 'He is young, and wishes to learn and examine the different opinions held on the same subject.' He then took me in private and said: 'Stick to that man, my boy! for if you leave this city, and happen to say, when you discuss a question: *Ashhab* relates that *Mālik* said you will be asked who was *Ashhab*. In consequence of this advice I attended with assiduity the lessons of al-Shāfi'i, and the words of my father never left my memory; till, having gone to 'Irāq, the *qāḍī* consulted me on a question in the presence of the company assembled at his house, and, in discussing it, I happened

\* 23 May or 6 June. Ed.



to say : *Ashhab* relates that *Mālik* said'—on which he asked who was *Ashhab*, and turned towards the company for an answer. One of the persons present replied, as if perfectly ignorant on the subject : 'I know neither *Ashhab* (*brown*) nor *Ablaq* (*gray*)!' Of *Muḥammad* Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, numerous anecdotes are related. Al-Quḍā'i states, in his *Khīṭaṭ*<sup>1</sup>, that this was the *Muḥammad* whom *Aḥmad* Ibn Ṭūlūn (*No. 70*) took by night to the aqueduct which he had constructed at al-Ma'āfir, and the water of which the people hesitated to employ either for drinking or for making ablutions<sup>2</sup>. *Muḥammad* then drank thereof and made use of it for his ablutions, whereat Ibn Ṭūlūn was so highly pleased, that he detained him no longer and sent him a rich present<sup>3</sup>. It is generally said that the circumstance here spoken of occurred to al-Muzanī, but this is not exact.

1 The life of al-Quḍā'i will be found in this work.

2 The people refused to make use of the water coming from this aqueduct, because they imagined that the money employed in its construction had not been acquired by the sovereigns in a lawful manner. See No. 171 of this work, the anecdote told by Ibn Khallikān of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's repugnance to saying his prayers in the *Nizāmiyah* College.

3 'The compiler of the history of *Aḥmad* Ibn Ṭūlūn says: When *Aḥmad* Ibn Ṭūlūn had finished the erection of this aqueduct, he learned that some persons did not consider it lawful to drink of the water which is supplied. *Muḥammad* Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥakam—the doctor whose life Ibn Khallikān gives here—"relates as follows: I was one night in my house, when a slave of *Aḥmad* Ibn Ṭūlūn's came to find me and said: 'The amīr wanteth thee.' Filled with terror and apprehension, I mounted my horse, and the slave led me off the public road. 'Whither dost thou take me?' said I. 'To the desert,' was his answer, 'and the amīr is there.' Convinced that my last hour was come, I said to the slave: 'God help me! I am an aged and feeble man; dost thou know what he wanteth with me?' He took pity on my state and answered, 'Avoid making any remark against the aqueduct. I still went forward with him, till suddenly I perceived torch-bearers in the desert, and *Aḥmad* Ibn Ṭūlūn on horseback at the door of the aqueduct, with great wax-light burning before him. I immediately dismounted and saluted him, but he did not greet me in return: I then said: 'O amīr! thy messenger hath greivously fatigued me, and I suffer from thirst. Allow me, I beg, to take a drink.' On this, the pages offered me water, but I said: No; I shall draw some for myself.' I then drew water whilst he looked on, and I drank to such a degree that I thought I should have burst. On finishing, I said: 'O amīr! may

## 546 AL-TIRMIDHĪ THE JURISCONSULT

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr al-Tirmidhī, a jurisconsult of the sect of al-Shāfi'i, was the ablest of them all in that age, the most devout and the most abstemious. He resided at Baghdād, and taught Traditions in that city on the authority of Yaḥyā Ibn Bukayr al-Miṣrī, Yūsuf Ibn 'Adī, Kathīr Ibn Yaḥyā and other masters. Traditions were delivered on his own authority by the *qāḍī* Aḥmad Ibn Kāmil (*No. 83, note*) 'Abd al-Bāqī Ibn Qānī' (*No. 149, note*), and others. His character as a traditionist is perfectly established, and he bore a high reputation for learning, merit, and self-mortification. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad Ibn 'Uthmān al-Simsār, the father of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn Shāhīn (*No. 131, note*) relates as follows: "I was at Abū Ja'far al-Tirmidhī's, when a person consulted him about the saying of the Prophet, that *God descendeth to the heaven of the world* (i. e. *the lowest of the seven heavens*); and this person expressed his desire to know how there could, in that case, be any thing more exalted (*than the lowest heaven*)? To which al-Tirmidhī replied: 'The descent is intelligible; the manner how is unknown; the belief therein is obligatory, and the asking about it is a blamable innovation.' " His moderation in respect to food was extreme, and this resulted from indigence, devotion, and patience under poverty. It is related by Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ḥammād,

(Continued from page 168.)

God quench thy thirst at the rivers of Paradise! for I have druek to my utmost wish, and I know not which to praise most—the excellence of the water, joined to its sweetness and coolness or its clearness or the sweet smell of the aqueduct." He looked at me a moment, and said: 'I want thee for something, but this is not the time. Let this man retire., I immediately retired, and the slave said to me: 'Thou hast hit the mark!' To which I answered: 'May God reward thee! were it not for thee, I had perished.' The construction and completing of this aqueduct cost forty thousand dinārs." (Al-Maqrizī's *Khīṭat*; chapter towards the end of the work, and entitled قنطرة ابن طولون و بيرة.

I Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bukayr, a *mawlā* to the tribe of Maḥzūm was an eminent traditionist of Egypt, and taught Mālik's *Muwatṭa'* from memory. He died in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 231 (October, A.C. 845). (*Elusn al-Muḥadḍharah*).

that al-Tirmidhī told him that he had subsisted seventeen days on five pence, (three pence according to another version) "I then asked him," said Ibn Hammād, "how he had managed, and he replied: 'That sum was all I possessed, and I laid it out on turnips, one of which I ate each day.'" Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj (*No. 12*) states that al-Tirmidhī received a monthly stipend of four dirhams<sup>1</sup>, and that he never asked any thing from any person. Al-Tirmidhī used to relate the following circumstance: "I had studied jurisprudence under\* Abū Ḥanīfah; when, being, in the mosque of Madinah the year I made the pilgrimage, I had a dream in which I saw the blessed Prophet, and I said: 'O Apostle of God! I have studied the system taught by Abū Ḥanīfah; shall I adopt it?' and he answered: 'No!' I then said: 'Shall I adopt that of Mālik Ibn Anas?' and he replied: 'Adopt that portion of it which is in conformity with my *sunnah* (*sayings and doings*).'" I then asked him if I should adopt the system taught by al-Shāfi'i, and he replied: 'It is not his system; he took my *sunnah*, and nothing more, and he refuted those who contradicted it'. After having this dream, I immediately proceeded to Egypt and copied out al-Shāfi'i's books." Al-Dāraquṭnī (*No. 409*) styles him a Traditionist of veracity, trustworthy and pious. Al-Tirmidhī mentioned that he passed twenty-nine years in writing out the Traditions. He was born in the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 200 (July, A.C. 816); some say A.H. 210; and he died on the 11 of Muḥarram A.H. 295 (October, A.C. 907)†. He never dyed his hair (*as was customary at that period*). Towards the close of his life, his intellect got deranged to an extreme degree. "*Al-Tirmidhī*" says al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) "means *belonging to (Tirmidh)* an ancient city on the bank of the river of Balkh, which is called Jayhūn (*the Oxus*). Various opinions are held respecting the pronunciation of this name; some say *Turmidh* and other *Tirmidh*; the inhabitants themselves pronounce it *Tarmidh*; the pronunciation which

1 Four dirhams are nearly equivalent to half a crown. This stipend was paid to him out of the public treasury: every doctor of the law, regularly ordained, being entitled to a pension from the state.

\* M. de Slane's rendering of *على مذهب أبي حنيفة* is not correct; it should be "of the school of Abi Ḥanīfah."—Ed.

† 22 October.—Ed.

was long familiar to us was *Tirmidh*; but persons who pretend to exactness, and possess information on the subject, pronounce it *Turmudh*. Each of these pronunciations has its partisans, who give reasons in support of their opinion." Such are the words of al-Sam'ānī, and I am unable to offer any thing decisive on the subject. Persons who have been there inform me that it is situated, not in the province of *Khawārizm*, but in that of Transoxiana, and on the same side (*of the river*) as the latter.

#### 547 IBN AL-ḤADDĀD, THE JURISCONSULT

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far, surnamed Ibn al-Ḥaddād, was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī a native of Egypt, and a member of the tribe of Kinānah. He is the author of the work entitled *Kitāb al-Furū'* in which he treats of the development of the law according to Shāfi'ite principles. It forms a small volume, but is replete with information, and the questions of which it treats are discussed with extraordinary subtlety. Some of the most eminent *imāms* have undertaken to comment it; al-Qaffāl al-Marwazī (*No. 309*) composed a moderately-sized volume on the subject; the *qāḍī* Abū 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (*No. 279*) elucidated its obscurities in one large volume, and the *shaykh* Abū 'Alī al-Sinjī (*No. 176*) drew up a complete commentary on it, wherein he fully discusses every point. This last is one of the best productions of the kind. Ibn al-Ḥaddād learned jurisprudence from Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (*No. 3*). My master 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Bāṭish (*No. 84, note*) states, in the work composed by him on (*Abū Ishāq's*) *Muhaddidhah*, and in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*, or classified list of jurisconsults, that Ibn al-Ḥaddād was one of the most distinguished disciples of Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī (*No. 90*), but this is an oversight on his part, for Ibn al-Ḥaddād was born the year al-Muzanī died. Nay, al-Qudā'ī mentions, in his *Khifaf*, that his birth took place on the day of al-Muzanī's death. How then could he possibly have been his disciple? I notice this error here lest persons should be led to think

1 His life will be found in this work,

al-Qudā'ī mistaken, and Ibn Bā'ish in the right. The latter also attributes to Ibn al-Ḥaddād the verses rhyming in *z*, which I have quoted in the life of Zāfir al-Ḥaddād, native of Alexandria<sup>1</sup>. Ibn al-Ḥaddād was a doctor of great exactness in the examination of points of law, and singularly skilful in obtaining clear results from the depths of obscurity in which they lay concealed<sup>2</sup>. He occupied the posts of *qāḍī* and professor at Old Cairo; the princes and the people held him in the highest respect; and it was to his opinion they deferred when doubts arose on a point of law, or when any grave event took place. People used to say: "It would be the strangest circumstance that ever occurred to find an executioner angry (*from having nothing to do*), or to meet with a heap of dung free from impurities, or to see an opinion of Ibn al-Ḥaddād's refuted<sup>3</sup>." His birth took place on the 24th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 264 (May, A.C. 878)\*, and he died A.H. 345 (A.C. 956-7), or 344 according to al-Sam'ānī. He delivered Traditions on the authority of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī (*No.* 28) and other masters. Al-Qudā'ī states, in his *Khīṭaṭ*, that Ibn al-Ḥaddād expired on his return from the pilgrimage, A.H. 344, at a place called Munyah Harb, near the gate of Old Cairo; on the spot, it is said, where Cairo now stands. He was versed in a great variety of sciences such as those connected with the *Qur'ān*, jurisprudence, the Traditions, poetry, the combats of the ancient Arabs, grammar, philology etc. During his life he remained without a rival, and was beloved by all persons, from the highest to the lowest. The amīr Abu 'l-Qāsim Anūjūr Ibn al-Ikhshīd attended his funeral, in company with Kāfūr (*No.* 520) and followed by a crowd of the inhabitants. He lived to the age of seventy-nine years, four months and two days. *Ḥaddād* means *a worker in iron*, or one who *sells it*.

1 See No. 286, the lines beginning thus: "Had he taken refuge in an exemplary patience."

2 Literally: He was an exact doctor and a diver for the meanings.

3 In the original Arabic, this saying consists of three short sentences, rhyming together.

\* 30 May. —Ed.

## 548 ABŪ BAKR AL-ŞAYRAFĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd A'lāh, generally known by the name of Şayrafī, was a native of Baghdād and a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'. He ranked among the (*regular*) jurisconsults (*of that city*). Having studied the law under Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj (*No. 20*), he acquired distinction by his acuteness in the discussion (*of points of law not hitherto settled*), by his skill in the use of analogical deduction, and by his penetration as a dogmatic theologian. He composed a work of quite an original cast on the fundamentals of jurisprudence; and Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl (*see next article*) states, in his work on that subject, that Abū Bakr al-Şayrafī was, next to al-Shāfi', the most learned of men in that branch of science. He was the first person of our sect (*the Shāfi'ite*) who undertook to compose a treatise on the drawing up of bonds<sup>1</sup>, and the work which he produced on this subject is of the highest excellence. He died on Thursday, the 21st of the latter Rabi', A.H. 330 (January, A.C. 942)\*. The signification of *Şayrafī* is well known; it means *one who changes gold and silver coin*. I mention this here, because many persons mispronounce his surname and say *Şrafi*.

549 ABŪ BAKR AL-QAFFĀL AL-SHĀSHĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Ismā'il al-Qaffāl<sup>2</sup> al-Shāshī, a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, was incontrovertibly the ablest jurisconsult (*imām*) of that age, and possessed not only a deep knowledge of the law and the Traditions, but was also versed in dogmatic theology, and proved himself a learned philologist and a good poet. The Shāfi'ites did not possess in Transoxiana a man to be compared to him. (*In the furtherance of his studies*) he travelled to Khurasān, Irāq, al-Hijāz, Syria, and the northern frontier of Mesopotamia, and his reputation spread far and wide.

1 In Arabic: *Ilm al-Shurūf*. No. 24, note.

2 *Al-Qaffāl* signifies *locksmith*. See No. 309.

\* 13 January.—Ed.

He learned jurisprudence from Ibn Surayj (*No. 20*) and composed a great number of works. He was the first who drew up a treatise on the approved method of dialectics (*jadāl*) employed by the jurisconsults among themselves<sup>1</sup>. He composed also a treatise on the principles of canonic jurisprudence, and a commentary on the *Risālah*<sup>2</sup>. It was he who propagated the *Shāfi'ite* doctrines in Transoxiana. He taught Traditions on the authority of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (*No. 544*) and other eminent doctors of that age, and Traditions were delivered on his own authority by the Ḥākim Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Bayyī<sup>3</sup>, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mandah<sup>4</sup>, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī<sup>5</sup> and many others. He was the father of al-Qāsim, the author of the work cited, under the title of *al-Taqrīb* (*simplification of the Shāfi'ite doctorines*), in the *Nihāyah* and the *Basīṭ*<sup>6</sup>. Al-Ghazālī mentions him in the second chapter of the section on pledges and mortgages, but calls him Abū 'l-Qāsim, wherein he is mistaken. Al-'Ijlī (*No. 87*) states, in his Explanation of the Obscurities met with in *Wajīz* and *Wastī* in the second chapter of the section of purification with sand, that the author of the *Taqrīb* was Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl, and that some attribute the work to his son al-Qāsim. He then adds: "And for this reason it is that, in citing him, they designate him by the vague appellation of *the author of the Taqrīb*." I shall here add that, in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 665 (July, A.C. 1267). I saw in the library of the 'Ādiliyah college (at Damascus) a copy of the *Taqrīb* in ten volumes, but bound in six, and bearing an inscription indicating the

1 For the elucidation of this, see the extract from Ibn Khaldūn, given by M. de Sacy in his *Anthologie Arabe*, pages 474, 475.

2 This is the celebrated epistle composed by al-Shāfi'i on his own doctrine.

3 His life will be found in this work.

4 The life of Ibn Mandah is given by Ibn Khallikān.

5 Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Mūsā al-Sulamī (member of the tribe of Sulaym) was a native of Naysābūr and the most eminent Sūfī doctor of that age. He travelled to all parts in search of instruction, and collected information from the lips of numerous masters. He composed a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, a history, and nearly one hundred other works. His death took place in the month of Shā'bān, A. H. 412 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 1021), *Nujūm*. (Al-Yāfi'i).

6 These works are by Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī. Ibn Khallikān gives his life.

author to be Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Qāsim Ibn Abī Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī; and this copy was in the hand-writing of the shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Naysābūrī, a doctor whose life will be found farther on. It bore also a note written by Quṭb al-Dīn, declaring that he had made a *waqf* of it<sup>1</sup>. This is a different work from that of al-Sulaym al-Rāzī (*No. 251*) bearing the same title, yet I have met a great number of jurisconsults who supposed it to be the same. This induces me to draw the reader's attention to the circumstance. Copies of al-Qaffāl's *Taqrīb* are scarce, but those of al-Rāzī's are in every person's hands, and it is by the work of the latter that the jurisconsults of Khurāsān finish their studies. Some difference of opinion subsists respecting the true date of Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl's death, thus the shaykh Abū *Ishāq* al-Shīrāzī states, in his classified list of jurisconsults, that he died A.H. 336 (A.C. 947-8), and the Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyī' says that he breathed his last at al-Shāsh, in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 365 (August, A.C. 976). He then adds: "I wrote down (*pieces of information*) under his dictation, and he also did the same under mine." Al-Sām'ānī (*No. 370*) makes a similar observation in his *Ansāb*, and then adds: "He was born in the year 291 (A.C. 903-4)." The same author mentions however, in his *Dhay'l*, or Supplement, that he died A.H. 366, and he repeats the same statement in his *Ansāb*, under the head of al-Shāshī; but the former date is given by him in the life of al-Qaffāl himself. Shāshī means belonging to al-Shāsh; this is a city beyond the *Sihūn*<sup>2</sup>, and has produced a number of learned men. This al-Qaffāl is a different person from al-Quffāl al-Marwazī (*see No. 309*), a doctor who lived at a later epoch.

### 550 ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-MĀSARJISĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sahl Ibn Muṣliḥ al-Māsarjisī, a Shāfi'ite jurisconsult, was one of the great masters of that sect in Khurāsān, the best acquainted of them with the doctrines promulgated by its founder, with the regular system

1 See No. 21, note.

2 The *Sihūn* or *Cirr*, the ancient Jaxartes, falls into the lake of Aral.



which they form, and with the ramifications of those points of controversy to which its main principles give rise. He studied jurisprudence in Khurāsān, 'Irāq and Hijāz, and was the assiduous disciple of Abū Ishā al-Marwazī (No. 3), whom he accompanied to Egypt, and with whom he remained till his death. He then proceeded to Baghdād, where he acted as deputy to Ibn Abī Hurayrah (No. 151) every time that the latter absented himself from his class. In the year 344 (A.C. 955-6) he returned to Khurāsān, and gave lectures at Naysābūr, which were attended by the jurisconsults of that city. He taught jurisprudence to the *qādī* Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī (No. 279), and he himself received lessons from his maternal uncle al-Muwammal Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Isā al-Māsarjisī. When in Egypt, he collected (*legal*) information from the disciples of al-Muzanī (No. 90) and from Yūnus Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā al-Ṣadafī.<sup>1</sup> The Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyī<sup>2</sup> states that, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 381 (September-October, A.C. 991), regular assemblies were held to hear him give dictations in the *Dār al-Sunnah* (*college for teaching the Traditions*). He died on Wednesday evening, the 5th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 384 (July, A.C. 994)\*, at the age of seventy-six years, and was interred on the evening of the following day. The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5) says in his *Ṭabaqāt*, that his death occurred in A. H. 383. *Māsarjisī* means *related to Māsarjis*; this person was grandfather to Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Isā Ibn Māsarjis al-Naysābūrī, and had been a Christian, but was converted to Islāmism by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (No. 300). The doctor Abu 'l-Hasan Muḥammad al-Māsarjisī was son to the daughter of this Abū 'Alī, and surnamed after him, like all the other members of the family.

## 551 AL-KHATAN

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ibrāhīm, a native of Istirābād, or of Jurjān according to some, and a doctor

1 His life will be found in this work

2 The life of the Ḥākim is given by our author.

\* 18 July.—Ed.

of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, was generally known by the surname of al-Khātān. He acquired a high distinction by his piety, his talent as a jurisconsult, and the excellent traditional information which he possessed on points connected with the Shāfi'ite law<sup>1</sup>. In the science of controversial reasoning, and in those connected with the *Qur'ān* and its readings, he held the first rank, and was one of the most eminent amongst the learned whose skill lay in speculative investigations and dialectics. When in his native town, he received lessons from Abū Nu'aym 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Adī, and other masters of the same epoch; in the year 337 (A.C. 948-9) he visited Naysābūr, and remained there two years, after which he proceeded to Iṣbahān, where he studied Abū Dāwūd's (No. 254) *Musnad* (authenticated collection of Traditions) under the tuition of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far<sup>2</sup>. He then passed into 'Irāq, and, when upwards of forty years of age, he began to write, and produced numerous works. He was an indefatigable traveller, and received information from the lips of many doctors. A commentary was composed by him on the *Talkhīṣ*, a work of Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn al-Qāṣṣ (No. 21). He died on the Festival of the Sacrifice (the 10th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*) A.H. 386 (Dec., A.C. 966)\* at the age of seventy-five years. He was called al-Khātān (the son-in-law) because he was thus allied to Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī (No. 4, note).

1 Such I take to be the meaning of the words *وله وجوه في المذهب*, an expression which frequently occurs, and which, in a former part of this work I rendered erroneously by: *he had some excellent views on the subject of the Shāfi'ite doctrines*. The *وجوه* are undoubtedly the particular channels through which certain decisions on points of law passed down to posterity by oral transmission. When a doctor was the sole possessor of some traditional information of this kind, and if the persons through whom it descended to him were men of acknowledged credibility, the expression just mentioned was applied to him. If the points of information which he possessed were transmitted down through an unusual channel, the expression employed was: *وله وجوه غريبة في المذهب*. See also No. 557 of this volume, in the life of al-Fārisī.

2 Read *عبدالله بن* in the printed text.

\* 24 December.—Ed.

## 552 ABŪ SAHL AL-ŠU'LŪKĪ

Abū Sahl Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Hārūn Ibn Mūsā Ibn 'Isā Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Bishr al-Ḥanafī al-Ijlī (*a member of the tribe of Ḥanīfah, a branch of that of 'Ijlī*), and generally known by the name of al-Šu'lūkī, was born at Iṣbahān, the native place of his family, and dwelt at Naysābūr. He was a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, an interpreter of the *Qur'ān*, a scholastic theologian, an adept in the belles-lettres, a grammarian, a poet, a prosodian, and a *kātib*. The Ḥākim Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Bayyī' mentions him in his historical work, and says: "He was the chief doctor of the age, and the ablest of contemporary jurisconsults; he had studied the law under Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī, and fathomed all the depths of science. He then proceeded to 'Irāq, and went to Baṣrah, where he continued to give lessons for some years, when his presence was required at Iṣbahān, where he also remained during some years<sup>1</sup>." On learning the death of his uncle Abu 'l-Ṭayyib<sup>2</sup>, he departed secretly for Naysābūr, in the year 337 (A.C. 949), and, for three days, he sat there in public to receive condolences, during which the *Shaykh* Abū Bakr Ibn Ishāq<sup>3</sup> remained seated at his side, as did also all the chiefs of the civil administration, the *qādīs*, and the *muftīs* of the two sects<sup>4</sup>. When the ceremony of mourning was terminated,

1. Being unable to distinguish where the extract from Ibn al-Bayyī' 's work finishes, I indicate it as ending here; but what follows to the date of al-Šu'lūkī's death may perhaps belong to it. I am however inclined to suppose it shorter than I have indicated, and that the last words of it are: *The ablest of contemporary jurisconsults*.

2. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī al-Su'lūkī, an eminent doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i, a traditionist and philologist, died in the month of Rajab, A.H. 337 (Jan.-Feb., A.C. 949). *Tab. al-Shāfi'in*.

3. Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Ayyūb, a native of Naysābūr and sur-named al-Ḍubā'ī (الضبي) was one of the *imāms* of the Shāfi'ite sect, and a *mufti* of the highest reputation. He wrote a number of large works, such as the *Mabsut* (*the developed*, probably a treatise on Shāfi'ite jurisprudence), a treatise on nouns and adjectives, another on faith and free-will, a fourth on the merits of the four first *Khalīfs*, etc. Born A.H. 258 (A.C. 871-2); died in the month of *Shu'bān* A.H. 342 (Dec.-Jan., A.C. 953-4); *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'in*.

4. The two sects were probably the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi'ite.

regular assemblies were held to hear him discuss points of law, and there did not remain an adversary or an approver of his opinions, but acknowledged his merit and superiority. The *ṣhaykh*s visited him repeatedly, to request him that he would bring to their city those whom he had left behind him (*his wife and family*) at Iṣbahān, and he at length acceded to their wishes. He then undertook the duties of professor and *muftī* at Naysābūr, and the jurisconsults of the place received lessons from him. The *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād (*No.* 93) used to say: "We never saw the like of Abū Sahl al-Ṣu'lūkī, and he himself never saw his like." Abū 'l-Walīd<sup>1</sup> being asked concerning the respective merits of Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl (*No.* 309), and al-Ṣu'lūkī he replied: "Who could possibly equal al-Ṣu'lūkī?" This doctor was born A.H. 296 (A.C. 908-9); he began to learn the Traditions, A.H. 305; he went to attend Abū 'Alī al-Ṭhaqafī's<sup>2</sup> lectures on law in 313, and he died towards the end of the year 369 (A.C. 980), at Naysābūr. His body was borne on a bier to the hippodrome of al-Ḥusayn, and the sultān authoursied Abū 'l-Ṭayyib (*No.* 264), the son of the deceased, to celebrate the funeral service. He was interred in the mosque where he used to teach. The word *Ṣu'lūkī* has been already explained (*No.* 264).

### 553 ABU 'L-ṬAYYIB IBN SALAMAH AL-ḌABBĪ

Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad Ibn al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Salamah Ibn 'Aṣim al-Ḍabbī, a native of Baghdād, and one of the most eminent

1 Abū 'l-Walīd Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad, a member of the Umayyad family and a native of Naysābūr, was one of the *imāms* of the *Shāfi'*ite sect, and the first Traditionist of his age in *Khurasān*. He was distinguished for piety and learning. In one of his works, he treated of Muslim's *Saḥīḥ*, and, in another, of the *Shāfi'*ite doctrines. He composed also an excellent commentary on al-*Shāfi'*'s *Risālah* (see *No.* 549, Note). Died in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 349 (May, A.C. 960), aged seventy-two years. (*Tab. al-Shāfi'in*).

2 Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭhaqafī al-Ḥajjājī drew his descent, as his surnames indicate, from al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Ṭhaqafī. This *imām*, equally distinguished for learning and piety, resided at Naysāpūr. Born A.H. 244 (A.C. 858-9; died in the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 328 (Feb.-March, A.C. 940). (*Tab. al-Shāfi'in*).

doctors of the Shāfi'ite sect, studied jurisprudence under Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj (No. 20). He was noted for his extreme penetration, and this induced Abu 'l-'Abbās to pay him the greatest attention, and take the utmost pains in giving him instruction. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib composed a number of works, and he died in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 308 (May-June, A.C. 920) : being cut off in the flower of his age. He possessed some excellent traditional information on points connected with the Shāfi'ite doctrines<sup>1</sup>. His father, Abu Ṭālib al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Salamah Ibn 'Āṣim al-Ḍubbi was a philologist, and author of some celebrated works on various branches of literature, and on the rhetorical figures of the *Qur'ān*. He belonged to the school of Kūfah<sup>2</sup> and wrote an elegant hand. He met (and received information from) Ibn al-A'rābi<sup>3</sup> and other men eminent for learning, and he composed a book in which he pointed out and corrected the errors committed by al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad in his *Kitāb al-'Ayn* (No. 208). The following is a list of his works: the *Kitāb al-Tārikh* (book of History), treating of philology; the *Kitāb al-Fākhir* (liber se jectantis); the *Kitāb al-'Ūd wa 'l-Malāhī* (on the lute and other musical instruments); the *Kitāb Jalā al-Shubah* (obscurities cleared up); the *Kitāb at-Taif*<sup>4</sup>, the *Kitāb Diyā al-Qulūb* (light of hearts), treating of the rhetorical figures of the *Qur'ān*, and filling more than twenty volumes; the *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq* (on etymology); the *Kitāb al-Zarā' wa 'l-Nabāt* (on seed and plants); on the members of the human body: on the requisites for a *kātib*; on the words ending in a long and in a short *aif*; a *Mudkhil*, or Introduction to the science of grammar<sup>5</sup>. Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī<sup>6</sup> transmitted traditional information on his authority, and says that he attended his lessons in the year 290. Salamah Ibn 'Āṣim, the grandfather of Abu 'l Ṭayyib,

1. See No. 546, of this volume.

2. See No. 154, Note.

3. His life is given in this work.

4. This is a treatise on the *Ṭayf al-Khiyāl*. See vol. I. Introd.

5. Compare this list with that of al-Aḡmā'ī's works, (No. 354), and see an observation on the subject in the Introduction to vol. I.

6. The life of Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī is given by Ibn Khallikān.

was the pupil of al-Farrā<sup>1</sup>, and the person who transmitted to the world his master's peculiar system of *Qur'ān-reading*. They belonged to a family of which all the members were celebrated for talent. Al-Mufaḍḍal was a favorite of the wazīr Ismā'il Ibn Bulbul<sup>2</sup>; being informed that the poet Ibn al-Rūmī (No. 438) had composed a satire on him, (*he made a complaint to*) the wazīr, (*who*) testified his displeasure towards Ibn al-Rūmī by refusing him a share in the recompenses which he was accustomed to distribute. The poet then composed the following verses against al-Mufaḍḍal:

"Cover yourself with the cloak of al-Kisā'i or dress in the furred garment of al-Farrā—or have al-Khalīl for a friend or *Shibawayh* for an inseparable companion<sup>3</sup>—or become one of Abu 'l-Aswad's company<sup>4</sup> and take a surname indicative of melancholy; yet God will never permit thee to be counted a man of learning, but will let you be reckoned among the dunces<sup>5</sup>."

---

1 The life of al-Farrā is given in this work.

2 Abu 'l-Ṣaqr (ابوالصقر) Ismā'il Ibn Bulbul was appointed wazīr to al-Mu'tamid by al-Muwaffaq that Khalīf's brother. His noble and generous character gained him many friends, and his talents placed him at the head of the civil and military authority of the empire. This office procured him the title of the grateful (الشكور) wazīr. In his youth he led a disorderly life, but, when invested with power, his conduct gave general satisfaction, and drew from the poets al-Buhturī, Ibn al-Rūmī, and others, the warmest eulogiums. He claimed kindred with the tribe of *Shaybān*, but this was repelled as an unfounded pretensions by some of his enemies and Ibn al-Rūmī incurred his displeasure by reciting to him a piece of verse in which he said that even if he had not the honour of being descended from *Shaybān*, he would have been an honour to *Shaybān*. The poet who thus unintentionally lost his patron's favour, became his enemy, and lashed him in virulent satires. Ibn Bulbul was arrested by al-Mu'taḍid; and after undergoing severe tortures, he was executed in prison by that Khalīf's orders. (*Al-Duwal al-Islamiyah*, MS. No. 895, fol 233.)

3 Literally: As a pledge in (*your*) possession.

4 That is: a *grammarian*. See No. 285.

5 This piece is a mere tissue of puns on the names of the most celebrated grammarians. Their lives are given in this work.

## 554 IBN AL-MUNDHIR AL-NAYSĀBŪRĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mundhir al-Naysābūrī (*native of Naysābūr*), a jurisconsult of great learning and information, is spoken of in these terms by Abū Ishāq<sup>1</sup>, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā* (*classified list of Jurisconsults*): "The questions on which jurisconsults disagree were set forth by him in some works of quite an original cast, and which are indispensable for such persons as wish to defend or attack any of those points." I do not know from whom he acquired his knowledge of the law. He died at Makkah, A.H. 309 (A.C. 921-2), or 310. A well-known book of his, on points of disagreement between jurisconsults, is that which bears the title of *Kitāb al-Ishrāf* (*view of the different systems*); it is a large work, and proves him to have closely examined the systems of the great jurisconsults (*imāms*). It is an excellent work, most instructive, and of great utility. Besides this, he composed a treatise called the *Mabsūṭ* (*extended*), in which also he sets forth the systems of the principal jurisconsults, and indicates the points in which their opinions differ. This work is larger than the *Ishrāf*. He left also a small treatise on the *ijmā'* (*points of law on which the imāms unanimously agree*):-

## 555 ABŪ ZAYD AL-MARWAZĪ

Abū Zayd Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Marwazī, al-Fāshānī, a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, and one of its most eminent *imāms*, was distinguished for his skill in the discussion of doubtful points, his life passed in the practices of devotion, his acquirements as a *ḥāfiẓ* of the sect<sup>2</sup>, and the rare information which he possessed on its doctrines<sup>3</sup>.

1 He means Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, see No. 5.

2 A *ḥāfiẓ* of a sect is one who knows by heart and transmits to others various legal questions which have been resolved by the doctors of that sect.

3 See No. 551, note.

He learned jurisprudence from Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (No. 3), and taught it to Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Marwazī (No. 309). Having proceeded to Baghdād, he taught Traditions there, and had among his pupils the *hāfiẓ* Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Dāraqutnī (No. 409), and Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Qāsim al-Maḥāmili<sup>1</sup>. He then set out for Makkah, and resided in that sanctuary seven years, during which he taught the Traditions contained in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, having himself learned them from Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Farabī<sup>2</sup>. The *Khaṭīb* (No. 33) said of him : "Abū Zayd is the most eminent of those who taught this book by oral transmission;" and Abū Bakr Ibn al-Bazzāz related as follows : "The Jurisconsult Abū Zayd travelled with me from Naysābūr to Makkah, one camel sufficed to bear us both, and, as we sat in baskets slung on to each side of the animal, I was his counterpoise all the way<sup>3</sup>. And I do not think that the recording angels ever wrote down any thing against him." By *any thing* he means *any sin*. The jurisconsults Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥātimī said : I heard Abū Zayd al-Marwazī say : "When at Makkah, I saw in a dream the Apostle of God, and he seemed to say to *Jibrīl* (the angel Gabriel) : 'O spirit of God ! accompany that man to his home.'" In the early part of his life, he was poor, and bereft of means: so he passed the winter without a cloak, notwithstanding the severity of the cold in that country; and he used to answer, when spoken to on the subject : "I have an incommodity which prevents me from wearing wadded clothing." That *incommodity* was poverty, and he never was induced to inform any person of his real state. Towards the end of his life, fortune became propitious, but, as he was then advanced in age and had lost his teeth, he could neither chew nor enjoy sexual pleasure; he therefore used to address his prosperity in these terms : "May God withhold his blessing from thee ! thou hast come when I have neither teeth nor strength<sup>4</sup>." He died on

1 This was the father of the Maḥāmili whose life is given in No. 56.

2 The life of this traditionist is given by our author.

3 The Arabic text expresses this very concisely and very clearly; translated literally, it would run thus : I counterpoised the jurisconsult Abū Zayd from Naysāpūr to Makkah.

4 I have modified the meaning of the word نصاب but it is clear enough from what precedes.



Thursday, the 13th of Rajab, A.H. 371 (January, A.C. 982,)\* at Marw. The words *Marwazl* and *Fāshānī* have been already explained (*the first in No. 37. and the second in No. 35*)<sup>1</sup>.

### 556 IBN WARQĀ AL-'UDANĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Warqā al-'Udanī, a jurisconsult of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī was their chief *imām* in that age. The Hākim Ibn al-Bayyī<sup>2</sup> mentions his name in the History of Naysābūr, and says: On his return from the pilgrimage, he resided with us at Naysābūr, for some time, and surpassed all the other jurisconsults by his self-mortification and by his lamentations for having been remiss in God's service." He died at Bukhārā, in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 385 (April, A.C. 995), and was buried at Kalābādhi.—'Udanī means *belonging to 'Udanah*, a village in the dependencies of Bukhārā:" such are al-Sam'ānī's (No. 370) words, but the jurisconsults mispronounce it and say 'Udl. When I was studying the law, I heard one of my masters pronounce it *Awḍānī*. This doctor had received by tradition some particular information on points connected with the doctrines of his sect<sup>3</sup>. The author of the *Wasīṭ* (Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī) frequently mentions his name."<sup>4</sup> "*Kalābādhi* is the name of a quarter in the city of Bukhārā. "It was from this place that a traditionist of great authority, Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Rustum al-Kalābādhi derived his surname. He died on the 22nd of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 398 (March, A.C. 1008),† and he was born in A.H. 460 (A.C. 1067-8)." Such are the words of Abū Sa'd al-

1 As it might be supposed that this doctor's name was *al-Kāshānī*, not *al-Fāshānī*, I may be allowed to observe that the latter reading is confirmed by the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn* where we read that the word is written with a *fa* and a *shīn*.

2 His life will be found in this work.

3 See No. 557, note.

\* 12 January.—Ed.

† The date should be 23 of the latter Jumādā (5 March).—Ed.

Sam'ānī, but he must be mistaken, since he places al-Kalābādhi's birth subsequently to his death. I have consulted in many quarters, hoping to clear up this error, but could find no indications on the subject ; so I let al-Sam'ānī's words stand as they are<sup>1</sup>.

### 557 ABŪ BAKR AL-FĀRISĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Shāhawayh, a native of Fārs (*al-Fārisī*) and a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, is spoken of in these terms by the Ḥākim Abu 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Bayyī' in his history of Naysābūr: "He resided for some time at Naysābūr and then proceeded to Buḫārā, whence he returned to the former city ; he then came back to this country, Fārs, and occupied the post of *qādī*. He subsequently removed to Naysābūr, and taught Traditions in that city." He died there, A.H. 362 (A.C. 972-3). Some points of traditional information connected with the doctrines of the sect, and received from the very highest authorities, were communicated by him to his disciples ; he was the only person in possession of this information, and we have never found it given on the authority of any other person but himself. I do not know from whom he acquired his knowledge of jurisprudence. Shāhawayh is a Persian name, composed of Shāh (*king*), and *wayh* (*woe !*). Relative to this last word, al-Jawharī (*No. 9, note*) says in his Ṣaḥāḥ: *Shāh*awayh and other names of a similar form are composed of a noun and an interjection, coalescing so as to form a proper name." *Fāris* is an extensive region, of which the capital is Shīrāz. Its pronunciation is so well known, that it is needless to indicate it.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, that al-Kalābādhi taught traditions at Baḡhdād in the life time of al-Dāraqutnī. That doctor died A.H. 385, whence we may conclude with great probability that the date of 398 is that of al-Kalābādhi's death, and such is, in fact, the statement of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt*. He places his birth in the year 318.

## 558 ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-QUḌĀ'Ī

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Salāmah Ibn Ja'far Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥukmūn Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muslim al-QuḌā'ī, a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect and author of the *Kitāb al-Shihāb*<sup>1</sup> is spoken of, in the History of Damascus, by the *ḥāfiz* Ibn 'Asākir (No. 416); he mentions there that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī transmitted Traditions on his authority, and that he was appointed deputy-Qāḍī of Old Cairo by the Egyptian government (*the Fātimids*), and had been once sent by them on an embassy to the Greek court. He composed a great number of works, such as the *Kitāb al-Shihāb* (*the flambeau*), a treatise on the merit of the *imām* al-Shāfi'ī with an account of his life, the *Anbā' an al-Anbiyā* (*history of the prophets*), *Tawārīkh al-Khulafā* (*history of the khalifs*), and the *Khīṭaṭ Miṣr* (*topography of Cairo*)<sup>2</sup>. The amīr Abū Naṣr Ibn Mākūlā says, in the *Kitāb al-Ikmāl* (No. 414), that he was conversant with great variety of sciences. He died at Old Cairo on the eve of Thursday, the 16th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 454 (Nov., A.C. 1062)\*; and the funeral service was said over him in the Muṣallā<sup>3</sup> of al-Najjār, on the afternoon of the following day. Al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) mentions, in his article on the *Khaṭīb* Abū Bakr Aḥmad (No. 33), the author of the History of Baghdād, that the *Khaṭīb* made the pilgrimage, A.H. 445, the same year as 'Abd Allāh al-QuḌā'ī, and that he learned some Traditions from him. We have already spoken of al-QuḌā'ī in the life of al-Zāhir al-'Ubaydī (No. 457), and that he was 'alāmah writer to al-Jarjarā'ī al-Aqṭa' (*the mutilated*), that prince's wazīr. *QuḌā'ī* means *belonging to QuḌā'ah*, the son of Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān; or according to some, a descendant of Ḥimyar; the latter opinion is more generally held, and comes closer to the truth. QuḌā'ah's real name was 'Umar Ibn Mālik; a great number of tribes draw

1 The *Shihāb* is noticed by Ḥājji Khalifah; he calls it the *Shihāb al-Akḥbār* (*flambeau of information*), and says that it contains more maxims, proverbs, and rules of politeness, extracted from the sayings of the Prophet, by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-QuḌā'ī.

2 This work appears to have been closely copied by al-Maqrīzī, in his compilation usually bearing the same title.

3 See No. 262, note.

\* 12 November.—Ed.

their descent from him, such as those of Kalb, Bali, Juhaynah, 'Udhrah, etc. The Najjār (*carpenter*) whose name is borne by the Muṣallā, was a *mawlā* to the family of Ghāfiq, and bore the name of 'Imrān Ibn Mūsā al-Najjār; some say, however, that he was called Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far al-Baghḍādī al-Najjār, and that he bore the surname of al-Ghundar (*the corpulent*); he died A.H. 358 (A.C. 968-9), some time previously to the arrival of the Qā'id Jawhar (*No. 141*) in Egypt.

### 559 ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-MAS'ŪDĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Aḥmad al-Mas'ūdī, a *Shāfi'ite* jurisconsult, an *imām* of that sect, and eminently distinguished for his talents and piety, was a native of Marw. He studied the law under Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Marwazī (*No. 309*), and wrote an excellent commentary on al-Muzani's abridgment of the *Shāfi'ite* doctrines (*No. 90*). He taught a few traditions on the authority of his master al-Qaffāl.

1 Another and more celebrated al-Mas'ūdī, the author of the *Meadows of gold*, is noticed by al-Dhahabī in his *Tārīkh al-Islām*. MS. No. 646, fol. 211; I there find the following indications: Abu Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī, surnamed al-Mas'ūdī, because (it is said) he drew his descent from Ibn Mas'ūd, one of Prophet's Companions, was the author of the *Murūj al-Dhahab* (*meadows of gold*) and a native of Baḡḥdād, but he dwelt for some time in Egypt. This learned historian and transmitter of curious information composed also the following works: *Kitāb Dhakhā'ir al-'Ulūm* (*the treasures of science*); the *Kitāb al-Rasā'il* (*book of essays*); the *Kitāb al-Istizkār*, etc., (*memoir of what occurred in former times*); the *Akhlāb al-Umam* (*history of nations*); the *Maqālāt fi Uṣul al-Diyānāt* (*discourses on the dogmas of the different religions*); the *Akhlāb al-Khawārij* (*history of the Kharijites*), etc. Yaqūt has a notice on him in his *Tārīkh al-Udahū* (*Hājjī Khalīfah*, *No. 472*), or *history of learned scholars*, but places his death in the year 346, which is not exact. Al-Mas'ūdī held the opinions of the Mu'tazilites. He died in the month of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 345 (Sept.-Oct., A.C. 956). For further information respecting al-Mas'ūdī and his writings see M. de Sacy's notice on the *Tanbih wa 'l-Ishraf* (another work by the same author, in the eighth vol. of the *Notices et Extraits*, and an article in the *Journal Asiatique* for January 1839. The first vol. of a translation of the *Murūj* has been published by Dr. Sprenger, under the patronage of the Oriental Translation Committee.

Al-Ghazzālī tells an anecdote of him in the *Wasīf*, third chapter of the section on Faith, wherein he treats of the different modes by which perjury may be committed: speaking of a subtle question of a point of law, he says "*Question to which the preceding one gives rise*<sup>1</sup>. If a person swear that he will not eat eggs, and he goes afterwards to a man and says: 'By Allāh! I shall eat what thou hast in thy pocket!' and behold, it is an egg! (*what, is to be done so as to avoid perjury?*). This question was proposed to al-Qaffāl as he was seated in the chair (*presiding an assembly of his pupils*), but he could not find an answer to it. On this, his pupil al-Mas'ūdī said: 'Let him have a biscuit made with the egg and eat that; he will thus have eaten what was in the man's pocket, and not have eaten the egg. This answer received general approbation, and it was certainly a most ingenious solution of the difficulty<sup>2</sup>.' Al-Mas'ūdī died at Marw subsequently to the year 420 (A.C. 1030). He was called *al-Mas'ūdī* (*the Mas'ūdian*) after his grandfather Mas'ud.

## 560 ABU 'ĀṢIM AL-'ABBĀDĪ

The *qāḍī* Abū 'Āṣim Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbād al-'Abbādī, a native of Herāt (*al-Harawī*) and a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi', studied jurisprudence at Herāt under the *qāḍī* Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azdī, and at Naysābūr under the *qāḍī* Abū 'Umar al-Baṣṭāmī. He then became perfectly master of a great variety of sciences and was noted for the subtlety of his investigations. In his travels to different countries he met a great number of *shaykhs* (*masters*), and received from them information. He is the author of some useful works, such as a treatise on the duties of a *qāḍī*, the *Mabsūṭ* (*extended*), the *Hādī* (*guide*), to the doctrines of the learned, a refutation

1 Literally: *Branch*; that is: ramification of the principle which precedes.

2 Abū Ḥanīfah resolved this question much better. He said that the egg should be hatched, and that the man should eat the chicken.

of al-Sam'ānī, and a small volume containing a classified list of jurisconsults. Abū Sa'd al-Harawī<sup>1</sup>, the author of the *Ishrāf*, or *elucidation* of the duties of a *qādī*, and of the *Ghawāmiḍ al-Ḥukūmat*, or *obscure judgments*, drew some of his information from al-Abbādī. (Abū 'Āṣim al-'Abbādī) received and transmitted Traditions. He died in the month of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 458 (August-Sept., A.C. 1066); he was born A.H. 375 (A.C. 985-6). 'Abbādī means *descended from 'Abbād*, the person whose name occurs in 'Abu 'Āṣim's genealogy.

### 561 AL-KHIDRĪ

Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Khidrī, a native of Marw and a doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, was *imām* and chief jurisconsult of the *Shāfi'ites* in city. He had studied under Abū Bakr al-Fārisī<sup>2</sup>, and was one of the most distinguished disciples of Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (No. 549). He always continued to reside at Marw, devoting his efforts to the propagation of al-Shāfi'i's peculiar doctrines. The retentiveness of his memory was proverbial. He possessed some points of traditional information relative to the doctrines of his sect, and of which he was the sole depository; these were transmitted down orally by the jurisconsults of *Khurasān* on his authority. He stated that al-Shāfi'i considered as valid the indication of the *qiblah* by a

1 Abū Sa'id Muḥammad Ibn Abī Aḥmad al-Harawī (native of Herāt), *Shāfi'ite* doctor and the author of an exposition of the duties of *qādīs*, entitled *al-Ishrāf 'alā Ghawāmiḍ al-Ḥukūmat* (*elucidation of the obscure principles on which certain decisions are founded*), was *qādī* of Hamadān. He fell a martyr, with his father, in the great mosque of that city, in the month of *Shab'ān*, 548 (Sept.-Oct., A.C. 1124). Al-Dhahabī says that the doctor who was killed at Hamadān was a *Ḥanafite*. (Tab. al-Shāfi'in).

2 This must be either the same doctor whose life is given by Ibn Khallikān (No. 557), or else Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Sahl al-Fārisī, a doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect and author of the esteemed treatise on *Shāfi'ite* law, entitled *'Uyūn al-Masā'il*. He died A.H. 350 (A.C. 961-2), or 305 by another account. He composed some other works, treating of jurisprudence and controversy. (Tab. al-Fuq.)

little boy, but<sup>1</sup>, added al-Khidri, the *qiblah* here means the niche which is visible in the mosque (and marks the direction of Makkah); otherwise, if the mere direction be pointed out by the boy, according to the best of his belief, the indication is not receivable. Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī (No. 87) writes as follows: "in his *Mushkilāt*, or elucidation of the obscurities in *Wajīz* and the *Wasf*<sup>2</sup> towards the beginning of the section on marriage: "The *shaykh* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Khidri was asked if it was lawful for a woman to cut her nails in the sight of a man to whom she was not related? and he reflected a long time without uttering a word. But his wife, the daughter of the *shaykh* Abū 'Alī al-Shabbū'i, who happened to be present, said to him: 'What need hast thou to reflect? didst thou not hear my father say, in answer to this very question, that, if it be the nails of her fingers which she cuts, the man may lawfully look on; but, if it be the nails of her toes, he must not look on. And the reason is, that her hands are not parts of the body indecent to be shown, whereas the instep is one of those parts which cannot be shown.' Al-Khidri was delighted at these words, and exclaimed: 'Had I only gained this single point of information from frequenting persons of learning, I should think it quite enough for my pains.' " I may here observe that this distinction between the hands and the feet is questionable, for the doctors of our sect say that (a woman's) exposing of her hands during prayer is not indecent; but we consider it indecent (in her) to expose either the hands or the feet before a strange man. It may be perceived that this point requires consideration. Al-Khidri had some knowledge in the Traditions, and his authority therein is held to be good. He died between the years of 380 and 390 (A. C. 990-1000).

1 It must be recollected that, with the Muslims, prayers are not valid unless the worshipper face the *qiblah* when saying them. The *qiblah* is the point of the horizon in which Makkah lies. Now, if a Muslim be in a country where he does not know the direction of the *qiblah*, and if he asks a little boy how it lies, and then says his prayers in that direction, is his prayer valid? for the boy might have been mistaken. This is the point on which al-Shāfi'i answered affirmatively. It is true that al-Khidri gives a different turn to the meaning of al-Shāfi'i's words.

2 These are two celebrated treatises on Shāfi'ite law by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. See next article.

*Khidrī* means *descended from Khidr*; this *Khidrī*, was one of his ancestors: if the surname be pronounced *Khadrī* his ancestor's name must then have been *Khadr*. This is analogous to the derivation of *Namarī* from *Namīrah*<sup>1</sup> and this rule is absolute, admitting of no exception. *Shabbū'ī* means *belonging to Shabbuyah*; this person was one of the *Shaykh* Abu 'Alī's ancestors; he was an able jurisconsult and a native of Marw.

## 562 ABŪ ḤĀMID AL-GHAZZĀLĪ

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, surnamed Hujjat al-Islām (*example for the followers of Islāmism*) Zayn al-Dīn (*ornament of religion*) was a native of Ṭūs and a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect. Towards the close of his life, the Shāfi'ites had not a doctor to be compared to him. He commenced his studies at Ṭūs under Aḥmad al-Rādhkānī, and, having then proceeded to Naysābūr, he attended the lessons of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (*No. 353*), under whom he studied with such assiduity that, in a short time, he completed his education; and became, even in the life time of his master, one of the most distinguished among the doctors. It was at that period he began his labours as an author. As long as his master lived, he remained with him, and he never ceased furnishing him motives of just pride in having such a pupil. On the Imām's death, he left Naysābūr and went to the army, where he met with a highly honourable reception from the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk (*No. 171*). A number of men eminent for talent were then at the wazīr's court, and in some public conferences which Abū Ḥāmid had with them, he remained victorious in the debate and acquired a reputation which spread to distant lands<sup>2</sup>. Soon after this, the professorship in the *Nizāmiyah* College of Baghdād was conferred upon him, and, in the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 484 (June-July, A.C. 1091), he commenced his lessons. His abilities filled the people of 'Irāq with admiration, and they gradually conceived

1 See M. de Sacy's *Grammaire Arabe*, tom. I. p. 331, no. 770.

2 Literally: Which travelled with the caravans.



for him the highest respect. In the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 488 (Nov., A.C. 1095), he abandoned all the occupations in which he had been hitherto engaged, and entered on the path of ascetism and retirement from the world. He then undertook the pilgrimage to Makkah, and, on his return, he proceeded to Syria and stopped for some time at Damascus. During his residence in that city, he gave lessons in a corner of the Great Mosque situated on the west bank of the Tigris. He then set out for Jerusalem, where he applied himself with ardour to the practices of devotion, and visited the holy monuments and venerated spots of that sacred ground. He next passed into Egypt and remained for some time at Alexandria, whence, it is said, he intended to sail to Maghrib, in hopes of having an interview with the amir Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn, the sovereign of Morocco; but, having received intelligence of that prince's death, he abandoned the project. The life of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn will be found in this work. On leaving Egypt, he returned to Tūs, his native place, and, having resumed his studies, he composed those instructive works, on various branches of knowledge, the most celebrated of which are the *Wasīṭ* (medium treatise), the *Wajiz* (compendium)<sup>1</sup>, the *Khulāṣah fi 'l-Fiqh* (quintessence of jurisprudence), and the *Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (revival of the sciences of religion). This last is a most valuable and comprehensive work. To this we may add the *Mustaṣfu* (chosen extract), treating of the principles of jurisprudence, and which he terminated on the 6th of Muḥarram, A.H. 503 (August, A.C. 1109),\* a treatise on polemics, entitled *al-Manḥūl wa 'l-Murtaḥal* (doctrines falsely attributed to others and falsely claimed by some) the *Tahāfut al-Falāsafah*<sup>2</sup>, the *Maḥakk al-Nazar* (whetstone of reflexion), the *Mi'yār al-Ilm* (the weighing-scale of science)<sup>3</sup>, the *Maqāṣid* (al-Falāsafah) or tendencies (of the philosophers), the *Manḥūn*

1 Both of these works treat of Shāfiite jurisprudence.

2 *Tahāfut al-Falāsafah* signifies literally the rushing of the Philosophers; the words *fi 'l-Ḍalāl* (into errors) seem to be understood. This treatise has been translated into Latin under the title of *Destruction Philosophorum*, and published in the collection of Averrohe's works; Venice 1560, tom. IX.

3 This is a treatise on logic.

\* 5 August.—Ed.

*bihi 'alā ḡhayri Ahlhi* (doctrines attributed to wrong persons)<sup>1</sup>, the *Maqṣad al-Asnā* (the highest aim), being an explanation of the excellent names of God, the *Mishkāt al-Anwār* (niche for the lights)<sup>2</sup>, the *Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl* (deliverer from error), and the *Ḥaqlqat al-Qawlayn* (the truth of the two sayings)<sup>3</sup>. His works are very numerous, and all of them are instructive. Having been recalled in the most pressing manner to Naysābūr, in order that he might resume his lessons in the *Niẓāmiyah* College, he at length consented, after receiving and refusing repeated invitations to that effect; but he finally renounced this occupation and returned home to his native place, where he erected, in the proximity of his own house, a convent for *ṣūfīs*, and a college for the study of the law. He thenceforward allotted out his time to pious occupations, such as reading the *Qur'ān* through, conversing with men of contemplative minds<sup>4</sup>, and holding sittings for the instructing of students; in this mode of life he persevered till he was removed into the presence of his Lord. Some verses composed by him have been handed down traditionally, and amongst them are the following, given as his by the *hafīẓ* Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) in his *Supplement* :

"The scorpions (*ringlets*) of her forehead settled in the moon of her cheeks, and she thus became incomparable (*for beauty*). We have seen the moon in the sign of the scorpion; but here, for a wonder, the scorpion is in the moon."

I found these verses elsewhere attributed to a different person. God knows best which of the two is the author. The *Kātib* Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī gives the following verses as his, in the *Kharīdah* :

1 The manuscript of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancien fonds, No. 884, contains five treatises by al-Ḡhazālī, one of which appears to be the work here mentioned. The title, however, is different, as it runs thus: *Al-Maṣnūn bihi an Ḡhayri Ahlihi* (doctrines to be treasured up from the unworthy).

2 This treatise has been published with a French translation by Dr. Schmoelders, in one volume, entitled *Essai sur les écoles philosophiques chez les Arabes*, Paris, 1842.

3 This may perhaps be a treatise on the two points of the Muslim profession of faith; *There is but one God; Muḥammad is the Apostle of God*.

4 Literally: With the people of the hearts. This appears to be a technical expression used by the *Ṣūfīs*.

"Suppose that I were in love as you imagine, and that I enjoyed the pleasure of kissing that ringlet-adorned cheek ; know that I am a seceder from established opinions (*a Mu'tazilite*), and that the beloved received me with an Ash'arite face!."

The *kātib* quotes also the preceding verses as al-Ghazzālī's. (*Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī*) was born A.H. 450 (A.C. 1058-9), and he died on Monday, the 14th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 505 (December, A.C. 1111)\*, at al-Ṭabarān. The accomplished scholar and poet, Abū 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad al-Abīwardī, a person whose life we shall give, composed an elegy on his death containing the following line :

"He is gone ! and the greatest loss which ever afflicted me, was that of a man who left not his like among mankind."

On the death of al-Ghazzālī, the Imām Ismā'il al-Ḥakīmī quoted the following verses, from one of Abū Tammām's (*No. 143*) most celebrated *qaṣīdahs*, and applied them to himself :

"I wondered at my patience when deprived of him by death ; I, who used to shed tears of blood when he was absent from me. But the age is now so productive of wonders, that it has ceased to excite our wonder."

Al-Ghazzālī was buried at al-Ṭabarān, the citadel of Ṭūs. Of the word *Ghazzālī* we have already spoken (*No. 37*) in the life of his brother Aḥmad, the ascetic divine and preacher. *Al-Ṭabarān* is one of the two towns which compose the city of Ṭūs; of this we have also spoken in the same article.

---

I I have been obliged to modify the meaning of these strange verses, and should have suppressed them, were they not attributed to so grave a divine as al-Ghazzālī. It would seem that he was suspected *barbatuli juvenis amore correptum fuisse*, and he answers by a scholastic pun. Al-Ash'arī was an ardent opponent of the Mu'tazilite doctrines and *ash'arī* (*ash'arite*) signifies *belonging to al-Ash'arī*, and *covered with hair*. The simplicity with which Ibn Khalikān quotes these lines would be quite un-accountable, had such passions been considered in any other light but purely platonie.

\* 18 December, ---Ed.

## 563 ABŪ BAKR AL-SHĀSHĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Umar, surnamed Fakhr al-Islām (*glory of Islāmism*), and generally known by the appellation of al-Mustazhiri, was born at Mayyāfāriqin, but his family belonged to Shāsh (No. 549). This doctor, who was the first Shāfi'ite jurisconsult of that age, commenced the study of the law at Mayyāfāriqin under Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Bayyān al-Kāzarūnī (No. 153, n), and under the qādī Abū Maṣūr al-Ṭūsī, the disciple of Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (No. 310). He continued to attend their lessons till the removal of Abū Maṣūr from the qādīship of Mayyāfāriqin; he then proceeded to Baghdād and attached himself to the *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5), under whose tuition he pursued his studies and whom he served in the capacity of an under-tutor. He also read over the treatise on jurisprudence, entitled the *Shāmil*, under the author, Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (No. 374). He accompanied the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq to Naysābūr, and then returned to Baghdād, after having discussed with great ability, and in the presence of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (No. 353), a question on a point of law. He is noticed by the *hāfiẓ* 'Abd al-Ḡhāfir al-Fārisī, in the *Siāq*, or continuation of the History of Naysābūr (No. 377). On the death of his master Abū Ishāq, he had attained such a reputation in 'Irāq, as a doctor of the law, that he was nominated chief of the Shāfi'ite sect. A number of instructive works were composed by him, such as the *Ḥilyat al-'Ulamā* (*ornament of the learned*), wherein he treats of the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence. Having composed this work, he added to it the conflicting opinions of the *imāms* on each point of doctrine, and thus formed a large compilation, to which he gave the title of *al-Mustazhiri*, because he had composed it by the desire of the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh. He wrote also some controversial works. In the year 504 (A. C. 1110-1), he was appointed professor at the *Nizāmiyah* College of Baghdād, and this place he continued to fill till his death. His predecessors in it were, the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Abū Sa'd al-Mutawalli, the author of the *Tatimmat al-Ibānah* (No. 340), and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ḡhazzālī. (No. 562). A learned *shaykh* of our sect informed me that, as

Abū Bakr al-Shāshī was one day sitting on the *suddah* (sofa), as is customary with professors when teaching, he applied his handkerchief to his eyes, and wept bitterly, repeating, at the same time, this verse :

"The dwellings are empty and I am now the chief, though unworthy of authority ; it is for me an affliction to have become the sole depository of power."

In this, he was actuated by a feeling of justice and the desire of acknowledging the merit of his predecessors and their superiority to himself. The verse just mentioned belongs to a piece which is inserted in the *Hamāsah*<sup>1</sup>. Abū Bakr al-Shāshī was born in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 429 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1037), at Mayyāfāriqīn. He died on Saturday, the 25th of Shawwāl, A.H. 507 (March, A.C. 1114)\* at Baghdād, and was interred at the Shīrāz Gate, in the same tomb with his master Abū Ishāq. Some say that he was buried in a grave at the side of his master's.

#### 564 ABŪ NAṢR AL-ARGHIYĀNĪ

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Arghiyānī was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. Having left his native place (*Arghiyān*) and proceeded to Naysābūr, he studied under the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (No. 353), and obtained distinction by his knowledge of the law, after which he rose to the rank of an *imām* (*chief doctor of the sect*) and acquired a high reputation as a *mufti* and a devout ascetic. He learned Traditions from Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Wāḥidī, the author of the celebrated commentaries on the *Qur'ān* (No. 413) and he has transmitted to us the manner in which that doctor explained these words of the *Qur'ān*: *Verily, I perceive the smell of Joseph*<sup>2</sup>: according to al-Wāqidī

<sup>1</sup> See *Hamāsah*, p. c 375.

<sup>2</sup> *Qur'ān*, sūrah 12. verse 94.

• 4 April.—Ed.

"the East wind asked permission of Almighty God to waft to Jacob, the smell of Joseph, before the bearer of good tidings should reach him with his son's shirt<sup>1</sup>: and, permission having been given, it bore the smell to him. It is for this reason that persons in sadness are revived by the breath of the East wind; the human body softens under its influence and sinks into placid enjoyment; the East wind causes the heart to long for the sight of friends and of home<sup>2</sup>. And a poet has said:

'I implore you, O two mountains of al-Na'mān<sup>3</sup>! to let the breath of the East wind come unto us; that breeze which dispels all cares from a melancholy mind.' "

Abū Naṣr al-Arghiyānī was born A.H. 454 (A.C. 1062-3), and he died on the eve of the 24th of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 528 (September, A.C. 1134)\*. at Naysābūr. He was buried outside the city, at a spot called al-Ḥirah, on the roadside. Relative to the *fatwās*, or legal opinions, extracted from the work entitled *Nihayat al-Maṭlab*<sup>4</sup>, and which are called the *Fatāwa Arghiyāniyah*, I was doubtful whether they belonged to Abū Naṣr or to his brother Abu'l-Faṭḥ Sahl (No. 263), as I had not seen the book for a long time before: I even mentioned, in the life of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, that he was its author, but I have since obtained the certain proof of its having been composed by Abū Naṣr. The word Arghiyānī has already been explained (No. 263).

## 565 MUḤAMMAD IBN YAḤYĀ

Abū Sa'd Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥya Ibn Abī Maṣṣūr, a doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, a native of Naysābūr, and surnamed Muḥī al-

1 See *Qur'ān*, *loco laudato*.

2 The Arabian poets attribute to the east wind effects which European poets would attribute to the west wind, or Zephyr. Indeed, throughout this work, whenever the east wind is mentioned in a piece of verse, it has been rendered by *zephyr* in the translation.

3 A great number of places in Arabia bear the name of al-Na'mān; it is therefore difficult to determine which of them the poet means here.

4 According to the author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'in*, the *Nihayat al-Maṭlab* here mentioned is the work under that title composed by the *Imām* al-Ḥaramayn. See No. 353.

\* 15 September.--Ed.

Dīn (*reviver of religion*), was the most eminent of the later jurisconsults, and surpassed them all in learning and piety. He studied the law under Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī (No. 562) and Abū 'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad al-Khawāfi (No. 36). Having acquired a superior knowledge of this science and composed a number of works, some on it, and others in defence of his sect, he was appointed chief of the jurisconsults of Naysābūr. Persons then came from all countries to pursue their studies under him, and, of the numerous students who profited by his tuition, the majority became *sayyids* (*able doctors*) and skillful controvertists. His works are: the *Muḥiṭ* (*comprehensive*<sup>1</sup>), being an explanation of (*al-Ghazzālī's*) *Wasīṭ*; the *Intiṣāf fi Masā'il al-Khilāf* (*justification: treatise on controverted points of Shāfi'ite doctrines*), etc. The ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisi (No. 377) mentions him with commendation in the *Siyāq*, or *Continuation* of the history of Naysābur, and adds: "He possessed abilities as an exhorter to piety, and his mind was stocked with copious information on various sciences. He taught in the *Nizāmiyah* College of Naysābur, and then in the *Nizāmiyah* College of Herāt. Among the portions of traditional information which he had received, were some transmitted to him orally by *Shaykh* Abū Hāmid Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdūs, and (then) read to him by the imām Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Raḥīm, son of Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (No. 396) in the year 496 (A.C. 1102). The following verses, were recited to him by a person of talent who happened to attend one of his lectures, and was struck with his instructive observations and the manner in which they were conveyed:

'The mouldering remains of religion and of Islāmism receive new life from our master Muḥi al-Dīn (*the reviver of religion*), the son of Yahyā (*the living*). When he gives a lesson, (it seems) as if he had received a revelation from God, the Lord of the Throne. . . "

I found the following verses attributed to him in a collection of extracts; and I have since read in the life of the *shaykh* *Shihāb al-Dīn* Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn Muḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad, a

1 According to the author of the *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*, this work forms eight volumes.

Shāfi'ite juriconsults, born at Ṭūṣ. and settled at Egypt<sup>1</sup>, that this doctor said: "The *imām* Abū Sa'd Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā recited to me the following verses composed by himself:

'When they said that a hair placed in water, and exposed to the sun becomes a serpent, I did not credit their words; but, when the ringlets of my beloved settled on the water of her face<sup>2</sup>, and stung my heart, I found the statement true."

This doctor was born at Ṭuraythīth, A.H. 476 (A.C. 1083-4), and he died a martyr in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 548 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 1153), having been killed by the Ghuzz, when they took Naysābūr after defeating the Saljūq sulṭān, Sinjar (*No. 260*). They put Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā to death by cramming earth into his mouth. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī states, in his history (*of Mayyāfā-riqln*) that this occurred in the year 553, but the former is the correct date. A number of learned men composed elegies on his death, and one of them, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-Qāsim al-Bayhaqī, said in allusion to his fate:

"O thou who hast shed the blood of a man profoundly learned, whose reputation reached to distant kingdoms! tell me, wicked man, I conjure thee, and speak without dread: How couldst thou take away the life of him who was a *muhl al-Dīn* (*giver of life to religion*)."

This Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī mentioned in this article died in Old Cairo on the 20th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 596 (September, A.C. 1200),\* and was interred in the Qarāfah cemetery. His birth took place A.H. 522 (A.C. 1128). He professed at the college called Manāzil al-'Izz (*No. 476*), and sojourned in Cairo, at the khanqāh (*convent*) of Sa'id al-Sa'ādah. Ṭuraythīth is an extensive district in the dependencies of Naysābūr; it has produced a number of eminent men, some of them remarkable for learning.

1 The date of this doctor's death will be found farther on.

2 By the *water of her face*, he means the clear complexion of her cheeks. It must be recollected also that, in Arabic, *ringlets* and *scorpions*, are permutable terms. See Introduction to vol. I.

\* 1 September. Ed.



## 566 ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-BARAWĪ

Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Barawī, a highly distinguished jurisconsult of the *Shāfi'*ite sect, attained the eminent rank which he held by his knowledge of the law, his talent for discussion, and his abilities as a dogmatic theologian and preacher. His style was charming, and his diction pure and elegant. He studied the law under Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā, the doctor whose life has been just given, and was one of his best pupils. He composed an excellent and well-known *Ta'liqah*<sup>1</sup> on the points of controversy between his sect and the other three, and a treatise on dialectics, entitled *al-Muqtariḥ fi 'l-Muṣṭaliḥ* (*the requisite for the conventional*). This is also a good and well-known treatise; jurisconsults make it one of their principal subjects of study, and it has been fully elucidated by the doctor Taqī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Miṣrī<sup>2</sup>, who was ever afterwards known by the surname of *al-Taql* (*Taql al-Dīn*) *al-Muqtariḥ*, because he knew this book by heart<sup>3</sup>. In the year 567 (A.C. 1171-2), al-Barawī went to Baghdād, and was most honourably received by both high and low. He then obtained the place of professor in the *Bahā'iyah*<sup>4</sup>, a college situated near the *Nizāmiyah*, and every day he gave a number of lessons which were attended by crowds of people. He opened also a class for the discussing (*of points of law*) in the Mosque of the Castle, and this attracted all the professors and other distinguished men. He held sittings also at the *Nizāmiyah* college for the purpose of giving pious exhortations, and, at

1 See No. 25, note.

2 Taqī al-Dīn Muẓaffar Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-Miṣrī (*native of Egypt*), and surnamed al-Muqtariḥ because he knew by heart the work bearing that title, composed some works on jurisprudence, dogmatic theology, and controversy, and was remarkable for his piety, humility, and learning. A number of pupils finished their studies under him at Cairo and at Alexandria. His birth took place A.H. 526 (A.C. 1131-2), and his death in the month of *Shā'bān*, A.H. 612 (Dec., A.C. 1215). (Al-Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍirah*).

3 I read with Ḥājji Khalifah, *نقل يقال له الإلحاح*.

4 This *Bahā'iyah* was probably the college founded by the wazīr Bahā al-Dīn Sābūr Ibn Ardaṣḥir (No. 238). The *Nizāmiyah* College was founded, as its name imports, by the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk (No. 171).

time, the person who professed there was Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shāshī. He sometimes betrayed there, by his gestures, his desire of becoming professor at the *Nizāmiyah*; and, one day, in the course of the sitting, he pointed to the place which the professor used to occupy, and recited the following verses, taken from the commencement of one of al-Mutanabbī's *qaṣīdahs*:

"I wept, O thou vernal mansion! till I had nearly made thee also weep; I poured forth my feelings, and my tears over thy abodes. Receive my morning salutation! thou hast awakened my heart to sadness; return our greeting, for behold we salute thee. How could time have decreed that the gazelles of the desert were to replace the gazelles (*maidens*), thy former inhabitants!"

The persons present understood the allusion, and, as he was worthy of the place, he received the promise of obtaining it but death overtook him. He was born at Ṭūs on Tuesday, the 15th of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 517 (January, A.C. 1124)\*, and he died at Baghdād on the afternoon of Thursday, the 16th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 567 (May, A.C. 1172)\*. The next day, Friday, the funeral service was said over him in the Mosque of the Castle by the *Khalīf* al-Mustaḍī bi Amr Allāh. He was buried the same day, at the Abraz Gate, in the funeral chapel of the *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (*No.* 5). The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir (*No.* 416) mentions, in his history of Damascus that, Abū Maṣṣūr al-Barawī went to that city, in the year 565, and lodged in the *ribāṭ* of al-Sumaysāṭī. He states also that he read over to him some pieces which had been written down under his dictation. *Barawī*: I do not know the derivation of this relative adjective, neither it is given by al-Sm'ānāī (*No.* 370) but I am inclined to think that the place to which it refers is in the dependencies of Ṭūs.

\* 4 January. But the day according to Mahler's calculation was Friday.—Ed.

† 11 May.—Ed.

## 567 ABU 'L-ḤASAN IBN AL-KHALL

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Baqā al-Mubārak Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Ibn al-Khall, was a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect and a native of Baghdād. He studied the jurisprudence under Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Shāshī, surnamed al-Muztaḥirī (No. 563), and he attained a high distinction by his learning. It was his custom to remain seated in the mosque of al-Raḥabah a place on the east side of Baghdād, and never to leave it unless in cases of absolute necessity; and there he passed his time, giving opinions on points of law, and instructing pupils. Previously to this, he had been the sole depository, at Baghdād, of the decisions given by preceding doctors on points connected with the *Surayjiyan* question<sup>1</sup>. He composed a work in the form of a commentary on (*Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī's* work), the *Tanbīh*, or Call, and to which he gave the title of *Tawjih al-Tanbīh* (*the right directing of the Call*); it is a short treatise, however, and of no utility, though the first composed on the subject. In another of his works he treats of the fundamentals of jurisprudence. He learned Traditions from Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Abi Ṭalḥah al-Ni'ālī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Busrī, and other masters. Some Traditions were delivered down on his authority by Abu 'l-Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) and others. I heard a jurisconsult mention that Ibn al-Khall wrote an excellent *mansūb*<sup>2</sup> hand, and that, to obtain specimen of it, the people used to ask him for *fatwās* (*written answers to questions on points of law*), although they had no real occasion for them. The quantity of *fatwās* thus required of him became so great, that he had not a moment left to himself, and, discovering at length the motive of these numerous applications he in future broke the point of his pen before writing his answers. The people then ceased to trouble him. Some say, however, that it was his brother who wrote so well, but God knows best! Ibn al-Khall died at Baghdād in the year 552 (A.C. 1157-8), and his body was taken to Kūfah

1 The *Surayjiyan* question, so named after Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj (No. 20), was a treatise very familiar to Shāfi'ite students, and contained the discussion of some points relative to divorce.

2 See No. 454, note.

for interment. His brother, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn al-Mubārak wa salso an able jurisconsult and a good poet. 'Imād al-Din al-Iṣbahānī mentions him with commendation in the *Kharīdah*, and quotes some passages from his poems, with some of his couplets. One of the pieces which he gives is the following, on a certain preacher :

"How vexatious that people should place reliance on the whims of that stuttering madman !—of a *shaykh* whose piety is tainted with hypocrisy, and whose hypocrisy imposes on very few. When he casts his eyes on the professor's chair, he perks up, as if he meant to say : 'That place, by right, should be mine.' With his bony fist he strikes his bosom<sup>1</sup>, filled (*not with compunction but*) with hidden hate, and says : 'What shall I say ? words which proceed, not from an abundance of ideas, but from the want of them."

From his *dubayts*, or couplets, we select the following :

"Behold the object of the passion which I so long concealed, wishing thus to spare the feelings of her whom I adore. O thou who wast the first, and shalt be the last, to cause my torment ! who can tell the ardour of my passion<sup>2</sup> ?"

"They departed, and grief came to settle in my heart ! none ever felt such torments as they made me suffer : love, desire, the burning fires of passion ; my strength fails me ! I sink ! I can bear it no longer !

"It would not have harmed the camel-drivers had they set out less promptly with my beloved friends ! The morning of their departure brought me to my last gasp ! A heart in trouble—tears which flow as if through emulation—whilst my firmness was already shaken by the dread of that separation."

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn al-Mubārak was born A.H. 482 (A.C. 1089-90) ; he died, A.H. 552 (A.C. 1157-8), or 553.

1 In the printed text, the word *على* should have been placed in the first hemistich.

2 Literally : Who can interpret the signs (*verses*) of my passion for me. An allusion to the interpreting of the *signs* or verses of the *Qur'ān*.

\* 'From the same,' omitted by de Slane. Ed

## 568 MUḤĪ AL-DĪN IBN AL-ZAKĪ

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn al-Walīd Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Abbān Ibn 'Uṭhmān Ibn 'Affān (*a descendant of the khalif 'Uṭhmān*), a member of the tribe of Quraysh and surnamed Muḥī al-Dīn (*reviver of religion*) but generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Zakī, or son of Zakī al-Dīn, was a native of Damascus and a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i. He displayed acquirements of the most varied kinds, being versed in the law, general literature, and other sciences, and having composed some beautiful poetry, sermons (*khuṭbahs*), and epistles. On Wednesday, the 20th of the first Rabi', A.H. 588 (April, A.C. 1192)\*, he was appointed *qāḍī* of Damascus; so, at least, I have found it written in the handwriting of al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil (*No 349*), and the same place had been previously filled by his father and grandfather, as it was subsequently by two of his own sons. He possessed to the highest degree, the favour of the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and when that prince took the city of Aleppo, on Saturday, the 18th of Ṣafar, A.H. 579 (June, A.C. 1183)†, he recited to him a poem rhyming in *b*, a masterpiece of perfection. One of its verses, which has since obtained great currency among the public, was the following :

"Thy taking of the Grey Castle<sup>2</sup> in the month of Ṣafar, announces the conquest of al-Quds (*Jerusalem*) for the month of Rajab."

This was really the case, that city having been taken on the 27th of Rajab, A.H. 583 (Oct-A.C. 1187). Muḥī al-Dīn having been asked how he came by that idea, he replied that he took it from the comment of Ibn Barraḡān<sup>3</sup> on these words of the *Qur'ān* :

1 See. M. Reinand's *Extraits*, p. 184

2 The Grey Castle (*al-Qal'ae al-Shahbā*) was one of the names by which Aleppo was known.

3 Ibn Khallikān gives a short notice of this doctor at the end of the article.

\* 5 April, but the day according to Mehle's calculation was Sunday. Ed.

† 11 June Ed.

*Alif, lam, mim. The Greeks have been overcome in the nearest part of the land, but, after their defeat, they shall be victorious within a few years*<sup>1</sup>. From the moment I met with the verse given above, and learned this account of it, I began searching for the commentary of Ibn Barrajān, and found the statement to be true; but the passage was written on the margin of the leaf and in a different hand from that of the text, and I know not whether it be an interpolation or a part of the work. A long (*cabalistic*) calculation of his is there given, by which he deduces this result from the words: *a few years*. When the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took Aleppo, he confided to Muḥī al-Dīn the post of chief magistrate and judge\*; and gave him for deputy Zayn al-Dīn Banna Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-Bānyāsī. On the conquest of Jerusalem, all the learned men who happened to be in the retinue of the sultān, aspired to the honour of pronouncing the *khuṭbah* on the ensuing Friday, and each of them sent in for examination a *khuṭbah* written with great eloquence, in the hopes of being chosen; but the sultān addressed an order to Muḥī al-Dīn, directing him to be the preacher. This was the first Friday on which the public prayer was said at Jerusalem after the taking of the city, and the sultān with all the chief men of the empire attended at the ceremony. Muḥī al-Dīn then mounted the pulpit and commenced his discourse by pronouncing the opening of the *sūrah* of the *Qur'ān*, and then said: "God hath cut off the uttermost part of those who acted perversely; so praise be unto God, the Lord of all creatures. Praise be unto God, Who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath disposed darkness and light! (*Qur'an*, *surah*<sup>6</sup>, verse 1) Praise be unto God Who hath not begotten any child, Who hath no partner in the kingdom, nor requireth any one to protect Him from contempt; and magnify Him by proclaiming His greatness (*sūr*, 17, ver. 111.) Praise be unto God, Who hath sent down unto His servant the book (of the *Qur'ān*), and hath not inserted therein any crookedness, but hath made it a straight rule; that He should threaten thereby the unbelievers with a grievous punishment from Himself, and should bear good tidings unto the faithful, who work

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, *sūrah* 30, verse 1.

\* The editor of the Cairo edition of 1948, adds on the 13th of latter Rabi (5 August, 1183)-- Ed.

righteousness, that they shall receive an excellent reward (the reward of paradise) wherein they shall remain for ever ; and that He should warn those who say God hath begotten issue (s. 18 v. 1,2,3). Say, Praise be unto God ; and peace be unto His servants whom He hath chosen ! is God more worthy, or the false gods which they associate with Him ? (s. 27, v. 60). Praise be to God, unto whom belongeth whatever is in the heavens and on earth ; and unto Him be praise in the world to come ; for He is wise and intelligent (s. 34, v. 1)!. Praise be unto God, the Creator of heaven and earth ; Who maketh the angels His messengers, furnished with two, and three, and four pair of wings. God maketh what addition He pleaseth unto His creatures ; for God is Almighty (s. 35, v. 1)". "In this, the preacher's design was, to quote all the passages of the sacred *Qur'ān* in which praise is given to God ; he then commenced the *khutbah* and said : "Praise be unto God by Whose aid Islāmism hath been exalted, and by Whose might polytheism hath been humbled : Whose orders control all events, and Who rewardeth gratitude by continuing His favours. He hath enveloped the infidels in his toils, Whose justice hath decreed that time should be a series of vicissitudes, Whose bounty hath granted success to those that feared Him, Who spread His shade over His servants, and caused His religion to triumph over every other. In His might He is far above His creatures, and nought can resist Him ; His sway extends over the world, and nought can withstand it. He ordereth what He pleaseth, and none can disobey Him ; He decideth what He will, and none can oppose Him. I praise Him for His victorious assistance ; for His exalting of His friends ; for His aiding of those who aided in His cause, and for His cleansing of His Holy House from the filth of polytheism and its pollutions. (I give Him) such praise as a man can offer whose inmost feelings are conscious of gratitude, and who denotes it by his outward bearing, and I declare that there is no other god but the only God, Who hath no associate in His power. Who is one and eternal ; Who begot no off spring, neither was He begotten, and Who never had any one like unto Him!. Such is the declaration of one who hath purified his heart by the professing of God's unity, and hath given it in

---

1 *Qur'ān*. 'Ūrah 112, verse 2.

charge unto his Lord. I bear witness that Muḥammad is His Servant and Apostle, the remover of doubt, the confuter of infidelity, and the dispeller of falsehood; that God *transported him by night from the Holy Temple (of Makkah) to the Farther Temple of (Jerusalem)*<sup>1</sup>, and raised him up to the highest heavens, *even unto the lote-tree of the utmost bound, near which is the garden of eternal abode; and his eye-sight turned not away, neither did it wander*<sup>2</sup>: may God's blessing be upon him and upon his Khalif (successor) Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq (*the veracious*), the first to embrace the faith; and upon the commander of the faithful, 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the first who removed from this house the sign of the cross, and upon the commander of the faithful, 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, the possessor of the two lights<sup>3</sup>, the collector of the *Qur'ān*, and upon the commander of the faithful, 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the destroyer of polytheism and the breaker of idols, and God's blessing be on the family of Muḥammad, on his Companions, and on the *Ṭābi'īs*. O Men, rejoice at good news! God is pleased with your conduct; and that is the utmost term, the highest point, of man's desires; inasmuch as He rendered it easy for your hands to recover this strayed camel (*Jerusalem*) from the possession of a misguided people, and to bring it back to the fold of Islāmism, after it had been abused by the polytheists for nearly one hundred years. (*Rejoice at*) the purifying of this house *which God allowed to be raised, and in which He permitted His name to be mentioned*<sup>4</sup>; the ways of which He hath delivered from ploythesim, after He had spread His tent over it and established His rites within it; a house of which the foundations were laid on the profession of God's unity, for that is the best basis to build on, and of which the edifice was erected to His glory, for it stands founded on piety from ancient times till now. It was the dwelling-place of your father Abraham; the spot from which your blessed Prophet Muḥammad mounted to heaven; the *qihlah*

1 *Qur'ān*, Sūrah. 7, verse 1.

2 *Qur'ān*, Sūrah, 23, verse 14, 15, 17.

3 He was so called because he had married successively two of Muḥammad's daughters.

4 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 24, verse 36.



towards which you turned to pray at the commencement of Islāmaism, the abode of the prophets: the place visited by the saints; the cemetery of the apostles; the spot where the divine revelation descended, and to which the orders and the prohibitions were sent down; it is the country where mankind will be assembled for judgement; the ground where the resurrection will take place, the holy land whereof God hath spoken in His perspicuous book<sup>1</sup>; it is the mosque wherein the Apostle of God offered up his prayer and saluted the angels admitted nearest to God's presence; it is the town to which God sent His Servant and Apostle, and the Word which He caused to descend on Mary, and His spirit Jesus, whom He honoured with that mission and ennobled with the gift of prophecy, without removing him from the rank He held as one of His creatures: and the Almighty said that Christ *will not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God, neither the angels who approach near to the divine presence*<sup>2</sup>. They lied, those who said that God had equals, and widely did they err. *God hath not begotten issue; neither is there any other God with him, : otherwise every god had surely gone (apart) with that which He had created; and some of them had exalted themselves above the others. Far be that from God which they affirm of Him*<sup>3</sup>. *They are surely infidels who say: Verily God is Christ, the son of Mary*<sup>4</sup>.—Here the preacher repeated the remaining verses of the *sūrah*" of the Table.— "This temple is the first of the two *qiblahs*<sup>5</sup>, the second of the two sacred Mosques<sup>6</sup>, the third after the two holy cities (*Makkah and Madīnah*); the next place, after these two Mosques, to visit which travellers girth their camels; the next spot named after these two mansions, when the number of holy places is counted on the fingers. Therefore, had you not been of

---

1 *Qur'ān*, *sūrah* 5, verse 24.

2 *Qur'ān*, *sūrah* 4, verse 170

3 *Qur'ān*, *sūrah* 23, verse 93.

4 *Qur'ān*, *sūrah* 5, verse 76.

5 Muḥammad at first directed the Muslims to pray with their faces turned towards Jerusalem, but soon after, he chose Makkah for the point towards which they were to look on those occasions.

6 *Qur'an*, *sūrah* 17, verse. 1

God's chosen servants, of those whom He selected from amongst the dwellers in His cities. He had not honoured you with this favour wherein you will never have a rival, and in the excellence of which you will remain without a competitor. Blessings be on you for an army which hath procured the triumph of the miraculous powers displayed in the Apostle's gift of prophecy, which hath fought battles like those of Badr, which hath shown resolution like that of Abū Bakr, achieved conquests like those of 'Umar's, behaved like the armies of 'Uthmān, and charged like those of 'Alī! You have renewed for Islāmism the glorious days of Qādisiyah, the conflicts of Yarmūk, the sieges of Khaybar, and the impetuous attacks of Khālīd Ibn al-Walīd. May God grant you his best rewards for the service you have rendered to his blessed prophet Muḥammad! may He recompense you for the blood you lost in combating his foes! may He accept from you as an agreeable offering the blood which you have shed! and remunerate you with Paradise, for that is the abode of happiness! Appreciate then (and God be merciful unto you!) this favour at its just value, and thank for it the Almighty with fit acknowledgement, inasmuch as He placed you under deep obligations by conferring this honour upon you, and appointing you for this service! It is a victory which hath opened for you the gates of heaven, and hath illumined by its light the face of the darkness, which hath made the most highly favoured of the angels to rejoice, and hath solaced the eyes of the prophets who were sent unto mankind! How great a favour was that which rendered you the army by whose hand the Sacred City was recaptured in these latter times, the body of troops whose swords set up again the monuments of the faith, after that the mission of prophets had ceased! Soon, perhaps, may God achieve, by your hands, other victories such as this; victories whereat the people of the green (*the inhabitants of Paradise*) will rejoice yet more than the people of the earth: is this not the House whereof God hath spoken in his book explicitly name in this formal address directed to himself: *Praise be unto Him who transported His servant by night from the Holy Temple to the Farther Temple*<sup>1</sup>. Is it not the house which all religions honoured? towards which the

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, sūrah 17, verse. 1

prophets turned themselves, and in which were read the four books sent down from Almighty God<sup>1</sup>? Is it not the house for the sake of which God staid the sun over Joshua so that it set not, and delayed its pace so that the victory might be rendered prompt and easy? Is it not the house which God commanded Moses to order his people to deliver, yet none obeyed him but two men? Wherefore He waxed wroth against them, and cast them into the wilderness in punishment for their disobedience. Give therefore praises unto God for having helped you to the fulfilment of your resolutions in an undertaking from which the children of Isrā'il, His chosen people, recoiled, and for having prospered you in an attempt wherein the nations of former ages failed, and for having made you of one opinion after that you were divided, and for having enabled you to speak of this as a past event, when before you spoke of it only as an event to come<sup>2</sup>. Receive our congratulations, in as much as God hath mentioned your conduct to those near Him, and hath made you His own troops after you have been troops in the service of your passions; rejoice at the coming of the angels, sent down to thank you for the sweet odour of the profession of God's unity wherewith you have gifted this House, and for the perfume of sanctification and glorification you have spread throughout it, and for having removed from their paths therein the nuisance of polytheism and trinitarian doctrines, and a criminal and evil belief. Now, the angels of the heavens implore God's mercy on you, and pray for you and give you blessings. Therefore, with the help of God, preserve this gift which you have obtained, and protect this favour which you have received, by living in the fear of God, that fear which saveth him who holdeth unto it and delivereth from danger him who clingeth thereto. Beware the seductions of your passions; avoid falling into perdition, or turning back from the path of righteousness, or recoiling before an enemy: seize this opportunity for removing the annoyances which still subsist in the land; fight

1 *The four books*, the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels, and the *Qur'ān*.

2 Literally: Who hath enriched you with that which the words *kān* (*was*) and *qad* (*already*) put in the past tense, in exchange for that which *sawf* (*shall be*) and *ḥaṭṭā* (*till such time as*) put in the future tense. This quibble must have been highly pleasing to a congregation of Muslims for whom grammar is one of the first among the sciences.

the good fight in the cause of God, and devote yourselves, O servants of God ! to His will, for He hath made of you His chosen servants. Beware lest Satan cause you to slip and lead you into rebellion ; making you imagine that this victory was owing to your sharp swords, your fleet steeds, and your intrepidity in battle. No, by Allāh ! victory cometh not but from the Mighty, the Wise ! Take care, O servants of God ! lest that, after His having ennobled you by this great conquest, this signal favour, and after His having reserved for you so evident a turimph, and placed within your grasp His strong cord (*of guidance*), take care not to commit such deeds as He hath forbidden or show the grievous sin of disobedience ; lest you be like unto her who undid what she spun, after she had twisted it strongly<sup>1</sup> and like to him unto whom we brought our signs, and he departed from them ; wherefore Satan followed him, and he became one of those who were seduced<sup>2</sup>. Maintain the holy war ; it is the best means which you have of serving God, the most noble occupation of your lives ; support God's cause, and He will support you ; protect His religion and He will protect you ; remember Him, and He will remember you ; thank Him, and He will give you an increase of favours and reward you. Labour to expel the evil (*which afflicts us*), and tear up the enemy by the root ; purify the rest of the land from this filth which hath angered God and His Apostle ; lop off the branches of infidelity and cut through its roots ; for now the times cry aloud : *Vengeance for Islamism and the Muḥammadan religion ! God is mighty ! God giveth victory and aid ! God conquers and subdues ! He humbleth the infidel !* Know therefore, and God be merciful unto you ! that is the opportunity, therefore seize it ; this is the spoil, hasten to obtain it ; this is the serious matter, put forth your serious efforts to accomplish it, and send forward the troops of your resolutions in battle-array ; for each deed is judged by its result, and each merit by its recompense. God hath now made you victorious over this misguided enemy who was equal to you in number, or even surpassed you ; and how it was when you were one to twenty ? Almighty God hath said :

---

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 16, verse 94.

2 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 7, verse 174.

*If twenty of you persevere with constancy, they shall overcome two hundred; and if there be one hundred of you, they shall overcome one thousand of those who believe not, because they are a people who do not understand.*)<sup>1</sup> May God enable us and you to follow His commandments and be restrained by His prohibitions! may He aid us, Muslims, with succour from Himself! If God assist you, who can overcome you? and if He deprive you of His protection, who then can help you? The best saying is that which is uttered in fitting place; the arrow which striketh deepest is that which is shot from the bow of speech; the best word by which one can touch the intelligence is that of the only God, the sole God, the Mighty, the Wise, Who hath said: *And when the Qur'ān is read, hearken thereto, and keep silence; that ye may obtain mercy.*<sup>2</sup> I fly to God from Satan the accursed! in the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement!"! The orator then read the commencement of the *Emigration*,<sup>3</sup> after which, he said: The Apostle ordered you and me to conform to that which God hath commanded on the subject of devoted obedience to His will; let us therefore obey Him: He forbade you and me to commit the foul sin of disobedience; let us not therefore revolt against Him,<sup>4</sup> I ask pardon of God for myself, for you, and for all Muslims; ask also pardon." He then prayed for the *imām* 'al-Nāṣir, the *khalif* of that age, after which he said: "And prolong, O Almighty God! the reign of thy servant, so humble in his fear of Thee, so thankful for Thy favours, so grateful for Thy gifts; Thy trenchant sword, Thy shining flambeau, the defender of Thy faith, the champion and protector of Thy holy land, the firmly resisting, the great, the helping prince, him who gave might to the declaration of the true faith, who vanquished the adorers of the Cross, the weal (*ṣalāh*) of the world and of religion (*al-Dīn*), the sultān of Islāmism and of the Muslims; the purifier of the Holy Temple, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, the son of Ayyūb, the giver of

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 8, verse 66.

2 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 7, verse 203.

3 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 59.

4 This was said by the preacher in connexion with the last words of his quotation from the *Qur'ān*. The quotation finished with the seventh verse of fifty-ninth sūrah.

life to the empire (*Muḥl al-Dawlah*), the commander of the true believers. Grant, O Almighty God ! that his empire extend over the earth, and that the angels ever encircle his standards ; reward him for the services he hath rendered to the orthodox belief, and for his firm resolution and prompt execution in the defence of the Muḥammadan religion. Preserve his life, we beseech Thee, for the prosperity of Islāmism ; protect his empire for the advantage of the faith, and extend his authority over the regions of the East and of the West. As Thou hast enabled his hand to retake Jerusalem when men had begun to doubt of Thy intentions<sup>1</sup>, and when the Muslims were suffering under their trials, so let his hand take possession of the land far and near ; help him to seize infidelity by the forelock ; let him scatter their squadrons, disperse their multitudes, and send them, band after band, to join their predecessors (*in hell*). Reward him, O God ! in the name of Muḥammad, for his efforts, and let his orders and prohibitions issue uncontrolled to the East and to the West ; let the centre and the frontiers of the land, and all the regions of the Kingdom prosper under his rule ; let him humble the pride of the infidels, and tame the insolence of the perverse ; spread his dominion unto every city, and post the detachments of his troops on the roads to every country. Maintain, O God ! him and his children in the possession of the empire till the day of judgment ; preserve his days and those of his sons and brethren, princes highly favoured ; strengthen his power by granting them long life, and decide, by Thy will, the exaltation of his friends and theirs. O God ! inasmuch as Thou hast produced, through his means, this lasting advantage for Islāmism, to endure as long as months and years pursue their course, grant him the eternal kingdom in the abode of the pious, and answer his prayer when he says : *O Lord ! excite me that I may be thankful for Thy favour wherewith Thou hast favoured me and my parents ; and that I may do that which is right, and well-pleasing unto Thee ; and introduce me, through Thy mercy, among Thy servants the righteous.*"<sup>2</sup> He then pronounced the usual prayers. This doctor was born at Damascus, A.H. 550

---

1 Literally : When thoughts were entertained.

2 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 27, verse 19.

(A.C. 1155); he died in that city on the 7th of *Sha'bān*, A.H. 598 (May, A.C. 1202)\* and was buried at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn. His father Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, surnamed Zaki al-Dīn, filled the place of qāḍī at Damascus; he was a man of great virtue and piety. Having requested, and obtained, permission to resign his post, he made the pilgrimage to Makkah, and returned to Baghdād in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 563 (Nov.-Dec. A.C. 1167), and there fixed his residence. He held a high rank as a traditionist, having received Traditions from a great number of persons; and, during his residence at Baghdād, he taught them publicly. He remained in that city till his death, which happened on Thursday, the 28th of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 564 (July, A.C. 1169)† The funeral service was said over him in the mosque of the Castle, and he was interred in the cemetery of the *Imām Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*. Abu 'l-Ḥakam 'Abd al-Salām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī, the Ibn Barraḡān mentioned in this article, was a man of great sanctity, and the author of a commentary on the *Qur'ān* wherein he explains the greater part of it according to the mystic system of the *Sūfis*. He died in the city (مدینه) of Morocco, A.H. 536 (A.C. 1141-2).

### 569 AL-SADID AL-SALAMĀSĪ.

Muḥammad Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Salamāsī, surnamed al-Sadīd (*the well directed*), was a doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect and its chief *imām* in that age. Having exercised the functions of under-tutor (*mu'ld*) in the *Nizāmiyah College*, he mastered various branches of science, and was the first who made known in 'Irāq the *Sharīf's Ṭarīqah*<sup>1</sup>. It is even said that he could repeat

---

1 The *Sharīf Sharaf Shāh* Ibn Malik Dād al-'Abbāsī, a celebrated professor in the *Nizāmiyah College* (of *Naysābūr*) was a jurisconsult of great acuteness. He composed a *Ṭarīqah* or systematic defence of the *Shāfi'ite* doctrines, which acquired extensive circulation, and he wrote some other works on dialectics. He

(Continued on page 215)

\* 2 May.—Ed.

† 24 July.—Ed.

the contents of that work without recurring to the book, and that he knew equally well (*Abū Ḥāmid*) al-Ghazzālī's *Wasīṭ* and *Muṣṭasfā*. Pupils came from all countries to study under him, and by his excellent mode of tuition, they all became learned jurisconsults, professors, and authors. Amongst the number were the two *imāms* and *shaykhs* 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad and Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā, the sons of Yūnus, whose lives will be found in this work; to these may be added the *shaykh* Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Ibn 'Alwān Ibn Muhājir and other eminent doctors. His opinions on points of law were held to be excellent<sup>1</sup>. He died at Baghdād in the month of Shahbān, A.H. 574 (Jan.-Feb., A.C. 1178-9). *Salamāsi* means *belonging to Salamās*, a city in Ādharbā'i-jān which has produced a number of illustrious men.

### 570 HAFADAT AL-ṬŪSĪ

Abū Munṣūr Muḥammad Ibn As'ad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Qāsim al-'Aṭṭārī, generally known by the appellation Hafadah, and surnamed 'Imād al-Dīn (*column of the faith*), was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and a native of Naysābūr. He bore the surname of al-Ṭūsī because his family belonged to Ṭūs. This able jurisconsult was also an eloquent preacher and a profound dogmatic theologian. He studied the law at Marw under Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Ṣam'ānī (*No. 370*), the father of the celebrated *hafiz*; he then removed to Marw al-Rūd (*No. 22*), and continued his studies under the Qāḍī Ḥusayn al-Farrā al-Baghawī (*No. 177*), the author of the *Explanation of the Sunnah* and of the *Tahdhīb*. He proceeded thence to Bukhārā and studied under the Ḥanafite doctor Burhān al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Umar Ibn Māzah, after which he turned to Marw, and regular assemblies were held there to hear him preach. He remained in that

(Continued from page 214)

died in the flower of his youth at Naysābūr A.H. 543 (A.C. 1148-9). (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'in.*) This is the Sharif whose name I had not been able to discover, when writing the note on Tiriqah (*No. 407*).

1 Literally: "He was considered as well directed (*musaddad*) in *fatwās*." He probably received the title of *Sadīd* for this reason.



for some time, but, in the year 548, the disastrous invasion of the Ghuzz obliged him to retire into 'Irāq. Of this invasion we have spoken in the life of the jurisconsult Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā (No. 565). He then passed into Ādharbā'ijān, and proceeded through Mesopotamia to Moṣul. In this city, crowds assembled to hear him preach and deliver Traditions. One of the passages which he dictated to his disciples was the following :

"Al-Shāfi' shines among the learned like the sun among the stars. Say to whoever compares him to one who equals him not : 'Can light be compared to darkness' "

He one day recited these lines from the pulpit :

"May the thunder announce to the dwelling wherein Hind resided the salutation of a genial shower, offered by the dark clouds. She departed from us, and we, seduced by love, lent her our hearts ; but objects lent by lovers are never returned."

The exhortations which he made at his assemblies were admirable. He died in the month of the latter Rabi' A.H. 571 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1175), in the city of Tibriz (*Tauris*) ; but some persons place his death in the month of Rajab, A. H. 573. Notwithstanding all my researches, I have not been able to discover why he was called *Hafadah*. *Tibriz* is one of the largest cities in Ādharbā'ijān.

### 571 AL-KHUBŪSHĀNĪ.

Abu 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad Ibn al-Muwaffaq Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khubūshānī, surnamed Najm al-Dīn (*star of religion*), was an able doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, and noted for his devout life. He studied jurisprudence under Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā (No. 565), and he so well knew by heart that author's commentary on the *Wasīf*, entitled the *Muḥīṭ* (*comprehensive*), that, it is said, he once repeated it from memory (*to his pupils*), as he happened not to have a copy of it at hand. We have a large work of his called the *Tahqīq al-Muḥīṭ* (*proofs of the doctrines contained in the*), *Muḥīṭ* and I have seen a copy of it in sixteen volumes. Mention has been already made

of his interview with al-'Āḍid al-'Ubaydī (*No.* 329). When the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn obtained the sovereignty of Egypt, he took al-Khūbūshānī into favour and treated him with marked honour, having conceived a high opinion of his learning and piety. It was by this doctor's advice, it is said, that he built the college situated near the tomb of the *imām* al-Shāfi'ī; and, on the completion of the edifice, in the year, 572 (A.C. 1176-7), he appointed al-Khūbūshānī to it, as professor. In this same year he built the hospital in the citadel of Cairo. I met a number of this doctor's old pupils, and they all extolled his talents and piety; remarking at the same time, that he was a man of the soundest moral principle and very little acquainted with the ways of the world. He was born on the 13th of Rajab, A.H. 510 (November, A.C. 1116),\* at Ustawā (*a place near*) Khūbūshān, and he died on Wednesday, the 12th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 587 (December, A.C. 1191),† at the college of which we have just spoken. He was interred under a cupola at the foot of al-Shāfi'ī's grave, and a grating separates the two tombs. Khūbūshānī means *belonging to Khūbūshān*, a small town in the district of Naysābūr. Ustawā, pronounced also Ustuwā, is the name of a canton in the same district, containing a great number of villages.

### 572 KAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-SHAHRUZŪRĪ.

Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Abi Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi Aḥmad al-Qāsim al-Shahrūzūrī, surnamed Kamāl al-Dīn (*perfection of religion*), was a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī. Mention has been already made of his father and grandfather (*No.* 312 and 511). Kamāl al-Dīn studied jurisprudence at Baghdād under As'ad al-Mihani (*No.* 86), and learned Traditions from Abu 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khamīs al-Mawṣilī. He filled the place of Qaḍī at Moṣul, and built a college for Shāfi'ites in that city.

\* 21 November.--Ed.

† 1 December, but the day does not tally; according to Mahler's calculation it was Sunday.--Ed.

He erected also a convent (*ribāṭ*) at Madīnah. The *atābek* 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī employed him as his envoy, and frequently dispatched him, in that capacity, from Moṣul to (*the court of*) Baghdād. When Zinkī lost his life at the siege of Qal'at Ja'bar (No. 229), Kamāl al-Dīn was at the army with his brother Tāj al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Yaḥyā, the father of the *qāḍī* Ḍiyā al-Dīn, and they accompanied the army on its return to Moṣul. The sovereign authority having devolved to Sayf al-Dīn *Ghāzī*, the son of 'Imād al-Dīn, that prince entrusted the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn,\* with the administration of Moṣul and of all the empire. In the year 542 (A.C. 1147-8) he caused both (*brothers*) to be arrested, and confined them in the citadel of Moṣul, after which, he sent for Najm al-Dīn Abū 'Alī 'l-Ḥasan, the son of Bahā al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, who was then *qāḍī* of al-Raḥabah, and appointed him to the *qāḍiship* of Moṣul and Diyār Bakr, as successor to his cousin Kamāl al-Dīn. The *khalīf* al-Muqtafī then sent an envoy to intercede for Kamāl al-Dīn and his brother; this procured their liberation from prison, but they were then kept under arrest at their own houses, whilst Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Aḥmad, Kamāl al-Dīn's son, and Ḍiyā al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍā'il al-Qāsim, the son of Tāj al-Dīn, remained prisoners in the citadel. On the death of Sayf al-Dīn *Ghāzī*, the arrest was suspended, and they both went to see Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, the son of Zinkī, who had been raised to the throne on the death of his brother Sayf al-Dīn. Finding the prince on horseback in the hippodrome, they immediately dismounted and went up to him. They were arrayed in mourning robes, and had left aside their *ṣarḥahs*.<sup>1</sup> When they drew near, he got off his horse to meet them, and received their condolences on the death of his brother, with their felicitations on his own accession. They then mounted again, and placed themselves one on each side of Quṭb al-Dīn, after which they returned home, discharged from their arrest. From that time, they regularly rode out in the train of the prince. In the year 550 (A.C. 1155-6,) Kamāl al-Dīn entered into the service of Nūr al-Dīn

1 It would appear from a note by M. de Sacy, in his *Chrestomathie*, tom. II, p. 269, that the *ṣarḥah* was a sort of hood worn by the chief *qāḍī* of the *Shāfi'ite* sect.

\* The Egyptian edition adds: "and his brother".—Ed.

Maḥmūd<sup>1</sup>, sovereign of Syria, and remained some time at Damascus. In the month of Şafar. A.H. 555 (Feb.-March, A.C. 1160), he was appointed *ḥākim* (*chief magistrate*), in the place of Zakī al-Dīn, who was removed from office; on which he designated his son and nephews to act as his deputies in the different cities of Syria. He then rose to the wazīrship, and exercised the chief magisterial authority over all the Muslim cities of that time, whilst his son, the *qādī* Muḥī al-Dīn, acted in the same capacity, as his lieutenant at Aleppo. During the reign of Nūr al-Dīn, he not only filled the duties of chief magistrate and president of the council of state, but he had also to direct the whole administration of the empire. That prince sent him as his envoy to the court (of *Baghdād* in the *ḫalīfate* of al-Muqtafi, and the latter confided to him the mission of establishing a peace between Nūr al-Dīn and Qilij Arslān Ibn Maṣ'ūd, sovereign of Asia Minor (*Rūm*). On the death of Nūr al-Dīn Şalāh al-Dīn took possession of Damascus and confirmed Kamāl al-Dīn in his attributions. Kamāl al-Dīn was a jurisconsult, an elegant scholar, a poet and a *kātib*; he possessed a lively wit and a talent for conversation which rendered him the delight of society. He discoursed remarkably well on the points of difference between the orthodox sects and on the fundamental principles of theology and jurisprudence; he maintained a high eminence by his acuteness and intrepidity, and he was equally distinguished for his charity and beneficence. Numerous pious establishments (*waqfs*) were founded by him at Moşul, Naşibīn, and Damascus. As the prime minister of the empire, he exercised great influence, and, as a statesman, his abilities were of the highest order. None of his sons could be compared with him, and none of them numerous though they were, ever attained such an exalted rank as he. Mention is made of him by the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir (*No. 416*) in the History of Damascus. He composed some good poetry, and the following lines were repeated to me as his, by persons of his family :

"I went to see thee whilst the stars were my only observers,  
and the dawn was yet an idea, latent in the bosom of the East.  
Impelled by love, I faced every danger, hoping we might meet."

---

1 His life will be found in this work.

It is said that he wrote the following verses to his son Muḥi al-Dīn, who was then at Aleppo; and the author of the *Kharidah* pronounces them positively to be his:

"I dispatch to thy presence a legion of loving wishes, in the form of letters; thinking of thee, I hold a pleasing conversation with myself, but, alas! it is a mere delusion."

The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn says in the *Kharidah*, in his article on Kamāl al-Dīn, that these lines were recited to him by the *qādī* as his own, on the 3rd of the first Rabi', A.H. 571\* "They recalled to my mind," he adds, "the words of the *sharif* Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Habbā riyah<sup>1</sup>, who said, alluding to the slow approach of morn-  
ing (*after a night of anxiety*).

'How many the nights I passed, concealing the flame which consumed me, and uttering complaints to the stars, so as nearly to awake their pity; whilst the East withheld from me the sight of morn. as the hand of the wretched holds closely the favour it obtained.'

He then adds: "If the poet had (*changed a single word and*) said: (*ardently desired*) *like a tardy favour granted to the wretched*, the thought had been excellent." It is said that when Kamāl al-Dīn grew old and feeble, so as to be hardly able to move, he used very often to repeat these lines:

"O Lord! let me not live till I become a burden to any man: take me by the hand (*unto thyself*). before I am obliged to say, when I wish to rise up: 'Take me by the hand.'"

I am not sure whether these verses be his own or not, and I have since met with them in a poem composed by Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Abi 'l-Ṣaqr al-Wāsiṭī. In the life of Ibn

1 The *sharif* Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn al-Habbāriyah, a native of Baḡdād, was one of the poets patronised by Nizām al-Mulk (No. 171). He had a great propensity to satire, and surpassed, in the gaiety and licentiousness of his poems, Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (No. 186), on whose style his own might be said to be formed. He ended by satirizing Nizām al-Mulk himself. 'Imād al-Dīn gives some passages from his compositions in the *Kharidah*, MS. No. 1447, fol. 24 et seq.

\* 21 September, A. C. 1175. —Ed.

Abi 'l-Šaqr, we shall again speak of them. Kamāl al-Dīn was born at Moṣul, A.H. 492 (A.C. 1098-99), he died at Damascus on Thursday, the 6th of Muḥarram A.H. 572 (July, A.C. 1176) and was interred, the next morning, at Mount Qāsiyūn. He was then aged eighty years and some months. His son Muḥī al-Dīn composed an elegy on his death. One of Kamāl al-Dīn's last requests, was that the chief qāḍiship should be conferred on his nephew, Abu 'l-Faḍā'il al-Qāsim Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Ḍyā al-Dīn, and the sultān acceded to this recommendation by nominating him *qāḍī* of Damascus. He held this post for some time, but discovering that the prince had a partiality for the *Shaykh* Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abī 'Uṣrūn (No. 313) he asked and obtained his dismissal. Sharaf al-Dīn was appointed to the vacant place.

### 573 MUḤĪ AL-DĪN AL-SHAHRUZŪRĪ

Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Shahrūzūrī, surnamed Muḥī al-Dīn (*reviver of religion*), was the son of the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn, whose life has been given in the preceding article. Having already mentioned the high rank and authority held by his father, we need not repeat our observations here. The *qāḍī* Muḥī al-Dīn went to study at Baghdād, and, having distinguished himself by his progress in jurisprudence under the tutition of the *shaykh* Abū Maṣṣūr Ibn al-Bazzāz, he proceeded to Syria and filled the qāḍiship of Damascus, as his father's deputy. In the month of Ramaḍān,\* A.H. 555 (September, A.C. 1160), he removed to Aleppo, where he exercised the chief magistracy in his father's name also, having repiaced, in this office, Ibn Abī Jarādah, surnamed Ibn al-'Adīm<sup>1</sup>. On the death

1 Ibn Abī Jarādah, the grandfather of the historian of Aleppo, refused to hold the place of *qāḍī* as deputy to Kamāl al-Dīn—MS. No. 728, f. 176. Farther on, we read as follows: "In the year 575 (A.C. 1179-80) some ill-intentioned persons complained secretly of Muḥī al-Dīn al-Shahrūzūrī, *qāḍī* of Aleppo, to Jamāl al-Dīn Shādbakht, governor of that city, pretending that he favoured the projects of al-Malik al-Šālīh, and producing poems (*to the at effect*),

(Continued on page 222)

\* The Cairo editon of 1948 adds: And it is said that the event took place in Sha'bān, A.H. 556 (July, A.C. 1161).—Ed.

of his father, he removed to Moṣul and obtained not only the qāḍīship of that city, but the professorship in the colleges founded there, one by his father, and the other by Nizām al-Mulk. Having gained the confidence of 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, the son of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, sovereign of Moṣul, he became the uncontrolled director of the state, and was frequently dispatched by his master on missions to the court of Baghād. Baha al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Shaddād, qāḍī of Aleppo, mentions, in his work entitled : *Maljā al-Ḥukkām 'ind Illibās il-Aḥkām* (*resource of magistrates when the law is doubtful*), that he was in the retinue of Muḥī al-Dīn when that qāḍī proceeded to Baghād on one of his missions. The eminence of Muḥī al-Dīn may be easily appreciated from the fact of his having such a man as Bahā al-Dīn in his service. He was distinguished by his princely beneficence, and it is said that, in one of his embassies to Baghād, he distributed ten thousand *amerlan* dīnārs<sup>1</sup> to juriconsults, literary men, poets and indigent

(Continued from page 221)

which they declared to be his. This awakened the apprehensions of Muḥī al-Dīn, who proceeded to Moṣul ; on which the post of qāḍī at Aleppo was offered to my uncle, Abū Ḡhānim Muḥammad Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Abi Jarādah, who refused it. My father then accepted the place, and continued to hold it till the death of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ." (*History of Aleppo* by Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm. This is the work of which a portion has been published by M. Freytag under the title of *Excerpta ex Historia Halebi.*)

1 I am indebted to the author of the excellent *Essai sur les Medailles des Sasanides* for the following note on the *amīrian dīnār* :- Les Toulounides, au quatrième siècle, inscrivent sur leurs monnaies d'or le nom du khalife suivi du titre d'emir. Mais la première monnaie d'or frappée par un khalif et portant ce titre paraît être un dinar de Mostarched billah, dont un exemplaire unique et inédit appartient à la bibliothèque royale. Cette monnaie est frappée à Baghād السلام بمدينة en l'année 521. Diun cote on y lit, après le symbole, الإمام المسترشد بالله أمير المؤمنين ; le revers, un peu altéré, permet pourtant de lire : الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه معز الدنيا والدين محمود. Comme le module et le poids des dinars des derniers khalifs étaient plus considérables que ceux des dinars anonymes frappés pendant les trois premiers siècles, on a du, dans le peuple, distinguer ces nouvelles monnaies par une appellation vulgaire. Le titre d'emir étant aussi une innovation pour la monnaie de Baghād, aura frappé l'attention des gens de cette ville qui auront créé la dénomination de *dinar emirien*. Cette distinction était d'autant plus naturelle due les dinars antérieurs,

(Continued on page 223)

persons. It is said also that, during the whole period of his magistracy at Moṣul, he never allowed a debtor to be imprisoned for two dinārs or a smaller sum, but discharged the debt himself. Numerous anecdotes are related of his generosity. The great authority and influence which he exercised obtained for him universal respect; and his character, which was of the very noblest cast, was marked by beneficence and affability<sup>1</sup>. He possessed a very fair knowledge of the belles lettres, and composed some good poetry. One of his pieces, recited to me at Damascus by a friend, is on a grasshopper, and offers great novelty in its comparisons; he says:

"It has the thighs of a camel, the legs of an ostrich, the claws of an eagle, and the breast of a lion. It borrowed its belly from the serpent of the sands, and its head and mouth from the spirited steed."

In a collection of various pieces, I found the following verses of his on the descent of snow from the clouds:

"When time grew hoary with grief at the loss of its generous men, he tore off this hoariness and scattered it upon mankind."

His birth may be placed approximatively in the year A.H. 510 (A.C. 1116-7). The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn says in his *Kharidah*, I know not on what authority, that he was born in the year 519, to which he adds, in the *Sayf*, that this event took place in the month of *Shā'bān*. He died at daybreak, on Wednesday the 14th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 586. (June, A.C. 1190)\* according to Ibn al-Dubaythī<sup>2</sup>, but, on the 23rd of the month, according to the *kātib*

---

(Continued from page 222)

quoique ne portant pas de nom de prince. nous montrent quelquefois son titre خليفة place dans le champ de la piece au-dessous du symbole. Je citerai le dinar 190 de al-Mamoun comme offrant un exemple de cette particularie. Adrien De Longprier.

1 The words رقيق الحاشية rendered here by *affability*, may perhaps signify *penetration*. It is an expression which has a great variety of meanings.

2 His life will be found in this book.

\* 20 June. -Ed.



'Imād al-Dīn, in his *Sayl*. His death took place at Moṣul, and he was buried in his house, situated in the quarter of the Castle, but his corpse was subsequently carried to Madīnah; so, at least, I have read in an historical work, but Ibn al-Dubaythī states, in his History, that it was removed to a mausoleum built for its reception outside the city (*of Moṣul*). Having endeavoured to clear up this point, I found Ibn al-Dubaythī's statement to be true. This mausoleum lies outside the Maydān Gate, near the tomb of Qaḍīb al-Bān, the celebrated worker of miracles.<sup>1</sup> Kamāl al-Dīn had another son called 'Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad, who was sent, in the year 569 (A.C. 1173-4), as ambassador from Nūr al-Dīn to the court of Baghdād. His praises were celebrated by the poet Ibn al-Ta'āwidhī<sup>2</sup> in a *qaṣīdah* of which one of the verses is :

"They said : He is an envoy (*rasūl*) whose qualities are above description ! and I answered : You speak the truth ; such is the description of every apostle (*rasūl*)."

#### 574 FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Taymī al-Bakrī<sup>3</sup> al-Ṭabaristānī al-Rāzī (*native of Ray in Ṭabaristān*), surnamed Fakhr al-Dīn (*glory of the faith*) and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*the son of the preacher*), was a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, and born at Ray. Fakhr al-Dīn was the pearl of the age, a man without a peer; he surpassed all his contemporaries in scholastic theology, metaphysics, and philosophy<sup>4</sup>. He composed instructive works on many branches of science, such as a

1 I have not yet succeeded in finding a notice on the *ṣūfī* surnamed Qaḍīb al-Bān (*willow-wand*).

2 The life of this poet is given by Ibn Khalikān.

3 The relative adjectives *al-Taymī al-Bakrī* indicate here that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was a descendant of the khalīf Abū Bakr, one of whose ancestors was Taym, the son of Murrah, the son of Ka'b, the son of Luwayyi, the son of Ghālib, the son of Fihri Qurayshī.

4 The words علم الأوائل here rendered by *philosophy*, signify literally, *the science of the ancients*. By *the ancients* is meant *the Greeks*.

commentary on the *Qur'ān* containing an immense quantity of rare and curious observations ; it is a most extensive work, but he left it unfinished ; the explanation of the opening *sūrah* alone fills one volume. On scholastic theology he wrote the works entitled *al-Ma'ālīb al-'Āliyah* (the loftiest aims) ; the *Nihāyat al-Uqūl* (limit of human reason) ; the *Arba'in* (forty traditions)<sup>1</sup> ; the *Muḥaṣṣal* (summary)<sup>2</sup> ; the *Kitāb al-Bāyūn wa 'l-Burhān*, etc. (book of elucidation and proof, being a refutation of the partisans of error and impiety) ; the *Kitāb al-Mabāḥith al-'Imādiyyah fī 'l-Ma'ālīb al-Ma'ādiyyah* ('Imāadian researches on the questions raised concerning the resurrection) ;<sup>3</sup> the *Taḥdhīb al-Dalā'il wa 'Uyūn al-Masā'il* (correctio argumentorum et fontes questionum) : the *Irshād al-Nuẓār ilā laṭā'if il-Asrār* (direction of investigators towards subtle mysteries) ; the *'Ajwibat al-Masā'il al-Najjāriyah* (replies to the Najjārian questions)<sup>4</sup> the *Taḥṣīl al-Ḥaqq* (acquisition of the truth) ; the *Zubdah* (cream)<sup>5</sup> the *Ma'ālim* (guiding marks) etc. On the fundamentals of jurisprudence he wrote the *Maḥṣūl* (results) and the *Ma'ālim*. On philosophy he composed the *Mulakhkhaṣ* (succinct exposition) ; a commentary on Avicena's (No. 184) *Ishārāt* (indications or theorems)<sup>6</sup> ; a commentary on (the same author's) *'Uyūn al-Ḥikmah* (fontes philosophiae), etc. On the science of talismans he wrote the work entitled *al-Sirr al-Maktūm* (the hidden secret), and an explanation of the excellent names of God. It is said that he left a commentary on al-Zamaḥshari's grammatical treatise the *Mufaṣṣal*, another on al-Ghazzālī's treatise on jurisprudence, the *Wajīz*, and a third on Abu 'l-'Alā's *Siqat al-Zand* (No. 46). He composed also a compendium on the unattainable perfection of style displayed in the *Qur'ān*, a collection of excellent strictures on the grammarians, a system of controversy, and a commentary on the *Kulliyāt* (universalia) of

1 These forty Traditions relate to the dogmas of faith. He drew them up for the use of his son. See Flügel's *Hājji Khalifah*, tom. I, p. 242.

2 Hājji Khalifah calls this work a *Summary of reflexions made by ancient and modern philosophers*.

3 Hājji Khalifah notices the title of this work, but does not inform us why these researches were called *'Imādiyah*.

4 What those questions were I have not been able to discover.

5 This is said by Hājji Khalifah. to be a work on the dogmas of religion.

6 See Flügel's *Hājji Khalifah*, tom. I, p. 300.

Avicena's *Canon*. He wrote also a treatise on physiognomy, and another on the merits of al-Shāfi'<sup>1</sup>. All his works are highly instructive, and have got into circulation (*even*) in (*distant*) countries, and, by an effect of the good fortune which attended him in these treatises, the public took them for class-books and rejected those of former authors. He was the first who introduced the systematical arrangement so remarkable in his writings, and which had never been employed by any person before his time. He preached with most impressive effect, both in Arabic and Persian; in the midst of his exhortations, feelings of compunction would draw floods of tears from his eyes. The conferences which he held at Herāt were attended by the principal doctors of the orthodox sects and the chiefs of the philosophical schools, who come to propose questions to him and hear his excellent answers. By his efforts a great number of the Karrāmiyah<sup>1</sup> and other sects were converted to the *Sunni*te doctrines. At Herāt, they gave him the title of *Shaykh al-Islām* (*the chief of Islāmism*). His first studies were made under his father, and, after his death, he went to al-Kamāl al-Simnānī, and remained with him as a pupil for some time; he then returned to Ray and studied under al-Majd al-Jili, a disciple of Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā (*No.* 565). When al-Majd al-Jili was called to Marāghah, in order to give lessons in that city, Fakhr al-Dīn accompanied him, and continued, for a long period, to study scholastic theology and philosophy under his tuition. It is said that he knew by heart the Imām al-Ḥaramayn's treatise on scholastic theology, entitled *al-Shāmil*. Having then proceeded to Khwārizm, he displayed the highest abilities in all the branches of science, and maintained a controversy with the people of that place on questions connected with the doctrines of his sect and with the principles of faith. Being expelled from the city<sup>2</sup>, he passed into Transoxiana, where he experienced a similar treatment, upon which he returned to Ray. There was then living in Ray an able physician, who possessed a large fortune and had two daughters.

1 The Karrāmians, followers of Muḥammad Ibn Karrām, held the principle of anthropomorphism, See an account of this sect in Sale's *Preliminary Discourse* to the *Qur'an*.

2 Probably the city of Korkenj or Jurijāniya, the capital of Khwārizm.

Having fallen sick, and perceiving death to be inevitable, he gave each of those girls in marriage to a son of Fakhr al-Dīn. On his demise, the latter took possession of all his property, and this was the origin of his wealth. He was constantly travelling from place to place : having gone to Ghaznah to recover a sum of money which he had advanced to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghūrī, the sovereign of the city, he not only met a most honourable and kind reception, but was enabled, by the protection of the prince, to gain a large sum (*besides what he had received*). He then returned to Khurāsān, and attached himself to the Sultān Muḥammad Ibn Tukush, surnamed Khwārizm Shāh : this prince treated him with great favour and elevated him to the very highest posts in the empire. The virtues and merits of Fakhr al-Dīn were boundless. To his knowledge of all these sciences, he joined a talent for poetry, and in one of his pieces he says :

“Human reason can reach only to the extent of its chain ; the utmost efforts of mortals mostly serve to lead them into error. Our souls and our bodies are at variance, and the sum of our worldly enjoyments is but bane and evil. Though we pass our lives in investigation, all we can collect may be reduced to this ; *it is said, or they say*.<sup>1</sup> How many men, how many empires have we seen flourishing, and which rapidly disappeared ; how many mountains to the summits of which men have ascended, who are now gone, and the mountains remain.”

The learned men of (*all the neighbouring*) countries went to (*consult him*) and persons journeyed forth from every region to visit him. Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn ‘Unayn, (*a poet*) whose life we shall give, relates that he happened, on a winter’s day, to be present, with a numerous audience of men eminent for talent, at one of the lessons given by Fakhr al-Dīn in the college of Khwārizm, and that much snow had fallen, that country being extremely cold. Whilst the lesson was going on, a pigeon, pursued by a bird of prey, alighted near the professor, and the other bird disappeared on seeing the people assembled there. As the pigeon was unable to fly off, owing to the effects of terror and of cold, Fakhr al-Dīn went over to it on finishing his lecture, and expressed his pity for

<sup>1</sup> Read رَأَى in the Arabic text.

the poor thing, as he took it up in his hand. On this, Ibn 'Unayn recited extempore the following lines :

"Son of the generous ! son of those who fed the poor in winter, when scarcity prevailed and the snow covered the earth !— of those who protected the unfortunate when their souls trembled under the sword and the gory-pointed spear ! Who told the dove that your mansion was a sanctuary, and that you were an asylum for the timorous? It came to visit thee when its death was near, and you bestowed on it new life, in saving it from destruction. Could it receive (*such*) presents (*as men obtain*), it would leave thy hand, bearing off a large donation. It came with its complaints to the Solomon of the age<sup>1</sup>, whilst death gleamed at it from beneath the wings of a rapacious, vigorous bird attracted by the sight— nay, by the shadow—of food, and it fled before him with a trembling heart."

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Wāsiṭī says that he heard Fakhr al-Dīn repeat the following line from the pulpit, at Herāt, on concluding a discourse wherein he reproved the people of that city :

"A worthy man is despised during his lifetime, but when removed by death, his loss is severely felt."

Fakhr al-Dīn mentions, in his work entitled *Taḥṣīl al-Ḥaqq* that he studied dogmatic theology under his father Ḍiyā al-Dīn 'Umar, who had learned that science from Abu 'l-Qāsim Salmān Ibn Nāṣir al-Anṣārī<sup>2</sup> who had been instructed in it by the Imām

---

1 This may perhaps be an allusion to the following legend : "As David was sitting one day at an assembly of the children of Isrā'īl, with Solomon before him, a pigeon came and settled close to Solomon, and said : 'O son of David ! I am one of the pigeons of this mansion, and young ones have never been bestowed upon me to rejoice me'. Then Solomon stroked it on the back and said : 'Go ; thou shalt produce seventy young ones, and thy breed shall multiply, even unto the day of the resurrection. ! ' " (*Nafā'is al-'Arā'is*. MS. No. 620 fol. 136 verso).

2 Abu 'l-Qāsim Salmān Ibn Nāṣir Ibn 'Imrān al-Anṣārī, an able jurisconsult, scholastic theologian, and expositor of the *Qur'ān*, was a pupil of the Imām al-Ḥaramain and of Abu 'l-Qusṭhayrī. He was noted for his piety and mortified life. His works are, : commentary on the Imām's *Irshād*, and the *Kitāb al-Ghaniyuh*. He died in the month of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 512 (Sept.-Oct.,

al-Ḥaramayn (No. 353), to whom it had been taught by Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'īnī (No. 4), who had received his information in it from the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Bāhili, whose master was the *shaykh* al-Sunnah, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ismā'il al-Ash'arī (No. 404), who had studied it under Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'i (No. 581), whose (*nu'tazelite*) doctrines al-Ash'arī afterwards abandoned, and having then returned to orthodox principles, he took the defence of the doctrines held by the *Sunnites* and the (*Muslim*) community. As for Fakhr al-Dīn's knowledge of the Shāfi'ite doctrines, he had received it from his father, to whom it had been taught by Abū Muḥammad al-Farrā al-Baghawī (No. 177), who had studied that science under Qādī Ḥusayn al-Marwarrūdī (No. 175), who had been taught it by al-Qaffāl al-Marwazī (No. 309), who received his information in it from Abū Zayd al-Marwazī (No. 555), who had learned it under Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī (No. 3), to whom it had been taught by Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj (No. 20), who had for preceptor Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Anmā'i (No. 384), who had studied it under Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī (No. 90), who had been instructed in it by the Imām al-Shāfi'i (No. 532). Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was born at Ray on the 25th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 544 (Jan., A.C. 1150)\*, some say 543; and he died at Herāt on Monday, the 1st of Shawwāl, A.H. 606 (March, A.C. 1210)†. On the evening of the same day, he was interred at the mountain contiguous to the village of Muzdākhān. I saw the dying injunctions dictated by him to one of his pupils, and they clearly prove the soundness of his religious belief. *Muzdākhān* is the name of a village near Herāt.

### 575 'IMĀD AL-DĪN IBN MAN'AH

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn Yūnus Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Man'ah Ibn Mālik Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed 'Imād al-Dīn

(Continued from page 228)

A.C. 1118). *Ṭab. al-Shāfi'*.) The work gives the orthography of the name *Salmān*, which is incorrectly written in all our manuscripts of Ibn Khallikān.

\* 24 January. --Ed.

† 29 March. --Ed.

(*column of the faith*), was a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, and the most able master of that age in Shāfi'ite doctrines, dogmatic theology, and polemics. His reputation was immense, and jurisconsults came from the remotest regions for the purpose of studying under his tuition. Numerous pupils finished their education under him, and became themselves able and distinguished professors. He commenced his own studies, at Moṣul, under his father, a doctor whose life we shall give, and he then proceeded to Baghdād and studied jurisprudence in the *Nizāmiyah* College under al-Sadīd\* al-Salamāsī (No. 569); he acted also as under-tutor (*mū'id*) in the same establishment when Sharaf al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Bindār al-Dimishqī<sup>1</sup> was professor there. He learned Traditions at Baghdād from Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Kushmīhanī, at the time of that doctor's visit, and he received other Traditions from Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Rabī' al-Gharnāṭī (*a native of Granada in Spain*). Having then returned to Moṣul, he gave lessons in a number of the colleges there, and composed some works on the doctrines of his sect, such as the *Muḥīṭ*, etc. (*the comprehensive, being the combination of what is contained in the Muḥadḥḥab and the Wasīṭ*<sup>2</sup>; an explanation of al-Ghazzālī's (No. 562) *Wajīz*; a treatise on dialectics; an exposition

---

1 This sheet was already composed when I perceived that the following note could not apply to the person here named by Ibn Khallikān; but, as it contains information respecting a doctor of some reputation, it seemed to me worth preserving. Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bindār was born at Damascus, A.H. 490 (A. C. 1096-7), in which city his father had settled on quitting Marāṭḥah, his native place. When Yūsuf had grown up, he went to Baghdād and studied jurisprudence under As'ad al-Mīhanī and became the tutor of that doctor's class. Having displayed great acquirements as a teacher of the Shāfi'ite doctrines, he was raised to the presidency of the Shāfi'ite sect in 'Irāq. He was an acute controvertist, and professed in the *Nizāmiyah* and other colleges. A college was afterwards built for himself, and regular assemblies were held to hear him preach, but this practice he subsequently renounced, and applied himself to the learning and teaching of the Traditions. He died in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 563 (July-Aug., A.C. 1168) (*Tab. al-Shāf.*)

2 The *Muḥadḥḥab* is a celebrated treatise on Shāfi'ite law by Abū Iṣḥāq al-Shīrāzī, and the *Wasīṭ* is a work on the same subject by al-Ghazzālī.

\* The Cairo edition inserts "Muḥammad" between "*al-Sadīd*" and *al-Salamāsī*."

of the Muslim faith, and a *ta'lliqh* (collection of notes) on controverted points of doctrines. This last work he left unfinished. He filled (at Moşul) the functions of preacher in the *Mujāhidī* Mosque, and those of professor in the *Nūriyah*, 'Izziyāh, Zayniyah, *Nafsiyah*, and 'Alā'iyah colleges. Having acquired great influence at the court of Nūr al-Dīn Arsilān Shāh (No. 79) sovereign of Moşul, he was occasionally employed by that prince as envoy to the court of Baghdād and to that of al-Malik al-'Ādil (brother of the *Sulţān Şalāh al-Dīn*). In the year 596 (A.C. 1199-1200) he maintained a discussion before the *khalīf's* council of state, to prove that an infidel could lawfully purchase a Muslim slave<sup>1</sup>. On Thursday, the 4th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 592 (August, A.C. 1196)\*, he was appointed *qāḍī* of Moşul, but, on Wednesday, the 17th of the month of Şafar†, of the ensuing year, he was replaced by Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Yaḥyā al-Shahruzūrī, surnamed Ḍiyā al-Dīn, the same whom we have spoken of in the life of Kamāl al-Dīn (No. 572). He became chief of the *Shāfi'ite* community at Moşul, and was noted for his profound piety and extreme self-mortification. He never put on new clothes till he had washed them<sup>2</sup>, and he never took up a pen to write without washing his hand afterwards. Mild in disposition, he was an agreeable companion in private society, and enlivened it by his anecdotes and verses. Nūr al-Dīn, the sovereign of Moşul, admitted him into the closest intimacy, and had always recourse to his opinion as a jurisconsult, and his counsel as a statesman. It was for this prince that Ibn Man'ah drew up his exposition of the Muslim faith. He never relaxed his efforts till he induced Nūr al-Dīn to pass from the *Ḥanafite* sect to that of al-Shāfi'ī; and, in all the Atābek family, numerous as its members were, this prince was the only one who professed the *Shāfi'ite* doctrines. On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, in the year 607, he proceeded to Baghdād on a mission, the object of which was, to obtain the confirmation of al-Malik al-Qāhir Mas'ūd (as successor to his father). We shall

1 Such is the law, but the practice is against it.

2 He did so lest they might have contracted some impurity, for this would have invalidated his prayers. See d'Ohsson's *Tab. Gen. de l'Emp. Othom.* tom. II, p. 7

\* 1 August. -Ed.

† 8 January (A.C. 1197). -Ed.



speak again of al-Qāhir in the life of his grandfather Mas'ūd. Having succeeded in his mission, he returned with the pelisse of investiture and the diploma, and, from that time, he continued to be treated by al-Qāhir with even greater favour than that prince's father had ever shown him. He possessed the highest abilities, but was not fortunate in his works, as they seem unworthy of his talent. He was born in a small house at the citadel of Arbela, A.H. 535 (A.C. 1140-1); this house he afterwards visited, when on one of his missions, and he then applied to it the well-known verse:

"(Behold) the country in which the amulets were first suspended round my neck<sup>1</sup>, and the first land of which my body touched the soil".

He died at Moṣul on Thursday, the 19th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 608 (November, A.C. 1211)\*. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the sovereign of Arbela (No. 522), used to relate that, after the death of 'Imād al-Dīn (*Ibn Man'ah*), he saw him in a dream and asked him if he was not yet dead; to which he replied affirmatively, but added that he still continued respected<sup>2</sup>. Ibn al-Dubaythī<sup>3</sup> speaks of this doctor in his *Dhayl*, and Ibn al-Mustawfī (No. 528) mentions him in the History of Arbela. We shall notice later his brother Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā. They came of a family which produced many men of talent. His grandson Tāj al-Dīn (*the crown of religion*) Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of Riḍā al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid, is the author of a good abridgment of al-Ghazzālī's (No 562) *Wajīz*, entitled *al-Ta'jīz fī l-khtīṣār il-Wajīz* (*the inimitable, being an abridgement of the Wajīz*). He composed also an abridgment of (*Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*'s) treatise on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, entitled *al-Maḥsūl*, and another on Rukn al-Dīn

1 The amulets, like the Roman *bullæ*, are worn by children till the age of puberty.

2 As this anecdote appears very insignificant in the translation, I suspect that in rendering the passage بلى ولكنى محترم, the meaning of the last word may have escaped me.

3 The life of Ibn al-Dubaythī will be found in this work.

\* 27 November—Ed.

al-Ṭāwūsī's (No. 392) system of controverted doctrines. He was born at Moṣul, A.H. 598 (A.C. 1201-2); and was still there when Tartars took it<sup>1</sup> but in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 670 (April, A.C. 1272), he proceeded to Baghdād, and died in that city about the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 671 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 1272).

### 576 AL-JĀJARMĪ

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abi 'l-Faḍl al-Sahlī al-Jājarmī, surnamed Mu'in al-Dīn (*defender of the faith*), was an eminent doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, and displayed the highest abilities in various branches of science. He inhabited Naysābūr and professed in that city. His treatise on jurisprudence, entitled *al-Kifāyah* (*the sufficient*), includes, notwithstanding its extreme concision, most of those questions which *muftis* are generally called on to resolve, and forms one volume; his *Idāh* or *elucidation* of (*al-Ḡhazzālī's Wajīz*), in two volumes, is a very good work. He is also the author of a well-known system of controversy<sup>2</sup> and of the celebrated *Qawā'id*, or *fundamental principles* (*of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence*), which bear his name. Numerous pupils acquired great information under his tuition, and, after his death, many derived profit from the study of his works, especially the *Qawā'id* which became a standard class-book. This doctor died at Naysābūr on Friday morning, the 21st of Rajab, A.H. 613 (Nov., A.C. 1216)\*. *Jājarmī* means *belonging to Jājarm*, a town lying between Naysābūr and Jurjān, which has given birth to many learned men. When I was at Naysābūr in the year 612, I saw, on the 24th of the month of *Dhu'l-Hijjah* (April, A.C. 1216)†, (*a number of notes in*) his handwriting on the margin of a book, in which he

1 Moṣul was taken by the Tartars, A.H. 660 (A.C. 1261) and nearly all the inhabitants were massacred.

2 By *system of controversy* (*Tariqah fi 'l-khilāf*) is meant a systematic defence of the opinions held by the sect of the author.

\* 4 November.—Ed.

† 14 April.—Ed.

explained Traditions inserted in (*Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's*) *Muḥadḍ-  
dhiab*, and the obscure terms (*found therein*). A number of  
jurisconsults had attended the lectures wherein he explained this  
work.

### 577 RUKN AL-DĪN AL-'AMĪDĪ.

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad, the son of Muḥammad, the son of  
Muḥammad (some say, of Aḥmad), al-'Amīdī, surnamed Rukn al-  
Dīn (*pillar of the faith*) was a doctor of the Ḥanafite sect and a  
native of Samarqand. He displayed the highest abilities in pole-  
mics, and particularly in that branch which is termed *al-just*\*<sup>1</sup>:  
the first work specially devoted to this subject had him for its  
author, as all his predecessors had hitherto confounded it with  
the science of polemics. He commenced his studies under the  
*Shaykh* Ridā† al-Dīn al-Naysābūrī<sup>2</sup> and was one of the four doc-  
tors styled *Rukns*, or pillars; for, amongst his fellow students who  
attained eminence in that branch of science, were Rukn al-Dīn

---

1 *Al-Just* is a Persian word, and signifies, and *disquisition, research*. Not  
knowing the precise nature of the science to which this term is applied, I am  
unable to render it by an English equivalent.

2 Ridā al-Dīn al-Naysābūrī was celebrated for his abilities as a doctor of the  
Ḥanafite sect, and wrote several works, two of which, the *Makārim al-Akhḷāq* and  
the *Tarīqah fi'l-Khilāf*, are noticed by Ḥājji Khalīfah. If it be taken into consi-  
deration that his pupils Rukn al-Dīn al-Tāwūsī (*No.* 392). Rukn al-Dīn al-'Amīdī  
died, the former in and A.H. 600 and the latter in A.H. 615, his own death may  
be placed with probability between A.H. 550 and A.H. 600. Another person of  
the same name†, but known only as a Traditionist, died at Naysābūr in A.H. 617  
(*See No.* 725). The author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyah*, MS. fonds St. Germain  
*No.* 132 has a notice on Ridā al-Dīn al-Naysābūrī (fol. 176), in which he gives  
some particulars respecting his doctrines and opinions, but forgets to inform  
us of his true name and the date of his death.

\* The Cairo edition gives 'al-Baḥṭh' البحث "*Dialectics*".—Ed.

† The Cairo edition gives Raḍī al-Dīn—Ed.

‡ His name was al-Muayyid.—Ed.

al-Ṭāwūsī (No. 392), Rukn al-Dīn Imām Zādā<sup>1</sup>, and a fourth, whose name I do not recollect<sup>2</sup>. Al-'Amīdī composed a systematical treatise on polemics; it bears a high reputation, and is in the hands of every jurisconsult; he wrote also a work entitled *al-Irshād* (the direction)<sup>3</sup>, on which commentaries have been composed by a number of masters in that department of science, such as Shams al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn al-Khalīl Ibn Sa'ādah Ibn Ja'far al-Khuwayyī<sup>4</sup>, a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī and formerly *qāḍī* of Damascus, Awhād al-Dīn al-Dūnī<sup>5</sup> *qāḍī* of Manbaj, Najm al-Dīn al-Mirindī, Badr al-Dīn al-Marāghī (native of Marāghah), and others. Al-'Amīdī composed also a work entitled *al-Nafā'is* (the precious)<sup>6</sup>, of which an abridgment was made by Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī, the doctor just mentioned, under the title of *'Arā'is al-Nafā'is* (the brides from among the number of the precious); besides this, he wrote some more fine treatises of a similar cast. Amongst the numerous pupils who studied with profit under his tuition, was the Ḥanafite *shaykh*, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, the son of the *Shaykh* Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Mujāhid Maḥmūd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Sayyid Ibn 'Uṭmān Ibn Naṣr Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. This Niẓām al-Dīn was a native of Buḥārā, and composed a well-known *Ṭarīqah*, or system of controversy. He bore the surname of al-Nājirī<sup>7</sup>, and was generally known by

1 The *imām* preacher, and *muftī*, Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr, generally known by the appellations of Imām Zādā (*sprung from an imām*), and surnamed Rukn al-Dīn, was a native of a village in the dependencies of Samarqand, called *Jazgh* جَزْغ. He studied controversy under Riḍā al-Dīn al-Naysabūrī, and law under Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī, the author of the well-known work entitled *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*. He acted as *muftī* at Buḥārā, and bore a high reputation for virtue, abilities, piety, and eloquence. Besides filling the duties of a preacher, he gave lessons in *Shīfism*. A work of his, the *Shar'at al-Islām*, is noticed by Ḥājji Khalīfah. This author places his death in the year 573 (A.C. 1177-8.—(Ḥājji Khalīfah. *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyah*; fol. 194).

2 The fourth Rukn al-Dīn was the imām al-Ḥarā'ini الحارثي (Ṭab. al-Ḥan).

3 This is a work on polemics and controversy.

4 *Khuwayyī* means native of *Khuwayy*; a city in the province of *Ādārbā'ījān*. The date of this doctor's death will be found a little further on.

5 *Dūnī* means belonging to *Dūnah*, a village near Nihawand.

6 This is a treatise on dialectics.

7 I am unable to discover the meaning of this surname.

the appellation of al-Ḥaṣīrī<sup>1</sup>. (*Al-'Amlīdī*) was distinguished for his noble character, profound humility, and agreeable manners. He died on the eve of Wednesday, the 9th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 615 (September, A.C. 1218.\*). Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī died at Damascus on Saturday, the 7th of Shah'būn, A.H. 637 (March, A.C. 1240)†, and was interred at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn. His birth took place in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 583 (December, A.C. 1187). Awḥad al-Dīn died at Aleppo subsequently to the taking of the citadel by the Tartars; the citadel was taken twenty-nine days after the fall of the city, an event which occurred on the 10th of Ṣafar, A.H. 658 (Jan., A.C. 1260)‡ Awḥad al-Dīn came into the world in the year 586 (A.C. 1190-1). I do not know whence the relative adjective 'Amīdī is derived, neither is it mentioned by al-Sam'ānī (*in his Ansāb*); (No. 370). Nizām al-Dīn al-Ḥaṣīrī was slain by the Tartars at Naysābūr, the first time they invaded those countries. This happened in the year 616 (A.C. 1219-20). His father was a doctor of the highest reputation for learning. I met him, on different occasions, at Damascus, where he professed § in the *Nūriyah College*<sup>2</sup>. He was born at Bukhārā in the month of Rajab, A.H. 546 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1151), and he died at Damascus on the eve of Sunday, the 8th of Ṣafar, A.H. 636 (September, A.C. 1238)§§. The next morning, he was buried outside the gate called Bāb al-Naṣr, in the cemetery of the *ṣūfīs*. He used to say: "My father was known by the surname of al-Nājirī, but there is a quarter in Bukhārā where mats (*ḥaṣīr*) are made<sup>3</sup>, and in that we resided."<sup>4</sup>

1 This surname is explained lower down.

2 This college was founded by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, for the teaching of the Traditions.

3 The printed text and the manuscripts have *الحمر*; I read *الحصير*.

4 The conclusion to be drawn from this appears to be, that he was surnamed *al-Ḥaṣīrī* for that reason, and that the title of *al-Nājirī* was one which the family did not acknowledge.

\* 2 September but the day according to Mahler's calculation was Sunday.—Ed.

† 3 March.—Ed.

‡ 26 January.—Ed.

§ The Cairo edition adds: None in the sect of Abū Ḥanīfah was equal to him in his time.—Ed.

|| 19 September.—Ed.

## 578 IBN DĀWŪD AL-ZĀHIRĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd Ibn 'Alī Ibn Khalaf al-Iṣbahānī (*native of Iṣbahān*), surnamed al-Zāhiri<sup>1</sup>, was jurisconsult, an accomplished scholar, a poet, and a man of wit. He used to hold discussions with Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj, as we have already stated (*No. 20*). On the death of his father (*No. 210*), he went to take charge of his class, holding, as he did, the same opinions; but the assembly thought him too young, and suborned a person to come forward and ask him the definition of drunkenness, and in what state a man should be, so as to be considered drunk. The reply which Abū Bakr made, was; "When his cares are dispelled, and he reveals the secret which he had kept hidden." They all approved of his answer, and acknowledged the high rank he had attained in learning. In his early youth, he composed a work entitled *al-Zuhrah* (*the planet Venus*), and containing a great quantity of curious anecdotes and novel information on literary subjects, with some charming pieces of verse. He was one day holding a discussion on the subject of 'Ilā<sup>2</sup>, with Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn Surayj, in the presence of the wazīr Ibn al-Jarrāḥ (*No. 10, note*), and his adversary said to him, "when you first pronounced this verse of yours: *He that looks often (at a female) shall sigh often*, you displayed more intelligence than you do when you discourse about 'Ilā." To this Abū Bakr replied: "If I pronounced that verse. I can also pronounce these:

'I permit my eye to roam through the garden of beauty, but I hinder my soul from committing ought unlawful; and I take upon myself such a burden of love, as would break by its weight the solid rock itself. My eye interprets the sentiments of my heart, and, did I not adroitly recall my glances, they would speak aloud. I have seen all are subject to love, but I see no lover woundless and unscathed.'

On hearing these lines, Ibn Jurayj said: "In what point do you think to outdo me? If I pleased, I also could say:

1 See No. 510, note on Al-Zāhiri.

2 In Muslim jurisprudence the term 'ila is employed to designate the oath made by a husband not to have intercourse with his wife. The fulfilment of this oath during four months effects a divorce. See d'Ohsson's *Tab-Gen*, de l'Emp. Othom, tom V, p. 216.

'*(The fair slave)*<sup>1</sup> was still awake ; her eyes shot wanton glances, and I passed the night in repelling from her the approach of balmy sleep ; so highly did I prize her sweet discourse and her reproaches ; whilst I turned frequent glances towards her cheeks. So passed the night ; and when the rays of morn appeared, she retired, bearing off the seal of her master and the written deed by which he set her free.' "

Here Abū Bakr exclaimed : "Let the wazīr bear these words in mind, so that the slave may produce (if *necessary*) two creditable witnesses to the effect of her receiving the seal of her master !" To this Ibn Surayj replied : "In that case I shall incur the same penalty as you have done when you said : *I permit my eyes to rove through the gardens of beauty, but I hinder my soul from committing aught unlawful.*" Here the wazīr laughed and said : "You both possess wit and finesse, and intelligence and learning." In a collection of various pieces, I found the following verses attributed to Ibn Dāwūd :

'Every man has a guest to rejoice him by his presence, but I have no other guests than sorrows and care. (*She whom I love*) has eyes which shoot arrows into our hearts, and wound deeper than the redoubled stroke of the sword. My beloved asked me how I supported her absence ? and I replied : 'Was it possible to support it at all, that you now ask me how I did support it?' "

Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ābī 'l-Dunyā<sup>2</sup> relates as follows : "I was present at one of Ibn Dāwūd's assemblies, when a man went up to him and handed him a paper. Ibn Dāwūd took it and reflected over it for a long time, whilst his pupils imagined that it was a question on a point of law to which an answer was requested. He then wrote some words on the back of the paper, and returned it to the man whom we recognised to be the celebrated poet Ibn al-Rūmī (No. 438). The paper contained these words :

"O son of Dāwūd ! O doctor of 'Irāq ! give us your opinion on the eyes whose glances slay us. Can they be punished for the

1 I must observe that in this piece I have substituted the feminine pronouns for the masculine.

2 See No. 228, note Abu 'l-Dunyā.

wounds which they inflict, or may they shed with impunity the heart's blood of lovers ? ”

Here was the answer :

“How can he give you an opinion who has been slain and prostrated by the darts of separation and desire ? The son of Dāwūd opineth that death produced by meeting the beloved is less painful than death caused by separating from her. ”

Ibn Dāwūd was deeply learned in jurisprudence. He left a great number of works, such as the *Kitāb al-Waṣūl ilā Ma'rifat il-Uṣūl* (the mode of acquiring a knowledge of the fundamentals of jurisprudence) ; the *Kitāb al-Indhār* (book of admonition) ; the *Kitāb al-I'dhār* (book of excuses) ; the *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* etc. [defence of the truth] against Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr and 'Abd Allāh Ibn *Shirshīr* and 'Isā Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḍarīr<sup>1</sup> etc. He died on Monday, the 9th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 297 (May, A.C. 910)\*; at the age of forty-two years ; some say erroneously however, that his death took place in the year 296. The qāḍī Yūsuf Ibn Ya'qūb died on the same day. It is related that, when Ibn Surayj received intelligence of the death of Ibn Dāwūd, he threw away the leaves of the volume which he was then writing out, and said : “The man is dead who gave me the most powerful motives to study, for I desired to hold discussions with him and maintain them with ability. ”

## 579 ABŪ BAKR AL-ṬURṬŪSHĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Walid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khalaf Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Ayyūb al-Qurashī al-Fihri (descended from Fihri, the progenitor of the *Quraysh* family) al-Andalusī al-Ṭurṭūshī (native of Tortosa in Spain, and generally known by the surname of Ibn Abī Randaqah, was a doctor of the Mālikite sect, noted for self-mortification. He studied under Abu 'l-Walid al-Bājī (No. 257), at Saragossa, and learned from him the solution of

1 For Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr, (No. 544), for Ibn *Shirshīr* (No. 320).

\* 21 May.-- Ed.



the objections (*made to the doctrines of Mālik*) he heard him also teach Traditions, and obtained from him a certificate authorising him to teach in his turn. He studied also, in his native place, the science of arithmetic and the art of calculating inheritance shares. In Seville he cultivated the belles letters under Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm (*No. 423*). Having set out for the East in the year 476 (A.C. 1083-4), he made the pilgrimage and visited Baghdād and Baṣrah. He studied jurisprudence under Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Shāshī, surnamed al-Mustaẓhiri (*No. 563*), the Shāfi'ite doctor, and under Abu 'l ('Abbās) Aḥmad al-Jurjānī (*No. 117, note*)<sup>1</sup>. He resided for some time in Syria, and gave lessons in that country. His character was that of a learned *imām* and devout ascetic, pious, humble, practising self-mortification, leading a life of poverty and content with little. He used to say : "When two advantages are offered to you, one of them worldly and the other spiritual ; seize on the latter, and you will obtain them both." He often recited the following lines :

"God possesses intelligent servants who have renounced the world through fear of temptation. When they considered it and discovered that it was not a fit abode for the living, they took it for an ocean and made of their good works a ship."

Having gone to see al-Afdal Shāhanshāh (*No. 266*), he spread on the floor a cloak which he had brought with him, and having sat down, he addressed an exhortation to that amīr which drew tears from his eyes. He then said :

"O thou whom it is a pious act to obey, and whose rights all are bound to acknowledge ! (*Muḥammad*), he for whose sake thou hast been exalted, is considered by that man as a liar."

He here pointed to a Christian who was seated at al-Afdal's side, and the amīr immediately ordered the man away. Al-Afdal had confined al-Ṭurṭūshī in the mosque of Shāqīq al-Mulk, near

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. have omitted the word العباس. I adopt it on the authority of al-Yāfi'i, who has copied the entire passage, in the notice given by him on al-Ṭurṭūshī in the *Mir'at*. See MSS. No. 644, year 520.

the observatory<sup>1</sup>, and, as this doctor grew fatigued of staying there, he at length said to his servant : "How long must we suffer with patience ? go and collect for me some of the (*food*) left out for the use (*of the poor*).” The servant gathered him food, and he ate thereof for three days ; then, towards the hour of evening prayer, he said to his attendant : "I have hit him now !" and, the very next morning, al-Afdal was assassinated whilst riding out. On the death of this amir, the government of the country devolved to al-Māmūn al-Baṭā'ihī (No. 489, note), and this wazir treated our *shaykh* with the utmost respect. It was for him that al-Ṭurṭūshī composed his work called *Sirāj al-Hudā* (*flambeau of guidance*), a very good treatise of its kind. He is also the author of the *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (*flambeau for princes*), a *Ṭarīqah*, or system of controversy, and other treatises. I met with some poetry attributed to him, the following piece, for instance, which has been also inserted by the *hāfiẓ* Zakī al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhirī (No. 43, note) in his biographical notice of al-Ṭurṭūshī :

"When you wish to advance an affair for the success of which you are anxious, let your messenger be blind, deceitful, deaf and dumb—spare every other messenger, and employ that one which is called *money*."

In the life of philologist Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ahmad Ibn Fāris (No. 48), will be found two verses containing nearly the same expressions. "I was one night sleeping in the Holy Temple (*at Jerusalem*)," says al-Ṭurṭūshī, "when, towards the hour of midnight, I heard a melancholy voice recite these lines :

"Can fear (*of God*) and sleep exist together ? how strange ! beshrew thee for a heart ; thou art a liar ! I swear by the might of God that, if thou wast true, no portion of thee would ever yield to slumber."

"These words awoke all the sleepers, and brought tears into every eye." Al-Ṭurṭūshī was born in or about the year 451 (A.C. 1059-60), and he died on the last third of the night preceding Saturday, the 26th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 520 (June. A.C. 1126). Ibn Baṣṭakwāl (No. 206) says, in his *Ṣilat*,

1 For al-Maqrīzī's description of the observatory of Cairo. see *Notices et Extraits*, t. VII, p. 20.

that he died in the month of Sha'bān of that year, at Alexandria ; the funeral prayer was said over him by his son Muḥammad, and he was interred in the Wa'lah cemetery, near the New Tower (al-Burj al-Qadīd), and to the south of the Green Gate (al-Bāb al-Akḥḍar). Ṭurṭūshī means *belonging to Ṭurṭūshah (Tortosa)*, a maritime city situated at the eastern extremity of the territory possessed by the Muslims in Spain. *Randaqah* is a Frankish word ; I asked a Frank the meaning of it, and he answered *radd ta'āl*<sup>1</sup>. We have already spoken of the Wa'lah cemetery in the life of *hāfiẓ al-Salafī* (No. 43).

### 580 ABU 'L-HUDHAYL AL-'ALLĀF

Abu 'l-Hudhayl Muḥammad Ibn Hudhayl Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mak'hūl al-'Abdī, generally known by the surname of al-'Allāf al-Mutakallim (*the forage-man, the scholastic theologian*), and a *mawlā* to the family of 'Abd Qays, was the chief doctor of the Baṣrah Mu'tazilites, one of their most learned men, and the author of discourses, conferences and controversies on subjects connected with the Mu'tazilites, tenets. He was an able disputant, employing the strongest proofs and an abundance of demonstrations and decisive arguments. It is related that having met Ṣāliḥ Ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs in great grief for the loss of his son, he said to him : "I know not why you should grieve for him, since, according to you, man is like the corn growing in the field." To this Ṣāliḥ replied : "Abu 'l-Hudhayl ! I grieve for his loss, for the sole reason that he had not yet read the *Kitāb al-Shukūk* (*book of doubts*)." "And what book is that, Ṣāliḥ ?" "It is a work composed by me, and whoever reads it is led to doubt of every thing that exists, so as to imagine that it exists not : and to doubt of every thing that

<sup>1</sup> The words *Radd ta'āl* mean *render, come hither*, and may be held as equivalent to the Spanish words *renda-se aca*, which Ibn Khallikān and his Frank seem to have considered as the original whence *Runaqah*, or *Rendaque* according to the Moorish pronunciation, was formed.

does not exist, so as to imagine that it exists." "Well," said Abu 'l-Hudhayl, doubt of your son's death, and do as if he was not dead, although he is so ; and doubt also about his reading of the *Kitāb al-Shukūk*, so that you may imagine he has read it, although he never did." One of Abu 'l-Hudhayl's works bears the title of *Milās* : *Milās* was Magian who had embraced the Muslim faith after getting up a conference between Abu 'l-Hudhayl and some Dualists<sup>1</sup>, in which the latter were reduced to silence by their adversary. A number of schoolmen were assembled in the presence of Yaḥyā Ibn Khālīd the Barmakide, and he asked them to describe the true nature of love : each of them said something on the subject, and Abu, Hudhayl, who was one of the company, spoke as follows : "O wazīr ! love seals up the eyes and the heart ; its pasture-ground is the body, and its watering-place the liver<sup>2</sup> ; he who is possessed by it revolves in his mind a crowd of fantastic thoughts ; the enjoyment of his wishes is never free from alloy, and the accomplishment of his desires is never pure from trouble ; contrarieties hasten to afflict him, whilst he himself drains the beverage of death, and quenches his thirst at the ponds of sorrow for the loss of the beloved ; unless, indeed, that love come from an ardour of character and a vivacity of disposition which render the lover like a mettlesome steed, heedless of the voice of control and not to be reclaimed<sup>3</sup> by the check of reprimand." Thirteen schoolmen were present at this sitting, and Abu 'l-Hudhayl was the third who spoke. To avoid lengthening this article, I suppress what the others said. I read in a collection of anecdotes, that an Arab woman, a native of the desert, described love in these terms : "It tries to be concealed from sight, and yet it is too great to be kept secret ; it lies hidden (*in the bosom*) as fire in the flint ; if you strike it, it is given out, and if you let it alone, it remains unseen : if it be not a mode of madness, it is at least an essence extracted from magic." Abu 'l-Hudhayl was born A.H. 131 (A.C. 748-9)

1 The Magians were called *Dualists*, because they believed in the existence of two independent first causes, one producing good and the other evil.

2 See No. 52, note on *My heart*.

3 I read ولا يصحح. The whole passage is more or less corrupted in each of the manuscripts.

or, by other accounts, either in 134 or the following year ; he died in the year 235 (A.C. 849-50) at Sarra man ra'ā. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (No. 33) places his death in the year 226, and al-Mas'ūdī states, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab* (or *meadows of gold*), that he died in the year 227. Before his death, he lost the use of his sight, and his intellect grew disordered. He did not, however, forget any of the fundamental principles of doctrine, but the weakness of his head put it out of his power to maintain a discussion or confute an adversary.

#### 581 ABŪ 'ALĪ-AL-JUBBĀ'Ī

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Salām Ibn Khālīd Ibn Humrān Ibn Abbān, generally known by the appellation of al-Jubbā'ī, was one of the doctors of the Mu'tazilite sect, and an able master in the science of dogmatic theology. His ancestor Abbān was *mawlā* to (the *khalīf*) 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān. Al-Jubbā'ī acquired his knowledge of theology from Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shaḥḥām al-Baṣrī, who was at that time the head of the Mu'tazilite sect at Baṣrah. He left a number of celebrated discourses on the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites. It was from him that the *Shaykh al-Sunnah* (the *sunnite doctor*) Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (No. 404), learned dogmatic theology, and some of the learned have transmitted down to us the following account of a discussion which the pupil had with his master : he proposed to him the case of three brothers, one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious ; the second an infidel, a debauchee and a reprobate ; and the third an infant : they all died, and al-Ash'arī wished to know what had become of them. To this al-Jubbā'ī answered : "The virtuous brother holds a high station in paradise ; the infidel is in the depths of hell, and the child is among those who have obtained salvation." "Suppose now," said al-Ash'arī, "that the child should wish to ascend to the place occupied by his virtuous brother, would he be allowed to do ?"

“No,” replied al-Jubbā’ī; “it would be said to him: ‘Thy brother arrived at this place through his numerous works of obedience towards God, and thou hast no such works to set forward.’” “Suppose then,” said al-Ash‘arī, “that the child say: ‘That is not my fault; you did not let me live long enough, neither did you give me the means of proving my obedience.’” “In that case,” answered al-Jubbā’ī, “the Almighty would say: ‘I knew that if I allowed thee to live, thou wouldst have been disobedient, and incurred the severe punishment (*of hell*); I therefore acted for thy advantage.’” “Well,” said al-Ash‘arī, “and suppose the infidel brother were here to say: ‘O God of the universe! scince you knew what awaited him, you must have known what awaited me; why then did you act for his advantage and not for mine?’” Al-Jubbā’ī had not a word to offer in reply. This discussion proves that the Almighty elects some for mercy, and others for punishment; and that His acts are not the results of any motive whatsoever. I have since read, in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s (*No. 574*) commentary on the *Qur’ān*, in the *sūrah* entitled *al-An‘ām* (*cattle*), that, when al-Ash‘arī ceased attending the conferences held by al-Jubbā’ī and renounced his doctrines, he frequently contested his master’s opinions, and each conceived a profound aversion for the other. It afterwards happened, that, one day, when al-Jubbā’ī was holding a conference as an exercise for his disciples, a great number of persons were assembled to hear it, and al-Ash‘arī went there also and concealed himself in a place where al-Jubbā’ī could not see him. He then said to a woman who was near him: “I will give you a question to propose to this *shaykh*,” and prompted her to ask one question after another, till at length al-Jubbā’ī was reduced to silence; but he perceived that these questions could not have originated with the woman, and that they must have proceeded from al-Ash‘arī. I read in Ibn Hawqāl’s geographical work, entitled *al-Masālik wa ‘i-Mamālik* (*routes and realms*), in the chapter on *Khūzistān*, that *Jubbā* is the name of a city and an extensive district covered with date-trees, sugar-cane plantations, etc.; and that it produced Abū ‘Alī al-Jubbā’ī, the eminent *shaykh*, the chief of the Mu‘tazilites, and the first dogmatic theologian of the age. Al-Jubbā’ī was born A.H. 235 (A.C. 849-50), and he died in the month of *Shahbān*

A.H. 303 (Feb.-March, A.C. 916). We have already spoken of his son, Abū Hāshim 'Abd al-Salām, and of the meaning of the word Jubbā'i (No. 358).

### 582 THE QĀḌĪ ABŪ BAKR AL-BĀQILĀNĪ

The Qāḏī Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭayyib Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn al-Qāsim, surnamed al-Bāqilānī and a native of Baṣrah, was a celebrated dogmatic theologian. He professed the doctrines of the *shaykh* Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (No. 404), and being a staunch partisan and supporter of his opinions, he obtained the presidency of the Ash'arite sect. He resided at Baghdād, and composed a great number of works on dogmatic theology and other subjects. In learning he stood without a rival, and obtained great renown by his talent as a successful investigator of truth, by the readiness of his replies, and the quantity of Traditions which he had collected. He was noted for his prolixity in discussion, and it happened one day that, whilst engaged in an argument with Abū Sā'id al-Hārūnī, during which he multiplied his illustrations and made a discourse of extreme diffuseness, he turned to the auditors and said: "I take you to witness that, if my adversary repeat what I have just uttered, without making any change in my words, I shall not require any further answer from him." On this al-Hārūnī exclaimed: "And I also take you to witness that if he himself repeat it, I shall admit the whole as true!" The qāḏī Abū Bakr al-Bāqilānī died at Baghdād on Saturday evening, the 21st of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 403. (June, A.C. 1013),\* and was interred the next day. A contemporary poet composed the following elegy on his death:

"Behold a mountain (*of learning*) borne off on the shoulders of men! Behold what brilliant talents are now encasing in the tomb! Behold the sword of Islāmism, now sheathing in its

\* The Cairo edition gives 23 *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* which was Saturday, 6 June; otherwise the day does not jally, with the date.—Ed.

scabbard! Behold the pearl of Islāmism, now restoring to its shell."

His corpse was interred in his house, in the street of the Magians (*Ḍarb al-Majūs*), and the funeral prayer was said over it by his son al-Ḥasan. It was afterwards removed to the cemetery at the Ḥarb Gate. *Bāqilānī* is derived from *baqilā* (beans), and designates the seller of such vegetable food. Some pronounce the latter word *baqillā*. This relative adjective is formed irregularly, the letter *n* being inserted (*before the formative final letter*). It is analogous in its form to the words *Ṣan'ānī* (*native of Ṣan'ā*) and *Bahrānī* (*belonging to the tribe of Bahrā*), which adjectives are employed as the relatives of *Ṣan'ā* and *Bahrā*. Al-Ḥarīrī condemns this form in his *Durrat al-Ḡhawāṣṣ*, and says that *bāqilā*, with a short final *a*, takes *bāqill* for its relative, and that *baqillā*, with the long final, takes *Baqillāwī* or *Baqillā'ī*. He adds that the relatives derived from *Ṣan'ā* and *Bahrā* should not be considered as examples proper to sanction a rule, inasmuch as they are exceptional cases. The first form of this relative has not, however, been condemned by al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 370). God best knows which is right.

### 583 ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AL-BAṢRĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī (*native of Baṣrah*) was a theologian (*mutakallim*) of the Mu'tazilite school and one of their most distinguished doctors. His language was pure, his style highly elegant, and his information copious. He ranked as the first *imām* of that age. A number of excellent works were composed by him on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, such as the *Mu'tamid* (*the well-supported*), a voluminous treatise, from which Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*No.* 574) extracted the materials of his *Kitāb al-Muḥṣūl*; the *Ṭaṣaffūḥ al-Adillah* (*examination of proofs*), in two volumes; the *Ḡhurar al-Adillah* (*brilliant demonstrations*), in one large volume; a commentary on



the (*Uṣūl al-Khamsah*)<sup>1</sup> a work on the *imāmate*, and others on dogmatic theology. His writings were studied by numbers with advantage and profit. He inhabited Baghdād, and died in that city on Tuesday, the 5th of the latter Rabī', A.H. 436 (October, A.C. 1044) \*, and was interred in the *Shūnīzī* Cemetery. The *qādī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaymarī<sup>2</sup> said the funeral prayer over his corpse. "The word *mutakallim* (*discourser, dogmatic theologian*) is employed to designate persons conversant with the science of *kalām* (*discourse*), by which word is meant the *dogmas of religion*. It was called the *science of discourse*, because the first difference of opinion which arose in the (*Muslim*) religion sprung from this question: the Word of Almighty God (*the Qur'ān*) is it created or not? People *discoursed* on this branch of science, and it therefore received the name of the *science of discourse* '*ilm al-kalām*'; being specially designated by this term, although all the other sciences are propagated also by means of discourse"<sup>3</sup>. Such are the words of al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 370.)

#### 584 IBN FURAK

*Al-Ustād (the master)* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Fūrak, a noted dogmatic theologian, philologist, grammarian, and preacher, was a native of Iṣbahān. He remained for some time in 'Irāq, giving lessons, and then proceeded to Ray, but, as the innovators in religion spread calumnies against him, he removed to Naysābūr on the invitation of the people in that city. A college and a house were then built for him; and, by the aid

1 Hājji Khalīfah is not very satisfactory in his note on this work; he merely says. *al-Uṣūl al-Khamsah*, the five foundations on which Islāmism was erected composed by the *Shaykh* Abū Muḥammad al-Bāhili, who died in the year..... and also by *Shaykh* Ja'far Ibn Ḥarb. On the first of these was composed the commentary of Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Baḥrī.

2 Al-Ṣaymarī was *qādī* of Karkh, the suburb of Baghdād. (*See No.* 279.)

3 The word *mutakallim* is employed also in a more restricted sense, and then means *scholastic theologian*. Ibn Khallikān does not appear to make any distinction between dogmatic and scholastic theology.

\* 30 October --Ed.

of the Almighty, he revived numerous branches of science. The divine favour which attended his endeavours was there manifested in the progress of all those who studied jurisprudence under him. The number of his works on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, the dogmas of religion, and the style of the *Qur'ān*, approached to nearly a hundred. He was subsequently invited to *Ghaznah*, and he maintained frequent controversies in that city. One of his sayings was: "The burden of a family is the result of lawful passion; what then must be the result of unlawful passion?" He evinced great ardour in confuting the partisans of Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Karrām<sup>1</sup>. Having left that place with the intention of returning to Naysābūr, he died of poison on the road. His corpse was borne to Naysābūr and interred at al-Ḥīrah. The funeral chapel which covers his remains is a conspicuous object and much frequented by pilgrims: when the people are in want of rain, they offer up prayers at his tomb, and their request is always granted. He died A.H. 406 (A.C. 1015-16). Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, the author of the celebrated epistle\* (No. 369), states that he heard Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq<sup>2</sup> relate as follows: "I went to visit Abū Bakr Ibn Fūrak when he was ill, and he shed tears on seeing me. On this, I said to him: 'The Almighty will cure you and restore you to health; and he replied: 'you think that I stand in fear of death, but know that my fear proceeds from the thought of what cometh after death.'"  
*Al-Ḥīrah* is the name of an extensive quarter in the city of Naysābūr; it has produced some learned men, who bore surname of *al-Ḥīrī*. This place is liable to be confounded with the *Ḥīrah* which lies outside of Kūfah. *Ghaznah* is a large city and lies just within the confines of India, where that country borders on *Khurāsān*.

### 585 ABU 'L-FATH AL-SHAHRASTĀNĪ

Abu 'l-Fath Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Abi Bakr Aḥmad al-Shahraṣṭānī, a dogmatic theologian of the

1 Ibn Karrām taught anthropomorphism.

2 Some account of Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq is given in the life of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī.

\* *Risālah*.—Ed.

Ash'arite sect, was also distinguished as an *imām* and a doctor of the law. Having studied jurisprudence under Aḥmad al-Khawāfi (No. 36), Abū Naṣr al-Qushayrī (No. 369), and other masters, he displayed the highest abilities as a jurisconsult. In scholastic theology he had for master Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī, and he remained without an equal in that branch of science. His works are : the *Nihāyat al-Iqdām* (the limits of progress), on scholastic theology ; the *Kitāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* (treatise on religions and sects), and the *Talkhīṣ al-Aqsām li-Madhāhib al-Anām* (succinct exposition of the (work called) al-Aqsām (sections), for the use of persons of all denominations). He knew by heart a great quantity of traditional information, his conversation was most agreeable, and he used to address pious exhortations to his auditors. In the year 510 (A.C. 1116-7), he proceeded to Baghdād, and resided there three years, during which period a high degree of favour was manifested towards him by the public. He received Traditions, at Naysābūr, from 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Madīnī, and other teachers ; and, of the Traditions which he himself delivered, some were taken down in writing by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī (No. 370). This writer speaks of him in his *Dhayl*, or supplement. "Al-Shahrestānī was born at Shahrestān, A.H. 467 (A.C. 1074-5)"; so I find it written in my rough notes, but I do not know whence I took it : al-Sam'ānī says, in his *Dhayl*, that he asked al-Shahrestānī concerning the year of his birth, and he replied : "In 479 (A.C. 1086-7)." He died at Shahrestān, towards the end of the month of Sha'bān, A.H. 548 (November, A.C. 1153) : some place his death, but erroneously, in 549. Towards the commencement of the *Nihāyat al-Iqdām*, he has inserted the following lines :

"I have roamed through all these monuments, and surveyed the various memorials (*left by man*) ; and I saw nought but wretches tearing their beards in despair, or gnashing their teeth with remorse."

He omits naming the author of these verses, but I have found them attributed to Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Bājā, surnamed Ibn al-S'ā'igh, a native of Spain, whose life will be found in this work. *Shahrestān* is a name borne by three cities ; the first in Khurāsān, and situated between Naysābūr and Khwarazm. on

the edge of sandy desert which forms the frontier of Khurāsān, and extends to Khwārazm : this is the one generally known, and the same which produced Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad (*the subject of this notice*) and many other learned men. It was built by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir (*No. 318*), the amīr of Khurāsān, in the khalīfate of al-Māmūn. The second Shahraštān is the capital of the district of Sāpūr, in the province of Fārs ; so, at least, it is stated by Ibn al-Bannā al-Baṣṣhārī<sup>1</sup>. The third, called also Jay, lies on the bank of the river Zindarūd, at a mile's distance from al-Yahūdiyyah (*the Jewish quarter*), now the modern city of Iṣbahān ; a market is held there, and it contains the tomb of the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Raṣḥīd, the son of al-Mustarṣhid. The name itself is a compound Persian word ; *shahr* signifying *city*, and *istan*, *country* ; it is therefore equivalent to *the city of the country*. Such are the observations made by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, in his *Muṣhtarik*, to which we have added some remarks of our own. Al-Shahraštānī used to repeat the following saying, uttered by al-Nazzām al-Balkhī Ibrāhim Ibn Sayyār (*No. 84, note*), and authenticated by a chain of evidence through which he traced it up to that learned and celebrated scholar : "If discord could assume a visible form, the hearts of men would be appalled at its aspect and the very mountains would tremble : its burning heat would be less supportable than that given out by live coals of *ghaḍā* wood<sup>2</sup> ; and if the people of hell were tormented with it, they would seek shelter in their former punishments, as in a place of repose." He gave also as authentic the following passages, attributing them both to Ibn Durayd :

"I bade him farewell, but my soul withheld its adieus and departed with him. We separated, and my heart shrunk within me, but my tears gushed out.

O you who bear away a heart love-broken and wretched ! love is a torture, but the torture which I endure surpasses all".

1 Perhaps this name must be pronounced al-Buṣḥārī, in which case the person who bore it was a native of Alpuxaras, near Granada.

2. See *No. 498*, note on '*ghaḍā*'

The preceding anecdotes are given by Abū Sa'd al Sam'ānī, in his supplement to the history of Baghdād. Towards the end of the article, he says: "I was at Bukhārā when I heard of his death."

### 586 MUḤAMMAD IBN IṢḤĀQ

Abū Bakr, or, according to others, Abū 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad Ibn Iṣḥāq Ibn Yasār Ibn Jabbār (*alias* Sayyār) Ibn Kūnān, the author of the work called *al-Maghāzī wa 'l-Siyar* (*the conquests and expeditions of the Muslims*), was a native of Madinah and a *mawlā* (*client*) to the family of al-Muṭṭalib; his grandfather, Yasār, having been made prisoner by Khālīd Ibn al-Walid at 'Ayn al-Tamr, and delivered as a *mawlā* (*slave*) to Qays, the son of Makhrumah, the son of Muṭṭalib, the son of 'Abd Manāf, member of the tribe of Quraysh. Muḥammad Ibn Iṣḥāq is held by the majority of the learned as a sure authority in the Traditions, and no one can be ignorant of the high character borne by his work, the *Maghāzī*. "Whoever wishes to know the (*history of the Muslim*) conquests," says Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (*No. 537*), "let him take Ibn Iṣḥāq (*for guide*)" and al-Bukhārī himself cites him in his history. It is also related that al-Shāfi'i said: "Whoever wishes to obtain a complete acquaintance with the (*Muslim*) conquests, must borrow his information from Ibn Iṣḥāq." Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (*No. 249*) declared that he never met any one who cast suspicions on Ibn Iṣḥāq's recitals, and Shu'bah Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (*No. 207, note*) was heard to say: "Muḥammad Ibn Iṣḥāq is the Commander of the Faithful", meaning that he held that rank as a traditionist. It is related, that, as al-Zuhri went to a village of which he was the proprietor, a number of the *seekers of Traditions*<sup>1</sup> were following him, on which he said: "Why do you keep away from the squinting boy?" or (*by another account*): "I left the squinting boy with you"; meaning Ibn Iṣḥāq. Al-Sājī<sup>2</sup> mentions that al-Zuhri's pupils had

1 *The seekers of traditions (Ṭalabāt al-Ḥadīth)*: see Introduction to vol. I.

2 *The ḥafīẓ* Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Sājī, a native of Baṣrah, and one of al-Muzani's disciples, died in that city. A.H. 307 (A.C. 919-20). He is the author of some works. (*Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*).

recourse to Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq, whenever they had doubts respecting the exactness of any of the Traditions delivered by their master; such was the confidence which they placed in his excellent memory. It is stated that Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in<sup>1</sup>, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (No. 19), and Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān<sup>2</sup> considered Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq as a trustworthy authority, and quoted his Traditions in proof of their legal doctrines. Though al-Bukhārī (No. 543) did not quote from him (*in his Ṣaḥīḥ*), he nevertheless held him for a trustworthy traditionist; and if Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj cited only one of his Traditions, and that one relative to the stoning of adulterers, it was on account of the attack which Mālik Ibn Anas had directed against him: Mālik had been told that he said; "Bring here Mālik's Traditions; I am the doctor to cure their infirmities"; and this induced him to exclaim: "And what is Ibn Ishāq? He is one of the *Dajjāls* (*antichrists*), but we shall drive him out of the city!" alluding, perhaps, by these words, to (*the declaration of Muḥammad*) that the Dajjāl shall not enter al-Madīnah (*the city*). Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq went to (*the khalīf*) Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr at Hīrah, and put the *Maḡhāzī* in writing for his use; from this it resulted that the learned men of Kūfah had the advantage of hearing him read and explain that work. He gave (*one or some*) of his Traditions on the authority of Fāṭimah, the daughter of al-Mundhir Ibn al-Zubayr, and the wife of Hishām Ibn 'Urawh Ibn al-Zubayr; Hishām was informed of the circumstance and denied Ibn Ishāq's statement, saying: "Did he then go and visit my wife?" The *khaṭīb* Abū Bakr Aḥmad (No. 33) relates, in his History of Baghdād, that Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq saw Anas Ibn Mālik (No. 539, *note*) with a black turban on his head, and all the little boys running

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 Abū Sa'id Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān, an *imām* and *ḥāfiẓ* of great reputation for veracity and piety, was a native of Baṣrah. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal declared that he never saw his like, and Ibn Bindār mentions that he frequented his society for twenty years, and thought him incapable of having ever offended God by an act of disobedience. "During twenty years" says Ibn Ma'in, "Yaḥyā read the *Qur'ān* through once every night, and for forty years he never missed the evening prayer at the mosque." he gave Traditions on the authority of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Mālik, and Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl; Ibn al-Madīnī and others delivered Traditions on his authority. He died in the month of Ṣafar A.H. 198 (Oct. A.C. 813). (al-Yāfi's *Mir'at*; al-Dhahabī's *Tab. al-Ḥuffāz*).

after him and exclaiming: "There is one of the blessed Prophet's companions, who is not to die till he meets the Dajjāl<sup>1</sup>." Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq died at Baghdād, A.H. 151 (A.C. 768); other accounts place his death in 150 or 152, and Khalifah Ibn Khayyāṭ (No. 207) says that his death took place in 153, according to one statement, or in 154, according to another. The date first given comes probably nearest the truth. He was buried in the cemetery at the Khayzurān Gate, on the east bank of the Tigris. This cemetery, the most ancient of those on that side of the river, is called also after al-Khayzurān, the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Hādī, because she was buried there. It was from Ibn Ishāq's works that 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām (No. 355) extracted the materials of his *Sīrat al-Rasūl* (*history of the Prophet*), and every person who treated this subject has been obliged to take Ibn Ishāq for authority and guide. We have spoken of 'Ayn al-Tamir in the life of Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah (No. 97).

### 587 AL-TIRMIDHĪ THE TRADITIONIST

Abū 'Isā Muḥammad Ibn 'Isa Ibn Sūrah Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-Ḍaḥ ḥāk al-Salamī<sup>2</sup> al-Ḍarīr al-Būghī al-Tirmidhī (*the blind native of Būgh, belonging to Tirmidh*) a celebrated ḥāfiẓ, was one of those great masters in the science of the Traditions whose authority was generally followed. His work entitled *al-Jāmi 'wa'l-Ilal* (*collection of the Traditions, and motives of the Prophet's sayings*) is the production of a well-informed man, and its exactness is proverbial. He had been pupil to Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (No. 543), and he received Traditions from some of those *shaykhs* to whom al-Bukhārī was indebted for his own; such were Qutaybah Ibn Sa'īd<sup>3</sup>

1 See Sale's Introduction to the Koran. Section IV.

2 The patronymic سلمی if pronounced Salmī, means *descended from a person called Salm*; if pronounced Salamī, it signifies *belonging to the tribe of Salamah*, or native of *Salamiyah*, and if pronounced Sulamī, it means *belonging to the tribe of Sulaym*. I have not discovered which is the proper pronunciation in the present case.

3 The imām and traditionist Abu 'l-Rajā Qutaybah, Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Ḥamīd, a *mawlā* to the tribe of Thaqīf, was a native of Ḡhaylān, a village near Balkh. He travelled to various countries for the purpose of learning Traditions, and he taught some of his own on the authority of Mālik Ibn Anas. Ahmad Ibn

(Continued on page 255)

'Alī Ibn Ḥujr<sup>1</sup>, Ibn Bashshār, and others. He died at Tirmidh, on the eve of Monday, the 13th of Rajab, A.H. 279 (October, A.C. 892).\* Al-Sam'ānī (No. 390) says that he died at the village of Būgh in 275; and he repeats this in his Ansāb, under the article Būghī. Būgh is a village in the district of Tirmidh, and at six parasangs from that city. Of *Tirmidh* and the different manners of pronouncing the name we have already spoken (No. 546).

### 588 IBN MĀJAH

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī, a *mawlā* to the tribe of Rabi'ah (*al-Rab'i*) and a celebrated *hāfiẓ*, is the author of the work on the Traditions entitled *Kitāb al-Sunan* (*book of the sunnah*). He ranked as a high authority in the Traditions, and was versed in all the sciences connected with them, and acquainted with every thing respecting them. He travelled to 'Irāq, Baṣrah, Kūfah, Baghdād, Makkah, Syria, Egypt, and Ray, for the purpose of writing down the Traditions under the dictation of the masters who taught them in those countries. He is the author of a commentary on the *Qur'ān* and a very fine historical work<sup>2</sup>; as for his book on the Traditions, it is counted as one of the six *Ṣaḥīḥs* (*authentic collections*). His birth took place in the year 209 (A.C. 824-5), and he died on Monday, the 22nd of Ramaḍān, A.H. 273 (February, A.C. 887).† On the following day he was interred, and his brother Abū Bakr said the funeral prayer over the corpse, and deposited it in the tomb with the assistance of 'Abd Allāh, the third brother. *Rabi'i* means *belonging to Rabi'ah*: a number of tribes bear this name,

(Continued from page 254)

Ḥanbal gave Traditions on his authority. Born A.H. 150 (A.C. 767-8); died A.H. 241 (A.C. 855-6). (*Nujūm*).

1 The *imām* Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ḥujr Ibn Ayyās Ibn Muqātil al-Sa'dī, a learned jurisconsult and *Muftī*, a *hāfi*, of great reputation and a poet, was born A.H. 154 (A.C. 771). He ranked as one of the first doctors in *Khurāsān*. The Traditions which he had collected in various countries were taught by him at Marw, his native place. He died A.H. 244 (A.C. 858-9). (*Nujūm*.)

2 According to Hājji Kḥalīfah, this work is a history of Qazwin.

\* 9 October.—Ed.

† 20 February.—Ed.



and I do not know which of them it was that counted Ibn Mājah among its members. *Qazwīnī* means belonging to Qazwīn a celebrated city in Persian 'Irāq, which has produced many learned men.

### 589 AL-ḤĀKIM IBN AL-BAYYI' AL-NAYSĀBŪRĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamdūyah Ibn Nu'aym Ibn al-Ḥakam al-Ḍabbī al-Ṭahmānī<sup>1</sup> surnamed al-Ḥakim al-Naysābūrī (*the magistrate of Naysābūr*), and known also by the appellation of the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Bayyi' was the most eminent traditionist of his time, and the author of some celebrated works of quite an original cast. This highly learned and accomplished individual studied jurisprudence under Abū Sahl Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān al-Su'lūkī (*No.* 552), the *Shāfi'ie* doctor; he then proceeded to 'Irāq and read (*legal treatises*) under the tuition of the jurisconsult Abū 'Alī Ibn Abī Hurayrah (*No.* 151), after which he travelled to various countries for the purpose of collecting Traditions, and devoted himself to that object with such perseverance, that he established his reputation on that basis. The number of persons from whose lips he learned them was immense; the alphabetical list of his masters consisting of nearly two thousand names; he even cited as his authorities for part of the information which he conveyed, some persons who survived him; so great was the quantity of Traditions which he had acquired and the number of teachers from whom he received them. He composed upwards of one thousand five hundred *juz*<sup>2</sup> on the sciences connected with the

1 *Al-Ṭahmānī* signifies descended from *Ṭahmān*, one of the Ḥakim's ancestors must have borne this name. *Al-Ḍabbī* signifies descended from the tribe of *Ḍabbah*, or from a person named *Ḍabbah*, or native of *Ḍabbah*, a town in *Hijāz*. It may be added that three of the Arabian tribes bore the name of *Ḍabbah*.

2 The word *juz* signifies volume, and *section* of a work. It probably means *quire* in this place.

Traditions, such as the *Two Ṣaḥīḥs* (*al-Ṣaḥīḥān*)<sup>1</sup>; the *ʿIlal* (*the motives of Prophet's sayings*); the *Amālī*<sup>2</sup>; the *Fawā'id al-Shuyūkh* (*instructive observations made by his masters*); the *Amālī 'l-'Ashiyāt* (*evening dictations*); and the *Tarājim al-Shuyūkh* (*biographical notices of his masters*). The works for which the public were indebted to his own special researches are: the *Ma'rifat-al-Ḥadīth* (*knowledge of the Traditions*); the *Tārīkh 'Ulamā Naysābūr* (*history of the doctors of Naysābūr*); the *Mudkhil ilā 'Ilm il-Ṣaḥīh* (*introduction to the knowledge of the Ṣaḥīh*); the *Mustadrak 'ala 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (*strictures on the two Ṣaḥīḥs*); a treatise on the distinguishing characteristics of the two *imāms* (*al-Bukhārī and Muslim*), and another on the merits of the *imām al-Shāfi'ī*. He travelled twice to Ḥijāz and 'Irāq, and, in his second journey, which he made in the year 360, he held discussions with the traditionists (*ḥuffāz*), conferred with the *shaykhs* and wrote down under their dictation. He had also an argument with the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Dāraquṭnī and convinced him. In the year 359 (A.C. 969-70), he held the *qāḍī*-ship of Naysābūr under the Sāmānid government during the *wazīr*-ship of Abu 'l-Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbi, subsequently to which he was offered the *qāḍī*-ship of Jurjān, but refused it. This dynasty occasionally sent him on political missions to the court of the Buwayh (*Buide*) princes. He was born at Naysābūr in the month of the first Rabī', A.H. 321 (March, A.C. 933) and he died in that city on Tuesday, the 3rd of Ṣafar, A.H. 405 (August, A.C. 1014)\*. (*Abū Ya'lā*) al-Khalilī (*No. 33*) says, in his *Irshād*, that the *Ḥākim* died A.H. 403, that he began to learn the Traditions in 330, and that he made dictations in Transoxiana in 355, and in 'Irāq in 357; he adds, that al-Dāraquṭnī attended his lessons with assiduity, and that Abū Bakr al-Qaṣṣāl al-Shāshī, with other doctors of the same period, obtained some of their information from him. He received the appellation of al-Ḥākim (*the magistrate*), because he had filled the place of *qāḍī*.

1 Ḥājji Khalifah does not notice this work under the title given here: it may perhaps be a combination of the matter contained in the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim.

2 See No. 370. Note.

\* 3 August — Ed.

## 590 ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-ḤUMAYDĪ

The celebrated *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammed Ibn Abī Naṣr Fatūḥ Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥumayd Ibn Yaṣil al-Ḥumaydī, was a member of the tribe of Azd and a native of the Spanish island of Majorca, but his family originally belonged to al-Ruṣāfah, a suburb of Cordova. He delivered traditional information on the authority of 'Alī Ibn Ḥazm al-Zāhiri (No. 423) to whom he had been particularly attached, and from whose lips he had learned so much, that he became generally known by the appellation of *Ibn Ḥazm's disciple*. One of the other masters whose authority he cited was Abū 'Umar Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the author of the *Kitāb al-Istī'āb*<sup>1</sup>. In the year 448 (A.C. 1056-7) he set out for the East and made the pilgrimage to Makkah. Having heard Traditions taught in that city and in Ifriqiyah, Spain, Egypt, Syria, and 'Irāq, he finally took up his residence in Baghdād. He bore a high reputation for nobleness of character, learning, solid information, piety, and devotion; the progress which he made in studying the written texts of the Traditions was evidently a mark of divine grace. The amīr Ibn Mākūlā (No. 414), the author of the *Ikmāl*, speaks of him in these terms: "We have been informed by our friend Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī, a man of great learning, talent, and intelligence"; he then adds: "And I never saw his like for virtue, austerity of life, piety, and application to study." Al-Ḥumaydī is the author of a celebrated work, entitled: *al-Jam' o bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (the united contents of the *Ṣaḥīḥs*) of al-Bukhārī and Muslim; this production he taught publicly. Another of his works is a history of the learned men of Spain, to which he gave the title of *Judḥwat al-Muqtabis* (a brand for him who wishes to light his fire) and which forms one volume. In the preface, he mentions that he wrote it from memory at the request of some persons in Baghdād. He used to say: "There are three points connected with the study of the "Traditions to which, first of all, attention should be directed; namely: the ('*Ilal* or) motives of the Prophet's sayings, and the best treatise thereon is that of al-Dāraquṭnī (No. 409); the *Mu'taliḥ wa Mukhtaliḥ* (synonymy of proper names), and the best work on the subject is that of the amīr

1 The life of this *ḥāfiẓ* is given by our author.

Abū Naṣr Ibn Mākūlā; the third point is, to know the precise date of each traditionist's death, but on this we possess no work. I undertook to compile one on the subject and the amīr told me to draw it up in chronological order and, under each year, to arrange the names alphabetically." "But," says Abū Bakr Ibn Ṭarkhān<sup>1</sup>, his attention was so much engaged by the two *Ṣaḥīḥs*. that he died without being able to execute that task." The same person relates as follows: "Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī recited to us the following verses composed by himself :

"Visiting (*learned*) men produces nothing useful ; all we gain by it is (*that we may afterwards repeat their words under*) the stupid form of an *it is said*, or *such a one said* Visit them therefore but seldom ; unless it be to acquire knowledge or amend thy conduct."

Al-Ḥumaydī met the *Khaṭīb* Abū Bakr (*No. 33*) at Damascus, and has given some information on his authority; and his own authority is occasionally cited by the *Khaṭīb*. He was born some time before the year 420 (A.C. 1029), and he died at Baghdād on the eve of Tuesday, the 17th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 488 (December, A.C. 1095)\* Al-Sam'ānī says, in his *Ansāb*, under the word *al-Mayūrqī* (*belonging to Majorca*) that al-Ḥumaydī's death took place in the month of Ṣafar A.H. 491; so at least I found it written in the abridgment which 'Alī Ibn al-Aṭhīr al-Jazarī (*No. 435*) composed of that work. Suspecting this to be a fault of my own copy, I examined the passage in a number of other manuscripts, and found them all to agree ; al-Sam'ānī's original work, of which we possess Ibn al-Aṭhīr's abridgment, I had no means of consulting, as it was not to be found in this country (*Egypt*). The great discordance of these two dates remained upon my mind, and having at length consulted al-Sam'ānī's *Supplement*, I met the following passage : "Al-Ḥumaydī died on the eve of Tuesday, the 17th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 488, and was interred the next morning in the cemetery at the Abrez gate, near the tomb of Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī. The funeral prayer was said over the corpse in the great mosque of the citadel (*Jāmi' al-Qaṣr*), by the jurisconsult Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Shāshī (*No. 563*); but, in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 491,

<sup>1</sup> Abū Ḥagr Ibn Ṭarkhān was one of the masters under whom Ibn al-'Arabī studied at Baghdād. (*Ṣīlat*).

\* 18 December.—Ed.

it was removed to the cemetery at the Ḥarb gate and buried near the tomb of Bishr Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ḥāfi (No. 111)." By this I perceived that the fault originated with Ibn al-Aṭhīr whilst he was making his abridgment; the copy of the work which he was then condensing may have here offered a fault of the transcriber, and Ibn al-Aṭhīr copied it without searching for the date in other quarters; or perhaps the copyist may have omitted a line, a circumstance which sometimes happens. *Al-Ḥumaydī* was so called after his ancestor *Ḥumayd*: I have been informed by an historical writer that he found this surname mentioned, in a work on history, as being derived from the name of *Ḥumaydī*, the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of 'Awf<sup>1</sup>; but this derivation is false, for Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī belonged to the tribe of Azd, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān to the Zuhrah family, a branch of the tribe of Quraysh; how then could any relationship have subsisted between them? *Mayūrqah* (*Majorca*) is the name of an island in the Western Sea, near the land of Spain.

### 591 AL-MĀZARĪ AL-MĀLIKĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (*member of the tribe of Tamīm*) al-Māzarī

1 'Abd al-Raḥman Ibn 'Awf al-Zuhri, an eminent member of the tribe of Quraysh and one of the eight first converts to Islāmism, was also one of the ten persons to whom Muḥammad promised paradise. Before his conversion he bore the name of 'Abd al-Ka'bah. During the persecution, he took refuge in Abyssinia. He fought at the combat of Badr and at all the other engagements in which Muḥammad commanded; at the battle of Uḥud, he received a severe wound in the leg, and halted ever after. In the lifetime of Muḥammad he acted as *mufī*. On the death of 'Umar, he was one of the six delegates (*aṣḥāb al-shūrā*) appointed to make choice of another *khalīf*. His birth took place ten years after the year of the Elephant; he died at Madinah A.H. 32 (A.C. 652-3), at the age of seventy-five, and was interred in the *Baqī'* cemetery. He had acquired great wealth in mercantile pursuits. On one occasion, he contributed half his property to the service of Islāmism; another time, he sold lands to the value of forty thousand dinārs and bestowed the amount on the poor. He equipped also five hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot for the cause of religion. On his death, the eighth part of his estate, the share allotted by law to be divided among the widows of the deceased, amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand (*pieces of silver*). (*Siyar al-Salaf*,--*Al-Baḥr al-Zāḥir*.)

was a doctor of the sect of Mālik and one of the most noted persons of the age for his knowledge of the Traditions and the manner in which he lectured on that subject. He composed a good commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* and entitled it *Kitāb al-Mu'lim bi sawā'id kitāb Muslim (the indicator of the instructive passages contained in the book of Muslim)*; this work served the *qāḍī* 'Iyāḍ (No. 486) as the basis of his *Ikmāl*, which is, in fact, the complement of al-Māzarī's treatise. He composed also a number of literary works and a book called '*Iḍāḥ al-Maḥṣūl fī Burhān il-Uṣūl*'. This doctor, so highly distinguished for his talents and varied information, died at al-Mahdiyyah (in the province of Tunis) on the 18th of the first Rabi', A.H. 536 (October, A.C. 1141)\*, aged eighty-three years. Some place his death on Monday, the second day of that month†. *Māzarī* means belonging to *Māzar (Mazzara)*, a village in the island of Sicily.

## 592 ABŪ MŪSĀ AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ

Abū Mūsā Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr 'Umar Ibn Abi 'Iṣā Aḥmad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Isā al-Iṣbahānī al-Madinī, the first *ḥāfiẓ* of the age for his vast memory and learning, composed a number of useful works on the Traditions and their subsidiary sciences. His *Kitāb al-Mughīth (the assister)*, in one volume, forms the complement of al-Harawī's *Kitāb al-Gharibayn (No. 35)*; in it he corrects the faults of that author, and it is really a useful book. He left also a small volume entitled *Kitāb al-Ziyādāt (book of additions)*, designed by him as a supplement to the *Ansāb*, a work composed by his master Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī<sup>2</sup>: in this treatise he indicates the errors and omissions of the *Ansāb*. After travelling abroad in search of Traditions, he returned to Iṣbahān and continued to reside in

1 This work is not noticed by Ḥājji Kḥalifah; its title seems to indicate that it was a commentary on a work of divinity or jurisprudence, entitled: *Burhān al-Uṣūl*.

2 See the next article.

\* 22 October.—Ed

† 6 October.—Ed.

that city. He was born in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 501 (June-July, A.C. 1108), and he died on the eve of Wednesday, the 9th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 581 (August, A.C. 1185).<sup>\*</sup> His birth and death took place at Iṣbahān. *Madīnī* means *belonging to the city (madīnah) of Iṣbahān*; the *hāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Sa'd al-Sam'ānī states, in his *Ansāb*, that this adjective may mean: (1) *belonging to Madīnah*; (2) *belonging to Marw*; (3) *belonging to Naysābūr*; (4) *belonging to Iṣbahān*; (5) *belonging to the city (madīnah) of al-Mulārak near Qazwīn*; (6) *belonging to Bukhārā*; (7) *belonging to Samarqand*; (8) *belonging to Nasaf*. He adds that, to express *belonging to Madīnah*, the relative adjective *Madanī* is generally used.

#### 593 ABU 'L-FADL IBN AL-QAYSARĀNĪ AL-MAQDISĪ

Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdisī, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Qaysarānī, was one of those doctors who had undertaken long journeys in search of Traditions. He heard (*traditional information delivered*) in Ḥijāz, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and its northern borders, Arabian and Persian 'Irāq, Fārs, Khūzistān, and Khurāsān. He then took up his abode in Ḥamadhān and obtained a high reputation for his knowledge of the Traditions and his learning in the sciences connected with them. A great number of works and compilations were drawn up by him on that subject, and they all serve to prove the extent of his learning and the correctness of his information. He composed the *Aṭrāf* (*index of the principal words*) of the *Six Books*, that is to say, of the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abī Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Mājah: the *Aṭrāf* of al-Ḍaraqutnī's *al-Ḡharā'ib* (*obscure terms occurring in the Traditions*), and the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (*book of patronymics*). This last work forms a small volume, and is the same for which the *hāfiẓ* Abū Mūsā al-Iṣbahānī (see the preceding article), composed a supplement. He possessed a sound knowledge of the science of *Sūfism* and its different divisions; there even exists a work by him on the

\* 8 August.--Ed.

subject. He left also some good poetry. The *hāfiẓ* Abū Mūsa and some others wrote Traditions under his dictation. Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Maqdisī was born at *Bayt al-Maqdis* (the house of the holy place, Jerusalem), on the 6th of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 448 (December, A.C. 1056);\* he commenced learning Traditions in 460; he entered Baghdād in 467 (A.C. 1074-5) and afterwards returned to Jerusalem, where he assumed the pilgrim dress and proceeded to Makkah. He died at Baghdād on Friday, the 28th of the first Rabi', A.H. 507 (September, A.C. 1113)†. on his return from the pilgrimage, which duty he had fulfilled more than once. His body was interred in the Old Cemetery (*al-Maqbarat al-'Atiqah*), situated on the west bank of the Tigris. Some place his death on Thursday, the 20th‡ of the month just named. His son Abū Zar'ah Tāhīr Ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī was renowned for the extent and high authority of his information in the Traditions, but he was unacquainted with the science (*of jurisprudence*); his father having merely sent him, when a boy, to hear the lessons of some (*Traditionists*), such as Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad al-Dūbī, who was then teaching at Ray, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Abdūs Ibn 'Abd Allāh at Hamadhān, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Uṭhmān al-Kāmiḳhī, and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Makki Ibn Manṣūr al-Sallār. He then took him to Baghdād, where he heard the lessons of Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rayyān and other masters. On the death of his father, he went to reside at Hamadhān, whence he proceeded to Baghdād (*every year*) to see the pilgrim caravan and teach the greater part of the Traditions which he had learned. Amongst those who received Traditions from him were the wazīr Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā Ibn Hubayrah<sup>1</sup> and others. He was born

---

1 'Awn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā Ibn Hubayrah, wazīr to the *Khalīf* al-Muqtafī li-amr Allāh, was born at al-Dūr, a village situated in the province of Dujayl, and, afterwards called, on his account, Dūr al-Wazīr (*the mansion of the wazīr*). His father, a husbandman of that place, encouraged him to pursue the study of literature, and took him occasionally to Baghdād, where he attended the most eminent masters. Left an orphan at an early age, he nevertheless persevered in his studies. and after undergoing all the evils which poverty

(Continued on page 264)

\* 19 December.—Ed.

† 12 September.—Ed.

‡ 4 September.—Ed.



at Ray, A. H. 481 (A.H. 1088-9), and he died at Hamadhān on Wednesday, the 7th of the latter Rabi', A. H. 566 (December, A.C. 1170.\* *Qaysarānī*, 'means *belonging to Qaisariyuh (Caesarea)*, a maritime village of Syria which is now in the hands of the Franks' whom God confound! † (I say : Then al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Bībars al-Šāliḥ<sup>1</sup> reconquered it in the months of A.H. 663 A.C. 1264-65), and devastated it and it is now waste).

### 594 ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH IBN MANDAH

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā Ibn Mandah al-'Abdī, a celebrated transmitter of traditional information, and the author of a history of Iṣbahān, was a *ḥāfiẓ* of the highest authority. He belonged to a family of eminence which produced a number of learned men ; he did not draw his origin from the tribe of 'Abd (as

(Continued from page 263)

could inflict, he entered into the civil service, successively advancing from one post to another, till he was finally appointed wazīr to al-Muqtafī. This place he filled for a considerable time, and a yearly salary of one hundred thousand pieces of gold gave him the facility of fully indulging his generous disposition. Such was his liberality, that, at the end of the year, he never had even a piece of silver remaining in his coffer. He displayed great abilities in resisting the encroachments of the Saljuq dynasty, and the Khalifs al-Muqtafī and al-Mustanjid used frequently to declare that the 'Abbaside family never had a wazīr like Yahyā Ibn Hubayrah. This eminent statesman died A.H. 560, whilst prostrated in prayer. Amongst the numerous anecdotes related of his generosity, may be noticed the following. When appointed wazīr, he entered the dīwān, clothed in his robes of state ; and, observing a servant employed in the office who was keeping in the background, he called him forward with an encouraging smile, and bestowed on him some gold and a cloak. He said : "There is no god but God ! I remember that, once coming into this dīwān, I sat down on one of the seats, and this boy came, and, taking me by the hand, made me stand up, telling me that that was not my place. Seeing him now standing there with terror marked on his countenance, I felt a pleasure in allaying his fears and setting his mind at ease, (*al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah*, No. 589 p. 281 et seq). Ibn Khallikān also gives a notice on this wazīr.

1 Caesarea was retaken by the sultan Bībars in the year 663 (A.C. 1265).

\* 15 December.—Ed.

† This information is added on the authority of Egypt edition.—Ed.

he surname 'Abdī would imply), but Barrah, his mother, was connected with the tribe of 'Abd Yālīl' through her father Muḥammad, and Ibn Mandah bore this surname after his maternal ancestors. The ḥāfiẓ Abū Mūsā al-Iṣbahānī mentions him in the *Ziyādāt* (No. 592) and traces up his genealogy, but this list I shall not insert on account of its length. Al-Ḥāzimī (No. 599) speaks of him also in the *Kitāb al-'Ujālāh*, but omits the genealogy. The ḥāfiẓ Ibn Mandah died A.H. 301 (A.C. 913-4). In a subsequent part of this work, we shall give the life of his descendant, Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb.

#### 595 AL-FARABRĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Maṭar Ibn Šālih Ibn Bishr al-Farabrī is well known as the teacher, from memory, of al-Bukḥārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which work he had learned under the author. People came from all quarters to hear him repeat this book. He was born A.H. 231 (A.C. 845-6), and he died on the 3rd of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 320 (October, A.C. 932). \* *Farabrī* means *belonging to Farabr*, a town situated on the bank of the *Jihūn* (*Oxus*) and on the same side of the river as Bukḥārā. Al-Farabrī was one of al-Bukḥārī's pupils, and the last survivor of those who taught, from memory, their master's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

#### 596 AL-FURĀWĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās al-Šā'idī al-Furāwī al-Naysābūrī (*native of Naysābūr*), surnamed Kamāl al-Dīn (*perfect in*

---

1 'Abd Yālīl, the son of Jurham, left his name to a Yemenite tribe established in Hijāz.

\* 7 October.--Ed.

*religion*)<sup>1</sup> was a distinguished jurisconsult and Traditionist. He attended the sittings of the Shāfi'ite doctor Imām al-Ḥaramayn, author of the *Nihāyat al-Maṭlab* (No. 353), and took notes of his lessons on the principles (*of Jurisprudence*). Al-Furāwī passed his youth among the Ṣūfis, and became a doctor of the law, a Traditionist, a *muftī*, a controvertist, and a preacher. Though advanced in age, he used to carry food to travellers, and serve at table when visitors came to see him. Having set out on the pilgrimage to Makkah, he preached before crowded assemblies at Baghdād and the other towns through which he passed. In the two Holy Cities (*of Makkah and Madīnah*) he gave public lessons. On his return to Naysābūr, he took his seat as professor in the *Nāsihiyyah* college, and discharged also the duties of *imām* in the mosque of al-Muṭarriz. He learned Muslim's *Ṣaḥīh* from 'Abd al-Ḡhāfir al-Fārisī (No. 377) and al-Bukhārī's from Sa'id Ibn Abī Sa'id. His other masters were Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5), Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī (No. 27) Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin al-Qushayrī (No. 369), and the Imām al-Ḥaramayn. He was the sole person authorised to repeat and explain some of the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī's works, such as the *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* (*proofs of Muḥammad's prophetic mission*), *al-Asmā wa 'l-Ṣifāt* (*the names and attributes of the Divinity*), *al-Ba'th wa 'l-Nushūr* (*the resurrection and revivification of mankind*) and the two collections of prayers, the greater and the less. It was (*punningly*) said of him : *al-Furāwī alfu rāwī* (*al-Furāwī is worth one thousand transmitters of traditional information*). He was born at Naysābūr, A.H. 441 (A.C. 1049-50), some say, 442 ; at the age of six years he commenced learning Traditions, and he died on Thursday morning, the 21st—some say, the 22nd—of Shawwāl, A.H. 530 (July, A.C. 1136).<sup>\*</sup> *Furāwī* means *belonging to Furāwah*, a village on the frontiers of Khuwārizm ; it is called also *Ribāṭ Furāwah*, and was built in the Khalīfate of al-Māmūn, by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, the governor of Khurāsān.

<sup>1</sup> According to al-Yāfi', in his *Mir'at*, and al-'Uṭhmānī, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā* al-Furāwī bore also the surname of Faq'h al-Ḥaram (the jurisconsult of the sacred territory of Makkah.)

<sup>\*</sup> Thursday, 23 July.—Ed.

## 597 AL-'ĀJURRĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ājurri, a jurisconsult of the sect of al-Shāfi'i and a Traditionist, is the author of that collection of forty Traditions which is called after him *Arba'in al-'Ājurri*. This doctor, who was noted for his piety and virtue, delivered Traditions on the authority of Abū Muslim al-Kajji, Abū Shu'ayb al-Ḥarrānī, Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥulwānī, al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Muḥammad al-Jundī, and a great number of other masters contemporary with them. Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm mentions him in the work entitled *al-Fihrist*<sup>1</sup>. Al-'Ājurri composed many treatises on the law and the Traditions. In the History of Baghdād the Khaṭīb Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī (No. 33), speaks of him as conscientious, veracious, pious, and the author of numerous works; he taught Traditions at Baghdād previously to the year 330 (A.C. 941). He then proceeded to Makkah, and continued to reside there till his death. A number of *hāfiẓes* gave traditions on his authority, and Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (No. 32), the author of the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, was one of them. A certain learned man informed me that when al-'Ājurri entered Makkah, he exclaimed, in admiration: "I implore of thee. O God! the favour to remain here one year", and that he heard a voice reply: "Nay, thirty years." He survived thirty years, and died at Makkah in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 360 (November, A.C. 970). The Khaṭīb says that he found this date on his tombstone, and, in a copy of (*Ibn Bashkuwāl's*) *Ṣilat*, I myself read the following marginal note: "The imām Abū Bakr, surnamed al-'Ājurri because he belonged to a village near Baghdād called al-'Ājurr, resided at Makkah, and died there on the 1st of Muḥarram, A. H. 360." 'Ājurri is derived from *Ājurr* (*brick*) but I know not why he received this surname.

## 598 AL-SALĀMĪ THE ḤĀFIẒ

Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Amr, a native of Baghdād and generally known by the sur-

<sup>1</sup> See No. 273, Note.

\* 4 November.—Ed.

name of al-Salāmi, was an accomplished scholar and the most eminent ḥāfiẓ of Baghdād at that epoch. He possessed great literary acquirements, having studied the belles-lettres under Abū Zakariyā al-Tibrizī<sup>1</sup>. The works which he transcribed were of the utmost correctness.

He was indefatigable in the search of useful hints and instructive observations, and these he carefully noted down. A great quantity of information has been given on his authority by the very first masters. The learned men of that age were his pupils, and the ḥāfiẓ Abu l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (*No.* 345), who was one of the number, cites his authority very frequently. The ḥāfiẓ Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 370) mentions him in his different works. Al-Salāmi's birth occurred on the eve of Saturday, the 15th of *Shā'bān*, A.H. 467 (April, A.C. 1075)\* and he died at Baghdād on the eve of Tuesday, the 18th of *Shā'bān*, A.H. 550 (October, A.C. 1155).† The next morning, his body was carried forth, and funeral prayers were said over it thrice, near the mosque of the Sulṭān (Jāmi' al-Sulṭān); it was then taken across the river to the mosque (Jāmi') of al-Manṣūr, where the funeral service was again performed, after which they bore it to the Ḥarbiyah cemetery, at the Ḥarb Gate, and interred it under the *sidrah*<sup>2</sup> at the side of Abū Manṣūr Ibn al-Anbārī the preacher's tomb. "Salāmi means native of *Madīnat al-Salām* (the city of welfare), that is, Baghdād. "Such" says al-Sam'ānī, "was the note written by himself on his own surname."

### 599 AL-ḤĀZIMĪ THE ḤĀFIẒ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Uṭhmān Mūsā Ibn 'Uṭhmān Ibn Mūsā Ibn Uṭhmān Ibn Ḥāzim al-Ḥāzimī al-Hamadḥānī (*native of Hamadḥān*), surnamed Zayn al-Dīn (*ornament of religion*), was

1 His life is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 The word *sidrah* means *lotus tree*. It may perhaps designate here some religious edifice.

\* 4 April.—Ed.

† 18 October.—Ed.

distinguished by the exactitude of his information as a *ḥāfiẓ*, and the eminent sanctity of his life. Having learned by heart the sacred *Qur'ān*, he attended the lessons of Abu 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal al-Sijazī (*No.* 378) at Hamadān and learned Traditions in the same city from Abū Mansūr *Shihirdār* Ibn *Shirūyah* the Daylamite, Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir Ibn Muḥammad al-Maqdisī (*No.* 593), the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad<sup>1</sup> and a great number of other masters. He studied the law at Baghdād under the *Shaykh* Jamāl al-Dīn Wāṭḥiq Ibn Faḍlān<sup>2</sup> and others; it was there also that he heard Traditions delivered by Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq and Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the sons of 'Abd al-Khālīq Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Shātil, and others. He then undertook to collect Traditions himself, and with that view he visited a number of the cities of 'Irāq, whence he proceeded to Syria, Moṣul, Fārs, Iṣbahān, Hamadhān, and most of the towns in the province of Ādharbā'ijān. He wrote down Traditions under the dictation of nearly all the *Shaykhs* at these places, and devoted his attention so specially to this branch of study, that he attained in it a great eminence and a high reputation. He composed on this and on other subjects a number of instructive works, such as the *Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh* (the annulling and the annulled) traditions, the *Kitāb al-Fayṣal* (discriminator), treating of those patronymics the origin and pronunciation of which might be mistaken; the *Kitāb al-'Ujālāh* (the ready assister) on

---

1 Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad, a *ḥāfiẓ* and teacher of the *Qur'ān*-readings, died A.H. 569 (A.C. 1173-4) aged 81 years. He was a native of Hamadhān. — *Nujūm Ḥuffāẓ*.

2 The learned *imām* Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim Wāṭḥiq Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Faḍlān, a doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, was born at Baḡhdād, A.H. 515 (A.C. 1121-2). He made his studies at Baḡhdād and Naysābūr, and became professor in the *Nizāmiyah* college of the former city. His death occurred in Sha'bān, A.H. 595. (June, A.C. 1199). The author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā* observes that some persons call this doctor Yaḥyā, not Wāṭḥiq, and Ibn Qāḍī *Shuhbah* gives him the name of Yaḥyā in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'in*. The latter author says that Ibn Faḍlān held a high rank as a jurisconsult, a theologian, a controvertist, and a dialectician. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā* informs us that Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of this Ibn Faḍlān, was professor at the *Mustanṣiriyah* college in Baḡhdād, that he acted as qāḍī 'l-quḍāt for the *Khālif* al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, and died A.H. 631, (A.C. 1233-4).

patronymics and ethnic names ; a work on geographical synonyms and the name of places which, when written, are liable to be mispronounced ; the *Silsilat al-Dhahab* (golden chain), treating of the Traditions delivered by *Ibn Hunbal* (No. 19) on the authority of al-Shāfi'i (No. 532); the *Shurūṭ A'imnah* (conditions of the imāms), etc. He resided at Baghdād, on the east side of the river, constantly engaged in study and the practice of virtue, till fate cut through the branch of his life whilst yet green. This event happened at Baghdād on the eve of Monday, the 28th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 584 (July, A.C. 1188)\* : He was interred in the Shūnizī cemetery, beside (the grave of) Samnūn Ibn Ḥamzah<sup>1</sup> and opposite to the tomb of al-Junayd (No. 140). Crowds of people attended the funeral service which was said over him in the court of the Mosque of the Castle (*Jāmi' al-Qaṣr*) ; the body was then taken to the west side of the river, and the prayer was there repeated. His books were distributed among the Traditionists. Al-Hāzimī was born A.H. 548 (A.C. 1153-4), or 549, on the road leading to Hamadhān. He was carried to that city, and in it he passed his youth. He bore the surname of *Hāzimī* because one of his ancestors was called *Hāzim*.

#### 600 ABŪ BAKR IBN AL-'ARABĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-'Arabī, was a celebrated *hāfiẓ*, a member of the tribe of Ma'āfir and a native of Seville in Spain. Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl speaks of him in these terms, in his *Ṣilat* : "That *hāfiẓ* filled with learning to overflowing ; the last of the learned, the last *imām* and

<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan Samnūn Ibn Ḥamzah al-Khawwāṣṣ a disciple of al-Sarī al-Saqī (No. 239) and other *ṣūfis*. He used to discourse with great eloquence on the love of God, and he replied, when asked what was *ṣūfism* : "to possess nothing and to let nothing possess you." The eminent *shaykh* died some time after al-Junayd. *Lawāqih al-Anwār fī-Ṭabaqāt il-Akhlāyār*, by 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī ; Ms. of the Bib du Roi, fonds Asselin.

\* 25 July.—Ed.

the last *ḥāfiẓ* of Spain. I met him in the city of Seville on Monday morning, the 2nd of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 516 (August, A.C. 1122). He informed me that it was on Sunday, the first of the first Rabi', A. H. 485 (April, A. C. 1092)\*; that he set out with his father on their journey to the East<sup>1</sup> and that he went to Syria, where he met Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Walīd al-Ṭurtūshī (No. 579), under whom he studied jurisprudence. Having gone to Baghdād, he heard Traditions from some of the most eminent masters and then proceeded to Ḥijāz. He performed the pilgrimage in the year 489, and, on his return to Baghdād, he became the pupil of Abū Bakr al-Shāshī (No. 563), Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī (No. 562), and other doctors and philologists. He then left Baghdād, and went to Egypt. In Miṣr and Alexandria he met a great number of the Traditionists, and wrote down Traditions under their dictation, communicating to them the fruits of his own researches whilst he received theirs. In the year 493, he returned to Spain, and entered Seville with a greater stock of information than any person who travelled to the East had ever brought back before. He was deeply versed in a variety of sciences, and had attained a high proficiency in all the branches of knowledge; on the subjects he discoursed with great ability, and, being enabled by his penetrating genius to comprehend them all, he displayed the utmost ardour in diffusing information, whilst he employed the acuteness of his mind in distinguishing what was exact therein from what was not. We may add that he was equally distinguished by the amenity of his character, the charm of his manners, his affability, humility, nobleness of mind, obliging disposition, and constancy in friendship. Having been appointed *qādī* in his native town, he rendered the highest service to the inhabitants by the firmness with which he discharged his duties and the severity which made him an object of terror for the wicked. On his removal from office, he turned his mind to the task of

1 Ibn al-Arabī wrote an account of this journey; Ibn Khaldūn mentions it, in his History of the Berbers, under the title of (*Riḥlah journey*), and informs us that the author speaks in it of his shipwreck on the coast of Barqā, where he and his father were hospitably treated by the nomadic Arabs of that region.

\* 11 April. - Ed.



diffusing learning. I asked him the date of his birth, and he informed me that he was born on the eve of Thursday, the 21st of Shā'bān; A.H. 468 (April, A.C. 1076)\*. He died in North Africa and was interred in the city of Fez, in the month of the latter Rabi', A.H. 543 (Aug.-Sept., A.C. 1148)." To these words of Ibn Bashkuwāl I may add that the ḥāfiẓ Ibn al-'Arabi left a number of works, and amongst others that entitled *al-'Āriḍat-al-Aḥwadhī fī-sharḥ il-Tirmidhī* (the fluency of the expert, being a commentary on the Traditions collected by al-Tirmidhī)<sup>1</sup>. He was born at Seville; some say in the year 469 (A.C. 1076-7). His death is stated to have taken place in the month of the first Jumādā, whilst he was returning from Morocco to Fez, and at a day's journey from the latter city. His corpse was transported to Fez and interred in the cemetery of al-Jayyānī. His father was born A.H. 435 (A.C. 1043-4), and he died in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 493 (November-December, A.C. 1099), in Egypt, on his return from the expedition which he and his son had made to the East: he was an accomplished scholar and an able *kātib*. The title of Ibn al-'Arabi's work *al-'Āriḍat-al-Aḥwadhī*, requires explanation; '*āriḍah*' means command of language. They say: *such a one has an extreme 'āriḍah, to indicate that he has a great command of language; ahwadhī means: one who gets through a business lightly, owing to his skill; or, according to al-Aṣma'i, one expert in business, completely master of it, and who lets no part of it escape his attention.*

### 601 AL-NAQQĀSH AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ziyād† al-Muqri (*teacher of the readings of the Qur'ān, and*) surnamed al-Naqqāsh, belonged to a family of Moṣul, but was born

1 There exists in the *Bibliothèque du Roi* a large volume of mysticism in five hundred and sixty chapters, and entitled *al-Fuṭūḥat al-Makkiyah* (Makken revelations). The author of this work is also an Ibn al-'Arabi; his names are Muḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, and he died A.H. 638 (A.C. 1240).

\* 31 March.—Ed.

† The Egyptian edition adds: Ibn Hārūn Ibn Ja'far Ibn Sanad: between Ziyād and al-Muqri.—Ed.

and brought up at Baghdād. He possessed great learning in the *Qur'ān* and its interpretation, on which last subject he composed a work entitled : *Shafā al-Ṣudūr* (*Medicine of the heart*). Amongst his other productions we may notice the *Ishārah* (*indication*), on the obscure terms of the *Qur'ān*; the *Mawḍiḥ* (*elucidator*), on the *Qur'ān* and its style; the *Didd al-'Aql* (*contradictory to reason*); the *Manāsik* (*rites of devotion*); the *Falḥ al-Manāsik* (*comprehension of the rites*); the *Akhhār al-Quṣṣās*? (*History of the story-tellers*); the *Dhamm al-Ḥasad* (*dispraise of envy*); the *Dalāl al-Nubūwat* (*proofs of Muḥammad's prophetic mission*); the *Abwāb* (*doors, or chapters*), on the *Qur'ān*; the *Iram Dhāt al-'Imād* (*the Iram of many columns*)<sup>1</sup> the greater, the less, and the medium dictionary of *Qur'ān-readers* and their readings; the greater *Book of the Seven* (*readings*), with the reasons of these readings; the lesser *Book of the Seven* (*readings*); the medium *Book of the Seven* (*readings*), and the *al-Sāfir al-Kubr\** (*the great traveller*) to the East and West. He heard Traditions delivered at Kūfah, Baṣrah, and Makkah, in Egypt, Sayria, and Mesopotamia, at Moṣul, in Persian 'Irāq, Khurāsān, and Transoxiana, but some of those which he taught are merely rejected Traditions headed with approved *isnāds*<sup>2</sup> His name happening to be mentioned in the presence of Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far, this person said: "He was false in his Traditions, and addicted to story-telling." He delivered orally pieces of literature on the authority of the most eminent among the learned, and his own authority was cited by them for some which they delivered. Al-Barqānī<sup>3</sup>

1 See Lane's *Thousand and one Nights*, vol. II, p. 342 for the description of this fabulous place.

2 See Introduction to vol. I.

3 The ḥafīz Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ghālib al-Barqānī, born (at Barqān, a village) in Khuwārizm, A.H. 339 (A.C. 950-1), died in the month of Rajab, A.H. 425 (May-June, A.C. 1034). He had some acquaintance with Arabic Philology ('arabiyah) and composed a *Musnad*, or authenticated body of Traditions, in which he inserted the contents of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣuḥūḥ* and those of Muslim's. The Khaṭīb, who, as well as al-Bayhaqī and Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, gave some Traditions on his authority.

(Continued on page 274)

\* The Egyptian edition gives سافر الكثير i.e. he travelled much. This cannot be the name of a book.- Ed.

said: "All the Traditions taught by al-Naqqāsh are false, and in his interpretation of the *Qur'ān*, there is not a single genuine Tradition." Al-Naqqāsh was born A.H. 266 (A.C. 879-80); some say, 265; and he died on Tuesday, the 2nd of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 351 (November, A.C. 962)\*. The next day, he was interred. By other accounts his death is placed a year sooner, or a year later. *Naqqāsh* means a *painter of walls and ceilings, etc.*; which profession this doctor had followed in the early part of his life.

## 602 IBN SHANBŪDH

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ayyūb Ibn al-Ṣalt Ibn *Shanbūdh*, an eminent master of the *Qur'ān readings* and a native of *Baghdād*, was pious and well-intentioned, but weak-minded man. It is said that he uttered much nonsense and little real learning. Having become the sole depository of some rare and singular readings of the *Qur'ān*, he introduced them into his recitations from that book whilst presiding at the public prayer<sup>1</sup>. By this he incurred general reprehension, and the wazīr Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Muqlah, the celebrated penman, having been informed of his conduct and that he had changed some passages of the *Qur'ān* by substituting certain words for others belonging to the primitive revealed text, had the delinquent brought before him, in the beginning of the month of the latter Rabi', A.H. 323 (March, A.C. 935), and kept him prisoner in the place for some days. On Sunday, the 7th† of the same month, he convoked an assembly composed of the *qāḍī* Abū 'l-Ḥusayn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad, Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn

(Continued from page 273)

says: "Amongst all our masters we did not find one possessing more solid information than he. His piety was conspicuous and he possessed deep learning in the law."— (*Nujūm, al-Yāfi'ī, Ṭab. al-Ḥuffāz.*)

1 Literally: He read (*the Qur'ān*) with them, in the *Miḥrāb*.

\* 4 November.—Ed.

† 15 March.—Ed.

Mujāhid, teacher of the *Qur'ān-readings*, and other persons of the same profession. Ibn Shanbūdḥ was then brought in and examined in the presence of the wazīr, but he replied with great insolence to him, the *qāḍī*, and Ibn Mujāhid, calling them persons of little information and reproaching them with not having travelled in the pursuit of learning as he had done; the *qāḍī* was even treated by him as a mere dotard. On this, the wazīr ordered him to be flogged, and the prisoner, whilst undergoing this punishment, which consisted in seven distinct beatings invoked God's vengeance on Ibn Muqlah, praying that his hand might be cut off and his prosperity ruined; and such was really the case, as will be seen in our account of that wazīr's life. They then examined him relative to the readings which he was accused of having employed, and he answered by denying those which gave scandal, and declaring that some readers did make use of the others. Being called on to recant, he consented and said; "I renounce my manner of reading, and in future I shall follow no other than that of the manuscript drawn up by (*the khalif*) 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, and that which is publicly received." The wazīr ordered this declaration to be taken down and made him subscribe his name to it. This subscription contained evidently the expression of Ibn Shanbūdḥ's sincere repentance. The words of the document were: "Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad, generally known by the name of Ibn Shanbūdḥ, being questioned as to the report of his having read: *When you are called to prayer on the day of the assembly, go<sup>1</sup> to the commemoration of God*; he acknowledged it. And being questioned as to the reading: *and (do) ye make this your gratitude that ye declare* (the *Qur'ān* to be false ?<sup>2</sup>) he acknowledged it; and as to the reading: *may the hands of Abū Lahab perish*, and he has already perished<sup>3</sup> he acknowledged it; and as to the reading: *because*

1 Go; in Arabic, *ṣaḥḥū*. The received text has *fas'aw* (*hasten*). See *Qur'ān* sūrah 62, verse 9.

2 For *gratitude* (*shukr*), the *Qur'ān* has *rizq* (*sustenance*). Sale renders the passage thus: "And do ye make (*this return for*) your food (*which ye received from God*), that ye deny yourselves to be obliged to him for the same." "Sūrah 56, verse 81.

3 *Qad tabḥa*, for the received reading *tabḥa* (*and may he perish*). Sūrah 111, verse 1.

there was a *king before them, who took every ship by force*<sup>1</sup> he acknowledged it ; and as to the reading : *like wool carded*<sup>2</sup> he acknowledged it ; and as to : *this day we will save thee* on account of thy invocation<sup>3</sup> he acknowledged it ; and as to : *and, when he fell down*, the men plainly perceived that the Genii, *had they known that which is secret, had not continued* (a year) *in ignominious punishment*<sup>4</sup> he acknowledged it ; and as to : *by the night when it spreads its shades! by the day when it shineth forth!* by the male and the female!<sup>5</sup> he acknowledged it ; and as to : the infidels *have already charged* (Muḥammad) *with imposture, but* (the punishment) *shall be eternal*<sup>6</sup> he acknowledged it ; and as to : *and that there may be a band of you inviting to the best* (religion), *and commanding that which is just, and forbidding that which is evil*, and asking God's assistance against the misfortunes which befall them ; *these shall be happy ones*<sup>7</sup> he acknowledged it ; and as to : *if you do it not, there will be trouble in the earth and wide-spread corruption*<sup>8</sup> he acknowledged it. And the witnesses here present have written their testimonies to this instrument, showing it to accord with his own declaration, and Ibn Shanbūdh has written with his own hand what follows :- I, Muḥammad, the son of Aḥmad, the son of Ayyūb, generally known by the name of Ibn Shanbūdh, acknowledge the contents of this paper to be true, and to be my words and belief ; and I take to witness Almighty God and the persons here present. And if I act against this declaration, or if any thing in my conduct denote other

1 *Before (amām), in place of behind (warā)* Sūrah 18, verse 78.

2 *Wool' (ṣūf), in place of wool of various colour ('ihn).* Sūrah 101, verse 4.

3 *On account of thy invocation (bi mida'ika), for with thy body (bi-badunika).* Sūrah 10, verse 92.

4 The *Qur'ān* has : "And when he fell-down, the Genii plainly perceived that, if they had known that which is secret, they had not continued in ignominious punishment." Sūrah 34, verse 13.

5 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 92, verses 1 and 2. The last words are not to be found there.

6 The *Qur'ān* has : "Ye have already charged." etc. Sūrah 25, verse 77.

7 *Qur'ān* sūrah 3, verse 100, Ibn Shanbūdh read *fiyet* (band) for *ummat* (people), and inserted the words : *and asking God's assistance, etc.*

8 *Qur'ān* sūrah 8, verse 74. Ibn Shanbūdh interpolated the words : *if ye do it not*, and substitute ' *arīḍ* (wide) for *kabīr* (great). To judge from the specimens, his readings were generally plausible.\*

\* This remark is uncalled for, and untenable.—Ed.

sentiments than those here expressed, I declare that the Khalif may lawfully shed my blood. Written on Sunday, the 7th of the first Rabi', of the year 323,\* at the sitting held by the wazir Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muqlah; may he long enjoy the favour of God!" Abū Ayyūb al-Simsār then interceded with the wazir in order to procure Ibn Shanbūdh's liberation, but observed to him that if he allowed his prisoner to return home, the unfortunate man would be murdered by the populace. He, therefore, requested that he should be sent by night to al-Madā'in, whence, after a few days' delay, he might return to Baghdād privately, and not appear in public for some time. The wazir granted this request and sent Ibn Shanbūdh to al-Madā'in. This reader died at Baghdād on Monday, the 3rd of Šafar, A.H. 328 (November, A.C. 939)†, some say that he died a prisoner in the sultān's palace. Abū Bakr Ibn Mujāhid died on Wednesday, the 18th of Šha'bān, A.H. 324 (July, A.C. 936),‡ and was interred in a mausoleum erected for him in the Sūq al-'Iṭr (*the perfume market*). His birth took place in the year 245 (A.C. 859-60).

### 603 IBN AL-SAMMĀK

Abu 'l-Abbās Muḥammad Ibn Šabīḥ,§ surnamed al-Madhkūr<sup>1</sup>, and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Sammāk, was a *mawīā* to the tribe of 'Ijl, a native of Kūfah, and a professional narrator of anecdotes. His devotion and self-mortification, the elegance of his language, his pious exhortations and sayings (which were collected and learned by heart,) acquired him great celebrity. He met some of the Muslims belonging to the class called *al-Šadr*

---

1 *Al-Madhkūr* signifies, *the mentioned, the well-remembered*. It here seems to be a surname, for in the *Nujūm*, under the year 183, there is an article on him in which he is called *Muḥammad Ibn Šabīḥ Abu 'l-Abbās al-Madhkūr*.

\* 14 February, A.C. 935.—Ed.

† 18 November.—Ed.

‡ The date should be 19, corresponding to 13 July.—Ed.

§ The Egyptian edition gives: Al-Šubāḥ and omits al-Madhkūr.—Ed.

*al-Awwal*<sup>1</sup> such as Hishām Ibn ‘Urwah<sup>2</sup> and al-A‘maṣh (No. 253) and received information from them ; Traditions were given on his authority by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and that *imām*’s contemporaries. It was in the time of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd that he left Kūfah, his native place, and proceeded to Baghdād ; after remaining in that city for some time, he returned to Kūfah and died there. One of his sayings was : “Fear God as if you had never obeyed him, and hope in Him as if you had never disobeyed Him.” Hārūn al-Raṣhīd, having sworn one day that he himself was one of those who were to enter Paradise, consulted doctors of the law on the subject<sup>3</sup>. None of them opined that he was one of those persons, and as Ibn al-Sammāk’s name was then mentioned to him, he had him called in and asked his opinion. Ibn al-Sammāk proposed to him this question : “The Commander of the faithful, had he ever the occasion of committing an act of disobedience towards God, and abstained from it through fear of offending Him?”. “Yes,” said al-Raṣhīd ; “in my youth, I loved a slave girl belonging to a person in my service, and having once found a favourable opportunity, I resolved on committing the wicked act with her, but reflecting on the fire of hell and its terrors, and recollecting that fornication was one of the grievous sins, I abstained from the girl through fear of Almighty God.” “Then let the commander of the faithful rejoice ! thou art one of those who shall enter Paradise,” said Ibn al-Sammāk. “How,” said al-Raṣhīd, “dost thou know that?”. “From the words of the Almighty Himself,” replied the other ; “He has said : *But whoever shall have dreaded the appearing before his Lord and shall have restrained his soul from lust ; verily Paradise shall be his abode*<sup>4</sup>”. These words gave al-Raṣhīd great joy. Ibn al-Sammāk went one day to intercede with a grandee in favour of a man for whom he felt interested, and he

1 M. de Sacy renders the words الصلوات by *les musulmans des premiers temps*. See his *Abdallatif*, page 473, line 26.

2 His life is given by our author.

3 Had his oath been declared false, he would have been obliged, in conscience, to expiate it in the prescribed forms. See No. 24, note on al-Muzanī.

4 *Qur’ān*, sūrah 79, verse 40—Ibn al-Sammāk’s argument is not conclusive, for the virtuous may relapse.

addressed him in these terms: "The beseecher and the besought will feel honoured if the request for which I come be granted, and disgraced if it be refused. Choose therefore for thyself the honour of giving, not the shame of refusing and choose for me the honour of obtaining, not the shame of being refused." The request was granted. One of his sayings was: "He who, being inclined to the world, is sated with its sweetness, will be drenched with the bitterness of the other world, though he abhor it." Having held a discourse one day in the hearing of his slave-girl, he asked her what she thought of it. She replied that it would have been good, were it not for the repetitions. "But," said he, "I make use of repetitions in order to make those understand who do not." "Yes," she replied; "and to make those understand who do not, you weary those who do." The anecdotes told of him and the exhortations which he delivered are very numerous. He died at Kūfah, A.H. 183 (A.C. 799-800). *Sammāk* means a *seller*, or a *catcher of fish (samak)*.

#### 604 ABŪ ṬĀLIB AL-MAKKĪ AL-ḤĀRITHĪ

Abū Ṭalib Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Aṭiyah al-Ḥārithī al-Makkī, a celebrated preacher and the author of the work entitled *Qūt al-Qulūb (food for the heart)*<sup>1</sup> was noted for his piety and the austerity of his life. He pronounced discourses in the mosque, and composed some treatises on the *Tawḥīd*<sup>2</sup>. Al-Jabal (*Persian 'Irāq*) was his native country, but, as he had resided at Makkah, he obtained the surname of al-Makkī. He carried the practices of self-mortification to such a length that, it is said, he abstained from ordinary food during a considerable period and lived on

1 This work was designated as a guide to novices entering into the *ṣūfī* or contemplative life.

2 *Tawḥīd* signifies the profession of the divine unity, but, in the technical language of the *Ṣūfis*, it means: the unification of the soul with the Divinity. This is the highest station to which the soul can be elevated by contemplation and the practices of the devout life. This is the point which the *Ṣūfī* must reach in order to obtain eternal felicity.



nothing but wild herbs. In the use of this nutriment he persevered so long, that his skin took a green tinge. In the Traditions and Şūfism he received the lessons of numerous masters. He went to Baṣrah, after the death of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim<sup>1</sup> and represented himself as a follower of his doctrines. Having proceeded to Baghdād, he gave a public exhortation, but got so much embroiled in his discourse that the audience retired and never returned to him again. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (*No.* 593) relates, in his *Ansāb*, that, when Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī went to Baghdād and preached to the crowded congregation which had assembled to hear him, he got embroiled in his discourse, and in one passage he was well recollected to have said: "Nothing is more hurtful to the creature than the Creator<sup>2</sup>." This caused the people to exclaim against him as a heretic, and, finding himself abandoned by them, he renounced preaching. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī died at Baghdād on the 6th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 368 (June, A.C. 996),\* and was interred in the Mālikīyah cemetery; his tomb, situated in the eastern side of that burying-ground, is a well-known monument and attracts pious visitors. *Ḥārithī* means related to al-Ḥārith, or to al-Ḥārithah; a number of tribes are designated by these names, and I do not know to which Abū Ṭālib belonged. *Makkī* signifies native of Makkah.

## 605 IBN ŞAM'ŪN

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn 'Anbas Ibn Ismā'il, surnamed Ibn Sam'ūn, was a native of Baghdād and a celebrated preacher. For extemporaneous speaking he had not an equal, and, in the eloquence of his exhortations, the charm of his allusions, and the grace of his style, he remained without a rival. Amongst the numerous doctors whom he had met and on whose authority he delivered Traditions, we may mention Abū

1 This Ibn Sālim appears to have been a *Şūfī*.

2 He probably meant to say *than the world*, but pronounced *khāliq* instead of *khāliq*.

\* 26 June.—Ed.

Bakr al-Shiblī (No. 214). The Ṣāhib Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn 'Abbād (No. 93) relates that he heard Ibn Sam'un utter these words one day, when seated in the preacher's chair: "Extolled be the Being who hath enabled (*man*) to speak by (*means of a piece of*) flesh, and to see by (*means of a piece of*) fat, and to hear by (*means of*) a bone!"—an ingenious allusion to the tongue, the eye, and the ear. One of his sayings was: "Seeing sin to be vile, I renounced it through a feeling of dignity, and it was replaced in me by devotion." His discourses abounded in delicate turns of thought. The people of 'Irāq conceived the highest opinion of his merit and became his enthusiastic admirers. It is to him that al-Ḥarīrī alludes, in the beginning of his twenty-first *maqāmah*, entitled *al-Rāziyah*<sup>1</sup>, where he says: "And I saw there, a certain morning, bands after bands, swarming like locusts and running like race-horses; describing to each other the preacher whom they were going to hear, and setting Ibn Sam'un beneath him." Never did such a preacher exist since that time. He died at Baghdād in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 387 (December, A.C. 997); others say on Friday, the 15th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah of that year; \* and was buried at his residence, in the street called † Shāri' al-'Attābīn. On Thursday, the 11th of Rajab, A.H. 426, ‡ his corpse was removed to the cemetery at the Ḥarb Gate and there interred; it is said that his shroud was still in perfect preservation. *Sam'un* is stated to be an alteration of *Isinā'il*, the name of his grandfather. The primitive signification of '*Anbas* (*the name of his great-grandfather*) is *lion*; but the word was subsequently employed as a proper name for men. The latter *n* of this word is not a radical; '*anbas* being formed from '*ahūs* (*to frown*) as *fan'al* is formed from *fa'l*.

#### 606 ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-HĀSHIMĪ, THE ASCETICS

Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qurashī al-Hāshimī (*descended from Hāshim of the tribe of Quraysh*),

<sup>1</sup> See de Sacy's *Hariri*, page 204.

\* 19 November.—Ed.

† The Cairo edition gives al-'Annābīn.—Ed.

‡ 22 May, A. C. 1034.—Ed.

§ [*al-Zāhid*.—Ed.]

a holy and pious ascetic al-Zāhid and a native of al-Jazīrat al-Khaḍrā (*Algeziras in Spain*), was distinguished by the gift of miracles. I heard the people of Egypt relate most extraordinary things of him, and I saw a number of his disciples who had all participated in the divine favour shown to their master; from them I learned that he had promised to some of his followers an exaltation in holiness which they really attained. He ranked among the great saints of the first class, and, when in his native country, the West, he frequented the society of the most eminent ascetics and profited by their instructions. On his arrival in Egypt, all those who became his disciples, or even saw him, derived advantage from the circumstance. Having gone to Syria, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he continued there till his death. This event took place on the 6th of *Dhu'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 599 (August, A.C. 1203).<sup>\*</sup> The funeral prayer was said over him in the (*mosque called*) al-Masjid al-Aqṣā. He died at the age of fifty-five years. His tomb is a remarkable object and attracts pious visitors, anxious to participate in the divine favour through his merits. *Al-Jazīrat al-Khaḍrā* (*the green island*) is a city in Spain, opposite to Ceuta. One of his counsels to his disciples was: "Journey towards God though you be lame or crippled (*in soul*); to wait for healing is to remain in idleness."

## 607 IBN AL-A'RĀBĪ

The philologer Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ziyād, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-A'rābī, was a native of Kūfah and a *mawlā* to the *Hāshim* family, being a client of al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*Ibn Hāshim*). His father Ziyād was a slave brought from Sind; other; say, a *mawlā* to the Banū Shaybān, or some other tribe; but the first statement is the most correct. Ibn al-A'rābī had a cast in his eyes<sup>1</sup>: he was a genealogist, a

<sup>1</sup> Obliquity of vision was considered by the Arabs as a mark of beauty.

<sup>\*</sup> 16 August.—Ed.

philologer of the highest reputation, and one of those masters who transmitted orally the poems composed by the Arabic tribes. It is said that, of all the learned men of Kūfah, Ibn al-A'rābī came nearest to those of Baṣrah in respect to the readings of the poems taught by him<sup>1</sup>. He was brought up by al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī, the author of the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*<sup>2</sup>, who had married his mother. He obtained his knowledge of literature from him, Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍarīr (No. 84, note), al-Qāsim Ibn Ma'an Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn

<sup>1</sup> See No. 154, note.

<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-'Abbās (or Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān) al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ya'lā Ibn 'Amir Ibn Sālim, a member of the tribe of Ḍabbah, a branch of that of *l-Ha'labah* Ibn al-Sind, was a native of Kūfah. Having sided with Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥasan surnamed al-Nafs al-Zakīyah who revolted against al-Manṣūr in the year 145 (A. C. 762-3), he was taken prisoner, but received his pardon from that *Khalīf*, who attached him to the service of his son al-Mahdī. It was for this young prince that he compiled his *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, a selection of one hundred and twenty-eight *qasīdahs* composed by the Arabs. He died A.H. 168 (A.C. 784-5). In the manuscripts of the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, the number and the order of these poems vary, having been taught traditionally by different persons. They were commented by Ibn al-A'rābī and Abū Zakariyāh al-Tabrizī. The collection commences with the poems of Ta'abba a *Sharran*. The other works of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī were, a book, of proverbs, a treatise on prosody, another on the ideas usually expressed in poetry, and a vocabulary. Al-Mufaḍḍal was held to be of the first authority as a philologer, a genealogist, and a relator of the poems and battle-days of the desert Arabs. Jāḥẓah (No. 54) tells the following anecdote of him: "We were together at al-Raṣḥīd's and he said to al-Mufaḍḍal: 'Let us know the best thing the Arabs have said of the wolf, and you shall have this ring,' which cost one thousand six hundred dinārs. The other replied: 'The best thing said of him is this:

ينام بأحدى مثلتي ويتقى - بأخرى الناياء فهو يقظان نائم

"[He sleeps with one eye and guards against danger with the other; thus at once waking and sleeping.]" Al-Raṣḥīd here said: 'God brought that passage to your lips for the sole purpose of taking away my ring.' He then handed it to him. When Zubaydah was told of the circumstance, she sent al-Mufaḍḍal one thousand six hundred pieces of gold for the ring, which she offered to al-Raṣḥīd, observing that she had remarked how much he liked it. The *Khalīf* immediately gave it to al-Mufaḍḍal a second time, saying: 'Keep it and keep the money, for I am not a person to take back what I give away.'"  
-- *Fihrist*, fol 95. *Nujūm*. See also my *Dīwan d' Amro 'l-Kals*, p. 117)—It was probably an edition of *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* which Ibn al-Anbārī gave under the title of the *Jāhiliyāt*. See his life in this work.

Mas'ūd, the same whom the *khalif* al-Mahdī appointed *qāḍī*<sup>1</sup>, and al-Kisā'i (No. 408). Amongst his own disciples were Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarībī (No. 19, note), Abu 'l-'Abbās *Tha'lab* (No. 42), and Ibn al-Sikkīt<sup>2</sup>. He examined closely the productions of the learned, and pointed out a great number of faults committed by those who transmitted down philological information. He held the first rank by his knowledge of the rare and exalted expressions of the language (*al-ḥalām al-gharīb*), and he pretended that Abū 'Ubaydah and al-Aṣma'i never produced anything good. He said that it was allowable in Arabic to substitute the letter *qāḍ* (ق) for the letter *zā* (ز), and *vice versa*, and that no one should be censured for so doing; he then recited this verse:

"To God I complain of three qualities in a friend whom love, each of which excites my anger (*ghayḍ*);"

Pronouncing *ghayḍ* instead of *ghayz*; "and thus" said he, "did I hear it pronounced by the most correct speakers among the desert Arabs." His sittings were attended by crowds of people, anxious for instruction, and to them he addressed his dictations<sup>3</sup>. Abu 'l-'Abbās *Tha'lab* said: "I went to the sittings held by Ibn al-A'rābī, and found there upwards of one hundred persons, some asking him questions and others reading to him; and he answered every question without referring to a book. I attended his lessons upwards of ten years, and I never saw him with a book in his hand; and yet he dictated to his pupils camel-loads of (*literary*) information". Never was a man seen who knew by heart a greater quantity of poetry. Observing one day at his sitting two persons engaged in conversation, he learned with surprise, on asking them whence they came, that one

1 Al-Qāsim Ibn Ma'an Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd al-Mas'ūdī, a native of Kūfah, surpassed all his contemporaries by the variety of his information; the Traditions and traditionists, poetry and poets, history and historians, scholastic theology and theologians, genealogy and genealogists, being the subjects on which he displayed the extent of his acquirements. He died A.H. 175 (A.C. 791-2).—(*Fihrist*, fol. 77, *Nujūm*.)

2 The life of Ibn al-Sikkīt will be found in this work.

3 See No. 370, note.

belonged to Isfijāb and the other to Spain. He then recited this verse :

“(We are) two companions, once separated till time joined us ; for the separated sometimes meet and unite together.”

After which he dictated to the assembly the rest of the piece, which ran as follows :

“We halted at the tent of a female, allied both to the tribe of Qays and to the Arabs of Yaman, nobly descended from pious forefathers ; and she said, whilst drawing the curtain of the tent before her : ‘What is your country ? who are you two men ?’ I replied : ‘My companion and his people are of the tribe of Tamīm ; I draw my origin from Yaman. (We are) two companions, once separated till time joined us ; for the separated sometimes meet and unite together.’”

Abu 'l-‘Abbās Tha'lab gives the following lines as having been dictated to him and his fellow-students by Ibn al-A'rābi :

“May God shed his favour on a tribe whose dwelling-place is near Buṭnān ! may blessings attend the youths therein and the men grey with years ! Though they reside far away, I and they are (united) like wine mingled with water in the glass.”

Amongst the works composed by Ibn al-A'rābi were : the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (book of anecdotes), a large work ; the *Kitāb al-Anwāl* ; the *Ṣifat al-Khayl* (description of the horse) the *Ṣifat al-Zar'i* (description of corn in the blade) ; the *Kitāb al-Nabāt* (book of plants) ; the *Kitāb al-Khayl* (book of horses) ; The *Tārīkh al-Qabā'il* [history (or epochs) of the tribes] ; the *Ma'ānī al-Shi'r* (ideas occurring in poetry) ; the *Tafsīr al-Amṭhāl* (explanation of proverbs) ; the *Kitāb al-Alfāz* (vocabulary) the *Nisab al-Khayl* [pedigrees of (famous) horses] ; the *Nawādir al-Zubayriyyin* (anecdotes respecting the family of Zubayr) ; the *Nawādir banī Faq'as* (anecdotes of the tribe of Faq'as) ; the *Kitāb al-Dhubāb* (book on flies) etc.<sup>2</sup> The anecdotes told of him,

1 Like many other works on the same subject, this one doubtless contained observations in prose and verse relative to the supposed influence of the *anwā*, or mansions of the moon, on the weather.

2 The nature of these and similar works is explained in the Introduction to the first volume.

and the philological observations which he dictated, are very numerous. Tha'lab said: "I heard Ibn al-A'rābi mention that he was born on the night of the *imām* Abū Ḥanīfah's death;" and this, according to the most authentic account, took place in the month of Rajab, A.H. 150 (August, A.C. 767). Ibn al-A'rābi, died at Sarra man ra'ā on the 14th of Shā'bān, A.H. 231 April A.C. 846);\* al-Ṭabarī says in his History, on Wednesday the 13th† of that month. Some place his death in the year 230, but the former date is nearer the truth. The funeral prayer was said over the corpse by the *qādī* Aḥmad Ibn 'Abī Duwād al-Iyādi (No. 31). The relative adjective *A'rābi* is derived from *A'rāb*; Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Uzayr al-Sijistānī<sup>1</sup>, generally known by the appellation of al-'Uzayri, says, in his work wherein he explains the uncommon words occurring in the *Qu'rān*: "They call a man *A'jami* or *A'jani* if there be an '*ujmah* (impediment) in his tongue (or language) even though he belong to the Arabian race; and they call a Persian '*Ajami*, even though he speak (*Arabic*) with correctness. A man is *A'rābi*, if he be an inhabitant of the desert, though not an Arab; and he is '*Arabi* if he belong to the Arabian race, even though not an inhabitant of the desert." *Isfijāb* is a city in the farthest part of the East; I imagine it to belong to the climate (*kingdom*) of China, or to be near it<sup>2</sup>. *Buṭnān* is a plural of *baṭn*, which word signifies a low ground.

## 608 MUḤAMMAD IBN AL-KALBĪ

Abu 'l-Naḍr‡ Muḥammad Ibn al-Sā'ib Ibn Bishr (or Mubashshir) Ibn 'Amr al-Kalbī, a native of Kūfah, the author of an

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Uzayr (عزير) al-Sijistānī, the author of the *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, a work on the composition of which he spent fifteen years, was a man of great piety and virtue. He resided at Baḡhdād and was still living towards A.H. 330 (A.C. 941-2). His father's name is often mistaken for 'Aziz (عزير) Al-Dhahabī's *Tārikh al-Islām*. (No. 646).

<sup>2</sup> This place lay in Transoxiana.

\* 15 April.—Ed.

† 13 April.—Ed.

‡ The Egyptian edition gives Abu 'l-Naḍr.—Ed.

interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and a genealogist, was a master of the highest authority in these two branches of science. Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd<sup>1</sup> sets forth his genealogy thus : Muḥammad Ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī Ibn Bishr Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā Ibn Imra al-Qays Ibn 'Āmir Ibn al-Nu'mān Ibn 'Āmir Ibn 'Abdūn Ibn Kinānah Ibn 'Awf Ibn 'Udhrah Ibn Zayd Ibn 'Abd al-Lāt Ibn Rufaydah Ibn Thawr Ibn Kalb. I then consulted Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī's Book of *Genealogies*, and found their descent given as here indicated, with the exception of the link 'Abd al-Ḥārith, which is omitted. The following anecdote was related by him and has been transmitted down by his son Hishām : "I went into the house of Ḍirār Ibn 'Uṭārid Ibn Ḥājjib Ibn Zurārah al-Tamīmī, at Kūfah, and found with him a man similem mentulae molienti in rima muliebri<sup>2</sup>; and this was al-Farazdaq the poet. Ḍirār winked at me and told me to ask him who he was. I put the question, and the other replied : 'If thou art a genealogist, trace down my descent ; I am sprung from Tamīm'. I immediately repeated the list of Tamīm's descendants till I came to Ghālib, the father of al-Farazdaq of whom I said : 'And Ghālib begot Hamām' " this was al-Farazdaq's real name.—"On this al-Farazdaq sat up and exclaimed : 'By Allāh ! my parents never called me by that name except for a single 'hour of my life'. 'And, by Allāh !' replied I, 'I know the day on which thy father called thee al-Farazdaq'. 'What day was it ?' 'He sent thee out on some business, and, as thou wert walking forth with a *mustuqah* (cloak) on thy shoulders, he said : By Allāh ! one would take thee for a *farazdaq* (a loaf) made by the farmer of such and such a village, in the mountain<sup>3</sup>. 'That is quite true,' replied the poet. He then asked me if I could repeat any of his poems. 'No,' said I, 'but can repeat one hundred of Jarīr's (No. 127,) *qaṣīduhs*. 'Ah,' said he 'thou canst repeat Ibn al-Marāghah's (No. 127, note) verses, and canst not repeat mine ! By Allāh ! I shall satirize the tribe of Kalb for a whole year, unless

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 The meaning of this obscene comparisons is unknown to the translator.

3 Or, "like Farazdaq, the *dihqān* of such and such a village," etc. In the life of al-Farazdaq, we shall find mentioned that he received the nickname of *Farazdaq* (dough) because his face was marked with the small-pox. The similitude appears to lie here in the porous appearance of leavened bread.



thou do as much for me as for Jarīr'. This threat induced me to visit him repeatedly and read over his *Naqā'iṣ*<sup>1</sup>, under his tuition, although I had not the least use for them." *Mustuqah* means a fur cloak with long sleeves; its plural is *masā'ilq*. Some persons pronounce *mustuqah* not *mustuqah*. A tradition informs us that 'Umar prayed in a *mustuqah*, and we learn from another tradition delivered by Anas Ibn Mālik, that the king of the Greeks sent a *mustuqah* of fine silk to the blessed Prophet, who put it on: "And I think", said he, "I still see his hands as they appeared (*at the extremity of the sleeves*)". He then sent it to Ja'far, the son of 'Ali Ibn Abī Tālib, who said to the Prophet: "Send it to thy brother the Najāshī (*king of Abyssinia*)." Al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl<sup>2</sup> says that the *mustuqah* is a sort of wide robe. Muḥammad Ibn al-Kalbī was a follower of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sabā<sup>3</sup>, him who taught that 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib was not dead and that he would return into the world. Sufyān al-Thawrī (*No. 248*) and Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq (*No. 586*) cited his authority for some of their Traditions, but, lest it should be known who he was, they gave them under this form: "We were told by *Abu 'l-Naḍr* that," etc. This al-Kalbī fought at the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim<sup>4</sup>, on the side of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays al-Kindī; his grandfather Bishr, his father al-Sā'ib, and his uncles 'Ubayd and 'Abd al-Raḥmān fought under the khalīf 'Alī at the battles of the Camel (A.H. 36) and Siffīn (A.H. 37). Al-Sā'ib was slain with Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, and the following verses were pronounced on his death by Ibn Warqāh al-Nakha'i:

"Who will tell 'Ubayd, for me, that I struck off his brother's head with the sharp sword. If he wish to know where he is, tell him that he reposes near al-Dayrayn, without a pillow. I struck off his head with my sword, to render orphans Sufyān and Muḥammad."

1 *Naqā'iṣ* is the plural of *Naqīṣah*; this word means: Carmen alteri carmini contradicens et argumentum eius quasi dissolvens. These poems were probably al-Farazdaq's answers to those of Jarīr.

2 His life will be found in this work.

3 See Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, section VIII and Dr. Cureton's *Sharastāni*, Arabic text p. 132.

4 The battle of Dayr al-Jamājim was fought A.H. 82. The fullest account we possess of Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt is that given by Price in his *Retrospect*, vol I, p. 455 et seq.

Sufyān and Muḥammad were the sons of al-Sā'ib. Muḥammad Ibn al-Kalbī died at Kūfah in the year 146 (A.C. 763-4). Under the letter *h* we shall give the life of his son Abu 'l-Mundhir Hishām, the celebrated genealogist. *Kalbī* means *descended from Kalb*, the son of Wabarah; the tribe of Kalb forms large branch of that of Quḍā'ah, and a great number of persons have derived their patronymic from it. *Mustuqah* is a Persian word admitted into the Arabic language<sup>1</sup>.

## 609 QUṬRUB

Abū Alī Muḥammad Ibn al-Muṣṭanir Ibn Aḥmad, the grammarian and philologist, generally known by the name of Quṭrub, was a native of Baṣrah and a *mawlā* of Sālim Ibn Ziyād. He acquired his literary information from Sibawayh (*No.* 479) and some of the learned men of Baṣrah. Ardent for the acquisition of knowledge and devoted to study, he always went to Sibawayh's lessons much earlier than the other pupils, and this induced his master to say to him one day: "Thou art nothing else but a night *quṭrub*, and this surname struck to him. The *quṭrub* is a little animal always running about. Ibn al-Mustanir was one of the chief (*philologists*) of the age; his works are: the *Ma'āni* 'l-Qur'ān (*rhetorical figures of the Qur'ān*), the *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq* (*treatise on etymology*), the *Kitāb al-Qawāfi* (*treatise on rhymes*), the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (*book of anecdotes*), the *Kitāb al-Azminah* [*book of the times (seasons?)*] the *Kitāb al-Farq* (*on the difference between the names given to the members of the human body and those given to the same members in animals*), the *Kitāb al-Aṣwāt* [*book of cries (or interjections)*], the *Kitāb al-Ṣifāt* (*book of epithets*), the *Kitāb al-'Ilal fī 'l-Nahw* (*on the examples generally used in grammar*), the *Kitāb al-Aḍḍād* (*on the words bearing each two different significations*), the *Kitāb al-Khulq al-Faras* (*on the frame of the horse*), the *Kitāb al-Khulq al-Insān* (*on the human frame*), the *Kitāb al-Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (*on the unusual expressions occurring in the Traditions*), the *Kitāb al-Ḥanizah* (*on*

<sup>1</sup> The Persian word to which our author alludes is probably *mushṭeh* مشتته.

the letter hamzah), the *Kitāb fa'ala wa af'ala* (on the change of signification undergone by certain verbs in passing from the first to the fourth form), the *Kitāb al-Radd 'ala 'l-Mulhidīn fī Tashābuh al-Qur'ān* (refutation of the impious, with respect to the passages of the *Qur'ān* which, if taken literally, would lead to anthropomorphism), etc. He was the first author who composed one of those philological treatises called *Ternaries*<sup>1</sup> (No. 322, note); his work, though small, has the merit of priority, and served for model to Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawsi (No. 322) in his; the latter forms a large book. I have seen a third *Ternary* composed by a native of Tauris (*tabrizī*), who was, however, a different person from the Abū Zakariyā al-Tabrizī, whose life is given in this work. I do not at present recollect the author's name, but the work itself is of considerable extent and merit. After all, it was Quṭrub who marked out the way. Quṭrub was preceptor to Abū Dulaf's son (No. 513). The following verses are attributed to him by (*Hārūn*) Ibn al-Munajjim in his *Kitāb al-Bāri'* <sup>2</sup>.

"Though thou art not with me, thy remembrance is; my heart sees thee, though thou art absent from my sight. The eye can see the beloved and perceives her absence; but the interior of the heart is never deprived of her presence."

These verses are very well known, but it is only from this work that I learned who was their author. Quṭrub died A.H. 206 (A.C. 821-2). Some say that his real name was Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad, and others, al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad; but that given at the head of this article comes probably nearest to the truth.

## 610 AL-MUBARRAD

Abu 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad, generally known by the name of al-Mubarrad, was the son of Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Akbar Ibn

1 *Ternary*, in Arabic *Muthallath*. By this term is meant such nouns as bear different signification accordingly as their first syllable is pronounced with an *a* an *i*, or an *u*.

2 The life of this Ibn al-Munajjim will be given later.

'Umayr Ibn Ḥassān Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zayd Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Āmir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bilāl Ibn 'Awf Ibn Aslam Ibn Aḥjan Ibn Ka'b Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Ka'b Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Naḍr Ibn al-Asad Ibn al-Ḡhawth. The 'Awf of this list was called also Thumālah, and Ibn al-Kalbī, who makes the same observation, adds that al-Asad is the same person as al-Azd (*the progenitor of the tribe of that name*). The grammarian al-Mubarrad, surnamed al-Thumālī al-Azdī (*descended from Thumālah of the tribe of Azd*), was a native of Baṣrah, but resided at Baghdād. This eminent philologist and grammarian composed a number of works on literary subjects, such as the *Kāmil* (*perfect*), the *Rawḍah* (*meadow*), the *Muqtaḍib* (*rough draught*), etc. He studied under Abū 'Uṭhmān al-Māzinī (*No. 115*), and Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (*No. 262*); amongst the many eminent masters who had received lessons from him, Niṣṭawayh (*No. 11*) was one of the most distinguished. Al-Mubarrad and Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā, surnamed Tha'lab (*No. 42*), the author of the *Faṣḥ*. They were both deeply learned, and with them terminated the series of the great philologists. It was of them that a contemporary, Abū Bakr Ibn Abi 'l-Azhar said, in one of his poems:

"Searcher of knowledge! act not foolishly but have recourse to al-Mubarrad or to Tha'lab. In them you will find united the learning of all other men; remain not then (*in ignorance, lest you be shunned*) like a mangy camel. All the knowledge in the world, from East to West, is combined together in these two."

Al-Mubarrad liked to meet with Tha'lab, because he had then an opportunity of discussing questions with him and acquiring information; but this was highly disagreeable to Tha'lab, who, therefore, avoided him. Abu 'l-Qāsim Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamdān, a jurisconsult of Moṣul and a friend to both, related as follows: "I asked Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Daynawari, Tha'lab's son-in-law, why his relative had such a dislike to meeting with al-Mubarrad, and he replied, because al-Mubarrad expressed himself with elegance and charmed the hearer by his ingenious allusions, purity of language, and clearness of expression; whereas Tha'lab's mode of speaking was that usual with persons accustomed to teach.

It, therefore, happened that, when they met, the assembly were seduced by al-Mubarrad's outward show before they could appreciate (Thalab's real) worth." Al-Mubarrad dictated a great quantity of information and abounded in anecdotes. One of the relations dictated by him was the following: "Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr appointed a person to act as guardian of the blind, the orphans, and distressed housekeepers who were widows. A man reduced to great misery went one day with his son to this officer and said: 'Would you have the kindness to inscribe my name on the list of distressed housekeepers?' 'Those housekeepers are females', observed the guardian, 'how then can I inscribe you among them?'. 'Well,' said the man 'put me on the blind list.' 'That I will,' answered the other, 'for God hath said: *It is not the eyes which are blind, but the hearts contained in men's bosoms*'— 'And inscribe my boy on the list of orphans.' 'That also I shall do, for he who has a father like you is really an orphan.' The man then withdrew, after obtaining his inscription on the blind list and that of his son on the list of orphans." A certain grandee having asked al-Mubarrad to procure him a preceptor, for his son, he sent him one with a letter to this effect: "I here send what you wished for, and I may say this much for him and in his name:

'When I visit princes, all the protection I require is, that they put my talents to the test.' "

The idea of this verse is borrowed from a note addressed by Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf (No. 117, note), the *Kātib* to al-Māmūn, on the day of Nawrūz<sup>2</sup>, with the present of an embroidered robe: "I have sent to the Commander of the faithful an embroidered robe which will speak for itself. Adieu." I once saw al-Mubarrad in a dream, and the singularity of our conversation was such that I am induced to relate it: In the year 636 (A.C. 1238-9), I passed five months in Alexandria, and happening to have with me al-Mubarrad's *Kāmil* and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *Iqd* (No. 45), I perused them occasionally. In the latter work I remarked a chapter entitled: *Mistakes of which poets have been accused*, and containing verses in which it had been pretended that the authors were mistaken, where-

1 *Qur'an*, sūrah 22, verse 45.

2 See No. 140, note.

as they were really in the right ; the blunders having been made by critics not sufficiently acquainted with the subjects they were examining. Amongst the persons mentioned in this chapter is al-Mubarrad, of whom the author says ; "And similar to this is a mistake committed by Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd (*al-Mubarrad*) the grammarian, in his *Rawḍah*, where he blames al-Ḥasan Ibn Hānī—meaning Abū Nuwās—for having said :

"(*The tribe of*) Bakr Ibn Wā'il has left no recollections but that of its foolish woman (*ḥamqā*) and its lying man".

" 'Because', says al-Mubarrad, 'by the word *ḥamqā* the poet meant the man called Habannaqah al-Qaysi, and he should not, therefore, have designated him as *ḥamqā* (*stulta*). Now the fact is that Abū Nuwās meant the female of the tribe of 'Ijl called Dughah, whose silliness was proverbial, and 'Ijl is a branch of the tribe of Bakr.' By this, the author of the '*Iqd* meant to say that al-Mubarrad, in blaming Abū Nuwās for having here made use of the word *ḥamqā* (*stulta*), imagined that the poet had in view Habannaqah, and, as Habannaqah was a man, that he should have said *aḥmaq* (*stultus*), not *ḥamqā* ; whereas, according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, the poet really meant the woman called Dughah. Therefore, concludes the author of the '*Iqd*, it is al-Mubarrad who is in the wrong, not Abū Nuwās. A few nights after reading this passage, I dreamt that I was in Aleppo, in the college of the *qāḍī* Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, where I had formerly pursued my studies. And it seemed as if we were saying the afternoon prayer in the place appropriated to that purpose, and that the congregation was assembled. When the prayer was ended, I stood up to retire and then saw, at the lower end of the room, a man standing and praying. Being informed by one of the persons present, that it was Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad, I went over and sat down beside him, waiting till he had done. I then saluted him and said : "I am now reading your work, the *Kāmil*;" on which he asked me if I had seen his *Rawḍah*. I replied that I had not, and this was in fact the truth, as I had never seen the work. "Well," said he, "come with me and I will show it to you." On this I arose and went up with him to his chamber, wherein I perceived a great quantity of books. He then sat down before them, looking for his *Rawḍah*, and I took my seat

at some distance. Having drawn out a volume, he handed it to me. I opened it and, placing it on my knees, I said to him : "They have remarked a mistake of yours in this book." "What mistake can they have remarked in it?" "They say that you found fault with Abū Nuwās for having said so and so in such a verse." "He was certainly wrong there." "Nay," said I, "he was in the right, and they say that you were in the wrong when you accused him of making a mistake." "How can that be?" I then told him what the author of the *'Iqd* had said, on which he bit the end of his finger and stared at me in amazement, looking quite abashed and unable to utter a word. He remained in the same posture till I awoke. My only motive for mentioning this dream is its singularity. Al-Mubarrad was born on Monday, the festival of the sacrifice, A.H. 210 (25 March, A.C. 826);\* some say in A. H. 207 (A.C. 822-23). He died at Baghdād on Monday, the 27th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*—some say, of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A.H. 286 (Dec., A.C. 899)†; but others place his death in A.H. 285. He was interred in a house bought for the purpose, and situated in the cemetery at the Kūfah Gate. The funeral service was said over him by the *qādī* Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf Ibn Ya'qūb (*No. 578*). The following lines, written after his death by Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan Ibn al-'Allāf (*No. 164*) are currently known, and were frequently recited by Ibn al-Jawālīqī<sup>1</sup>:

"Al-Mubarrad is gone ! his days are past ! and *Tha'lab* must follow al-Mubarrad. Behold the mansion of literature half demolished, and destruction awaiting the remainder. Lament what time has snatched away, and prepare your minds for another privation. Lay in a provision out of *Tha'lab*'s learning, for he shall soon drink of the same cup as al-Mubarrad. I should tell you even to take note of his sighs, if it were possible to write them."

A similar idea is thus expressed by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Namari<sup>2</sup>, a philologist of Baṣrah, in a

1 The life of Ibn al-Jawālīqī is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 The author of the *Fihrist* notices two persons of the name of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Namari; the first as author of a treatise on colours, entitled *Kitāb* (Continued on page 295)

\* 28 March.—Ed.

† 5 December.—Ed.

piece of verse recited by him on learning the death of his rival Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Mu'allā al-Azdī :

"Al-Azdī is gone and al-Namari is going ; the parts of one whole are ever closely united. He was my brother, the partaker of my love, although he never repaid me that debt nor acknowledged that obligation. A coolness always reigned between us, but it redounded to his honour and mine own. For I never despised the men of Azd, although their country was far apart from mine."

*Thumāl* means *descended from Thumālah*, a person whose real name was 'Awf Ibn Aslam and from whom a branch of the tribe of Azd drew its origin. Al-Mubarrad says, in his *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq*: "This tribe was called *Thumālah*, because it lost most of its members in a battle, and the people said : "There is only a *thumālah* of them remaining. *Thumālah* means a feeble remnant." The following satirical lines were composed on al-Mubarrad and his tribe by a contemporary poet; Abū 'Alī al-Qālī (No. 92) attributes them, in his *Amālī*, to 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn al-Mu'adhḥil :

"We asked every tribe where was (*the tribe of*) *Thumālah*, and they asked us what was *Thumālah*. I told them that to it belonged Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd, and they said : 'You make it less known to us than ever.' Then al-Mubarrad spoke to me and said : 'Spare my feelings, that tribe of mine is a vile race.' "

It is even stated that these verses were composed by al-Mubarrad himself, from a desire of being known as a member of this tribe: his verses got into circulation, and he thus obtained his wish. He used frequently to recite these lines at his assemblies:

"O you who, in sumptuous array, strut about like princes and scorn the hatred of the poor ; know that the saddle-cloth changeth not the nature of the ass, neither do splendid trappings change the nature of the pack-horse."

(Continued from page 294)

*al-Luma' fi 'l-Alwān*; of a work entitled *Mu'āni 'l-Ḥamāsah*, perhaps a commentary on the *Ḥamāsah*, of Abū Tammām ; and of a treatise having for title كتاب الحلي. The other Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Namari spoke with elegance the language of good society and that of the people بين الكلام الخاص والعام but, says the author of the *Fihrist*, no works are mentioned as having been composed by him. *Fihrist*, fol. 112, 121.



The learned explain diversely the origin of his surname *al-Mubarrad*, and here is what the *hāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi (*No.* 345) says, in his treatise on patronymics : "Al-Mubarrad being asked how he came by this surname related as follows : The chief of the *shurṭah* (*police-guards*) wanted me to pass the evening with him in conviviality and conversation, but not wishing to go, I went to Abū Hātim al-Sijistānī's. Soon after, a messenger of that officer (*wāll*) came in search of me, and Abū Hātim bid me hide in the wicker-case of a large earthen water-jar. Having followed his advice, he put on the lid, and went to the messenger, saying : 'He is not in my house'. 'Nay', said the other, 'I am told that he is in it'. 'Well', replied Abū Hātim, 'come in and look for him'. The man went in, and searched every corner of the house, without noticing the wicker-case. When he went away, Abū Hātim clapped his hands, calling at the same time towards the case : *Al-Mubarrad ! al-Mubarrad ! (who wants cool water !)* When the public heard of this, they kept it up against me." Some say that this surname was given to him by his master Abū 'Uthmān, al-Māzinī, and others again explain it in a different manner. *Habannaqah* was the surname given to Abu 'l-Wada'āt—or Abū Nāfi'—Yazīd Ibn Tharwān al-Qaysī, whose stupidity had become so notorious that it was proverbially said : (Such a one is) *more stupid than Habannaqah al-Qaysī*. One of his camels having gone astray, he offered two camels to whoever would bring it back. They said to him : "How can you offer two camels for one ?" and he replied : "You do not know the pleasure it is to find what one has lost." This gave rise to the proverb. Verses were also made on him which got current (*among the tribes*), and the following piece, composed by Yaḥyā Ibn al-Mubārak al-Yazīdī, a person whose life we shall give, and directed against Shaybah Ibn al-Walid al-'Absī, the uncle of Daqāqah, contains an allusion to the same subject :

"Live protected by fortune and thy (*natural*) stupidity will harm thee not ; those whom we see living in prosperity are merely the favourites of fortune. The man of talent is often poor, and the fool enjoys opulence. Live protected by fortune, and you may be like *Habannaqah al-Qaysī* or *Shaybah Ibn al-Walid*."

The circumstance which induced al-Yazīdī to compose these lines was, that, being in a discussion with al-Qaysī at the court of al-Mahdī and in the presence of that *khalīf*, he remarked that *Shaybah* Ibn al-Walid, who happened to be there, displayed a great partiality against him and favoured his adversary. He, in consequence, lashed him in a number of pieces, one of which was that here given. *Dughah* was the surname of Māriyah, the daughter of Rabi'ah Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ijl Ibn *Lukhaym*. This Rabi'ah bore the surname of *Maghnaj* or *Mi'naj*. Her silliness became so notorious that it was currently said: (Such a one is) *a greater fool than Dughah*. Ibn al-Kalbī assigns her a different origin in his *Jamharat al-Nisab*; in speaking of the descendants of al-'Anbar, he says: "And Jundub, the son of al-'Anbar, engendered 'Adī, Ka'b and 'Uwayj; their mother was Māriyah, the daughter of Rabi'ah Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ijl, or, according to another statement, "she was *Dughah*, the daughter of *Maghnaj* Ibn Ziyād." He, therefore, considers Māriyah and *Dughah* as different persons; whether he be in the right or not, God only knows! What established her character for silliness was that, having brought forth a child and hearing it cry, she said to her mother: "Is it the *Ja'r* which opens its mouth (*Yafṭah fāhū*)?" to which the mother replied: "Yes; and it reviles its father (*Yasubb abāhu*)." The word *ja'r*, in its primitive acceptation, signifies the dung of any wild animal armed with claws but it was then applied, by a species of licence, to the excrements of other animals. *Dughah*, on bringing forth her child, imagined that it was an excrementitious discharge, and on hearing the child cry, she was filled with wonder and asked whence the noise proceeded. She had married a member of the family of al-'Anbar Ibn 'Amr Ibn Tamīm, and, on her account the Banu 'l-'Anbar were called the *Banu 'l-Ja'rā* (*filii podicis*). These notes, though foreign to our subject, furnish some curious particulars, and that induces me to insert them.

## 611 IBN DURAYD

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd Ibn 'Atāhiyah Ibn Ḥantam Ibn Ḥasan Ibn Ḥamāmī Ibn Jarw Ibn Wāsī' Ibn Wahb Ibn Salamah Ibn Ḥāḍir Ibn Asad Ibn 'Adī Ibn 'Amr Ibn

Mālik Ibn Fahm Ibn Ghānim Ibn Daws Ibn 'Adnān Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zahrān Ibn Ka'b Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Ka'b Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Malik Ibn Naṣr Ibn al-Azd Ibn al-Ghawth Ibn Nabt Ibn Mālik Ibn Zayd Ibn Kahlān Ibn Sabā Ibn Yashjub Ibn Ya'rub Ibn Qaḥṭān, a member of the tribe of Azd and a native of Baṣrah, was the most accomplished scholar, the ablest philologist and the first poet of the age. Al-Mas'ūdī speaks of him in these terms, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*: "And, at Baghdād, Ibn Durayd was one of those who, in our times, excelled as a poet and attained eminence as a philologist. In this science he held the rank of al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad (No. 208), and made known peculiarities of the (Arabic) language which had not been noticed in the works of his predecessors. In poetry he could assume every tone, from grave to gay; and his poetical productions are too numerous to be reckoned; otherwise, we should mention the greater part of them in this book. One of his best pieces is the *qaṣīdah*, so well known under the title of *al-Maqṣūrah*, in which he celebrates the praises of al-Shāh Ibn Mīkāl and his son; the former, named 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mīkāl and the latter Abu 'l-'Abbās Ismā'il Ibn 'Abd Allāh'. It is said that, in this poem, he has inserted most of the words terminated by a short *alif* (*maqṣūr*). It begins thus:

"If thou seest my head resemble by its colour the rays of morning (*appearing*) underneath the training robe of darkness, and its white (*hair*) shining through the black, as shineth the fire in a log of *Ghaḍā* wood.<sup>2</sup>

He then adds: "In this well-known *qaṣīdah*, he has had a number of imitators, such as Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Fahm al-Anṭākī al-Tanūkhī" (No. 440), etc. This poem has occupied the attention of many writers, in ancient and modern times, who explained its meaning and elucidated the signification of its words: the fullest of these commentaries is that composed by the jurisconsult Abū

1 According to al-Dhahabī, in his Annals, life of Ibn Durayd, that philologist was employed by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mīkāl, who was then governor of al-Ahwāz for the Khalīf al-Muqtadir, as preceptor to his son Ismā'il. MS. No. 646, fol. 115 v.

2 See No. 458. note.

'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Hishām Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Lakhmī al-Sibtī<sup>1</sup>, a modern author who died towards A. H. 570 (A.C. 1174). It was commented also by the *inām*: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far al-Qazzāz, the author of the philological treatise, the *Kitāb al-Jāmi'*: we shall give this writer's life. Amongst Ibn Durayd's most celebrated works are: the *Kitāb al-Jamharah* (the collection), highly-esteemed philological treatise<sup>2</sup>; the *Kitāb al-Ishtiqāq* (on etymology); the *Kitāb al-Sarj wa 'l-Lijām* (on the saddle and bridle)<sup>3</sup>; a large and a small book on horses; a treatise on the *Anwā* (influence of the stars on the weather); the *Kitāb al-Muqtabis* (book for him who seeks information); the *Kitāb al-Mulāḥim* (the elucidator (?)); the *Kitāb Zuwār al-'Arab* (the Arabs noted for visiting their friends); the *Kitāb al-Lughāt* (on the dialects or idiomatic expressions of the Arabs); the *Kitāb al-Silāh* (on weapons) the *Kitāb Gharīb al-Qur'ān*; on the obscure expressions of the *Qur'ān*; this work he left unfinished; the *Kitāb al-Mujtabā* (chosen selection), a work small in size but ample in matter; the *Wishāh* (embroidered belt), a short but instructive treatise. He composed also some beautiful poetry, and the men of learning in former times used to say: "Ibn Durayd is the most learned amongst poets and the ablest poet amongst the learned." In one of his pieces, the eulogistic portion is turned thus:

"A brilliant (maiden); did her cheeks display their brightness to the rising sun, he could not shine; (her waist) a pliant branch waves on a round sand-hill (the haunches), and over it is seen a moon (her face) shining through the cover of the night (her dark hair) Were beauty told to choose its representative, it

1 The manuscript of the *Bib. du Roi*, No. 490, *ancien fonds*, contains a very ample and learned commentary on Ibn Durayd's *Maqṣūrah*. Although the first pages of this commentary have disappeared, it may be easily perceived by a comparison with the edition of the *Maqṣūrah*, and of the commentary of Ibn Hishām, the first part of which was published at Copenhagen in 1828 by L.N. Boisen, that the *Biblio theque imperiale* possesses, in this MS., the great commentary of Ibn Hishām al-Lakhmī, and that the printed edition of it is a mere abridgment.

2 A copy of the last half of the *Jamharah* is in the *Biblio theque du Roi*.

3 See the observations in the Introduction to vol. I.

would not pass her by ; and were it told to address any other female it would not speak. The darkness of her hair (*shades the world and*) makes us think the sun is set ; the brightness of her face (*enlightens it and*) makes us think him rising. She appears, and her lustre dazzles every eye ; woe befall the eyes that close not then !"

Were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much, I would give numerous passages from his poetry. He was born at Baṣrah in the street (*sikkah*) of Ṣālih, A. H. 223 (A. C. 837-8), he passed his youth in that city, and there he made his studies. His masters were Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (*No.* 262), al-Riyāshī (*No.* 298), 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Abd Allāh, surnamed the *nephew of al-Aṣma'i* (*Ibn Akhi 'l-Aṣma'i*)<sup>1</sup>, Abū 'Uṭhmān Sa'id Ibn Hārūn al-Uṣhnāndānī<sup>2</sup>, author of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī*, and others. He left Baṣrah in company with his paternal uncle al-Ḥusayn, when the Zenj stormed that city and murdered al-Riyāshī (*No.* 298). He then dwelt at 'Umān<sup>3</sup> twelve years. Having returned to Baṣrah, where he again resided for a time, he set out for Persia and there became the companion of the sons of Mikāl who were at that epoch the administrators of the province of Fārs. It was for them that he composed his *Jamharah*. They appointed him director of the government office of Fārs, and no official papers were published without his approval, neither was any order executory without his signature. He gained large sums in their service, but, being prodigal of his money and always ready to oblige, he never kept a dirham in his possession, and indulged his generous inclinations to their full extent. In his *qaṣidah*, the *Maqsurah*, he introduced the eulogium of his patrons

1 "*Ibn Akhi 'l-Aṣma'i*": al-Yazīdī writes as follows: His name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Muḥammad ; some say, Abū 'l-Ḥasan. He was a dull heavy man but the pieces which he transmitted orally on the authority of his uncle and other learned men are held to be correct. He composed a treatise on the ideas occurring in poetry (*Ma'ānī 'l-Shi'r*)". (*Fihrist*, fol 75 v.)

2 The name of Abū 'Uṭhmān al-Uṣhnāndānī occurs in the *Fihrist*, fol. 81 v. and 115 v. He is there stated to have been one of the learned men of Baṣrah and the author of a *Kitāb Ma'ānī 'l-Shi'r*, and a *Kitāb al-Abyāt*.

3 Perhaps the word عَمَّان must be pronounced 'Ammān. There was a city of the name in the Balqā of Syria. 'Umān is that province of Arabia which is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf.

and received from them a present of ten thousand pieces of gold. In the year 308 (A.C. 920-1), subsequently to the deposition of the sons of Mīkāl and their removal to Khurāsān, he proceeded to Baghdād, where he found a generous protector in 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Khuwārī. The imām al-Muqtadir having been informed by al-Khuwārī of the history and high literary attainments of his guest, settled on him a monthly pension of fifty dinārs, and this allowance was regularly continued to Ibn Durayd as long as he lived. This philologist could repeat from memory a vast number of poems and other pieces; in the quantity of productions which he had learned by heart he surpassed all his predecessors, and, when students read over, under his tuition, the poetical compositions of the Arabs of the Desert, he immediately repeated from memory the remainder of the piece which his pupil had commenced. Al-Dāraquṭnī (*No. 409*) having been asked if Ibn Durayd was to be considered as a true transmitter of pieces preserved by tradition, replied that some doubts had been expressed on the subject; indeed, it is said that he was careless in his delivery of these pieces, attributing them to the first author whose name came uppermost. The philologist Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azhari (*No. 613*) relates that, having gone to see Ibn Durayd, he found him drunk, "and therefore," said he, "I never returned to his house again." "When we went to see him," said Ibn Shāhīn (*No. 131, note*), "we were shocked at the sight of lutes hung up on the wall and of wine unmixed with water." It is related that a beggar having asked him for something, he bestowed on him a cask of wine, having nothing else to give at the time. One of his boys disapproved of this act and said to him: "How can you possibly give wine in charity?" "Why," replied Ibn Durayd, "that was the only thing I had." Some time afterwards, he received ten casks of wine as a present, on which he observed to the same boy: "We bestowed one cask and received it back tenfold." A great number of similar stories are told of him. Towards the ninetieth year of his age he lost the use of his side by a paralytic stroke, but recovered by drinking theriac. He then relapsed deeper than ever into his old habits and denied

1 To give wine in charity is an infringement of the Muslim law.

himself no indulgence. He resumed also his lessons, reciting and dictating to his scholars; but, a year afterwards, having eaten something which disagreed with him, the palsy returned. All his body, from head to foot, was completely paralysed, but he could still move his hands in a slight degree. When in this state, he uttered cries of pain if any person happened to enter the room, even without going near him. Alluding to this, his disciple Abū 'Alī Ismā'il al-Qālī al-Baghdādī (No. 92) made the following remark: "I said to myself: The Almighty has punished him thus, for having said, in his *Maqṣūrah*, when speaking of time and its effects:

'(O Time!) thou hast engaged with one who, if the spheres fell on him from every point of heaven, would not utter a complaint!'

And his sufferings were such that he would cry out like one trod under foot or pricked with needles, although the person who went in did not approach him." Though reduced to this miserable state, he retained all his mental faculties, and answered with perfect justness every question which was proposed to him. "He survived this attack two years," says Abū 'Alī, "and, whilst he was in that state, I consulted him on the points of philology respecting which I had doubts, and as quick as thought, he returned me satisfactory answers. I asked him, one day, a question relative to a certain verse, and he replied; '*Had the light of my eyeballs been extinguished, you would not have found a person capable of satisfying your thirst for knowledge.*' And these very words, my son, were addressed to me by Abū Hātim when I once happened to ask him a question; and he told me that al-Aṣmā'i had spoken them to him under the same circumstances.'" "To the last question I ever addressed to him," said Abū 'Alī, "he made this reply: *Hāl al-jariḍ dūn al-qariḍ (choking has put a stop to verses)*; and these were the last words I heard him utter. Before that time, he used frequently to recite this verse, applying it to himself:

1 Horace has said, in a similar strain: *Si fractus illabatur orbis, Impavidum ferient ruinæ.* (Od. 3.3.7.)

"Wretch that I am! a life of pleasure was not mine, neither have I wrought a good deed whereby I may please God."

"The following anecdote," says al-Marzubānī<sup>1</sup> "was related to me by Ibn Durayd: I fell from (*the top of*) my house in Fārs, and broke my collarbone. I passed a sleepless night, and towards morning, having just closed my eyes, I dreamt that a tall pale man with a thin beard came to my room, and, having taken hold of the door posts, one in each hand, he said: 'Repeat to me the best verses you ever composed on wine.' I replied that Abū Nuwās (*No. 162*) had left nothing for me or any one else to say on the subject. 'Well,' said he, 'I am a better poet than Abū Nuwās.' This induced me to ask him who he was, and he answered: 'Abū Nājiyah, a native of Syria.' He then recited to me these lines:

'Red before it is mixed and pale after, (*this wine*) comes forth arrayed in narcissus (*yellow*) and in anemiony (*red*); pure, it resembles the cheeks of the beloved; mixed, it assumes the (*paled*) colour of the lover.'

When he had done, I declared the verses bad, and, on his asking my reason, I replied: 'You begin by calling it red, and then you say *arrayed in narcissus and in anemiony*, thus putting the yellow colour first; why did you so?' 'Such hyper-criticism is most untimely, you reprobate!' was his answer. In another version of this anecdote it is stated that Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī said: "Ibn Durayd recited me these two lines, composed by himself, and told me that Satan appeared to him in a dream and asked him if he had not essayed to rival Abū Nuwās? Ibn Durayd answered that he had. 'Well,' said Satan, 'your verses are not bad, but you have committed one fault'. The rest of the narration agrees with what precedes. Ibn Durayd died at Baghdād on Wednesday, the 17th of Shā'bān, A.H. 321 (August, A.C. 933,)\* and was buried on the east side of the river, in the 'Abbāsiyah cemetery. His tomb is situated behind the Arms Bāzār, near the main street (*al-Shāri'*

<sup>1</sup> His life will be found in this work.

\* The date should be 18/14 August. - Ed.



'*al-A'zam*). The celebrated Motazilite divine Abū Ḥaṣim 'Abd al-Salām al-Jubbā'i (*No. 358*) died the same day, and this caused the people to say: "To-day, philology and theology have ceased to exist!" It is stated that he lived precisely ninety-three years. Jaḥẓat al-Barmakī (*No. 54*) lamented his death in the following lines:

"Learning disappeared when Ibn Durayd made the third with the gravestone and the earth (*tarb*). I at first lamented the departure of generosity, but I now lament the departure of generosity and erudition."

*Tarb* (an unusual word) is the plural of *tarbah*, (a lump of earth.) *Durayd* is the *tarkhīm* diminutive of *Adarad* (toothless). This species of diminutive is called *tarkhīm* (softening), because the letter *a*, the initial of the primitive word, is suppressed; it is thus that of *aswad* and *azhar* they for *suwayd* and *zuhayr*. *Ḥanṭham*, the name of one of his ancestors (mentioned at the commencement of this article), means an earthen jar coated with green varnish; it is used also as a proper name for men. *Ḥamāmī*, another of his ancestors, was, according to the amīr Abū Naṣr Ibn Mākūlā (*No. 414*), the first of the family who became a convert to Islāmism. He was one of the seventy horsemen who accompanied 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣī from 'Uman to Madīnah, on learning that the Prophet was dead; the circumstance is well known<sup>1</sup>. *Ḥāl al-Jarīd dūn al-qārīd* is a well known proverb; it originated with 'Abīd Ibn al-Abrāṣ, an ante-Islāmic poet, who pronounced these words on meeting al-Nu'mān Ibn al-Mundhīr al-Lakhmī, the last king of Ḥīrah, in one of his bad days<sup>2</sup>. Al-Nu'mān resolved to put him to death according to the customs he had adopted, but first asked him to repeat some verses of his own composing; 'Abīd, who had discovered his intentions, replied: *Ḥāl al-jarīd dūn al-qārīd* (choking has put a stop to verses). It was as if the poet had said: Strangulation has put a stop to the reciting of verses. It is a well known story, and I merely give its out-

<sup>1</sup> None of the historians whom I have consulted allude to this circumstance.

<sup>2</sup> See Pococke's *Specimen hist.*, ar. 2nd ed. p. 73, and causin de Percevel's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, tom. II, page 104.

line here<sup>1</sup>. 'Abid, for so his name must be pronounced, was a celebrated poet, contemporary with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Ibn Ḥāshim, the grandfather of the Prophet.

## 612 ABŪ 'UMAR AL-ZĀHID AL-MUṬARRIZ

Abū 'Umar Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Abī Ḥāshim al-Bāwardī, genearily known by the appellation of al-Muṭarriz and surnamed *Ghulām Tha'lab* (*Tha'lab's boy*) received also the denomination of al-Zāhid (*the ascetic*) for his mortified life, and ranked among the most eminent and the most learned of the philologers. For a considerable time, he had been assiduous disciple of Abu 'l-'Abbās *Tha'lab* (No. 42), and to this circumstance he was indebted for his surname. He acquired a great stock of information under the tuition of that master, on whose work, the *Faṣīḥ*, he composed two treatises, the first, a small volume of

---

1 Le roi d'Atwa (Moundhir ou Noman) avait deux amis qui etaient ses convives habituels. Un jour, irrite de quelques propos imprudents qu'ils avaient tenus, et echauffe par les fumees du vin, il ordonna de les mettre a mort. Le lendemain, revenu de son ivresse, il fut vivement afflige et fit elever hors de Hira, deux mausolees a ses amis. Il s'imposa la loi de passer, tous les ans, deux jours aupres de ces monuments funebres. L'un de ces jours fut appele *jour de bien* يوم نعيم l'autre *jour de mal* يوم بؤس. La premiere personne qui se presenta au roi assis pres des mausolees, dans le jour de bien, il la combla de presents; la premiere qui s'offrait a sa vue, dans le jour de mal, il la faisait perir et on arrosait de son sang les deux mausolees, qui furent nommes. الغريان. Dans un de ses mauvais jours le roi etant pres des mausolees, vit venir le poete Abid qu'il connaissait et qu'il aimait, Ah! lui dit-il, pourquoi faut-il que tu sois la victime que je dois immoler! au moins, recite-moi une derniere fois ta piece de vers.-Le goiser serre par l'angoisse, repondit Abid, ne peut articuler des vers حال الجريص دون التريض. Choisis, dit le roi, quelle veine tu veux que l' on t'ouvre, celle du col, celle du bras, ou celle de la jambe?. Si tu est decide a m'oter lavie, reprit Abid, fais-moi donner du vin et quand j' aurai bu jusqu'a ce que la sensibilite soit eteinte en moi, tu feras ce que tu voudras. On apporta du vin au poete, et lorsqu'il fut enivre on lui ouvrit une veine du col et on arrosa de son sang les deux mausolees. (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*), tom IV, fol. 260.) (A. Caussin de Perceval).

corrections, and entitled *Fā'it al-Faṣīḥ* (omissions of the Faṣīḥ), the second, a commentary, forming also one volume. His other works were the *Kitāb al-Yawāqūt* (book of jewels) the *Kitāb al-Jurjānī*; the *Kitāb al-Mūḍīḥ* (the elucidator); the *Kitāb al-Sā'āt* (book of hours) the *Kitāb Yawm wa laylah* (book of the day and the night); the *Kitāb al-Mustaḥsan* (the approved); the *Kitāb al-'Aṣḥārāt* (book of decennaries); the *Kitāb al-Shūrā* (treatise on counsel); the *Kitāb al-Buyū'* (treatise on sales) a treatise on the meaning of the names of the poets; a work on the Arabian tribes; the *Kitāb al-Maknūn wa 'l-Maktūm* (the concealed and the hidden); the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥah* (on the apple); the *Kitāb al-Madākhil*; the *'Ilal al-Mudākhil*; the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (book of anecdotes); the *Kitāb Fā'it al-'Ayn* [omissions of (al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad (No. 208) in his work) the 'Ayn]; the *Kitāb Fā'it al-Jamharah* [omission of Ibn Durayd (No. 611) in his work] the *Jamharah*, and a notice on the expressions which the Arabs of the Desert reprehended as inaccurate in the lessons and writings of Abū 'Ubayd (No. 509). Many rare obsolete terms of the language were made known by Abū 'Umar, and the greater part of the words indicated by Ibn al-Sid al-Baṭalyawṣī in his *Ternary*, is taken from his indications. Many strange stories are told of this philologist. The information which he communicated to his scholars was then transmitted down by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Zarqūyah, Abū 'Alī Ibn Shādhān, and others. His birth took place in the year 261 (A.C. 874-5), and he died at Baghdād, on Sunday, the 13th of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 345 (February, A.C. 957),\* or 344. He was interred the next day in the cloister (*suffah*) situated near the tomb of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī<sup>1</sup>, from which it is only separated by the road. Abū 'Umar devoted himself to study with such assiduity that he had not time to provide for his livelihood, and always remained in a state of poverty. The quantity of information which he communicated to his disciples and of the pieces which he knew by heart was so great that the learned men of that time impugned as false the greater part of his philological observations, and they used to say that if a bird flew by, Abū 'Umar would bring forward

1 The life of Ma'rūf will be found in this work.

\* 15 February.—Ed.

something on the subject, heading it with these words: "Tha'lab told us, on the authority of Ibn al-A'rābī, that," etc. He is considered, however, as a correct and trustworthy Traditionist by all competent masters in that branch of knowledge. The greater portion of the works and pieces which he taught was dictated by him from memory without his having recourse to a book; it is said that the philological matter which he thus made known filled thirty thousand leaves of paper. It was this copiousness which exposed him to the imputation of falsehood. A number of persons concerted together and imagined a question which they might propose to him; when they obtained his answer, they let a year pass over, and then submitted to him the same question, but his answer corresponded exactly with that which he had previously given. A similar attempt to ensnare him was made by some persons who were going to hear his lessons: they happened to be conversing of the vast quantity of information which he was ever ready to communicate, and observed that, by this very talent, he had incurred the imputation of falsehood. On their way, they passed by a bridge, and one of them said: "Let us write down the name of this bridge and ask him about it; we shall see what answer he makes." When they entered the place where Abū 'Umar was, that person addressed him, saying: "*O shaykh!* what does the word *bridge* (*qantarah*)\* mean with the Arabs?" The professor answered that it meant so and so (*stating its different significations*), and his auditors received this answer with a secret smile. A month afterwards, they set forward a person to ask him about that particular *bridge*, on which he replied: "Was not the same question proposed to me a month ago, and did I not answer it so and so?" On hearing these words, the assembly was filled with admiration at his quick apprehension, acuteness, and promptitude in calling to mind the question and the time at which it had been proposed; but whether his answer was exact or not, they had no means of verifying. Mu'izz al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh (*No. 71*) had given the command of the Baghdād police-guards to one of his

---

\* The editor of the Egyptian edition observes that they had changed the word to (*hartanqa*) the reverse of (*qan'arah*) to confuse the *shaykh*, and if the correct word were given all its charm would go.—Ed.

young slaves whose name was *Khawājah*. When Abū 'Umar heard of this appointment, he was dictating to his scholars the contents of his *Kitāb al-Yawāqit* (*book of jewels*), and at his next lesson he said, on taking his seat: "Write: *Yāqūt Khawājā* (*a merchant's jewel*); the word *Khawājā*, in the dialect of the Arabs, means *hunger*." He then discussed this subject in its various ramifications and made his scholars write down his remarks. The persons present were struck with amazement at his boldness in advancing such falsehoods, and began to look out for the word in the treatises of philology<sup>1</sup>. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥātimī (*No. 623*), the *Kātib* and philologist, said: "We extracted from a dictation made by al-Ḥāmiḍ (*No. 255*) on the authority of al-Aṣma'ī who cites Ibn al-A'rābī, that the word *khawājā* means *hunger*." Abū 'Umar al-Muṭarriz was giving lessons to the son of the *qāḍī* Abū 'Umar Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf, and one day he dictated to him nearly one hundred philological questions, indicating their niceties and concluding with two lines of poetry. (*Some time after*,) Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd (*No. 611*) came in to the *qāḍī* Abū 'Umar's, with Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (*No. 616*) and Abū Bakr Ibn Muqsim<sup>2</sup>. The *qāḍī* submitted to them these questions, but they had no idea of them and knew nothing of the verses. "Well," said the *qāḍī*, "what say you to that?" "For my part", said Ibn al-Anbārī, "I am so much engaged in composing a treatise on the obscurities of the *Qur'ān* (*Mushkil al-Qur'ān*), that I can say nothing on the subject." Ibn Muqsim answered in similar terms, pretending that he was taken up with the reading of the *Qur'ān* but Ibn Durayd declared positively that the questions were all of (*the philologist*) Abū

---

1 Regular dictionaries did not then exist.

2 The *Imām* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ya'qūb Ibn Muqsim al-Aṭṭār, a learned *Qur'ān* reader and grammarian of Baḥḥadā, composed some works on the *Qur'ānic* sciences, one of which, the *Kitāb al-Anwār* (*book of lights*) contains an explanation of the meaning, and an elucidation of the style of the *Qur'ān*. Having adopted the readings taught by Ibn Ṣhanbūd (See *No. 602*), he gave such scandal to the public that he was cited before an assembly of doctors presided by Ibn Mujāhid and forced to retract, but on the death of Mujāhid he returned to his former opinions. Born A.H. 265 (A.C. 878-9); died A.H. 354 (A.C. 965). (*Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā*, fol. 84).

'Umar's invention and had no foundation whatever in the language: after this, they withdrew. When Abū 'Umar heard of what had passed, went he to the *qāḍī* and told him to bring in the collected poetical works (*diwāns*) of some ancient poets whom he named. The *qāḍī* opened his library and took out the books. Abū 'Umar then began to discuss each question successively and adduced from these *diwāns* a number of passages in proof of all his statements and pointed out those passages to the *qāḍī*. On concluding, he said: "As for the two verses, they were recited by Tha'lab in your own presence, and you yourself wrote them down on the cover of such a work," naming it. The *qāḍī* brought in the book and found the verses written on the cover and in his own hand-writing. "I found," said the Ra'is al-Ru'asā<sup>1</sup> "in the works of the philologers, and particularly in Abū 'Ubayd's *Gharīb al-Muṣannaf*, many of the expressions which had been considered as the mere fabrications of Abū 'Umar." Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāhid Ibn 'Alī Ibn Barhān al-Asadī said: "None of the ancients or of the moderns ever treated philological points so well as Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid". Abū 'Umar composed a *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (*obscure terms occurring in the Traditions*), founded on Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's work, the *Musnad*, and on this production he set the highest value. Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥātimī said: "An indisposition having prevented me from attending the sittings of Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid, some days passed over and he at length asked for me. Being informed that I was unwell, he came the next morning to see me, and as I happened to have gone out to take a bath, he wrote the following line on my door with a piece of chalk:

"The strangest thing we ever heard of is that of a sick man whose people come to visit, but cannot find."

---

1 The Ra'is al-Ru'asā 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Muslimah, wazīr to the *ḫalīf* al-Qā'im, commenced his career in a subordinate station at Baḡhdād, and rose by his talents to the wazīrate. He was versed in jurisprudence, the Traditions, and other sciences. Having incurred the enmity of the Turkish guards, he was expelled by them from Baḡhdād, but returned soon after; being then attacked by Abu 'l-Ḥārith al-Baṣāṣirī al-Turkī (See No. 78) and having fallen into the hands of his enemies, he perished in excruciating tortures, A.H. 450 (A.C. 1058). (*Al-Du'al al-Islāmiyah*),—Reiske calls him *supremus Rais*; see *Abulfedae Annales*, t. III, p. 173.

"The verse was his own." *Muṭarriz* signifies an embroiderer ; as Abū 'Umar practised that art, he derived from it a surname which has been borne also by other learned men. Abū 'Umar professed an excessive admiration of Mu'āwiyah, and, having composed a treatise on the merits of that *khalif*, he obliged every person who came to study under him to read that book. He was a man of great merit and extensive information, but what we have said in this article must suffice. I looked out for the name of Abū 'Umar in al-Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, under the word al-Muṭarriz ; he does not mention him, but he speaks of a poet called Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāhid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ayūb al-Muṭarriz, a native of Baghdād ; this may perhaps be the father of Abū 'Umar, if we are to judge from his name ; if not, he is a person unknown to me. Al-Sam'ānī adds that his poetry bore a high reputation and obtained great publicity. He then cites the following passage of his composition :

"Overcome with grief, we stopped at al-Ṣarāt<sup>1</sup>. one evening, to exchange adieus ; and, despite of envious foes, we stood unsealing (*the packets of*) every passionate desire. On saying farewell, she saw me borne down by the pains of love and granted me a kiss. Impelled by startled modesty, she drew her veil across her face, on which I said: 'The full-moon has now become a crescent.' I then kissed her through the veil, and she observed: "My kisses are wine, to be tasted they must be passed through the strainer.'"

Although al-Sam'ānī says nothing of Abū 'Umar in that article, he mentions him under the head of *Ghulām Tha'lab*, adding the remarks which we have already made at the commencement of this notice. Since writing the above, a number of years had elapsed when I found at Baghdād the *Diwān* of Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāhid, surnamed al-Muṭarriz. He was a native of that city, and the greater part of his poetry is very good. His birth took place in the year 354 (A.C. 965-6), and his death in 439, on Sunday, the first of the latter Jumādā (November, A.C. 1047).\* It is therefore evident that he was not the father of Abū

1 See No. 129, note

\* 22 November.—Ed.

'Umar, but another person of the same trade. *Bāwardī* means *belonging to Bāward* or *Abīward*, a village in *Khurāsān* and the native place of Abu 'l-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī, a poet whose life we shall give.

### 613 ABŪ MANṢŪR AL-AZHARĪ

Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Azhar Ibn Ṭalḥah Ibn Nūḥ Ibn Azhar al-Azharī al-Harawī (*native of Herāt*), a philologist of the highest rank and celebrity, was doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, but addicted himself so exclusively to the study of the language that his reputation is founded on his acquirements in that branch of knowledge. His piety, his talents, and his exactitude as a transmitter of philological information were universally acknowledged. The matter of his lessons was derived by him from the philologist Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ja'far al-Mundhirī, who had received it from Abu 'l-'Abbās *Tha'lab* and other masters. Having proceeded to Baghdād, he met Ibn Durayd, but never taught any thing on his authority. He received also a part of his information from Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Arafah, surnamed *Niṣṭawayh* (*No. 11*), and from Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Sarī, a grammarian more generally known by the name of Ibn al-Sarrāj. [We shall give his life, (*No. 615*)]. Some say, however, that he obtained no part of his information from the latter person. To acquire a more complete knowledge of the Arabic language, al-Azharī travelled over Arabia; and a person of merit has stated that he read a note, to the following effect, in Abū Manṣūr's handwriting: "I had the misfortune to be made a prisoner, the year in which the Qarmāṭs intercepted the pilgrim-caravan at al-Habir. The people to whose share I fell were Arabs, bred in the desert; they passed the grazing-time in visiting with their flocks the regions in which rain had fallen, and, in the hot season, they returned to a number of watering-places situated at the spots where they usually stationed; they kept camels and lived on the milk of these animals; they spoke an idiom suited to their Bedwin habits, and very rarely indeed, did they mispronounce a word or commit a gross fault of



language. I remained in bondage amongst them for a long time ; our winters we passed at al-Dahnā, our spring at al-Ṣammān, and our summers at al-Sitārān. From discoursing with them and from their conversation one with the other, I learned a great quantity of words and singular expressions ; and most of these I inserted in my book"—by his *book* he means the *Tahdhīb*—"where you will find them classed under their proper heads." He again resumes the subject in this discourse, and mentions that he passed two winters at al-Ṣammān. Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azhārī had a passion for collecting loose scraps of philology and possessed a perfect acquaintance with all the secrets and niceties of the language. His philological treatise, the *Tahdhīb (arrangement)* fills upwards of ten volumes and is a highly-esteemed work. His *Gharīb al-Alfāz (signification of rare words)*, a work in one volume, is held by jurists as their main authority for the signification of every obscure and doubtful word in the law language.

*The Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl [explanation of difficult words (?)]* is another of his productions. At Baghdād he met Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj (No. 12) and Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī, but has given nothing on the authority of either. He was born A.H. 282 (A.C. 895-6), and he died at Herāt towards the close of the year 370 (ends in July, A.C. 981). Some place his death a year later. The surname *al-Azhārī* he derived from the circumstance of having an ancestor who bore the name of *Azhar*. Of *Harawī* we have already spoken (No. 35). The Qarmāṭs (*Qarāmiṭah*) were so called after a man named *Qirmīṭ*, who belonged to the Sawād<sup>1</sup> of Kūfah. They held a most reprehensible doctrine, and they made their first appearance in the year 281 (A.C. 894-5), under the *khālīfate* of al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh. This sect subsisted for a long period and acquired such strength that it not only rendered the roads dangerous for travellers, but conquered a great number of provinces. Of these events a full account will be found in the works of historians<sup>2</sup>. The combat of *al-Habl* to which al-Azhārī alludes, took place A.H. 311 (A.C. 923-4); the Qarmāṭs, who had then for chief Abū

---

1 See No. 485.

2 Ibn Khallikān has already given some account of them. See No. 182 et seq.

Ṭāhir al-Jannābī al-Qirmīṭī, attacked the pilgrim-caravan, slew some of the travellers, reduced others to slavery, and seized on all their property. This occurred in the *khalifate* of al-Muqtadir, son of al-Mu'taḍid. It is said the Qarmaṭs made their first appearance in the year 278 (A.C. 891-2), and that their first chief was Abū Sa'id al-Jannābī, who established his authority in the province of Baḥrayn and Hajar. He was murdered in the year 301 (A.C. 913-4) by one of his slaves. Abū Ṭāhir lost his life in A.H. 332 (A.C. 943-4). *Jannābī* means belonging to *Jannābah*, a town in the province of Baḥrayn, and situated on the sea-coast, near Sīrāf. *Habīr* (as an appellative noun) signifies a low ground. *Al-Dahnā*, or *al-Dahna* with a short final *a*, is the name of a large tract of country in the Arabian desert, forming part of the territory belonging to the tribe of Tamīm. It is said to consist of seven mountains of sand; according to some, it is situated in the desert of Baṣrah and in the territory of the tribe of Sa'd. *Al-Ṣammān* is a red mountain in the neighbourhood of al-Dahnā; an easy road leads across it in three days' time, and its height is not great. Some say that it is situated near the sandy desert of 'Ālij. at nine days' journey from Baṣrah. *Al-Sitārān*, the dual of *Sitār*, is a name serving to designate two valleys which lie in the territory of the tribe of Sa'd; one of them is called *al-Sitār al-Aḡhar* (the dusty *Sitār*), the other the *al-Sitār al-Ḥā'irī*<sup>1</sup>, and both bear the denomination of *Sūdāh*. They contain some springs of running water which serve to irrigate date-trees. The preceding remarks have no direct connexion with our subject, but, as they serve to explain some words which might embarrass the reader of this compilation, we have judged it useful to insert them.

#### 614 ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-YAZĪDĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, a *nawlā* to the tribe of 'Adī Ibn

<sup>1</sup> The MS. of al-Yāqūtī's *Muṣhtarik*, in the *Bib. du Roi*, reads *al-Jabirī* (الجابري).

'Abd Manāt (*al-'Adawi*), was a grammarian and philologist of the highest rank, a relator of (*philological*) anecdotes and a transmitter of the phraseology current among the Arab of the desert. We shall give the life of his ancestor Abū Muḥammad Yahyā Ibn al-Mubārak. One of the anecdotes told by him was the following : An Arab of the desert loved a female of the same region and sent her, by a slave, a present of thirty sheep and a skin filled with wine. On the way, the slave killed one of the sheep and ate a portion of it, and drank part of the contents of the wine-skin. When he brought the rest to her, she perceived the trick, and on the slave's asking her, when about to return, if she had any message to send back, she resolved on acquainting the master with the fellow's conduct, and answered: "Give him my salutation, and tell him that our month was *maḥāqa*, and that Suḥaym, the keeper of our sheep, came here with a bloody nose (*marthūm*)."<sup>1</sup> The slave, not knowing what she intended by these expressions, bore them back to his master, who immediately perceived their drift, and calling for a cudgel, said to the messenger ; "Tell me the truth, or I will give you a sound drubbing." The slave confessed his fault and obtained pardon. This message contained the most subtle and elegant allusions to what the slave had done. The word *marthūm* means one whose nose is broken and bleeds ; *ratham*, another derivative of the same root, means a white spot on the upper-lip of a horse. *Marthūm* is employed metaphorically to designate a wine or water-skin<sup>1</sup>. He left some works, such as the *Kitāb al-Khayl* (*book of horses*), the *Manāqib*, etc. (*merits of the 'Abbāsides*), the *Akhbār al-Yazīdiyyīn* (*history of the Yazīd family*), and a compendious treatise on grammar. Having been employed, towards the close of his life, as preceptor to the children of al-Muqtadir

---

1 Our author has here imitated the manner of many Arabian commentators, who explain what is clear enough and pass over what is obscure. He might have added that a *maḥāq* month is one, on the last night of which there is no moonshine. So that it contains only twenty-nine moonlight nights in place of thirty. The expression : *the month was maḥāq* is therefore equivalent to *one of the thirty was wanting*. This, of course, referred to the thirty sheep. Our author might also have observed that *Suḥaym*, a very common Bedwin name, means *the little black* ; an epithet designating perfectly well a wine-skin rubbed over with pitch to preserve it.

bi Allāh, he filled that office for some time. Soon after his entry into the khalif's service, one of his friends met him and asked his protection, but he replied : "I am too busy for that."<sup>1</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Yazīdī died on the eve of Monday, the 18th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 310 (October, A.C. 922)\*, at the age of eighty-two years and three months. *Yazīdī* here means *related to Yazid Ibn Maṣṣūr*; of this we shall again speak, in the life of his ancestor Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā Ibn al-Mubārak.

### 615 IBN AL-SARRĀJ THE GRAMMARIAN

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Sarī Ibn Sahl the grammarian, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Sarrāj, was one of the most distinguished masters in that science, and his high abilities in it and in philology are universally acknowledged. Amongst the persons from whom he acquired his philological information was Abu 'l-'Aḥbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*); and some eminent masters, such as Abū Sa'id al-Sirāfī (*No. 154*) and 'Alī Ibn 'Isā al-Rummānī (*No. 410*), studied it under his tuition. Al-Jawharī in his *Ṣaḥūḥ* cites his authority in a number of articles. Ibn al-Sarrāj composed some grammatical works of great repute, and his *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* (*principles*), one of the best treatises on the subject, is always referred to when the traditional information on any grammatical point is uncertain or contradictory. His other works are the *Jumal al-Uṣūl* (*the collected principles*), a short treatise called the *Mūjaz* (*compendium*); the *Kitāb al-Iṣṭiqāq* (*on etymology*), a commentary on Sibawayh's *Kitāb* (*No. 479*), the *Iḥtijāj al-Qurā* (*appreciation of the motives which influenced Qur'ān-readers in their readings*), the Book of the Poets and Poetry, the Book of the Winds, the Air, and Fire; the Book of the Camel, and the *Kitāb al-Muwāṣīlat* (*book of loving unions, or book of gifts*). He pronounced the letter *r* incorrectly, giving it the sound of *gh*, and happening, one day,

---

<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps the idiomatic form of this expression in Arabic which caused it to be remarked.

\* 14 October.—Ed.

to dictate a word in which this letter occurred, and perceiving that his disciple wrote it with a *ghayn*, he exclaimed : "No, no ! with a *gha*, with a *gha* !" <sup>1</sup> I found in an anthology some verses attributed to him, but am unable to ascertain whether they are really his or not. They relate to a girl whom the poet loved and are familiar to most persons. The lines to which I allude are these:

"I compared her beauty with her conduct, and found that her charms did not counterbalance her perfidy. She swore to me never to be false, but it was as if she had sworn never to be true. By Allāh ! I shall never speak to her again, even though she resembled in beauty the full moon, or the sun, or al-Muktafi !"

This article was already terminated when I discovered that these verses are certainly his, and a curious anecdote is connected with them : The author, Abū Bakr, loved a young girl, but she treated him with marked disdain : it happened at that time that the imām (*khalif*) al-Muktafi returned from al-Raqqah, and the people assembled to witness his entry into the city, and Abū Bakr was so much struck with his beauty that he recited these verses to his companions. Some time after, the *kātib* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Zinjī<sup>2</sup> repeated them to Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn al-Furāt (*No. 462*), saying that they were composed by Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*No. 316*), and Abu 'l-'Abbās communicated them to the wazīr al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (*No. 438*). The latter then went to the *khalif* and recited the verses to him, adding that they were by 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir (*No. 333*), to whom al-Muqtadir immediately ordered a present of one thousand dinārs. "How very strange," said Ibn Zinjī, "that Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sarrāj should compose verses which were to procure a donation to 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir!" Abū Bakr died on Sunday, the 26th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 316 (February, A.C. 929)\*. *Sarrāj* means a saddler.

1 He meant to say : with a *ra*.

2 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Zinjī, a *kātib* celebrated for the beauty of his *penmanship*, left a collection of epistles composed by himself and a treatise on his art (*Fihrist*, fol. 178).

\* 31 January.—Ed.

616 IBN AL-ANBĀRĪ *THE GRAMMARIAN*

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Qāsim Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Bashshār Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Bayyān Ibn Samāah Ibn Farwah Ibn Qaṭan Ibn Di'āmah Al-Anbārī the grammarian, and author of various well-known treatises on grammar and philology, was the most learned man of his time in the different branches of general literature, and their superior also by the quantity of literary matter which he knew by heart. He was a veracious and conscientious traditionist, pious, virtuous, and a strict follower of the *sunnah*. Amongst his numerous works were treatises on the different *Qur'ānic* sciences, on the rare and the obscure expressions occurring in the *Qur'ān*, on the pause, on the commencement of phrases, a refutation of those who impugn the edition of the *Qur'ān* in general use, and a book called *al-Zahīr* (*the blooming*). High praise is bestowed on him by the *Ḥaṭīb* (*No. 33*) in his History of Baghdād; this author says: "I have been informed that Abū Bakr made dictations even in his father's lifetime, each of them dictating in a different part of the mosque. His father was learned in philology and an exact, veracious, and trustworthy transmitter of literary pieces preserved by tradition. He inhabited Baghdād. A number of learned men and his own son delivered pieces on his authority. He composed a treatise on the (*name of the parts of the*) human frame, a treatise on the frame of the horse, a book of proverbs, a treatise on the long and the short final *alif*, a treatise on the genders, a treatise on the uncommon expressions occurring in the Traditions and other works." Abū 'Alī al-Qālī (*No. 92*) says: "It is stated that Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī knew by heart three hundred thousand verses illustrative of expressions occurring in the *Qur'ān*, and that a person having said to him: 'The great quantity of pieces which you know by heart is often spoken of; how much do you really know? he answered: 'I have in my memory (*as much as would fill*) thirteen chests.'" It is mentioned that he knew by heart one hundred and twenty explanations of the *Qur'ān* with their *isnāds*<sup>1</sup>. Abu 'l-

---

<sup>1</sup> See vol. I, Introduction.

Ḥasan al-Dāraquṭnī (No. 409) relates that, on a certain Friday, he happened to be present at one of the sittings held by Ibn al-Anbārī for the purpose of making dictations, and that he gave a wrong pronunciation to a name occurring in the *isnāds* of a Tradition. "He said *Ḥayyān* (حيان)" relates al-Daraquṭnī, "instead of of Ḥabbān, (حببان) or *Ḥabbān* instead of *Ḥayyān*." I thought it would be a pity that an error of this kind should be adopted and propagated on the authority of so able and so eminent a man as Ibn al-Anbārī, but not daring to acquaint him with his mistake, I waited till the lesson was over, and approached the disciple to whom the dictations were directly addressed, pointing out the error of the master and informing him of the true reading. I then retired. The following Friday, I attended the next sitting, and Abū Bakr said: 'Let it be known to all here present, that, last Friday, in dictating a certain Tradition, I gave a wrong pronunciation to a name, and that youth indicated the true one; and let that youth know that I referred to the source whence I derived the Tradition and found the word written as he said.' Amongst Ibn al-Anbārī's works may be noticed his *Ḥarīb al-Ḥadīth* (unusual terms occurring in the Traditions.) filling, it is said, forty-five thousand leaves, a commentary on the grammatical treatise the *Kāfi*<sup>1</sup>, filling about one thousand leaves; a treatise on the final *h*, in about one thousand leaves; a list of words each of which bears two contrary significations, the *Kitāb al-Jāhiliyāt*<sup>2</sup> filling seven hundred leaves, a treatise on the genders, the most complete ever composed; the *Risālat al-Muḥkil* [epistola dubii (?)] in which he refutes Ibn Qutaybah (No. 306) and Abū Ḥātim (No. 262). He

---

1 Ḥājji Khalifah notices a treatise on grammar entitled the *Kāfi*, and composed by Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn al-Naḥḥās. As this grammarian was a pupil of Ibn al-Anbārī's (No. 39), it is possible that the commentary mentioned by Ibn Khallikān referred to the work of Ibn al-Naḥḥās. The author of the *Fihrist* mentions the grammatical treatise the *Kāfi*, as the work of Ibn al-Anbārī himself, and takes no notice of the commentary.

2 This appears to have been a collection of poems composed in the times anterior to Islāmism, a work similar to the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (See No. 607, note). What may help to confirm this conjecture is, that in the list of Ibn al-Anbārī's works, as given in *Fihrist*, fol. 105v. we find a *Kitāb al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt* and not *Kitāb al-Jāhiliyāt*.

was born on Sunday, the 11th of Rajab, A.H. 271 (January, A.C. 885)\*, and he died on the eve of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A.H. 328 (August, A.C. 940); some say, A.H. 327. His father al-Qāsim died at Baghdād, A.H. 304 (A.C. 916-7); some say, in the month of Šafar, A.H. 305. We have explained the meaning of the word *Anbārī* (No. 320). At one of his dictations he quoted the following verses by a Bedwin Arab :

"When you hindered her from speaking to me, why did you not hinder her image from leaving the distant region where she now resides and visiting my slumbers in its unerring course ? May God shed His favour on a certain dwelling, in the sands of the tribe's reserved grounds, although the aspect of its ruins made me betray the passion I concealed. Were my corpse borne on its bier past these abodes, the very owl which dwells therein would say: "O my friend ! come and stay with me."

At another sitting, he dictated these lines :

"In the white regions of al-Urabah, if you visit its people, you will see fair gazelles roaming at liberty without a keeper. They go forth for the pleasure of encountering danger, and incur no jealous suspicions; chaste they are, and he who wishes to sport with them may despair."

### 617 ABU 'L-'AYNĀ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Khallād Ibn Yāsir Ibn Sulaymān al Hāshimī (*a member, by enfranchisement, of the Hāshim family*), surnamed Abu 'l-'Aynā, was a *mawlā* to (*the Khalif*) Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr. The family of Abu 'l-'Aynā, who was a blind man, remarkable for his repartees, verses, and literary knowledge, belonged to (*the province of*) al-Yamāmāh (*in Arabia*), but he himself was born at al-Ahwāz and bred at Baṣrah. He there learned Traditions and cultivated literature, having heard the

---

\* 3 January.—Ed.



lessons of Abū 'Ubaydah<sup>1</sup>, al-Aṣma'ī (No. 354), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (No. 245), al-'Utbī<sup>2</sup>, and other masters. He was an excellent ḥāfiẓ and spoke with great elegance; fluent in his discourse, prompt in his repartees, and surpassing in penetration and sharpness all his contemporaries, he ranked among the most brilliant wits of the age. Numerous amusing anecdotes are related of what passed between him and Abū 'Alī al-Ḍarīr<sup>3</sup>, and of the charming pieces of verse which he composed on those occasions. Being one day in the society of a certain wazīr, the conversation turned on the history of the Barmakides and their generosity; on which the wazīr said to Abu 'l-Aynā, who had just made a high eulogium of that family for their liberality and bounty: "You have praised them and their qualities too much; all this a mere fabrication of book-makers and a fable imagined by two authors." Abu 'l-Aynā immediately replied: "And why then do book-makers not relate such fables of you, O wazīr?" The wazīr remained silent, and the company were struck with astonishment at Abu 'l-Aynā's boldness. Having one day complained of his distressed circumstances to 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Wahb (No. 12 note), the latter replied: "Did I not write in your favour to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mudabbar<sup>4</sup>?" "It is true," said Abu 'l-Aynā; "but you wrote to a man prevented from satisfying his generous inclinations by the protraction of poverty, the humiliation of captivity, and the cruelty of fortune; so my efforts were frustrated and my hopes disappointed." "But," said the wazīr, it was you yourself who made choice of him". "O wazīr!" replied Abu 'l-Aynā, "I am not to be blamed for that; *Moses chose (out of) his people seventy men*<sup>5</sup> and

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 The life of al-'Utbī will be found in this work.

3 Abū 'Alī al-Ḍarīr (*the blind*), called also (perhaps by antiphrasis) Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr (البصير) (*the clear-sighted*), was an eminent poet and epistolary writer; the author of the *Fihrist* informs us under the heads of Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr and Abū 'l-Aynā, that the former corresponded with and satirized the latter. (*Fihrist*, fol. 169, 171).

4 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mudabbār and his brothers, Aḥmad and Muḥammad, were eminent poets and prose writers جميعهم شاعر مترسل بليغ (*Fihrist*, fol. 169). The word مترسل seems to indicate that they were employed in the Board of Correspondence.

5 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 7, verse 154.

there was not a prudent man among them; the blessed Prophet chose for secretary 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abī Sarḥ, and he fell into apostacy and joined the infidels; and 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, chose for arbitrator Abu Mūsa 'l-Ash'ari, and he decided against him." By the words *humiliation of captivity*, Abu 'l-Aynā alluded to the circumstance of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mudabbar's having been imprisoned at Baṣrah by 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad, chief of the Zinj (*No. 298, note*). Ibrāhīm effected his escape by breaking through the prison wall. Abū 'l-Aynā having one day gone to visit Abū 'l-Saqr Ismā'il Ibn Bulbul (*No. 553, note*), that wazīr said to him, "What has kept you away from us so long, "Abū 'l-Aynā?" "My ass was stolen from me."—"How was it stolen?" "I was not with the thief, so I cannot say."—"Why then not ride to visit us on another?"—"My poverty prevented me from buying; my pride, from hiring; and my independence, from borrowing." He one day had a dispute with a descendant of 'Alī, and his adversary said to him: "You attack me, and yet you say in your prayers: Almighty God! bless Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad."—"Yes," replied Abū 'l-Aynā, "but I add: who are virtuous and pure." A common fellow having stood in his way, he perceived it and said: "What is that?"—"A man of the sons of Adam;" was the reply. "Welcome, welcome!" exclaimed Abū 'l-Aynā, "God grant you long life! I thought that all his sons were dead." Having gone one day to the door of Ṣā'id Ibn Makhlad and asked permission to enter, he was told that the wazīr was engaged in prayer. "Ah!" exclaimed Abu 'l-Aynā, "there is pleasure in novelty." It must be here observed the Ṣā'id had been a Christian before his appointment to the wazīrate<sup>1</sup>. Happening to pass by the door of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maṣṣūr, who was then recovering from an attack of sickness, he asked the servant how he was. "Just as you could wish," was the answer. "Why then," replied Abu 'l-Aynā, "do I not hear the funeral cry?" A mendicant whom he invited to

---

<sup>1</sup> Ṣā'id Ibn Makhlad was one of al-Mu'tamid's wazīrs. Ibn al-Athīr informs us in his *Kāmil*, under the year 276, that Ṣā'id Ibn Makhlad went that year to Wāsiṭ, where al-Muwaffiq the Khalīf's brother and lieutenant, received him with the highest marks of honour. On this occasion, Ṣā'id conducted himself with much haughtiness, and, soon after, al-Muwaffiq imprisoned him and his family.

partake of his supper having eaten it all up, he said to him ; " I asked you through charity, and it will be a charity in you to leave me." One of his friends met him at an early hour of the morning and expressed his astonishment at his being up so soon : " You do as I do," replied Abu 'l-'Aynā, " and yet you wonder at me." Having been informed that al-Mutawakkil had said of him : " Were he not blind, I should take him for a boon companion ;" he said : " Provided the khalif dispense me from watching for the new moon " (*which is the duty of a muwadhhdhin*) and from reading the inscriptions on seals " (*which is the duty of a kätib*) " I should make a good boon companion." Being asked how long he would continue to praise some and satirize others, he replied : " As long as the virtuous do good and the wicked do evil ; but God forbid that I should be as the scorpion which stingeth equally the Prophet and the infidel." Ibn al-Mukarram<sup>1</sup>, with whom he frequently engaged in playful dispute, having heard a man observe that he who loses his sight loses his shrewdness, he said : " What makes you forget Abu 'l-'Aynā ; he has lost his sight and gained immensely in shrewdness."

The same Ibn al-Mukarram heard him say one day, in his prayers : " O Lord, hearken to thy petitioner!" on which he exclaimed : " You son of prostitute ! whom have you not petitioned ?" The same person once asked Abu 'l-'Aynā maliciously, how many liars there were at Baṣrah, and obtained for answer : " As many as there are reprobates at Baghdād <sup>2</sup>". Having gone to see Ibn Thawābah<sup>3</sup>, who had got the better of Abu 'l-Ṣaqr<sup>4</sup> in a dispute, he said to him : I have learned what passed between you and Abu 'l-Ṣaqr, and if he did not make you a full reply, it was

1 According to the author of the *Fihrist*, fol. 170, Muḥammad Ibn Mukarram was an eloquent *Kätib* and epistolary writer. In the *Khaṭīb's* great History of Baḡhdād, we find mention made of an Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Mukarram al-Ṣaffār who died, as it would appear, in the year 231 (A.C. 854-6).

2 Baḡhdād was the native place of Ibn al-Mukarram, as Baṣrah was that of Abu 'l-'Aynā.

3 The author of the *Fihrist* indicates two persons bearing the surname of Ibn Thawābah, one called Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Thawābah, a man of learning and talent ; and the other, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Thawābah, an accomplished epistolary writer and secretary of the khalif al-Mu'taḍid. (*Fihrist*, fol. 176 v).

4 He means the wazīr ; see No. 553, note.

because he could find no pride in you to humble, and no honour to blast ; and moreover he detested your flesh too much to devour it, and despised your blood too much to think it worth spilling." "And what business have you," exclaimed Ibn Thawābah, "to thrust yourself into my affairs and those of people in his station ? beggar that you are ! " "Blame not a man of fourscore," replied Abu 'l-Aynā, "a man who has lost his sight and who is ill-treated by his prince, if he has recourse to the charity of his brethren; that is a better occupation than the trade of a catamite<sup>1</sup> hindering men to have progeny and increasing the burden of their crimes. "When two persons rail at each other," said Ibn Thawābah, "it is the vilest who gains the day." "Right !" retorted Abu 'l-Aynā, "and you gained the day over Abu 'l-Ṣaqr, and silenced him yesterday." Happening, in the year 246 (A.C. 860-7), to enter into the presence of al-Mutawakkil, who was then in his palace called al-Ja'farī, that khalif said to him : "What thinkest thou of this our dwelling-house ?" to which he made this reply : "Others have built houses in the world, but you have built a world in your house." Al-Mutawakkil expressed his satisfaction at the answer, and then asked him how he stood wine. The other replied : "I cannot resist a small quantity, and I disgrace myself if I take much." "Come !" said the khalif, "do not say so, but be our boon-companion." "I am a sightless man," replied Abu 'l-Aynā ; "all who sit in your company are ready to serve you, and I require a person to serve me ; neither am I free from the apprehension that you may look at me with the eye of one who is well pleased whilst your heart is wroth against me, or that your eye may express wrath whilst your heart is well-pleased ; and if I cannot distinguish these two signs, it may cost me my life. So I shall prefer safety to risk." "I am told," said the khalif, "that thou hast an evil tongue." "Commander of the faithful !" replied Abu 'l-Aynā, "the Almighty himself has uttered praise and satire ;

---

1 Instead of this word, Abu 'l-Aynā uses a periphrase still grosser ; but as some of the terms he employs are not perfectly intelligible, it may be here observed that انزال signifies *emissio seminis* ; استنزال *provocatio ad emissionem* ; ماء الصلب *semen*. The word اوزار here signifies : *burthen of crime*.

he has said : *How excellent a servant ! for he frequently turned himself unto God<sup>1</sup> and ; a defamer, going about with slander, a preventer of good, a transgressor, a wicked wretch<sup>2</sup>.*

And a poet hath said :

"If I praise not the honest man and revile not the sordid, the despicable, and base, why should I have the power of saying, *That is good, and this is bad ?* And why should God have opened (men's) ears and my mouth ?"

"Whence dost thou come?" said the khalif. "From Baṣrah." "What hast thou to say of that place ?" "Its water is bitter ; its heat is a torment, and it is pleasant when hell is pleasant". "When Najāḥ Ibn Salamah was delivered over to Mūsā Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī,\* who had been commissioned to exact from him the sums which he owed (*to government*), the cruel tortures to which the prisoner was submitted caused his death<sup>4</sup>. This

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 38, verse 29.

2 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 68, verses 11 and 12.

3 See something similar to this in No. 103.

4 Najāḥ Ibn Salamah was president of the Board of Requests (*dīwān al-tawqī'ālī*) an office in which were drawn up the answers to the memorials presented to the sovereign. He was charged also with the control of the agents who administered the estates belonging to the government. Having discovered some extensive peculations committed by Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, chief of the Revenue-Office (*al-kharāj*) and al-Ḥasan Ibn Maḥlād, president of the Board of Estates, he sent in a memorial to the khalif al-Mutawakkil, representing to him that these two officers had retained in their possession forty millions of dirhams. The khalif replied that, the next day, Mūsā and al-Ḥasan should be delivered over to him that he might proceed against them. But that night, the wazīr 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Yahyā, who favoured those two officers, induced Najāḥ to withdraw his accusation and promised that he would arrange the affair. The next morning, Najāḥ's retraction was presented to the khalif with a declaration signed by Mūsā and al-Ḥasan, wherein they stated that they had already paid into the hands of Najāḥ upwards of two millions of dīnārs, for which he had not accounted to the state. Al-Mutawakkil immediately delivered over Najāḥ and his sons to Mūsā, who obliged them to confess that they had in their possession about forty millions of dīnārs, without counting their magazines of corn, their horses, and landed property. Mūsā took all this wealth from his prisoners, and after inflicting a severe flogging on Najāḥ, he put him to death by

(Continued on page 325)

\* M. de Slane corrects it in *erata* as Mūsā Ibn Abdal Malik ; but the editor 'Abd al-Ḥamid does not agree with him.—Ed.

happened on Monday, the 22nd of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 245 (Feb. A.C. 860).<sup>\*</sup> The same evening al-Mu'tazz bi-Allāh, the son of al-Mutawakkil, attained the age of puberty, and some persons of high rank were assembled at Abu 'l-Aynā's. One of them having asked him if he had any news of Najāḥ Ibn Salamah, he answered *in the words of the Qu'rān*, sūrah 28, verse 14: "Moses (*Mūsā*) struck him and killed him." Those words came to the ears of Mūsā, who, soon after, met Abū 'l-'Aynā in the street and threatened him, on which the latter said (*in the words of the same chapter*, verse 18): "Dost thou intend to kill me, as thou killedst a man yesterday?" A certain great man having made him a promise which he did not fulfil, Abu 'l-'Aynā wrote to him in these terms: "The confidence I have in your word prevents me from complaining of your slowness; and the knowledge I have of your constant occupations induces me to awaken your recollection. Yet, confident as I am in your kindness though slow, and convinced of your generous spirit, I dread lest death overtake me, and death is the destroyer of hope. May God increase your days and make you attain the term of your wishes. Adieu." The anecdotes told of Abu 'l-'Aynā are very numerous; the following one is stated to have been related by himself: "I was one day sitting with Abu 'l-Jahm<sup>1</sup> when a man came in and said to him: 'You made me a promise, and it depends on your kindness to fulfil it.' Abu 'l-Jahm answered that he did not recollect any thing of it, and the other replied: 'If you do not recollect it, 'tis because the persons like me to whom you make promises are numerous; and if I remember it 'tis because the persons like you to whom I may confidently address a request are few.' 'Well said! blessings on your father!' exclaimed Abu 'l-Jahm, and the promise

(Continued from page 324)

the compressing of his testicles. The sons of the victim were then beaten till they acknowledged having in their possession seventy thousand *dīnārs* and other property. Mūsā took all from them, and extorted also large sums from the agents employed by Najāḥ in the different cities of the empire. (Ibn al-Aṭḥr's *Kāmil*, year 245).

1 Al-Dhahabī states in his obituary that Abu 'l-Jahm Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn, a poet, remarkable for his moral exhortations *خطيب الشعر*, died A.H. 319 (A.C. 931).

<sup>\*</sup> 19 February.—Ed.

was immediately fulfilled." Abu 'l-'Aynā was born A. H. 191 (A. C. 806-7) at al-Ahwāz, as we have already said; he passed his early youth at Baṣrah; on attaining his fortieth year, he lost his sight, and, having resided for a time at Baghdād, he returned to Baṣrah, and died there in the month of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 283 (July - August, A.C. 896); some say, 282. His son Ja'far says that his death took place on the 10th of the first Jumādā, and his birth in A. H. 190; God best knows which of these statements is the more correct. He received the surname of *Abu 'l-'Aynā* (*father large-eye*) from the circumstance of his having asked Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (No. 245) how he formed the diminutive of 'āyn (*eye*), to which he received this answer: "'Uyanā, O Abu 'l-'Aynā!" which nickname stuck to him ever after. We have already spoken of *al-Yamāmah*, (No. 297) and *al-Ahwāz*.

#### 618 MUḤAMMAD IBN 'UMAR AL-WAQIDĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Wāqid al-Wāqidī, a native of Madinah (*al-Madanī*) and a *mawlā* to the Hāshim family—or to that of Sahn Ibn Aslam, according to some—was a man eminent for learning, and the author of some well-known works on the conquests of the Muslims [*al-Maghāzī*] and other subjects. His *Kitāb al-Riddah*, (*history of the apostacy*), a work of no inferior merit, contains an account of the apostacy of the Arabs on the death of the Prophet, and of the wars between the Companions and Ṭalayḥah Ibn Khuwaylid al-Azdī, al-Aswad Al-'Ansī and Musaylamah al-Kadhḍhāb (*the liar*).<sup>1</sup> He received traditional information from Ibn Abī Dhi'b (No. 540), Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid (*Introduction*), Mālik Ibn Anas (No. 524), al-Thawrī (No. 248), and others; his secretary Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd (whose life comes immediately after this), and a number of other distinguished men delivered traditional information on his authority. He held the post of *qāḍī* in the eastern quarter of Baghdād, and was appointed by al-Māmūn to fill the same office at 'Askar al-Mahdī. The Traditions received from him are considered of feeble authority, and doubts have been expressed on the subject of his veracity. Al-Māmūn

<sup>1</sup> See Abu 'l-Fidā, reign of Abū Bakr; Price in his *Retrospect*, vol. I; Kosegarten's *Annals of al-Ṭabarī*, part I.

testified a high respect for him and treated him with marked honour. Al-Wāqidi once wrote to him, complaining that straitened circumstances had obliged him to contract debts, and specified the amount of what he owed. On this memorial al Māmūn inscribed the following answer: "You possess the qualities of liberality and modesty: liberality allows your hand to disperse freely what you possess, and modesty induces you to mention only a part of your debts. We have therefore ordered you the double of what you ask; if this be not sufficient, the fault is your own; and if it answer your expectations, be yet more liberal than before, for the treasures of God are open, and His hand is stretched forth to do good. When you acted as *qāḍī* to al-Rashīd, you told me that the blessed Prophet said to al-Zubayr! : 'O Zubayr! the keys of the provision which God grants to His creatures are placed before His throne; He bestoweth on them in proportion to their expenditure; if they spend much, He gives much, and if they spend little, He gives little.'" "I had completely forgotten this Tradition," observed al-Wāqidi "and I derived more pleasure from his reminding me of it than from the present he made me." Bishr al-Hāfi (No. III) related one single fact relative to al-Wāqidi, which was that he heard him say: "How to write a charm to cure fevers. Take some olive leaves, and, on a Saturday, being yourself in a state of purity, write on one of these leaves:

I Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwām Ibn Khuwaylid Ibn Asad Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā Ibn Quṣayyi, a member of the tribe of Quraysh and of the family of Asad, was a cousin of Muḥammad by the mother's side, and one of the ten proselytes to whom the founder of Islāmism announced their certain entry into paradise. Persecuted, like the other Muslims, by the Pagan Arabs, he took refuge in Abyssinia, but returned in time to accompany Muḥammad in his emigration to Madīnah. He fought in all Muḥammad's battles, and, at the combat of Badr, he was the only warrior among the true believers who took the field on horseback. At the conquest of Makkah, he bore Muḥammad's standard, and upwards of thirty wounds received in various combats against the infidels attested his bravery and his attachment to that faith in the cause of which his was the first sword ever drawn. Jealous of 'Alī, he espoused the quarrel of 'Āyishah, and fell by the hand of 'Amr Ibn Jarmūz the 10th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 36 (December, A.C. 656),\* soon after the battle of the Camel. He met with his death in a valley near Baṣrah, called Wādi 'l-Sab'a (the valley of the lions).—(Abu 'l-Fida, *Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*, *Siyar al-Salaf*.)

\* 4 December.—Ed.



*Hell is hungry*, on an other, *Hell is thirsty*, and on the third, *Hell is refreshed*. Put them in a rag and bind them on the left arm of the person suffering from fever. I made the experiment myself," said al-Wāqidi, "and found it successful." Such is the relation given by Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (*No. 345*) in his life of Bishr al-Hāfi. Al-Mas'ūdi mentions, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, that al-Waqidi related the following anecdote; "I had two friends, one of whom belonged to the family of Hāshim, and we were all as if animated by one soul." Misfortune then came upon me, and I was reduced by poverty to deep distress, when my wife said to me, as the great Festival was drawing near; 'As for ourselves, we can support in patience our misery and affliction; but there are our children, and it cuts me to the heart to think that they will see the neighbours' children dressed out and adorned for the Festival, whilst they must continue as they now are, in their worn-out clothes. Could you contrive to procure the means of clothing them?' I immediately wrote to my friend, the Hāshimite, requesting him to let me have whatever sum he could dispose of, and he sent me a purse sealed up, and containing, he said, one thousand dirhams. I had hardly recovered from the joy I experienced when I received a note from my other friend, wherein he made me a request similar to that which I had addressed to the Hāshimite; I immediately sent him the purse without even breaking the seal, and, being then ashamed of appearing before my wife, I went to the mosque and remained there till morning. When I returned home, instead of being reproached for what I had done, I had the satisfaction of receiving her full approbation, and just at that moment, the Hāshimite came in, with the purse sealed up as before. 'Tell me sincerley,' said he, 'how you disposed of what I sent you: I told him the plain fact. 'Well,' said he, 'when you applied to me, I sent you all I possessed on earth, and having then written to my friend requesting him to share with me what he had, I received from him my own purse, sealed with my signet.' We then decided on making an equal partition of the thousand dirhams, having first taken out one hundred for my wife<sup>1</sup>. Al-Māmūn having heard of

---

1 One thousand pieces could not be equally divided between three persons; the difficulty was obviated by reducing the sum to nine hundred.

the circumstance, sent for me and made me relate what had passed ; he then ordered us a present of seven thousand *dīnārs*, two thousand *dīnārs* for each of us, and one thousand for my wife." The *kḥaṭīb* relates this anecdote, with some slight difference, in his history of *Baghdād*. *al-Wāqidi* was born in the beginning of A.H. 130 (Sept. A.C. 747) ; he died on Monday evening, the 11th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 207 (April, A.C. 823) ;\* being then *qādī* of the quarter of *Baghdad* situated on the western side of the *Tigris*. Such is the statement of *Ibn Qutaybah*, but *al-Sam'ānī* says that he was *qādī* of the eastern quarter of *Baghdād*, as we have already mentioned. The funeral service was said over him by *Muḥammad Ibn Samā'ah al-Tamīmī*, and he was interred in the *Kḥaizurān* cemetery. Some place his death in 206 or 209 but the date we have given is the true one. The *kḥaṭīb* says, in his History of *Baghdād*, towards the beginning of his notice on *al-Wāqidi*, that he died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, but towards the end of the article, he places his death in *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*. I found among my rough notes, and in my own handwriting, that *al-Wāqidi* died at the age of seventy eight years. *Wāqidi* means *descended from Wāqid* ; one of his ancestors bore this name. Of *al-Madanī* we have already spoken (*No. 592*). '*Askar al-Mahdī* (*al-Mahdī's camp*), a place now known by the name of *al-Ruṣāfah*, is situated in the eastern quarter of *Baghdād*. It was built by *Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr* for his son *al-Mahdī*, after whom it was called. This confirms the statement that *al-Wāqidi* was *qādī* of the eastern quarter of the city, not of the western.

## 619 MUḤAMMAD IBN SA'D

*Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd Ibn Manī' al-Zuhri*, was a man of the highest talents, merit, and eminence. He lived for some time with *al-Wāqidi* (see the preceding article) in the character of a secretary, and for this reason he became known by the appellation of *Kātib al-Wāqidi*. Amongst the masters under whom he studied was *Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah* (*No. 249*) ; traditional

\* 27 April.—Ed.

information was delivered on his own authority by Abū Bakr Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā (No. 228, note) and Abū Muḥammad al-Hārith Ibn Abī Usāmah al-Tamīmī. He composed an excellent work, in fifteen volumes, on the different classes (*ṭabaqāt*) of Muḥammad's Companions and of the Tābi'īs; it contains also a history of the *khalīfs*, brought down to his own time. He left also a smaller *Ṭabaqāt*. His character as a veracious and trustworthy historian is universally admitted. It is said that the complete collection of al-Wāqidi's works remained in the possession of four persons, the first of whom was his secretary, Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd. This distinguished writer displayed great acquirements in the sciences, the Traditions, and traditional literature; most of his books treat of the Traditions and law. The Khaṭīb Abū Bakr (No. 33), author of the History of Baghdād, speaks of him in these terms: "We consider Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd as a man of unimpeached integrity, and the Traditions which he delivered are a proof of his veracity, for in the greater part of the information handed down by him, we find him discussing it, passage by passage." He was a *mawlā* to al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. At the age of sixty-two, he died at Baghdād, on Sunday the 4th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 203 (December, A.C. 818)\*, and was interred in the cemetery outside the Damascus Gate (Bāb al-Shām).

## 620 ABŪ BISHR AL-DŪLĀBĪ

Abū Bishr Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥammād Ibn Sa'd al-Anṣārī al-Dūlābī al-Rāzī, was a native of Dūlāb in the province of Ray, and allied, by adoption, to the Anṣārs of Madīnah. The surname of al-Warrāq was borne by him (*because he copied or sold books*). Al-Dūlābī displayed great learning in the Traditions, historical narrations, and general history; he learned the Traditions in Syria and 'Irāq from Muḥammad Ibn Bashshār<sup>1</sup>. Aḥmad

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Bashshār Ibn 'Uṭhmān Ibn Dāwūd Ibn Kaysān al-'Abdī, called also Bandār, was a traditionist and a native of Baṣrah. Al-Bukhārī cited his authority for some Traditions. He died A.H. 252 (A.C. 866). (*Tab. al-Muḥaddithīn*).

\* 5 December.—Ed.

Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Uṭāridī, and a great number of other teachers. His own authority was cited for traditions by al-Ṭabarānī (*No.* 256) and Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥayyān\* al-Bustī. He left some useful works on history and on the dates of the births and deaths of the learned; these productions are so correct that persons who cultivate such branches of knowledge place full reliance on the information they derive from them, and his statements may be found quoted in works of the highest repute. In a word, he was one of the first masters on these subjects, and an authority to whom constant reference is made. His productions are drawn up with great care. He died at al-'Arj, A.H. 320 (A.C. 932). It is related that he gave the following lines as the production of 'Urwah Ibn Ḥizām al-'Udhri (*No.* 671) :

"When my heart designed to abandon her, it found its project opposed by two strenuous intercessors (love and remembrance? established) in my bosom. When it said No; they said Yes; but all were soon unanimous, for they prevailed."

*Dūlābī*, or *Dawlābī*, which last is considered by al-Sam'ānī as the more exact pronunciation, means *belonging to al-Dūlāb*, a village in the province of Ray. Another place of the same name lies in the province of al-Ahwāz, and near it was fought the celebrated battle against the Azāriqah (*No.* 516, *note*). Another Dūlāb is situated to the east of Baghdād, and a fourth place of this name is *Dūlāb al-Jār*. *Dūlāb*, pronounced also *Dawlāb*, is the name of the thing which turns round (*the wheel for raising water*). *Al-'Arj* is a steep mountain-pass on the pilgrim-road from Makkah to Madinah. Near Ṭā'if is a populous village called *al-'Arj*, the native place of al-'Arjī the poet (*No.* 115 *note*), whose real names were: 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān. I do not know in which of these two places al-Dūlābī died. There is also a place in Yaman called *Sūg al-'Arj*.

## 621 ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-MARZUBĀNĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Imrān Ibn Mūsā Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Kātib al-Marzubānī was born at Baghdād,

\* M. de Slane gives Ḥabbān but 'Abd al-Ḥamīd does not agree with him.—Ed.

but his family belonged to Khūrāsān. Besides drawing up numerous works and curious compilations<sup>1</sup>, which are well known, he delivered orally a great deal of literary and historical information. As a transmitter of the Traditions relative to Muḥammad, he bore the character of a sure authority, but in his religious belief he leant towards the Shi'ite doctrines. He gave his Traditions on the authority of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Baghawī (*No. 130, note*), Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (*No. 254*), and other masters. It was he who first collected and revised the poetical works of the Umayyad (*khalif*), Yazīd, the son of Mu'āwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān; they form a small volume of about sixty pages<sup>2</sup>. After him, other persons undertook the same task, but they inserted in the collection a great number of pieces which were not Yazīd's. The poems of this prince, though not numerous, are highly beautiful; one of his sweetest passages is that contained in the piece rhyming in 'ayn, where he says:

"Separated from Laylā, I longed for a glimpse of her figure, thinking that the flame which raged within my bosom would be calmed at her aspect; but the females of the tribe said: 'You hope to see the charms of Laylā! die of the (*lingering*) malady of hope! How couldst thou look on Laylā, whilst the eyes which you cast on other women are not yet purified by tears? How canst thou hope to enjoy her discourse, since thy ears have hearkened to the voice of strangers? O Laylā! thou art too noble to be seen! he only can see thee whose heart is humble and submissive<sup>3</sup>."

I conceived so great an admiration for Yazīd's poetry, that, in the year 633 (A.C. 1235-6), being then at Damascus, I learned it all by heart, and succeeded in distinguishing the genuine pieces from those which were falsely attributed to him. I examined also the latter with attention, and was enabled by my researches, to

---

1 Ibn Khallikān mentions, in the life of the poet Abū Bakr al-Khuwārizmī, that al-Marzubānī was the author of a *Mu'jam al-Shu'arā*, or dictionary of notices on the poets.

2 The original has: of about three *kurrāsahs*. A *kurrāsah*, or *quire*, generally contains twenty pages.

3 These verses seem to have a mystic import; the Beloved signifying the Divinity.

discover by whom each of them was composed ; these results I should set forth here were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much. Al-Marzubānī was born in the month of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 297 (Feb. March, A.C. 910) some say 296—and he died on Friday, the 2nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 384 (November, A.C. 994)\*. His death has been placed incorrectly in the year 378. The funeral service was said over him by the doctor Abū Bakr al-Khawārizmī. He was interred in his house, situated in the shārī of 'Amr the Greek (*'Amr al-Rūmī*), a street in that quarter of Baghdād which lies on east side of the river. He delivered traditional information on the authority of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī<sup>1</sup>, Abū Bakr Ibn Durayd (*No. 611*), and Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī (*No. 616*) ; his own authority was cited by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaymarī, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī (*No. 531*), Abū Muḥammad al-Jawharī, and others. He received the surname of *al-Marzubānī* because one of his ancestors bore the name of *al-Marzubān*, a designation applied by the Persians to great and powerful men only. This word signifies (*guardian of the frontier*, as we learn from Ibn al-Jawālīqī's<sup>2</sup> work, entitled *al-Mu'arrab*.

## 622 ABŪ BAKR AL-ṢŪLĪ

The *Kātib* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣūl Tikīn, generally known by the appellation of al-Ṣūlī al-Shatranjī (*al-Ṣūlī the chess-player*), bore a high reputation as a man of talent and an accomplished scholar. He delivered traditional information on the authority of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (*No. 254*), Abu 'l-'Abbās Tha'lab (*No. 42*), Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*), and other great masters ; Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Dāraquṭnī (*No. 409*), Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī (see the preceding article), and others have transmitted

---

1 This I believe to be the same person as the 'Abd Allāh al-Baḡhawī already mentioned in this article.

2 His life will be found in this work.

\* 9 November.—Ed.

down the information which he imparted. He became one of (the *khalif*) al-Rāḍī's boon-companions, after having been his preceptor; the *khalif* al-Muktafī and his successor al-Muqtadir received him also into their intimacy on account of his convivial talents. He composed a number of celebrated works, such as the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā* (book of wazīrs), the *Kitāb al-Waraqah* (book of leaves), the *Adab al-Kātib* (the knowledge requisite for a kاتب), the *Kitāb al-Anwā'* (book of species) the History of Abū Tammām (No. 145), the History of the Qarmāṭs, the *Kitāb al-Ghurar* (book of brilliancies?), the History of Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā (No. 480) the *Kitāb al-'Ibādah* (book of devotion), the History of Ibn Harmah<sup>1</sup>, the History of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (No. 409, note), the History of Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm (No. 84), a biographical dictionary of modern poets, etc. The science which he chiefly cultivated was biography, but he knew by heart and transmitted down a great number of literary productions. Sincere in his religious belief and virtuous in his conduct, he merited the deference which was always paid to his opinions. In chess-playing he remained without an equal, and, even to the present day, it is said proverbially of a player whose abilities are intended to be extolled, that *such a one plays at chess like al-Ṣūlī*. I have met a great number of persons who believed that al-Ṣūlī was the inventor of chess, but this is an erroneous opinion; that game having been imagined by Ṣiṣṣah Ibn Dāhir the Indian, for the amusement of king Shihrahām. Ardashīr Ibn Bābek, the founder of the last Persian dynasty, invented the game of *nard* (tables)<sup>2</sup>, which was therefore called *nardashīr*<sup>3</sup>. He designed it as an image of the world and its inhabitants, and therefore divided the board into twelve squares to represent the months in the year; the thirty counters (or men) represented the days of the month, and the dice, fate, and the vicissitudes through which it conducts the people of the world.

1 "In A.H. 176 (A.C. 972-3) died Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muslimah Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Harma (هرمه) al-Fihri, a celebrated poet of whom al-Aṣma'ī said: 'Ibn Harmah was the last of the poets.' No testimony can be stronger than this in favour of his talents." (*Nujūm*).

2 Hyde has fully treated of these games in his treatise *De Ludis Orientalium*.

3 Ibn Khalikān, or his author, seems therefore to have considered the word *nardashīr* as the equivalent of *nard Ardashīr* (*Ardashīr's nard*).

But, to expatiate on these points would lead us too far, and make us digress from the subject in which we are now engaged. The Persians count the game of *nard* as one of the inventions which did honour to their nation. (Balhayt was at that time king of India, and for him Şişşah invented the game of chess. The sages of the epoch declared it superior to the game of *nard*, and that for reasons too long to be explained)<sup>1</sup>. It is said that, when Şişşah invented the game of chess and presented it to Shihrām, the latter was struck with admiration and filled with joy; he ordered chess-boards to be placed in the temples, and considered that game as the best thing that could be learned, inasmuch as it served (*as an introduction*) to (*the art of*) war, as an honour to religion and the world, and as the foundation of all justice. He manifested also his gratitude and joy for the favour which heaven had granted him in illustrating his reign by such an invention, and he said to Şişşah. "Ask me for whatever you desire." "I then demand," replied Şişşah, "that a grain of wheat be placed in the first square of the chess-board, two in the second, and that the number of grains be progressively doubled till the last square is attained: whatever this quantity may be, I ask you to bestow it on me." The king, who meant to make him a present of something considerable, exclaimed that such a recompense would be too little, and reproached Şişşah for asking so inadequate a reward. Şişşah declared that he desired nothing but what he had mentioned, and, heedless of the king's remonstrances he persisted in his demand. The king at length consented and ordered that quantity of wheat to be given him. When the clerks of the government office received orders to that effect, they calculated the amount, and answered that they did not possess near so much wheat as was required. These words were reported to the king, and he, being unable to credit them, ordered the clerks to be brought before him. Having questioned them on the subject, they replied that all the wheat in the world

---

<sup>1</sup> If the passage here placed between crotchets be not an interpolation, the author has been led into a contradiction by his forgetting to compare the additional notes which he inserted in the margin of his work with what he had already written. It may be here mentioned that nothing positive is known of Şişşah, Shihrām, and Balhayt.



would be insufficient to make up that quantity. He ordered them to prove what they said, and, by a series of multiplications and calculations, they demonstrated to him that such was the fact. On this, the king said to Şiṣṣah: "Your ingenuity in imagining such a request is yet more admirable than your talent in inventing the game of chess." The way in which this doubling of the grains is to be done consists in the calculator's placing one grain in the first square, two in the second, four in the third, eight in the fourth, and so on, till he comes to the last square; placing in each square the double of what is contained in the preceding one. It appeared to me doubtful that the amount could be so great as is said, but having met one of the accountants employed at Alexandria, I received from him a demonstration which convinced me that their declaration was true: he placed before me a sheet in which he had doubled the numbers up to the sixteenth square, and obtained thirty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight grains<sup>1</sup>. "Now," said he, "let us consider this quantity to be the contents of a pint measure, and this I know by experiment to be true;"—these are the accountant's words, so let him bear the responsibility—"then let the pint be doubled in the seventeenth square, and so on progressively. In the twentieth square it will become a *waybah* (*peck*), the *waybahs* will then become an *irdabb* (*bushel*), and in the fortieth square we shall have one hundred and seventy-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-two *irdabbs*. Let us suppose this to be the contents of corn-store, and no corn-store contains more than that; then, in the fiftieth square we shall have the contents of one thousand and twenty-four stores; suppose these to be situated in one—city and no city can have more than that number of stores—we shall then find that the sixty-fourth and last square gives sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-four cities<sup>2</sup>. Now, you know there is not in the world a greater number of cities than that, for geometry informs us that the circumference of the earth is eight thousand parasangs<sup>3</sup>; so that, if the end of a cord were laid

---

1 This is perfectly exact.

2 These sums are exact,

3 The reasoning which follows is so inconclusive, that we must suppose our author to have misunderstood what was said,

part of the earth, and the cord passed round it till both ends met, we should find the length of the cord to be twenty-four thousand miles, which is equal to eight thousand parasangs. The truth of this is positive and indubitable." Were I not apprehensive of extending this article to too great a length and being led away from my subject, I should render this evident, but, in my notice on the sons of Mūsā, I shall touch again on the subject<sup>1</sup>. You know also that the inhabited portion of the earth forms about one quarter of its surface. These observations have caused us to digress, but as they convey some useful information and a curious piece of reckoning, I decided on inserting them so that they might come under the notice of such persons as treat with incredulity the result obtained by doubling the squares of the chess-board, and oblige them to acknowledge its exactitude; the demonstration here given clearly proves the truth of what has been said on the subject. Let us return to al-Ṣūlī. Al-Mas'ūdī relates, in his *Murūj al-Dihāb*, that the *imām* al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh went to a delightful garden filled with flowers, at one of his country-seats, and asked the boon-companions who accompanied him if they ever saw a finer sight. They all began to extol it and describe its beauties, declaring that it surpassed every garden in the world: on which al-Rāḍī said: "Al-Ṣūlī's manner of playing chess is yet a finer sight and surpasses all you could describe." It is related that when al-Muktafī (*bi-Allāh*) first heard of al-Ṣūlī's extraordinary talent in that game, he had already taken into his favour a chess-player named al-Māwardī, whose manner of playing had excited his admiration. When al-Ṣūlī and al-Māwardī were brought together and set to play in the presence of al-Muktafī, that *khalīf*, yielded to his partiality for the latter, and, led away by the friendly feelings which a long acquaintance had established between them, he prompted him and encouraged him so openly that al-Ṣūlī felt at first embarrassed and confused. However, as the game went on, he recovered his self-possession and

1 The life of Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn Shākir will be found in (No. 681); but it does not contain the slightest allusion to the Arithmetical problem of the chess-board.\*

\* M. de Slane seems to have misunderstood the words of Ibn Khallikān. He meant the measurement of the sphere of the earth; which he has dealt in the life of Ibn Mūsā.---Ed.

vanquished his adversary so completely that no one could gainsay it. Al-Muktafī being then convinced of his talent, lost all his partiality for al-Māwardī and said to him ; "Your *mā-ward* (rose water) is turned into urine." Innumerable anecdotes are told of al-Šūlī and his adventures ; yet, with all his talent, his acknowledged learning, humour, and elegant taste, he met with a depreciator in Abū Sa'īd al-'Uqaylī, who attacked him, but not severely, in a satire : al-Šūlī had a room filled with works compiled by himself and all in differently-coloured bindings ; these he used to call the fruits of his studies<sup>1</sup>, and, when he had occasion to refer to any of them, he would tell his boy to bring him such and such a book. This led Abū Sa'īd to compose the following lines :

"Of all men, al-Šūlī possesses the most learning—in his library. If we ask him for an explanation on a point of science, he answers : 'Boys ! bring here such and such a packet of science<sup>2</sup>.' "

Al-Šūlī died at Baṣrah, A.H. 335 (A.C. 946-7), or 336 ; he had sought concealment there to avoid the active search which people of all ranks were making after him with the intention of putting him to death. The crime imputed to him was his publishing a certain Tradition relative to (*the rights of*) 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. Some time previously, he had been obliged, by straitened circumstances, to leave Baghdād. We have already spoken of the word *Šūlī* in the life of Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Šūlī (No. 10), the uncle of Abū Bakr's father. *Šiṣṣah* is to be pronounced with an *i* followed by a double *ṣ*. *Dāhir* is pronounced with an *i* in the second syllable. *Ardashīr* is thus spelled by al-Dāraqutnī ; another author says that it is a Persian word signifying *flour and milk* ; *ard* means *flour*, and *shīr*, *milk*. Some say that *Ardashīr* means *flour and sweetness*<sup>3</sup>, and others state that it should be written *Azdashīr*. It was this prince who overthrew the provincial kings (*Mulūk al-Ṭawā'if*) and formed, out of their empires, a kingdom for himself. He was the ancestor of that Persian dynasty which ended in Yazdajird (*Yezdegird*) and was overthrown in the thirty-second year of the

1 Literally : *his hearing* ; that is, what he learned at his master's lectures.

2 The grammatical construction of this last verse is incorrect : for *العلم* we should read *العلم*.

3 These derivations, which have been already given (No. 238), are to ofutile to merit attention.

Hijrah, in the kh ulfate of 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān. Their history is well known. This dynasty must not be confounded with the first series of the Persian kings which terminated in Dārā (Darius), the son of Dārā, him who was slain by Alexander. This conqueror established provincial kings throughout the country, and he gave them this name because each of them had a different people under his rule; previously to this, these states belonged to a single man. Ardashīr was one of the provincial kings, but he succeeded in subduing the others and establishing the empire in its primitive unity. The country had remained under the provincial kings during four hundred years. The last Persian dynasty subsisted for the same period. I am unable to fix with certainty the orthography of *Balhayt*, the name of the king of India, but I found it thus written by the copyist of the book which I consulted. It may or it may not be correct.

### 623 AL-ḤĀTIMĪ

Abū 'Alī Muḥammed Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Muẓaffar, surnamed al-Ḥātimī, a native of Baghdād, a *kātib* and a philologist, was one of the most eminent among those illustrious men who had attained celebrity by their extensive information and numerous productions. He studied the belles-lettres under Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid (*No. 612*), and dictated historical information on his authority at literary assemblies. He gave also some pieces on the authority of other masters. The *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī (*No. 531*) and a number of other highly-talented men transmitted down information received from him. Al-Ḥātimī composed an epistle called *al-Risālat al-Ḥātimīyah*, in which he relates his interview with al-Mutanabbī (*No. 49*), and the manner in which he exposed, on that occasion, the plagiarisms and defects which occur in that poet's compositions. This treatise is a proof of the extensive acquirements and vast information possessed by its author. In commencing, he explains the motive which led him to (*write it*), and he then says: "When Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī arrived at Madīnat al-Salām (*Baghdād*), on his return from Egypt, with the project of fixing his abode at the court of the Wazīr Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (*No. 170*), he folded himself up in the

cloak of pride and swept along with the train of ostentation, whilst his haughty mien and lofty gait displayed his arrogance and vain presumption<sup>1</sup>; from every person whom he met he turned away in disdain, and spoke of none but with insidious calumnies. Deluded by self-admiration he imagined that all literary talent pertained to him alone; he thought that poetry was an ocean to whose pure waters none but himself had a right to approach, and a garden whose blooming flowers he alone was entitled to gather; and whose nosegays were to be called by him alone, to the exclusion of all others. It is easy for any man to strut about when in solitude<sup>2</sup>, but every reputation requires a foundation to support it. For a length of time, he continued to run in this path, and I allowed his insolence to roam even to the full extent of its tether; he strode about in his vanity, thinking that he was the unrivalled courser of the hippodrome, the steed which never yet had found another to run with it neck and neck, the sole master of the language, the only deflowerer of virgin phrases, the sovereign lord of eloquence in prose and verse, the unequalled hero of the age in talent and in learning! His heavy tread bore down many of those who distinguished themselves by the insignia of the belles-lettres, whilst he forced out from the soil of literature springs of the sweetest water. Some hung down their heads before him, others drooped the wing, testifying by their looks humble submission. But Mu'izz al-Dawlah Aḥmad Ibn Buwayh—I have already traced his history (*No. 71*)—"saw with displeasure that his capital, the abode of the khalifate, the seat of glory, the pearl of the empire, should be visited by a man who had just left the court of Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān." I have also spoken of this prince (*No. 456*)—"the open enemy of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, and that he should not find in his kingdom a person able to compete with the new comer in his art. For that monarch had a lofty soul, an imperial resolution, and a will which, if directed towards the conduct held by fortune, would have prevented her vicissitudes from

1 The arrogance and extravagant vanity of al-Ḥātimī are fully displayed in the long declamation which follows.

2 The writer means to say that, if the man who presumes on his talents mingles with the world he will quickly find rival or a superior.

sporting with worthy men and her changes from revolving over them. As for the wazīr al-Muhallabī, he was led by mere supposition to imagine that none could cope with al-Mutanabbī, that he himself could not equal him nor attain to the height of any of his thoughts, much less lift the burden of talent which the poet bore so lightly. Great men have various ways of exalting, extolling, and honouring those whom they think fit; but their sentiments sometimes alter, and then they promptly abandon their former line of conduct. This was the case with the Wazīr al-Muhallabī in the change which his opinion underwent respecting the man whom he patronised; for, in reality, Abu 'l-Ṭayyib had no other merit to distinguish him from the vulgar herd of literary men (not to speak of the noble leaders of the flock), but a talent for poetry. Herein, I avow, his various productions were brilliant, and the flowers he culled were full of sweetness. I therefore undertook to seek out his faults, cut off his nails, publish his secrets, disclose to view what he kept folded up, and put to the test the negligences of his compositions, till such time as the palace of some distinguished man should unite us, so that I and he might race in the same hippodrome and make known who was the vanquisher, who the vanquished, who reached the goal, and who was distanced. I then possessed a talent copious as the rain-cloud, a mind which, in all accomplishments, flashed forth a sparkling radiance, and a genius like the pure wine which is crowned with bubbles and betrays the secret of the liquor contained in the goblet. Besides this, the lake of my youth was translucent and its raiment ample, the stuff of my life was glossy, its zephyrs mild, and its clouds dropping genial rain. But my youth, ardent though it was, had to await the harbinger of a fitting time; for horses run not on the day of trial by means of their nerves and strength, but by the impulse of their riders. However, each man obtains in his day a moment wherein he may fully accomplish his wishes, and, though great his expectations, the path to their fulfilment opens wide. At length, a succession of days withdrew from before the time of our meeting, and I set out for his dwelling-place, having underneath me a quick-paced, hawk-eyed mule, its head towering as if borne on the wings of an eagle. It was really a magnificent conveyance, and I seemed like a blazing star mounted on a cloud

conducted by the south wind; whilst before me a number of handsome pages, some free-born, some slaves, ran in succession, as pearls run off the string. I mention this, not through ostentation and boasting, but because Abu 'l-Ṭayyib himself saw it all; its beauty did not, however, excite his admiration, neither did its splendour attract his attention; that brilliant troop, which, as I suspect, filled his eyes and heart (*with wonder*), served only to increase his self-love and make him turn his face away from me. He had opened a shop (*school*) in that place and uttered his literary wares to some youths who had never received a learned education, nor whetted their talents in debate<sup>1</sup>, nor trained their minds by study of literature; unable to distinguish between the beauties of language and its faults, between its facilities and its difficulties; their utmost talent consisting in being able to read the poems of Abū Tammām, to discourse on some of his ideas, and to cite some of the readings which the editors of his works had written down as authorised. I found there a company of young men, learning from al-Mutanabbī passages of his poetry; but, when my arrival was announced and permission asked for me to enter, he sprang up from his seat and hastened to hide from my sight. I had however anticipated his departure by dismounting from my mule, and he saw me full well, for I had ridden up to a spot where his eyes could not fail to light upon me. On entering the assembly, I was received with profound respect by all, and seated in al-Mutanabbī's own place. I then perceived that his seat was covered with an old cloak which, through the injuries of time, had become a tattered remnant, a collection of loose threads. I had scarcely time to sit down, when he entered; I rose and saluted him politely, not withholding a salutation which he did not really deserve: for he had left his place to avoid rising up on my entrance. When I saw him, I applied to myself the words of the poet:

'It was a disgrace for me to visit thee, but my desire to see thee prevented my retreat.'

'And he (*might well have*) applied to his own case these words of another poet:

<sup>1</sup> Literally: He had established a market with some youth, whom learned men had not educated and who had not been ground down on the mill-stone of adversaries.

'Some men render others as wretched as themselves ; and God permits that some make others happy. Man obtains not his subsistence by superior cunning; wealth and subsistence are portions (*distributed by fate*). 'Tis thus the skilful archer sometimes misses the deer, and one who is no archer strikes it.'

'And behold ! he had put on seven vests, each of a different colour ; and yet we were in the burning heat of summer, and the day was warm enough to melt the contents of the skull. I sat down, ready to rise up if necessary ; he sat down in a kneeling posture and averted his head, as if he saw me not. I then turned from him negligently, reproaching myself with my folly in coming to see him, and the trouble I had taken in setting out to meet him. He remained for some time, his face averted and not deigning to lend me a glance of his eye, whilst every one of the band assembled before him was making signs to him and pointing towards me, endeavouring to arouse him from his torpor and rudeness. Their efforts served only to augment his indifference, insolence, and pride ; but he at length thought proper to turn towards me and show me a certain degree of politeness ; and I declare upon my honour, and that is the best of oaths, that the only words he said were ; 'How are you ?' I replied : 'Well ; were it not for the wrong I did myself in coming to see you, the degradation which my dignity has incurred in making you this visit, and the determination which led me reluctantly to one like you who has never profited by the lessons of experience and prudence.' I then fell upon him as the torrent falls on the depths of the valley : 'Tell me,' said I, 'whence come your pride and presumption, your self-conceit and haughtiness ? What motive have you to aspire to a height which you can never attain ? Have you ancestry to ennoble you ; honour to exalt you ; a sultān to patronise you, or learning to distinguish you ? Had you judged rightly of your own worth, had you weighed your merits in a just balance, vanity would never have seduced you, and you would have remained what you always were, a mere poet, rhyming for a livelihood.'

1 In Arabic *Aysh khabarak*. It is remarkable that the vulgar form *aysh*, for *ayyu shay'in*, was in use at that early period. Al-Hātimī seems to have been struck with the singularity of such an expression coming from the mouth of al-Mutanabbī.



At this invective, his colour changed, his respiration became embarrassed, and he commenced making humble excuses, and asked for pardon, swearing repeatedly that he had not recognised me, and that it was not his intention to insult me. I replied: Nay, sir! if your visitor be a man nobly born, you appear ignorant of his descent; if an accomplished scholar, you seem not to perceive his learning; and if a favourite of the sultān, you refuse him the place of honour! Are you then the sole heir of all glory? No, by Allāh! but you have taken pride as a veil to hide your inferiority, and have made it an antechamber, that you may avoid being questioned! He again uttered excuses, but I only made answer: 'All your entreaties are of no avail.' The assembly then began to request me to spare him and accept his excuses, and to show that moderation which offended dignity employs in its own defence; but I still continued to reprimand him and reproach him with his despicable character, whilst he persisted in swearing that he had not recognised me in time to do me fitting honour. 'Did I not send in to you', said I, 'my name and surname when I applied for permission to enter? If you recognised me not there were persons in this assembly who did; and even were the case as you say, did you not remark my aspect? did you not scent the odour of my superiority? did you not feel that I was a man apart?' Whilst I was thus filling his ears with invectives, he continued to exclaim: 'Be calm! moderate your passion! restrain your impetuousity! have patience! patience is the characteristic of persons so respectable as you.' I, at length, resumed my affability and softened towards him, regretting to have passed the bounds in reprimanding him; but I had already broken him in as you would tame a young and restive camel. He then began to extol my merits and praise me, swearing that, since his arrival in 'Irāq, he had ardently longed to see me, and was always promising to himself the satisfaction of meeting me and gaining my friendship. He had just ended his declarations, when a young student from Kūfah, a descendant of 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib, requested permission to enter: he ordered him to be introduced, and in came a boy of an active form, moving with all the grace and vivacity of youth, who explained the object of his visit with a gentle voice, a sweet tongue, a gay humour, a ready answer, a smiling mouth,

the gravity and dignity of old age. I was struck at the aspect of such endowments and captivated by the talents he displayed. Al-Mutanabbî then made him repeat some verses." Here the author commences the relation of his discourse with al-Mutanabbî relative to the plagiarisms and faults in that poet's compositions. The preceding extract is very long, but the passages were so closely connected that it was impossible to make suppressions. The epistle itself contains a mass of information<sup>1</sup>, and if, as the author states, he pointed out to the poet, in one sitting, all the faults he there mentions, such a feat must be considered as a proof of prodigious information. He entitled this work *al-Mūdiḥah* (*the exposé*); it is of a considerable size, filling, as it does, thirteen quires (*two hundred and sixty pages*), and it serves as a testimony of the eminent talent possessed by the author, of his presence of mind, and of the readiness with which he adduced his numerous proofs. The *Ḥilyat al-Muḥāḍarah* (*ornaments of conversation*), another work of his, forms two volumes and contains a great quantity of literary matter. He died on Wednesday, the 26th of the latter Rabi' A.H. 388 (April, A.C. 998).<sup>\*</sup> He received the surname of *al-Ḥātimī* because one of his ancestors bore the name of *Ḥātim*<sup>2</sup>.

## 624 IBN AL-QŪṬIYYAH

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Isā Ibn Muzāḥim, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Qūṭiyyah (*son of the Gothic woman*), was born in Cordova and resided in that city, but his family belonged to Seville. In the latter place he received lessons from Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh

---

1 An extract from this epistle is given in the notice on al-Mutanabbî, and his writings, which has been cited in No. 49, note, of this work.

2 The author repeats here, and I suppress the same anecdote which he has already given in the life of Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid. See No. 612.

\* 27 April.—Ed.

Ibn al-Qūq<sup>1</sup>, Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubaydī<sup>2</sup>, Sa'īd Ibn Jābir<sup>3</sup>, and other masters ; in Cordova he studied under Ṭāhir Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz<sup>4</sup>, Ibn Abi 'l-Walīd al-A'raj, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Muḡhith, and others. He was one of the ablest philologers and grammarians of the age, and possessed extensive information in the Traditions, jurisprudence, and history ; he also knew by heart a fund of curious anecdotes, and, by the quantity of poetical pieces which he transmitted down and of historical facts which he discovered, he outstripped every competitor. In the history of Spain he displayed the highest acquirements, and he passed much of his time in dictating from memory the biography of the amīrs, jurisconsults, and poets who flourished in that country. The works which treat on philology formed the principal subject of his lectures, and their contents were taken down under his dictation ; but, in transmitting Traditions and maxims of jurisprudence, he was by no means correct, not having the original works to refer to. It therefore resulted that the texts which he delivered were appreciated for their meaning only, not for their literal accuracy, and it frequently happened that, under his tuition, students read over works the contents of which, as far as implies correctness, he could not repeat from memory<sup>5</sup>. He lived to an advanced age and gave lessons to successive generations ; *shaykhs* and old men cited passages which they had learned from him, and, as he himself had

1 Al-Maqqarī, MS. of the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, ancien fonds, No. 704, fol. 205, notices on 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Kh-Haqq al-awlānī, surnamed Ibn al-Qūq, who died A.H. 318 (A.C. 930). This may perhaps be the person whom Ibn Khallikān meant. According to al-Maqqarī, Ibn al-Qūq was a native of Seville ; he studied at Cordova and proceeded to Makkah in A.H. 266 (A.C. 879-80). He took lessons in that city and became an eminent jurisconsult of the Ḥanafite sect (*faqih fi 'l-rayl*). He drew up bonds with great ability and bore the reputation of a pious Muslim and a trustworthy traditionist.

2 Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Madhḥij al-Zubaydī died towards A.H. 320 (A.C. 932).—(*Bughyah*).

3 Sa'īd Ibn Jābir Ibn Mūsā al-Kilā'i, a native of Seville, died A.H. 326 (A.C. 937-8).—(*Bughyah*).

4 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ruwaynī, a native of Cordova, a traditionist, and a philologer of eminent abilities, died A.H. 304 (A.C. 916-7). (*Bughyah*).

5 A good professor never taught a work the contents of which he had not already got by heart.

met and conversed with all the eminent masters of that epoch who lived in Spain, he transmitted down a great quantity of instructive observations which they had communicated to him. Amongst the useful works composed by him on the Arabic language may be noticed the *Kitāb Taṣārīf il-Af'āl* (on the conjugation of verbs); this was the first treatise ever composed on the subject, that of Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (No. 422) having been drawn up in imitation of it. His treatise on the words which terminate in a long or in a short *alif*, contains an immense quantity of information, and surpasses all the imitations of later writers as much as it surpassed all the former productions on the same subject<sup>1</sup>. When Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī (No. 92) went to Spain, he frequented the society of Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah and always spoke of his talents in the highest terms : being asked by the reigning sovereign of Spain, al-Ḥakam, the son of al-Nāṣir li-Din Allāh 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was the ablest philologist whom he had met in that country ? he replied : "Muḥammad Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah". The eminent abilities of Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah were accompanied by a spirit of profound piety and an assiduous attachment to the practices of devotion ; he displayed also considerable talent as a poet, but he afterwards renounced that occupation, although his poetical compositions were remarkable for correctness of style, perspicuity of thought, the beauty of the exordiums and grace of the transitions. The accomplished scholar and poet Abū Bakr Yaḥya Ibn Hudḥayl al-Tamīmī<sup>2</sup> relates that as he was going, one day, to a country-house which he had at the foot of the Cordova mountain, in one of the most delightful spots on earth, he met Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah returning from a country-seat which he possessed in the same neighbourhood. "On seeing me," said Ibn Hudḥayl, "he reined his horse over to me

---

1 The MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds (No. 706). contains two curious works on the conquest of Spain by the Muslims and the history of that country under the Arabian governors and first Marwānid amīrs. One of these works bears Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah's name as the author ; the other is anonymous. For the character of Ibn al-Qūṭīyyah's work see Mr. Dozy's *al-Bayān al-Maghīb*, Introduction, p. 28.

2 Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Hudḥayl an accomplished scholar and a poet of great reputation, died A.H. 385 (A.C. 995), or 386, aged eighty-six years. (*Bughyah*).

and expressed great pleasure at our meeting. I then, in a sportive mood, recited extempore this verse :

'Whence comest thou, incomparable man? thou who art the sun and whose sphere is the world !'

On hearing these words, he smiled and answered with great promptitude ;

'I come from an abode where the devotee can enjoy solitude, and where sinners may transgress in secret.'

I was so highly delighted with his reply, that I could not forbear kissing his hand and praising him, and invoking God's blessing on him ; he was moreover my old master, and therefore deserved these marks of respect." Abū Bakr Ibn al-Qūṭiyyah died at Cordova on Tuesday, the 23rd of the first Rabi' A.H. 367 (November, A.C. 977)\* ; he was interred the following day in the Quraysh cemetery, at the hour of the evening prayer. Some persons place his death in the month of Rajab of the year just mentioned, but the former date is more correct. *Qūṭiyyah* (*the Gothic woman*) is derived from Qūṭ (*Goth*) ; this Qūṭ was the son of Hām, the son of Noah, and from him the Sūdān (*the negroes*), the Indians, and the natives of Sind draw their origin. Al-Qūṭiyyah was the mother of Ibrāhīm, the son of 'Isā Ibn Muzāhīm, this Abū Bakr's ancestor, and the daughter of Ubbah (*Oppas*), the son of Ghūṭiṣhah (*Witiza*). Her father was king of Spain, and from him it was and from his brothers, Arṭabās, (*Ardabast*), count of Spain<sup>1</sup>, and Sīdah that Ṭāriq Ibn Nuṣayr<sup>2</sup>, at the head of the Muslims, took the cities of Spain. Al-Qūṭiyyah went to (*the khalif*) Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik to complain of the injustice with which she had been treated by her uncle Arṭabās, and, when in Syria, she married 'Isā Ibn Muzāhīm, a *mawlā* of the Umayyad (*khalif*) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. Her husband, Ibn

1 Mariana says that Ardebast, count of Spain, was a Greek refugee.

2 Ibn Khallikān probably meant to write Ṭāriq, the *mawlā* of Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr.

\* 6 November.—Ed.

† The Egyptian edition adds *Mawlā* Mūsā (enfranchised slave of Mūsā) after Ṭāriq.—Ed.

Muzāhim, accompanied her back to Spain, and his descendants continued to inhabit that country. She returned with a letter of recommendation addressed by Hishām to (Abu) 'l-Khaṭṭār<sup>1</sup> al-Sha'bi al-Kalbī, the chief to whom he had entrusted the Government of Spain. (Abu) 'l-Khaṭṭār put a stop to the persecutions which she suffered from her uncle, rendered full justice to all her claims against him, and treated her with marked respect. She lived to an advanced age and saw the vicissitudes of fortune establish the Umayyad prince, the amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, surnamed al-Dākhlil (*the enterer, the new comer*), on the throne of Spain. She some times went to see him, and he granted whatever requests she had to make<sup>2</sup>. Her posterity have continued to bear the name of the *Sons of the Gothic woman*, even to the present day. Such is the statement made by Abū Bakr al-Qubbashī in his enlarged and embellished extract from the jurisconsult Abū 'Umār Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Afīf al-Tārikhī's<sup>3</sup> work, entitled, *Kitāb al-Iḥṭifāl fī A'lām il-Rijāl* (*the careful remembrancer of eminent men*), which is a compilation of notices on the jurisconsults and learned men of Cordova who flourished in latter time. Abū Bakr al-Qubbashī, whose full names were Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mufarrij Ibn 'Abd Allāh Mufarrij, a member of the tribe of al-Ma'āfir and a native of Cordova, transmitted down al-Tārikhī's work from

1 In place of *al-Khaṭṭār* (الخطار) the MSS. read *al-Khaṭṭāb* (الخطاب). This error seems to have originated with Ibn Kḥallikān or his copyist. Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī was the nineteenth governor of Spain.

2 See *al-Maqqarī*, in Gayangos's translation, vol. II, p. 50.

3 Abū 'Umar Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Afīf, a native of Cordova, was distinguished for his learning, profound piety, and skill in drawing up bonds and contracts. He is the author of a work in five volumes destined as a guide to students (*fī adab al-muta'allimīn*) and a history of jurisconsults, occasionally cited by Ibn Bashkuwāl. Having removed from Cordova to Almeria, he was appointed *qāḍī* of Lorca, and died there, A.H. 420 (A.C. 1029), in the month of the second Rabi'. (Ibn Bashkuwāl's *Ṣīlat*.) The author of the *Bughyah* mentions an Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Tārikhī, probably the same person as the above, and informs us that he composed a number of works on the history of Maḡrib, and wrote a large volume in which he described the roads, harbours, and cities of Spain, the *six junds*, or military divisions of that empire, etc.

memory.<sup>1</sup> Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Rushāṭī (*No.* 327) says, in his *Ansāb*, that 'Ayn Qubbashī, a spring of water in the western suburb of Cordova, gave the title of *al-Qubbashī* to Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Mufarrij al-Ma'āfirī al-Qubbashī, who died on the eve of Friday, the 5th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 371 (March, A.C. 982)\*. I may here observe that this person was the father of the Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan just mentioned.

## 625 ABŪ BAKR AL-ZUBAYDĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maḍḥij Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bishr al-Zubaydī, a native of Seville and a resident of Cordova, was the ablest grammarian and the most learned philologist of the age. He surpassed all his Spanish contemporaries by his knowledge of syntax, rhetoric, and curious anecdotes; besides which, he was well versed in biography and history. The works which he left us are a proof of his extensive learning, and, amongst them, we may notice his abridgment of the 'Ayn (*No.* 208), and his classified list (*ḵabaqāt*) of grammarians and philologists who flourished either in the East or in Spain, from the time of Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duwalī (*No.* 285) to that of his own master, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Riyāḥī the grammarian. He composed also a refutation of the doctrines held by Ibn Masarraḥ<sup>2</sup> and his followers; this work he entitled: *Ḥaṭṭ Sutūr al-Muḥidīn (the impious unmasked)*. His other works are: a treatise on the incorrect phraseology of the vulgar; the *Wāḍiḥ. (plain treatise)*, a highly instructive work on grammar; and a

1 Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mufarrij al-Ma'āfirī al-Qubbashī, a native of Cordova and a learned traditionist, the author of the *Iḥṭifal*, or history of the *ḵhalīfs*, jurisconsults, and *qāḍīs* mentioned here by Ibn *Ḵhallikān*, died somewhat later than A.H. 430 (A.C. 1039). (Ibn *Bashkuwāl's* *Sīlar*).

2 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Masarraḥ al-Jalālī was a native of Cordova. His application to the doctrines of the *sūfīs* and his studies in some philosophical works attributed to Empedocles induced him to admit and to teach privately the doctrine of pantheism. His works were publicly burned in Seville under the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. He died in the month of *Ṣhawwāl* A.H. 319 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 931) at the age of fifty years. *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥukamā*; Dozy's *Historie des musulmans d'Espagne*, t III, p. 19).

\* 4 March.—Ed.

treatise on the grammatical forms, which has never been surpassed. (*The Umayyad prince*) al-Ḥakam al-Mustanşir bi-Allāh, lord of Spain, confided his son and publicly declared successor, Hishām al-Muwayyad bi-Allāh, to the tuition of al-Zubaydī; and the young prince not only learned arithmetic and grammar under this preceptor, but acquired a great stock of other information. To the favour of his pupil, al-Zubaydī was indebted for his large fortune, his appointment to the place of *qādī* at Seville, and his nomination to command of the police-guards (*shurṭah*). The ample wealth which he accumulated was long enjoyed by his descendants. He used to extol in terms of the highest praise the abilities and intelligence of his young pupil, al-Muwayyad, declaring that, amongst all the boys of the imperial family and the sons of the grandees, he never conversed with one more acute, more quick of comprehension, more sagacious, or more prudent. He related of him also a number of extraordinary anecdotes. Al-Zubaydī composed a great quantity of poetry, and, in one of his pieces, directed against Abū Muslim Ibn Fihri<sup>1</sup>, he says :

"Abū Muslim ! a man must be judged from his intelligence and discourse, not from his equipage and dress. A man's clothing is not worth a straw, if he possesses a narrow mind. It is not long sittings in the professor's chair, my good Abū Muslim! which can procure learning, wisdom, and intelligence."

When employed in the service of al-Ḥakam al-Mustanşir, he ardently longed to see a slave-girl whom he had left at Seville, and, being unable to obtain the permission of going to visit his beloved concubine, he wrote to her these lines :

"Alas, my dear Salmā ! take it not to heart ! separation must be endured with fortitude. Think not that I bear your absence with patience, unless it be with the patience of the dying man. God hath not created a torture more excruciating than the moment of adieu. Death and separation appear to me the same, except that the former is accompanied by the wailing of the funeral mourners. Promptly severed as we were, though once closely united, reflect that every meeting leads to a departure. that the boughs divide

1 In the *Bughyah*, this name is written *Fahd*.



into branches, that proximity tends to remoteness, and union to separation."

He frequently recited the following lines :

"To be poor in one's native country is like living in a foreign land ; a foreign land with wealth is home ; the earth is all the same ; mankind are brothers and neighbours."

When Abū 'Alī al-Qālī (*No.* 92) arrived in Spain, al-Zubaydi took notes at his literary and philological lectures ; he studied also under Qāsim Ibn Aṣḥab<sup>1</sup>, Sa'id Ibn Faḥlūn<sup>2</sup>, and Aḥmad Ibn Sa'id Ibn Ḥazm<sup>3</sup>. His family belonged to the military division of Syria called the *Jund* of Emessa. He died at Seville on Thursday, the 1st of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 379 (September, A.C. 989)\*. He was interred the same day, after the celebration of the afternoon prayer, and the funeral service was said over him by his son Aḥmad. He lived to the age of sixty-three years. *Madḥij* in its primitive acceptation, served to designate a red sand-hill in Yaman. Mālik, the son of Udud, was born on it and received the name of *Madḥij* for that reason. This word then got into such use among the Arabs as a proper name for men, that they ended by considering it as such and forgetting that it applied to this hill. *Zubaydi* means *descended from Zubayd* ; this was the surname of Munabbih

1 Abū Muḥammad Qāsim Ibn Aṣḥab<sup>h</sup> Ibn Muḥammad al-Bayyānī, an eminent *ḥafīẓ*, traditionist and genealogist, composed a great number of works, the titles of which, with the names of the persons under whom he studied, are given in the *Bughyah* on the authority of Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm. He bore a high reputation for learning and for his exactitude as a traditionist, and his *Ansāb*, or patronymics, is a most copious and an excellent work. His family belonged to Bayyānah (البينانه), but he himself resided in Cordova and died at an advanced age in that city, A.H. 340 (A.C. 951-2). (*Bughyat al-Multamis Maqqari*).

2 Abū 'Uṭṭmān Sa'id Ibn Faḥlūn (or Faḥl) Ibn Sa'id, learned Traditions at Cordova in A.H. 274 (A.C. 887-8) from Muḥammad Ibn Waḍḍāḥ ; he studied also under other masters, and was giving lessons himself in A.H. 341 (A.C. 952-3). (*Bughyah*).

3 Abū 'Umar Aḥmad Ibn Sa'id Ibn Ḥazm al-Ṣadafī al-Muntajilī (المنتجيلي) the author of a voluminous biographical work, died A.H. 350 (A.C. 961-2). (*Bughyah*).

\* 5 September.—Ed.

the son of Ṣa'b, the son of Sa'd al-'Aṣḥirah (No. 49), the son of Maḍḥij, him who was called by the name of the hill. Zubayd is a large tribe established in Yaman, and has produced a great number of remarkable persons, some of them companions of Muḥammad.

## 626 ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-QAZZĀZ

The grammarian Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far al-Tamīmī (*member of the tribe of Tamīm*), surnamed al-Qazzāz, was a native of Qayrawān. He applied himself with ardour to the study of grammar and philology, and composed a number of works on various subjects. One of his productions, the *Kitāb al-Jāmi'* (*collector*), treats of philology and is a work of great extent and high repute. Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Širāfi (No. 425, *note*), the Egyptian *Kātib*, says that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qazzāz was employed in the service of al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz al-'Ubaydī, the sovereign of Egypt, and that he composed some works at the desire of his master. According to another statement, al-'Azīz Ibn al-Mu'izz ordered him to compose and draw up in alphabetical order a work containing all the words of that third class which is indicated in the well-known grammatical definition: '*The parts of speech are: the noun, the verb, and the particle*'. And Ibn al-Jazzār<sup>2</sup> observes that he does not know of any grammarian's having composed a work on a similar plan. In pursuance to the prince's commands, al-Qazzāz collected all the scattered information contained in the most esteemed treatises on this subject, and arranged it in a clear, simple, and easy order. He thus formed a volume of two thousand pages. The preceding indications are taken from the amīr al-Mukḥtār al-Musabbihī's (No. 627) Greater History. In a work called *Kitāb al-Ta'riḍ* (*book of allusions*), he inserted the parables and allusions employed in common discourse. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Rashīq (No. 157) says in his *Annuḍḥaj*:

1 In Arabic, the words *particle* and *letter* are called *ḥarf*. To distinguish them, the former is called the *ḥarf employed to modify the sense* (*jā'u li ma'nā*). Prepositions, conjunctions, etc., are *ḥarfs*.

2 It is possible that this may be Ibn al-Jazzār mentioned in No. 97, *note*.

"Al-Qazzāz brought the ancient writers to shame and reduced the modern authors to silence ; respected by the princes, the men of learning and the men of rank, he was beloved by the people. He rarely engaged in conversation unless to speak of the religious or the profane sciences ; he had a great command of language<sup>1</sup> and composed equally well in the natural and the artificial styles of poetry. He sometimes pronounced his verses to enliven conversation without seeming to care about them ; and he attained with great ease, and in a gentle quiet way, the highest point to which persons having a talent for poetry can aspire ; namely, novelty of thought and force of expression. Versed in all the forms of rhetoric, he was equally well skilled in the art of poetry. As specimens of the pieces to which we allude, we may here insert the following :

"I swear by the place which thy beloved image holds in my heart, by the lasting sway of love over my bosom, that if my wish were granted to dispose of thy person at my will, I should treasure thee up in the pupil of my eye and shelter thee under the curtains of my eyelids ! Then I should enjoy my utmost wishes, and fear no longer for thy character the danger of unjust suspicions ; suspicions which daily force my soul to taste the goblet of death. When the hearts of other men are at peace, mine fears for thee the secret glances of the evil eye ; and why should I not fear for thee who art my world : nay, God's vengeance alone prevents me saying : who art my divinity !\*

"Love me in secret and let thy thoughts alone inform me of my happiness. Sure of thy affection, I care not for the lot which may await me.\*"

"Who will console the travellers whom fortune has separated, and who now proceed, some to the Far East and some to the distant West<sup>2</sup>. Fate seemed to have dreaded meeting with its fate, had it kept them together ; and it, therefore, dispersed them throughout the world.'\*

---

1 Or, as the Arabic may also signify : He kept a strict command over his tongue.

2 Literally : to *Najd* and *Tiahāmah* (نجد و تيهام) a frequent expression with the poets.

\* 'Another piece by him' is omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

'In Abū Rabi'ah we find a meadow (*rabi'ah*) where our hopes may roam unconfined ; he always remembers his promises, and he forgets the favours he bestows.'\*

'Since you know that you are the light of my eye, and that I see nothing if I see not you, why have you withdrawn from my sight? Then indeed every object but thyself is hidden from my view.' "

After giving many other pieces by the same author, Ibn Rashīq adds : "Some of the poems by Abū 'Abd Allāh" (meaning al-Qazzāz) "are yet finer than those I have quoted ; but I could not recall them to memory, and besides, I made it a rule, in composing this book, to limit the number of poetical citations. He died at al-Ḥaḍrah, A.H. 412 (A.C. 1021-2), aged nearly seventy years." By al-Ḥaḍrah, he means Qayrawān, which was at that time the capital of the kingdom<sup>1</sup>. *Qazzāz* means a worker, or a dealer, in silk (*qazz*). A number of persons were known by this surname.

## 627 THE AMĪR AL-MUKHTĀR AL-MUSABBIḤĪ.

The amīr al Mukhtār 'Izz al-Mulk (*the chosen, the glory of the empire*) Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, generally known by the appellation of al-Musabbihī the *kātib*, drew his origin from a family of Ḥarrān, but Egypt was the place of his birth. This highly accomplished and learned scholar was the author of a celebrated history (*of Egypt*) and other works, all of them attesting (*by their popularity*) the eminent talents with which he was gifted. He always wore the military dress, and it was in the service of al-Ḥākim al-'Ubaydī, the son of al-'Azīz, sovereign of Egypt, that he rose to fortune. He mentions in his history, that he entered into al-Ḥākim's service in the year 398 (A.C. 1007-8), and that, after hold-

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥaḍrah* signifies *presence*, and therefore *the metropolis*, because the sovereign is there present. *Ḥaḍratkum* (*your presence*) is the equivalent of *your majesty, your excellence and sir*.

\* 'Another piece by him' omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

ing the governments of al-Qays and al-Bahnasā, in the province of al-Ša'id, he was appointed head of the *Dīwān al-Tartīb*.<sup>1</sup> The interviews and conferences which he had with al-Ḥākim are attested by his Greater History. He compiled about thirty works, and, in speaking of his History, he says: "This valuable work, the contents of which render all other treatises on the same subject unnecessary for the reader, offers him the history of Egypt, of its governors, amīrs, imāms, and khalifs, the description of its wonders, its edifices, its various productions which serve for food, a notice on the Nile, a history of the persons who settled in that country, brought down to the time in which the copy of this title-page was first written, the compositions of the poets, the biography of learned men, and an account of the sittings held by the *qādīs*, the magistrates (*ḥākims*), the *mu'addils*<sup>2</sup> the literary men, the amatory poets, etc." This work fills twenty-six thousand pages<sup>3</sup>. Another of his works, containing two thousand pages, bears the title of *al-Tulwiḥ wa 'l-Taṣrīḥ* (*indirect and direct indication*), and treats of the ideas occurring in poetry, and the other species of composition. His *Kitāb al-Rāḥ wa al-Irtiyāḥ* (*repose and activity*) fills three thousand pages; his *kitāb al-Ḡharb wa 'l-Šarq* (*drowning and strangling*), in which he mentions the persons who met with their death in either of these manners, four hundred pages; his *Kitāb al-Ṭa'ām wa 'l-Adām* (*book of meats and sauces*), two thousand pages; his *Darak al-Buḡḡyah* (*the fulfilment of wishes*), treating of religions and religious practices, seven thousand pages; his *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā* (*history of the prophets*), three thousand pages; his *Kitāb al-Mufaṭḥah wa 'l-Munākāḥah* (*liber initionis et congressus*), treating *de variis congressus modis*, two thousand four hundred pages; his *Kitāb al-Amṭilah li-Duwal al-Muqbilah* (*book of emblems for the kingdoms which are to come*), a work founded on the stars and calculations, one thousand pages; his *Qaḍāya 'l-Šābiyah*\* (*Sabean judgements*), on judicial astrology,

1 I am inclined to believe that the *Dīwān al-Tartīb* was the same establishment as the *Dīwān al-Rawātib*, or military pay-office.

2 The *mu'addil* is the public officer who certifies the morality of such persons as appear before the *qāḍī* to give evidence. He is also called the *muzakkī* (*purifier*).

3 The author says; Thirteen thousand leaves (*waraqah*).

\* The Egyptian edition has *Šā'ibah* (correct).—Ed.

six thousand pages ; his *Jūnat al-Māshīṭah* (*comb case of the female hair-dresser*) containing curious relations, pieces of poetry, and anecdotes never before repeated, which miscellany fills, three thousand pages ; his *Kitāb al-Shajan wa 'l-Sakan* (*sadness and alleviation*), containing the history of true lovers and their sufferings, five thousand pages ; and his *Kitāb al-Suwāl wa 'l-Jawāb* (*book of questions and answers*), six hundred pages. He composed also the *Mukhtār al-Aghānī wa Ma'āniha* (*selections from the Kitāb al-Aghānī with an explanation of its verses*)<sup>1</sup>, and other works. We possess some good poetry of his composition, and in one of his pieces, which is an elegy on the death of his concubine, he says :

"O let me take the path which leads to God ! my heart is broken, and affliction has exhausted my tears. Can I bear my loss with patience, now that my love sojourns in the tomb ? O how great, how poignant are my sorrows ! O that I had died before her, or that death had taken us off together !"

The celebrated scribe and book-copyist, Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd. Allāh Ibn Abi 'l-Jaw', having accepted an invitation from al-Musabbiḥī, and gone to visit him, was addressed by his host in these extempore lines ;

"By lodging with me you have lodged joy in my heart, and it is ready to fly from excess of felicity. The science has showered (down on us, *copious as*) the rains of heaven ; were it not for thee, no rain had fallen to-day. Your presence has spread around a reviving perfume, and the darkness has been changed into light."

This Ibn Abi 'l-Jaw' was a poet, an accomplished scholar, a pleasing companion and universally agreeable. He composed a great quantity of epistolary, expostulatory, and satirical pieces. He copied books at the rate of fifty leaves (*or one hundred pages*) for a *dīnār about ten shillings*), and his writing was so extremely beautiful, that the specimens of it still in the hands of the public are in the highest request. He died A.H. 395 (A.C. 1004-5). Al-Musabbiḥī was born, as he himself informs us in his *Greater His-*

<sup>1</sup> See No. 415.

tory, on Sunday the 10th of Rajab, A.H. 366 (March, A.C. 977).<sup>\*</sup> He died in the month of the latter Rabi', A.H. 420 (April-May, A.C. 1029). His father died on Monday morning, the 9th of Sha'bān, A.H. 400 (March, A.C. 1010)<sup>†</sup>, at the age of ninety-three years, and the funeral prayer was said over him, in the Great Mosque of Old Cairo. He was interred in the (*court of the*) house where he resided. Al-Musabbiḥī lamented his death in the following lines :

"To deplore this misfortune (*our*) tears are not sufficiently abundant ; it repels resignation, and betrays the feelings we suppressed. A misfortune which slays our hearts within our bosoms, which casts us into restless affliction. O fate ! thou hast struck thy talons into my heart and covered it with wounds. O fate ! thou hast clothed me in a robe of sadness, since a person so dear to us has been laid in the tomb. Hadst thou accepted a ransom, I should have redeemed him for whose sake my bones are broken (*with grief*) whilst his are mouldering into dust. O thou who seest me overcome by an event so unexpected, and blamest my weakness ! why dost thou blame me ? I have lost my father ! no orphanage is more painful than the loss of parents in our youth<sup>1</sup>. I used to grieve when death seemed to approach him, or when worldly cares took him by surprise."

A number of other poets whose names are mentioned in the Greater History, composed elegies on his death. Al-Sam'ānī says in his *Ansāb* : "*Al-Musabbiḥī*<sup>2</sup> means descended from an ancestor whose name was *Musabbiḥ*. This surname was borne by the author of the History of the Maghribīns and of Miṣr." The writer means the amīr of whom we have been just speaking.

---

1 Al-Musabbiḥī was not then so very young ; he had passed his thirty-third year, and probably did not feel so much as he pretends. The sentiments expressed in these verses are too artificial for real grief.

2 The surname of this historian is often incorrectly written *al-Masīḥī*; المسيحي for المديحي.

\* 4 March.—Ed.

† 27 March.—Ed.

## 628 IBN ḤAMDŪN THE KĀTIB

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad Ibn Abi Sa'd al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥamdūn the kātib, surnamed Kāfi 'l-Kufāt (*the most serviceable of assistants*) Bahā al-Dīn (*splendour of religion*), was a native of Baghdād, highly distinguished for his talents and consummate abilities as a literary man and a kātib. He came of a family noted for producing men of influence and merit, as not only he, but his father and his brothers, Abū Naṣr and Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, occupied eminent posts in the service of the state. Having pursued his studies under Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn al-Faḍl al-Jurjānī and other masters, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī composed his *Tadhkirah* (*remembrancer*), an excellent compilation of historical notices, pieces of literature, anecdotes, and poems. Nothing like it has ever been produced by later writers, and, being a most useful work, it still retains its reputation and continues in the hands of the public. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī mentions him in the *Khariḍah*, and says: "He was army-inspector under al-Muktafī (*li amr Allāh*), and intendant of the palace under al-Mustanjid; ardent for praise and eager for renown, he spread the shade of his protection over literary men; and gifted with talents and genius, he composed a work entitled the *Tadhkirah*, wherein he combined gaiety with seriousness, frivolity with knowledge. But the khalif al-Mustanjid having remarked in it some anecdotes, extracted, according to the author's account, from historical works, but which seemed allusions to the fallen state of the empire, he imagined that Abu 'l-Ma'ālī's object was to vilify the government, and he therefore took him from his seat of office and cast him into prison, where he remained in suffering till he died. This occurred at the beginning of the year 562 (November, A.C. 1166). He once recited to me the following piece of his composition, containing an enigmatical description of the linen fan<sup>1</sup>:

"Fast and loose, it cannot touch what it tries to reach;  
though tied up, it moves swiftly, and though a prisoner, it is free.

1 The *linen fan* (*mirwaḥat al-ḥaysh*) is a large piece of linen stretched on a frame and suspended from the ceiling of the room. It is moistened with rose-water and set in motion by a cord. They make use of it in 'Irāq. See de Sacy's *Hawiri*, page 474.



Fixed in its place, it drives before it the gentle breeze ; though its path be closed up, it moves on in its nocturnal journey. It received from Solomon an inheritance<sup>1</sup>. It remains dry when the star Simāk (*Spica Virginis*) exerts its (*cooling*) influence (*over the weather*), but it sheds its moisture when the ardours of Orion return. Its salutation consists in one of the (*four*) elements, and for that reason every soul is its friend<sup>2</sup>".

'Imād al-Dīn gives also the following passages as his :

"May your glory never require augmentation ! May thy gifts never require pressing to be granted ! But yet I desire increase of fortune, though reason bids me to remain contented.

Little of head and of wit ! heavy in breath and in body ! you pretend to smell sweet like me ; sweet you smell, but it is of perfumes<sup>3</sup>."

Another writer says that he learned by heart a great quantity of Traditions. Ibn Ḥamdūn relates that he heard the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Mustanjid repeat the following verses, composed by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Shaṭranjī on a girl who had a cast in her eye :

"When tormented with love, I praised God for the obliquity of vision which rendered sidelong glances unnecessary ; I looked

1 This is an allusion to the 81st verse of the 21st sūrah of the *Qur'ān*: "And unto Solomon (*we subjected*) a strong wind which ran at his command." The next hemistich of Ibn Ḥamdūn's verse presents a double difficulty: the verb *عربت* may be read in various manners, and the allusion made by the poet is very obscure. From the opposition which exists between the ideas of '*Arab* and *Nabatean*, I am inclined to read this doubtful verb as if it were pointed thus: *عربت*; the meaning of the hemistich would then be: and its materials i.e. the substance of which it is formed, have received an Arabic appearance, as the Nabateans have received one. We should then have an allusion to the proverbial expression: (*قد استعرب النبط*): *the Nabatean may become like an Arab*), and another allusion to the fact that the name of the material employed to make the fan is *kattān* (*linen*), an Arabic modification of the Persian word *ketān*. The text, however, is too uncertain, to justify any attempt at translation, and I therefore pass to the next verse.

2 *Nafs*, here translated *soul*, is the equivalent of the Latin *anima*. The author plays upon the double meaning of the word.

3 The word (*لبن*) appears, in this verse, to bear the meaning of *لبان* or *لبنيل*. (*frankincense*).

at her, and the spy who watched me thought that I looked at him<sup>1</sup> I thus felt secure from treachery<sup>2</sup>”.

This is certainly a novel and striking idea. Ibn Ḥamdūn was born A.H. 495 (A.C. 1101-2), and he died on Tuesday, the 11th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 562 (August, A.C. 1167)\*. He was interred the next day, in the Quraysh Cemetery, at Baghdād. He died in prison. His brother, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, surnamed Ghars al-Dawlah (*plant of the empire*), an officer of the civil administration (*āmīl*), was esteemed a highly virtuous and holy man, and his society was much sought after. He was born in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 488 (Feb.-March, A.C. 1095), and he died at Baghdād in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 545 (March-April, A.C. 1151). He was interred in the Quraysh cemetery. Their father was a *kātib* of high rank, a skilful administrator and a good accountant. He composed a work on the nature of the different posts in the civil service (*fi ma'ārifat al-A'māl*), and lived to an advanced age. He died on Saturday, the 10th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 546 (August, A.C. 1151)†.

## 629 IBN QURAY'AH

The *Qāḍī* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a native of Baghdād and generally known by the surname of Ibn Quray'ah, filled the functions of his office in al-Sindiyaḥ and other places in the province of Baghdād, by the appointment of the *qāḍī* Abū 'l-Sā'ib 'Utbah Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. Ibn Quray'ah was one of the wonders of the world for the promptitude with which he replied to every question submitted to his opinion; and his answers were expressed in the purest style and in the most beautiful rhythmical

1 It was, therefore, the poet who squinted, not the girl; Ibn Khallikān sometimes forgets himself.

2 The MSS. and the printed text read (العذر), but the true reading appears to be (القدر).

\* 29 August.—Ed.

† 25 August.—Ed.

prose. Having been received into the intimacy of Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (No. 170), he attached himself exclusively to that wazīr. There exists, in the hands of the public, a well known work containing a collection of questions proposed to Ibn Quray'ah and the answers which he returned. The men of rank and the literary characters of that age took great pleasure in jesting with him and consulting him, by writing, on odd and laughable questions; to these he immediately replied by written answers in the same style. The wazīr of whom we have just spoken encouraged some persons to invent a number of ridiculous questions on a variety of burlesque subjects, in order to obtain his answers, and the *kātib* Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn al-Mu'allā wrote to him as follows: "What does the *qādl* (may God favour him!) say of a Jew who committed fornication with a Christian, and she brought forth a child with a human body and the head of an ox? They are now both under arrest. What does the *qādl* opine respecting them?" On this paper he immediately inscribed an answer in these terms: "This evidence none can refuse—it bears hard upon the accursed Jews—and proves that they drank down the love of the calf into their hearts<sup>1</sup>—so that it now comes out from their lower parts—I opine that on the Jew's neck the calf's head you should tie—and on the Christian's shoulder fix the leg and the thing—and that they should be dragged on the ground—whilst the words: *Darkness upon darkness*<sup>2</sup> are proclaimed around. Receive my salutation." When the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād (No. 93) visited Baghdād, he went to the wazīr al-Muhallabī's levees<sup>3</sup>, and was there so greatly struck by the *qādl* Ibn Quray'ah's wit and delicate repartees, that, in a letter addressed by him to Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amīd<sup>4</sup>, he said: "And there was at the levee a facetious *shaykh*, called the *qādl* Ibn Quray'ah, with whom I discussed some questions too indelicate to be mentioned here; and I must say that I found his conversation singularly witty." An elderly man who

1 *Qur'an*, Sūrah 2, verse 87.

2 *Qur'an*, Sūrah 24, verse 40.

3 The word *majlis*, here rendered by levee, signifies in general a *sitting held to render justice, a tribunal*; it also designates the levees of a wazīr.

4 The life of Ibn al-'Amīd will be found in this work (No. 670).

smelt strongly of perfumes having asked him, in the presence of the wazīr Abū Muḥammad, the definition of the term *qafā*<sup>1</sup>, he replied: "It is that part which is surrounded by thy skirts (*jurubbān*); which draws on thee the railleries of thy friends; the part on which thy sultān corrects thee, and in which the familiariter utuntur epebi tui<sup>2</sup>. There are four definitions of it." The *jurubbān* of a coat is the broad piece of stuff which covers the *os coccygis* and hidest the *qafā*. It is a Persian word Arabicized<sup>3</sup>. All the questions proposed to him were of this sort, and I should mention some more of them here, did I not wish to avoid prolixity; but a good number of them, with the answers, have been inserted by the celebrated poet Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn *Sharaf al-Qayrawānī*<sup>4</sup>, in his work entitled *Abkār al-Afkār*. The *qādī* Abū Bakr Ibn Quray'ah died at Baghdād on Saturday, the 19th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 367 (Feb., A.C. 978)\*, aged sixty-five years. Quray'ah was the surname of one of his ancestors, according to al-Sam'ānī. Al-Sindiyah is the name of a village situated on the (*cannal called*) Nahr 'Isā, between Bāghdād and al-Anbār. To indicate that a person is a native of this place, they say *Sindawānī* (not *Sindī*), lest he should be taken for a native of Sind, the country which lies on the borders of India.

### 630 IBN MUḤRIZ AL-WAHRĀNĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Muḥriz Ibn Muḥammad al-Wahrānī, surnamed Rukn al-Dīn (*column of religion*)—some say, Jamāl al-Dīn (*beauty of religion*)—was a man of wit and talent. He left his country and came to Egypt in the reign of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, but, as the art in which he excelled was the drawing

1 *Qafā* signifies *the back of the neck*. It is also employed to designate the lower part of the back.

2 By these words he alluded to the *muliebris patientia*, of which men who perfumed their person were often suspected.

3 The Persian word is *qiribān*. (گریبان).

4 'Imād al-Dīn, in his *Kharīdah* (MS. of the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, Supplement gives numerous extracts from the poems of Ibn *Sharaf al-Qayrawānī*, and says that he was a contemporary of Ibn Rashīq (No. 157). Hājji Khalifah places his death in A.H. 460 (A.C. 1067-8) which agrees with 'Imād al-Dīn's statement.

\* First February.—Ed.

up of official papers, and as he found there al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil (No. 349), the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, and other distinguished individuals of the same class, he felt his inferiority, and perceived that his abilities, eminent as they were, could not be employed with profit to himself. He therefore abandoned the grave style of writing, and, having taken to light compositions, he wrote the collection of visions and epistles which bears his name. This work, copies of which are very common, is a proof of the buoyant humour, acute mind, and accomplished wit possessed by the author. The *Great Vision* alone would suffice for his reputation; it abounds in charming ideas, but its length precludes its insertion here. He afterwards visited different countries, and, having resided for some time at Damascus, he was nominated preacher (*khaṣīb*) at Dārāyā<sup>1</sup>, a village situated in the *Chūṭah*<sup>2</sup> and at the gates of the city. He died at Dārāyā, A.H. 575 (A.C. 1179-80), and was interred at the entrance of the funeral chapel erected over the grave of the *shaykh* Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (No. 338). I found in the handwriting of al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil that, on the 17th of month of Rajab, the news of al-Wahrānī's death came (to Egypt) from Damascus—*Wahrānī*, means *native of Wahrān (Oran)* a large city in the land of Qayrawān. It is situated on the Syrian Sea (the Mediterranean), at the distance of two days journey from Tilimsen. Al-Ruṣṣāṭī (No. 327) says that it was founded A.H. 290 (A.C. 903), by Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Awn, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdūs and a band (of adventurers from Spain)<sup>3</sup>. It has produced many distinguished characters, some of them remarkable for learning.

### 631 IBN TAYMIYAH AL-ḤARRĀNĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'l-Qāsim al-Khiḍr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Khiḍr Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Taymiyah al-Ḥarrānī and sur-named Fakhr al-Dīn (*glory of religion*), was an eminent preacher

1 In No. 338, this name is incorrectly spelt *Dariya*. Its orthography is here fixed by Ibn Khallikān

2 The cultivated country around Damascus is called the *Chūṭah*.

3 See Ibn Khaldūn's *Histoire des Berbers* tome I, p. 283 of the French Translation, and al-Bakrī's *Description de l' Afrique septentrionale*, p. 165 of the French translation.

and a jurisconsult of the Ḥanbalite sect. He held first place in his native country by his learning, and was highly distinguished for his piety. Having cultivated the sciences under some men of great erudition, he proceeded to Baghdād, where he studied jurisprudence under Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ibn al-Mannī (No. 407), and learned Traditions from Shuhdah Bint al-Ibari (No. 271), Ibn al-Muqrab, Ibn al-Baṭṭī (No. 325), and others. He composed a very good compendium of the doctrines professed by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (No. 19), and an excellent collection of *khutbahs* (sermons), a work of high repute. He left also a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, and some good poetry. He occupied the post of preacher (*khaṭābah*) at Ḥarrān, and this office was afterwards filled by other members of his family. His life was one uniform course of rectitude and virtue. He was born at Ḥarrān towards the end of the month of *Sha'bān*, A.H. 542 (January, A.C. 1148), and he died in that city on the 11th of *Ṣafar*, A.H. 621 (March, A.C. 1224).\* Abu 'l-Muzaffar Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (No. 183, note) says: "He incurred general odium in Ḥarrān, and, when any person of that place commenced to display abilities, he never ceased persecuting him till he drove him out of the city. He died on the 5th of *Ṣafar*, A.H. 621". This date differs from ours. He then adds: "I heard him, one Friday, on the conclusion of the public prayer, recite the following verses in the great mosque of Ḥarrān :

"My beloved friends ! I have warned my eyes that they and sleep shall never meet unless we meet again. Spare a heart tortured with love, and pity an enfeebled body worn away. How often have you adjourned the night of our promised meeting ! life has passed away, and yet we do not meet."

Abū Yūsuf Maḥāsin Ibn Salāmah Ibn Khalīfah al-Ḥarrānī mentions Ibn Taymiyah with commendation in his history of Ḥarrān, and says that he died on Thursday, the 10th of *Ṣafar*, A.H. 622 (February, A.C. 1225)† soon after the hour of the *ʿaṣr* prayer<sup>1</sup>. Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī (No. 528) speaks of him

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 257, note on times of prayers.

\* 4 March.—Ed.

† 20 February.—Ed.

in his History of Arbela, and states that he arrived in that city in the year 604, with the design of making the pilgrimage to Makkah. He then extols his merit and adds : "He gave lessons every day on the interpretation of the *Qur'ān* ; he related anecdotes with great elegance, his discourse had a peculiar charm, and this, joined to an agreeable disposition, rendered his company most acceptable to people of all ranks. His father was one of the *abdāls*<sup>1</sup> and holy ascetics. He (*the son*) acquired his knowledge of jurisprudence at Harrān and at Baghdād ; in controversy he displayed singular acuteness. He composed some compendious treatises on jurisprudence, and left a collection of sermons in the style of Ibn Nubātah's (*No. 348*). As an expounder of *Qur'ān* he stood pre-eminent, and in all the sciences his abilities were highly conspicuous. He learned Traditions from first masters at Baghdād." Ibn al-Mustawfī then cites the following piece as the production of Ibn Taymiyah :

"Receive my salutations and let the past be forgotten ; my departure from you was sore against my will. Ask the night if

1 The Muslim saints are supposed to form a corporation composed of a certain number of members and always subsisting. In this corporation the highest rank is held by the *chief* or *Ghawth*; the next, by four *Awtād*; the third, by seven *Akhyār*; the fourth, by forty *Abdāl*; the fifth, by seventy *Nujabā*; and the sixth, by three hundred *Nuqabā*. See on this subject a passage of al-Ishāqī, quoted by Lane in his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*, vol. I, p. 233. In the dictionary of technical terms employed by the *ṣūfis*, MS. of the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, Supplement, I find the following explanations of the terms: The *Qutb* (*axis*) is the individual to whom has been delegated Almighty God's inspection over the universe at all times. The *Qutb*, at the moment in which recourse is had to him is the *Ghawth* (*assistance*). The *awtād* (*pegs*) are the four men who preside over the four regions of the world, the east, the west, the north, and the south. By them God preserves these regions, because they are charged to inspect (*over their respective quarters*). The *Budālā* (*substitutes*; the word *abdāl* has the same meaning); are seven men; when one of them travels forth, he leaves behind him a body in his image, so that no one can perceive his absence. The *Nujabā* (*excellent*) are forty persons occupied in rectifying the affairs of men, in bearing their burdens and in exercising the rights of the creature (*not of the Creator, like the Qutb and the Awtād*). The *Nuqabā* (*administrators*) are those who inspect and produce to view the secret of men's bosoms. They are three hundred in number. It would appear that, in the *ṣūfī* confraternity, these names served to designate the grand-master and the principal chiefs.

sleep has ever closed my eyelids since I left you. Friends beloved of my heart ! I swear by Him who decreed our separation, that if the joyful day of our meeting return and the woes which afflict me be healed, I shall go forth to meet the camels which bear you hither, and lay my face as a carpet in their path ; even should I apply my forehead to the ground—even should the (*heat, ardent as*) brands of *ghadā* wood<sup>1</sup>, scorch my cheeks ! Then I should receive new life—then wrapt in joy, I should exclaim : *Receive my salutation ! the past is now forgotten*” !

He then adds : “I asked him the meaning of his name Taymiyah, and he replied : ‘My father or my grandfather, I am not sure which, made the pilgrimage, leaving his wife in a state of pregnancy. On arriving at Taymā, a little girl who came out of a tent attracted his attention, and, on his return to Ḥarrān, he found that his wife had lain in of a daughter. When the child was presented to him he exclaimed : *Yā Taymiyah ! yā Taymiyah ! (O the girl of Taymā ! the girl of Taymā !)*—being struck with its resemblance to the little girl he saw there. The child was therefore named Taymiyah’. Such was the purport of his words.” *Taymā* is the name of a village in the desert of Tabūk, half-way between *Khaybar* and Syria. *Taymiyah* means *a female belonging to Taymā*; but the more correct expression (*in this case*) is *Taymāwiyah*, because the masculine form of the relative adjective derived from *Taymā* is *Taymāwī*. The statement is furnished, however, by Ibn Taymiyah himself, and has been generally adopted.

### 632 AL-‘ATTĀBĪ THE GRAMMARIAN

Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Zibirj the grammarian, surnamed al-‘Attābī, possessed a good knowledge of grammar, philology, and the belles-lettres. His writing was so beautiful and correct, that specimens of it are much sought after by

---

1 According to the Arabic philologists, the wood of the *Ghadā* tree gives out great heat and retains its fire very long.



literary men. He studied the belles-lettres under Abu 'l Sa'ādāt Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Shajari (a *sharif* whose life we shall give), Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb Ibn al-Jawālīqī<sup>1</sup>, and others. He learned Traditions from the first masters of that age, and transcribed a great number of books. Volumes in his handwriting are highly prized. His birth took place in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 484 (April-May, A.C. 1091), and his death occurred on the eve of Tuesday, the 25th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 556 (May, A.C. 1161)\*. 'Attābi means *belonging to al-'Attābiyūn*, a place in Baghdād so called, and situated on the west side of the river. Abū Manṣūr resided there, but he afterwards removed to the east side. The surname of al-'Attābi was also borne by a celebrated poet called Abū 'Amr Kulthūm Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ayyūb, but he derived it from the circumstance of his being descended from 'Attāb Ibn Sa'd Ibn Zuhayr Ibn Jusham. Kulthūm was an eloquent and able poet, who celebrated the praises of Hārūn al-Rashīd and other great men. He belonged to Qinnisrīn, an ancient city of Syria, near Aleppo. I should have mentioned him in this work, but as it was designed to contain notices on those persons only the dates of whose death were known, and as I was unable to ascertain the time of his death, I felt constrained to omit him<sup>2</sup>.

### 633 AL-MAS'ŪDĪ AL-BANDAHĪ

Abū Sa'id—some say Abū 'Abd Allāh—Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Sa'ādāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Muḥammad al-Mas'ūdī, surnamed Tāj al-Dīn (*crown of religion*) al-Bandahī, was a native of Marwarrūd in Khurāsān, a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect and a *ṣūfī*. He displayed great talents as a philologist and composed on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqamahs* (No. 510) the fullest and most complete commentary ever written on that work. I saw a copy of it in five large volumes, which is more than twice the size of any other commentary

1 The life of Ibn al-Jawālīqī will be found in this work.

2 He died A.H. 208 (A.C. 823-24), according to the author of the *Nujūm*.

\* 23 May.—Ed.

composed to elucidate the *Maqāmahs*. This work bears a high character, and copies of it are very common. He resided at Damascus, in the Sumaysāṭ convent (*Khānqāh*), and gave public lessons there. Previously to this, he had been preceptor to al-Malik al-Afḍal (*No.* 461), the son of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and, through his means, he was enabled to procure the numerous rare and valuable books, by the assistance of which he composed his commentary on the *Maqāmahs*. Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Hāshimī, a native of Aleppo, relates as follows: "When the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn entered Aleppo in the year 579 (A.C. 1183), al-Mas'ūdī (al-Bandahī) went down to the great mosque of that city, and having installed himself in the library formed of the books given as *waqf*<sup>1</sup> to that establishment, he selected a great number of them (*and took them away*) without meeting the slightest opposition. I myself saw him pack them up in a pannier." I met some of al-Bandahī's disciples and received from them lessons and certificates authorising me to teach what I had learned from them. We read, in the work of a modern historian, that al-Bandahī's birth took place in the year 521, but one of our literary men states that he found the following note in al-Bandahī's own handwriting: "I was born at the hour of sunset, on the eve of Tuesday, the first of the latter Rabi' of the year 522 (April, A.C. 1128): "\* This statement is evidently more correct than the former, because it is taken from the handwriting of the person himself and indicates the day and the month. He died at Damascus on the eve of Saturday, the 29th of the first Rabi', A.H. 584 (May, A.C. 1188). † Some place his death on the 1st of the latter Rabi'. He was interred at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn. He settled his books as *waqf* on the convent of which we have spoken. The following verses were often in his mouth:

"I saw tears of blood flow from your eyes,' said she, 'through apprehension of our departure; why now hast thou replaced those tears of blood by tears of water?': I replied 'Not that I was solaced in thy absence or that I yielded to consolation; those

<sup>1</sup> See No. 21, note on *waqf*.

\* 4 April.—Ed.

† 29 May.—Ed.

tears have turned grey from the lengthened age of my weeping'."

Similar to this are the words of another poet :

"Su'ād said : 'Dost thou shed tears of water after tears of blood ?' I replied : 'My tears have turned grey from the lengthened age of my weeping.'"

This doctor bore the surname of al-Mas'ūdi because he had an ancestor called *Mas'ūd*. Of *Marwarrūd* we have already spoken (*No.* 22). *Bandahl* means *belonging to Panj Dih*, a district of Marwarrūd. *Panj Dih* signifies *five villages*. To designate a native of this place, they employ also the words *al-Fanjdihi* and *al-Banjdihi*. It has produced many eminent and learned men. Qāsiyūn is the name of a mountain rising on the north side of Damascus. It contains many beautiful country-seats, schools (*madāris*), convents (*rubṭ*), and gardens ; the river Yazid (*has its source*) in it, and the *Ṭhawrā* flows at its foot. It possesses also a large mosque built by the sovereign of Arbela, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the son of Zayn al-Dīn (*No.* 522). Ibn 'Unayn, a poet whose life we shall give, composed a *qaṣīdah*, rhyming in *I*, in praise of the sovereign of Yaman, Sayf al-Islām Ibn Ayyūb (*No.* 282), and, as he expresses in this piece his desire of seeing Damascus again, he enumerates the delightful spots in its vicinity, and says, when speaking of Mount Qāsiyūn :

"The ardent love of my heart for Qāsiyūn will subsist even when the foundations of that mountain have passed away."

It is a brilliant poem, full of originality and ornament.

### 634 IBN NUQṬAH

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Ḡhanī Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn *Shujā'* Ibn Abi 'l-Naṣr Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥanbali (*doctor of the Ḥanbalite sect*), generally known by the appellation of Ibn Nuqṭah and surnamed Mu'in al-Dīn (*defender of the faith*), was an eminent traditionist and a native of Baghdād. His ardour in search of Traditions, the quantity of them which he heard and committed

to paper, and the frequent journeys which he undertook for the purpose of procuring them raised him to celebrity. He travelled to Khurāsān, Persian 'Irāq, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, visiting the principal traditionists, hearing their lessons, and obtaining information from their lips. He wrote a great deal and took down a quantity of useful notes. In the Supplement which he composed to the amir Ibn Mākūlā's *Ikmāl* (No. 414), and which forms two volumes, he displayed no inferior talent. He wrote also a small work on patronymics (*ansāb*), which serves as a Supplement to the treatise composed on that subject by Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisi (No. 593), and to that of Abū Mūsā al-Iṣbahānī (No. 592). Another work of his, the *Kitāb al-Taq'īd* (*book of fixation*) contains all the (*requisite*) information respecting the traditionists, (*the unusual words occurring in*) the different collections of Traditions and the *isnāds*<sup>1</sup>. When I first heard of him, he was still living, but I never had an opportunity of meeting him. Ibn al-Mustawfī (No. 528) mentions him, in the History of Arbela, as one of the persons who visited that city and heard Traditions delivered there. He speaks of him with commendation and adds: "He recited to me the following verses as having been composed by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Abi 'l-Shibl, a native of Baghdād and one of the best poets that 'Irāq has produced in modern times." Ibn al-Ḥazīrī (No. 242) gives them also in his *Zīnat al-Dahr* :

"Discover not thy sufferings or thy joys to a censor or a false friend ; for pretended sympathy is as bitter to the heart as the exultation of foes."

Ibn Nuqṭah died at Baghdād on thy 22nd of Ṣafar, A.H. 629 (December, A.C. 1231),\* at an advanced age. I was then residing at Aleppo for the purpose of pursuing my studies, and it was there we received intelligence of his death. His father 'Abd al-Gḥanī died at Baghdād on the 4th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 583 (August, A.C. 1187) †, and was interred near the mosque of his

1 See vol. I. Introduction.

\* 19 December.—Ed.

† 11 August.—Ed.

(quarter). His frugality and disinterestedness rendered him celebrated. Abū 'Alī Ibn Abi 'l-Shibl died A.H. 473 (A.C. 1080-1). The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn speaks of him in the *Khariḍah*.

### 635 IBN AL-DUBAYTHĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'id Ibn Abi Ṭālib Yahyā Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Dubaythī, was a native of Wāsiṭ, an historian, and a doctor of the sect of al-Shāfi'. He received a great quantity of Traditions by oral transmission, and formed some collections of useful notes (*ta'ālīq*). His memory was stocked with pieces of great beauty, and these he often cited in conversation. By his learning in the Traditions and his correct knowledge of the names of the traditionists and of history, he acquired the reputation of an able *hāfiẓ* and a genius of the first order. He composed a work which he designed as a continuation to Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī's (No. 370) Supplement to the *Khataib*'s (No. 33) History of Baghdād, and in it he gives notices on the persons whom al-Sam'ānī had forgotten and on those who lived subsequently to that writer. It fills three volumes and possesses considerable merit<sup>1</sup>. He wrote also a history of Wāsiṭ and other works. Ibn al-Mustawfi (No. 528) makes mention of him in the History of Arbela and says: "He entered our city in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 611 (March, A.C. 1215). He was a fine-looking old man." He then adds that Ibn al-Dubaythī recited to him the following piece as of his own composition :

"I put mankind to the test, but found not a true friend, a helper, in adversity. I showed them the sincerest friendship, but received a troubled and insincere attachment in return. Never,

---

<sup>1</sup> The second volume of this work is in the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, ancien fonds, (No. 745). It begins with the *Aḥmads* and finishes with the *ha*, the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet.

when I chose from among them a companion who pleased me, had I cause to praise his conduct in the end."

Ibn al-Dubaythī continued to study and take notes up to the moment of his death. His birth took place at Wāsiṭ on Monday, the 26th of Rajab, A.H. 558 (June, A.C. 1163;)\* he died at Baghdād on Monday, the 8th of the latter Rabi', 637 (November, A.C. 1239)†. The next day, he was interred in the Wardiyah cemetery. *Dubaythī* means *belonging to Dubaythā*, a village in the neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ. His ancestors belonged to Kanjah (in the province of Arrān), and his grandfather removed from Dubaythā to Wāsiṭ, where the family multiplied. His father Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'ūd died at Wāsiṭ on the eve of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 585 (January, A. C. 1190)‡. he was born in that place on the 27th of Ṣafar, A.H. 527 (January, A.C. 1133). §

### 636 IBN ṢAFAR AL-ṢAQALLĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣafar al-Ṣaqallī (*native of Sicily*), surnamed *Hujjat al-Din* (*proof of religion*), was an accomplished scholar versed in the belles-lettres, and author of some instructive works. One of these, the *Sulwān al-Muṭā' jī 'Udwān al-Atbā'* (*consolation for the master who suffers from the enmity of his servants*), he composed in the year 554 (A.C. 1159), for one of the chiefs (*who were in Sicily*)<sup>1</sup>. His other works are: the *Khayr al-Bashr bi-*

1 Sicily was, at that time, under the domination of William the Bad, the second Norman king. This circumstance induced me to examine Ibn Ṣafar's work in the hopes of finding some information respecting the state of that country, but was unable to discover any thing of the kind. It is a collection of apologues and historical anecdotes. This work, of which three or four copies are preserved in the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, is highly esteemed in the East, and has been translated into Persian and Turkish. An English translation of it accompanied with a very instructive preface, was published in London, by Mr. M. Amari, in the year 1852.

\* 1 July.—Ed.

† 9 November.—Ed.

‡ 19 January A.C. 1190.—Ed.

§ 7 January.—Ed.

*Khayr il-Bashar* (excellent news concerning the best of mankind)<sup>1</sup>, a large commentary on the *Qur'ān*, entitled *al-Yanbū'* (the source), the *Kitāb Nujabā al-Abnā* (history of clever children)<sup>2</sup> a *Hāshiyah* or appendix to al-Ḥarīrī's *Durrat al-Ḡhawwāṣ* (No. 510), and two commentaries on the same author's *Maqāmahs*,—one ample, the other concise. He left also some other compositions of great elegance. I read, towards the beginning of his commentary, that he had been taught (the *Maqāmahs*) by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (No. 43), who had learned them from the author, al-Ḥarīrī: people say, however, that when al-Silafī saw al-Ḥarīrī in the mosque of Baṣrah, teaching his *Maqāmahs* to a circle of students, he asked who he was, and receiving for answer: "That man has fabricated a set of lying stories, and is now dictating them to the public," he turned away from him in disdain. God best knows which of these statements is true. The following anecdote has been handed down as a relation made by the *shaykh* Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī (No. 233): "Having obtained a financial draft on the government office (*diwān*) in Ḥamāt for a gratuity, I went to receive the amount, and, after my arrival, I met with Ibn Zafar at an assembly. We then engaged in a grammatical and philological discussion, during which I proposed to him some questions on the former subject and brought him to a stand. His skill in philology appeared nearly as limited, and, when the assembly was about to break up, he said: 'The *Shaykh* Tāj al-Dīn surpasses me in grammar, but I excel him in philology;' on which I answered: 'Thy first assertion is granted and thy second denied.' We then separated." Ibn Zafar was of a short stature, a puny figure, and by no means well-looking. Some

1 A copy of this work is preserved in the *Bibliothèque imperiale*. It is divided into four chapters: the first on the passages in the Books of God (*the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospel*) which foretell the mission of Muḥammad. The second contains the ancient popular traditions relating to this event; the third, the predictions on the same subject made by the *kāhins* (*Arabian diviners*); and the fourth, such information respecting the coming of Muḥammad as was derived from the *jinn* (*genii*).

2 A copy of this work is in the *Bibliothèque imperiale*. As the title indicates, it contains anecdotes of children remarkable for precocious talent. The historian and the philologist will find in it much curious information.

poetry is ascribed to him, and I found the following verses in a compilation which goes under his name :

"I bear thee in my heart ; dost thou not then know that thou art borne about even when thou remainest at home ? Is not that person highly prized by me whom I long to meet and who dwells within my bosom ?"

He has borrowed this thought from an Arab of the desert, who said :

"Though I never inhabited the land where Sulaymā took up her abode, I pray that a dark cloud may show her its lightnings, and refresh with its showers the dwelling-place of a person dear to my heart."

Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī quotes, in his *Kharīdah*, a number of pieces composed by Ibn Ḥafar, and, amongst others, the following :

"A man's misfortunes correspond to his merits ; and, by his patience under affliction, his share of merit may be known. He who has but little firmness in facing what he apprehends, will have but little chance of gaining what he hopes for."

Ibn Ḥafar was born in Sicily and brought up at Makkah ; he kept removing from one country to another, and at length al-Ḥamāt where he died in the year 565 (A.C. 1169-70). The whole period of his life was passed in struggling against poverty : it is even related that, in Ḥamāt, want and misery forced him to marry his daughter to a person much beneath her ; the bridegroom then left the city with his wife, and sold her as a slave in another country<sup>1</sup>. *Ḥafar* is the noun of action belonging to a verb which, taking *ḥafira* in the preterite and *yaḥfaru* in the aorist, means *to obtain a thing*. (*It is here employed as a proper name*.) having already spoken of *Ṣaqa-līyah* (Sicily) (No. 371), we need not repeat our observations here.

### 637 AL-'UTBĪ THE POET

Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn 'Umar Ibn 'Utbah Ibn Abī Sufyān

<sup>1</sup> This act was contrary to law.



Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah Ibn 'Abd Shams, surnamed al-'Utbi, was a member of the tribe of Quraysh and of the family of Umayyah, a native of Baṣrah and a poet of great celebrity. This accomplished scholar and able poet delivered orally historical Traditions and the narrations of the combats which took place between the Arabs of the desert; he composed also some elegies on the death of his sons. The authorities which he cited for his information were Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (No. 249), Lūṭ Ibn Mikhnaf, and his own father; amongst those who delivered traditional information on his authority were: Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (No. 262), Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Riyāshī (No. 298), and Ishāq Ibn Muḥammad al-Nakha'ī. Having proceeded to Baghdād, he taught Traditions to the people of that city, but he was more generally noted for drinking wine and composing love verses on 'Utbah. He and his father held a high rank by the respectability of their family, and both bore the reputation of accomplished scholars and elegant speakers. Amongst the works which he compiled were: a Book of Horses, a collection of poems composed by the Arab of the desert, a collection of poems composed by females whose love had turned to hatred, the *Kitāb al-Dḥabliḥ* (victims for sacrifice), and the *Kitāb al-Akhlāq* (de moribus), etc. Ibn Qutaybah (No. 306) mentions him in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, and Ibn al-Munajjim<sup>1</sup> in the *Kitāb al-Bārī*. He relates that he heard a wild Arab of the desert say to another man: "If such a fellow smile upon thee, his scorpions (emblems of treachery) will glide towards thee; if thou dost not treat him openly as an enemy, do not (at least) treat him in private as a friend." The latter writer gives the following verses as al-'Utbi's:

"When the maidens remarked the tinge of grey appearing on my cheeks, they turned away from me their faces radiant with beauty. When they saw or heard me, they ran off to the tops of the sand-hills at al-Maḥājir<sup>2</sup>. But though they turn their eyes away from me they cast (*towards me*) furtive glances like those of

---

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 This is merely a conjectural translation of the verse.

the fawn and the gazelle ; for I belong to a family of high renown, whose feet were formed to tread the pulpit<sup>1</sup> ; khalifs in Islāmic times ; mighty chiefs in the times of idolatry ; to them belonged every glory, and such an ancestry might form the boaster's proudest vaunt."

A collection of pieces in my own handwriting contains some verses of the sharīf al-Riḍā's<sup>2</sup>, in which a similar thought is expressed. (Ibn al-Munajjim) quotes also these verses as his :

"When Sulaymā saw me turn my eyes away—and I turn my glances away from all who resemble her—she said : 'I once saw thee mad (*with love*) ;' and I repl ed : 'Youth is a madness of which old age is the cure.'"

This verse has now acquired the force of a proverb. Al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*) cities, in his *Kāmil*, two verses in which al-'Utbi deplores the death of one of his sons ; they are as follows :

"Tears have furrowed my cheeks through grief for thy loss, and wounds have covered my heart. Resignation meets with approval in every case, but in thine it merits blame."

This verse also has obtained great currency. The poetical pieces of al-'Utbi are numerous and good ; he was one of the best poets of Islāmic times. He died A.H. 228 (A.C. 842-3). The surname of *al-'Utbi* was borne by him because he drew his descent from 'Utbah, the son of Abū Sufyān. '*Utbi*' signifies also *descended from 'Utbah Ibn Ghazwān*, one of the Prophet's Companions. It is possible also that our poet may have received this surname on account of the poems which he composed in praise of his beloved '*Utbah*.

1 Literally : "For whose feet the tops of the pulpits were formed." In the first ages of Islāmism, the khalif in person pronounced the *khutbah* from the pulpit. The poet here alludes to his descent from the Umayyads.

2 His life will be found in this work.

## 638 ABŪ BAKR AL-KHUWĀRAZMĪ

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Abbās al-Khuwārazmī, surnamed also al-Ṭabarkhazī, [because, says al-Sam‘ānī (*No.* 370), his father belonged to Khuwārazm and his mother to Ṭabaristān, and these two denominations combined into one were given to the son,] was, as we have already said in the life of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (*No.* 544), a sister's son to that historian. Abū Bakr ranked among the greatest and the most renowned of the poets; he was held also as a first-rate authority in philology and genealogy. He resided for some time in Syria, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and was highly distinguished by his contemporaries. It is related that having gone to see the *Ṣāhib* Ibn ‘Abbād (*No.* 93), who was then holding his court at Arrajān, he requested one of the chamberlains to announce to him that a literary man desired permission to enter. The chamberlain took in the message, and his master replied: "Tell him that I have bound myself not to receive any literary man unless he knows by hearts twenty thousand verses composed by the Arabs of the desert." The chamberlain returned back with this answer, and Abū Bakr said: "Ask him if he means twenty thousand verses composed by men, or twenty thousand composed by women?" This question was repeated to the *Ṣāhib*, who immediately exclaimed: "This must be Abū Bakr al-Khuwārazmī! let him come in." Abū Bakr then entered, and being recognised by the *Ṣāhib*, he met with a most favourable reception. Abū Bakr left a collection (*diwān*) of epistles and another of poetry. Al-Ṭha‘ālībī (*No.* 356) mentions him in the *Yatīmah* and quotes a passage from his prose-writings, to which he subjoins some extracts from his poems. Amongst the pieces given there are the following:

"I see that you, when wealthy, pitch your tent close to us, and that, when you are in want, you visit us seldom. 'Tis with you as with the moon: when her light is diminishing, she delays her visits, but when it increases, she remains with us long."

\* "O thou who longest for draughts of pure wine, but who, occur what may, will never break the seal of the paper (*in which*

\* 'From his verses' omitted by de Slane.—Ed.

*thy money is rolled up*); know. that the purse and the goblet cannot be full at the same time; empty then thy purse, that thou mayest fill thy goblet."

Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad Ibn Shuhayb, a native of Khuwārazm, composed the following verses on Abū Bakr :

"Abū Bakr possesses learning and talent, but he does not adhere to his engagements. The attachment which he shows for a friend lasts from morning to night (*and no longer*)"

The anecdotes told of Abū Bakr are very numerous. On his return to Syria, he settled at Naysābūr, and died in that city on the 15th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 383 (4th November, A.C. 993); but, in the historical work of our master Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*No. 435*) his death is placed ten years later. God best knows which is right. Abū Bakr being dissatisfied with Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, composed the lines on leaving him :

"Praise not Ibn 'Abbād even when his hands shower forth beneficence so abundant as to shame the rain-cloud. Such acts are merely the suggestions of his fancy; he grants, but not from liberality, and he refuses, but not from avarice."

Ibn 'Abbād was told of this, and, on receiving intelligence of the poet's death, he said :

"I said to the caravan returning from Khurāsān : 'Is your Khuwārazmite dead?' and they answered : 'Yes'. On this I said : 'Inscribe these words upon his tomb : *'May the curse of the Almighty light upon the ungrateful!'*"

I thought that the verses directed against the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād were composed by Abū Bakr al-Khuwārazmī, a number of literary men having made that statement in their compilations and in conversation; but happening since to examine al Marzubānī's (*No. 621*) *Mu'jam al-Shu'arā*, I met the following lines in the life of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Sufyān surnamed Abū 'l-Qāsim al-A'mā (*the blind*), a poet and one of the persons who, at Baghdād, repeated from memory the compositions of former authors; he had been a pupil of al-Kisā'i's (*No. 408*), and was employed by al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl (*No. 169*) to instruct his children. Having incurred Ibn Sahl's reprehension for

something which he had done, he pronounced these satirical lines :

"Praise not Ḥasan for generosity, though his hands shower gifts in abundance ; blame him not if he withhold his favours. It is not through parsimony that he refuses, neither is it in hopes of fame that he bestows. Such acts are merely the suggestions of his fancy ; he grants, but not from liberality, and he refuses, but not from avarice."

God best knows the truth in this matter. We have already spoken of the word *Khawārazmī*<sup>1</sup>.

### 639 AL-SALĀMĪ THE POET

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>2</sup> Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā Ibn *Khulays* Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yahyā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Walīd Ibn al-Walīd Ibn al-Mughīrah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn Makḥzūm Ibn Yaqqah Ibn Murrah Ibn Ka'b Ibn Luwayyi Ibn Ghālib Ibn Fihri Ibn Mālik Ibn al-Naḍr Ibn Kinānah Ibn *Khuzaymah* Ibn Mudrikah Ibn al-Yās Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'dd Ibn 'Adnān al-Makḥzūmī al-Salāmī, a celebrated poet drew his descent from al-Walīd, the son of al-Walīd Ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makḥzūmī and the brother of *Khālīd* Ibn al-Walīd (*the first Muslim conqueror of Syria*). Al-Tha'ālibī (*No. 356*) speaks of him in these terms<sup>3</sup> : "He was incontrovertibly the best poet of 'Irāq, and his right to that rank is sufficiently evinced by his merit. The opinion which we have expressed concerning him is supported by a sure testimony,

1 This, I believe, is an error ; in the part of his work which precedes, the author has said nothing on the subject. In Arabic, the word is pronounced *Khawārazmī*, and means *native of Khawārazm*. The Persian pronunciation of the word is *Khārizum*.

2 In the MS. of the *Yatīmah*, No. 1370, al-Salāmī's names are written : Abū Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh.

3 See *Yatīmah*, MS. of the *Bib. du Roi*, ancient fonds No. 1370, fol. 194 verso.

that of his poems ; and the beauties of his compositions which we have here inserted are a delight for the eye, a charm for the heart, and a satisfaction for the mind. He began to utter verses at the age of ten years, and the first piece he ever pronounced was the following, recited by him one day at school :

'The charms of beauty (*which we remark*) in him are various : the eyes of mankind are fixed on him with one accord, The arrow of his glances is sharp, and his glance never misses its aim. Beauty has inscribed upon his cheek : *This is a beauteous being as true as his Creator exists.* !'

He passed his early youth at Baghdād, and removed to Moşul when yet a boy. He there met some poets of the highest eminence, such as Abū 'Uthmān al-Khālidi, (one of the two Khālidi<sup>1</sup>) Abu 'l-Faraj al-Babbaghā (No. 366), Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Talla'fari, and others. When they saw him, they were astonished that such talents could exist in a boy so young, and they suspected that the verses which he repeated were not his own. Al-Khālidi then observed that he would undertake to put him to the test, and having prepared a banquet, he invited these poets and al-Salāmi. When in the midst of their potations, they proceeded to make a trial of his talents and a heavy fall of snow having very soon after covered the face of the earth, al-Khālidi took an orange and threw it upon the hail ; 'Now,' said he to his companions, 'let us try and describe that object.' Upon this al-Salāmi delivered extemporaneously the following lines :

How admirable the talent of al-Khālidi, a genius unrivalled, generous, and grand ! To the frozen water of the cloud he made a present of an ardent fire<sup>2</sup>, and when the noble hearts of (*his companions*) addressed reproaches to him, the hands of joy offered him this excuse drawn from my mind : *Blame him not : he has only given the cheeks as a present to the mouth*<sup>3</sup>.

1 No. 407.

2 The poet thus designates the orange on account of its colour.

3 That is : He permitted the mouth to kiss the cheek. The teeth are often compared to hail-stones, and the red-skinned orange is compared to the cheek of the beloved.

When they saw him capable of producing such verses as these, they let him alone ; all praised his talents and acknowledged his merit and acuteness, with the exception of al-Talla'farī, who persisted in his former opinion. In this he was so obstinate, that al-Salāmi at length attacked him in these lines :

"Al-Talla'farī aspired to my friendship, but the soul of a dog would despise such friendship as his. His character is repugnant to mine, and my actions scorn to be joined with his. *Ars mea nobilis in lingua sita est, ars ejus vilis in tergo. Homo non est ille mihi versus facienti conveniens ; homo non sum ad illum pertundendum aptus.*"

"He composed also many more satires on the same person. Having gone one day to see Abū Taghlib,—Abū Taghlib al-Ḥamdānī<sup>1</sup> I suppose is meant, 'the latter, who had a coat of mail lying before him, desired the poet to describe it in verse. Al-Salāmi immediately extemporised these lines :

How often has an ample (*coat of mail*) rendered me service and I requited it with evil, yet no one reproached me ; from morn to night it preserved me from death, and yet I exposed it to the strokes of every sword."

This idea is borrowed from a piece already quoted (*No. 316, note*), in which 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz speaks of boiled wine : he there says :

"It preserves me from the fires of hell, and that, we must allow, is a great service."

Al-Salāmi proceeded to the court of al-Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād (*No. 93*) at Iṣbahān, and recited to him the poem rhyming in *b*, which contains this verse :

"We abandoned ourselves to sin, when we found that forgiveness was the fruit of crime.

---

<sup>1</sup> For the history of Abū Taghlib al-Ḥamdānī, see *No. 167* and Abu 'l-Fidā's *Annals*. years 358, 359. 367, 369.

This verse, which is one of his finest, contains an allusion to the idea expressed by Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan Ibn Hānī (*No. 162*) in a poem the subject of which is self-mortification ; he says :

"You shall gnaw your hands with regret, for the pleasure which you avoided through fear of hell."

It approaches also to the thought which (*the khalif*) al-Māmūn thus expressed : "If criminals knew what pleasure I take in pardoning, they would strive to gain my favour by committing crimes." "Whilst al-Salāmi remained with the *Ṣāhib*, he enjoyed favours in profusion, ample honours and untroubled pleasure. At length he resolved on visiting the court of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh (*No. 507*) at *Shīrāz*, and the *Ṣāhib* not only provided him with a conveyance for his journey, but gave him a letter of recommendation addressed to the *kātib* Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Yūsuf an eloquent writer and one of the persons employed by 'Aḍud al-Dawlah in the capacity of *wazīr*. Here is a copy of the letter : 'Your lordship knows that the traders in poetry (*shi'r*) are more numerous than the hairs of the head (*sha'r*), and that those persons are much less so whose jewels, when offered (*for sale*), can be confidently taken as the workmanship of their own genius, and whose embroidered tissues, when presented (*to a patron*), can be considered as wrought on the loom of their own imagination. Now, amongst the persons whom I have put to the test and approved, whom I have tried and chosen, is Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Salāmi, the originality of whose talent surpasses expectation, and hastens on in the career of excellence, tempting the ear to hearken with attention to his compositions and the eye to peruse them. Mounted on the steed of hope, he is induced to visit your Excellency, in the expectation of being admitted into the band of his fellow poets and attracting notice by sharing their good fortune. I have, therefore, dispatched (*to you*) in his person, the *amīr of poets*, escorted by the train of his (*accomplishments*), and I have adorned that vigorous courser of eloquence with the harness which becomes him. This, my letter, serves him as a guide towards the (*regions watered by the*) showers

1 Ibn *Khallikān* here resumes his extract from the *Yatīmah*. See MS. No. 1370, Fol. 196 v.



(of liberality), or rather as a conductor towards the ocean (of beneficence) ; therefore, if your lordship judge proper to take into consideration these words of mine in his favour, and to let them be the means of procuring your consent to his wishes, you will, I hope, execute what you resolve.' When Abu 'l-Qāsim received this letter, he took the poet under his charge and treated him with special favour. He then presented him to 'Aḡud al-Dawlah, that he might recite to that prince the *qaṣīdah* which contains this passage :

"To reach thee, a man who made the sight of thy palace the term of his camel's journey, crossed the wide-extended desert. I and my courage in the depths of darkness, and my sword, were three companions, united like (*the stars of the constellation of*) the eagle. I encouraged my hopes with the sight of a king who (*for me*) would replace mankind, of a palace which (*for me*) would be the world, and of a day of meeting which (*for me*) would be worth an eternity'."

We have already mentioned these verses in the life of 'Aḡud al-Dawlah (No. 507). " 'Aḡud al-Dawlah then took him under the wing of his favour, and handed him the key which opened (*the door*) to the advantages he expected ; sojourning or journeying, he kept him attached to his person, and raised him to ample fortune by his donations. 'When I see al-Salāmi,' said he, 'at my levees, it seems to me as if the planet Mercury<sup>1</sup> had descended from its sphere to stand before me.' On the death of this prince, al-Salāmi returned to his usual habits, and his means underwent diminution ; sometimes, they rose, sometimes they fell, and so they continued till the moment of his death." He composed a number of highly beautiful *qaṣīdahs* on 'Aḡud al-Dawlah, and it is in one of those pieces that we find the following passage :

"I roused my boon companions as the dog-star passed above us, and the moon in the expanse of heaven seemed like a pond in the midst of a meadow. 'Awake.?' (*said I*), hasten to drink of generous wine, for this world is a mere illusion! the spy now sleeps

1 Tr. from previous p. note No. 8.

from fatigue, and pleasure has awaked !' Satan prompted us (*to sin*), and we all declared him an excellent counsellor ! (*we lay*) prostrate on that battle-field (*of pleasure*), which is shunned by the vultures and beasts of prey<sup>1</sup>. The blooming flowers of our meadow were female cheeks, and female waists were its pliant shrubs. The enjoyments of life are always best hidden when the veils (*in which false modesty shrouds us*) are rent away. The cup-bearers passed the goblet around, and offered it to the guests as the falcon offers the game to the sportsman. The virgin liquor comes disguised by the admixture of water, concealed in it as the soul is concealed in the body. The red surface crowned with bubbles seems like a cheek receiving a kiss<sup>2</sup>. We at length sunk in prostration, but we had then before us for *imām* (*to direct our devotions*) the cords of the lute<sup>3</sup>. "

In another piece of verse, he says of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah :

"Thy bounty visits the needy, thy sword the rebel, and are received, that by hands, and this by necks. Each day adds to the treasury of thy glory, whilst it exhausts the wealth of thy treasury."

He said also of the same prince :

"For bravery and generosity his eulogists compared him to persons who, had they seen this prince, would have become the humblest of his servants. Why ! in his army he has fifty thousand 'Antars braver even than 'Antar and in his treasurers a thousand Hātims<sup>4</sup>.

In one of his pieces he says :

"If (*our*) lips be impressed upon thy cheek, they are imprisoned in the chains of thy ringlets<sup>5</sup>"

1 The poet here imitates a verse of Imra 'l-Qays, where he says : *Et pernociavimus, feris a nobis retroce-dentibus, humi jacentes ac si du occisi essemus.* (*Diwān* 'Amro 'l-Kais, p. 72).

2 The mouth, or rather the teeth, are compared to white objects, such as flowers, hailstones, bubbles on water, etc.

3 Literally : There we had for *imām* the *imām* and *zīr*. The treble cord of the lute is called the *zīr* ; the base was designated by the term *imām*.

4 The bravery of 'Antar and the generosity of Hātīm are well known.

5 See Introduction.

And from this verse al-Talla'fari took the idea expressed in the following line : "

"Suppose that a cheek be pressed to thine, how could thy ringlets, then imprisoned, roam freely.1"

Al-Salāmi had in fact recited to al-Talla'fari the piece to which this verse belongs. Al-Talla'fari's names were al-Shihāb (*Shihāb al-Dīn*) Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Mas'ūd al-Shaybānī<sup>2</sup>. We may sum up al-Salāmi's merits by saying that the greater part of his poems are exquisite. He was born in Karkh, the suburb of Baghdād, on Friday evening, the 6th of Rajab, A. H. 336 (January, A.C. 948),\* and he died on Thursday, the 4th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 393 (March, A.C. 1003)†. *Salāmi* means *belonging to Dār al-Salām* (the abode of welfare), that is, Baghdād. This remark we have already made in the life of the *hāfiẓ* Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir (No. 599).

#### 640 IBN SUKKARAH AL-HĀSHIMĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad, a celebrated poet of Baghdād and generally known by the appellation of Ibn Sukkarah al-Hāshimī, drew his descent from 'Alī, the son of al-Mahdi, the son of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, the 'Abbāsīd khalīf. Al-Tha'ālībī has an article on him, in which he says<sup>3</sup> : This poet had a great command over all the beauties of composition ; in the expression of novel and witty allusions he surpassed the ablest poets, even those who took the lead, directing, as he pleased, his course through the hippodrome of humour and licentiousness. It was currently said at Baghdād that an epoch

1 The verb راح here rendered by *roam freely*, bears also the signification of *to smell sweetly*. The poet plays upon this double meaning.

2 Ibn Khalikan has committed an error here : The author of the *Yatimah* informs us that al-Talla'fari's names were Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad. As for the poet and philologist Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Mas'ūd al-Shaybānī al-Talla'fari, we learn from the *Nujūm* that he was born at Moṣul, A.H. 593 (A.C. 1196-7), and died at Ḥamāt in the month of Shawwāl A.H. 675 (March, A.C. 1277).

3 *Yatimah*, MS. No. 1370, fol. 207.

\* 21 January.—Ed.

† 11 March.—Ed.

which bestowed upon the world such men as Ibn Sukkarah and Ibn Hajjāj (No. 186) was extremely bountiful and that these two were for that age what Jarīr (No. 127) and al-Farazdaq were for theirs." It is said that the *diwān* of Ibn Sukkarah's works contains upwards of fifty thousand verses. A charming comparison of his is that expressed in the following lines, composed on a boy bearing in his hand a branch tipped with flowers :

"A branch of willow (*a slender-waisted youth*) appeared, and in his hand a branch bearing a string of pearls. I stood in admiration at these two branches ; one bore a rising moon (*a handsome face*), and the other bore stars (*flowers*)<sup>1</sup> "

In another of his pieces he says :

"By Allāh ! I perish ! I despair of my life, unless I see that waist which laid waste my heart."<sup>2</sup>

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faṭḥ, a poet of Baghdād and generally known by the surname of Ibn Abi 'l-'Aṣb—or Ibn al-'Aṣb—al-Uṣhnānī al-Milḥī<sup>3</sup> relates as follows : "Ibn Sukkarah al-Hāshimī wrote to me these lines :

"O friend whom fortune has bestowed upon me ! fortune so avaricious in bestowing true friends ! We are now far asunder, and cannot meet except in dreams<sup>4</sup>. One single cause has placed a distance between us : I am *sukkar* (*sugar*) and thou art *milḥ* (*salt*)."

To this I wrote in reply :

"Shall our brethren say to a friend the sincerity of whose attachment is tainted with sarcasm : 'There is *sugar*

1 Here follow, in the original, two other pieces, each containing two verses. As they evidently refer to an unnatural passion, they have not been translated.

2 In the original is a play upon the words *qāmat*, *aqāmat*, and *qiyāmat* all deriving from the same root.

3 *Uṣhnānī* means belonging to *Uṣhnān*, a place near Baghdād. *Milḥī* signifies a seller of salt.

4 Literally ; Unless the *ḥiyyāl* (*image of the friend, or of the beloved, seen in a dream*) kindly effect (*our*) meeting.

between us, spoil it not !' or shall they say : 'Wretch that thou art! there is salt between us (prove not a traitor to it)'

In a satire directed against a man in power, Ibn Sukkarah said :

"You treat us with haughtiness, yet you are not a khalif or a khalif's heir. Be insolent, even more than you are, (*I care not*), I have neither pension nor place to lose. Say not : 'I am faultless : the chastest maiden is exposed to the strokes of slander. Poetry is fire without smoke, and rhymes possess a subtle magic. How many the powerful, the aspiring, whom a few words have hurled from their elevation. Musk, though worthy of all praise, is converted by satire into carrion.'<sup>2</sup>"

Another of his pieces is the following :

"I was asked what I had prepared against the cold which had just set in with intensity ; and I replied : "A waistcoat of nakedness, and underneath it a shirt of trembling."

He is also the author of the two following verses, quoted by al-Ḥarīrī in his *Maqāmah*, entitled *al-Karajiyah*<sup>3</sup> :

"The winter set in, and I provided myself with seven things necessary when the rain prevents us from pursuing our usual occupations. (*These things are :*) A shelter, a purse, a stove, a cup of wine preceded by a bit of meat, a tender maid, and a cloak<sup>4</sup>."

1 These words appear to mean : Friendship still subsists between us ; spoil it not ! Friendship cemented by conviviality subsists between us, but thou art about to ruin it.

2 Musk may be considered as carrion, because it is animal substance.

3 See de Sacy's *Ḥarīrī*, page 262.

4 In the Arabic, the names of the seven things commence with the letter *k* ; for which reason they are designated as *the seven k's*. By the *sixth k* (*al-Kaf al-Sādisah*) is meant the female sexual organ. Ibn 'Arab-*Shāh* relates in his history of *Timūr*, that *Shāh Manqūr*, on being advised by his principal officers to avoid a battle with so powerful a chief, held up his mace and exclaimed : "هذا الآف في الكاف السادسة من ام من يفرون تيمور" may this (*mace, as strait, as the letter*) *alif* be struck into the *sixth kuf* of the mother of him who flies from *Timūr* ! "—Manger, the editor of the text and Latin translation of that work, has as usual, completely misunderstood the passage.

Ibn al-Ta'āwidi<sup>1</sup>, a poet whose life we shall give, composed the following lines on the same model :

"When seven things are collected together in the drinking-room, it is not reasonable to stay away. These are : Roast meat, a melon, honey, a young girl, wax-lights, a singer to delight us, and wine<sup>2</sup>."

And Abu 'l-Thanā Maḥmūd Ibn Ni'mah Ibn Arsilān, the grammarian, composed these verses on the same-subject :

"They say that the *k*'s of winter are numerous, and yet none can doubt that there is only one : If you possess the *k* of *kīs* (*purse*), you possess all the rest ; in the flesh of the onager is found the taste of every species of game<sup>2</sup>."

Speaking of youth, Ibn Sukkarah said :

"Youth has departed ! that youth which once was full of sap, covered with fruit and shady foliage. It was a portion of thyself, but it has perished ; know that when a portion of thyself has perished, all of thee has perished."

The poetical compositions of Ibn Sukarah abound in beauties. He died on Wednesday, the 11th of the latter Rabi' A.H. 385 (May, A.C. 995)\*. The birth of Ibn Abi 'l-'Aṣb took place subsequently to the year 285 (A. C. 898), and, in the year 374 (A.C. 984-5), al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī al-Jawharī heard him repeat the verses quoted above. Abu 'l-Thanā Maḥmūd Ibn Ni'mah died at Damascus, A.H. 565 (A.C. 1169-70). The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn speaks of him in the *Kharidah*, and mentions that, in the year 563, he met him at Damascus and heard him repeat numerous fragments of his poetical compositions. *Sukkarah* (*sugar*) : this word is so well-known that it requires no explanation.

1 Here, the seven words begin by an *sh*.

2 This is a common proverbial expression. See Freytag's *Meilanii proverbial*, tom II, p. 316.

\* 16 May.—Ed.

641 THE SHARĪF AL-RADĪ

The Sharīf al-Radī (the favourably accepted descendant of *Muḥammad*)<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, surnamed al-Mūsawī (the descendant of *Mūsā*), was the son of al-Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Manāqib, the son of Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn, the son of Mūsā, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Mūsā, the son of Ibrāhīm, the son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim<sup>2</sup>, the son of Ja'far al-Sādiq (No. 128), the son of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (No. 534), the son of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (No. 397), the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib; God's blessing on them all! The Sharīf al-Radī is the author of a *diwān* of poems, and al-Ṭha'ālībī (No. 356) has an article on him in the *Yatīmah*. "He began," says this writer<sup>3</sup>, "to utter verses soon after he had passed his tenth year, and he is, at this day, the most remarkable person that the age has produced, and the most illustrious of the descendants of Muḥammad who inhabit 'Irāq. To his noble origin and exalted hereditary glory, he joins the ornaments of brilliant literary information, splendid talents, and a copious portion of every fair endowment. He is moreover the ablest poet of all the descendants of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, past or present, though many of them were eminent in that art; were I even to declare him the best poet ever produced by the tribe of Quraysh, I should not be far from the truth. My words will be fully confirmed by a strong testimony, that of his high-aiming verses which defy the severest criticism and combine ease with majesty, facility with the perfection of art, and contain thoughts easy of comprehension and profound in meaning. His father had, in former days, exercised the functions of chief president of the descendants of 'Alī (*niqābah nuqabā il-Ṭālibiyyin*), first magistrate of the empire (*al-Nazar fi 'l-Maẓālim*) and commander of the pilgrim caravan; these offices then devolved to his son al-Radī, in the year 388 (A.C. 998), his father being still alive." One of his most brilliant

1 This person must not be confounded with 'Alī al-Riḍā, another member of the same family. See No. 398.

2 His life is given by our author.

3 See *Yatīmah*, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale* No. 1370, fol. 251.

*qaṣīdahs* is that which he addressed in the form of a letter to the *imām* (*khalīf*) al-Qādir bi Allāh Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, the son of al-Muqtadir, and in which we find the following passage :

"I crave indulgence, Commander of the Faithful! we are not borne on different branches of the tree of glory! On whatever day we may vaunt our honours, no difference shall appear between us; we are both firmly rooted in our illustrious rank. The *khalīfate* alone makes a distinction between us; you wear that noble collar, I do not."

He is the author of these five lines :

"I aspired to honours, but they repelled my advances; the beloved always repels the lover. I waited with patience till I attained them, and I never said, through disgust: For an untoward wife, repudiation is the cure."

In one of his pieces he says :

"O my two friends! stop and satisfy my wishes: give me news of the land of Najd.<sup>1</sup> Is the enclosure of al-Wa'sā (*the sandy grounds*) covered with flowers? Have the rains refereshed *Khamīlat al-Ṭalḥ* (*the acacia groves*), where flourish the willow and the laurel? Must a dwelling between this and Kāzimah be my place of repose to-night? Shall I pass this evening in conversation with the people of that tribe? When they approach, the perfumes of Najd breathe from their garments, so lately was it that they departed from that home."

His poetical works fill a large *diwān* of four volumes. This collection is so frequently to be met with that it is useless to quote more passages of it. The grammarian Abu 'l-Faḥ Ibn Jinnī (*No.* 387) relates, in one of his compilation, that the *Sharīf* al-Raḍī, when a mere boy, under ten years of age, went to take lessons from the grammarian Ibn al-Sirāfi (*No.* 154), and one day, as he was sitting in the circle of scholars, his master questioned him on some points of syntax, according to the usual mode of instruction: "When we say," said he, "*ra'ytu 'Umara*" (*I saw 'Umar*), by what mark is it known that '*Umar* is 'in the

<sup>1</sup> See *No.* 498, note on Najd.



accusative case!?" To this the Sharif made answer; "By his hatred for 'Alī." Al-Sirāfi and all the other persons present were struck with his acuteness of mind. It is said that he commenced learning by heart the *Qur'ān* at an advanced age, and completed the task in a very short time. He composed a work on the rhetorical figures of the *Qur'ān* (*Ma'ānī 'l-Qur'ān*), to which it would be difficult to find one equal in merit; it indicates the author's vast information in grammar and philology. He drew up also a treatise on the metaphors of the *Qur'ān* (*Majāzāt al-Qur'ān*), one of the most remarkable works on the subject. Different persons have essayed to collect the poetical works of the Sharif al-Raḍī, but the best edition is that of Abū Ḥakīm al-Khabrī.<sup>2</sup> \* I was told by a man of considerable talent that he read the following anecdote in a certain compilation. One of the *literati* happened to pass by the house of the Sharif al-Raḍī at Sarr man ra'ā; (Samarra) he was not aware of the circumstance, but being struck by the ravages it had sustained from time, by its decayed magnificence, its mouldering walls, and the shattered ruins which still testified its former splendour and beauty, he stopped to contemplate it, and reflect upon the vicissitudes of time and the sudden strokes of adversity. He then recited the following lines, composed by the Sharif al-Raḍī, applying them by an appropriate allusion to the objects before his eyes:

"I stopped at the vernal habitations of my friends, but the hand of ruin had devastated their walls. And I wept till my weary camel grew impatient and my fellow-travellers rebuked my delay. I then turned my eyes away from those mouldering remains; yet, when hidden from my sight, my heart still turned towards them."

1 'Umar is pronounced 'Umarū, in the nominative, and Umara in the dative and the accusative; there is nothing by which these two cases can be distinguished except the part of speech by which one or the other is governed. The accusative case, in Arabic, is called *naṣb* and the same word signifies malevolence. The Sharif took it in the latter meaning alluding to the manner in which his ancestor 'Alī was treated by 'Umar. One of the parties opposed to 'Alī was called *Ahl al-Naṣb* (the malevolents)—[according to the traditions of a particulars sech.—Ed.]

2 This name is printed in different manners: it may be read Khabrī, Khayrī, and Khubrī. I can find no information respecting the person who bore it.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Khayrī.—Ed.

'A person who passed by and heard him recite these verses, asked him if he knew to whom that house had belonged? He answered that he did not. 'Well,' said the man, 'it belonged to the author of these verses—to the *Sharīf* al-Raḡī.' The other was filled with astonishment at this singular coincidence." This reminds me of an anecdote somewhat similar which is related by al-Ḥarīrī (*No.* 510) in his *Durrāt al-Ḡhawwās*. 'Abīd Ibn *Sharyah* al-Jurhumī lived three hundred years<sup>1</sup>; he attained the epoch of the promulgation of Islāmism and became a convert to that faith. Having entered into the presence of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, who was then in Syria and established in the *khalīfate*, that prince said to him; "Relate to me the strangest thing you ever saw." 'Abīd replied: "I passed one day near some people who were committing to the tomb the body of a relative. Having gone up to them, my eyes overflowed with tears and I recited these verses of a poet as applicable to the spectacle which I there beheld:

'O my heart! thou hast been seduced by (*the charms of*) Asmā; reflect (*upon thy state*); but can admonition now be of avail? Thou hast revealed thy love; thou concealest it from none; nay, thy rapid (*tears*) flow unrestrained. Thou knewest not, neither dost thou know, whether the prompt fulfilment of thy wishes will be more favourable to thy welfare than their tardy accomplishment. Let God dispose for thy good, and be resigned to His will; in the depth of misfortune happiness may arrive. Whilst man yet enjoys the pleasures of existence, he is turned into dust, and the winds efface even the marks of his tomb. The stranger who knew him not then weepeth over him, whilst his relations in the tents of the tribe are rejoicing.'

One of these people then asked me if I knew who was the author of these verses. I replied that I did not, on which he said: 'Him who first uttered them we have just buried; thou art the

---

1 Arabic writers are singularly credulous respecting the longevity of certain Arabs who flourished towards the time of Muḥammad. According to them, Labīd the poet lived one hundred and fifty years; 'Abīd al-Jurhumī, three hundred; and 'Abd al-Masīḥ, three hundred and fifty; but they died prematurely, compared with the two celebrated diviners *Shiqq* and *Saṭīḥ*, who attained the advanced age of six hundred years.

stranger who weepeth over him without knowing him, and that person who now cometh out from the tomb is his nearest relation and the man who most rejoiceth in his death." "Truly," said Mu'āwiyah "you saw a thing to wonder at; who was the dead man?" 'Abid answered: "He bore the name of 'Iṭhyar Ibn Labīd al-'Udhri.<sup>1</sup>" Let us return to the *Sharīf*. The *Khatīb* (*No.* 33) says, in his History of Baghdād, that, being in the presence of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Maḥfūz, who held a high rank in the service of the empire, he heard kātib Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh say that some literate men had declared, in his hearing, that the *Sharīf* was the best poet ever produced by the tribe of Quraysh. On this Ibn Maḥfūz said: "That is perfectly true; some poets there were among them who expressed themselves well, but their compositions were not numerous; none of them shone by the excellence and the quantity of his works but al-Raḍī." The *Sharīf* al-Raḍī was born at Baghdād, A. H. 359 (A.C. 969-70); he died there on Sunday morning the 6th of Muḥarram—some say, of Ṣafar—A. H. 406 (June, A.C. 1015),\* and was interred at his residence situated in that part of the suburb of al-Karkh, which is called the street of the Anbārīte Mosque (*khuff masjid il-Anbāriyīn*). The house in which he resided fell into ruin, and all traces of his tomb disappeared. When the burial was about to take place, his brother Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Murtaḍā withdrew to the mausoleum of Mūsā Ibn Ja'far<sup>2</sup>, feeling his inability to support the sight of the bier and the interment; it was therefore the wazīr Fakhr al-Mulk who recited the funeral prayer in the house of the deceased, before a large assembly. His father al-Ṭāhir *Dhu* 'l-Manāqib Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn was born A. H. 307 (A.C. 919-20); he died at Baghdād in the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 400 (Dec.-Jan. A.C. 1009-10) some say, 403 and he was interred in the funeral chapel of the Quraysh cemetery, near the Fig Gate (*Bāb al-Tīn*). His son al-Raḍī composed an elegy on his death, and Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (*No.* 46) deplored his loss in a *qasīdah* which begins thus:

1 The editions of Gottingen and Boulae introduce here another anecdote of the same kind, containing same philological observations. As my manuscripts do not give it, I abstain from inserting it here.

2 The life of Mūsā Ibn Ja'far al-Kāzīm is given by Ibn Khallikān.

\* Sunday fell on 6 Muḥarram corresponding to 27 June, A.C. 1015.—Ed.

"O that misfortune would cease to afflict us! the man is dead whose wealth was for the impoverished and whose acceptance, amber (*bounty*) for those who were desirous of perfumes (*gifts*)."

It is a long poem and displays the highest excellence. We have already spoken of his brother the *Sharif* al-Murtaḍā Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī (No. 418). Pronounce *أبي* 'Abid. and *شريح* Sharyah. *Jurhumī* means *descended from Jurhum*, the son of Qaḥṭān and the progenitor of a large and celebrated Yamanite tribe. '*Ithyar*, in its primitive means *dust*, but it has been employed as a proper name for men. Of al-'Uḍhrī we have already spoken (No. 138).

#### 642 IBN HĀNĪ THE POET

Abu 'l-Qāsim, surnamed also Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Hānī, a member of the tribe of Azd, a native of Spain, and a celebrated poet, is said to have drawn his descent from Yazīd Ibn Ḥātim Ibn Qabiṣa\* Ibn al-Muḥallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah al-Azdī, or from Rūḥ Ibn Ḥātim (No. 228, note), Yazīd's brother. His father Hānī belonged to a village in the territory of al-Mahdiyyah, a city in Ifrīqiyyah, and displayed considerable talent as a poet and philologist. Having passed into Spain, he there became the father of Muḥammad, who was born at Seville and passed his early youth in that city. Muḥammad Ibn Hānī acquired, in the course of his studies, an ample stock of literary information, and displayed a superior talent for poetry. He knew by heart a great number of poems composed by the Arabs of the desert and numerous facts relative to the history of that people. Having gained the favour of the prince who governed Seville, he plunged into dissipation and incurred the suspicion of holding the doctrines of the philosophers (*materialism*). This report acquired at length such consistence, that it drew on him the hatred of the people; they murmured also against his patron, whom they imagined to hold the same impious opinions. The prince recommended him to retire from the city and remain absent till his conduct was forgotten; and Ibn Hānī left the place, being then twenty-seven years

\* Mr. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives Qubayṣah.—Ed.

of age<sup>1</sup>. His subsequent adventures would afford matter for a long narration, but we shall only state, in a summary manner, that he crossed over to Maghrib, where he met and eulogized in verse the Qā'id Jawhar (No. 141), *mawlā* to al-Manşūr, and the same general who (*afterwards*) marched into Egypt and conquered that country for al-Mu'izz. He then went to visit Ja'far and Yaḥyā, the sons of 'Alī (No. 133), who were at that time governors of al-Masīlah, the capital of the province of al-Zāb<sup>2</sup>. They treated him with the utmost honour and kindness, but his reputation having reached al-Mu'izz Abū Tamīm Ma'add al-'Ubaydī, the son of al-Manşūr, that prince, whose life we shall give under the letter M, sent for him, and received him, on his arrival, with the highest marks of favour. Al-Mu'izz having then set out for Egypt, as we shall relate in his life, Ibn Hānī accompanied him to some distance and then returned to Maghrib with the intention of taking his family and rejoining the prince. Having set out with them, he arrived at Barqah, where he was hospitably received by one of the inhabitants, and passed some days with him in friendly intercourse. He there lost his life, in a drunken squabble it is said. But some persons relate that he went out of his host's dwelling in a state of intoxication, and, having fallen asleep on the road, he was found dead the next morning, but the cause of his death could not be ascertained. According to a third account, he was found strangled in the waistband of his trousers in one of the gardens<sup>3</sup> of Barqah. This event occurred on Wednesday morning the 23rd of Rajab, A.H. 362 (April, A.C. 973)\*. He had then attained his thirty-sixth year; some say, his forty-second. Such is the information furnished by the author of

---

1 This must have taken place in the year 347 or in 353. The prince Umayyad 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir was at the former epoch sovereign of Spain and held his court at Cordova. It was probably his son al-Ḥākim al-Mustaṣfir who then governed Seville and protected Ibn Hānī.

2 See my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Histoire des Berbers*, tome II. page 553, and Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome III, page 316.

3 The word *sawānī*, the plural of *sāniyah*, means *irrigated gardens*. In its primitive acceptation, it designates the camels and wheels employed to draw up water from wells for agricultural purposes.

\* 30 April.—Ed.

the History of Qayrawān<sup>1</sup>, but he gives us to understand that the poet was (*travelling*) with al-Mu'izz (*when he lost his life*), which is in contradiction with the statement which we have made, namely : that he accompanied al-Mu'izz to some distance and then returned to take his family. Al-Mu'izz had arrived in Egypt when he heard of Ibn Hānī's death. He expressed great grief at his loss and said : "We hoped to have placed this man in competition with the poets of the East, but that pleasure was refused us." Ibn Hānī composed some brilliant and exquisite poems on al-Mu'izz. In one of them, which is the *qasīdah* rhyming in *n* he begins thus<sup>2</sup> :

"Has Yabrin then become one of the valleys of 'Ālij ? or, rather, do the large-eyed gazelles (*maidens*) whom the camels bear along in covered litters belong to both these regions.<sup>3</sup> To whom were we indebted for the nights which, from the time these (*maidens*) existed, never excited our complaints, although (*these fair ones*) were sources of affliction (*by their cruelty*) ; (*maidens*,) brilliant as stars, graceful as the (*pliant willow*) branch, whose clear complexion (*spread radiance around*) even before the first smiles of the dawn ; and yet they were dark with the musk (*blackness*) of the fringe which adorns handsome females (*the hair*). For them the coral ensanguined the surface of its cheek, and (*their teeth*) made the pearls weep (*with envy*) in their shell. My lamentations for their departure excited the mournful cry of the turtle-dove, and served as an accompaniment to its monotonous

---

1 Seven or eight authors have composed works containing biographical notices on the eminent men of Qayrawān. I know not which of them our author had in view here.

2 This piece, which is extremely obscure and very incorrectly given in all the copies, does not admit of a literal translation. I have given, however, all the ideas, and followed the text as closely as I could, the text which I found in Ibn Hānī's *Diwān*, MS. of the *Bibliothèque Imperiale*, Supplement ar., No. 1056, fol. 168, but it was necessary to paraphrase most of the verses.

3 Yabrin and 'Ālij are the names of two places in Arabia. The meaning of the verse appears to be this : Has the territory of Yabrin been removed to the neighbourhood of 'Ālij, so that the numerous gazelles (*nymphs*) of both regions have been collected together ? Or rather, do not these gazelles of Maḥ̣ḥrib come from Yabrin and 'Ālij ? ". The *Diwān* reads *عند خالج* (the valleys of *Khālij*).

melody. They departed rapidly and as they saw (*our grief*), sighs proceeded from their litters, and plaintive cries were uttered even by the camels. Their (*red*) tents seemed to have given a tint to the morning<sup>1</sup>; or rather, (*the evil influence of jealous*) eyelids had cast a yellow hue over its cheek. Why should the robe of anemony (*the carnation complexion*) with which these maidens clothed their cheeks be not revealed to sight?" Now that they have departed, I let the meadows (*where they sported*) be parched with drought, and no copious tears of mine shall water (*the thirsty soil*). Shall I permit my eyes to borrow a stolen glance at the splendid aspect of their beauty, and thus deceive (*their modest coyness*)? No! I should then be disloyal. (*For me*) the land is no longer a brilliant land, even though arrayed in flowers! (*For me*) the water of the spring is no longer pure! Let (*these fair ones*) not depart! the soil of this land is amber, its woods are the (*graceful*) willows, and the sun its humble slave. (*O for*) the days when the canvass (*tents*) displayed in that land their alternate stripes, and the fine tissues (*which formed our dress in times of peace*) were folded up and laid by—when the lances were couched, the swords glittering, and the steeds ready to start. ! (*I dwell with pleasure on*) the recollection of (*my beloved*) Zamyā; her people were not jealous, neither was their warfare stubborn, (*Hers*) is the land which I regret, and yet it was a land of lances, and the coverts where its fawns took shelter were dens of lions. Can a sleek and rapid steed, well-girthed and mettlesome, bear me thither? (*My companion shall be*) a sword, the watered blade of which shows on its surface traces like the paths of the emmet, and which waits in ambush behind the point of my spear; its sharp edge is without a defect, and the souls (*of foes*) dwell upon its point; death was the water in which its steel was tempered, and its blade was not forged by (*human*) workmen. Before it descends, the victim seems already struck by the might of al-Mu'izz or by (*the terror of*) his cherished name."

In the same piece he gives the following description of horses:

"And neighing (*steeds*), for whom, on the day of inroad, the hills were not hills, neither was the rugged ground rugged;

<sup>1</sup> Red tents were used only by persons of the highest rank.

they were recognised the instant they passed all rivals, not by the fact that the eye could have followed them in their career on the day of trial. All that the lightning knows of them is, that they were borne along on its wings, and that their speed was equal to that of thought. The copious rains may serve (*O prince !*) as an emblem of thy liberality ; thy right hand seems to have touched the constellations which shed their humid influence upon the earth."<sup>1</sup>

Were this high-sounding poem not so long, I should insert it all here : but what we give suffices to prove how highly the author ranked as a poet and to exhibit the peculiar beauty of his manner. His poetical works form a large volume, and were it not that he carries his eulogiums to an excess bordering on impiety, the *diwān* of his verses would be one of the finest which exists. The people of the Western countries have never possessed his equal either in ancient or modern times ; he is incontestibly their best poet, and they esteem him as much as the people of the East prize al-Mutanabbī (*No.* 49) : both were contemporaries, but some difference of opinions subsists relative to the superiority of the latter to Abū Tammām (*No.* 143). To discover the date of Ibn Hānī's death, I never ceased consulting historical works and other sources where that information might be expected to be found ; I questioned a great number of masters in this branch of science, but all my pains were useless, till, meeting with a little volume composed by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (*No.* 157), and entitled *Qurāḍat al-Dhahab*, I discovered in it what I sought. From another quarter I learned the age at which he died. I found in a notice composed on the life

---

1 In the *Diwān* of Ibn Hānī, MS. of the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, Supplement, this poem is preceded by the following short introduction : "It is said that this was the first *qaṣīdah* which he recited at Qayrawān, and that al-Mu'izz ordered him the presents of a carpet (?) (*dast*) valued at six thousand dinārs, and the poet said : 'Commander of the faithful ! I have no place large enough to hold it, if it be spread out'. On this, the prince ordered a palace to be built for him at the expense of six thousand dinārs and sent to it three thousand dinārs worth of furniture to match (*the beauty of*) the palace and the carpet." The *Diwān* of Ibn Hānī contains a great number of remarkable pieces, unfortunately the copy in the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, has neither gloss nor comment.



of Ibn Hānī by an author of talent and prefixed to the *diwān* of his poems, that he lived to the age here mentioned ; but the date of his death is not given, the writer not having been able to meet with it. It is said that, when Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (No. 46) heard any of Ibn Hānī's verses recited, he used to say : "I can only compare that to a mill grinding horns ;" alluding to the harshness of the poet's phraseology ; he pretended also that, under these rugged terms no real meaning existed. This opinion I am obliged to declare unjust, but he was led into it by his partiality for al-Mutanabbī. To sum up in a word Ibn Hānī's merits, we cannot but pronounce him one of the great poets.

### 643 IBN 'AMMĀR DHU 'L-WIZĀRATAYN

Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Ammār al-Mahrī al-Andalusī al-Shilbī (*native of Silves in Portugal*) was a celebrated poet, the rival of Ibn Zaydūn al-Qurṭubī (No. 56), and nurtured, like him, in the practice of the varied styles of elegance in literary composition ; they were, in fact, the two great poets of that age. The princes of Spain dreaded Ibn 'Ammār for the acrimony of his tongue and his talent (*as a satirist*) and more particularly when al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh Ibn 'Abbād, the sovereign of the west of Spain<sup>2</sup> [his life will be found (No. 660), under the letter M], took him into favour, adopted him for a companion, and raised him to the rank of wazīr and privy counsellor. Al-Mu'tamid then confided to him the seal of the empire and dispatched him as amīr (*to lead his armies*). And yet the time had been when Ibn 'Ammār was a person of no importance ; but now, he marched in pomp, followed by tents,

1 Dhu 'l-wizāratayn, the regular title of the grand wazīr under the first Spanish dynasties, signifies *holder of the two wazīrships*, namely, that of the sword and that of the pen ; this officer was generalissimo and secretary of state. But, (in Spain,) the title of *wazīr* was common to all who were admitted into the intimacy of the sovereign and were attached to his personal service. The *wazīr* who acted as his lieutenant bore the title of Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn (See Maqqarī, *Arabic text*, Vol. I. p. 320).

2 The 'Abbādite dynasty, of which al-Mu'tamid was the third sovereign, reigned at Seville.

steeds, led-horses, troops and squadrons, drums beating behind him, banners and colours flying over his head. Having taken possession of the city of Tudmir<sup>1</sup>, he became one of those who mount the pulpit and the throne<sup>2</sup>, notwithstanding his incapacity as a statesman and his inability as a ruler. He then rose against the sovereign who had every right to his gratitude, and hastened to disobey his orders and infringe his rights. But al-Mu'tamid had recourse to stratagem and directed against him the arrows of wily artifice, till he deprived him of all means of escape and got him into his power. He then slew him, by night, in the palace, with his own hand, and ordered the corpse to be buried. This occurred at Seville in the year 477 (A.C. 1084-5). Ibn 'Ammār was born A. H. 422 (A.C. 1031)<sup>3</sup>. His friend Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jalīl Ibn Wahbūn al-Mursī (*No. 49, note*) composed an elegy on his death, in which he said :

"'Tis strange! I shed floods of tears for his loss, and yet I must exclaim: May the right hand of him who slew him be never blasted!"

Abū Naṣr al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān (*No. 500*) says, in his *Qalā'id al-Iqyān*: "Some years later, I saw the bones of Ibn 'Ammār's legs taken out of an excavation which was making close to the palace; the bracelets were still closed around them, having never been taken off or undone. O that they were still closely filled<sup>4</sup>! The people looked on at this moral lesson, and the most incredulous then believed the history of his death." By bracelets (*asāwir*) the writer means *fetters*. One of Ibn 'Ammār's most celebrated *qaṣīdahs* is that in which he says:

"Pass round the glass! the zephyrs are come, and the Pleiades rein in (*their steeds*) and cease their nocturnal journey.

1 See note on Tudmir below.

2 That is, he pronounced the *khutbah* from the pulpit as representative of the sovereign, and he sat on the throne as governor of the province.

3 For a full account of Ibn 'Ammār's life and adventures see the fourth volume of Dozy's *Historie de l'Espagne musulmane*.

4 By this he expresses his wish to see Ibn 'Ammār again among the living. A fetter is closely filled when the prisoner is alive, and loosely when the flesh has mouldered away in the tomb. I read *وليتهما مشددة*.

The morning has bestowed upon us its camphor (*brightness*), now that the night has taken from us its amber (*darkness*)."

In the eulogistic part of that poem, he says of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād :

"When princes crowd towards the fountain (*of glory*) and he approaches, they advance not to it until he has quenched his thirst and retired. (*His presence is*) more soothing to the heart than the dew-drop, and more grateful to the eyes than balmy sleep. It is he who striketh sparks from (*the steel of*) glory ; he never leaves the fire of war, but he lights the fire of hospitality."

It is a long and excellent poem<sup>1</sup>. Another of his good pieces is that rhyming in *m*, and composed also in honour of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād. It begins thus :

"If not for me, for whom do the clouds shed their tears? If not for me, for whom do the doves utter their plaintive cry?"

He gives in it the following description of his native place :

"May the rains clothe it in a mantle of youth, for there it was that puberty delivered me from the amulets of childhood. (*Standing*) there, I recalled to mind the days of love, and that recollection awoke the flames of passion in my bosom. (*I thought of*) those nights when I heeded not the advice of reproofing friends, and turned not away from the delusive path of the lover ; when the eyes of slumbering maidens kept me awake, and their graceful figures kept me in torment. (*I thought of*) the night we passed at Suddatayn,\* where the meandering river glided on like a serpent ; (*where the breezes*) flitted to and fro, like envious tale-bearers passing between us. We remained that night, unseen by treacherous spies in a spot as retired as that in which the secrets of the bosom lie concealed."

In the eulogistic part of the same poem he says :

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khāqān gives it in the *Qalā'id*.

\* 'Abd al-Hamīd gives : السدين *al-sadd bayn* meaning dam.

"Princes at whose abodes glory took its station, palaces, the dwellings renown. Their noble house, founded by the sword, is supported by the spear. When terror arrests the step (*of the warriors*), these (*princes*) lead them on with long lances in the outstretched arm. Their hands scorn to return (*from combat*) till they succeed in cutting off (*a prisoner's*) forelock or a foeman's head. (*Constant*) guests (*at the banquet*) of war, they pass the death-cup around, as their swords, with redoubled strokes, cleave the skulls. With them we see the lance couched in support of honour, and the spear brandished in execution of noble designs."

In the same piece, he says (*of the prince*) :

"See him, when they take to horse, the first to strike the foe ; behold him, when they dismount, the last to partake of food."

This is also a long and magnificent piece. One of the crimes imputed to him by al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād was his having composed two satirical lines on his father al-Mu'taḍid and himself. These lines, which we here give, were the principal cause of his death :

"What makes me dislike conversing of Spain, is to hear of a Mu'taḍid's being there and a Mu'tamid ; two royal names out of their place<sup>1</sup> ; it reminds me of the cat which strives, by swelling, to attain the size of the lion."

His poetry abounds in beauties. *Mahl* means *descended from Mahrah* Ibn Ḥaydān Ibn al-Ḥāf Ibn Quḍā'ah (*the progenitor of*) a great tribe from which many persons derived their surname. *Shilbī* means *belonging to Shilb (Silves)*, a maritime city in the Spanish peninsula. *Tudmir* is the same city as Murcia<sup>2</sup> ; al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād sent Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ammār to Tudmir as his lieutenant ; Ibn 'Ammār revolted there, and al-Mu'tamid never discontinued his efforts to circumvent him till he got him

1 These name were first borne by 'Abbāsīd *khalīfs*.

2 The city and territory of *Tudmir* were so called after Theodomir, a Gothic general who encountered the Arabs on their first invasion. He continued his resistance for some time after the defeat and death of king Roderic, but finally made peace with 'Abd al-'Azīz, the son of Mūsā Ibn Naṣīr, (Nuṣayr?) and obtained for himself a principality which included the provinces of Valencia and Murcia.

into his power and put him to death, as we have already said. This event is so well known, that we need not enter into details. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isbahānī says, in his *Kharīdah*, when giving a notice on Ibn 'Ammār and an account of his death: "One of the principal circumstances which conduced to his death was, his composing a satirical poem on al-Rumaykiyah, the concubine by whom al-Mu'tamid had his children; in one passage he says:

'You chose her from among the daughters of an ignoble stock, that Rumaykiyah a woman who (*if slain*) would not be worth the price of her blood. She brought (*into the world*) a puny race, doubly vile by their paternal and maternal descent.'

I must here observe that al-Rumaykiyah, the concubine of al-Mu'tamid, was purchased by him, in his father's lifetime, from (*one*) Rumayk Ibn Ḥajjāj, and that she was surnamed after her former master. Al-Mu'tamid displayed an extreme attachment to her and allowed her to acquire a great ascendancy over him. Her real name was I'timād (*support*) and this induced him to assume the corresponding surname of *al-Mu'tamid* (*the supported*). She died at Aghmāt (*in Morocco*) subsequently to al-Mu'tamid. After his death, she neither shed a tear nor uttered a sigh, but expired of grief. It was she who excited al-Mu'tamid's anger against Ibn 'Ammār, being incensed at the satire which that poet had directed against her. It is said, however, that he was not the author of the piece, but that his enemies passed it under his name with the intention of irritating al-Mu'tamid's heart against him.

#### 644 ABŪ BAKR IBN AL-ŠĀ'IGH IBN BĀJJAH (AVEMPACE)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Bājjah al-Tujibī al-Andalusī al-Saraqustī (*native of Saragossa in Spain*) and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Šā'igh (*the son of the goldsmith*), the philosopher, was a poet of considerable celebrity. Al-Faḥ Ibn Khāqān (*No. 500*) mentions him in the *Qalā'id al-Iqiyān* and represents

him as an atheist and an infidel, professing the doctrines held by the (*ancient*) sages and philosophers. The same author says of him, in his *Matmah al-Anfus*<sup>1</sup>: "He studied these doctrines<sup>2</sup> and directed his mind towards the dimensions of the spheres and the boundaries of the climates; he rejected the book of God the All-wise and haughtily *cast it behind his back*<sup>3</sup>; he wished to prove false that revelation which *falsehood never does nor can attain*<sup>4</sup>, and applied himself exclusively to astronomy. He denied that we should return unto God, and he declared his belief in the governing influence of the stars; boldly insulting the majesty of the intelligent and All-knowing God, he hearkened with audacious indifference to His threats and prohibitions, laughing to scorn these words of His: *He Who hath placed thee under the rule of the Qur'an will surely bring thee back unto Him*<sup>5</sup>; he believed time to be a revolution (*of vicissitudes*), and considered man as a plant or a flower for which death was the ripening, and for which the snatching out (*of existence*) was the gathering of the fruit. Faith disappeared from his heart and left not a trace behind; his tongue forgot (*the praises of*) the Merciful, neither did (*the holy*) name cross his lips." But I must say that Ibn Khāqān's statement is exaggerated, and that he passes all bounds in accusing him of doctrines so perverse<sup>6</sup>. God, however, knows best what

1 This passage is also to be found in the *Qalā'id*. For an account of the *Maṭmah*, see Dozy's *Historia Abbassidarum*, page 10.

2 I suspect that the word *ta'dīm*, here rendered by *doctrines*, means *the mathematics*.

3 *Qur'an*, sūrah, 3, verse 184.

4 *Qur'an*, sūrah, 41, verse 42.

5 *Qur'an*, sūrah, 28, verse 85.

6 Through the diffuse and pretentious phraseology of Ibn Khāqān, in his *Qalā'id*, we perceive that Ibn Bājja was wazīr to the amir Abū Bal'īr Ibn Ibrāhīm (*governor of Murcia*), and that he removed to Valencia on perceiving the progress made by the Christians. He then proceeded to Saragossa, and, after the capture of that city by king Alphonso, he went to Xativa, where he was imprisoned by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, the amir of that place, and returned to Islāmism that he might save his life. It appears also that, during his wazīrate, he had offended 'Imād al-Dawlah Ibn Hūd, sovereign of Saragossa, and, at a later period, that prince was on the point of putting him to death. Ibn Khāqān informs us also that Ibn Bājja was a skilful musician.

his principles were. The same writer quotes the following amongst other pieces of Ibn al-Ṣā'igh's poetry :

'Inhabitants of Nu'mān al-Arāk<sup>1</sup>, know that in my bosom also you possess an abode ! Continue to preserve (*for me*) your friendship ; alas ! how long have I suffered from the perfidy of men in whom I placed my trust. Ask the nights which I have passed, if slumber ever imbued my eyelids since you pitched your tents in a distant land ! Ask your skies if ever the swords of their lightnings were drawn without their finding sheaths in my eyes<sup>2</sup>.

When I was in Aleppo, a learned Maghribiyan *shaykh* recited to me these lines as having been composed by Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, but, some time after, I met with them in the *diwān* containing the works of Abu 'l-Fityān Muḥammad Ibn Ḥayyūs, a poet whose life shall be given in (*No.* 647). This led me to doubt the exactitude of the *shaykh's* statement, and I said (*to myself*) that he was probably mistaken but I then found the piece in (*Ibn Khāqān's*) Maṭmah, where it is given as Ibn Ṣā'igh's. God best knows by which of the two it was composed. The following piece is also by Ibn al-Ṣā'igh :

"(*The travellers*) encamped amidst the flowers of the meadow, where the fluttering zephyr breathed perfumes around. I sent my heart to accompany their heavy-laden camels, and, bleeding from its wounds, it followed in the path of the caravan. Why didst thou not ask their captivated (*lover*) if they had not among them a prisoner to be set free (*from the bonds of love*) ? thou mightst have asked him, jealous (*though he was*). I swear by Him Who made their (*slight and*) graceful figures with the (*slender*) twigs (*of the willow*), and their teeth with the (*white*) anthemis flowers, that, as the zephyr fled by me since their departure I never inhaled it, without breathing it forth in an ardent flame."

1 Nu'mān al-Arāk (*Nu'mān of the acacia trees*) is the name of a valley near Iṣṣakāh. It is frequently mentioned by the Arabic poets, because the manners of its inhabitants presented a perfect image of pastoral life.

2 The poet's meaning is, that he kept his eyes always turned in the direction of their abodes. H : plays also upon the word *jufūn* (*sheaths of the eye eyelids*) and *ajfān* (*scabbards*).

When his death drew near, he repeated these lines :

"I said to my soul when death stood before it, and, when impelled by terror, it fled to the right and to the left : 'Stand and support the evil thou abhorrest ; how long wert thou accustomed to seek for death as a refuge (*against affliction*) ?' "

He died at Fez in the year 533 (A.C. 1132-39), from eating a poisoned *badinjān*<sup>1</sup>. By another account, his death is placed in 525. *Bājjah* is the name of *silver* in the language of the western Franks<sup>2</sup> *Tujibī*, pronounced also *Tajībī*, means *descended from Tujib*, the mother of 'Adī and Sa'd, the sons of Ash, as Ibn *Shabīb* Ibn al-Sukūn. She herself was the daughter of *Thawbān* Ibn Sulaym Ibn Madhij, and her sons were surnamed after her. *Saraqusfī* means *belonging to Saraqusfah* (*Saragossa*) a city of Spain which produced a number of learned men. It was taken by the Franks in the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 512 (January A.C. 1119).<sup>3</sup>

#### 645 IBN AL-RAFFĀ AL-RUṢĀFĪ.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ghālib al-Raffā al-Andalusi al-Ruṣāfī (*a native of al-Ruṣāfah in Spain and*) a well-known poet, is the author of some charming verses in which he displays an elegant talent for versification. His poems are widely circulated throughout all (*Muslim*) countries. One of his most celebrated pieces is that composed on a young girl who followed the trade of weaving :

1 The *badinjān* is the egg-plant, or *solanum melongena* of Linnaeus.

2 I know of no European word bearing a resemblance to *bājjah* and signifying *silver*, except the Italian *baiocco*, the coin so called ; the word *pajolu* existed in the old Italian, but, according to the cardinal Zurlo (in a treatise cited by the viscount de Santarem, in his *Recherches sur la decouverte des pays situes sur la cote occidentale de l' Afrique*), it signifies gold. It is, perhaps, an alteration of the Spanish word *plata*.

3 It was taken by Alphonso I., king of Arragon. M. de Gayangos has given a translation of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's life of Ibn Bājjah in the appendix to the first volume of his *Muḥammedan Dynasties in Spain*. Munk has published a good article on Ibn Bājjah in his *Melanges de philosophie arabe et juive*, p. 385 *et. seq.*



"(*My friends*) made me long reproaches for loving her, and they said : 'Wert thou enamoured with any but a vile and worthless creature (*we should excuse you*)'. I replied : 'Had I power to control my passion, I should hearken to (*your advice*), but I have not that power. I love her for her pearly teeth, the perfume of her mouth, the sweetness of her lips, the magic of her eyes ; (*I love*) that gazelle (*ghuzayyil*) in whose fingers the thread (*ghazl*) ever revolves, like the mind (*of the poet*) when composing sonnets (*ghazal*) on his mistress. Gaily her hand piles the shuttle across the warp, playing it as fortune plays with the hopes of man ; pulling with her hand, striking with her foot, she seems like the deer entangled in the toils of the hunter. ' "

Another exquisite piece of his is that which he composed on a young *girl*, who pretended to weep and moistened her eyes with saliva :

"Let me be excused for loving that wanton (*maid*) who weeps (*as if*) in sadness and yet whose bosom is free from the (*sorrow*) she affects. She moistens her eyes with saliva to imitate tears, though she smiles like the (*opening*) flowers. She would make us think that moisture to be the drops of her eyelids ; but when was wine (*saliva*) extracted from the narcissus (*the eye*)<sup>1</sup> ? "

In another piece he says :

"A maid who resembled the willow branch by her slender waist, but not by her aspect, for that troubled every heart, was sleeping during the moon-tide heats, her cheek crowned with perspiration ; and I said : 'Behold the rose moist with its own sap. ' "

This poet died at Mālaqā in the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 572 (March, A.C. 1177). *Ruṣāfī* means *belonging to al-Ruṣāfah*, a small town in Spain, near Valencia. There is another village of the same name near Cordova ; this one was built by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the first Umayyad sovereign of Spain ; he was called al-Dākhil (*the enterer, the new comer*) because he *entered* into Spain on leaving Syria, whence he had fled through fear of the 'Abbāsīd (*khalīf*), Abū Ja'far al-

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to vol. 1.

Maṅṣūr. His adventures are well known. On entering Spain, he obtained possession of the country and was proclaimed sovereign at Cordova on the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 138 (May, A.C. 756),\* at the age of twenty-five years. He built this place and named it after the celebrated village in Syria, founded by his grandfather, Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Such are Yāqūt al-Ḥmawī's words, in his *Mushtarik*<sup>1</sup>; he indicates nine places bearing this name, but these I abstain from mentioning, to avoid lengthening the present article. He does not, however, notice the Ruṣāfah of Valencia; that would have made up ten places of the name.

#### 646 IBN ZUHR (AVENZOAR)

Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Iyādī, the son of Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik, the son of Abu 'l-Alā Zuhr, the son of Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik, the son of Abū Bakr Muḥammad, the son of Marwān, the son of Zuhr, a native of Seville in Spain, belonged to a family of which all the members were (*either*) men of learning (*in the law*), chiefs (*in the civil administration*), physicians, or wazīrs<sup>2</sup>; they obtained the first offices in the state, they enjoyed the favour of sovereigns and exercised great authority. The ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Diḥyah (*No.* 472) says, in his work entitled *al-Muṭrib min Ash'ār Ahl al-Maghrib* [*the charming (portion) of the poems composed by people of the west*]. "Our *shaykh* Abū Bakr," meaning Ibn Zuhr, "occupied a firm station in philology, and drew his knowledge of medicine from the purest sources; he knew by heart the poems of *Dhu 'l-Rummah* (*No.* 498) (and they form the third part of the language spoken by the desert Arabs), to which he joined a full acquaintance with all the doctrines held by the physicians; he enjoyed high favour under the sovereigns of the West; his family was ancient,

1 The life of this geographer is given by Ibn Khallikān.

2 The Avenzoars belonged to the Arabian tribe of Iyād 'bn Nizār.

\* 14 May.—Ed.

his wealth great, and his possessions ample. I attended his lessons during a long period, and derived from him a copious share of literary information." He then gives the following verses as Ibn Zuhr's :

"Whilst the fair ones lay reclining, their cheek pillowed on the arm, a hostile inroad of the dawn took us by surprise. I had passed the night in filling up their cups and drinking what they left ; till inebriation overcame me, and my lot was also theirs. The wine well knows how to avenge a wrong ; I turned the goblet up, and that liquor turned me down."

After quoting this passage, he adds : "I asked him the year of his birth, and he replied, in 507 (A.C. 1113-4) ; towards the close of A.H. 595 (October, A.C. 1199) I received news of his death." In these verses, Ibn Zuhr comes near the idea expressed by the *ra'īs* Abū Ghālib 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Hibat Allāh al-Aṣḥabī<sup>1</sup>\* in the following lines :

"I filled them out cool draughts of a liquor which, did it keep peace towards those who drink it, had not been named '*uqār*'. It called to mind the wrongs it suffered of old when it lay prostrate (in the vintage. vat) and the presser trod it under foot. It then

1 Abū Ghālib al-Aṣḥabī, surnamed Tāj al-Ru'wasa (crown of the *ra'īs*es, most probably because he held under the empire the highest rank as a *ra'īs*, or chief in the civil administration,) was sub-director of the register and general account office *نائب عن ديوان الزمام* in the reign of the *khalīf* al-Muqtadī. Under the reign of al-Mustaẓhir, he acted for a time as secretary of state. He composed a work as a guide for secretaries<sup>2</sup> (*علم الكتاب*) and the *kātib*s of 'Irāq drew up the public accounts after the system introduced by him (*يكتبون الحساب على طريقته*). He embraced Islāmism in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 484 (March-April, A.C. 1091) one day before the conversion of Ibn al-Mūsālāyā (see No. 484, note), in consequence of an edict emanating from the court of the *khalīf* (التوقيع الشريف) ordering the *dhimmīs*, that is, the Christians, Jews, and Ṣābeans, to wear certain marks by which they might be distinguished from the Muslims. (*Kharidāh*, MS. No. 1447, fol. 7.) This Abū Ghālib was probably the son of the Hibat Allāh mentioned in the life of Ibn al-Mūsālāyā.

2 The word *عقار* signifying wine, is derived from a root which means to wound to hamstring.

\* Abd al-Ḥamīd gives Ibn Sā'id instead of al-Aṣḥabī.—Ed.

yielded to them, but when they drank to intoxication, it got them in its power and cried : 'Now is the time for vengeance' ! "

It is said that he is the author of the following lines on one of the most esteemed and voluminous works studied by physicians, namely, Galen's *Ḥilat al-Bar'i*<sup>1</sup>.

"The *Ḥilat al-Bar'i* was composed to keep the sick in hopes of life or to divert their fears ; but, when death comes, it says : the *Ḥilat al-Bar'i* is not a means of cure<sup>2</sup>"

In one of his poems, Ibn Zuhri expresses the ardent desire which he felt for the sight of his child (*from whom he happened to be separated*) ; in this piece he says :

"I have a little one, a tender nestling<sup>3</sup>, with whom I have left my heart. I dwell far from him ; how desolate I feel in the absence of that little person and that little face. He longs for me, and I long for him ; for me he weeps, and I weep for him. (*Our*) affectionate wishes are weary with passing from him to me, from me to him."

When his hair turned grey with age, he composed these lines :

"I looked into the polished mirror and my eyes know not the object they beheld. I saw a little old man whom I did not recognise, although I had formerly seen him a youth. 'Where,' I exclaimed, 'is the person who was here yesterday ? when, when did he depart ?' The mirror smiled and answered with surprise : 'He is here, but thy eyes recognise him not. The fair Sulaymā used to call thee *brother*, but now she calls thee *papa*.'"

This last verse is a reminiscence of the idea expressed by the celebrated poet al-Akḥṭal<sup>4</sup> in the following lines :

1 *Ḥilat al-Bār'i* (*the means of cure*) is the title given to the Arabic translation of Galen's work *de methodo medendi* (Greek version).

2 The last verse may also be translated thus : But when death comes, the *Ḥilat al-Bar'ee* says : "There is no means of cure."

3 Literally : Like a young *quṭā*. The *qaṭā* is a species of grouse.

4 The life of al-Akḥṭal, an anteislamic poet, has been given by M. Caussin de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1834.

"When the girls call thee *uncle*, that title serves only to increase thy vexation, but when they call thee *dear brother*, it indicates a feeling nearer to love and attachment."

He gave directions that when he died, the following lines should be inscribed upon his tomb ; they contain an allusion to his medical occupations :

"Stand and reflect ! behold the place to which we are all impelled. The earth of the tomb covers my cheek, as if I had never trod upon its surface. I treated people to save them from death, yet here I am, brought to it myself."

These verses which I received from the lips of some learned men are attributed to Ibn Zühr, but God best knows whether they are genuine or not ; we have nothing in support of their authenticity but the word of those who transmitted them. Ibn Dihyah speaks of him in these terms : "And a species of composition for which our master was specially distinguished and wherein his imagination swayed his genius, so that persons of the highest talent became his humble followers, was that of *muwashshah*<sup>1</sup>, compositions which are the cream, the quintessence, the substance, the pure extract of poetry, and an art, by the invention of which the people of the West surpassed those of the East, and wherein they shone like the rising sun and the brightness which illuminates." He then gives a *muwashshah* of the poet's which is very fine. Speaking of Abu 'l-'Alā Zühr, Ibn Zühr's grandfather, the same writer says : "He was the Wazir of that epoch and its grandee, the philosopher of that age and its physician. He died at Cordova, A.H. 525 (A.C. 1130-1), from the sufferings caused by an ulcer which broke out between his shoulders." Of his great-grandfather, 'Abd al-Malik, he says : "He travelled to the East, where he long practised as a physician and became head of the faculty in Baghdād ; he then removed to Egypt and afterwards to Qayrawān. At a later period, he took up his residence at Denia, whence his reputation spread over all the regions of

1 See Introduction. to vol. I.

Spain and Maghrib. His pre-eminence in the art of medicine was so conspicuously displayed that he outshone all his contemporaries. He died at Denia." Of Muḥammad Ibn Marwān, the grandfather of Ibn Zuhr's grandfather, Ibn Dihyah writes as follows :

"He was learned in speculation<sup>1</sup>, a *ḥāfiẓ* in literature<sup>2</sup> and a jurisconsult singularly acute in his *fatwās* (*opinions*) ; he held a high rank in the general council (*of his native place*)<sup>3</sup>, he was versed in various sciences remarkable for his handsome mien and talents, a transmitter of traditional literature, and, moreover, a man of extensive information. He died at Ṭelabirah (*Talavera*), A.H. 422 (A.C. 1031), aged eighty-six years. A great number of learned Spaniards delivered traditional information on his authority, and they spoke highly of his piety, merit, generosity, and beneficence." We have already explained the words *Iyādī* (*No. 31*) and *Ṭalabirah*<sup>4</sup> ; this dispenses us from repeating our observations here. *Zuhr* is to be pronounced with an *u* after the *z*, then an *h*, without a vowel, followed by an *r*. The kätib 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Khariḍah*, that the following lines were composed on a member of this family, called Abū Zayd Ibn Zuhr, by Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Ibn al-Bazzār :

"Tell the plague and Ibn Zuhr that they had passed all bounds in working deeds of woe. Say to them : Spare mankind a little ! one of you is quite enough."

I have since found these verses attributed to Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ, a person who is stated to have died in the year 544 (A.C. 1149-50)<sup>5</sup>.

---

1 Speculation, in Arabic *rā'i*. He perhaps means Ḥanafite jurisprudence. See vol. I. Introduction and No. 227, note.

2 That is, he knew by heart a great number of literary pieces preserved by tradition.

3 Seville became a republic towards the year 1023.

4 The author has not yet spoken of Talabirah.

5 In the appendix to Maqqari's *Muḥammadan dynasties* in Spain, by M. de Gayangos, will be found a translation of the lives of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Zuhr and Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zuhr, from the Arabic of Ibn Abi 'Uṣaybi'ah.

## 647 IBN ḤAYYŪS

Abu 'l-Fityān Muḥammad Ibn Sulṭān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥayyūs Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Murtaḍā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Haytham Ibn 'Uṭhmān al-Ḡhanawī, surnamed Muṣṭafa 'l-Dawlah\* (*the chosen of the empire*), and styled al-Amīr (*the amīr*) because his father was amīr over the Arabs of the desert, ranks among the ablest poets of Syria. The collection of his poetical works forms a large *dlwān*. He met a number of princes and great men by whom he was amply rewarded for the poems which he composed in their praise, but he attached himself more particularly to the Banū Mirdās, a family which then reigned at Aleppo. Al-Jawhari says, in (*his lexicon*) the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, under the root *r d s*; "*mirdās* signifies a stone which is thrown into a well for the purpose of discovering if there be water in it or not. It is used also as a proper name for men." Ibn Ḥayyūs composed in their honour some beautiful *qaṣīdahs*, and his adventure with Jalāl al-Dawlah Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah<sup>2</sup> Abu 'l-Muzaḥḥar Naṣr Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn Shibl al-Dawlah Naṣr Ibn Šāliḥ Ibn Mirdās al-Kilābī, the sovereign of Aleppo, is well-known. The circumstances of it were these: Having celebrated the praises of Maḥmūd Ibn Naṣr, that prince rewarded him with the gift of one thousand dinārs. On the death of Maḥmūd, he went to his son and successor (*Jalāl al-Dawlah*) Naṣr and recited to him his poem rhyming in *r*, in which he extolled the qualities of the new sovereign and condoled with him on the loss of his father. It began thus:

"The rank which fortune has bestowed upon thee is a sufficient glory for religion; those who (*like me*) have made a vow (*for thy accession*) must now engage in its fulfilment."

In one passage of it, he says:

(*In thee*) eight (*qualities*) are combined, which never were nor ever will be separated as long as the eyelash protects the eye:

1 *Ḡhanawī* signifies descended from *Ḡhanī* Ibn A'ṣur, the progenitor of a family which formed a branch of the Qays 'Aylān Arabs.

2 This double title signifies: *magnificence and sword of the empire*. In Ibn al-'Adīm's History of Aleppo, the title of Naṣr Ibn Maḥmūd is not given.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, gives Ṣafī 'l-Dawlah.—Ed.

firm belief and piety, beneficence and wealth, eloquence and depth of thought, resolution and success."

Alluding to Naṣr's accession on the death of his father he says :

"We bore with patience the sentence pronounced by tyrant time ; but, without thee, patience had not been possible. (*Time*) overwhelmed us with a misfortune which surpassed *our deepest feelings of*) affliction, and was equalled only by those favours (*which thy father granted and*) for which (*our utmost*) gratitude was insufficient."

In another passage, he says :

"I left thee through constraint, not through self-mortification ; I went to find thee when evil fortune overtook me, and (*with thee*) I found a secure shelter to which no obstacle debarred access, and a door of glory to which no curtain impeded our approach. Long did I dwell in the bondage of thy beneficence ; thy noble acts ceased not, neither did my bondage cease. Thus the Lord of the heavens fulfilled His generous promise, that adversity should be followed by prosperity. The son of Naṣr bestowed upon me one thousand pieces taken from the stock (*of his treasures*), and I well know that his son Naṣr will repeat the gift. I was told to expect as much ; and why should I not, since command and prohibition depend upon thy will ? I need not press and insist ; the merchandise is known and the price is fixed. I have pitched near thee the tent of my hopes, and how many are the mortals who sojourn whilst their hopes range through the world ! In thy hands is the object for which I express my wishes in polished phrase ; the least of thy favours would enslave even a freeman's heart."

When he had finished the recitation of this piece, the amīr Naṣr exclaimed : By Allāh ! had he said, *Naṣr will redouble the gift* manifold, in place of *Naṣr will repeat the gift*, I should have done so." He then bestowed on him one thousand dinārs in a silver tray. A number of poets had assembled at the court of the amīr Naṣr and celebrated his praises, but the recompense which they expected did not appear. They therefore proceeded to the house of Bawuls (*Paul*) the Christian, where the amīr used to drop in occasionally



and make up a social party. Amongst these poets was Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Duwaydah al-Ma'arri (native of *Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*<sup>1</sup>), who, having written on a sheet of paper the following verses, in the composition of which they all had a share, they sent them in to the amir. (Some say, however, that the lines here spoken of were composed by Ibn al-Duwaydah) :

"At your well-guarded door is a band of the indigent ; turn your attention towards the state of the indigent. The whole troop would be satisfied with the tenth of what you gave to Ibn Ḥayyūs. Our talents do not differ from his in that proportion<sup>2</sup> ; but the lucky man cannot be placed in comparison with him who is unlucky."

When the amir Naṣr read these verses, he ordered them one hundred dīnārs, declaring at the same time that, if they had said *with as much as you gave to Ibn Ḥayyūs*, he would have given it to them. The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn quotes these verses in the *Kharidah* and ascribes them to Abū Sālim 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Duwaydah, the son of the poet named above, and who was generally known by the surname of al-Kāf ;\* God knows best ! The amir Naṣr, a prince distinguished for his generosity and liberality, became sovereign of Aleppo in A.H. 467 (A.C. 1074-5), on the death of his father Maḥmūd. He had not been long on the throne when some of his own troops attacked and slew him, on the 2nd of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 468 (9th May, A. C. 1076). We have already spoken of his great-grandfather Ṣāliḥ Ibn Mirdās (No. 274). Ibn Ḥayyūs arrived at Aleppo in the month of *Shawwāl*, A. H. 464 (June - July, A. C. 1072), and the house in which he there resided is now known as the House of the amir 'Alam al-Dīn Sulaymān Ibn Ḥaydarah.† "One of Ibn Ḥayyūs's finest pieces is

---

1 'Imād al-Dīn quotes a few extracts from the poems composed by different members of the Duwaydah family, but furnishes no information respecting them. (See *Kharidah*, MS. 1414, fol. 129).

2 Literally : All that difference does not subsist between us.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives al-Wāqī.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Hamid gives Ḥaydar.—Ed.

the *qasīdah* rhyming in *I (lāmiyah)*, wherein he praises Abu 'l-Faḍā'i'l Sābiq Ibn Maḥmūd, the brother of the amīr Naṣr. In the eulogistic portion of that poem he says :

"Whenever I was asked about you, I replied, (my object always being, to direct him who goes astray) ; 'If you wish to know them well, meet them in the midst of their beneficence, or on the day of battle ; you will find them white (*brilliant*) in honour, black with the dust of the combat, their shoulders green (*stained with the friction of their armour*), and red the points of their spears.' "

How beautiful this enumeration ! it seems to have occurred to him quite naturally and bears some resemblance to a passage in a magnificent *qasīdah* composed by the celebrated poet Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad al-Rustamī (*No. 93, note*) and containing the eulogium of the *Ṣāḥib* Ibn 'Abbād (*No. 93*). The verses to which we allude are these :

"A band illustrious in peace and war, a family crowned with noble deeds and formed to wield the spear. When they encamp, the soil turns green (*receives fresh verdure*) ; when they encounter the foe, their spears turn red. "

There, by Allāh ! is poetry in all its purity, unmixed with superfluous words. Ibn Ḥayyūs acquired great wealth by the favour of the Mirdās family, and he built a house at Aleppo, on the door of which he inscribed the following lines of his own composing :

"We built this abode and in it we resided, enjoying the bounty of the Mirdāsids, a family which delivered us from adversity and the tyranny of fortune. Say to the sons of earth : 'Let men act thus towards their fellow-men.' "

Some persons ascribe these verses to the grand amīr (*al-Amīr al-Jalīl*) Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar, a native of Aleppo and generally known by the name of Ibn Abī Ḥaṣīnah. In this, they are quite right. A splendid and well-known *qasīdah* of Ibn Ḥayyūs's is that which commences thus :

"Here was the vernal abode of the fair Mālikiyan maid ; let us halt and ask of the summer rains where lay the dwelling of

which they have effaced the trace. Invoke the flashing clouds to water the neglected vestiges of her tribe's presence, in these their reserved grounds, and excuse the insufficiency of my tears now exhausted (*in weeping*) before one (*a mistress*) who, though near, repelled me, and after one (*a friend*) who resolutely journeyed to a distant land. If travellers speak of me, they tell of eyes that are in tears and of a heart in pain. Restore to us the days (*we passed in loving converse*) at the sandhill, days which we may hope for whenever we dare hope that thou (*dear maid*!) mayest grant us thy affection. Hadst thou known even the slightest of my sufferings, thou hadst restored to us the possession of thyself, that utmost object of our wishes. Nay, did the external aspect of my passion offer thee sufficient proof of the ardent flame concealed within my bosom, thou hadst relented after thy reproaches, loved after thy hatred, and granted after thy refusal. Were I just to myself, I should save my heart from (*the pain of*) becoming like him who seeketh and findeth not."

This poem contains the following passage :

"I invoked the favours of the generous, but succeeded not ; yet now, I return thanks for favours granted though unasked. Strange it is, yet wonders are not rare, that speedy favours should find but tardy gratitude."

In one of his pieces he says :

"Stop in the midst of thy hatred and let thy reproaches go no farther ; be not like him who, when raised to power, plays the tyrant. I see you justify the falsest lovers, whilst near thee true love meets its death. If you followed justice in your decisions, why do you not still follow the same path ? In former times, men bent the blow to gain a livelihood, and that spear of mine (*my stature now bent*) was once straight and erect. The greyness which approached my locks has wronged me not, if it permit that my lot be still (*a mistress with*) dark (*hair*) and rosy lips<sup>1</sup>. A closely-guarded maiden of rare beauty and seldom rivalled, chaste and fair as a statue ; for her I burned with a passion

1 I suspect that the text of this verse is corrupted.

which no reproach (*of the censorious*) could control, and respecting whom I questioned the ruined dwellings in the desert, but obtained no reply. Ask what are the feelings of her lover ; his tears will give thee the surest information ! but ask not whither roams his heart. For a time, it enabled me to endure my pains with patience, but it departed from me on the day in which the tribe (*of my beloved*) departed from the plain in which they fed their flocks. (*That was*) a departure which deprived me of consolation ; and ever since, my patience journeyed towards the province of Najd, whilst I myself advanced into that of Tihāmah<sup>1</sup> (*Therein was*) a torture of separation, dreadful as the stroke of Mālik (*the angel who guards hell*), but under which, to my disgrace, I did not perish. O my two friends ! if you help me not to support my affliction, you are no longer mine and I am no longer yours. You counselled me to be indifferent and to forget (*her*), but you mentioned not the way to indifference and forgetfulness. May the (*spot where I passed my*) days of love be watered by gushing clouds, rising in the horizon each time the rain clears off. (*And yet we enjoyed*) a life of which we stole the pleasures in spite of the jealous spy who, fatigued with waking, sunk the head to slumber."

The poem to which this passage belongs is of a considerable length. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir (*No. 416*) states, in his History of Damascus, that, in the year 507 (A.C. 1113-4), the following observation was repeated to him by Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm al-'Alawī : "The anīr Abu 'l-Fityān Ibn Ḥayyūs took me by the hand when we were at Aleppo and said ; 'You may give this verse as mine and say that it was composed on Sharaf al-Dawlah Muslim Ibn Quraysh<sup>2</sup> :

1 That is : My patience went one way and I went another. The expressions *سهر* and *سجد* frequently occur in poetry.

2 Abu 'l-Makārim Muslim, the son of Quraysh, the son of Badrān, the son of al-Muqallad, the son of al-Musayyab, hereditary chief of the 'Uqayl Arabs, lord of Moḡul, Naḡibīn, Anbār, Takrīt, and other cities, had established his authority over the greater part of Syria, when he fell A.H. 478 (A.C. 1085) in combating the troops of Sulayman Ibn Qutulmish the Saljuqid. See Abu

Thou art he for whom eulogium is always ready<sup>1</sup> and whose veins flowed with generosity before they flowed with blood ! ”

This verse is the acme of eulogium. In the life of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Šā'igh (No. 644) we have given some verses rhyming in *n*, and mentioned that they are attributed to him, but they exist also in the collected poetical works of Ibn Ḥayyūs: God best knows the truth in this matter. In the year 472 (A.C. 1079-80), the poet Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Kḥayyāt (No. 59) arrived at Aleppo and wrote the following lines to Abu 'l-Fityān (Ibn Ḥayyūs) who was then in that city :

“All I possess would not sell for a dirham, and from my looks you may judge of my state. But I have still some honour left ; that I never offered for sale, and where, where could I have found a purchaser<sup>2</sup> ? ”

On this it was observed that, had he said, *and thou art surely the purchaser*, it had been better. Ibn Ḥayyūs was born at Damascus on Saturday, the 29th of Šafar A.H. 394 (27th December, A.C. 1003), and he died at Aleppo in the month of Šha'bān, A.H. 473 (Jan. Feb., A.C. 1080-1†). He was the *šaykh* (*preceptor*) of the Ibn al-Kḥayyāt just mentioned. The name حيويس must be pronounced Ḥayyūs ; among the poets of the West is an Ibn Ḥabbus (حبوس) whose name is nearly similar, except that, instead of an *y* (ي) it is written with a *b* (ب). I mention this, because these names have been often confounded, and I have frequently met with persons who supposed that the western poet's name was Ibn Ḥayyūs also, which is a mistake.

(Continued from page 149)

'l-Feda's Annals years 453, 458, 472, 477. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Kharīdah*, that Abu 'l-Makārim Muslim Ibn Quraysh Ibn (*Akhī*) Qirwāsh, king of Syria, styled Šharaf al-Dawlah (*nobleness of the empire*), Majd al-Dīn (*glory of religion*), the sultān of amīrs and the sword of the commander of the faithful, was extremely generous and that he granted the city of Moṣul in fief to Ibn Ḥayyūs as a recompense for the eulogiums which that poet had bestowed upon him in his poems. Ibn Ḥayyūs survived this favour only six months. Šharaf al-Dawlah himself displayed great talents as a poet. (MS. No. 1414, fol 129).

1 Literally : In whose market eulogium stations.

2 Literally : Except some water of the face. See No. 49, note.

# INDEX

## A

- 'Ābir, 111.
- 'Abbād, Ibn al-Ḥarīsh, 61.
- 'Abbādite, 400 n.
- Abbān, 144, 244.
- al-'Abbās, Ibn al-Faḍl, 26.
- al-Abbās, 146.
- al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn
  - 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-
  - 'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭ-
  - ṭalib, 282
- al-'Abbās Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn
  - Shāfi' 134.
- al-'Abbāsī, Sharaf Shāh Ibn
  - Malik Dād, 214n.
- 'Abbāsīd, 13, 109, 151, 161.
- 264n, 314, 386, 403n, 408.
- 'Abbāsīyah, 303.
- 'Abd, 264.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn
  - Ḥanbal, 134
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Durrah, 156n.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥārith, 71n.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far, 177.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mājah, 255.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maṣṣūr, 32i.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad,
  - al-Taymī 25.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muslim Ibn
  - Qutaybah : 78
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz,
  - 316, 382.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sabā, 288.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi
  - Sarḥ, 321.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Shihāb, 150.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Shīrshīr. 239.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir : 40, 251,
- 266.
- 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn
  - 'Amr Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn
  - 'Affān, 331.
- 'Abd Allāh al-Awlānī, 346n.
- 'Abd Allāh al-Murtadā, 53.
- 'Abd Allāh, Najm al-Dīn, 50.
- 'Abd Allāh al-Qudā'i, 186.
- 'Abd Allāh, Umm 146.
- 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwān,
  - 91, 93, 94, 95.
- 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Mūsā 403n.
- 'Abd al-Aziz Ibn 'Umar, 116.
- 'Abd al-Dār, 114n.
- 'Abd al-Ghānī, 371.
- 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 22, 324, 331n,
- 392n, 395n, 401n, 402n,
- 414n, 416n.
- 'Abd al-Ḥārith, 287.
- 'Abd al-Ka'bah, 260n.
- 'Abd al-Khālīq 269.
- 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, 254
- 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān,
  - 29, 72, 89, 90, 92, 150, 153n,
  - 160.
- 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr, 29.
- 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Zuhri, 412,
- 413.
- 'Abd Manāf, 134, 252.
- 'Abd al-Masīḥ, 393n.
- 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Ibn Hāshim,
  - 305.
- 'Abd Qays, 242.
- 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Abū Naṣr, 198.
- 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ibn 'Abd al-
- Ḥakam 167.

- 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, 350n.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā, 151n.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Awf, 141, 260, 260n.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khālid Ibn Musāfir al-Fāṭimī, 105.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil 349, 408.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Mughīrah 157.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays, 288.  
 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn Mu'adh-dhal, 74, 295.  
 'Abd Yālil. 265n.  
 'Abdallaṭif, 79, 80, 120n, 278n.  
 'Abdī, 265.  
 Abī Dāwūd, 162.  
 'Abid Ibn al Abraṣ, 304, 305.  
 'Abid Ibn Sharyah al-Jurhumī, 393, 394, 395.  
 'Abidah al-Salmāni, 155.  
 Abīward 30, 32, 311.  
 Al-Abīwardī, Abu 'l-Ḥuẓaffar, 94, 311.  
*Abkār al-Afkār* 363.  
 Abraham, 89, 207.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn al-Mu'allā, 362.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās Ibn al-Qāṣṣ 177.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās Ismā'il Ibn 'Abd Allāh 298.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad Ibn Ṣabīḥ, 277.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn Abī Faṭḥ Ṣāliḥ 59.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Daynawari 291.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hāshimī, 281, 282.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, 262.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Wāsiṭī, 228.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Arafah, 311.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī, 28, 29.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 269n.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh, Kātib 394.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Zinjī, 316.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Masarraḥ al-Jalālī, 350n.  
 Abu 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Sa'adah, 55, 55n.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ziyād, 282.  
 Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn, 390.  
 Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad, 269.  
 Abu 'l-'Alā, al-Ma'arrī, 132, 133, 225, 394, 400.  
 Abū 'Alī Ibn 'Abī Hurayrah, 256.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāq, 249.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Ḍarīr, 320.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī 33, 333.  
 Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn 371, 372.  
 Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Muqlah, 274, 277.

- Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn al-Mustanīr 289.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Qālī 295, 302, 317, 347, 352.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Rāzī, 31.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Shabbū'i, 190.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Sinji, 171.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, the Qādī, 129, 131, 132, 133.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Thaqafī, 179, 179n.  
 Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā, 70, 334.  
 Abū 'Amr Aḥja' Ibn 'Amr al-Sulamī, 76.  
 Abū 'Amr Kulthūm Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ayyūb, 368.  
 Abū 'Amrah, 154.  
 Abū 'Āṣim al-'Abbādī 188, 189.  
 Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duwalī, 181, 350.  
 Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah, 15, 254.  
 Abū 'Awn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awn Ibn Artabān, 156n.  
 Abu 'l-'Aynā, 319, 326.  
 Abū Ayyūb al-Simsār, 277.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Abi 'l-Azhar, 29.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Abi Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, 332.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā, 238, 330.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ammār, 403.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn al-Bazzāz, 183.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Ibrāhīm, 405n.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Mājah, 255.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Muqsim, 308, 308n.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Qāsim, 159.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Ṣā'igh Ibn Bājjah 250 404, 407, 420.  
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Ayyūb, 178n.  
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Abyaḍ, 413.  
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Arrajānī, 35.  
 Abū Bakr Ayyūb Ibn Abi Tamīnah, 154n.  
 Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī (khaṭīb), 86, 133, 253, 259, 267.  
 Abū Bakr al-Fārisī, 185, 189, 189n.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan Ibn al-'Allāf, 294.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimi, 50.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ismā'īlī, 177.  
 Abū Bakr al-Khuwārizmī, 37, 166, 332n, 333, 378, 379, 380.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad, 51, 409.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh 270.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī, 370.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 361.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhiri, 237, 238.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ājurri, 267.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Iyādī 409.  
 Abū Bakr al-Qaṣfāl al-Shāghī 173, 174, 175, 179, 189, 257.  
 Abū Bakr al-Qaffal al-Marwazī 183, 187.  
 Abū Bakr al-Qubbāshī, 349.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ṣayrafi, 173-175.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ṣhibli, 281.



- Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq, 38, 39, 141, 153n, 154, 207, 209, 224, 326n.  
 Abū Bakr Yahyā Ibn Hudhayl al-Tamīmī, 347, 347n.  
 Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī, 41, 350, 353.  
 Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī, 127.  
 Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Hāshimī, 369.  
 Abu 'l-Barakat al-Mawṣilī, 217.  
 Abū Bishr al-Dūlābī, 330, 331.  
 Abu 'l-Dunyā, 238n.  
 Abū Dahmān, 75n.  
 Abū Dawūd al-Sijistānī 114n, 177, 333.  
 Abū Dufaf al-'Ijlī 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 290.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍā'i'l Sābiq Ibn Maḥmūd, 417.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ja'far al-Mundhirī, 311.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir 267.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Riyāshī, 376.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn Shābas, 87.  
 Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, 44n, 92.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Mandā'i al-Wāṣitī, 45.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Abdūs Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 263.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār, 417.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad, 251.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Sahl, 197.  
 Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshīd, 88.  
 Abu 'l-Feda, 38, 48, 64n, 140n, 166n, 326n, 327.  
 Abulfedae Annales, 36n 209n, 382n, 420n.  
 Abulfedae *Historia Anteislamica* 44n.  
 Abu 'l-Futūḥ al-'Ijlī, 190.  
 Abū Ghālib al-Aṣbaghī, 410, 410n.  
 Abū Ḥafṣ al-Shatranji, 360.  
 Abū Ḥākim al-Khabrī, 392.  
 Abū Ḥanīfah, 107, 108, 109n, 127, 136, 152, 153, 158, 159 170, 188n, 286.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥajnā, 16.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Sālim, 280.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshīd, 83, 84, 216.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mubārak, 125.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Balkhī, 60.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Khall, 202, 203.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Makki, 263.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Alī Zaki al-Dīn, 214.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Muntakhib, 61.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Wāḥidī, 196.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī, 53.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ziyādī, 136.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Zarqūyah, 306.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Tāhir al-Ruwaynī, 346n.

- Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Talla'fari, 381.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥawl al-Ḥimyari, 10.  
 Abū Hāshim 'Abd Allāh, 145, 161, 162.  
 Abū Hāshim 'Abd al-Salām al-Jubbā'i, 246, 304.  
 Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥayyān al-Bustī, 331.  
 Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistāni, 291, 296, 302, 376.  
 Abū Hāzrah, 19.  
 Abū Hurayrah, 145.  
 Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf, 242, 243, 244.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Maḥfūz, 394.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, 269.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Bāhili, 229.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad 386n.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Salāmi, 23.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣri, 247, 248, 248n.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, 380.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad, 274.  
 Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muzani 171, 229.  
 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, 405n.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Jizi, 87.  
 Abū Ishāq Ibn Tāshifin, 4.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Isfarā'ini, 229.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Marwazi, 171, 176, 178, 183.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi, 33.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzi : 53, 14i, 159, 165, 168n, 175, 176, 182, 182n, 196, 230n, 234, 273n.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Zajjāj, 170, 312.  
 Abū Ja'far al-Ṣaffār, 322n.  
 Abū Ja'far al-Tirmidhi-169.  
 Abū Ja'far Ibn Shirzād, 28.  
 Abu 'l-Jahm, 325, 325n.  
 Abū Jum'ah, 89.  
 Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Diḥyah, 409.  
 Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī, 349, 349n.  
 Abū Lahab, 275.  
 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, 359, 373.  
 Abū 'l-Maḥāsin, 71n, 83n.  
 Abū Maṣṣūr Ibn al-Anbārī, 268.  
 Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azdi, 188.  
 Abū Maṣṣūr al-Barawī, 200, 204.  
 Abū Maṣṣūr Shihirdār Ibn Shirūyah, 269.  
 Abu 'l-Ma'shar al-Balkhī, 123n.  
 Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ṭūsī, 195.  
 Abu 'l-Misk, 83, 84.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Jawhari, 333.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī, 362.  
 Abu 'l-Munghir Hishām, 289.  
 Abū Mūsa 'l-Aḥ'arī, 321.  
 Abū Mūsa al-Iṣbahāni, 261, 262, 263, 371.  
 Abū Muslim Ibn Fihri, 351.  
 Abū Muslim al-Khurāsāni : 58.  
 Abu 'l-Muṭarrif : 73.

- Abū Muslim al-Kajjī, 267.  
 Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, Kātib, 359.  
 Abū 'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad al-  
   Khawāfi, 198.  
 Abū Nājiyah, 303.  
 Abu Naṣr Kāhli, 286n, 359.  
 Abū Nū'aym 'Abd al-Malik  
   177.  
 Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, 267.  
 Abū Nuwās, 293, 294, 303.  
   383.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim, Kātib, 383, 384.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh, 43.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān,  
   232.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāhid,  
   309, 310.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Muṭarriz, 310.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Aflaḥ,  
   48.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad  
   Ibn Rayyān, 263.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm  
   al-'Alawī, 419.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-A'mā, 379.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Anmāṭī, 229.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī, 228,  
   250.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī, 333.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Maghribī, 78.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Murtaḍā, 394.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Sirafī, 353.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī, 132,  
   133, 298, 339.  
 Abū Qumāsh, 120, 120n.  
 Abū Rabī'ah, 355.  
 Abū Rajā Qutaybah, 254n.  
 Abū Sa'd al-Harawī, 189, 189n.  
 Abū Sa'd al-Mutawalli, 195.  
 Abu 'l-Sā'ib 'Utbah Ibn  
   'Ubayd Allāh, 130, 361.  
 Abū Sa'id Aḥmad Ibn Shuhayb,  
   379.  
 Abū Sa'id al-Hārūnī, 246.  
 Abū Sa'id al-Jannābi, 313.  
 Abū Sa'id Muḥammad al-  
   Rustamī, 417.  
 Abū Sa'id Naṣr, 127.  
 Abū Sa'id al-Sirafī, 315.  
 Abū Sa'id al-'Uqaylī, 338.  
 Abu 'l-Ṣaqr, 181, 321, 322, 323.  
 Abū Shu'ayb al-Harrānī, 267.  
 Abū Sūfyan, 332, 377.  
 Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, 364.  
 Abū Taghlib, 382.  
 Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābi al-  
   Qirmiṭī, 313.  
 Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, 374.  
 Abū Ṭālib (s/o Hāshim), 89,  
   140, 280, 321, 338, 390.  
 Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī 279, 280.  
 Abū Tamīm, 295.  
 Abū Tammām, 28, 120, 194,  
   334, 342, 399.  
 Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Ibn al-Bazzār,  
   413.  
 Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṣu'lūkī, 178,  
   178n.  
 Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Simsār, 169.  
 Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī, 171,  
   176.  
 Abu 'l-Ṭhanā Maḥmud Ibn  
   Ni'mah, 389.  
 Abu 'l-Ṭhawr, 136.  
 Abū 'Ubaydah, 284, 320.  
 Abū 'Umar Tārikhī, 349, 349n.

- Abū 'Umar al-Bastāmī, 188.  
 Abū 'Umar Muntajili, 352n.  
 Abū 'Umar Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf, 308.  
 Abū 'Umar Sa'id Ibn Muslim, 74.  
 Abū 'Umar Yūsuf Ibn Abd al-Barr, 258.  
 Abū 'Umar al-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 339, 395n.  
 Abū 'Uṭhmān al-Khālidi, 381.  
 Abū 'Uṭhmān al-Māzini, 291, 296.  
 Abū 'Uṭhmān Sā'id Ibn Fahlūn 352n.  
 Abū 'Uṭhmān al-Uṣhnāndānī, 300, 300n.  
 Abū 'l-Walid al-Bāji, 239.  
 Abū 'l-Walid 179, 179n.  
 Abū 'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal al-Sijazī, 269.  
 Abū Ya'lā, al-Khalili, 164, 257.  
 Abū Ya'la Ibn al-Habbāriyah, 220, 220n.  
 Abū 'l-Yaqzān Suḥaym 145, 145n, 156.  
 Abū Yūsuf (Imām), 158.  
 Abū Yūsuf 31n.  
 Abū Yūsuf al-Ḥarrānī, 365.  
 Abū Zakariyā al-Tabrizī 133, 268, 283n, 290.  
 Abū Zar'ah al-Maqdisī, 127, 127n.  
 Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, 39, 320, 326.  
 Abū Zayd al-Marwazī, 182, 183, 184, 229.  
 Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī 43, 44, 45.  
 Abwāb, 273.  
 Abū Zinād, 149.  
 Abyssinia, 260n, 288, 327.  
 Acre, 6, 79 98.  
 'Ād, 142.  
 Adah al-Khawāṣṣ, 78.  
 Adab al-Kātib, 334.  
 Adab al-Qāḍi, 42.  
 Adam, 34, 321.  
 Adama, 150.  
 al-'Adawī, 314.  
 Aden, 110.  
 Adham, 155.  
 Ādharbā'ijān, 9, 133, 215, 216, 235n, 269.  
 'Adī Ibn Dughaj, 297.  
 'Adī Ibn Tujib, 407.  
 'Adī Ibn 'Abd Manāt, 313-314.  
 al-'Āḍid al-'Ubaydī, 217.  
 al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār, 128.  
 'Ādites, 142n.  
 'Ādiliyah College, 174.  
 'Adnān, 51, 134.  
 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 63, 87, 383, 384, 385.  
 'Aḍudian, 37.  
 al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, 240, 241.  
 Africa, 73n, 272.  
 Afṣā, 89.  
 Aghlabites, 73n.  
 Aghmāt, 404.  
 Ahl-al-Naṣb, 392n.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād al-Iyādī, 286.  
 Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammār, 29.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, 41, 134,

- 135, 136, 166n, 214, 253, 254, 255n, 278, 309, 365.  
 Aḥmad Ibn al-Mudabbbar, 320n.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Kāmil, 39, 169.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn, 168.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Yahya al-Ḥulwānī, 267.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf, 21, 292.  
 Aḥmad al-Khawāfi, 250.  
 Aḥmad al-Rādḥānī, 191.  
 Aḥmad al-Zubaydi, 352.  
 Al-Aḥnaf, 165.  
 al-Ahwāz, 71n, 129n, 298n, 319, 326, 331.  
 al-Ājurr, 267.  
 Ājurri, 267.  
*Ajwibat al-Masā'il al-Najjāriyah* (by al-Rāzi), 225.  
 al-'Akawwak, 58.  
*Al-Ḥār al-Khawārij*, 187n.  
*Al-Ḥār al-Qusṣāṣ*, 273.  
*Al-Ḥār al-Umam*, 187n.  
*Al-Ḥār al-Yazidiyyin*, 314.  
 al-Akḥṭal, 411.  
 'Alā'iyyah College, 231.  
 'Alam al-Din Sulaymān Ibn Ḥaydarah, 416.  
 Albumaser, 123n.  
 Aleppo, 44, 83, 88, 119, 204, 205, 219, 220, 221, 222, 236, 293, 348, 369, 371, 378, 414, 416, 417, 419, 420.  
 Alexander, 53, 54, 339.  
 Alexandria, 54, 172, 192, 200n, 242, 271, 292, 336.  
 Algerias, 282.  
 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās, 146, 160, 162.  
 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 23, 37, 62, 90, 104, 140, 141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 153n, 155n, 156n, 164, 207, 209, 288, 321, 327n 338, 344, 390, 392.  
 'Alī Ibn Ḥujr, 255, 255n.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Ikhshid, 83, 88.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Khālīd, 16.  
 'Alī Ibn 'Isā Ibn Māhān, 20, 24, 61.  
 'Alī Ibn 'Isā al-Rummānī, 315.  
 'Alī Ibn Mahdi, 386.  
 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Balkhī, 61.  
 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad, Zinjī 321.  
 'Alī al-Riḍā, 23n, 146, 147, 390n.  
 'Alide, 26.  
 'Ālij, 313, 397, 397n.  
 al-'Allāf al-Mutakallim, 242.  
 Allāh, 14, 15, 42, 75, 91.  
 Almeria, 55, 349n.  
 Almoravides, 55.  
 Alphonso, 405n.  
 Alphonso I, 407.  
*Amālī*, 257, 295.  
 Amari, M. 373n.  
 al-A'mash, 154n, 278.  
 al-Āmidī, 234, 235, 236.  
 al-Amin. 8, 20, 21, 23, 24.  
 Āminah, 151.  
 'Āmir, 157.  
 'Amr Ibn al-'Aṣī, 142, 304.  
 'Amr Ibn Dinār, 149.  
 'Amr Ibn Jarmūz, 327n.  
 'Amr Ibn Luḥayyi, 89.  
 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd, 70.  
 'Amr al-Rūmī, 333.

- Amro 'l-Kais, 93n.  
*al-Amthāl* 40.  
 Āmul, 166.  
 al-An'ām, 245.  
 Anas Ibn Mālik, 38, 153, 153n,  
 154, 156, 288.  
*Anbā 'an al-Anbiyā*, 186.  
*Anbā al-Ruwāt fi Abnā al-*  
*Nuḥāt*, 44.  
 al-Anbār, 9, 363, 419n.  
 al-'Anbar Ibn 'Amr Ibn Tamīm,  
 297.  
 al-'Anbar, Banu, 297.  
 Anbārī, 319.  
 'Anbas, 281.  
*Anmūdḥaj*, 353.  
 al-'Annābin, 281.  
*Ansāb*, 110, 175, 236, 255, 259,  
 261, 262, 280, 350, 532n.,  
 352, 358.  
 'Antar, 385, 385n.  
 Antioch, 88.  
 Anujūr, 83, 172.  
 Anūshirwān, 50.  
 Anšārs, 330.  
 Apostle, 108, 114, 150, 153n.,  
 170, 183, 193n., 201, 208,  
 209, 211, 212.  
 Aqr Bābil, 92.  
*al-Aqsām*, 250.  
 Arab, 752, 76, 77, 78, 91, 93,  
 120n., 134, 145, 172, 243,  
 285, 286, 314, 360n., 376.  
 Arabia, 68n., 92n., 104n., 197n.,  
 300n., 311, 319, 397n.  
 Arabian, 50, 71, 85n, 88, 144n,  
 197n., 256n., 262, 286, 306,  
 313, 314n., 374, 347, 409.  
 Arabic, 48, 49, 74n., 75n., 77,  
 80, 83, 101n., 120n., 126,  
 130n., 138n., 142n., 145, 156,  
 172, 173n., 183n., 199n., 226,  
 227n., 283, 284, 286, 289,  
 290n., 298, 311, 315n., 343n.,  
 347, 353n., 354n., 360n.,  
 367n., 372n., 380n., 388n.,  
 392n., 393n., 400n., 406n.,  
 411n., 413n.  
 Arabic Philology, 273n.  
 Arabs, 11, 43, 52, 53, 56, 271n.,  
 282, 283n., 301, 306, 307,  
 308, 311, 326, 376, 378,  
 393n., 395, 403, 409, 414.  
 'Arafāt, (Mount), 100.  
 'Arā'is *al-Nafā'is*, 235.  
 Aral, 175n.  
*Arba'in* (by al-Rāzi), 225.  
*Arba'in* al-Ājurri, 267.  
 Arbela, 52, 53, 67, 69, 95, 96,  
 98, 102, 113, 119, 120, 121,  
 123, 124, 125, 126, 232, 366,  
 370, 371, 372.  
 Ardashīr, 334, 338, 339.  
 Arfakhshad, Ibn, 111.  
 Arfaxed, 111.  
 Arghiyān, 196.  
 Arghiyāni, 196, 197.  
*al-'Aridat al-Ahwa'lli fi-Sharḥ*  
*il-Tirmidhi*, 272.  
 al-'Arj, 331.  
 al-'Arji, 331.  
 al-'Arqalah, 121, 121n.  
 Armenia, 74.  
 Arrajān, 378.  
 Arragon, 407n.  
 Arrān, 373.

- Arsīlān Shāh, Nūr al-Dīn, 231.  
 Arṭabāst, (Ardabart), 348.  
 Asad, 4, 156, 327n.  
 al-Asad, 291.  
 Asad Ibn Razīn, 28.  
 Asad al-Dīn Shayrkuh, 78.  
 al-As'ad Ibn Mammātī, 79.  
 As'ad al-Mīhanī, 217, 230n.  
 As'ard, 5.  
 al-Asbaghī, 410, 410n.  
 al-Aṣḥāhī, 110.  
 Aṣḥāhīte, 111.  
 Aṣhāb al-Rā'i, 151n.  
 al-Ash'arī, 194n, 229, 244, 245, 246.  
 Asha'rite, 194, 246, 250.  
 al-Ash'ath: Ibn Qays al-Kindī, 77, 141.  
 Ashhab, 166, 167, 168.  
 al-Ashraf, 104.  
 Ashras Ibn Shabīb Ibn al-Sukun, 407.  
 al-Ashyam, 89.  
 Asia Minor, 1, 27, 219.  
 'Askar al-Mahdī, 326, 329.  
 'Askar Mukram, 130.  
 Asmā, 393.  
 al-Asmā wa 'l-Ṣifāt, 266.  
 al-Aṣma'i, 72n., 76, 156, 177, 134, 180n., 272, 284, 300, 304, 308, 320.  
 'Asqalān, 136.  
 al-Aswad, 37.  
 al-Aswad al-'Ansī, 326.  
 'Aṭā, 152.  
 Atābak, Banu, 96.  
 'Ātikah, 90.  
*Atrāf*, 262.  
 'Attāb Ibn Sa'd, 368.  
 al-'Attābī, 16n.  
 al-'Attābī, the grammarian, 367, 368.  
 al-'Attābiyūn, 368.  
 al-'Attārī, 215.  
 Avenzoar, 409.  
 Averrhoes, 192n.  
 Avicenna, 225, 226.  
 Awdānī, 184.  
 Awhad al-Dīn, 235, 236.  
 'Awn al-Dīn, 47n.  
 al-'Awzā'i, 107.  
 Aydaḥ, 130.  
 'Āyishah, 327n.  
 Aylah, 144, 161.  
 'Aylān, 71n.  
 'Ayn, 306, 350.  
 'Ayn Qubbash, 350.  
 'Ayn al-Tamr, 154, 156, 252, 254.  
 Ayyūb, 97, 104.  
 Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, 154, 154n.  
 Ayyūbiḍ, 121n.  
 Azāriqah, 71, 331.  
 al-Azd, 89, 258, 260, 291, 295, 298, 395.  
 Azdashīr, 338.  
 al-Azdī, 295.  
 Azhar, 312.  
 al-Azharī, 301, 311, 312, 313.  
 al-'Aziz al-'Ubaydī, 36, 353, 355.  
 al-Azraqī, 114n.  
 'Azzah, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 144, 151.

## B

- al-Bahnasā, 356.  
 al-Babbaghā, Abu 'l-Faraj, 381.  
 Bābil, 130, 130n.  
 Babylon, 54.  
 Badī' al-Zamān, 44  
 Badr, 134, 150, 209, 260n., 327n.  
 Badr al-Dīn, al-Marāghī, 235.  
 Badrān, 419n.  
 al-Baghawī, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammād, 332, 333n.  
 Baghdād, 18, 20, 21, 25, 27, 33, 37, 41, 45, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 61, 63, 68, 73n., 96, 100, 106n., 127, 128, 130, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 139, 147, 158, 159, 163, 164, 166, 169, 173, 176, 179, 183, 185n., 186, 187n., 191, 195, 196, 200, 201, 202, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 230, 231, 233, 240, 246, 248, 250, 252, 253, 254, 255, 258, 259, 263, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274, 277, 278, 280, 281, 286, 290, 298, 301, 303, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 317, 391, 322, 326, 329, 330, 331, 338, 339, 359, 361, 362, 363, 365, 366, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 376, 379, 381, 386, 387, 394, 412.  
 Baghdādi, 244.  
 Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, 79, 97, 222, 293.  
 Bahā al-Dīn As'ad 68.  
 Bahā al-Dīn Sābūr, 200n.  
 Bahā'iyah, 200, 200n.  
 Bāhilah, 76, 77, 78.  
 Bāhilī, 76.  
 Bāhilitē, 76, 77, 78.  
 al-Baḥr al-Zākhīr, 37, 71n.  
 Baḥrā, 247.  
 Baḥrānī, 247.  
 al-Baḥrayn, 82, 313.  
 Bakhtyār, 33.  
 Bakr Ibn al-Naṭṭāḥ, 58, 60.  
 Bakr Ibn Wā'il, 293.  
 al-Bakrī, 364n.  
 Baktikīn, 104.  
 al-Balad, 103.  
 Balhayt, 335, 339.  
 Balī, 187.  
 Balḫ, 9, 254n.  
 Balqā, 300n.  
 al-Bandahī, 368, 369, 370.  
 Bandār, 330n.  
 Bānyās, 6.  
 al-Baqī', 110, 144, 146, 260n.  
 al-Bāqlānī, Abū Bakr, 246, 247.  
 al-Bāqir, 145, 390, 146.  
 al-Baradān, 133.  
 al-Barīnak, 9.  
 Barmekide, 7, 14, 16, 18, 19, 23, 243, 320.  
 Barqā, 271n.  
 Barqah, 396.  
 Barqa'id, 116.  
 Barqān, 273n.  
 al-Barqānī, 273, 273n.  
 al-Basāsīrī, 309n.  
 Basīf, 174.  
 Baṣrah, 18, 37, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 72, 71n., 76, 105n., 112, 113, 129, 130n., 132, 133, 153.



- 154n., 155, 156, 178, 240, 244,  
246, 247, 252, 255, 273, 280,  
283, 289, 290, 294, 300, 313,  
319, 321, 322n., 324, 326,  
331n., 338, 374, 376.  
Başrah Mu'tazilites, 242.  
Başām, 66.  
*al-Ba'th wa 'l-Nuḡūr*, 266.  
Bāward, 311.  
Bāwardī, 311.  
Bawuls, 415.  
Bawwān, 34, 37.  
al-Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad,  
266, 273n.  
al-Bayhaqī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, 199.  
Bayt al-Maqdis, 263.  
Bayyānah, 352n.  
al-Bayyānī, 352n.  
Bedwin, 311, 314n., 319.  
Berbers, 271n.  
Bermek, 7.  
Bībars, 128, 264, 264n.  
*Bible*, 111n.  
al-Bimaristān al-'Aḡudī, 37.  
al-Bīrah, 97n.  
Bīsetūn, 65n.  
Bīshr al-Ḥāfī, 260, 327, 378.  
Boisen, L.N., 299n.  
*Book of Genealogies*, 287.  
*Book of the Seven*, 273.  
Boulac, 394.  
Būgh, 254, 255.  
Būghī, 255.  
*Bughyah*, 346n., 347n., 394n.,  
351n., 352n.  
*Bughyat al-Multamis* Maqqarī,  
352n.  
al-Buḥturī, 181n.  
Bukhāra, 72, 164, 165, 184, 185,  
215, 235, 236, 252, 262, 265.  
al-Bukhārī, 41, 55, 114n., 136n.,  
162, 163, 165, 183, 252, 253,  
254, 257, 258, 262, 265, 266,  
273n., 330n.  
Būrān, 27.  
Būrḥān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī, 235n.  
*Burhān al-Uṣul*, 261n.  
Būrī, 104n.  
al-Burj al-Qadid, 242.  
al-Buḡḡārī, 251n.  
Buṭnān, 285, 286.  
Buwayh, 33, 257.
- C
- Cabalistic, 205.  
Cæsarea, 264.  
Cairo, 1, 44, 50, 57, 79, 80, 83,  
86, 88, 89n., 106, 107, 111n.,  
119, 128, 137, 150n., 166, 167,  
172, 186, 199, 200n., 205n.,  
217, 221n., 234n., 236n., 241,  
246n., 281n., 358.  
*Canon*, (by Avicena), 226.  
Ceuta, 282.  
China, 32, 106, 286.  
Chinese, 100, 101.  
*Chrestomathie*, 48, 59n., 218n.  
Christ, 208.  
Christian, 176, 240, 362.  
Christians, 405n., 410n., 415.  
Cirr, 175n.  
Companions, 77n., 134, 326,  
330.  
Copenhagen, 299n.

Cordova, 250, 345, 346, 347,  
348, 349, 350, 352n., 396n.,  
409, 412.  
Cureton, Dr., 25, 71n., 288n.

## D

Ḍabbah, 256n., 283n.  
al-Ḍabbī, Mufaḍḍal, 180, 256n.  
al-Ḍabbī Mūḥammad, 179, 180.  
Daghfal Ibn Ḥanzalah, 70,  
70n., 71.  
Daghfal Ibn al-Jarrāḥ al-Bad-  
awī, 36.  
al-Ḍaḥḥāk, 53.  
Dāhir, 338.  
al-Dahmān al-Ḡhalānī, 74.  
al-Dahnā, 312, 313.  
Dajjāl, 253, 254.  
*Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, 266, 273.  
Damascus, 4, 6, 7, 16, 35, 36,  
37, 83, 88, 104, 117, 121,  
158, 160n., 174, 186, 192, 201,  
204, 213, 214, 219, 221, 223,  
230n., 235, 236, 259, 332,  
364, 369, 370, 389, 419, 420.  
Damascus-gate, 330.  
Daqāqah, 296.  
Dār al-Salām, 386.  
Dār al-Sunnah, 176.  
Dārā (Darius), 339.  
*Darak al-Bughyah*, 356.  
al-Dāraqūṭnī, 170, 183, 185n.,  
257, 258, 262, 301, 317, 318,  
333, 338.  
Dārāyā, 364.  
Ḍarb Darrāj, 116.  
Ḍarb al-Majūs. 247.

al-Ḍarīr Ibn al-Dahhān, 126.  
al-Ḍarīr, Abu Mu'āwiyah, 283.  
al-Ḍarīr, 'Isā Ibn Ibrāhīm, 239.  
Darrāj, 116.  
David, 228n.  
Dawlābī, 331.  
Dāwūd, 151.  
Dawraq, 61.  
Daylam, 66.  
Daylamite, 269.  
Dayr al-Jamājim, 288.  
al-Dayrayn, 288.  
de Gayangos, M., 407n., 413n.  
*de Ludis Orientalium*, 334n.  
*De Methodo Medendi* (Greek  
version), 411n.  
d'Ohsson, 231n.  
de Perceval, Causin, 304n.,  
305n., 411n.  
de Sacy, 218., 278n, 281, 359n.,  
388n.  
de Slane, M., 457n., 114n.,  
170n., 203n., 337n., 354n.,  
355n.  
Denia, 412, 413.  
*Description de'l-Afreque septem  
trionali*, 364n.  
al-Dhahabī, 40, 107n., 187n.,  
189n., 253n., 286n., 298, 325n.  
*Dhamm al-Hasad*, 273.  
*Dharawī*, 119.  
*Dharaw*, 119.  
*Dhayl*, 46, 52, 53, 60, 175, 232,  
250.  
*Dhu 'l-Kilā'a*, 1.  
*Dhu 'l-Qarnayn*, 53.  
*Dhu 'l-Riyāsatan*, 23.  
*Dhu Ru'ayn*, 57.

Dhu 'l-Rumma, 409.  
Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn, 400, 400n.  
Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn, 23.  
Dhubyān, 78.  
Dūhāk, 53.  
Di'bil, 27.  
Didd-al-'Aql, 273.  
Qirār, 287.  
Diwan d 'Anīro 'l-Kais, 283n.  
Qiyā al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faḍā'il al-Qāsim, 218, 221, 231.  
Qiyā al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh, 116.  
Qiyā al-Dīn 'Umar, 228.  
Qiyā al-Islām 'Ubayd Allāh, 50.  
Diyār Bakr, 218.  
Dozy, 347n., 350n., 396n., 401n., 405n.  
al-Ḍubā'i, 178n.  
al-Dūbī, 263.  
Dujyal, 71.  
Dūlāb, 71, 330, 331.  
Dulaf, 62, 63.  
Dūmat al-Jandal, 160.  
Dūnah, 235n.  
Dūnī, 235n.  
al-Dūr (Dūr-al-Wazīr), 263n.  
Durrat al-Ḡhawwāṣ, 48, 374, 393.  
Duwaydah, 416n.  
al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah, 21n., 28, 181n., 264n., 309n.  
Duwar, Ja'far, 42.

## E

Edessa, 97, 98.  
Egypt, 35, 36, 44, 55, 56, 78, 83, 84, 86, 88, 93, 94, 104.

105, 117, 119, 121n., 128, 135, 163, 164, 166, 169n., 170, 171, 176, 187n., 192, 199, 200n., 217, 255, 258, 259, 262, 271, 272, 273, 282, 339, 355, 356, 363, 364, 371, 396, 397, 412.  
Egyptian, 57, 67n., 71, 74n., 97n., 107n., 117, 127n., 186, 264n., 272, 273n., 277, 286n., 307n., 348n., 353, 356n.  
Eichhorn, 89n., 134n.  
Emessa, 352.  
Empedocles, 350.  
English, 11n., 234n., 373n.  
*Essai sur les Medailles des Sasanides*, 222n.  
*Essai sur les ecoles Philosophiques cher les Arabes*, 193n.  
Euphrates, 138.  
Europe, 123n.  
European, 197n., 407.  
*Excerpta ex Historia Halebi*, 222n.  
*Expose de l'Histoire des Druzes*: 162n.

## F

al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān, 27, 28, 29.  
al-Faḍl Ibn Al-Rabī', 18, 19, 20, 21, 28.  
al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl, 23, 24, 25, 26.  
al-Faḍl, Ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

- Fahm, 107.  
*Fahm al-Manāsik*, 273.  
 Fahmī, 107.  
*Fā'it al-Faṣīḥ*, 306.  
 Fakhr al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ibn al-Za'farānī, 97n.  
 Fakhr al-Dīn, al-Rāzī, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 247.  
 Fakhr al-Islām, 195.  
 Fakhr al-Mulk, 394.  
 Faqīh al-Ḥaram, 266n.  
*Farabī*, 164, 183, 265.  
 al-Farazdaq, 287, 387.  
 Farghānah, 72, 73.  
 al-Farghānī, 88.  
 Fāris, 185.  
 al-Fārisī, 177n., 185.  
 Al-Fārisī, 'Abd al-Ghāfir, 195, 266.  
*al-Farj ba'd al-Shiddah*, 129.  
 al-Farrā, 39, 159, 181, 229.  
 Fārs 32, 185, 251, 262, 269, 300.  
 al-Fāshānī, 182, 184.  
*al-Faṣīḥ*, 291, 305, 306.  
*Fatāwā Arghiyāniyah*, 197.  
 al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān, 3, 401, 404.  
 Fātik al-Majnūn, 1, 2, 3, 83.  
 Fātimah, 62, 147, 253.  
 Fatimids, 186.  
*Fawād al-Shuyūkh*, 257.  
 al-Fayyūm, 1.  
 Fazārah, 78.  
 Fez, 270, 407.  
 al-Fihrist, 267, 283, 284n., 294n., 295, 300n., 316n., 318n., 319n., 322n.  
 Firrūh, 57.  
 Fityān al-Shāghūrī, 4, 6.  
 Flamsteed, 52.  
 Fleischer, 44.  
 Fluegel, 150n., 163n., 225n.  
 French, 81, 193n., 464n.  
 Frankish, 242.  
 Franks, 57, 79, 98, 128, 242, 246, 407.  
 Freytag, 51, 70n., 76, 77n., 389n.  
 Fuḍayl, 13.  
 al-Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyād al-Ṭālaqānī, 29, 30, 31, 32.  
 Fujā'ah, 81.  
 Fundin, 32.  
 Fundinī, 32.  
 Furāwah, 266.  
*al-Furāwī*, 265, 266, 267.  
*al-Fuṣūḥāt al-Makkiyah*, 272n.

## G

- Galen, 411.  
Ghāfiq, 187.  
Ghālib, 24, 26, 224n., 287.  
Ghanawī, 414, 414n.  
Ghani, (tribe), 78, 414n.  
*al-Gharā'ib*, 262.  
Gharib al-Alfāz, 312.  
Gharib al-Ḥadīth, 40, 309, 318.  
*al-Gharib al-Muṣannaf*, 40, 309.  
Gharib al-Qur'ān, 286n.  
 al-Gharnāti, Abū Hāmid, 230.  
Ghars al-Dawlah, 361.  
 al-Ghawr, 97, 97n.  
Ghaylān, 254n.  
Ghaznah, 227, 249.

Ghazzah, 136, 154n.  
 al-Ghazzālī, Abū Ḥamid, 126,  
 174, 174n., 184, 188, 190n.,  
 193n., 194, 194n., 195,  
 198, 215, 225, 230, 233,  
 271.  
Ghuṭīshah, 348.  
Ghurār al-Adillah, 247.  
Ghūṭah, 37, 158, 364.  
Ghuzz, 199, 216.  
*Gospels*, 210n.  
 Gottingen, 394n.  
*Grammaire arabe*, 63n., 191n.  
 Granada, 230, 251n.  
 Greek, 1, 39, 83, 123n, 141, 143,  
 157, 205, 224n, 228, 348n.,

## H

Habannaqah al-Qaysī, 293,  
 296.  
 Ḥabbān, 318.  
 al-Ḥabir, 311, 312, 313.  
 Ḥaddād, 172.  
 al-Ḥādī, 254.  
 Hafadah, 215, 216.  
 Hajar, 313.  
 Ḥājir, 49, 68n.  
 al-Ḥajjāj, 72, 73, 80, 81, 82,  
 153n., 160, 179n.  
 Ḥājji Khalīfah, 150, 163n.,  
 186n., 187, 200n., 225, 225n.,  
 234n., 235n., 248n., 255n.,  
 257, 261n., 318n., 363n.  
 al-Ḥakam al-Mustanşir, 347,  
 351.  
 Ḥākim Ibn al-Bālī, 135n.  
 al-Ḥākim al-Mustatşir, 369n.

al-Ḥākim al-'Ubaydī, 355, 356.  
 al-Ḥākimī, Imām Ismā'il, 194.  
 Hakkār, 96.  
 Ḥām, 348.  
 Hamadān, 63, 189n., 269.  
 Hamadhān, 262, 264, 268, 269,  
 270.  
 Ḥamāmī, 304.  
 Ḥamāsah, 6, 76, 82, 194, 295n.  
 al-Ḥamāt, 97, 119, 374, 375,  
 386n.  
 al-Ḥāmid, 308.  
 Hamilton, 62n.  
 Ḥammād, 152, 153, 154n.  
 Hammām, 46, 47.  
 Ḥanafite, 99, 106, 127, 140,  
 178n., 189n., 215, 231, 234,  
 235, 246n., 413.  
 Ḥanbalites, 104, 127, 365, 670.  
 Ḥānī, 395.  
 Ḥanīfah, 141.  
 Ḥanṭham, 304.  
 Ḥanṭalah Ibn Şafwān, 85n.  
 Ḥanṭalah al-Sadūsī, 71.  
 Ḥaqīqat al-Qawlayn, 193.  
 al-Ḥarā' inī, 235n.  
 Harām, Banū, 43, 50.  
 al-Ḥarāmī, 50.  
 al-Ḥarāmīyah, 43.  
 Ḥarastā, 158.  
 al-Harawī, 188, 261, 312.  
 Ḥarb, 92.  
 Ḥarb Gate, 247, 260, 268, 281.  
 Ḥarbiyah cemetery, 268.  
 al-Ḥarīrī, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47,  
 48, 49, 50, 81, 81n., 85n., 247,  
 281, 359n., 368, 374, 388,  
 388n., 393.

- Haririi consessus*, 75n.  
 Hārith (Ibn, Hammām), 46, 47.  
 al-Hārith (Dhū Aṣṣabāḥ), 111.  
 al-Hārithah, 280.  
 Hārithī, 280.  
 Harrān, 96, 97, 98, 161, 355, 365, 366, 367.  
 Hārūn al-Rashīd, 7, 17, 30, 158, 161, 254, 278, 368.  
 al-Hārūnī, 246.  
 Ḥasan, 32.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 143, 146, 147.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Hānī, 293.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Makhlad, 324n.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad, 290.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl, 22, 27, 379, 380.  
 al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, 148.  
 al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 70, 154n., 155, 155n., 156.  
 al-Ḥasan, al-Baqillānī, 247.  
 al-Ḥasan al-Jawharī, 389.  
 al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī, 346, 346n.  
 Hāshim Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 76, 281, 282, 319, 326, 328.  
 Hāshimide, 59, 134.  
 Hāshimite, 328.  
 al-Hāshimiyah, 38, 107n.  
 al-Haṣirī, 236.  
 Hātib Ibn Abī Balta'ah, 141.  
 Hātim, 345, 385n.  
 al-Hātimī, Abū 'Alī, 308, 309.  
 al-Hāṭimi, Aḥmad, 183.  
*Haṭk Sūṭr al-Mulḥidin*, 350.  
 Haṭṭān, 117.  
 al-Haytham al-Sāmī, 28.  
 Ḥayyān, 318.  
 Ḥayyūs, 420.  
 Ḥāzim, 270.  
 al-Hāzimī, the Ḥāfiẓ, 50, 50n., 111, 111n., 265, 270.  
 al-Ḥazīrah, 69.  
 al-Ḥazīrī, 68.  
*Hedaya*, 62n.  
 Herāt, 39, 42, 188, 189n., 198, 226, 228, 229, 311, 312.  
 Hibat Allāh, 410n.  
 al-Ḥijāz, 88, 104, 135n., 150, 163, 173, 176, 256n., 257, 262, 271.  
 Hilāl al-Raqqī, 40.  
*Ḥilat al-Bar'i*, 411.  
*Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, 267.  
*Ḥilyat al-Muḥāḍarah*, 345.  
*Ḥilyat al-'Ulamā*, 195.  
 Ḥimyar, 186.  
 al-Ḥimyarī, al-Sayyid, 334.  
 Hind, 216.  
 al-Ḥirah, 196, 249, 253, 304.  
 al-Ḥirī, 249.  
*Ḥirz al-Amānī wa Wajh al-Tahānī*, 54.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 149, 150, 348, 349, 409.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, 253, 278.  
 Hishām al-Muwayyad bi-Allāh, 351.  
 Ḥisn Kaifa, 97n.  
*Historia Abbadsidrum*, 405n.  
*Histoire des Berbers*, 364n., 396n.  
*Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, 401n.

*Hist. des Monghols*, 125n.  
*Historie des Musalmans d'Espagne*, 350n., 396n.  
*Historia Saracenica*, 71n.  
 Hittin, 97.  
 Horace, 302n.  
 Hubayrah Ibn Masrūḥ, 77.  
 Hubayrah Ibn Muṣḥamraj al-Kilābī, 77n.  
 Hūd, 142n.  
 al-Ḥudaybiyah, 37.  
 al-Ḥadhdhā, 154n.  
 al-Ḥujjah Muḥammad, 148.  
 Ḥujjat al-Dīn, 373.  
 Ḥujjat al-Islām, 191.  
 Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, 253n, 260.  
 al-Ḥumaydī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, 110, 258, 260.  
 al-Ḥumaydī, Abū Bakr, 135, 135n.  
 al-Ḥummaymah, 146, 162.  
 Hurmuzshahr, 129n.  
 Ḥurqūs, 80n.  
 Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥājirī, 123.  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 92n., 140, 143, 145, 146, 147, 156n., 161, 390.  
 al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī, 302.  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 330.  
 Ḥusayn Ibn Bakr al-Kilābī, 78.  
 al-Ḥusayn al-Nasawī, 129, 130.  
 Ḥusayn al-Sa'dī, 82.  
 Ḥusayn al-Farrā, 215.  
 Ḥusayn al-Marwarrūdī, 229.  
 Ḥusn al-Muḥādharah, 169n.

## I

Ibn 'Abbād, 281, 379.

Ibn 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh, 13, 95, 143, 149.  
 Ibn 'Abd, 113.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, 54.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 135, 135n., 166, 167, 168, 168n., 292, 293.  
 Ibn 'Abdūs, 198.  
 Ibn Abi 'l-'Aṣb, 387, 389.  
 Ibn Abi Ḍhi'b, 108, 157, 326.  
 Ibn Abi Duwād al-Iyādī, 166, 167.  
 Ibn Abi Jum'ah, 90.  
 Ibn Abi Ḥaṣīnah, 417.  
 Ibn Abi Hurayrah, 176.  
 Ibn Abi Jarādah, 221, 222n.  
 Ibn Abi 'l-Jaw, 357.  
 Ibn Abi Laylā 151-153.  
 Ibn Abi Randaqah, 239.  
 Ibn Abi Sabrah, 157.  
 Ibn Abi Salamah, 157.  
 Ibn Abi 'Usrūn, 221.  
 Ibn Abi 'l-Ṣaqr, 220, 221.  
 Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'ah, 407n., 413n.  
 Ibn Abi 'l-Walid al-A'raj, 346.  
 Ibn al-Abraḍ al-Kalbī, 81.  
 Ibn al-'Adīm, 222n., 414n.  
 Ibn Akhi 'l-Aṣma'i, 300, 300n.  
 Ibn Akhi Qirwāsh, 419n., 420.  
 Ibn al-'Amid, 362.  
 Ibn 'Āmir, 37.  
 Ibn al-Anbārī, 41, 308, 317, 319 333.  
 Ibn 'Arab Shāh, 388n.  
 Ibn al-A'rābi 39, 39n., 180, 259n., 282, 286, 283, 285, 286, 307, 308.

- Ibn al-'Arabī, Abū Bakr, 259n., 270, 271n., 272.  
 Ibn 'Asākir, 201, 219, 419.  
 Ibn al-'Aṣb, 387.  
 Ibn al-Aṣḥ'ath, 153n.  
 Ibn al-Aṭhīr al-Jazarī, 8, 22, 23, 69, 113, 259, 260, 321, 325n., 379.  
 Ibn 'Awf, 55, 156.  
 Ibn 'Awn, 156n.  
 Ibn Ayyūb, 24.  
 Ibn al-Azraq, 71n., 148, 199.  
 Ibn Bājjah (Avempacc), 405n., 407n.  
 Ibn Bannā al-Bashshārī, 251.  
 Ibn Barrajan, 204, 205, 214.  
 Ibn Bashkuwāi, 112, 241, 267, 272, 349n., 350n.  
 Ibn Bashshār, 255, 330, 330n.  
 Ibn Bāṭish, 172.  
 Ibn al-Baṭṭi, 365.  
 Ibn Baṭūṭah, 98n.,  
 Ibn al-Bayyī' al-Ḥākīm, 174, 175, 176, 176n., 178, 178n., 184, 185, 256, 256n., 257, 256-258.  
 Ibn Bindār, 253n.  
 Ibn Bulbul, 181n.  
 Ibn al-Dahhān, 114, 115, 126.  
 Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhirī, 237, 239, 237n., 238, 239.  
 Ibn al-Dharawī, 118.  
 Ibn Diḥyah, 4, 102, 413.  
 Ibn al-Dubaythi, 223, 224, 232, 372, 373.  
 Ibn Durayd. (Abū Bakr), 140, 251, 297-305, 297, 298, 299, 301, 302, 304, 308, 311, 333.  
 Ibn al-Duwaydah, 416.  
 Ibn Faḍlān, 269n.  
 Ibn Farqad, 158.  
 Ibn Firūh, 54.  
 Ibn Fūrak, 248.  
 Ibn al-Furāt, 84, 110, 316.  
 Ibn 'l-Ḥaddād Abū Bakr, 171-172.  
 Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 129, 220n, 387.  
 Ibn Ḥamdūn the *Kātib*, 360, 361.  
 Ibn Ḥammād, 169, 170.  
 Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 161, 162.  
 Ibn Ḥanbal, 270.  
 Ibn Hānī, 395, 396, 397, 399, 400.  
 Ibn al-Ḥārithiyah, 162.  
 Ibn Harmah, 334, 334n.  
 Ibn Hārūn, 272n.  
 Ibn Hasan, 97.  
 Ibn Hāshim, 282.  
 Ibn Hāshim al-Lakhmī, 299n.  
 Ibn Hawqal, 245.  
 Ibn Haydan, 403.  
 Ibn Ḥayyūs, Abū'l-Fityān, 406, 416, 417, 419, 420.  
 Ibn al-Ḥaziri, 371.  
 Ibn Ḥazim, 352, 352n.  
 Ibn Hishām, 299n.  
 Ibn Hubbārah, 363.  
 Ibn Hudhayl, Abū Bakr, 347, 347n.  
 Ibn Hudhayl, Abū 'l-Ḥasan, 55, 56.  
 Ibn Ishāq, 252, 253, 254, 288.  
 Ibn Jakinā, 48.



- Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, 165, 166,  
 174, 239, 239n., 378.  
 Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, 257.  
 Ibn al-Jawālīqī, 50, 294, 332,  
 368, 368n.  
 Ibn al-Jawzī, Abu 'l-Faraj, 41,  
 109, 109n., 113n., 268, 269,  
 328.  
 Ibn al-Jazzār, 42, 53.  
 Ibn Jinnī, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, 391.  
 Ibn Jurayj, 136n., 237.  
 Ibn al-Kalbī, 89, 111, 286, 287,  
 289, 291.  
 Ibn Karrām, 226n., 249, 249n.  
 Ibn Khaldūn, 156n., 271n.,  
 364n., 396n.  
 Ibn al-Khallī, 202.  
 Ibn Khallikān, 1, 26, 38, 39, 40,  
 46, 50, 65n., 77, 98n., 109n.,  
 119n., 127n., 135n., 137n.,  
 143n., 149n., 154n., 168n.,  
 180n., 189n., 204n., 224n.,  
 229, 230n., 248n., 264n., 268,  
 294, 318n., 332n., 334n., 337n.  
 Ibn Khāqān, 4, 402n., 405, 406.  
 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 224.  
 Ibn al-Khayyāt, 420.  
 Ibn al-Labbān al-Faraḍī, 18.  
 Ibn al-Layth, 24.  
 Ibn Lujaym, 140.  
 Ibn al-Maḍīnī, 136n., 253n.  
 Ibn Maḥfūz, 394.  
 Ibn Ma'īn, 253n.  
 Ibn Mājah, 255, 256, 262.  
 Ibn Mākūlā, 58, 162, 165, 258,  
 259, 304, 371.  
 Ibn Man'ah, 'Imād al-Dīn, 229,  
 231, 232, 233.  
 Ibn Mandā'i, 50.  
 Ibn Mandah, 174, 174n., 264,  
 265.  
 Ibn al-Maunī, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ,  
 365.  
 Ibn al-Marāghah, 287.  
 Ibn Masarraḥ, 350.  
 Ibn Mas'ūd, 187n.  
 Ibn Mikāl ('Abd Allāh), 298.  
 Ibn al-Mubārak, 6, 32, 176.  
 Ibn Muhājir, 215.  
 Ibn Muḥammad, 290.  
 Ibn Mujāhid, 274, 275, 277,  
 308n.  
 Ibn al-Mukarram, 322.  
 Ibn al-Munajjim, 290, 367, 377.  
 Ibn al-Mundhir, al-Naysabūrī,  
 182.  
 Ibn Munqidh, 117, 118, 119.  
 Ibn Muqlah, 275.  
 Ibn al-Muqrab, 365.  
 Ibn Muslim, 73.  
 Ibn Musu, 337n.  
 Ibn al-Musalaya, 410n.  
 Ibn al-Mustanir, 289.  
 Ibn al-Mustawfī, 52, 69, 113,  
 119, 121, 122, 123, 124,  
 125, 126, 232, 365, 366,  
 371, 372.  
 Ibn Muzāḥim, 349.  
 Ibn Muḥriz al-Wahrānī, 363,  
 364.  
 Ibn al-Naḥḥās, 318n.  
 Ibn al-Naṭṭāh, 58, 59.  
 Ibn al-Ni'mah, 56, 56n.  
 Ibn Nubātah, 366.  
 Ibn Nūh, 111.  
 Ibn Nuqṭah, 370, 372.

- Ibn Qa'nab, 110.  
 Ibn Qānī' 167, 169.  
 Ibn al-Qattā', 347.  
 Ibn al-Qaysarānī, 262, 264.  
 Ibn al-Qūq, 345n., 346, 346n.  
 Ibn Quray'ah, 361, 363.  
 Ibn Qutaybah, 32, 90, 160, 318, 329, 376.  
 Ibn al-Qūṭiyyah, 345, 350, 347, 348.  
 Ibn al-Raffā al-Ruṣāfī, 407, 409.  
 Ibn Rashīq, 353, 355, 363n., 399.  
 Ibn Rawāḥah al-Anṣārī, 119n.  
 Ibn al-Rūmī, 22, 181, 238.  
 Ibn al-Rushāṭī, 350.  
 Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Abū Naṣr, 195.  
 Ibn Sābī, 88n.  
 Ibn Sahl, 379.  
 Ibn Sa'd, 94, 107, 287, 326, 329,  
 Ibn Sa'īd, 164, 164n., 410n.  
 Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Ḥamīd, 254n.  
 Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, 250, 404, 406.  
 Ibn Sālim, 280n.  
 Ibn al-Sammāk, 277, 279.  
 Ibn Sam'ūn, 280, 281.  
 Ibn al-Sarrāj the grammarian, 311, 315,  
 Ibn al-Sarrāj (Abū Muḥammad), 110.  
 Ibn al-Sawādī, Abu 'l-Faraj, 127.  
 Ibn Shaddād, 79n., 96.  
 Ibn Shāhīn, 169, 301.  
 Ibn al-Shujarī, 368.  
 Ibn Ṣulāikh, 11.  
 Ibn Ṣhanbūdī, 275, 308n.  
 Ibn Sharaf al-Qayrawānī, 363, 363n.  
 Ibn Shībal, 107, 148, 149, 151, 252.  
 Ibn Shīrshīr, 239n.  
 Ibn Shubrumah, 151.  
 Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭa Iyawṣī, 290, 306.  
 Ibn al-Sikkī, 284.  
 Ibn al-Sirāfī, 391.  
 Ibn Sirin, 153, 154, 155, 156.  
 Ibn Sukkārah al-Hāshimī, 387, 388, 389.  
 Ibn Surayj, 173, 174, 229, 137, 238, 239, 280.  
 Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī, 224, 389.  
 Ibn Ṭabāṭaba, 84.  
 Ibn Tarāra, 165.  
 Ibn Tarāwah, 130.  
 Ibn Tāshīfīn, 4.  
 Ibn Taymīyah, 365, 366, 367.  
 Ibn Ṭhawābah, 322, 323, 322n.  
 Ibn Ṭulūn, 168.  
 Ibn 'Umar, 106, 107, 149, 154.  
 Ibn 'Unayn, 6, 228, 370.  
 Ibn 'Uyaynah, 154n.  
 Ibn Wahb, 105, 108, 166.  
 Ibn Yunus, 164, 166.  
 Ibn al-Za'farānī, 97.  
 Ibn Zafar al-Ṣaqallī, 373, 375.  
 Ibn al-Zaniyah, 152.  
 Ibn Zakī, 204.  
 Ibn Zaydūn al-Qurṭubī, 400.  
 Ibn Zinjī, 316.  
 Ibn al-Zubayr, 71n., 80, 141, 142, 143, 144, 153n., 154, 288.

- Ibn Zuhr (Avençoar), 409, 410, 411, 412,, 413.  
 Ibrāhīm (*Imām*), 161, 162.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Šūli, 25, 27.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥasan, 283n.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Isa, 345, 348.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mahdī, 21.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mudabbār, 320, 321.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn Mūsā Ibn Ja'far al-'Alawī, 26, 390.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, 39, 284,  
*Idāh*, 33, 233.  
*Idāh al-Maḥṣūl fī Burhān-il-uṣūl*, 261.  
 Idris, 58, 111, 134, 139.  
 al-Idrisī, 130n.  
 Ifriqiyah, 9, 258, 395.  
 Iftikīn, 35, 36.  
*Iḥtiṣāl*, 350.  
*Iḥtiṣāj al-Qurā*, 315.  
*Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, 192.  
 'Ijl, 178, 277, 293.  
 al-'Ijlī, 63, 174.  
 al-Ikhshid, 1, 83, 84.  
*Ikmāl*, 58, 165, 258, 261, 371.  
 'Ikrimah, 13, 95.  
 'Imād al-Dawlah Buwayhid, 32, 33, 65, 65n.  
 'Imād al-Dawlah Ibn Hūd, 405n.  
 'Imād al-Dīn, 43n., 45, 47, 49, 220, 223, 224, 360, 393n., 372, 413, 416, 416n., 420n.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Bāṭish, 171.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Mun'ah, 229, 233.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Hafadah, 215.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Ḥamīd, 232.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Aḥmaḍ, 224.  
 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī, 5, 6, 50, 97, 121n., 193, 203, 364, 375, 404.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Yūnus, 215.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, 218.  
 Imām al-Ḥarmayn. 191, 195, 196, 197n. 226, 228n., 229, 266.  
 Imām al-*Shāfi'*, 229.  
 Imām Zāda, 235n.  
 Imāmites, 148, 248.  
 Imra 'l-Qays, 93, 385n.  
 'Imrān Ibn Ḥuṣayn al-Khuzā'i, 154, 154n.  
 'Imrān Ibn Mūsā al-Najjār, 187.  
 India, 249, 335, 339, 363.  
 Indian, 334.  
 Indians, 348.  
*Intiṣāf fī Masā'il al-Khilāf*, 198.  
*'Iqd*, 292, 293, 294.  
*al-'Iqd al-Shamīn*, 114.  
*Iram Dhat al-'Imād*, 273.  
 Irān, 37.  
 'Irāq, 9, 10, 32, 34, 37, 41, 42, 53, 60, 63, 72, 80, 84, 92n., 100, 104, 105n., 124, 135n., 158, 163, 164n., 167, 173, 176, 177, 178, 191, 195, 214, 216, 230n., 248, 255, 256, 257, 258, 262, 269, 273, 279, 281, 330, 359n., 371, 380, 390, 410n.

'Irāq al-'Ajam, 63.  
 al-'Irāqī, 57.  
 al-Irbilī, 52.  
*Irshād*, 257.  
*al-Irshād*, 235.  
*Irshād al-Nuẓẓār ila laṭā' if*  
*il-Asrār* (by al-Rāzi), 225.  
 'Isa Ibn Ma'qil, 58.  
 'Isa Ibn Muzāḥim, 348.  
 'Isa al-Hakkāri, 78.  
 Iṣbahān, 63, 130n., 177, 178,  
 179, 237, 248, 251, 261, 262,  
 264, 269.  
 Iṣbahānī, 382.  
 al-Iṣbahānī, Abū Mūsa, 261,  
 262, 265.  
 Isfijāb, 285, 286.  
 Iṣḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm, 334.  
 Iṣḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī,  
 40.  
 Iṣḥāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili,  
 10.  
 Iṣḥāq Ibn Muḥammad al-  
 Nakḥa'i, 376.  
 Iṣḥāq Ibn Rāhwayh, 41.  
 al-Iṣḥāqī, 366n.  
*Iṣḥārah*, 273.  
*Iṣḥārāt* (by Avicena), 225.  
*Ishrāf*, 189.  
*al-Ishrāf 'ala Ghawāmiḍ al-Ḥu-*  
*kumā*, 189n.  
 al-Iskandar, 53, 54.  
 Islāmic, 304, 377.  
 Islāmism, 107, 155n., 126, 176,  
 191, 195, 198, 206, 207, 209,  
 211, 213, 226, 246, 247,  
 248n., 260n., 304, 318n.,  
 327n., 377n., 393, 405n., 410n.

Ismā'il, 281, 295n.  
 Ismā'il Ibn Bulbul, 181.  
 Ismā'il Ibn Ṣabīḥ, 19.  
 Ismā'ilian, 162n.  
 Isrā'il, 228n.  
 Istirābād, 176.  
 Italian, 407n.  
 'Iṭhyar al-'Udhri, 394, 395.  
*I'timād*, 404.  
 'Iyād Ibn Nizār, 409.  
 Iyādi, 413.  
 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ansārī, 116, 119,  
 119n.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr, 96,  
 116.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī,  
 115.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Farrūkh Shāh, 6.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ibn  
 Mawdūd, 69, 115, 222.  
 'Izziyah, 231.

## J

al-Jabal, 63, 279.  
 Jacob, 196.  
 Ja'far Barmakī, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14,  
 20, 23.  
 Ja'far Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 141, 288.  
 Ja'far Ibn 'Alī, 396.  
 Ja'far Ibn Ḥarb, 248n.  
 Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Mazyad,  
 147.  
 Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān 109.  
 Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, 146, 147, 253n.,  
 390.  
 al-Ja'fari, 323.  
 Jaḥḥẓah, 283n.

- Jaḥaẓat al-Barmakī, 304.  
 al-Jārmī, Abū Ḥamīd, 233, 34.  
 (*Jalāl al-Dawlah*), Naṣr, 414.  
 Jalāl al-Dīn, 142n.  
 Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Aḥmad, 218.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn, Abū 'l-Mujāhid,  
 235.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn Mahmūd Ibn  
 'Abd, 113.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn 'Amīd al-Dawlah,  
 44.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qifṭī, 44.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn Wāthiq Ibn Faḍlān,  
 269, 269n.  
*Jamharah*, 299, 300, 306.  
*Jamharat al-Nisab*, 88, 11, 297.  
*Jāmi'*, 114n., 158, 268.  
*Jami' al-Qaṣr*, 289.  
*al-Jāmi' al-Ṣāḥib*, 163.  
*Jāmi' al-Sulṭān*, 268.  
*Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*, 69.  
*Jāmi' al-Uṣūlfi-Aḥādith il-Rasūl*,  
 114.  
*al-Jāmi' wa 'l-'Ilal*, 254.  
 Jamīl, 89.  
*al-Jam'o bayn al-Ṣāḥihayn*,  
 258.  
 Jannābah, 313.  
 Jannābī, 313.  
 'l-Ja'rā, Banu, 297.  
 Jaramī, 233.  
 al-Jarīr, 74, 150, 287, 288, 387.  
 al-Jarjarā'i al-Aqṭa', 186.  
 Jarjarāyā, 154.  
 Jaṣāṣah (*Gāte*), 125, 126.  
 Jathīl, 107.  
 al-Jawād, 147.  
 al-Jawālīqī, 50.  
 al-Jawharī, 72n., 144, 185, 414.  
 Jaxartes, 175n.  
 Jay, 251.  
 al-Jayyānī, 272.  
 al-Jazarī, 'Alī Ibn al-Aṭhīr, 259.  
 Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar, 115, 116,  
 129.  
 al-Jazirat al-Khaḍrā, 282.  
 Jerusalem, 83, 192, 204, 205,  
 207, 208n., 241, 263.  
 Jesus, 208.  
 Jew, 362.  
 Jewish, 251.  
 Jews, 410n.  
 Jibāb al-Turkmān, 119.  
 al-Jibāl, 53.  
 Jibrīl, 183.  
 al-Jihshyarī, 9, 12, 13, 26.  
 Jihūn, 265.  
 Jīl, 66.  
 Jīlān, 66.  
 Jīlī, 66.  
 Jizah, 79.  
 Juktan, 111n.  
 Jordan, 97n.  
*Journal Asiatique*, 411n.  
 al-Jubbā'i, Abū 'Alī, 229, 244,  
 245, 246.  
*Judhwat al-Muqṭabis*, 110, 163,  
 258.  
 Ju'fī, 162, 165.  
 Juhaynah, 145, 187.  
*Jumal al-Uṣūl*, 315.  
*Jūnat al-Māshīyah*, 357.  
 al-Junayd, 40, 270.  
 Jundub, 297.  
 Jurhum, 265n., 395.  
 Jurhumī, 395.

Jurjān, 65, 65, 176, 233, 257.  
 al-Jurjānī, Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad,  
 240.  
 al-Jūrjānī, Abu 'l-Qāsim, 359.  
 Jurijāniya, 226n.  
 Jūshn, 57.  
 al-Juwaynī, Abū Muḥammad,  
 195.

## K

Ka'b, 224n., 297.  
 al-Kāfī, 318, 318n.  
 Kāfī 'l-Kufāt, 359.  
 Kāfūr, 1, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87,  
 88, 172.  
 Kalābādī, 184.  
 al-Kalābādī, 184, 185.  
 Kalb, 121n., 187, 289.  
 al-Kalbi, 88, 286, 288, 289.  
 al-Kamāl al-Mawṣilī, 124.  
 al-Kamāl al-Simnānī, 226.  
 Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā, 215, 232.  
 al-Kāmikhī, 263.  
 Kāmil (Ibn al-Aṭhīr), 8n., 22n.,  
 321n., 325n.  
 Kāmil (al Mubarrad), 80, 141,  
 291, 292, 293, 377.  
 Kanjah, 373.  
 al-Karaj, 60, 61, 63.  
 Karbalā, 92n.  
 Karkh, 248n., 386, 394.  
 Karrāmiyah, 226, 226n.  
 al-Kāshānī, 184n.  
 Kaṣṣī fī wa 'l Bayān, 114n.  
 Kaṣṣhāf, 114, 114n.  
 Kathīr Ibn Ghālib, 165.  
 Kathīr Ibn Yahyā, 169.

Kaysān, 18, 144.  
 al-Kaysāniyah, 144.  
 al-Kāzarūnī, Abū 'Abd Allāh,  
 195.  
 Kāzimah, 391.  
 Khaḍari, 191.  
 Khaḍir, 191.  
 Khalāt, 104.  
 Khālīd (Barmakī), 8, 16.  
 Khālīd al-Bayāḍī, 94.  
 Khālīd al-Ḥadhdhā, 154.  
 Khālīd, al-Khuzā'i, 89, 164.  
 Khālīd Ibn al-Walīd, 140n.,  
 141, 154, 209, 252, 380.  
 al-Khālīdī, 381.  
 Khālīdites, 59, 381.  
 Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāt, 254.  
 Khālīj, 397n.  
 al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad, 180, 181,  
 298, 306.  
 al-Khalīlī (Abū Ya'lā), 257.  
 al-Khamat, 148.  
 Khān Sabil, 79.  
 Kharīdah, 5, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48,  
 49, 121n., 203, 220, 223, 359,  
 363, 372, 375, 389, 404, 410n.,  
 413, 416, 420n.  
 Khārijites, 71, 80, 81, 155n.  
 Khartank, 164, 165.  
 al-Khashshāb, 127.  
 al-Khatan, 176, 177.  
 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, 25n.,  
 37n., 41, 54, 139, 243, 267,  
 273n., 317, 330, 322n., 329,  
 372, 394.  
 al-Khaṭṭāb, 349n.  
 al-Khaṭṭār, 349n.  
 Khawlah, 140.

Khaybar, 209, 367.

Khayr al-Baḡhr bi Khayr al-Baḡhar, 373.

Khayrī, 392.

al-Khayzurān, 7, 8, 254, 329.

Khayzurān Gate, 254.

al-Khazraji. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, 56.

Khidr, 191.

al-Khidri, 189.

Khīṭaṭ, 79n., 88, 168, 169, 171, 172.

Khīṭaṭ Miṣr, 186.

Khubūshān, 217.

al-Khubūshānī, 216, 217.

Khulāṣah fi 'l-Fiqh, 192.

Khurāsān, 8, 9, 10, 18, 20, 25, 27, 32, 53, 60, 61, 63, 72, 74, 105n., 163, 164, 165, 173, 175, 176, 179n., 189, 227, 249, 250, 251, 255, 262, 266, 273, 301, 332, 368, 371, 379.

Khuthayl, 107.

al-Khuwārī, 301.

Khuwārazm, 72, 72n., 171, 226, 226n., 227, 250, 251, 266, 273n., 378, 379, 380n.

Khuwārazmī, 380.

Khuwārazmite, 379.

Kūwayyi, 235n.

Khuẓā'ah, 89.

Khuẓā'ī, 95.

Khūzistān, 61n., 103n., 245, 262.

Khwarizm Shāh, 227.

al-Kifāyah, 233.

Kilāb, 77n.

Kilābite, 77n.

al-Kilā'ī, Sa'id Ibn Jābir, 346n.

Kindah, 77n.

Kinānah, 171.

Kirmānshah, 133.

al-Kisā'ī, 39, 159, 181, 284, 379.

Kitāb al-Abyāt, 300n.

Kitāb al-Aḍḍad, 289.

Kitāb al-Aghānī, 92, 305n., 357.

Kitāb al-Aḥdāth, 42.

Kitāb al-'Ajālah, 111.

Kitāb al-Akhḷāq, 376.

Kitāb al-Alfāz, 285.

Kitāb al-Amḥilāh li-Duwal al-Muqbilah, 356.

Kitāb al-Amwāl, 42.

Kitāb al-Ansāb, 52, 262.

Kitāb al-Anwā, 285, 334.

Kitāb al-Anwār, 308n.

Kitāb al-'Aḡharāt, 306.

Kitāb al-Aṣwāt, 289.

Kitāb al-'Ayn, 180, 306.

Kitāb al-Azminah, 289.

Kitāb al-Badī', 115.

Kitāb al-Bārī', 290, 376.

Kitāb al-Bayān wa 'l-Burhān, 225.

Kitāb al-Buyū', 306.

Kitāb al-Buzāt wa 'l-Ṣayd, 58.

Kitāb al-Dhabīḥ, 376.

Kitāb al-Dīakhā'ir, 128.

Kitāb Dīakhā'ir al-'Ulūm, 187n.

Kitāb al-Dhayl, 52.

Kitāb al-Dhubāb, 285.

Kitāb Dīyā' al-Qulūb, 180.

Kitāb fa'ala wa af'ala, 290.

Kitāb Fā'it al-'Ayn, 306.

Kitāb Fā'it al-Jamharah, 304.

Kitāb al-Fākhīr, 180.

- Kitāb al-Farq*, 289.  
*Kitāb al-Faṣḥūsh*, fī *Aḥkām Qarāqūsh*, 79.  
*Kitāb al-Fayṣal*, 269.  
*Kitāb al-Furū*, 171.  
*Kitāb al-Ḡhāniyah*, 228n.  
*Kitāb al-Ḡharb wa 'l-Sharq*, 356.  
*Kitāb Ḡharib al-Ḥadīth*, 289.  
*Kitāb Ḡharib al-Qur'ān*, 299.  
*Kitāb al-Ḡharibayn*, 261.  
*Kitāb al-Ḡhurar*, 334.  
*Kitāb al-Ḥamzah*, 289.  
*Kitāb al-'Ibādah*, 334.  
*Kitāb al-I'dhār*, 239.  
*Kitāb al-I'jāz fī Ḥall il-Aḥōjī wa 'l Alghāz*, 68.  
*Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, 114.  
*Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, 239.  
*Kitāb al-Irshād*, 164.  
*Kitāb al-Ishrāf*, 182.  
*Kitāb al-Ishṭiqāq*, 180, 289, 295, 299, 315.  
*Kitāb al-Istī'āb*, 258.  
*Kitāb al-Istizkār*, 187n.  
*Kitāb Iṭḥbāt al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 120.  
*Kitāb al-Jāhiliyāt*, 318.  
*Kitāb Jalā al-Shubah*, 180.  
*Kitāb al-Jamharah*, 299.  
*Kitāb al-Jūmi*, 299, 353.  
*Kitāb al-Jurjānī*, 306.  
*Kitāb al-Khayl*, 285, 314.  
*Kitāb Khulq al-Faras*, 289.  
*Kitāb al-Khulq al-Insān*, 289.  
*Kitāb al-Lughāt*, 249.  
*Kitāb al-Lum'a fī 'l-Aḥwān*,  
*Kitāb al-Ma'ānī*, 300.  
 294n.  
*Kitāb al-Mu'arīf*, 32, 376.  
*Kitāb al-Mabāḥiṭh al-'Imādiyah fī'l-Maṣālib al-Ma'ādiyah*, 225.  
*Kitāb al-Madākhil*, 304.  
*Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*, 247.  
*Kitāb al-Maknūn wa 'l-Maktūm*, 304.  
*Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal*, 250.  
*Kitāb al-Mūḍiḥ*, 306.  
*Kitāb al-Muṣāṭahah wa'l-Munākahah*, 356.  
*Kitāb al-Muṣḥaf ḍaliyāt*, 318n.  
*Kitāb al-Mughīth*, 261.  
*Kitāb al-Mujtabā*, 299.  
*Kitāb al-Mulāḥim*, 299.  
*Kitāb al-Mu'lim bi Fawā'id Kitāb Muslim*, 261.  
*Kitāb al-Muqtabis*, 299.  
*Kitāb al-Mustaghīṭhīn*, 112.  
*Kitāb al-Mustaḥsan*, 306.  
*Kitāb al-Mustajād min Fa'alāt al-Ajwād*, 129.  
*Kitāb al-Muwāṣilāt*, 315.  
*Kitāb al-Nabāt*, 285.  
*Kitāb Nashwān al-Muḥāḍarah*, 129.  
*Kitāb al-Nawādir*, 285, 289, 306.  
*Kitāb al-Nazẓām*, 120.  
*Kitāb al-Nihāyah*, 114.  
*Kitāb al-Nisab*, 42, 145.  
*Kitāb Nujabā al-Abnā*, 374.  
*Kitāb al-Nuzaḥ*, 58.  
*Kitāb al-Qawāfī*, 289.  
*Kitāb al-Ra'ūd 'ala 'l-Mulḥidīn fī Tashābuh al-Qur'ān*, 290.  
*Kitāb al-Rāḥ wa al-Irtiyāl*, 356.  
*Kitāb al-Riddah*, 326.  
*Kitāb al-Rasā'il*, 187n.



- Kitāb al-Sā'āt*, 306.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 164.  
*Kitāb al-Salāḥ*, 58.  
*Kitāb al-Sarj wa 'l-Lijām*, 299.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣihāb*, 186.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣhajan wa 'l-Sakan*, 357.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣhukūk*, 242, 243.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣhūrā*, 306.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣifāt*, 289.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣilāḥ*, 299.  
*Kitāb Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*, 58.  
*Kitāb al-Sunan*, 255.  
*Kitāb al-Suwāl wa 'l-Jawāb*, 357.  
*Kitāb al-Ṭa'ām wa 'l-Adām*, 356.  
*Kitāb al-Ṭafsīr*, 312.  
*Kitāb al-Ṭayf*, 180.  
*Kitāb al-Ṭamhīd*, 150.  
*Kitāb al-Taq'īd*, 371.  
*Kitāb al-Ṭaqrīz*, 41.  
*Kitāb al-Tarīd*, 353.  
*Kitāb al-Tārikh*, 180.  
*Kitāb Taṣārīf il-Af'āl*, 347.  
*Kitāb al-Tuffāḥah*, 306.  
*Kitāb al-'Ūd wa 'l-Malāḥl*, 180.  
*Kitāb al-'Ujālah*, 265, 269.  
*Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, 315.  
*Kitāb al-Wāqidi*, 329.  
*Kitāb al-Waraqah*, 334.  
*Kitāb al-Waṣūl ilā Ma'rifat al-uṣūl*, 239.  
*Kitāb al-Wuzarā*, 334.  
*Kitāb al-Yawāqit*, 306, 308.  
*Kitāb al-Yawm wa 'l-laylah*, 306.  
*Kitāb al-Zar'a wa 'l Nabāt*, 180.  
*Kitāb al-Ziyādāt*, 261.  
*Kitāb al-Zuwwār al-Arab*, 299.  
 Koran, 63n., 119n.  
 Kūfah, 32, 37, 92n., 104, 107n., 151, 152, 155n., 157, 158, 180, 202, 249, 253, 255, 273, 277, 278, 279, 282, 283, 284n., 287, 289, 312, 344.  
 Kūfah Gate, 294.  
 Kūkubrī, 95, 104.  
 Kulābite, 77n.,  
 Kulthūm, 16n., 368.  
 Kurds, 59.  
 al-Kushmihani, 230.  
 Kulḥayyir, 144, 151.
- L
- al-Labbān, 18.  
 Labīd, 138, 393.  
 al-Lakhmī, 214.  
*Lawāqih al-Anwār fī-Ṭabaqāt il-Akhyār*, 270n.  
 Laylā, 90, 332.  
 al-Layth, 38, 105, 106, 107.  
 Līnah, 104, 104n.  
 London, 373n.  
 Luḥaym, 57.  
 Luḥayyī, 89. -  
 Lūṭ Ibn Mikhnaḥ, 376.  
 Luwayyī, 157, 224n.
- M
- Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān, 51, 186.  
 al-Ma'āfir, 168, 349, 168, 270, 349.  
 Ma'ālim, 225.  
 Ma'ani 'l-Ḥamāsah, 295n.  
 Ma'ani 'l-Qur'ān, 289, 392.  
 Ma'ani al-Ṣhi'r, 40, 285, 300n.

- Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān*, 416.  
*Mabsūt*, 178n., 182, 188.  
 Macedonia, 54.  
 Madanī, 262, 326, 329.  
 al-Madā'in, 54, 133, 155, 277.  
 Madhhiij, 352, 353.  
 al-Madhkūr, 277, 277n.  
 al-Mad.nah, 7, 38, 39, 41, 42, 89, 91, 94, 95, 100, 107, 108, 110, 131, 143, 145, 146, 149, 157, 160n., 170, 208, 218, 224, 252, 253n., 260n., 262, 266, 304, 326, 327n., 330, 331.  
 Madīnat al-Fil, 72n.  
 Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdād), 339.  
 Madinī, 262.  
*al-Maghāzī*, 252, 253, 326.  
 Maghnaj, 297.  
 Maghrib, 47, 116, 192, 349n., 396, 397n., 413.  
 Maghribīns, 358.  
 Maghribiyan, 116, 406.  
 Magian, 243.  
 Magians, 9, 165, 249.  
 al-Maḥājir, 376.  
*Maḥakk al-Nazar*, 192.  
 Maḥāmīlī, 183n., 183.  
 Maḥdī, 144, 148.  
 al-Maḥdī, 12, 13, 16, 22, 42, 283n., 284, 297, 329, 386.  
 al-Mahdiyyah, 261, 395.  
 Maḥmūd, 414, 416.  
 Maḥmūd Ibn Wahb Ibn 'Abbās, 83.  
 Mahrāh, 403.  
 Mahri, 403.  
*Maḥṣūl*, 225, 232.  
*Majāzāt al-Qur'ān*, 392.  
 al-Majd al-Jilī, 226.  
 Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr, 69, 113, 116.  
 Majd al-Dīn Ibn Munqidh, 117.  
 al-Mājin, 24n.  
 al-Mājjah, 114n.  
 al-Majnūn, 1.  
 Majorca, 258, 259, 260.  
*Makārim al-Aḥlāq*, 234n.  
 Makḥramah, 252.  
 Makḥūl, 149.  
 Makḥzūm, 128, 169n.  
 al-Makīl, 37n.  
 al-Makīn, 71n.  
 Makkah, 32, 39, 41, 42, 71n., 88, 89, 100, 104, 114n., 135n., 136, 137, 139, 146n., 149, 157n., 182, 183, 190, 192, 207, 208, 214, 255, 258, 263, 266, 267, 273, 279, 280, 327n., 331, 346n., 366, 375, 406n.  
 Makkan, 272n.  
 al-Makkī, 279, 280.  
 Malāqā, 408.  
 Malāqah, 130.  
 Mālik Ibn Anas (Imām), 38, 55, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 114n., 127, 135, 137, 149, 154n., 157, 166, 167, 168, 169n., 170, 240, 253, 254, 261, 326, 352, 359.  
 Mālik Ibn Dīnār, 112, 113.  
 al-Malik al-'Adil, 231.  
 al-Malik al-Afḍal, 369.

- al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, 67, 95,  
 96, 97, 98, 102, 103, 123, 125,  
 232, 370.  
 al-Malik al-Qāhir Mas'ūd, 231.  
 al-Malik al-Šālih, 221n., 222.  
 al-Malik al-Zāhir, 125, 264.  
 Mālikite, 111n., 114n., 167,  
 239.  
 Mālikiyah, 280.  
 Mālikīyan, 417.  
*Maljā al-Ḥukkām 'ind Iltibās  
 il-Aḥkām*, 222.  
 Ma'mar Ibn al-Muthannā, 70.  
 Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid, 326.  
 al-Māmūn, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24,  
 26, 26n., 27, 57, 73n., 147,  
 251, 266, 292, 326, 327, 328,  
 383.  
 al-Māmūn al-Baṭā'ihī, 241.  
*Manāqib*, 314.  
*Manāsik*, 273.  
 Manāzil al-'Izz (College), 199.  
 Manbaj, 235.  
*Manḍūn bihi 'ala ghayri Ahlihī*,  
 192, 193.  
*al-Manḥūl wa'l Muntaḥal*, 192.  
 al-Manšūr Abū Ja'far, 13, 38n.,  
 42, 109n., 145, 153, 157, 159,  
 161, 268, 283n., 292, 319,  
 329, 386, 408.  
 Manšūr Ibn 'Ammār, 105,  
 105n.  
 Manšūr Ibn Bādān, 60.  
 Manšūr Ibn Ismā'il, 159.  
 al-Manšūr, 'Ubaydī, 396.  
*Maqāmah*, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47,  
 48, 49, 50, 81, 281.  
*Maqāmahs*, 368, 369, 374.  
*Maqāmāt*, 42.  
 al-Maqbarat al-'Atiqah, 263.  
 al-Maqdisī Ibn Zāhir, 127n.,  
 280, 371.  
 al-Maqdisī Abu Zar'ah, 263.  
 al-Maqqarī, 55, 56, 346n.,  
 400n., 413.  
 al-Maqrizī, 79n., 169n., 186n.,  
 241n.  
 al-Maqs, 79.  
*al-Maqṣad al-Asnā*, 193.  
*Maqṣūrah*, 298, 299n., 300,  
 302.  
*Maqāsid*, 192.  
 Marāghah, 226, 230n., 235.  
*Marāsid*, 82n., 92n., 130n.,  
 160n.  
 Mardāw'j, 65.  
 Marianā, 348n.  
*Ma'rifat al-Ḥadlith*, 257.  
 Māriyah, 297.  
 Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, 306.  
 Marw, 32, 184, 188, 189, 191,  
 215, 255n., 262.  
 Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam, 92n.  
 Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah, 7.  
 Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, 161.  
 Marwān Ibn Zufr, 409.  
 Marwānid, 347n.  
 Marwarrūd, 215, 368, 370.  
 al-Marwaz Jībū Ishāq, 229.  
 al-Marwazī Abū Zayd, 184,  
 229.  
 Mary, 208.  
 al-Marzubāni, 28, 303, 331,  
 332, 333, 379.  
*al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, 245.  
 Māsarijis, 176.

- al-Māsarjisi, 175, 176.  
 al-Mashān, 46, 48, 50.  
 Mashhad, 37, 104.  
 al-Masīhī, 358n.  
 al-Masilah, 396.  
 Masrūh, 77.  
 Masrūr, 14, 15.  
 Mas'ūd, 188, 232, 370.  
 al-Mas'ūdī, Abū Ḥasan 'Alī,  
     9, 187n., 244, 298, 328,  
     337.  
 al-Mas'ūdī, Abū 'Abd Allāh,  
     187, 188, 188.  
 al-Māsūdī al-Bandahī, 368, 307,  
     369, 370.  
 al-Mas'ūdī al-Qāsim, 284n.  
 Mas'ūdian, 188.  
 al-Maṭālib al-'Āliyah, 225.  
 Maṭmah, 406.  
 Maṭmah al-Anfus, 405.  
 Maṭmah al-Anfus wa Masrah  
     al-Ta'annus fi Mulaḥ Ahl il-  
     Andalus, 3.  
 al-Māwardī, 337, 338.  
 Mawḍiḥ, 273.  
 Mawdūd, 6, 95n.  
 Maysān, 154, 156.  
 Mayūrqah, 260.  
 al-Mayūrqī, 259.  
 Mayyāfāriqīn, 148, 195, 196,  
     199.  
 al-Māzarī, 260, 261.  
 Meidanii Proverbia, 51, 77n.,  
     389n.  
 Meidini tom, 364.  
 Mclange de philosophie arabe et  
     juive, 407n.  
 Mesopotamia, 5, 33, 52, 74,  
     97n., 100, 104, 173, 216, 262,  
     273, 371.  
 Messiah, 98.  
 Mikāl, 300, 301.  
 Milās, 243.  
 Milhī, 387n.  
 Mi'naj, 297.  
 Minūchehr, 66.  
 Mir'āt al-Zamān, 106n., 240n.,  
     253n., 266n.  
 Mirdās, 417.  
 Mirdās, Banū, 414.  
 Mirdāsids, 417.  
 Miṣkāt al-Anwār, 193.  
 Miṣr, 271, 358.  
 Miskīn al-Dārimī, 131, 132.  
 al-Miṣṣisah, 42, 83, 88.  
 Mi'yār al-'Ilm, 192.  
 Moorish, 3, 242n.  
 Morocco, 4, 192, 214, 272,  
     404.  
 Moses, 320, 325.  
 Moṣul, 33, 52, 53, 67, 69, 74,  
     95, 100, 103, 104, 115, 116,  
     125, 126, 216, 217, 218, 219,  
     221, 222, 223, 224, 230, 231,  
     232, 233, 269, 272, 273, 291,  
     381, 386n., 419n., 420n.  
 Mo'tazilite, 304.  
 Mount Qāsiyūn, 236, 369, 370.  
 Mu'add, 51.  
 al-Mu'āfā Ibn Zakariyā, 165.  
 Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān  
     37n., 71, 141, 142, 310, 332,  
     393, 394.  
 Mu'āwiyah Ibn Sufyān al-A'mā,  
     379.  
 Mu'ayd, 51.

- al-Mu'aydi, 50, 51.  
 al-Muayyid, 234n.  
 al-Mubāarak, 118, 262.  
 al-Mubarrad 80, 141, 143, 290,  
 293, 315, 333, 377.  
 Mubashshir Ibn 'Amr al-Kalbi,  
 286.  
*Mudkhil*, 180.  
*al-Mūdiḥāh*, 345.  
*Mudkhil ilā 'Ilm il-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 257.  
 al-Mufaḍḍal, 181.  
 al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, 51, 283,  
 283n.  
 al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Muḥammad  
 al-Jundī, 267.  
*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, 283, 318n.  
*Mufaṣṣal* (by al-Zamakhsharī),  
 120, 225.  
 al-Mughīrah Ibn Aḥnaf, 165.  
 al-Mughīrah Ibn Shu'bah, 37.  
*Mughrib*, 4.  
 Mughul, 125n.  
 Muḥaddhab, 171, 230, 234.  
 al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah,  
 71n., 72, 73.  
 al-Muhallabī, 341, 362.  
 Muḥammad (Prophet), 37n., 61,  
 87, 92n., 111, 119n., 134,  
 139, 141, 144n., 149, 153n.,  
 162n., 193n., 207, 208n.,  
 209, 213, 240, 253, 252, 260n.,  
 266, 273, 276, 321, 327n.,  
 330, 332, 353, 374n., 390,  
 393n.  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-  
 Wahhāb, 346.  
 Muḥammad 'Abdī, 265.  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'At Jūs, 364.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Awn,  
 364.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr, 38,  
 235n.  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, al-Ḥaṣhmī,  
 145, 159, 160, 161, 162.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, 108,  
 136, 158, 159.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-  
 Nadīm, 267.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Mandah Ibn  
 Mihra-Yazd, 147.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Marwān, 413.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Mudabbār,  
 320n.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn  
 Shākir, 337n.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir, 386.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim  
 al-Ḥāriri, 44n., 46n., 50n.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Samā'ah, 339.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Tāhir, 24.  
 Muḥammād Ibn Tukush (Sul-  
 ṭān), 227.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Waḍḍāḥ, 352n.  
 Muḥammād Ibn Wahb al-  
 Mas'ūdī, 40.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā, 197,  
 199, 200, 216, 226.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd, 293,  
 295.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Zayyāt, 29.  
 Muḥammad (al-Amin), 8, 18,  
 20, 21, 23.  
 Muḥammad al-Ḥujjah, 148.  
 Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd, 88.  
 Muḥammad al-Jawād, 146, 147,  
 148.

- Muḥammadan, 211, 213.  
*Muḥammadan dynasties in Spain*, 407n, 413n.  
 Muḥī al-Dawlah, 213.  
 Muḥī al-Dīn Ibn al-Zakī, 204, 205.  
 Muḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī, 272n.  
*Muḥīt*, 198, 216, 230.  
 Mu'in al-Dīn, 97, 233, 370.  
 al-Mu'izz al-'Ubaydī, 396, 397, 398, 399n.  
 Mu'izz al-Dawlah, 32, 36, 307, 340.  
 Mujāhid, 308n.  
 Mujāhid al-Dīn Qā'imāz, 67, 68, 96, 115.  
 Mujallī Ibn Jumayyī, 128.  
*Mu'jam al-Shu'arā*, 28, 332n., 379.  
 al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, 144.  
*Mukhtār al-Aghānī wa Ma-āniha*, 357.  
 al-Mukhtār 'Izz al-Mulk, 355.  
 al-Muktafī, 316, 334, 337, 338.  
 al-Muktafī (li 'amr Allāh), 359.  
*Mulakhkhaṣ* (by al-Rāzī), 225.  
*Mulḥah*, 49.  
*Mulḥat al-l'rāb*, 45, 49.  
 Munabbih, 352.  
 al-Mundhir Ibn Mā 'al-Samā, 51.  
 al-Mundhir Ibn al-Zubayr, 253.  
 al-Mundhir, Zakī al-Dīn, 241.  
*al-Munqidh*, 118.  
*al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalāl*, 193.  
 Munyah Harb, 172.  
 al-Muqallad, 419n.  
 Muqaṭṭam (Mount), 80, 166.  
 al-Muqrī Abū Bakr, 272n.  
 al-Muqtadī, 410n.  
*Muqtaḍib*, 291.  
 al-Muqtadir, 298n., 301, 313, 314, 316, 334, 390.  
 al-Muqtafī, 218, 219, 263n., 264n.  
*al-Muqtariḥ fi 'l-Muṣṭaliḥ*, 200.  
 Murcia, 55, 137, 405n., 403.  
 Murrah, 224n.  
 al-Mursī, 401.  
 al-Murtaḍā, 'Abd Allāh, 51.  
*Murūj al-Dhahab*, 9, 187n., 244, 298, 328, 337.  
 Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 324n., 325n.  
 Mūsā Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, 324.  
 Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr, 348n, 403.  
 Mūsā al-Kāzim, 146, 147, 390, 394, 394n.  
 Mūsā Ibn Shākir, 337, 337n.  
 Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Zubayr, 29, 74, 74n., 80, 90, 150.  
 al-Musabbihī al-Mukhtār, 353, 355, 357, 358.  
 Muṣallā, 186, 187.  
 al-Mūsawī, 390.  
 Musaylamah al-Kadhḍāb, 140n., 326.  
 al-Musayyab, 419.  
*al-Muṣāḥadāt wa 'l-Akhbār*, 27.  
 Muṣhamraj, 77.  
*Muṣkil al-Qur'ān*, 308.  
*Muṣkilāt*, 190.  
*Muṣhtarik*, 251, 313n.

- Muslim Ibn 'Abīs, 71n.  
 Muslim Ibn 'Amr, 72, 74.  
 Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 253.  
 Muslim Ibn Khālīd al-Zanjī, 136.  
 Muslim Ibn al-Walīd al-Anṣārī, 26.  
*Muslim* (Ṣaḥīḥ), 55, 114n., 257, 257n., 258, 261, 262, 266, 273n.  
*Musnad*, 115, 177, 273n., 309.  
 al-Mustaḍī, bi Amr Allāh, 201.  
*Mustadrak 'ala 'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, 257.  
*Muṣṭaṣfā*, 192, 215.  
 Muṣṭafā 'l-Dawlah, 414.  
*al-Muṣṭafā wa 'l-Mukhtār fi'l-Ad'iyyat wa 'l-Adhkār*, 114.  
 al-Mustanjīd, 264n., 359, 360.  
 al-Mustanṣir, 125.  
 Mustanṣiriyah, 269n.  
 al-Mustarshīd, 43, 44, 251.  
 al-Mustazhir, 195, 410n.  
 al-Mustazhirī, 195, 202, 240.  
 al-Mu'taḍīd, 181n., 312, 313, 322n., 403.  
 Muṭahhar Ibn Salām, 44.  
*Mu'talif wa Mukhtalif*, 258.  
*Mu'tamid*, 247.  
 al-Mu'tamid, 28n., 164, 181n., 321n.  
 al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404.  
 al-Mutanabbī, 1, 2, 3, 17, 33, 34, 35, 64, 84, 85, 86, 120, 201, 339, 341, 342, 343n., 345, 399, 400.  
 al-Muṭarriz, 266, 305, 310.  
 al-Mu'taṣim, 27, 29, 57, 147.  
 al-Mutawakkil, 322.  
 al-Mu'tazilah, 70.  
 Mu'tazilite, 25, 70, 187n., 194, 229, 242, 244, 245, 247.  
 al-Muṭī', 83n., 130.  
 Muṭī' Ibn Iyās, 76.  
*al-Muṭrib min Ash'ār Ahl al-Maghrib*, 409.  
 al-Muṭṭalib, 134, 252.  
 al-Muwaffaq, 164, 181n., 321n.  
 al-Muwammal, 176.  
*al-Muwaṭṭā*, 55, 111, 111n., 114n., 135, 169n.  
 al-Muwayyad Hishām, 351.  
 al-Muwayyad Ibn Ziyād, 127.  
 al-Muẓaffar, 51, 53.  
 Muẓaffariyah (College), 127.  
 al-Muzanī, 167, 168, 171, 176, 187, 252n., 278n.  
 Muzdākḥān, 229.
- N
- Nabatean, 360n.  
 Naḍr Ibn Shumayl, 288.  
 Na'f, 150.  
*al-Nafā'is*, 235.  
*Nafā'is al-'Arā'is*, 228n.  
 Nāfi' Ibn Abī Nu'aym, 106, 107, 154n.  
 Nāfi' Ibn al-Azraq, 71n.  
 Nafīsiyah, 231.  
 al-Nafī, 55, 55n.  
 al-Nafs al-Zakiyah, 283n.  
 Nahār Ibn Tawsi'ah, 72.  
 Nahr 'Isā, 363.  
 Nahrawān, 9.  
 Najāḥ Ibn Salamah, 324, 324n, 325.

- Najāshī, 288.  
 Najd, 354n., 391, 419.  
 al-Nājirī, 235, 236.  
 al-Najjār, 38, 186, 187.  
 Najjārian, 225.  
 Najm al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh, 50.  
 Najm al-Dīn Abū 'Alī 'l-  
     Ḥasan, 216, 218.  
 Najm al-Dīn al-Mirindī, 235.  
 al-Na'mān, 196.  
 al-Namarī, 294, 295, 295n.  
 al-Naqqāsh, 272, 274.  
 Narjis, 148.  
 Nasaf, 262.  
 al-Nasā'i, 114n., 262.  
 Naṣībīn, 100, 219, 419n.  
*Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, 126.  
 Nāṣihīyah, 266.  
*Nāsikh wa 'l-Mansūkh*, 269.  
 al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, 212.  
 al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, 269n.  
 al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh 'Abd al-  
     Raḥmān, 347.  
 Nāṣirah, 98.  
 Naṣr (Amīr), 415, 416, 417.  
 Naysābūr, 24, 174n., 176, 177,  
     178, 179, 179n., 183, 183n.,  
     184, 185, 188, 191, 193, 195,  
     196, 197, 198, 199, 214n.,  
     215, 217, 233, 234n., 236,  
     248, 249, 250, 256, 257, 262,  
     265, 266, 269n., 279.  
 Naysābūrī, 257.  
 Nazareth, 98.  
 al-Nassām al-Balkhī, 251.  
 al-Ni'ālī, 202.  
 Niftawayh, 291, 311.  
 Nihāwand, 235n.  
*Nihāyah*, 174.  
*Nihāyat al-Iqdām*, 250.  
*Nihāyat al-Maṭlab*, 197, 266.  
*Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*, 225.  
*Nisab al-Khayl*, 285.  
 al-Nisā'i, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān,  
     167, 172.  
 Nizām al-Dīn, 235.  
 Nizām al-Mulūk, 18, 191, 200n.,  
     220n., 222.  
 Nizāmiyah, 127, 168, 191, 193,  
     195, 198, 200, 201, 214, 230,  
     269n.  
 Noah, 37, 111, 142n., 348.  
 Norman, 373n.  
 al-Nūbihār, 9.  
 Nujāh, 366n.  
*Nujūm*, 37, 83n., 113n., 156n.,  
     164n., 174n., 255n., 274n.,  
     277n., 283n., 284n., 334n.,  
     368n., 386n.  
*Nujūm Ḥuffāz*, 269n.  
*al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 25.  
 al-Nu'mān, 127, 304, 406n.  
 Numayr, 24.  
 Nūr al-Dīn, 219, 224, 231.  
 Nūr al-Dīn Arslān *Shāh*, 115.  
 Nūr al-Dīn Mawdūd, 6.  
 Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, 218, 219.  
 Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn  
     Qarā Arslān, 97n.  
 Nūriyah, 231, 236.  
*Nuṣrat al-Fitrah wa 'Uṣrat al-  
     Fitrah*, 50.

## O

- Old Testament*, 112.  
 Olympias, 54.



Omayyids, 70.  
Oran, 364.  
Ottomon, 47.  
Oxus, 72, 265.

## P

Palestine, 1, 162.  
Panj Dih, 370.  
Paradise, 34, 74, 147, 153n.,  
169n., 209, 278.  
Paris, 104n., 193n.  
Paul, 415.  
Pentateuch, 210n.  
Persia, 11, 33, 53, 61n., 156,  
300.  
Persian, 37, 38, 53, 60, 63, 95,  
100, 126, 185, 226, 234n.,  
251, 256, 262, 273, 279, 286,  
289, 334, 335, 339, 360n.,  
363, 373n., 380n.  
Persian Gulf, 300n.  
Persian 'Irāq, 60, 371.  
Persians, 333.  
Pharaoh, 28, 160.  
Pococke, 51n., 89n., 123n.,  
134n., 304n.  
Portugal, 400.  
Portugese, 11.  
Price, 71n., 73n., 76n., 77n.,  
140n., 326n.  
*Principles of Grammar*, 115.  
Prophet, 41, 42, 55, 70, 71, 77,  
134, 139, 144, 147, 151, 152,  
153n., 154, 155n., 169, 170,  
186n., 187n., 207, 254, 257,  
258, 288, 304, 305, 321, 322,  
326, 327.

Prophet's Companions, 377.  
Paslms, 210n.

## Q

Qūbūs Ibn Washma'ir, 64, 65,  
66.  
*Qadāya 'l-Subiyah*, 356.  
al-Qādi 'l-Fāḍil, 57, 204, 364.  
Qādi 'l-Khāfiqayn, 52, 53.  
al-Qādi al-Wajih, 118.  
Qadib al-Bān, 224.  
al-Qādir bi-Allāh, 391.  
Qādīsiyah, 209.  
al-Qaffyl al-Marwāzī, 171, 229.  
al-Qāffāl al-Shāshī, 173n., 175,  
187, 188.  
al-Qāhir, 232.  
Qahṭān, 111, 395.  
Qā'id Jawhar, 187, 376.  
al-Qā'im, 309n.  
Qā'imāz, see Mujahid al-Dīn.  
Qais al-Ishb'ili, 3.  
Qaisāriyah, 264.  
Qal'ah al-Jabal, 79, 79n.  
*Qalā'id*, 402n.  
*Qalā'id al-Iqyān*, 3, 4, 401,  
404.  
Qal'at, Jābar, 218.  
Qalqashandah, 107.  
*Qāmūs*, 53, 71n., 107n., 127n.  
al-Qa'nabī, 110.  
Qarāfah, 57, 88, 106, 128, 137,  
166, 199.  
Qarāmiṭah, 312.  
Qarāqūsh, 78, 80, 78, 327n.  
Qarmaṭs, 311, 312, 313, 334.  
al-Qāsim al-Anbārī, 319.

- Qāsim Ibn Aṣḡagh, 352.  
 al-Qāsim Ibn Sallān Abū  
   'Ubayd, 39, 41, 134, 306,  
   309.  
 al-Qāsim Ibn Ma'an, 283.  
 al-Qāsim Ibn al-Qaffāl, 174,  
   175.  
 al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, 25,  
   316.  
 al-Qāsim al-Ḥariri, 46.  
 Qāsiyūm (Mount), 104, 214,  
   221, 370.  
 al-Qaṣr, 130.  
 Qaṣr Ḥarb, 115.  
 Qaṣr al-Imārah, 37.  
 Qatādah 70, 154, 154n., 156.  
 Qaṭan, 156.  
 Qaṭar, 82n.  
 Qaṭari, Abū Na'āmah, 80, 81,  
   82,  
 al-Qaṭṭān, Yahyā, 253n.  
 Qayrawān, 353, 355, 364, 397,  
   399n., 412.  
 Qays Ibn Maḡramah, 252.  
 al-Qays, 356.  
 Qays Ibn Rifā'ah, 105.  
 Qays Ibn Sa'd, 142.  
 Qays (tribe), 285.  
 Qays 'Aylān, 107, 107n., 414n.  
 Qayṣar, 157.  
 Qaysarānī, 262.  
 al-Qaysī, 297.  
 Qazwīn, 255n., 246, 262.  
 al-Qazzāz, Ibn Ja'far, 299, 353,  
   354, 355.  
 Qift, 44.  
 Qiliḡ Arslān Ibn Mas'ūd, 219.  
 Qinnisrīn, 16, 368.  
 Qirmisīn, 133.  
 Qirmīṣ, 312.  
 Qīṣaṣ al-Anbiyā, 356.  
 Qubayṣah, 395n.  
 al-Qubbāshī Abū Bakr, 349,  
   350, 350n.,  
 Quḡā'ah, 186, 289.  
 al-Quḡā'i, 88, 168, 171, 172,  
   186, 187.  
 Qudayd, 38, 39.  
 al-Quds, 204.  
 Qurāḡat al-Dḡahab, 399.  
 Qur'ān, 30, 42, 54, 55, 56, 57,  
   70, 100, 102, 107, 112, 114,  
   123n., 127, 134, 136, 142n.,  
   144n., 158, 165, 166n., 172,  
   174n., 177, 178, 180, 181,  
   193, 196, 197n., 203n., 204,  
   205, 206, 207, 208n., 209n.,  
   210n., 212n., 213n., 214,  
   225, 226n., 228n., 245, 248,  
   249, 253n., 255, 269, 272,  
   273, 274, 275, 276n., 278n.,  
   286, 287, 289, 290, 308, 315,  
   317, 320n., 324n., 355, 360n.,  
   362n., 365n., 366, 374, 392,  
   405.  
 Qur'ānic, 55, 165, 308n., 317.  
 Quraysh, 112, 128, 134, 135n.,  
   136n., 139, 147, 148, 151, 157,  
   204, 234, 252, 260, 281, 348,  
   361, 363, 376, 390, 394, 419.  
 Qurayshite, 149.  
 al-Qushayrī, 198, 250, 266.  
 Qūt, 348.  
 Qūḡ al-Qulūh, 279.  
 Quṭaybah Ibn Muslim 72, 73,  
   74, 78.

- Quṭaybah Ibn Sa'īd, 254.  
 Quṭb, 366n.  
 Quṭb al-Dīn Ināl Ibn Ḥassān, 97n.  
 Quṭb al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Naysābūri, 175.  
 Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, 95, 218, 222.  
 al-Qūṭīyyah, 348.  
 Quṭrub, 289, 290.  
 al-Quṭrubullī, 28n.
- R
- al-Rabī' Ibn Sulaymān al-Murādī, 137, 158.  
 al-Rabī' Ibn Yūnus, 18, 19, 20.  
*Rabī' al-Abrār*, 28, 31.  
 Rabī'ah (tribe), 255.  
 Rabī'ah Ibn 'Āmir, 131n.  
 Rabī'ah Ibn Ḥārithah, 89.  
 Rabī'ah Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ijl, 297.  
 Rabī'ah *Khātūn*, 97, 104.  
 Rabī'ah al-Rā'i, 107.  
 Rabī'at al-Faras, 48.  
 al-Raḍī, 83, 334, 337, 390, 394.  
 Raḍī al-Dīn, 118, 234n.  
 Raḍwāh (mountain), 144, 145.  
 al-Raḥabah, 202, 218.  
 Ra'īs al-Ru'asā, 309, 309n.  
 Rāmāh, 68.  
 Rāmhumuz, 130.  
 Ramlah, 1.  
 Ranbawayh, 159.  
 Randaqah, 242.  
 al-Raqqah, 97, 159, 313.  
 al-Rashīd, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 30, 159, 251, 278, 283, 327.  
 Rawḍah, 291, 293.  
 Ray, 63, 72, 159, 224, 226, 229, 255, 263, 330, 331.  
 al-Rāzi, Fakhr al-Dīn, 175, 232, 245.  
 Razīn, 114n.  
 Ribāt, 79, 115, 116, 201, 218.  
 Ribāt Furāwah, 266.  
 Richard Coeur de Lion, 6.  
 al-Riḍā, 377.  
 Riḍā al-Dīn Muḥammad, 232, 234, 235.  
*Risālah*, 174, 179n., 249.  
*al-Risālat al-Ḥātīmīyah*, 339.  
*Risālāt al-Khamīs*, 13.  
*Risālāt al-Mushkil*, 318.  
 al-Riyāhī, 35.  
 al-Riyāshī, 300.  
 Roderic, 403n.  
 al-Roha, 97n.  
 Roman, 323n.  
 Ru'aynī, 57.  
 Rūh Ibn Ḥātim, 395.  
 Rukn al-Dawlah, al-Daylamī, 32, 36.  
 Rukn al-Dīn al-'Amīdī, 234, 235, 235n., 236.  
 Rukn al-Dīn al-Horā'īnī, 235n.  
 Rukn al-Dīn Imām Zāda, 235, 235n.  
 Rukn al-Dīn al-Ṭāwūsī, 233, 234n., 235.  
 Rumayk Ibn Ḥajjāj, 404.  
 al-Rumaykiyah, 404.  
 al-Ruṣāfah, 105, 258, 329, 407, 408, 409.  
 Ruṣāfi, 408.

al-Rushāṭī, 364.

Ruzayn, 114, 114n.

# S

Şa'b, 353.

Sabeen, 356.

Sabeans, 410n.

Sābilah, 125.

Sacy, M. de, 46, 48, 49, 54, 59n.,  
63n., 79n., 80n., 81n., 85n.,  
89n., 120n., 131n., 162n.,  
174n., 187n., 191n.

Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqās, 141.

Sa'd Ibn Ashras, 407.

Sa'd (tribe), 313.

Sa'd Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Şhaybānī  
al-As'ardī, 5, 6.

Sa'd al-'Ashīrah, 353.

Sa'd al-Ḥaṣīrī, 68, 68n.

Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd, 97.

al-Sadid, 230n.

Sadid al-Dawlah, 117.

Sadid al-Mulk, 117n.

al-Sadid al-Salamāsi,  
214, 215n., 230.

Şadr al-Islām, 46.

Şadriyah, 46, 47.

Sadūsi, 71.

Sadūs Ibn Şhaybān, 71.

al-Saffāh, 145, 159, 161, 162.

Şafi 'l-Dawlah, 414n.

al-Sāfir al-Kabīr, 273.

Şafīyyah, 154.

Şahāh, 71n., 72n., 144, 414.

Şāhib Ibn 'Abbād, 64, 124,  
179, 281, 362, 378, 379, 382,  
383, 417.

Şahāh, 55, 114n., 164, 183, 253,  
257, 273, 315.

al-Şahīhān, 257.

Şahīhs, 255, 257, 261, 262,  
265, 266.

Sahl, 22, 27.

Sahm Ibn Aslam, 326.

al-Sā'ib, 134, 288, 289.

al-Şa'id (upper Egypt), 119,  
356.

Sa'id Ibn Abī Sa'id, 266.

Sa'id Ibn Fahlūm, 352.

Sa'id Ibn Jābir, 346.

Sa'id Ibn Ja'far al-Ju'fī, 165.

Sa'id Ibn Makhlād, 321, 321n.

Sa'id Ibn Muslim, 74, 75, 76.

Sa'id al-Sa'ādah, 199.

al-Sāji Abū Zakariyā, 252,  
252n.

Şakhr, 92.

Sakhtiyān, 155n.

al-Sakhtiyānī, 155n.

Şaladini vita et res Jesta, 79n.

al-Salafī, 242.

Şalāh, 111, 212.

Şalāh al-Dīn, Sultān, 6, 78, 79,  
80, 96, 97, 117, 121n., 204,  
205, 217, 219, 231, 363, 369.

Salamah, 254n.

Salamah Ibn 'Aşim, 180.

Salamān, 229n.

Salamās, 215.

Salamī, 254n.

al-Salamī, 74.

al-Salāmī, the Ḥāfiẓ, 267, 268.

al-Salāmī, the Poet, 34, 380,  
380n., 381, 382, 383, 384,  
386.

- Salāmiyah, 254n.  
 Sale, 63n., 119n., 123, 132n.,  
 134n., 144n., 145n., 226n.,  
 254n., 275n., 288.  
 Sālīh Ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs, 16,  
 242.  
 Sālīh Ibn Mirdās, 415.  
 Sallām, 39.  
 Sālim Ibn Muḥammad, 38.  
 Sālim Ibn Ziyād, 289.  
 Saljūq, 50, 199, 264n.  
 Saljūqid, 419n.  
 Salm, 254n.  
 Salma, 351.  
 Salūl, 77.  
 Sām, 111.  
 Sāmāh Ibn Luwayy, 28.  
 Sāmāh Ibn Luwayyi, Banu, 112.  
 Samak, 279.  
 al-Sam'ānī, Abū Bakr Muḥam-  
 mad Ibn Maṣṣūr, 215.  
 al-Sam'ānī Abū Sa'd, 46, 52,  
 53, 60, 89, 106, 110, 159,  
 170, 171, 172, 175, 184, 186,  
 189, 193, 202, 236, 247, 248,  
 250, 252, 255, 259, 262, 268,  
 310, 329, 331, 358, 363, 372,  
 378.  
 Sāmānid, 257.  
 Samarqand, 32, 37, 72, 165,  
 234, 262.  
 Sāmarra, 392.  
 al-Sammāk, 278, 279.  
 al-Sammān, 312, 313.  
 Samūn Ibn Ḥamzah, 270,  
 270n.  
 Šan'ā, 247.  
 San'ānī, 247.  
 Santarein, Viscount de, 407n.  
 Sāpūr, 251.  
 Šaqalliyah (Sicily), 375.  
 Sarakhs, 24, 26, 27, 30.  
 Sarakhsi, 27.  
 Saraquštah (Saragossa) 114n.,  
 239, 404, 407.  
 Saraquštī, 407.  
 al-Sarāt, 310.  
 Šarī' al-Ḡhawānī, 26.  
 al-Sari al-Saqtī, 270n.  
 Sarra man ra'a (Samarra), 148,  
 244, 392.  
 al-Sarrāj, Abū Bākr, 316.  
 Sarūj, 43.  
 Satan, 303, 385.  
 Saṭih, 393n.  
 Sawād, 312.  
 Sawdah Ibn Abhar al-Darimī,  
 81.  
 Sayl al-Aram, 89.  
 Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān,  
 84, 340.  
 Sayf al-Dawlah al-Mubārak,  
 117, 119.  
 Sayf al-Dīn Ḡhāzī Ibn 'Imād  
 al-Dīn, 218.  
 Sayf al-Islām Ibn Ayyūb, 370.  
 Sayf al-Islām Tuḡhtikīn, 117.  
 Sayl, 223, 224.  
 al-Sayl al-Juhāf Ḥisl, 187.  
 al-Saymarī, 248, 248n., 333.  
 Šayrafi, 173.  
 Sem, 37, 111.  
 Seville, 3, 240, 270, 271, 272,  
 345, 346, 350, 351, 352, 395,  
 396n., 400n., 401, 409, 413n.  
 Šhabbū'i, 191.

- Shabbūyah, 191.  
 al-Sha'bi, 151, 155.  
Shādbakht, Jamāl al-Dīn, 221n.  
Shafā al-Sundur, 273.  
Shāfi', 134.  
 al-Shāfi'i, 41, 99, 105, 108, 109n., 111, 115, 128, 135n., 158, 159, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174n., 177, 178n., 179n., 184, 186, 188, 189, 190n., 196, 199, 204, 215, 216, 217, 226, 231, 235, 252, 257, 267, 269, 270, 372.  
Shāfi'ite, 18, 127, 128, 166, 167, 170, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179n., 180, 182, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190n., 191, 192n., 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 214, 216, 217, 218n., 224, 229, 230, 231, 233, 240, 266, 269n., 311, 368.  
Shaghb, 150, 151.  
 al-Shaghūri al-Mu'allim, 4, 6, 7.  
Shāh, 185.  
 al-Shāh, Ibn Mikāl, 298.  
Shāh Manşūr, 388n.,  
Shāhawayh, 185.  
 al-Shahhām al-Baṣrī, 244.  
Shahrastān, 250.  
 al-Shahrastānī, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, 25n., 71n., 249, 250, 251, 288n.  
Shahrūzūr, 53, 96, 98,  
 al-Shahrūzūrī Abū Aḥmad al-Qāsim, 51, 52, 53.  
 al-Shahrūzūrī. Abū 'l-Faḍā'il Yahyā, 231.  
 al-Shahrūzūrī, Kamāl al-Dīn, 52, 53, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 224, 231.  
 al-Shahrūzūrī, Muḥl al-Dīn, 52, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224.  
 al-Shāmīl, 195, 226  
Shamir Ibn Ifriqish, 32.  
Shamirkand, 32.  
 al-Shammākh, 93.  
Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh, 117.  
Shams al-Dīn, al-Irbilī, 126.  
Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī, 235, 236.  
Shams al-Ma'ālī Abū 'l-Ḥasan Qābūs al-Jilī, 64.  
Shanbūdh, 276n.  
Shaqiq al-Mulk, 240.  
Sharaf al-Dawlah Muslim Ibn Quraysh, 419, 420n.,  
Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Mustawfī, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126.  
Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn 'Unayn, 227.  
Sharaf al-Dīn, al-Bawāzji, 124.  
Sharaf al-Dīn, al-Qashūnī, 43.  
Sharaf al-Dīn, al-Dimishqī, 230.  
Sha'rānī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 270n.  
 al-Sharāt, 161, 162.  
Sharat al-Islām, 235n.  
Shāri' al-Attābin, 281.  
Sharīf, 214n., 220n., 392, 394.  
Sharīf al-Murtaḍa, 395.  
Sharīf al-Raḍī, 390.  
Sharwān, 9.  
Sharyah, 395.

- al-Shāsh, 175, 195.  
al-Shāshi, 175.  
al-Shāshi, Abū Bakr, 195, 196, 202, 240, 259.  
al-Shāshi, Abū Bakr, al-Qaffāl, 257.  
al-Shāshi, Abū Naṣr, 201.  
Shāṭibah, 57.  
al-Shāṭibi, 54, 56, 57.  
Shaybah Ibn al-Walid, 296, 297.  
Shaybān, 52, 158, 181n.  
Shaybān Ibn Dhuhl, 70n.  
Shaybān, Banū, 282.  
Shayṭān al-Shām, 126.  
Shayzar, 119.  
Shi'b Bawwān, 34, 37, 63.  
al-Shihāb.  
Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghūrī, 227.  
Shihāb al-Dīn al-Talla'fari, 386n.  
Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad, 198.  
Shihāb al-Dīn Qarāṭā, 103.  
Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ṭūṣī, 199.  
Shihrah, 334, 335.  
Shi'ite, 332.  
Shi'ites, 148, 161.  
Shilb (Silves), 403.  
Shilbi, 403.  
Shiqq, 393n.  
Shiqqah al-Dārimī, 51.  
Shirāz, 33, 87, 185, 383.  
Shirāz Gate, 196.  
al-Shirāzi, Abū Ishāq, 195, 201, 202, 259, 266.  
Shu'bah Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, 252.  
Shudhūr al-'Uqūd, 109.  
Shuhdah Bint al-Ibarī, 365.  
Shūnizi, 248, 270.  
Shurayh, 155n.  
Shūstar, 61n.  
Sibawayh, 181, 185, 289, 315.  
Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī, 365.  
Sibt Ibn al-Ta'āwidi, 68.  
al-Sibt al-Lakḥmī, 299.  
Sicily, 119, 261, 373, 375.  
Sidah, 348.  
Ṣifat al-Khayl, 285.  
Ṣifat al-Zar'i, 285.  
Siḥūn, 175.  
Sijistān, 32, 74.  
al-Sijistāni, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Uzayr, 286, 286n.  
al-Sijistāni, Abū Ḥatīm, 300.  
al-Silafi 55, 114n., 137, 374.  
Ṣilat, 241, 259n., 349n., 350n.  
Silsilat al-Dhahab, 270.  
Silves, 400, 403.  
Simāk, 360.  
Sind, 74, 282, 348, 363.  
Sindawāni, 363.  
Sindi, 363.  
al-Sindiyyah, 361, 363.  
Sinjar, 53, 96, 100, 199.  
Siqf al-Zand by (Abu 'l-'Alā), 225.  
Sirāf, 313.  
al-Sirāfi 173, 315, 392.  
Sirāj al-Hudā, 241.  
Sirāj al-Mulk, 241.  
Sirat al-Rasūl, 254.  
Sirin, 154.  
al-Sirr al-Maktūm (by al-Rāzi), 225.  
Sirr al-Sanī'ah, 120.

- al-Sīs, 42.  
 Şişşah, 334, 335, 336, 338.  
*al-Sitār Aghbar*, 313.  
*Sitār al-Hā'iri*, 313.  
 al-Sitārān, 312, 313.  
 Solomon, 228, 360n.  
 Spain, 55, 57, 114n., 130, 230,  
 239, 242, 250, 258, 260, 271,  
 282, 285, 346, 347, 348, 350,  
 351, 352, 364, 395, 396n.,  
 400, 403, 404, 407, 408, 409,  
 413.  
 Spaniards, 3, 413.  
 Spanish, 11, 258, 350, 400n.,  
 403, 407.  
 Su'ād, 370.  
 al-Şubaḥ, 277n.  
 Sūdah, 313.  
 Sūdān, 348.  
 Suddatayn, 402.  
*Şudūr Zamān il-Fuṣūr wa Futūr*  
*Zamān il-Şudūr*, 50.  
 Şūfī, 174n., 279n., 280n., 368.  
 Şūfīs, 193n., 214, 236, 266.  
 Şūfism, 55, 235n., 266.  
 Sufyān Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 136n.  
 Sufān Ibn al-Abrād, 81.  
 Sufyān Ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī,  
 289.  
 Sufyān al-Thawrī, 107n., 149,  
 151, 288, 289.  
 Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah, 30,  
 107n., 135, 136, 149, 252,  
 329, 376.  
 Şuḡd, 37.  
 Suḡaym, 145n, 314.  
 Sukkarah, 389.  
 Sulamī, 254n.  
 Sulaym, 174n., 254n.  
 al-Sulaym al-Rāzī, 175.  
 Sulaymā, 375, 377.  
 Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik,  
 73, 162.  
 Sulaymān Ibn Qutulmish, 419n.  
 al-Şūlī, Abū Bakr, 21, 129,  
 333, 334, 337, 338, 339.  
 al-Şūlī, Ibrāhīm, 29, 338.  
 al-Şu'lūkī 178, 179, 256.  
*Sulwān al-Mutā' fi-'Udwān al-*  
*Atbā'*, 373.  
 Sumaysāṭ, 98, 369.  
 al-Sumaysāṭī, 201.  
*Sunan*, 114n., 167.  
 Sunnah, 134, 149, 170, 215.  
 Sunnite, 103, 226, 229.  
 Sūq al-Ahwāz, 129.  
 Sūq al-'Arj, 331.  
 Sūq al-'Iṭr, 277.  
 Surayjiyan, 202.  
 al-Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍa:ah*,  
 200n.  
*Syar al-Salaf*, 38.  
 Syria, 42, 51, 83, 88, 89, 104,  
 117, 126, 128, 150, 158, 161,  
 163, 173, 192, 219, 221, 240,  
 255, 258, 262, 263, 269, 271,  
 273, 282, 300n., 303, 330,  
 348, 352, 367, 368, 371, 378,  
 379, 380, 393, 408, 409, 414,  
 419n., 420n.  
 Syrian Sea, 364.

## T

- Ta'abbata *Sharran*, 283n.  
*Ṭabaqāt*, 176, 185n., 330.



- Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, 136n., 141,  
 154n., 155n., 157n., 159, 165,  
 171, 182, 189n., 252n., 269n.  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā al-Furāwī*,  
 266n.  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyah*, 31,  
 234n., 235n.  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 107n.,  
 185n., 253n., 274n.  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥukamā*, 350n.  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*, 38,  
 327n., 330n.,  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā*, 308n.  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*, 18, 135n.,  
 178n., 179n., 184n., 189n.,  
 197n., 198n., 215n., 229,  
 230n., 269n.  
*Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*, 90.  
*al-Ṭabarān*, 194.  
*al-Ṭabarānī*, 331.  
*al-Ṭabari*, 17, 26, 29, 72n., 74,  
 77n., 140n., 145, 154n., 161,  
 162, 165, 166, 286, 326n.  
*Ṭabaristān*, 64, 66, 67, 74, 81,  
 165, 166, 224, 378.  
*al-Tabarkhazī*, 378.  
*Ṭaberistanesis Annales*, 140n.,  
 154n.  
*Ṭābi'is*, 38, 70, 148, 151, 154n.,  
 155n., 207.  
 Tableau general de l'Empire  
 othoman, 47.  
*Tabūk*, 367.  
*Tadhkirah*, 359.  
*Tahqīq al-Muḥīṭ*, 216.  
*al-Ṭaff*, 92.  
*Tafsīr al-Amthāl*.  
*Tahūfat al-Falāsafah*, 192.  
*Tahdhīb*, 215, 312.  
*Tahdhīb al-Dalā'il wa 'Uyūn*  
*al-Masā'il* (by al-Rāzī), 225.  
*Ṭāhir Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*, 346.  
*Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn*, 16, 21,  
 23, 24.  
*al-Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Manāqib*, 390.  
*Tahmān*, 256n.  
*al-Tahmānī*, 256, 256n.,  
*Tahṣīl al-Ḥaqq* (by al-Rāzī),  
 225, 228.  
*Ṭā'if*, 144, 331.  
*Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān*,  
 232.  
*Tāj al-Dīn Yahyā*, 218.  
*Tāj al-Dīn Kindī*, 374.  
*Tāj al-Millat*, 33.  
*Tāj al-Ru'wasā*, 410n.  
*al-Tājī*, 33.  
*al-Ta'jiz fi Ikhtisār il-Wajiz*,  
 232.  
*Takmilah*, 33.  
*Ṭakrit*, 419n.  
*Ṭalabīrah*, 413.  
*Ṭālaqān*, 29, 32.  
*Ṭālaqānī*, 32.  
*Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad* 273.  
*Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh*,  
 141.  
*Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, 235n.  
*Ta'liqah*, 200, 231.  
*Talkhīṣ*, 177.  
*Talkhīṣ al-Aqsām li-Madhlāhih*,  
*al-Anām*, 250.  
*al-Talla'farī*, 382, 386.  
*al-Tahwīḥ wa 'l-Taṣrīḥ*, 356.  
*Tamīm*, 29, 73, 260, 285, 287,  
 313, 353.

- al-Tamīmī Abū Muḥammad, 329, 330.  
 al-Tamīmī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, 260.  
 Tamīmītes, 73n.  
*Tanbih*, 202.  
*Tanbih wa 'l-Ishraf*, 187n.  
*al-Tanwīr*, 102.  
 Taqī al-Dīn, 97, 200.  
*al-Taqrīb* 174, 175.  
*Tarājim al-Shuyūkh*, 257.  
 Ṭarasūs (Tarsus), 39; 42, 83, 88.  
*Tārīkh al-Islām*, 40, 187n., 286n.  
*Tārīkh al-Qabā'il*, 285.  
*Tārīkh al-Uḍabā*, 187n.  
*Tārīkh 'Ulamā Naysābūr*, 257.  
 al-Tārīkhī, 349.  
 Ṭāriq. 348n.  
*Ṭarīqah*, 214, 241.  
*Ṭarīqah fi 'l-Khilāf*, 234n.  
 Tartar, 125.  
 Tartars, 233, 236.  
*Taṣaffi' al-Adillah*, 247.  
*Tatimmah al-Ibānah*, 195.  
 Tauris, 216, 290.  
*Tawājīh al-Tanbih*, 202.  
*Tuwārīkh al-Khulafā*, 186.  
 al-Tāwūsī, 235.  
 Ṭay (Jabali Ṭay), 160n.  
 Taym, 224n.  
 Taym Allāh, 25n.  
 al-Taymī, 25, 25n.  
 Taymā, 367.  
 Taymāwī, 367.  
 Taymiyah, 367.  
 al-Tha'alībī, 36, 64, 114, 129, 378, 380, 386, 390.  
 Tha'lab, 284, 285, 286, 291, 292, 294, 307, 309, 311, 333.  
 Tha'labah Ibn al-Sind, 283n.  
 Thāmūd, 142.  
 Thaqīf, 254n.  
 Thawbān, 407.  
 Thawrā, 370.  
 al-Thawrī, 151, 154n., 326.  
 Theodomir, 403n.  
*Thousand and One Night*, 273n., 366n.  
 Thumālah, 291, 294.  
 Thumālī, 291, 295.  
 Thumāmah, 24, 25.  
 Tibrīz, 216.  
 al-Tibrīzī, 268.  
 Tigris, 37, 116, 130n., 133n., 192, 254, 263, 329.  
 Tihāmah, 354, 419.  
 Tikrīt, 96.  
 Tilimsen, 364.  
 Tīmūr, 388n.  
 Tirmidh, 170, 171, 254, 255.  
 al-Tirmidhī (the Jurisconsult), 114n., 169, 171.  
 al-Tirmidhī (the Traditionist), 164, 254, 262, 272.  
 Torrent of Dike, 89.  
 Tortosa, 239, 242.  
 Tradition, 338.  
 Traditions, 41, 55, 105, 114, 115, 127, 130, 133n., 134, 136, 149, 153n., 154, 156, 158, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, 179n., 183, 185, 186, 190, 196, 202, 214, 216, 217, 230, 234, 240, 246, 250, 252.

253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258,  
261, 262, 263, 266, 267, 269,  
270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 278,  
280, 284n., 288, 307, 309,  
317, 318, 319, 326, 330, 332,  
346, 352n., 360, 365, 368,  
370, 371, 372, 376.  
Traditionists, 103, 105, 127n.,  
135n., 136, 137, 148, 154n.,  
163, 169, 234n., 252, 253,  
263, 266, 267, 271, 346, 371.  
Transoxiana, 32, 165, 171, 173,  
174, 226, 257, 273, 286n.  
Tudmir, 401, 403.  
Ṭuḡhtikin, 117, 117n.  
Tujīb, 407.  
Tujibi, 407.  
Ṭulayḡah, 326.  
Tunis, 264.  
Turayṡiṡh, 199.  
Turkish, 73, 80, 104, 309n.,  
373n.  
Turkomān, 95, 119.  
Turks, 10, 35, 72.  
Ṭurṡūshah (Tortosa), 242.  
al-Ṭurṡūshi, Abū Bakr, 239,  
240, 241, 242, 271.  
Ṭūs, 17, 20, 191, 192, 194, 199,  
201, 215.  
al-Ṭūsī, Ḥafadat, 215, 216.

## U

Uballah, 37, 58, 63.  
‘Ubayd, 288.  
‘Ubayd Allāh, 50.  
‘Ubayd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd Allāh  
Ibn Ṭāhir, 316.

‘Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān,  
19, 230.  
‘Ubayd Allāh Ibn Yaḡyā, 324n.  
Ubayyi Ibn Ka‘b, 154.  
Ubbah (Oppas), 348.  
‘Ūdanah, 184.  
al-‘Ūdanī Ibn Warqa, 184, 185.  
al-‘Udhāfur, 17.  
‘Udhrah, 187.  
al-‘Udhri, 395.  
‘Ūdī, 184.  
Uḡud, 150, 260n., 352.  
‘Umān, 82, 89, 300, 304.  
‘Umar, 37.  
‘Umar, Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, 91,  
93, 149, 348.  
‘Umar, Ibn al-Ḳhaṡṡāb, 37n.,  
143, 153n., 207, 209, 260n.,  
288.  
‘Umar Ibn Mālik, 186.  
‘Umar Ibn Sa‘īd, 75.  
‘Umar Ibn Shabḡah, 156.  
‘Umārah Ibn Ḥamzah, 10, 11,  
12, 13.  
Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḡmān al-  
Nāṡir, 396n.  
Umayyad 89, 92n., 151, 161,  
179n., 332, 348, 349, 351,  
408.  
Umayyads, 377n.  
Umayyah, 376.  
Umm al-Banīn, 91.  
Umm al-Faḡl, 147.  
Umm Ḥazrah, 150.  
‘Uqayl Arabs, 419n.  
al-‘Uqayr, 82n.  
al-Urabah, 319.  
Ursūf, 128.

'Urwah, 331.  
 Usāmah Ibn Munqidh, 69.  
 Usāmah Ibn Murshid, 117.  
 Ushnān, 387n.  
 al-Ushnāni al-Milḥi, 387, 387n.  
 al-Ustād, 248.  
 Ustuwā, 217.  
 Uṣūl al-Khamsah, 248.  
 al-'Uṭāridī, 331.  
 'Utbah, 376, 377.  
 al-'Utbi, 320, 376, 377.  
 al-'Utbi (the poet), 320, 375, 376, 377.  
 al-'Utbi, Wazir, 257.  
 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, 18, 38, 71n., 144, 153n., 156, 204, 207, 209, 244, 275, 339.  
 'Uwayj, 297.  
 'Uyūn al-Ḥikmah, 25.  
 'Uyūn al-Masā'il, 189n.  
 'Uyūn al-Tawārikh, 153n., 157n.  
 al-'Uzayrī, 286.

## V

Valencia, 55, 403n., 405n., 408, 409.  
 Venice, 192n.

## W

Wabarah, 289.  
 Wādi 'l-Sab'a, 327n.  
 Wādīh, 350.  
 Wahrān (Oran), 364.  
 al-Wahrānī, 363, 364.  
 Wā'il, 111n.  
 al-Wajīh, 126, 127.

Wajīz, 174, 190, 192, 225, 230, 232, 233.  
 Waki, 73.  
 Wa lah. 242.  
 al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 72, 91.  
 al-Walid Ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī, 380.  
 al-Wāqī, 416n.  
 Wāqid, 329.  
 Waqidī, 329.  
 al-Wāqidī, 107, 108, 110, 116, 196, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330.  
 Waqqāṣ Ibn Ḥafṣ, 89.  
 Wardān, Sūlāh, 64.  
 Wardiyah, 128, 373.  
 Warqah al-Nakha'i, 288.  
 al-Warrāq, 330.  
 al-Wa'sā, 391.  
 Washmagir, 65n.  
 Wāsiṭ, 45, 50, 51, 70, 126, 128, 130n., 158, 174, 184, 188, 190, 192, 198, 215, 216, 230, 372, 373.  
 al-Wāsiṭī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, 228.  
 al-Wāsiṭī Abu 'l-Fath, 50.  
 al-Wāsiṭī Abu 'l-Ḥasān, 220.  
 al-Wāthiq, 147.  
 William the Bad, 373n.

## X

Xativa, 56, 57, 405n.

## Y

Yabrīn, 397.

- al-Yāfi'i, 164n., 240n., 253n., 266n., 274n.  
 al-Yahūdiyah, 251.  
 Yahya Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 265.  
 Yahyā Ibn 'Alī, 396.  
 Yahyā Ibn Bukayr, 169, 169n.  
 Yahyā Ibn Hubayrah, 264n.  
 Yahyā Ibn Khālīd Ibn Barmak, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 23, 243.  
 Yahyā Ibn Ma'īn, 41, 135, 253.  
 Yahyā Ibn Sa'īd Abū Muḥammad, 164n.  
 Yahyā Ibn Sa'īd (qāḍī), 38, 107, 107n.  
 Yahyā Ibn Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān, 253, 253n.  
 Yahyā Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Qays, 38n.  
 Yahyā Ibn Salāmah, 56.  
 Yahyā Ibn Zayd al-Farrā, 39.  
 Yamāmah, 140, 310, 326.  
 Yaman, 57, 89, 104, 111, 117, 136, 147, 285, 331, 332, 353.  
 Yamanite, 395.  
 al-Yanbu' 145, 374.  
 Ya'qūb Ibn al-Layṭī, 24.  
 Ya'qūb al-Kindī, 77.  
 Yāqūt, 187n.  
 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 251, 409.  
 Yāqūt Khawāja, 308.  
 al-Yāqūtī, 313n.  
 Yarmūk, 209.  
 Ya'rub Ibn Qaḥṭān, 111.  
 Yasār, 252.  
 Yatimah, 36, 64, 129, 378, 380n., 383n., 386n., 390.  
 Yazdajird (Yezdegird), 38, 338.  
 Yazdizbah, 165.  
 Yazid (river), 370, 395.  
 Yazīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 93, 150, 150.  
 Yazid Ibn Abī Muslim, 160.  
 Yazīd Ibn Ḥātim al-Azdi, 395.  
 Yazid Ibn Maṣṣūr, 315.  
 Yazid Ibn Mu'āwiyah, 72, 72n., 90, 332.  
 Yazīd Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah, 72, 91.  
 Yazid Ibn Tharwān al-Qaysī, 296.  
 al-Yazīdī Abū 'Abd Allāh, 313, 315.  
 al-Yazīdī Yahyā, 296, 297, 314, 315.  
 Yemen, 26.  
 Yemenite, 265n.  
 Yūnus, 215.  
 Yūnus al-Ṣadafī, 176.  
 Yuqṭān, 111.  
 Yūsuf Ibn Bindār, 230, 230n.  
 Yūsuf Ibn 'Adī, 169.  
 Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifin, 192.  
 Yūsuf Ibn Ya'qūb, 239, 294.

## Z

- al-Zāb, 396.  
 al-Zabadānī, 5, 7.  
 Zabīd, 117.  
 Zafar, 375.  
 al-Za'farānī, 136.  
 Zāfir al-Ḥaddad, 172.  
 al-Zāhid, 281n., 282, 305.  
 al-Zāhir, 317.

- al-Zāhir al-'Ubaydī, 186.  
 al-Zāhiri 'Alī Ibn Ḥazm,  
     258.  
 Zakī al-Dīn, 204, 214, 219.  
 al-Zamaḥsharī, 28, 31, 92n.,  
     114, 120, 142n., 225.  
 Zamyā, 398.  
 Zangebar, 136n.  
 Zanjān, 63.  
 al-Zanji, 136n.  
 Zayn al-'Ābidīn 'Alī, 38, 145,  
     390.  
 Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Baktikīn,  
     67.  
 Zayn al-Dīn, Kūchak, 95, 96,  
     370.  
 Zayn al-Dīn Bannā, 205.  
 Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, 96, 98.  
 Zayn al-Islām Abu 'l-Abbās  
     Muḥammad, 44, 46.  
 Zayniyah, 231.  
 Zenj, 300.  
 Zephyr, 197n.  
*Zīnat al-Dahr*, 371.  
 Zindarūd, 251.  
 Zinj, 321.  
 Zinkī, 95, 218.  
 Ziyād, 272n., 282.  
*Ziyādāt*, 265.  
 Ziyār, 64.  
 Zubayd, 352.  
 Zubaydah, 7, 283n.  
 al-Zubaydī Abū Bakr, 350,  
     351, 352.  
 al-Zubayr, 285, 327, 327n.  
*Zuhdah* (by al-Rāzī), 225.  
 Zuhrah Ibn Kilāb Ibn Murrah,  
     151.  
 Zuhrah, 260.  
 al-Zuhrah, 237.  
 al-Zuhri, 105, 105n., 107, 148,  
     149, 150, 151, 252.  
 Zūr, 53.  
 Zur'ah, 127n.  
 Zurla, 407n.  
 al-Zūzinī, 44.

***Ibn Khallikan's***

**WAFAYAT AL-A'YAN**

**WANBĀ' ABNA' AL-ZAMĀN**

**(A Biographic Dictionary)**

**Vol. 5**

**Eng. Translation  
M. de Slane**

**Edited by  
Dr. S. Moinul Haq**



## **BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE QUR'AN**

By MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

Translated by DR. SYED ABDUL LATIF

Being a Resume of the views advanced by him in his Commentary of the *Surat-ul-Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an

The volume sets out on a brief canvas the ideology of the Qur'an as estimated by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and should serve as an illuminating Introduction to the Study of the Qur'an.

ISBN 81-7151-217-8 23x36/16 pp. 16+118 1996

Book Code No. B00075

Rs 60/-

## **AN ORIENTAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY**

T. W. BEALE

Dr. T. W. Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, revised and enlarged by H.G. Keene, is still the most comprehensive work of its kind. It provides detailed biographical information on the main figures in the history of the East from the seventh century A.D. to the nineteenth century.

The Dictionary is an outstanding work of scholarship and has been widely acclaimed by Orientalists and historians all over the world. It is indispensable for scholars and students of the history of Muslim India, consisting as it does material gathered from Persian, Arabic, Urdu and European sources. The history of the Maratha and Rajput States and Kingdoms is also covered in full detail. Students of Muslim India's art, music and literature will find much of great interest and use in the volume.

More than 4500 entries are listed according to the English variant of each individual's name together with their Persian form in the parenthesis.

ISBN 81-7151-214-3 20x26/8 pp. 8+432 1996

Book Code No. O00018

Rs. 300/-

# **KITAB BHAVAN**

1784, Kalan Mahal, Darya Ganj

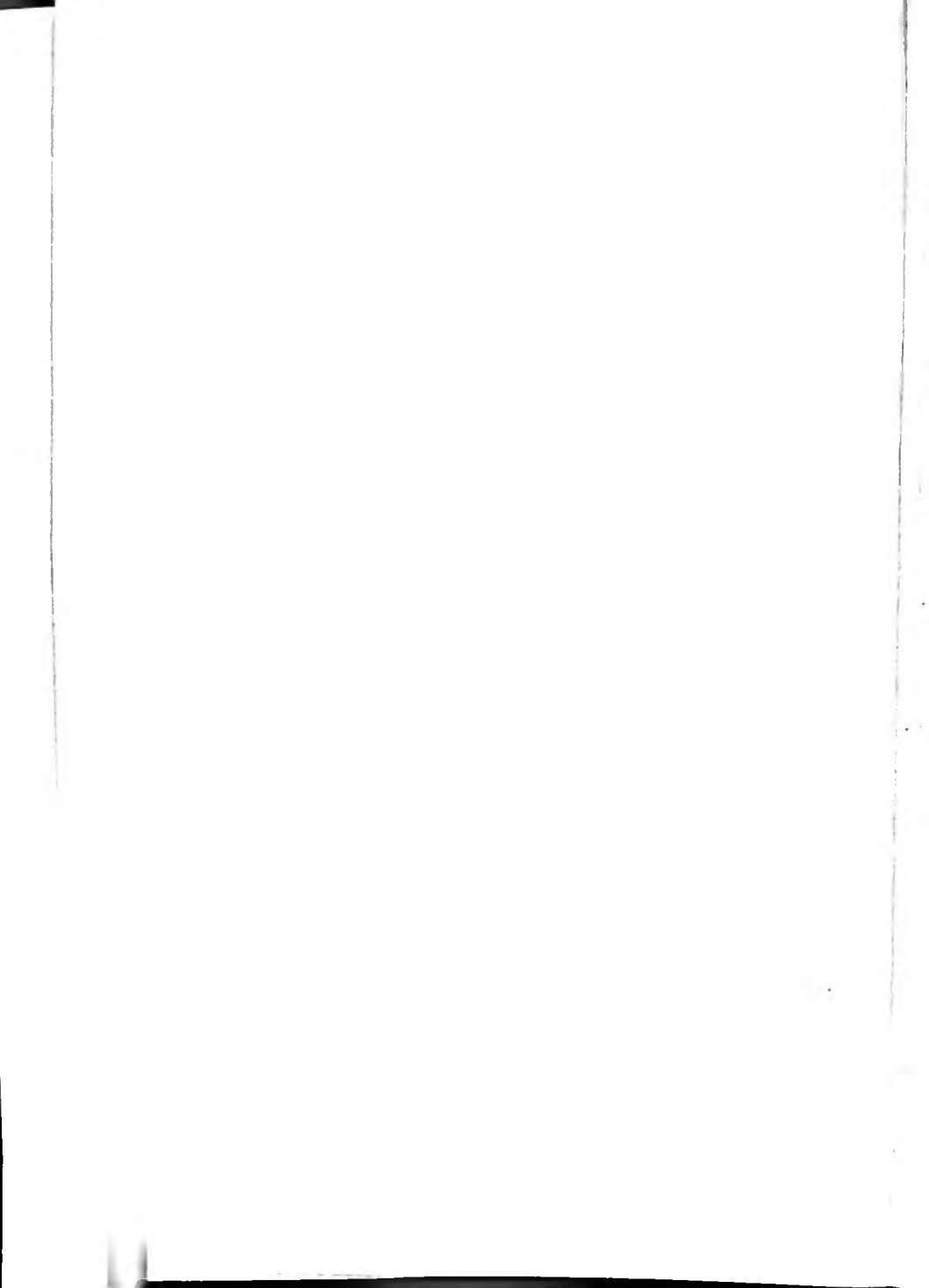
New Delhi-110002 (India)

Phones : 3274686, 3277392-93

Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN

Fax : 91-11-3263383





Ibn Khallikan's  
**Wafayat al-A'yan**

wa  
**Anbā' Abna' al-Zamān**  
(A Biographical Dictionary)

(M. de Slane's English Translation)

**VOLUME V**

*Edited by:*  
**S. MOINUL HAQ**  
M.A., Ph.D.

**KITAB BHAVAN**

New Delhi - 110002 (India)

**KITAB BHAVAN**

**Exporters & Importers**

**1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj**

**New Delhi-110002, [India]**

*Phones* : 3274686, 3277392, 3277393

*Fax* : 91-11-3263383

*Telex* : 31-63106 ALI IN

**ISBN 81-7151-170-8 Set**

**ISBN 81-7151-175-9 (Vol. V)**

**First Published in India      1996**

*Published by:*

**Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan**

**1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj**

**New Delhi-110002**

*Printed in India at:*

**Johar Offset Printers**

**Maujpur, Ghonda**

**Delhi-110053**

# CONTENTS

No.		PAGE
	NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION	viii
648	Al-Abiwardi, <i>The Poet</i>	1
649	Ibn Abi'l-Şaqr	6
650	Ibn al-Habbāriyah	8
651	Ibn al-Qaysarānī, <i>The Poet</i>	14
652	Ibn al-Kizānī	18
653	Al-Abilah, <i>The Poet</i>	19
654	Sibt Ibn al-Ta'āwidi	22
655	Ibn al-Mu'allim, <i>The Poet</i>	30
656	Muwaffaq al-Din al-Irbili	35
657	Ibn al-Dahhān al-Faraḍī	38
658	Ibn 'Unayn	40
659	Al-Qā'im al-'Ubaydi	45
660	Al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād	47
661	Al-Mu'tasim Ibn Şumādih	69
662	The Mahdi Ibn Tūmart	75
663	Al-Ikhshid	89
664	Ṭughrulbek al-Saljūqi	98
665	Alp Arsalān al-Saljūqi	104
666	Muḥammad Ibn Malik <u>Şāh</u> Saljūqi...	107
667	Al-Malik al-'Ādil, the brother of Şalāḥ al-Dīn....	110
668	Al-Malik al-Kāmil, the son of al-'Ādil	115
669	Ibn al-Zayyāt, <i>The Wazir</i>	126
670	Ibn al-'Amid, <i>The Kātib</i>	135
671	Ibn Muqlah	148
672	Ibn Baqiyah, <i>The Wazir</i>	155
673	Fakhr al-Mulk, <i>The Wazir</i>	162
674	Fakhr al-Dawlah Ibn Jahir, <i>The Wazir</i>	165
675	Al-Rūdhirāwari	174
676	Al-'Amid al-Kunduri	178
677	<i>The Wazir</i> Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jawād al-Işbahānī...	184

No.		PAGE
678	<i>The</i> <i>Katib</i> 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī... ..	189
679	Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī ... ..	197
680	Abū Bakr al-Rāzī ( <i>Rhases</i> ) ... ..	203
681	Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn <i>Shākir</i> . ... ..	207
682	Muḥammad Ibn Jābir al-Battānī ( <i>Albategnius</i> )... ..	209
683	Abu'l-Wafā al-Būzjānī ... ..	213
684	Jār Allāh al-Zamak <del>h</del> sharī ... ..	214
685	Abū Ṭālib al-Qāḍī al-Iṣbahānī ... ..	222
686	Maḥmūd Ibn Subuktikīn ... ..	223
687	Maḥmūd, the Saljuqid ... ..	232
688	Al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ... ..	234
689	Marwān Ibn Abi Ḥafṣah ... ..	239
690	Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj ... ..	245
691	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Naysābūrī ... ..	248
692	<i>The</i> <i>Sharif</i> Abū Ja'far Mas'ūd al-Bayāḍī ... ..	250
693	Mas'ūd al-Saljuqi ... ..	252
694	Mas'ūd Ibn Mawdūd ... ..	254
695	Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin al-Ṣan'ānī ... ..	261
696	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Marwazī ... ..	265
697	Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muẓaffar ... ..	266
698	Mu'adh Ibn Muslim al-Harrā ... ..	270
699	Al-Mu'āfā Ibn Zakariyā ... ..	275
700	Al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh ... ..	278
701	Al-Mustaṣfir bi-Allāh ... ..	283
702	Ma'rūf al-Karkhī ... ..	286
703	Al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, the <i>Ziride</i> ... ..	288
704	Abū 'Ubaydah ... ..	291
705	Ma'an, the son of Zā'idah ... ..	302
706	Muqātil, the commentator of the <i>Qur'ān</i> ... ..	314
707	Abu'l-Hayjā <i>Shibl</i> al-Dawlah ... ..	318
708	Ḥusām al-D <sup>aw</sup> lah-al Muqallad ... ..	322
709	Muk <del>h</del> liṣ al-Dawlah Muqallad ... ..	334
710	Makki, the teacher of the <i>Qur'ān readings</i> ... ..	340
711	Makki al-Ḍarir ... ..	346
712	Makḥul al- <i>Shāmi</i> ... ..	349
713	Malik <i>Shāh</i> , the son of Alp Arslān... ..	352

No.		PAGE
714	Manşūr al-Tamīmī the Jurisconsult ...	359
715	Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh ...	363
716	Al-‘Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh ...	369
717	Qutb al-Dīn Mawdūd ...	373
718	Muwarrij al-Sadūsī ...	374
719	Mūsā al-Kāzīm ...	379
720	Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Man‘ah ...	383
721	Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr ...	392
722	Al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn... ..	406
723	Mūsā Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ...	413
724	Ibn al-Jawālīqī ...	420
725	Al-Muwayyad al-Ṭūsi ...	424
726	Al-Muwayyad al-Ulūsī ...	425
727	Al- Muhallab Ibn Abī Şufrah ...	430
728	Mihyār al-Daylamī ...	442
INDEX	...	449

# NOTE ON transliteration

ا = a	ط = t
ب = b	ظ = z
ت = t	ع = 'e'
ث = <u>th</u>	غ = <u>gh</u>
ج = j	ف = f
ح = h	ق = q
خ = <u>kh</u>	ك = k
د = d	ل = l
ذ = <u>dh</u>	م = m
ر = r	ن = n
ز = z	و = w
س = s	ه = h
ش = <u>sh</u>	ة = aw
ص = s	ي = y
ض = d	ى = ay

Long vowels : ā. ī. ū

Short vowels : a. i. u

## IBN KHALLIKAN'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

### 648 AL-ABIWARDĪ THE POET

Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ishāq Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās *al-imām* Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Fityān Ishāq Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Abi\* Marfū'ah† Manṣūr Ibn Mu'āwiyah al-Aṣḡhar<sup>1</sup> Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-'Abbās 'Uṭhmān Ibn 'Anbasah al-Aṣḡhar Ibn 'Utbah,‡ Ibn al-Aṣḥraf Ibn 'Uṭhmān Ibn 'Anbasah<sup>2</sup> Ibn Abi Sufyān Ibn Ṣakhr Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah Ibn 'Abd Ṣhams Ibn 'Abd Manāf, a member of the Umayyad family and of the tribe of Quraysh, a descendant of Mu'āwiyah [*the less* (al-Mu'āwī)] was a native of Abiward (*al-Abiwardī*), a poet of great celebrity, distinguished scholar, a transmitter of traditional information and a genealogist. The collected works of this elegant poet are classed under various heads, such as the *'Irāqiyāt* (pieces relative to *Irāq*), the *Najdiyyāt* (pieces relative to *Najd*, pastoral pieces), the *Wajdiyyāt* (amatory pieces), etc. His learning as a genealogist was very extensive, and his authority is cited by the most exact and the most trustworthy *ḥāfiẓes*. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī quotes his words more than once in his *Ansāb* (No. 503). In that work, he says of him,

---

1 From this genealogy we learn that there were two Mu'āwiyahs in the Umayyad family: one of them was styled *al-Aṣḡhar* (the less), to distinguish him from the *ḫalīf* of the same name. It has been already observed, No. 465, that there were also two Umayyads in the same family.

2 This 'Anbasah must have been brother to the *ḫalīf* Mu'āwiyah.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid omits this word—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamid inserts *Ibn* between Marfū'ah and Manṣūr—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives عنبسه 'Anbasah—Ed.



under the article al-Mu'āwī : "He was the paragon of the age in various sciences, and we have quoted, in different parts of this book, a number of observations made by him. He wrote himself down as a descendant of Mu'āwiyah and this verse of Abu 'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri might be applied to him with the utmost propriety :

" Though I came the last in time, I am able to produce what the ancients could not furnish. "

Before this line Al-Maqqisī had just mentioned some verses in which the poet vaunts his own renown, but these it is not necessary to insert. Abū Zakariyā Ibn Mandah<sup>1</sup> mentions him in the history of Iṣbahān and says : "He was an honour to the *ra'ises*, the most excellent of the empire<sup>2</sup>, orthodox in his belief, exemplary in his conduct, and versed in a number of sciences ; well acquainted with the genealogies of the Arabs, elegant in his language, skilled in the composition of books, filled with intelligence, perfect in talents, the pearl of the epoch, the paragon of the age, but elated with vanity, pride, and arrogance : when he prayed, he used to say : 'Almighty God ! make me king over the eastern countries of the earth and western thereof.' " The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) takes notice of him in the *Ansāb*, under the word al-Mu'āwī, and mentions him also in the *Dhayl* (supplement) ; he says ; "(Al-Abīwardī) was surnamed after Mu'āwiyah al-Aṣghar (*the less*)" the same whose name is given in the genealogical list (*at the head of this notice*). "He once addressed a memorial to the Commander of the faithful, al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh, and headed it with these words : *al-Khādīm al-Mu'āwī* (*your humble servant, the descendant of Mu'āwiyah*). The *khālif*, who disliked the use of a patronymic which indicated that the bearer of it drew his descent from Umayyah, scratched out the *m* of *al-Mu'āwī* and sent back the memorial with the superscription changed into *al-Khādīm al-'Āwī* (*your humble servant*)

1 The life of Abū Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn Mandah will be found in this work.

2 This writer means to say that al-Abīwardī was one of the most distinguished amongst the persons employed in the civil service, (*ruwasa*, plural of *ra'is*) and that he bore the title of *Afdal al-Dawlah* (*the most excellent of the empire*).

*the howler*)." As specimens of the beauties with which his poetry abounds, we may indicate the following passages :

"We ruled over the kingdoms of the earth, and to us their grantees submitted, some willingly, some through constraint.<sup>1</sup> But, when the days of our prosperity attained their height, adversity seized us and seldom relaxed its hold. In our days of joy, (*these kingdoms*) smiled with pleasure at our happiness, in our days of sorrow, they wept with sympathy. We met our misfortunes with faces of ingenuous dignity, radiant with honour<sup>2</sup>, and, when we thought of disclosing the wrongs which fortune made us suffer, our modesty withheld us.

\*[ Fortune knew not my worth and was not aware that I was proud of soul and I despised the strokes of adversity ; whilst it showed me how calamities could assault (*their victim*), I let her see what patience was.]

\*[ That maiden with the slender waist ! I hearken not to him who blames me for loving her, and, when he depreciates, her, I only love her the more. When she appears, I turn one eye towards her, and, with the other, I watch her jealous guardian. The delator is thus deceived, and knows not that my eye has got its full share of (*the sight of the fair*) Sulaymā." ]

He composed the following lines on Abu 'l-Najib 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Marāghī, a person who, by his talents, was one of the most eminent men of the time. This Abu 'l-Najīb resided in the fortress of Ḥirah<sup>3</sup> and often employed, in his poetical compositions, the figure called *luẓūm ma la yalzum* (*the submitting to unnecessary obligations*<sup>4</sup>) :

1 In these verses he speaks as a member of the Umayyad family.

2 *Radiant with honour* ; literally ; the water of which (*faces*) had nearly fallen in drops. See the meaning of the expression *water of the face* explained in No. 49. The same line offers another example of the various significations which the expression رقيق الحواشي can assume ; it is here rendered by *ingenuous dignity*.

3 The name of this place is written variously in the MSS. They give the following reading بحيره خير حسره and نجيره. It is perhaps the Ḥirah of Naysābūr ; see No. 584.

4 See No. 46, note.

\* [The words : "From his verses " are omitted by de Slane]

"The verses of al-Marāghī, may God preserve you from them ! are like his mind, the best parts of them are bad. In composing, he submits to unnecessary obligations but he neglects those which are necessary."

It was al-Abīwardī who composed the following piece :

"O beloved Umaymah ! if thou refusest me thy visits, grant that thy image come at night and visit me in my dreams. By Allāh ! neither calumny<sup>1</sup> nor absence can efface from the soul of thy adorer the impress of thy love."

I may here observe that *Sibṭ* Ibn al-Ṭa'āwidi, a poet of whom notice shall be taken in this work, borrowed from the first of these verses the thought which he has thus expressed in one of his *qaṣīdahs* :

"If thou refusest, when awake, to grant me a salutation, order thy image to fleet by me and salute me in my slumbers. Promise to visit me in my dreams : then, perhaps my eyes may yield to sleep, in the hope of seeing thee."

In one of his *Najdiyyāts* he says :

"We halted at Nu'man al-Arāk<sup>2</sup>; the dew-drops moistened our garments, and I passed the night suffering the pains of love whilst my fellow-travellers were sunk in sleep ; the fatigues of the night-journey and of the desert had overcome us all. I thought of that charming maiden now so far away ; and my flowing tears answered to the summons of love. Her abode is still in the recesses of that valley ; my heart knows it, though my eyes perceive it not ; I stopped near that dwelling, and my tears were mostly blood ; my eyelids seemed to flow with blood (*nu'mān*) instead of my nose<sup>3</sup>"

---

1 Literally ; *calumniators*.

2 Nu'mān al-Arāk is the name of a valley or glen between Makkah and al-Ṭā'if.

3 This idea, so burlesque in the translation, does not present the same ludicrous image in the original text ; the quibble on the word *bi-nu'mān* (which signifies also *at the place called Nu'mān*) diverting the attention of the reader from its absurdity.

A novel thought of his is that contained in a piece of verse descriptive of wine ; he says :

"Joy is its essence, and therefore the bubbles dance (*upon its surface*)."

In one of his *qaṣīdahs* he says :

"The age is corrupt, and all whom I chose for friends were either hypocrites who hoped for favours or flatterers who feared to offend. When I put them to the test, I found in them a sullen heart and a smiling countenance."

This thought he took from a *qaṣīdah* of Abū Tammām's (*No. 143*), in which that poet elegantly says :

"If you wish to conceive the worst opinion of mankind, examine that multitude of human beings ; he is not a friend who offers thee a smiling countenance and conceals a sullen heart."

These digressions have led us away from our subject. Al-Abīwardī composed a great number of works, such as a History of Abīward and Nasā, a *mukhtaliṣ* and *mu'taliṣ* (dictionary of synonyms and homonyms), a *ṭabaqāt*, or synoptical view, of all the sciences, a treatise on the synonyms and homonyms occurring in the genealogies of the Arabs, and various philological works drawn up on an original plan. His life was virtuous and his conduct exemplary. He died of poison at Iṣbahān on the afternoon of Thursday, the 20th of the first Rābī', A.H. 507 (4th September A.C. 1113), and the funeral prayer was said over him in the *Jāmi' al-'Atīq* (the old mosque) of that city. *Abīwardī* means native of Abīward, called also *Abāward* and *Bāward*, a village in *Khurāsān* which has produced many learned and eminent men. Al-Sam'ānī says, in his *Ansāb*, under the word Al-Kūfānī.\* "This relative adjective signifies *belonging to Kūfah*, a small village of *Khurāsān*, at six parasangs from Abīward. It was built by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir (*No. 318*) and has produced a number of Traditionists and other eminent men, one of whom was the philologist Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Kūfānī, better known by the appellation of al-Abīwardī the philologist."

---

\* 'Abd al-Hamid gives al-Kūqanī—Ed.

## 649 IBN ABI 'L-ŞAQR

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Umar, surnamed Ibn Abi 'l-Şaqr, was a native of Wāsiṭ and a doctor of Shāfi'ite sect. He studied jurisprudence under the shaykh Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5) but, yielding to his predominant passion for the cultivation of literature and poetry, he became principally known as an amateur of the belles-lettres. I saw at Damascus, in the *Ashrafiyah* library, the *diwān* of his poetical works which collection is preseved in the *turbah* (or *mausoleum*) erected over the tomb of al-Malik al-Ashraf. It is situated to the north of the (edifice erected as an) addition of the Great Mosque (*al-Jāmi' al-Kabir*) and called al-Kallāsah. This *diwān* forms one volume. The author was extremely partial to the Shāfi'ite sect, and manifested this sentiment in a number of *qaṣīdahs* generally known by the title of *al-Shāfi'iyah* (the *Shāfi' iyan*); he composed also some elegies on the death of the shaykh Abū Ishāq. In the elegant precision of his style, the beauty of his penmanship, and the excellence of his poetry, he displayed talents of the very highest order. Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'l-Ḥazīrī (No. 242) mentions him in the *Zinat al-Dahr* and quotes the following piece of his amongst others :

"Every favour which you may expect from men always encounters some obstacle ; and I shall say, may God pardon me (*for doing so*) ! but my words are figurative, not serious : I approve of nothing in the conduct of Satan, except his refusing to worship a created being<sup>1</sup>."

He gives also these verses which are still currently known :

'By the sacredness of love ! no person can replace you (*in my heart*) ; never, shall I turn my affections towards any other object ! I long for your presence, and your image is sent to (*visit my slumbers and thus*) effect our meeting ; but, alas ! I cannot close my eyes. I proposed to my companions this condition—that you, not they should have my heart, and they agreed (*to it*). I spoke of you so often, that they said : 'He is unwell ;' and I replied : 'May that malady never leave me ! ' "

1 "And (*remember*) when we said unto the angels : Worship Adam ; and they all worshipped him, except Satan (*Iblis*), who said : Shall I worship him whom Thou hast created of clay ?"—*Qur'ān*, surāh 17, v. 63).

Having attained an advanced age and being obliged to sustain his feeble steps with a staff, he said :

"In every thing which you examine, you will perceive something extraordinary ; when strong, I went on two legs, but now, being weak, I go on three."

To the idea expressed in the last verse, I have myself alluded in the following lines :

"O thou who askest how I am ; receive this summary answer : After possessing strength enough to split a rock, I now walk on three legs, and the best of them is the staff."

To excuse himself for not rising to receive his friends, he composed these verses :

"An indisposition called *eighty years* hinders me from rising to receive my friends ; but when they reach an advanced age, they will understand and accept my excuse."

The following piece also was written by him on his great age :

"When I approached towards the unities of ninety, an age which none of my fathers ever reached, I knew full well that I should soon have other neighbours and another home (*the dead and the tomb*) ; so I turned towards God, repenting of my past life ; God will never cast into the fire him who turns towards Him."

Having gone to pay a visit of consolation to a family which were mourning the death of a little child, the persons present nodded to each other, as if to say : "How strange that a man trembling with old age should survive, whilst this child could not escape death !" Perceiving their thoughts, he pronounced these lines :

'An aged *shaykh* entered where the youths were met to mourn the death of a little child, and you saw an objection against God's justice, because the infant died and the old man lived. But you may say to him who has lived one month and to him who has lived one thousand or an intermediate number : We must all come to this !'

The following piece is by him :

"Meditatus est Ibn Abi 'l-Ṣaqr dixitque, aetate jam provecta :  
'Per Deum, nisi me lotium quotidie mane exureret, oblitus essem  
mihi mentulam inter efmora esse'. "\*

His poems abound in fine passages. He was born on the eve of Monday, the 13th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A.H. 409 (23rd March, A.C. 1019), and he died at Wāsiṭ on Thursday, the 14th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 498 (1st February, A.C. 1105).

#### 650 IBN AL-HABBĀRIYAH.

The *sharīf* Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad † Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ḥamzah Ibn Muḥammad ‡ Ibn 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammadh Ibn Dāwūd Ibn 'Isā Ibn Mūsā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī (*a member of the Hāshim family*) al-'Abbāsī [*descended from Ibn 'Abbās (No. 43, note)*], generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Habbāriyah and surnamed Nizām al-Dīn (*the maintainer of religion*), was a native of Baghdād and a poet of great talent and celebrity. Though animated with the best intentions, he had an evil tongue and so strong an inclination for satire that he hardly spared a single person. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Kharīdah* and says : (*He was one*) of Nizām al-Mulk's (*No. 171*) poets, and his predominant styles of composition were the satirical, the humorous, and the obscene. Cast (*as it were*) in the same mould as, Ibn Ḥajjāj (*No. 186*), he trod in the same path and surpassed him in licentiousness, but those pieces of his in which decency is respected are highly beautiful<sup>1</sup>". Attached to the service of

1 The extracts which 'Imād al-Dīn gives of his poetry justify, to a certain degree, this eulogium.

\* Verily Ibn Abi 'l-Ṣaqr meditated and said in his old age; By Allāh ! had there not been urine burning me at the time of morning, I would not have known that I have an organ between my thighs.

† The Egyptian edition inserts [Ibn Muḥammad].—Ed.

‡ The Egyptian edition omits this name.—Ed.

Nizām al-Mulk Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ishāq, the wazīr of the sultān Alp Arslān and of Malik Shāh, that prince's son, he was treated by him with the utmost kindness and unceasing beneficence. A spirit of hatred and jealousy having sprung up between Nizām al-Mulk and Tāj al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ghanā'im Ibn Dārist<sup>1</sup>, a thing which frequently happens with men high in office, the latter told Ibn al-Habbāriyah to compose a satire on Nizām al-Mulk, promising the poet his favour and an ample recompense in case he consented. "But how," said Ibn al-Habbāriyah "can I attack a man to whose kindness I am indebted for every object I see in my house?" "I insist on your compliance," said Tāj al-Mulk; and the poet composed the following piece:

"Wonder not that Ibn Ishāq rules and that fate assists him; (*wonder not that*) prosperity flows pure for him and turbid for Abu 'l-Ghanā'im. Fortune is like the wheel for raising water, it cannot be turned but by oxen."

When these verses were communicated to Nizām al-Mulk, who was a native of Tūs, merely observed that they contained an allusion to a common proverb: *The people of Tūs are oxen*<sup>2</sup>, and not only abstained from punishing the poet, but overlooked his conduct and treated him with greater kindness than ever<sup>3</sup>. This is cited as an instance of Nizām al-Mulk's noble conduct and of his extreme indulgence. Notwithstanding the extraordinary degree of favour shown to him by this wazīr, Ibn al-Habbāriyah had much to suffer from the malice of his patron's pages and followers,

1 Tāj al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ghanā'im al-Qummi was secretary and privy counsellor to Turkān Khātūn, the wife of Malik Shāh and mother of the sultān Mahmud. He succeeded to the wazīrate on the death of Nizām al-Mulk. In Mir~~k~~hond's History of the Saljuqids (ed. Vullers, Giessen 1838) will be found an account of Nizām al-Mulk's fall and of the enmity which prevailed between him and Turkān Khātūn (*princess of the Turks*), the daughter of the khān of Turkistān. (See also Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals* year 485, and No. 171 of this work.)

2 In English it would be said: *are asses*.

3 Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Kharīdah*, that, on this occasion, Nizām al-Mulk clothed the poet in a robe of honour and bestowed on him five hundred pieces of gold.



(who detested him) from what they knew of his evil tongue. Their petulance became at length so excessive that he wrote the following lines to Nizām al-Mulk<sup>1</sup>:

"Take refuge with Nizām al-Ḥaḍratayn al-Riḍā when people of this age detest thee. Let his aspect cleanse thy eyes from the dust which makes them smart when worthless people overcome thee. Bear with the wild humours of his pages; every rose must have its thorn".

Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī says, in the *Kharīdah*, that the poet sent his son with these verses to the Naqīb al-Nuqabā 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād al-Zaynabī, surnamed Nizām al-Ḥaḍratayn Abu 'l-Ḥasan<sup>2</sup>.

1 It appears, by what follows that it was not of the pages of Nizām al-Mulk that the poet had to complain, but of those in the service of Nizām al-Ḥaḍratayn, a person noticed lower down.

2 The title of *Sharīf* was given not only to the descendants of 'Alī by Fāṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad, and by al-Ḥanafīyah, but to the descendants of Hāshim. Muḥammad's great-grandfather. The *sharīfs* of each province were placed under the control of a *naqīb* (ruler or magistrate), chosen by the Government from among their own body. The *Naqīb al-Nuqabā* or *chief naqīb*, resided at Baḡhdād. 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād was appointed to this office A.H. 491 (A.C. 1097-8), on the death of his father. They drew their descent from Zaynab, the daughter of Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbas No. 110 note) for which reason they bore the surname of al-Zaynabī. It appears from the verses given by Ibn Khalikān and the observation made by Imād al-Dīn, that 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād bore the surname of al-Riḍā and Nizām al-Ḥaḍratayn. Sibṭ Ibn al Jawzī informs us, in his *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, that Ṭirād, the father of 'Alī, was surnamed *Dhu 'l-Sharafayn* (possessor of the double nobility) *Shihāb al-Ḥaḍratayn* (flambeau of the two courts), which latter title may have been given him on account of his diplomatic services when employed by the court of the *khalīf* as its agent at the court of the Saljūq sultān. This conjecture receives some degree of probability from the statement of the author of the *Mir'āt*, that Ṭirād was frequently sent by the *khalīf* as ambassador to different sovereigns, and that he distinguished himself by his talents and probity. The title of *Nizām al-Ḥaḍratayn* (bond of union between the two courts) seems to have been given to his son for a similar reason. That of *al-Riḍā*, by which 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād is designated in the verses mentioned by Ibn Khalikān, was borne by a number of *sharīfs*, and is the equivalent of *Riḍā al-Dīn* (accepted for piety). From the *Kharīdah* (MS. 1447, fol. 12, 15, 29), it would appear that 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād held at one time the post of wazīr, as we

(Continued on page 11)

By the same :

"My countenance is too modest for asking favours, and my means are yet more modest. My real merits are but slight, and the emoluments they gain me are yet slighter."

An original idea of his is that of a piece in which he refutes those who pretend that a man can obtain the satisfaction of his wants by travelling abroad ; he says :

"They said : 'You remain at home and cannot procure a livelihood yet the man of prudence can always gain wealth by travelling.' I replied : 'It is not every journey which prospers ; profit results from good fortune, not from the fatigues of travel. How often has one journey been productive, whilst another, under the same circumstances, has been injurious ; thus the covetous man some times gains and some times loses. It is thus that the moon, in journeying, reaches to her full, and that, deprived of her prosperity, she wanes away.' "

---

(Continued from page 10)

find there some poems addressed to him in that quality by the poets Ḥayṣ Bayṣ (No. 241) and Abū 'Alī 'l-Faraj Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Uḫwah al-Muwadd'ib. In the same work, fol. 35, under the article Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bāri In al-Dabbās, a grammarian whose life is given by Ibn Ḳhallikān, (No. 190) we find a long extract from a poem addressed by al-Bāri 'to Sharaf al-Din 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād.

After this note was written, I found a notice on 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād in the *Duwal al-Islāmiyah*. MS. No. 895. fol. 280. It is there stated that Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād al-'Abbāsī was the first person to whom the Ḳhalif al-Muqtafī (*li amr Allāh*) confided the post of wazīr. After some time, a coolness took place between them, and Ibn Ṭirād fled for protection to the court of the sultān (*Mas'ūd the Saljuqid*). By distributing the greater part of his fortune in presents to the sultān's wives and principal officers, he succeeded in obtaining Mas'ūd's mediation in his favour, and the Ḳhalif allowed him to return to Baḡhdād. During the rest of his life, he remained unemployed, and being reduced to the utmost poverty, he died, recommending his children to the Ḳhalif's benevolence. Al-Muqtafī fulfilled his desire and raised them to wealth. Ibn Ṭirād spent large sums in presents to the officers of the state, the men of learning, the strangers who arrived at Baḡhdād, and the sharifs descended from 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib. The text of the *Duwal al-Islāmiyah* has been published at Gotha, A.C. 1860, under the title of *Elfachri* by Mr. Ahlwardt.

By the same :

"Leave off the details of your misery and sum them up (*in these words*) : There is not in the world a man (*worthy of the name*). When the pawn on the chess-board becomes a queen, it seems just that the queen should become a pawn<sup>1</sup>."

As a specimen of his humorous poetry, we may give the following passages :

"When Abū Sa'īd perceived that, for a whole year, I abstained from wine, he said : 'Tell me who was the *shaykh* by whom you were converted ;' and I replied : 'That *shaykh* was poverty.'

I dreamt that my wife held me by the ear, and that she wielded in her hand an object of leather, crooked in shape, black in colour, but marked with spots, and shaped, beneath, like a foot<sup>2</sup>. I awoke with the fright, and the nape of my neck was already quite red ; had my dream lasted, I, a learned *shaykh*, should have lost my eyes."

By the same :

"The Tājiyan court<sup>3</sup> is a garden ; may its beauty last for ever ! In that garden, an humble (*poet*) is the ring-dove ; its cooings are eulogies, and its collar rewards."

By the same :

"Let *her* do as *she* pleases ; it is indifferent to me whether *she* shun (*me*) or accept (*me*). How often have we seen darker locks than *her's* turn grey<sup>4</sup>."

1 The application of this last verse is by no means manifest. In the *Kharīdah* and one of the MSS. of Ibn Khallikān, it is placed before the other.

2 He dreamt that his wife was striking him on the nape of the neck with an embroidered slipper ; a mode of correction employed, it is said by Muslim ladies in their female servants and some times on their husbands.

3 He means the court of Tāj al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ghanā'im.

4 In the original piece, of which a translation slightly disguised is here given, the affix in *نيلها* might embarrass the Arabic scholar. It must be referred to the word *لحيه* understood. I may also observe that *اسود* as a comparative form, is not good Arabic ; it should be *اشد سواداً*.

Ibn al-Habbāriyah's poetry abounds in beauties; he turned *Kallilāh wa Dimnah* into verse and gave it under the title of *Natā'ij al-Fiṣnah* (offspring of the intellect). In the life of al-Bāri' al-Dab-bās (No. 190), we have mentioned a piece of Ibn al-Habbāriyah's rhyming in *d*, with al-Bāri''s answer and an account of what passed between them; in our article on the wazīr Fakhr al-Dawlah Muḥammad Ibn Jahīr we shall mention an amusing adventure of the poet al-Sābiq al-Ma'arri<sup>1</sup> with Ibn al-Habbāriyah. His poetical works are very numerous and their *dīwān* (collection) forms from three to four volumes. One of his most original pieces of versification is a work in the style of *Kalilah wa Dimnah* and entitled *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-Bāghim* (the loud speaker and the murmurer). The composition of this book, which contains two thousand verses in the *rajaz* measure, occupied the author ten years. It is an excellent production<sup>2</sup>. He sent his son with it to the amīr Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṣadaqah Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Dubays al-Asadī, lord of al-Ḥillaḥ (No. 276). It concludes with the following lines:

"Here is a fine book which astounds the intelligence; on it I spent ten years, from the time I first heard thy name. I composed

---

1 Of this poet, who was a native of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, as his surname implies, 'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Kharidah* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 144), that Abu 'l-Yumn Sābiq Ibn Abī Mahzūl went to 'Irāq during the administration of (the wazīr) Ibn Jahīr and there met Ibn al-Habbāriyah. He then gives some short extracts from his poetry without furnishing any further information respecting him.

2 There are several copies of this work in the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, ancien fonds, and Supplement. Like *Kalilah and Dimnah*, it consists of apologues, fables, and moral maxims. In d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, under the word *Hareba*, will be found a passage in which that orientalist gives a description of the *al-Ṣādiḥ wa 'l-Bāghim*, from which may be perceived that he knew nothing of it except the title, and even that imperfectly. *Hārebah* is also a false reading of the Arabic هباريه *Harbāriyah*. He read it as if it had been written هاربه. In noticing this article of d'Herbelot's I by no means wish to cast an imputation on his talent or deny the services he rendered to oriental literature; the *Bibliothèque Orientale* is a very useful book, yet truth obliges me to state that not one of the indications given in it merits entire confidence unless it can be verified from other sources. A part of these errors he would probably have corrected, had he lived to superintend the printing of his work.

it for thy sake ; the number of its verses is two thousand, all of them replete with meaning. Were any poet, versifier, or prose-writer to pass a life as long as that of Noah's in composing a single verse like those contained in it, he would not be able to accomplish the task, for it is not every one who can make verses. I send it with my son, or rather with my heart's blood and liver ; for in my opinion, thou art worthy of every favour. Confiding in thy kindness, he hastens towards thee, encountering great fatigues and a long journey. Had I been permitted, I should have gone myself with speed and delayed not, for honour and glory are exclusively thy heritage. "

Şadaqah granted him an ample recompense in return for his work. According to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isbahānī, in his *Kh̲arīdah*, Ibn al-Habbāriyah died at Kirmān, A. H. 504 (A.C. 1110-1), where he had passed the latter days of his life after having resided for a time at Işbahān. Al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) says that he died subsequently to the year 490. *Habbāriyah* means a *female descended from Habbār* ; this Habbār was Ibn al-Habbāriyah's grandfather by the mother's side. *Kirmān*, pronounced sometimes *Karmān*, is a large province (*wilāyah*) containing a number of cities and towns. It has produced many eminent men. One side of it is bounded by the sea and the other by *Kh̲urāsān*.

#### 651 IBN AL-QAYSARĀNĪ THE POET

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Naşr Ibn Şaghīr Ibn Dāghīr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn *Kh̲h̲ālīd* Ibn Naşr Ibn Dāghīr Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Muhājir Ibn *Kh̲h̲ālīd* Ibn al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī al-*Kh̲h̲ālīdī* al-Ḥalabī (*descended from Kh̲h̲ālīd of the family of Makhzūm and native of Aleppo*), surnamed Şharaf al-Ma'ālī (*glory of high deeds*) 'Uddat al-Dīn (*maintenance of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Qaysarānī, was not only a poet of great talent and celebrity, but a philologist of the soundest learning. His genealogy, as here given, was dictated to me by one of his descendants. In the belles-lettres he had for masters Tawfīq Ibn Muḥammad and

Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Khayyāt, the poet whose life we have already given (No. 59). He displayed great acquirements in philology and astronomy. At Aleppo, he studied under the *khaṭīb* Abū Ṭāhir Hāshim Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī and other masters. He himself gave lessons to the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn 'Asākir (No. 416) and the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Sa'd Ibn al-Sam'āni (No. 370), both of whom mention him in their respective works. Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'l-Ḥazīrī (No. 242), who also received lessons from him, speaks of him in his work, the *Mulaḥ*. Ibn al-Qaysarānī and Ibn Munīr (No. 63) were the two principal poets of Syria at that epoch, and their encounters gave rise to many curious and amusing anecdotes. The latter was accused of attacking the character of Muḥammad's companions and of being inclined to the Shi'ite doctrines; this induced Ibn al-Qaysarānī, who was told that Ibn Munīr had directed his satirical talent against him, to write him the following lines:

"Ibn Munīr! in reviling me, you have insulted a man of learning whose rectitude of judgment was beneficial to mankind. But my heart is not oppressed for that; I have before me an example in the Companions<sup>1</sup>."

A fine passage of his poetry is the following:

"How many nights did I pass sipping intoxicating draughts from the wine-cup and her lips; thus mingling one delicious liquor with another! She defended not her mouth from my kisses; it was like a fortress without a guard<sup>2</sup>."

When in Aleppo, I found the *dīwān* of his poetical works, all in his own handwriting; and I extracted from it some passages, one of which was the following in praise of a preacher:

"The bosom of the pulpit expands with pleasure to receive you. Tell me; does that (*odour of sanctity*) proceed from the

---

1 These verses occur also in the life of Ibn Munīr, but not recollecting the circumstance from which they took rise, I gave an erroneous explanation of the second line.

2 In Arabic, *ṭuḡhr* signifies both mouth and fortress; the poet quibbles on this double meaning.

preacher which it contains or has it been anointed with some sweet perfume.

This alliteration is really excellent<sup>1</sup>. I have since found these verses attributed to Abu 'l-Qāsim Zayd Ibn Abi 'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Faṣṣāl\* al-Mawāzīnī, a native of Aleppo whose father was generally known by the appellation of al-Māhir (*the skilful*). It is there said that Ibn al-Qaysarānī recited them to the *khaṭīb* Ibn Ḥāshim on the appointment of the latter to the office of preacher at Aleppo, and that they were attributed to him for this reason. Having met with a different reading of the first verse, I give it here :

"The pulpit was proud of his honours, when you mounted it as a preacher."

The following is a piece of his in the amatory style (*ghazal*) :

"At the foot of Mount Lebanon I possess a moon (*a beauty*) whose stations are (*not in the zodiac but*) in the hearts of men. The north wind bears me her salutation, and the south wind bears mine to her. Her qualities are unrivalled and rare ; for beauty, in this world, is a rarity. I have not forgotten the night when she said, on seeing my body worn away : 'I pray thee, tell me, youth, who caused thy sickness ?' and I replied : 'The person who can cure it<sup>2</sup>.'"

A charming *qaṣīdah* of Ibn al-Qaysarānī's contains the following original idea :

"Here is the person who ravished sleep from her lovers ; dost thou not see her eyes filled with (*the stolen*) languor<sup>3</sup> ?"

1 The alliteration to which our author alludes is the perfect consonance which exists between the last words of the two hemistichs of the last verse : *damma Khaṭībān dammakha ṭībān*.

2 I omit here a couplet not fit to be translated.†

3 The Arabic word *wasan*, here rendered by *languor*, signifies also *drowsiness*.

\* 'Abd al-Hamid gives Faḍl.—Ed.

† The translation of the same is given here. "They said : His cheek has become hoary, but his government is not managed. I said : cheeks of him who is loved is his principality."—Ed.

In composing this verse, he had in mind the eulogium addressed by al-Mutanabbī (No. 49) to Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān ; that poet said :

“Thou hast taken the lives of so many (*enemies*) that, couldst thou add their days to thine, thou wouldst acquire immortality and rejoice the world.”

Ibn al-Qaysarānī frequently expressed himself highly satisfied with the following verse from one of his own *qaṣīdahs* :

“I love a person before whom the moon fell prostrate in adoration ; seest thou not, on her face (*disk*) the marks left by the dust.”

Being present at a concert of (*religious*) music where there was an excellent singer, he composed these lines on seeing the audience overcome with a thrill of ecstatic delight :

“By Allāh ! if lovers knew the just value of their souls, they would sacrifice them for thine, though they were dear to them and precious guarded. When thou singest in their assemblies, thou art really the breath of the zephyr and they are the branches (*which it agitates*).”

My friend al-Fakhr (*Fakhr al-Dīn*) Ishāq Ibn al-Mukhtaṣṣ al-Irbilī (*native of Arbela*) recited to me a stanza of four verses (*dubayt*), composed, by himself, on seeing the cushions fall off the sofas at a concert of (*religious*) music, when the audience, some of whom were (*ṣūfis*) far advanced in the practices of mysticism<sup>1</sup>, fell into an ecstasy of delight :

“The herald of song entered unawares, at midnight, into the assembly of lovers who longed for the sight of God<sup>2</sup>, and he was answered by sobs and burning sighs. Had the rocks heard his strains, they had fallen prostrate with delight, why then should cotton and tattered (*cushions*) not do the same?”

---

1 Literally : *owners of the hearts*.

2 Literally : *the circle of desire*.



Ibn al-Qaysarānī was born at 'Akkah (*Acce*) in the year 478 (A.C. 1085-6), and he died at Damascus on the eve of Wednesday, the 21st of *Shahbān* ; A.H. 548 (11th November, A.C. 1153). The next morning, he was interred in the cemetery at the Farādīs Gate. *Khālidī* means *descended from Khālid* Ibn al-Walid al-Makhzūmī<sup>1</sup> ; so say the people of Ibn al-Qaysarānī's family, but the majority of historians and the learned in genealogy declare that the posterity of this *Khālid* became extinct after a lapse of time. God best knows the truth ! *Qaysarānī* means *belonging to Qaysariyah* (*Caesarea*), a village on the coast of Syria.

## 652 IBN AL-KIZĀNĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Thābit Ibn Faraj al-Kinānī, a professor of the *Qur'ān-readings*, a philologist, a follower of the sect of al-Shāfi'ī, a native of Egypt, surnamed also al-Khāmi (*the dealer in raw hides*) and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Kizānī, was a poet of considerable reputation and a pious devotee. There is an order (*of dervishes*) in Egypt called Kizānites after him, and they place implicit faith in his sayings. He left a *dīwān* of poems, most of which inculcate self-mortification ; I have never seen the book, but I heard one verse of his which pleased me much ; it is the following :

"Since passion befits the lover, so should kindness befit the beloved."

His poetry contains some very fine passages. He died at Old Cairo on the eve of Tuesday, the 9th of the first Rabi'—some say in the month of Muḥarram—A.H. 562 (3rd January, A.C. 1167), and he was interred in the Lesser Qarāfah, near the mausoleum of the *imām* al-Shāfi'ī (*No.* 532). His body was afterwards removed to the foot of mount Muqattam, and deposited

---

1 He means the celebrated *Khālid* who commanded the Muslims on the first entrance into Syria.

near the cistern which is called by the name of Umm Mawdūd. The tomb erected over him there is a well-known object of pilgrimage ; I have visited it myself more than once. *Kizānī* means a *maker or seller of pitchers (kīzān)* ; one of his ancestors followed that trade.

### 653 AL-ABLAH THE POET

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Bakhtyār Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Muwallad, surnamed al-Ablah, a celebrated poet, was a native of Baghdād and one of the best poets who flourished in these latter times. In his compositions he united tenderness (*of sentiment*) to artifice (*of style and expression*), and the *dlwān* of his poetical works is often to be found in the hands of readers. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Kharīdah* and says : "He is an ingenious youth and wears the military dress. His poetry is written in a strain of tender sentiment ; it delights by the artifice of its composition, ravished by its excellence and pleases by the sweetness of its style ; in tenderness it surpasses the morning zephyr, and in beauty the flowered silks of Tustur<sup>1</sup>. His poetical essays, though few in number, get all into wide circulation, and the musicians sing his charming verses set to old airs ; they rush as eagerly to obtain his delightful poems as the bird, in its circling flight, rushes down to the pure fountain." He then adds that, in the year 555 (A.C. 1160), al-Ablah recited to him, at Baghdād, the following passage of a *qaṣīdah* as his own composition :

"She whose visits give me life came to me when the evening had (*assumed*) the tint of her hair. When she turned her head (*she seemed*) a moon ; and wrapped in the folds of her green mantle (*she seemed*) a willow branch. I passed the night unsealing<sup>2</sup> the wine (*of her lips*), whilst I deceived the vigilance of spies and took her unawares. O how sweet that visit ! though short, it ended for ever (*the pains I suffered from*) her protracted cruelty.

1 "On fabrique a Tuster de belles etoffes de soie. C'etait des ateliers de cette ville que sortait l, etoffe destinee a couvrir la Ka'aba." *Geographie d'Edrisi*, tom. I, p. 383.)

2 Literally : Manifesting.

I sigh for that slender waist and for the refreshing coolness of those lips. I sigh for her who in beauty is a statue ; we are all in the pagan troop of her adorers."

A well-known verse of his is the following, taken from a brilliant *qaṣīdah* :

"None knows what amorous passion is except him who suffers its torments ; none knows what love is except him who feels its pains."

The following sentimental verses are taken from a passage of a *qaṣīdah* in which he praises his mistress :

"Leave me to my sufferings ; let me undergo the pains of love ! O how wide the difference between him whose heart is free and him whom beauty has made its captive ! I swear that I shall heed not the reproaches (*of my friends*) ; they have only excited my impatience from the time that passion first held my rein. (*I swear that the counsels of*) censorious females shall not amend (*me*) as long as I see gardens of beauty in the cheeks of the fair ! In me (*the feelings of*) consolation are (*vainly*) sought ; love always lives (*within me*), but consolation is dead. O thunder cloud ! if thou art unkind to the valley (*where my beloved resided and refuseth it thy refreshing showers*), know, that often the clouds of our eyes have supplied it with the rains refused by thee. No ! never shall I forget the hill where I met thee (*my beloved !*) nor the time I stationed at a spot which I envy to its jealous possessor. And that maid with the slender waist and languishing eyes ; how long have I preserved my love for her, yet it was lost upon her ! How long have I obeyed her, yet she never yielded to my wishes<sup>1</sup> ! She wounds the hearts of lovers with glances yet sharper than the point of the spear. Her movements are full of grace ; I went astray in the darkness which her hair shed around, on the day of our separation, and was directed again by the brightness of her teeth<sup>2</sup>.

1 Literally : I preserved her, and she destroyed me ; I obeyed her, and she disobeyed me.

2 In this verse I have developed the poet's idea to render it intelligible. He employs a rhetorical figure which, in Arabic, is called *laff wa nashr* (*folding and unfolding*): See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, Vol. III, p. 143, 2nd ed.

When she stands up, in her fair proportions, and gracefully bends her waist, the pliant branch of the willow blushes (*to be vanquished*). Dwellers in the valley of Nu'mān! it was after your cheeks, and not after the king al-Nu'mān, that the anemonies were called *shaqā'iq al-Nu'mān*.<sup>1</sup> Taper lances in skilful hands wound not the heart so deeply as the bitterness of (*her*) disdain."

This passage is taken from a long *qaṣīdah* of which the eulogistic part is excellent. All his poetry is of the same cast, and his transitions from the description of the mistress to the praises of the patron are beautifully managed and have been rarely equalled. As an example of this, we may cite the *qaṣīdah* which begins thus:

"I gathered crops of roses off those cheeks, and in clasping that waist, I embraced a willow branch."

On coming to the transition. he says:

"And if I ever permit the disparise of (*my beloved*) Hind to ring in my ears, may I never resent the dispraise of Hind! may my eyes never find a way to shed tears of love! may I never pass the night in the bondage of love and passion! may I reveal the favours I have received, and may I return home manifesting ingratitude and coldness for the bounties of Majd al-Dīn."

Again, in another *qaṣīdah*, he says:

"There is no real love but mine for Laylā; there is no glory but that of Ibn al-Dawāmi<sup>2</sup>."

And again, in another:

"I swear that in love I stand alone, and that Kamāl al-Dīn stands alone in beneficence!"

To these might be added other examples. Ibn al-Jawzī (*No. 183, note*) says, in his History, that al-Ablah died at Baghdād in the month of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 579 (Sept-Oct, A.C. 1183). Others place his death a year later. He was interred at the Abzir Gate, opposite to the (*edifice called*) *al-Tājiyah*. *Ablah* (*simpleton*)

1 See No. 319, note.

2 One of the manuscripts gives the reading *al-Dawā'i*.

is a word so well-known that it is unnecessary to mark its pronunciation. He was called by this name because there was a shade of simplicity in his character, or, according to some, because he was extremely shrewd: *ablah* being one of those words which bear two opposite significations. It is thus that they call a negro *Kāfur*<sup>1</sup>. Having conceived a friendship for a youth of Baghdād, he passed one day by his house, and taking advantage of a moment when no person was present, he wrote on the door the following lines (*the Kātib* 'Imād al Dīn says that they were repeated to him by the author):

"Thy dwelling, O full moon of the darkness! is a paradise which alone can give delight to my soul. And in a tradition it is said that the greater part of the people of paradise are the *simple*."

Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī a poet whose life we shall give, satirized al-Ablah in the grossest terms, but though the piece is well versified, I shall abstain from inserting it.

#### 654 SIBT IBN AL-TA'ĀWĪDHĪ

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh the *Kātib*, surnamed Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī was a celebrated poet. His father, who was *mawlā* to the al-Muẓaffar family<sup>2</sup>, bore the name of Nushtikīn, but the son changed it into 'Ubayd Allāh. The mother of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad was daughter to the holy ascetic, Abū Muḥammad al-Mubārak Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn 'Alī Ibn Naṣr al-Sarrāj al-Jawharī, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī and by the title of Jamāl al-Dīn (*beauty of religion*)<sup>3</sup>. Having been brought up from

1 With the Arabs *camphor* is synonymous with *whiteness*.

2 See lower down in this notice.

3 A short account of al-Mubārak Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī will be found at the end of this article.

his childhood by his maternal grandfather, and having passed his youth under his care, he also was surnamed Ibn al-Ta'āwidi. As a poet, Abu 'l-Faḥ stood, in his days, without a rival; in his verses he combined correctness and sweetness of expression with tenderness and subtlety of thought. His pieces are charming and beautiful in the highest degree; I do not think that, for two hundred years before, any poet existed at all like him; and let not the reader of this article blame me when I say this, for opinions vary according to the character of him who pronounces them, and it has been well said by a poet: *Men's tastes differ as to what they love*. Ibn al-Ta'āwidi was a *kātib* (clerk) in the chief office (*diwān al-Maqaṭi'āt*) at Baghdād. In the year 579 (A.C. 1183-4), towards the close of his life, he lost his sight, and in some of his later poems he laments that privation and regrets the happy days of his youth. Before he became blind, he collected his own works into a *diwān*, drawn up in four sections and preceded by an ingenious introduction (*khuṭbah*). The pieces which he composed afterwards, he entitled *al-Ziyādāt* (additions), and it therefore happens that these additions are wanting in some copies of his *diwān*. When he lost his sight he was a pensioner of the *Diwān* (the board of public service), and then obtained that his own name should be replaced on the register by those of his sons; but, some time after, he wrote the following lines to the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, requesting a new pension for himself, to be continued as long as he lived:

"*Khalif of God! you sustain the weight of religion, the world, and Islāmism; you follow closely the regulations perscribed by the ancient imāms, those land-marks of sure guidance. Under thy reign, poverty and injustice have disappeared: sedition and heresy are seen no longer, and all the people tread in the paths of good policy, beneficence, and justice. Mighty prince! you at whose prohibition fortune ceases her tyranny—you who have bestowed on us favours double and fourfold! my land is struck with sterility, and you alone can restore the impoverished possessor to plenty. I have a family, alas too numerous! which have consumed my means, and their appetite is yet unsated; when they saw me in opulence, they assembled around me, and sat and hearkened to my wishes, but, long since, they broke every*

tie and turned away on finding me penniless<sup>1</sup>. They roam about me on every side, and, like scorpions, wherever they pass they sting. Among them are children, boys, infants at the breast just able to creep, aged men, and youths full grown. From none of them, young or old, can I hope to derive advantage; they have throats leading to stomachs which receive a greater load than they can carry. Their paunches are wide and empty; their consuming appetite cannot be satisfied. With them, chewing is useless: the morsel which enters their mouth is swallowed without that ceremony. The story which I now relate concerns myself, and will amuse him who is well disposed and lends his ear. I foolishly made over my pension to sons, of whom, as long as I live, I shall get no good. I had in view their advantage, but I had not the talent of drawing any profit from them. I said to them; "When I die, this shall be yours;" but they obeyed me not, neither did they hearken to my wishes. They juggled me out of my money, before I could cast my eye upon it, or touch it with my hand. By Allāh ! I did wrong and harmed myself, and they also have done wrong. But, if you wish to end our contestations, grant me a new pension, wherewith to encounter and amplify my straitened means; and if you say that I have been made a dupe, know that the generous man is often duped. God forbend that my old pension should be erased from the registers of your office and cut off. Sign your consent to my demand, for my hopes are excited and those hopes are firm. Defer not your answer, for I am not to be put off, even though you pushed me away with your own hands; put it in my power to swear that, to transport my pension to another, I shall never raise my hand nor put it (*to paper*)."

With what ingenuity he adduces, in these verses, the motives which should tend to the fulfilment of his desire ! were the piece recited to a rock, it would soften and bend it ! So, the Commander of the faithful gave orders that he should receive the pension. Having then obtained (*as an equivalent for his monthly pay*) a quantity of bad flour, he addressed a versified complaint to the storekeeper Fakhr al-Dīn ; it begins thus ;

---

1 The word *qitā'* the plural of *qit'ah*, signifies *segments, pieces cut off a coin, to serve as small change*.

"My lord Fakhr al-Dīn ! thou art prompt to deeds of generosity, when other men are averse and slow. God forbid that you should consent to my receiving an allowance like that of common door-porters and torch-bearers<sup>1</sup>. (*they have given me*) a substance black as night, worth from a farthing to a *qīrāt* (*four pence*) a bushel, altered by age and spoiled to an excessive degree. My offended senses are troubled (*by it*), my health impaired, and the humours of my constitution corrupted. Take charge of my cure ; I submit to an able Hippocrates the malady of which I complain."

Sharaf al-Dīn Abu Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Baladī<sup>2</sup>, was wazīr to the *imām* (*khalīf*) al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh and president of the council of state (*wazīr al-Diwan al-'Azīz*) He once removed the directors of all the government offices from their places and committed them to prison ; having then examined their accounts, he inflicted on them heavy fines, personal chastisements, and tortures. This occurrence induced Sibṭ<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Ta'āwidi with the following lines :

"Traveller to Baghdād ! avoid a city overflowed by the swollen waves of tyranny. If you go to request a favour, return, for all the doors are shut against him who hopes. That place is no longer what it lately was when its hotels<sup>4</sup> were filled with solicitors, and when the heads of noble families, eminent scholars, and distinguished *kātib*s resided within its walls. Time was then in its newness, and fortune in the bloom of its youth ; talent and learning were richly rewarded by generous protectors. (*That city*) is now ruined and so are its inhabitants ; their mansions have been desolated by the existence of our lord the wazīr. Baghdād offers nought to the living but the grave, with stones and earth to be

1 The word *lū* (*naḥḥū*) means a *preparer of combustibles with naphtha*.

2 An account of the rise and fall of the wazīr Ibn al-Baladī is given in the *Diwān al-Islāmiyah* by Ibn al-Ṭiqṭīqā p. 365 of the edition published by Mr. Ahlwardt under the title of al-Fakhrī, Ibn al-Aḥḥir gives an account of his death in the *Kāmil*, year 565.

3 Sibṭ (*سبط*) signifies a *daughter's son, a grand-son by the female line*.

4 The signification of the word *rab'a* has been explained in No. 142, note.



cast upon their corpses. Some are condemned to perpetual imprisonment, where tortures ever renewed are heaped upon them. From thence no hopes of return; can we hope for the return of those who inhabit the tomb! The people are in desolation; ties of blood and ties of friendship hold no longer. The father betrays the son, the wife the husband; relations and friends betray. The mediation of intercessors avails not; offenders obtain no respite to repent of their faults. They all see the day of judgment arrived; and those who doubted of the resurrection have now become believers: the crowd is not wanting, nor the balance, nor the books of men's acts presented to view, nor the volumes opened, nor the call to reckoning; the inexorable guards execute the sentence upon mankind; chains are there, clubs, and punishment, nay, all the threatened terrors of the day of judgment, but a Merciful and Beneficent Being is not there."

He composed the following lines on the same wazīr :

"O Lord! hearken to our affliction, for thou canst remove it; (alas!) have we not come to a time in which Abū Ja'far is wazīr."

Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn al-Najjār (*No. 5, note*) states, in his History of Baghdād, that on Monday, the 8th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 566 (19th December, A.C. 1170), the *imām* al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh died and was succeeded by his son the *imām* al-Mustaḍī bi-amr Allāh. The next day, Tuesday, the new *khalif* held a sitting to receive the allegiance of his people. Immediately after, the mayor of the palace, (Ustādḥ al-Dar) 'Aḍud al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faraj (a person of whom we shall again speak lower down), came forth with Ibn al-Bastī<sup>1</sup>, and said: "The *khalif* has given orders that the law of talion shall have its course against this man;" pointing to the wazīr. They instantly seized on Abū Ja'far and dragged him along the ground, after which they cut off his nose, one of his hands, one of his feet, and finally his head. The trunk and the vered members were then placed in (*the concavity of*) a shield and cast into the Tigris.

<sup>1</sup> None of the historians whose works I have consulted speaks of this person. One of the 'ISS. of Ibn Khallikān reads *al-Sibtī* (السبتي) instead of al-Bastī (البستي).

This wazīr, when in power, had cut off the nose of Ibn al-Bastī's mother, and the hand and the foot of his brother, but that day Ibn al-Bastī took his revenge; God preserve us from the evil consequences of our own deeds! *Sibt* Ibn al-Ta'āwidi<sup>1</sup> was the son of a *mawlā* to 'Aḍud al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar, the same who treated the wazīr Ibn al-Baladi in this manner, and he once wrote to his patron the following piece, requesting (*an allowance of*) barley for his horse:

"O my patron! thou whose acts of kindness cannot be counted, and whose generosity is ample and abundant when the gifts bestowed by other men are rare! thou to whom we have recourse, and under whose shade we repose when fortune plays the tyrant! I have a long story to tell of my old bay horse: I bought him without necessity, and behold the consequence of indulging in superfluities: I thought he would have carried my travelling furniture, but all my fine hopes were disappointed, and I never imagined, O misery, that I should myself have to carry his heavy burden. A saddle is good to sit on, but it is a heavy object on my shoulders. His back is white like the owl's<sup>2</sup>; his worth is neither great nor little; his qualities are not of the best, and his appearance far from handsome; he is a *ḥarūn*<sup>3</sup> and slow in his movements; he is not a racer, nor obedient to the bit; neither does his crupper nor his neck awake admiration in the beholder; when he steps out he stops short, but when they give him enough to eat, it is long before he stops. Straw and clean barley delight him, as also clover and green fodder, but thou wilt see his teeth water at the sight of '*ikrish*<sup>3</sup>'; he has only one good point—that of being a good feeder. Then give him to-day whatever is at hand, and treat

---

1 This whiteness of the back resulted probably from its having been ex-coriated by the saddle.

2 The word *ḥarūn* has two meanings; when taken as a noun, it is the name of a famous race-horse (see No. 517, note); and when employed as an adjective, it means a horse that suddenly stops short. It may be perceived that the poet means to play upon this double signification.

3 '*Ikriṣh* is the Arabic name of four or five different plants. Here it may perhaps designate *tritium repens*. See Sontheimer's *Heil. und Nahrungsmittel von Ebn Baitar*, p. II. s. 204.

him as one of your own. Say not: 'That is too little'; a single straw is precious in his eye."

I give these pieces because they are greatly admired<sup>1</sup>, but his *qaṣīdahs* containing the praises of his mistress and his patrons are of the utmost beauty. He composed a book called *Kitāb al-Ḥajabah wa 'l-Ḥijāb* (*on chamberlains and door-curtains*)<sup>2</sup>; it fills about fifteen quires (*three hundred pages*) and is a scarce work. The author treats the subject at great length. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī mentions, in his *Khariḍah*, that when he passed into Syria and was attached to the service of the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Ibn al-Ta'āwidi, with whom he had been acquainted when in 'Irāq, addressed to him an epistle with a *qaṣīdah* in which he requested from him a present of a furred pelisse. He gives a copy of the epistle, which ran as follows: "(The humble servant) imposes a task on your noble qualities which never felt beneficence to be a task<sup>3</sup> and he here offers thee his expectations as a present, and such a present! They consist in the obtaining of a Damascus furred pelisse, magnificent, spotless, soft to the touch, an ornament to the wearer, made with skins carefully dressed, sewn with care, long as thy longanimity, ample as thy beneficence, fair as thy reputation, handsome as thy deeds, large as thy heart, spotless as thy honour, excellent as thy merit, embroidered like thy poetry and prose; its exterior (*pleasing*) like thy aspect, its interior (*sound*) like thy heart, adorning the wearer, and embellishing the assemblies; to serve as a cloak to thy humble servant and a lustre to thy glory, which God protect! so that even he who does not wear it may be grateful to thee, and he who does not put it on

---

1 The easy graceful style in which this last piece is written has disappeared in the translation.

2 The doorway leading into the saloon where a great man gives audience is closed by a curtain; a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) posted there lifts up a corner of the curtain to let the visitor enter. As the titles of Arabic books rarely indicate the subjects of which they treat, this work of Ibn al-Ta'āwidi's may not perhaps have any reference to chamberlains: *Ḥajabah wa 'l-Ḥijāb* may signify *the keepers of secrets and the veils under which secrets are hidden*.

3 In the Arabic text of this letter, the third person singular is employed in place of the second. This is a customary form of respect.

may praise thee for it. The gloss of its fur may fade, but the impression of gratitude which it produced will remain; the skins may wear out, but our thanks and praises shall be renewed. (*Thy servant*) has composed some verses in which he has combined every species of ornament, and, though the sending of them to you is like the sending of dates to Hajar<sup>1</sup>, yet he presents them in the same manner as perfumes are offered to the perfumer and as clothes are placed in the hands of the vender. (*Thy servant*) thus deposits his eulogium in its fitting place, and he brings the merit (*of his production*) into conjunction with the meritorious, by composing this (*qaṣīdah*) in thy honour and confiding it to the safeguarding of thy generosity," Imād al-Dīn then gives the *qaṣīdah*, which begins thus :

"I should sacrifice my father to preserve that person for whom, in my love, I pine with desire and passion."

This piece is to be found in his (*Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī's*) *diwān*. In reply to this *qaṣīdah*, Imād al-Dīn wrote another, rhyming in the same syllable; they are both of great length. Before mentioning the epistle and the *qaṣīdah*, Imād al-Dīn speaks in these terms of the author: "A young man of talent, instruction, influence, discretion, manliness spirit, and honour, with whom I was united in the bonds of friendship by the sincerity of our mutual sentiments, and who possessed in perfection all the means (*of pleasing*) which wit, ingenuity, and intelligence can bestow." He then inserts the epistle with the *qaṣīdah* and its answer. I never saw any thing like this letter except one of which I shall speak in the life of Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, to whom Ibn Kharūf al-Maghribī indited an epistle of great originality, in which he asked him for a pelisse of marten-skins. Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī was born on Friday, the 10th of Rajab, A.H. 519 (12th August, A.C. 1125) and he died at Baghdād on the 2nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 584 (24th November, A.C. 1188); some say, 583. He was interred at the Abrez Gate.

---

1 Hajar, a town of Arabia, in the province of Bahrayn, was renowned for the abundance of its dates; whence the proverb: "Like him who carries dates to Hajar," It is equivalent to the English one of carrying coals to Newcastle.

According to Ibn al-Najjār, in his History, the birth of Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī took place on a Friday, and his death on Saturday, the 18th of Shawwāl. *Ta'āwīdhī* means a *writer of amulets*; *ta'āwīdh* signifying *amulets*. It was under this surname that Abū Muḥammad al-Mubārak Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn al-Sarrāj al-Baghdādī, the pious and holy ascetic already named towards the beginning of this article, was generally known. Ibn al-Sam'ānī (No. 370), who mentions him in the *Dhayl (supplement)* and in the *Ansāb*, says: "Perhaps his father dealt in charms and wrote amulets." Ibn al-Sam'ānī received from him some traditional information; this writer says also; "I asked him where and when he was born, to which he replied: 'At al-Karkh (*the suburb of Baghdād*)', in the year 476 (A.C. 1083-4).' He died in the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 553 (June, A.C. 1158), and was interred in the Shūnīzi cemetery. He recited to me the following lines as his own:

"Let one object only (God) engage your thoughts, and leave aside all other cares. You may thus happily obtain such knowledge as may render all human learning useless."

"He then informed me that these were the only verses he ever composed<sup>1</sup>." *Nushtikīn* is a foreign name borne by white slaves (*mamlūks*). We have already stated, in the beginning of this article, that *Nushtikīn* was a *mamlūk* belonging to a descendant of al-Muẓaffar, the son of Ra'īs al-Ruwāsā Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī being one of their *mawlās* and much indebted to their kindness, composed a number of brilliant poems in their praise, and these he assembeled in one of the four chapters into which his *dīwān* is divided.

#### 655 IBN AL-MU'ALLIM THE POET

Abu 'l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Fāris Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Qāsim al-Wāsiṭi (*native of Wāsiṭ*),

1. 'Imād al-Dīn, who met al-Mubārak Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī at Damascus subsequently to the year 540 (A.C. 1146), says that he was a holy and virtuous *shaykh* of an engaging aspect, agreeable in his manners, and pleasing in his discourse. (*Kharidah*, MS. No. 1447, fol. 72 verso.)

al-Hurthī, surnamed Najm al-Dīn (*star of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Mu'allim (*the son of the preceptor*), was a highly celebrated poet. His pieces are so replete with pathetic sentiment and natural delicacy of thought, that they seem to melt with tenderness. He was one of those whose poems got into wide circulation, whose name acquired popularity, and whose verses procured them public esteem, wealth, and influence. The composition of verses formed the occupation of his life, and the epoch in which he lived encouraged him to persevere. His poems are chiefly amatory, eulogistic, or miscellaneous: the style is easy and the thoughts are just. The greater part of his poetry is devoted to the description of love, desire, affection, and passion; his verses seize the heart and possess a charm to which very few are insensible: people listen to them with pleasure and retain them in their mind; they communicate them one to another, preachers quote them in their exhortations, and the assemblies listen with delight. I heard some *shaykhs* of al-Batā'ih<sup>1</sup> say that Ibn al-Mu'allim's poetry derived its touching effect from a single circumstance, namely: that every *qaṣīdah* which he composed was immediately committed to memory by the *dervishes* (*faqīrs*) belonging to the order which is called the *Rifā'ī*, after its founder the *shaykh* Aḥmad Ibn al-Rifā'ī (*No. 69*) and, as they sang these poems at their (*religious*) concert for the purpose of exciting their minds to a state of mystic rapture, the blessed influence of their sighs passed into and pervaded his poetry. I found them all convinced of this as of a fact which left no doubt on their minds, (*Be this as it may, I shall only observe*) in a summary manner, that his poems resemble elegies, and that no man with the least spark of love in his bosom can bear them without yielding to their charm and feeling his passion revive. A mutual jealousy subsisted between Ibn al-Mu'allim and Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī (*No. 654*); this led the latter to satirize our poet in a piece of verse rhyming in *j*, which, however, we need not insert. Ibn al-Mu'allim composed a long *qaṣīdah* which opens thus:

"Bring back the camels which have hastened off with their fair burdens; when the mansion is no longer inhabited, it ceases

---

1 See 69, note.

to be home. In that valley resided (*a maid*) from whose access you were debarred, and whose pliant waist laughed to scorn the willow-branch. She betrayed her inconstancy at (*our*) first assignation (*by staying away*); who now can engage that she will fulfil a second promise? How can we meet whilst (*warriors*) of her tribe, sons of combat and lions of battle, surround her? (*warriors*) who long have borne the spear and whose hands, methink, were only formed to wield the pliant lance. They have girded the bright swords, and nought is seen in the nomadic camp, but the Indian scimitar and the pike. If I turned away, 'twas to avoid the observation of foes, not from satiety or indifference. Inhabitants of Nu'mān<sup>1</sup>! where are the days we passed at Ṭuwayla? (*Tell me where!*) inhabitants of Nu'mān!"

In another poem he says:

"How often did I say: 'Beware (*the valley of*) al-'Aqīq, for its gazelles (*maidens*) are wont<sup>2</sup> to make its lions (*warriors*) their prey.' But you chose to chase the tender fawns of Ḥijāz, and fortune being adverse, you became their prey."

He says again in another *qaṣīdah*:

"O neighbours! the tears which flowed (*from my eyes were once plentiful and*) worthless, but (*separated as we now are*) by the hands of absence, (*they are exhausted and*) precious. Let us tarry at the valley (*where my beloved resided*); stop there for an instant short as that which is required to gird on a mantle or undo a camel's fetter. How often did I station there! Such moments I would cheaply purchase with my life; judge then if I would spare my wealth."

In another *qaṣīdah* he says:

"(*I swore*) an oath by the refreshing moisture enclosed within the lips (*of my beloved*) and encircled with hidden pearl; that,

---

1 See No. 644, 648, 653,

2 I suppose that the copyists have written, by mistake, دربت for هربت.

when the camel-driver reached the hill from which al-'Udhayb<sup>1</sup> could be seen, I should breathe my last. But who now will help me to expiate my oath? Had I not seen in that valley the traces of my beloved Laylā and (*objects to awaken my slumbering*) passion, I should not have returned here like one possessed (*by a demon*)."

The motive which induced Ibn al-Mu'allim to compose the *qaṣīdah* (from which this last passage is extracted) was, that he, al-Ablah (No. 653) and Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī (No. 654) having read the exquisite *qaṣīdah* of Ṣurr-Durr's (No. 449) which begins with this verse: *Is it thus that the love of all (my) companions is requited? Is such the general character of large-eyed gazelles (maidens)?* and of which we shall again speak in the life of 'Amīd al-Mulk Muḥammad, they were filled with admiration, and Ibn al-Mu'allim composed this poem in the same prosodiac measure; Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī wrote, on the same occasion, a brilliant *qaṣīdah* which he sent to the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was then in Syria. It contains the praises of this prince and begins thus:

"If your habits, when in love resemble mine, let us stop our camels at the two sand-hills of Yabrin<sup>2</sup>"

Al-Ablah also composed a *qaṣīdah*, but Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī's is the best of the three. A story has been handed down that Ibn al-Mu'allim related as follows: "When in Baghdād, I passed one day by the place where the *shaykh* Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (No. 345) used to hold his sittings for the purpose of delivering pious exhortations; and, seeing a dense crowd assembled, I asked a person there what had brought them together? He replied: 'It is the preacher Ibn al-Jawzī who is holding a sitting.' Not being aware that he did so, I forced my way forward till I could see and hear him. He was then preaching, and, in the midst of his exhortation, he pronounced these words; 'And it has been well said by Ibn al-Mu'allim:

---

1 Al-'Udhayb is the name borne by a number of springs situated in different parts of the Arabian desert.

2 See 642, note.



'The repetition of Thy name gives fresh pleasure to my ear; and he who repeats it is charming to my sight.'

"I was greatly struck with the coincidence of my presence and this citation of verse from one of my own poems, but neither Ibn al-Jawzī nor any person in the assembly knew that I was there." The verse of which he speaks belongs to one of his most celebrated *qaṣīdahs*. In another poem, Ibn al-Mu'allim says :

"My fortitude has been overcome by a person whom I dare not make known, and my heart's blood has been wantonly shed by one whom I dare not name. She was cruel, but my tongue had not power to reproach her; yet my heart had strength enough to suffer her tyranny."

On the day when the battle of the Camel was fought near Baṣrah, the engagement had not yet begun, when (*the khalif*) 'Alī sent his cousin 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās with a letter to Ṭālḥah and al-Zubayr, in which he endeavoured to dissuade them from commencing hostilities. In giving Ibn al-'Abbās the letter, he said; "Do not have any interview with Ṭālḥah, for you will find him (*headstrong*) as the bull which twists up its nose; he will mount an unruly camel and say it is perfectly broken<sup>1</sup>; but meet al-Zubayr, for he is of a more tractable disposition, and say to him: 'Thy maternal cousin<sup>2</sup> sends thee this message: Thou hast known me in Ḥijāz and wilt not know me in 'Irāq; what has occurred to change thy former feelings<sup>3</sup>?' 'Alī was the first person who employed this expression, and Ibn al-Mu'allim inserted it in the following verse :

"They offered him their salutations at al-Jadh<sup>4</sup>, and they turned their backs on him at al-Ghawr<sup>5</sup>; what has occurred to change their former feelings?"

1 Or: "He will engage in difficulties and say that they are easily got over."

2 Ṣafīyyah, the mother of al-Zubayr, and Abū Ṭālib, the father of 'Alī, were brother and sister.

3 The Ababic words signify literally: What has passed away of that which has commenced? This proverbial expression is noticed by al-Maydānī, tome II, p. 657 of Freytag's edition.

4 *Al-Jadh'a* (*the valley*); some valley in Arabia is here meant.

5 *Al-Ghawr* is the name given to the valley of the Jordan.

This verse is to be found in one of his long *qaṣīdahs* ; I took 'Alī's message from a work entitled *Nahj al-Balāghah* (*the highway of eloquence*),<sup>1</sup> It is needless to expatiate on the beauties<sup>2</sup> of Ibn al-Mu'alim's poetry, as his *diwān* is well-known and in general circulation. He was born on the eve of the 17th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 501 (2nd February, A.C. 1108), and he died at al-Hurth on the 4th of Rajab, A. H. 592 (3rd June, A.C. 1196). *Hurthī* means *belonging to al-Hurth*, which is a village in the district of Nahr Ja'far, at ten parasangs from Wāsiṭ. It was his native place, and he continued to reside in it till his death.

#### 656 MUWAFFAQ AL-DĪN AL-IRBILĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qā'id al-Irbilī (*native of Arbela*), surnamed Muwaffaq al-Dīn (*favoured in his religion*), was brought up at Arbela, the native place of his family, but he was born at Baḥrayn, (*whence his surname of al-Baḥrānī*). This celebrated poet, who bore also the highest reputation as a grammarian, displayed equal talents in all the various species of poetry ; he ranked with the most learned of the age in the science of prosody and rhyme ; in poetical criticism he was one of the most acute, in distinguishing faults from beauties, one of the most skilful, and in testing poetical compositions, one of the most expert. Having acquired some knowledge of the sciences of the ancients (*the Greeks*), he drew up an explanation of (*the difficulties offered by*) the Book of Euclid. At Baḥrayn, when yet a boy, and before he had commenced his literary studies, he composed verses in imitation of the example offered by the Arabs of the desert. He was the master under whose tuition Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfi (*No.* 528), the author of the History

1 *Nahj al-Balāghah* (*the highway of eloquence*). This work is stated by some writers to have been compiled by the *sharīf* Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Murtaḍā (*No.* 418), and that it consists of maxims and discourses uttered by 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib ; but the general opinion is unfavourable to its authenticity. Some large commentaries have been composed to elucidate this work.

2 I read *farā'id* with the edition of Boulac.

of Arbela, studied the sciences connected with the art of poetry, and finished his education. This writer speaks of him in his work and says after enumerating his merits : "Our *shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḥaram Makki al-Mākisīnī the grammarian"—we shall give his life—"had recourse to him for the solution of numerous grammatical difficulties and obtained answers to all the questions which he proposed to him." Muwaffaq al-Dīn travelled to *Shahrzūr* and resided there for some time ; he then removed to Damascus and celebrated, in a long *qaṣīdah*, the praises of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He left a *diwān* of good poetry and of elegant epistles. As a poet, he ranked with those of his contemporaries whom we have already noticed in this work. One of his productions is a *qaṣīdah* composed in honour of Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf Ibn Zayn al-Dīn, the prince of Arbela of whom some mention has been made in the life of his brother Muẓaffar al-Dīn (No. 522). This piece, which is remarkable for its length and excellence, opens with the following lines :

"The mansion at al-Gḥaḍā has long suffered from decay, and travellers stop to shed tears over its ruins. Its walls have mouldered away, and nought remains but the traces which time has only spared to efface them hereafter. There I spent many (*happy*) days : but alas ! they have passed away ; the blessings of God be on those days and on that dwelling ! The dark clouds of morning stopped over it and shed the contents of their bosom upon its naked soil ; weeping over these ruins in the absence of my tears ! may God recompense that service ! Say to those who resided here<sup>1</sup> "The ties (*of friendship*) with which I bound you hold no longer<sup>2</sup> ; and yet I loved you, for (*by your honourable renown*) you were a tree whose summit no bird could reach. Every night that passed, a guard stood around it, their lances moist with gore<sup>3</sup> ; and when a transgressor stretched his hand towards its

---

1 Literally : to neighbours.

2 Literally : are rotten in their strands. The strands of a rope are the smaller ropes of which it is composed. Ropes are generally made of three strands of twisted cords. The Arabic word is *qiwā* (قوى), the plural of *qūwah* (قوة).

3 Literally : The points of their spears sweated death.

branches, that hand was severed (*from the arm*) before it touched the fruit. But the duty (*of defending your honour*) was at length relaxed, so that it seemed to the spectator an unprotected and an easy prize. Your soil is fruitful, but I approach not, in search of pasture, except to grounds of difficult access; God created me not to feed my flocks in a meadow easy of approach, where he may lead his flocks who will<sup>1</sup>. When hope impelled me to court your favours, despair stood before me and turned me away. (*My feelings towards you are*) now the last remains of that love which commenced with desire. Think not that I shall return to you; experience has removed the bandage from my eyes. Know that Zayn al-Din has granted me a favour which precludes me from desiring any other."

This poem is long and its eulogistic part is very fine. His father was a native of Arbela and followed the profession of a merchant; like the other merchants, he used to visit Baḥrayn and remain there for some time, procuring pearls from the diving-beds; it therefore happened that his son al-Muwaffaq Abū 'Abd Allāh was born in that place. The child was taken to Arbela, and, for the reason just given, the surname of al-Baḥrānī was bestowed upon it. Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Irbilī died at Arbela on the eve of Sunday, the 3rd of the latter Rabi', A.H. 585 (21st May, A. C. 1189), and was interred in the family cemetery, situated to the south of al-Bast. Al-Muṭarrizī, says in his *kitāb al-Mughrib*, *al-bast* is a Persian word (*bast*) which signifies the *spreading out of the water at the mouth of a river*<sup>2</sup> *Baḥrānī* means *belonging to al-Baḥrayn*, which is a small town near Hajar<sup>3</sup>. Al-Azhari (No. 613) says that it received the name of al-Baḥrayn (*the two seas*) because (*it lies near the sea, and because*) a lake is situated near the villages of that place, at the entrance into (*the region called*) al-Aḥsā. The villages of Hajar

---

1 Throughout this piece the poet employs, with a figurative signification, the pastoral terms employed by the nomadic Arabs, *Feeding flocks*, here signifies: *obtaining riches or favours*.

2 At the end of the article the author informs us what the Bast of Arbela is.

3 See No. 654, note.

are ten parasangs distant from the Green Sea (*the Persian Gulf*). The lake is three miles in length and as many in breadth ; its waters are brackish ; they never dry up, but remain stagnant. Abū 'Ubayd (*No. 509*) states that Abū Muḥammad (*Yalīyā*) al-Yazīdī<sup>1</sup> related the following anecdote : "(The *khalif*) al-Mahdī asked me and al-Kisā'ī (*No. 408*) why a native of Baḥrayn should be called a *Baḥrānī*, whereas a person belonging to al-Ḥiṣnāy was designated as a *Ḥiṣnī* (and not as a *Ḥiṣnānī*). To this al-Kisā'ī replied that people dislike saying *Ḥiṣnānī* on account of (*the disagreeable sound caused by*) the proximity of the two n's ; and I answered for *Baḥrānī*, that they preferred it to *Baḥrī*, because the meaning of the latter term might be mistaken, bearing, as it does, another signification, namely : '*belonging to the sea.*'" *Al-Bast* is the bed of a broad river passing through Arbela ; the winter torrents and those of spring flow into it. It contains a great quantity of small stones.

### 657 IBN AL-DAHĤĤĤĤ AL-FARAḌĤ

Abū *Shujā'* Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn *Shu'ayb*, surnamed *Fakhr al-Dīn* (*glory of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Dahān (*the son of the oilman*) was a native of Baghdād, a calculator of inheritance-shares (*faraḍī*)<sup>2</sup>, an arithmetician, and a philologer. Having left Baghdād, he proceeded to Moṣul and attached himself to the wazīr Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī<sup>3</sup> ; but he afterwards passed into the service of the sultān Ṣaiāḥ al-Dīn, and was nominated by him director of the government office at Mayyāfāriqīn. Being unable, in this post, to come to a good understanding with the governor of the city, he removed to Damascus and obtained a very inadequate pension, by which he dragged on a miserable existence. In the year

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 See No. 179, note.

3 The life of the wazīr Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī will be found in this work.

586 (A.C. 1190), he went to Egypt, and subsequently returned to Damascus, where he settled. He drew up, on the partition of inheritances, a number of works, containing tables, and amongst other treatises, he composed a *Gharib al-Ḥadīth* (*unusual expressions occurring in the Traditions*), the contents of which fill sixteen small volumes. In this production he employed certain letters by means of which any word sought for could be found out. His pen was more eloquent than his tongue. He compiled also a history and other works. Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī (No. 528) mentions him in the history of Arbela, and counts him among the strangers who visited that city: "He was," says he, "a man of learning and solid information; he composed some good poetry." This historian then gives the verses composed by Ibn al-Dahhān in praise of the *shaykh* Tāj al-Dīn Abu 'l-Yumn Zayd Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī (No. 233). The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn also speaks of him with high commendation in the *Kharidah*, and gives some fine passages from his poetry. One of these pieces is the following, composed on the grammarian Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn al-Dahhān, generally known by the surname of al-Nāṣiḥ (*the monitor*), who had lost one of his eyes; we have already spoken of this person (No. 247):

"Al-Dahhān is not far from having a son more deceitful than himself in two ways. ('Tis like) one of the wonders of the sea, you may well relate it: (*the son has*) a single eye and a double face?"

Another of the passages cited in the same work is the following, addressed to a person of rank on his recovery from sickness:

"The people made a vow that on the day of thy recovery they would hold a fast; I alone vowed not to hold one, but to break it. For I knew that the day of thy recovery would be a festival; and on such days I disapprove of fasting even though obliged to do so by a vow."

1 *Dahhān* signifies not only an oilman but also *deceitful*.

2 A double face means *duplicity*; the influence of the *evil-eye* was particularly active in one-eyed man.

He composed also some fine poems for recitation. He was well skilled in astronomy and in the use of astronomical tables. His death took place at al-Ḥillat al-Sayfiyah in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 590 (January-February, A.C. 1194). He had set out from Damascus to perform the pilgrimage, and, in returning, he took the road leading to 'Irāq; but on arriving at al-Ḥillah, his camel fell under him, and a piece of the wood of the saddle struck him in the face and killed him on the spot. His stature was low, his face smooth, his beard long, and white, inclining to yellow. Some say that he bore the surname of Burhān al-Dīn (*proof of religion*). Having already spoken of al-Ḥillah (No. 276), we need not repeat our observations.

#### 658 IBN 'UNAYN

Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Unayn al-Anṣārī, surnamed Sharaf al-Dīn (*nobleness of religion*), was born in Damascus, but his family belonged to Kūfah. With him closed the series of our great poets; his equal has never since appeared, and, towards the close of his life, he remained without a rival. In his poetical compositions, excellent as they are, he did not confine himself to one particular style; on the contrary, he displayed his talents in all the various branches of that art. His literary information was most extensive; the greater part of the poetry composed by the Arabs of the desert was familiar to him, and, as I have been informed, he could repeat from memory the contents of Ibn Durayd's (No. 611) philological work, the *Jamharah*. He had a strong passion for satire and took pleasure in attacking the reputation of others; a long *qaṣidah* of his, to which he gave the title of *Miqrād al-A'rād* (*the scissors to cut up reputations*), is directed against some of the chief men at Damascus. The recurrence of his invectives against individuals having obliged the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to banish him from that city, he composed, on leaving it, the following lines:

"Why have you banished an honest man who never committed a crime, who never stole? Expel the *muwadhhdhin* from your country, if all are to be expelled who speak the truth<sup>1</sup>."

Ibn 'Unayn travelled over various countries, such as Syria, 'Irāq Mesopotamia, Adharbā'ijān, Khurāsān, Ghaznah, Khuwārizm and Transoxiana; he next visited India, and afterwards passed into Yaman, which was then under the rule of Sayf al-Islām Ṭuḡhtikīn Ibn Ayyūb (No. 282), the brother of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. After residing there for some time, he proceeded to Damascus by way of Hījāz and Egypt. From Damascus he made frequent excursions to other cities and returned home again. In the year 623 (A.C. 1226) I saw him at Arbela, but did not obtain any thing from him<sup>2</sup>; he had been sent there on a political mission by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf al-Dīn 'Isā, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil and sovereign of Damascus (No. 490). He made but a short stay, and set out again. When in India, he wrote the following lines to his brother at Damascus; the second verse he borrowed from Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (No. 46), but this he was well entitled to do (*if we take into consideration his own talents*):

"Separated as we are, I forgive thy silence, for I know that thy letters could not find a bearer: and I pardon thy *ṣayf*<sup>3</sup> its cruelty (*in not visiting my slumbers*), for, after travelling all night, it was still separated from me by a journey of many days<sup>4</sup>."

How well that is expressed, and with what elegance he introduces the verse of Abu 'l-'Alā! The same thought recurs in different passages of his poetry; thus, in a long *qaṣīdah*, he says:

"O zephyr that comest from Tall Rāhiṭ and the meadows of al-Ḥimā! how has thou found thy way to India?"

1 When the *muwadhhdhin* calls the people to prayer, he proclaims that there is but one God and that Muḥammad is the apostle of God. It is to this the poet alludes.

2 The author means that he did not learn any of Ibn 'Unayn's verses from that poet's own lips.

3 See vol. I, Introduction.

4 Literally: by stations.



He said also in a piece composed at Aden, a city in Yaman :

"O my friends ! I ask not your *ṭayf* to visit (*my slumbers*); for, alas ! how far is al-Daylamiyāt from Aden !"

*Al-Daylamiyāt*, *Tall Rāhiṭ*, and *al-Ḥimā* are places situated in the plain of Damascus. The verse in al-Ma'arri's poem, which precedes the one given here, runs as follows :

"I asked how far it was from al-Aqīq to al-Ḥimā ? and I marvelled at the wide interval and the journey's length."

Al-Ma'arri borrowed this thought from Di'bil Ibn 'Alī al-Khuzā'i, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*No. 213*). Di'bil composed a satire on the *khalif* al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh, the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and, search having been made for him, he fled from 'Irāq to Egypt and took up his residence at Uswān (*Syene*), in the farthest extremity of that country. On this occasion he composed the verses which follow :

"A man driven by his apprehensions to Uswān has not preserved the least trace of fortitude. I have fixed my abode in a spot which the eye cannot reach, and which the *ṭayf* itself would be unable to attain, were it to undertake so fatiguing a journey."

We have been here led away from our subject, but one word brought on another. Subsequently to the death of the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, when al-Malik al-'Ādil took possession of Damascus<sup>1</sup> Iōn 'Unayn was absent on the journey which he undertook in consequence of his banishment ; but (*on learning the events which had taken place*), he directed his steps towards Damascus and wrote to al-Malik al-'Ādil the *qaṣīdāh* rhyming in *r*, wherein he requests permission to enter the city. In this poem he describes Damascus, relates the sufferings which he underwent in foreign lands, and addresses a most touching appeal to that prince's commiseration. This piece, which is of the highest beauty, begins thus :

---

<sup>1</sup> The occupation of Damascus by al-Malik al-'Ādil took place A.H. 592 (A.C. 1195).

"Could it harm the *ṣayf* of my friends, were it to undertake a nocturnal journey (*and visit me*)? Could it harm (*my foes*) did they let me indulge in sleep<sup>1</sup>?"

In the beginning of the poem he describes Damascus, its gardens, rivers, and the delightful spots in its vicinity; he then alludes to his banishment in these terms:

"I left it, but not willingly; I abandoned it, but not through hatred; and I journeyed forth, but not from choice. I seek to share in (*the prince's*) bounty which overspreads every land; how strange that (*by me alone his favours*) must be requested by urgent prayers! I (*therefore*) veil the face of my eulogiums, not to profane them; and, disguising (*my talents*), I tuck up the (*proud*) train of my expectations".

In the same piece he says, complaining of his sufferings during his absence from home:

"To thee I complain of the pains of absence; time passed so slowly, that each of those days seemed to me a month; my existence never brightens up, the traces of love are never effaced from my heart and the hand of slumber never touches my eyelids. My days are spent in an abode far from the luxuriant vegetation (*of Damascus*), and I pass the nights debarred from access to the pure water (*of its streams*). Strange that I alone should be an outcast in the desert!"

This is a most beautiful *qaṣīdah* and it surpasses, in my opinion, Abū Bakr al-'Ammār al-Andalusi's (*No. 643*) *qaṣīdah* in the same rhyme and measure, which commences thus and of which we have already spoken:

"Pass round the glass, for the zephyr has come."

When al-Malik al-'Adil read Ibn 'Unayn's poem, he authorised him to enter Damascus. On arriving there, the poet said:

"I satirised the grandees in Jilli<sup>2</sup>, and I appalled the lower ranks by my invectives against the higher. Driven from it I was, but I returned despite them all."

---

1 The poet means: Could it harm my jealous foes were they to allow me to sleep, so that I might see the *ṣayf* in my dreams.

2 *Jilli* was one of the names given to Damascus. See No. 88, note.

He displayed great acuteness in the composition and solution of enigmas, and, when any were sent to him in waiting, he resolved them immediately and wrote back an answer in verse, much finer than the question was. As he had no inducement for collecting his poetical works into a *dīwān*, he never undertook that task, so that now his pieces are found dispersed in the hands of different persons. A native of Damascus made a small collection of his poems, but this *dīwān* does not contain the tenth part of what he composed, and we even perceive in it some things which are not his. Ibn 'Unayn was a man of great wit, gaiety, and humour. One of his *qaṣīdahs*, in which he speaks of his travels and mentions his journey towards the East, contains the following admirable verse :

"I penetrate into<sup>1</sup> the heart of East, as if I were searching in its recesses for the lustre of renown."

In a word, his poetry abounds with beauties. In one of the months of the year 649 (A.C. 1251-2), being then in Cairo, I had a dream<sup>2</sup> in which I saw Ibn 'Unayn holding a broad, red-coloured sheet of paper, on which were inscribed about fifteen verses. "I composed these verses," said he, "for al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (*No.* 476), the sovereign of Ḥamāt." That prince was also dead at the time of which I am speaking. The assembly where we were seemed to be numerous, and he read the verses to us. One of them struck me greatly and I repeated it over and over in my dream ; when I awoke, it was impressed on my memory and I give it here.

"To recite verses is not laudable, unless he whose praises they extol be deserving."

This verse is not to be found in his poems. In the life of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*No.* 574), we have spoken of him and his poem which rhymes in *f* ; we have also mentioned him in the life of Sayf al-Islām (*No.* 282). High favour was shown to him by different sovereigns, and he filled the post of wazīr at Damascus, towards the end of al-Malik al-Mua'ẓẓam's reign and during

1 Literally ; I split the heart.

2 The belief of Muslims in dreams is well-known.

the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, that prince's son. On the accession of al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf, he resigned his office, and, having retired to his house, he continued to reside there and never again occupied a situation under government. His birth took place at Damascus on Monday, the 9th of Sha'bān, A.H. 549 (19th October, A.C. 1154), and he died in that city on Monday evening, the 20th of the first Rābi', A.H. 630 (4th January, A.C. 1233). The next morning, he was interred in the the mosque founded by himself at Arḍ al-Mizzah (*the land of al-Mizzah*), which is a village at the gate of Damascus. Ibn al-Dubaythi (*No. 635*) states that he heard him say: "We came originally from a place in Kūfah called Masjid Bani 'l-Najjār (*the mosque of the Najjārids*), and we drew our descent from the Anṣārs." Subsequently to my copying this passage, I visited the tomb of Bilāl, Muḥammad's *muwadhḥin*<sup>1</sup>, which is situated in the cemetery lying outside that gate of Damascus which is called Bāb al-Ṣaghīr. On coming out of the chapel erected over the grave, I observed a large tomb near the door (*or near the Gate*) and, being informed that it was Ibn 'Unayn's, I stopped and invoked on him the mercy of God.

## 659 AL-QĀ'IM AL-'UBAYDĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad, called also Nizār, was the son of Abū Muḥammad, 'Ubayd Allāh, surnamed al-Mahdī, the same who established an empire in Maghrib. Abu 'l-Qāsim bore the title of al-Qā'im (*the maintainer*). We have already spoken of his father (*No. 332*), and of his son al-Manṣūr Ismā'il (*No. 95*). Having been solemnly proclaimed by his father as the next successor to the throne of Ifriqiyah and the adjoining country, his name was inscribed on all the official papers and the umbrella

---

1 Bilāl Ibn Rabāḥ, an Abyssinian *mawlā* to Abū Bakr, embraced Islāmism at an early period and fought in all Muḥammad's battles. He was the only *muwadhḥin* whom Muḥammad ever employed to call the people to prayer and he accompanied him in all his expeditions and sojournings. Bilāl died at Damascus, towards A.H. 20 (A.C. 641), aged sixty-four years.

(*of state*) was borne over his head. On the death of his father A.H. 322, (A.C. 934), the people renewed to him their oath of allegiance. He had been twice sent by his father into Egypt; the first time, he set out on the 18th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 301 (15th July, A.C. 914), and, having taken possession of Alexandria and al-Fayyūm, he levied the land-tax (*kharāj*) throughout the greater part of Egypt and oppressed the people<sup>1</sup>. In the second expedition, he reached Alexandria in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 307 (August, A.C. 919), with a numerous army. The officer who governed there in the name of the *imām* (*khaliḥ*) al-Muqtadir having retired at his approach, al-Qā'im took possession of the city and marched to al-Jizah with an immense body of troops. Intelligence of these events having reached Baghdād, al-Muqtadir provided Mūnis al-Khādim (*the eunuch*) with men and money, and sent him to repel the invader. Mūnis hastened by forced marches to Old Cairo, and found, on his arrival, that al-Qā'im had obtained possession of al-Jizah, al-Ushmunayn and the greater part of al-Ṣa'id (*Upper Egypt*). The two armies then met, and a number of desperate conflicts ensued; but al-Qā'im having lost a great part of his men and horses by pestilence and famine, departed for Ifriqiyah, and was pursued to some distance by the Egyptian army. He entered al-Mahdīyah on Tuesday, the 3rd of the month of Rajab, the same year (29th November, A.C. 919). It was under his reign that Abū Yazīd Maḥlād Ibn Kandād\* the Khārijite revolted (*against the Shī'ite dynasty*). To give the particulars of this insurrection would lead us too far; and, besides, we have already related, in the life of al-Manṣūr (*No. 95*), what happened to this rebel and how he died a prisoner<sup>2</sup>. Al-Qā'im was born at Salāmiyah (*No. 332*), in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 280 (March-April, A.C. 893),—some say in 282, and others again in 277. He was taken to Maghrib by his father, and he died on Sunday, the 13th of Shawwāl, A.H. 334

---

1 He was then obliged to evacuate Egypt by Mūnis the eunuch, who had been sent against him by the *khaliḥ* al-Muqtadir. (*Ibn al-Aṭhir.*)

2 Ibn Khaldūn gives a full account of Abū Yazīd's revolt in his *History of the Berbers*, tome II.

\* M. de Slane gives : Kaydād.—Ed.

(18th May, A.C. 946), at al-Mahdiyyah, where Abū Yazīd held him blockaded. Ismā'il, al-Qā'im's son, concealed his father's death lest the insurgent chief, who was then in the neighbourhood, besieging the city of Sūsah, should learn the event and conceive fresh hopes of success. He, therefore, left all things as they were, and distributed donations and presents in abundance. He avoided also assuming the title of khalif, and headed his letters with these words: From the amir Ismā'il, the designated successor to the command of the Muslims<sup>1</sup>.

## 660 AL-MU'TAMID IBN 'ABBĀD

Al-Mu'tamid 'alā Allāh (*the supported by God*) Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad, the son of al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh Abū 'Amr 'Abbād, the son of al-Zāfir al-Muwayyad bi-Allāh Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad, *qāḍī* of Seville, the son of Abu 'l-Walid Ismā'il, the son of Quraysh, the son of 'Abbād, the son of 'Amr, the son of Aslam, the son of 'Amr, the son of 'Itāf, the son of Nu'aym, a member (*by descent*) of the tribe of Lakhm (*al-Lakhmī*) and a descendant of al-Nu'mān Ibn al-Mundhir, the last king of al-Ḥirah<sup>2</sup>, was sovereign of Cordova, Seville, and the portion of the Spanish peninsula situated in the proximity of these two cities. It was of him and his father that a certain poet said:

"The sons of 'Abbād, the progeny of the Mundhirs (there is an origin!) have added fresh lustre to the renown of their ancestors. Glory has engendered no other offspring but these heroes; the children of glory are few:"

The authority which this dynasty acquired in Spain originated in the following manner: Nu'aym and his son 'Itāf were the first of the family who passed from the East into Spain; they were natives of al-'Arīsh, an ancient city which marks the point of separation between Syria and Egypt, and is situated on the edge of the Syrian desert. (*On their arrival in Spain*) they settled

1 Literally: The holder of the covenant of the Muslims. That is: the person to whom the Muslims engaged their fealty as successor to the throne.

2 For the history of the Lakhmides of al-Ḥirah, see Pococke's *Specimen Hist.* Ar. p. 67, ed. 1806, and Mr. Caussin de Perceval's. *Essai sur la Histoire des Arabes*.

at Tūmīn, a village in that district of the province of Seville which is called Ṭushānah (*Tocina*). 'Iṭāf left issue, and one of his descendants, the *qāḍī* al-Ẓāfir Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il, was the first of the family in that country who emerged from obscurity. Having risen to the post of *qāḍī* at Seville, he acted towards the people with such justice and moderation as drew on him the attention of every eye and the love of every heart. When the sovereign of Cordova<sup>1</sup>, Yahyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥammūd al-Ḥasanī, surnamed al-Musta'li,\* who was a prince of a tyrannical disposition, laid siege to Seville, the chief men of that city went to the *qāḍī* Muḥammad and said to him: "Seest thou not what this tyrant hath brought down upon us, and how he hath destroyed the property of the people? Arise then with us, and let us go forth against him; we will give thee the sovereignty over us and concede to thee the supreme authority." He accepted their proposal, and they sallied forth against Yahyā. That prince, who was then intoxicated with wine, mounted on horseback to encounter them, and met with his death. The power of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il being thus established, he took possession of Cordova and other places. The history of his proceedings with the pretended Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam is well known: Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, the last Umayyad sovereign of Spain, had allowed al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir not only to acquire an absolute authority over him, but to exclude him from all communication with the public; no orders issued from the palace but such as were dictated by that minister; the prince was debarred from the exercise of power and deprived of all the attributes of royalty, with the exception of the imperial title and the mention of his name in the *khuṭbah* (*public prayer*) offered up from the pulpits. Nothing was then heard of him for upwards of twenty years, and various changes had taken place when the *qāḍī* Muḥammad was informed, some time after his accession and the reduction of the (*neighbouring*) cities under his rule, that Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam was in a mosque at Qal'at Rabāḥ† (*Calatrava*). He

<sup>1</sup> This Idrisid sovereign reigned at Malaga. Cordova was, at that time, an independent republic.

\* M. de Slane gives Motali.—Ed.

† Abd 'al-Ḥamid gives Riyāḥ.—Ed.

immediately sent for him, and having placed the supreme authority in his hands, he constituted himself the wazīr of this (*mock sovereign*). Alluding to this circumstance, the *ḥāfiz* Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm al-Ẓāhiri (*No.* 423) says, in his *Nuqaṣ al-'Arūs*: "An imposture the like of which never occurred before: upwards of twenty years had elapsed since the death of Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, surnamed al-Muwayyad, when there appeared a man called Khalaf al-Ḥaṣri the (*mat maker*) who gave himself out for that prince, and, being proclaimed sovereign, the public prayer was offered up in his name, at different periods, from all the pulpits of Spain. He caused great bloodshed; armies encountered in battle on his account, and during more than twenty years he persevered in his pretensions. The *qāḍī* Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il held the rank of wazīr under him and possessed all the authority. Things continued in this state till the false Hishām's death, when the *qāḍī* assumed the supreme power." (*This qāḍī*) was a man of great learning and skilled in literature; he possessed a perfect knowledge of the means by which empires are governed, and he continued to reign with absolute authority till his death. This event took place on Sunday, the 29th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 433 (24th January A.C. 1042). He was interred in the citadel of Seville. Some say that he died towards the year 450; different dates also are assigned to his accession; 'Imād al-Dīn mentioning, in his *Kharīdah*, the year 414 (A.C. 1023-4), and others giving the year 424. God best knows the truth in all these statements! On the death of Muḥammad the *qāḍī*, his son Abū 'Amr 'Abbād, surnamed al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh, succeeded to the throne. Speaking of this prince Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Bassām (*No.* 439, *notes*) says, in his *Dhakhīrah*<sup>1</sup>: "Then the authority passed to 'Abbād, in the year 433; he at first bore the surname of Fakhr al-Dawlah

---

1 A better acquaintance with Ibn Bassām's work obliges me to acknowledge that it contains a mass of precious information borrowed mostly from other authors, but his own style is detestable. This author, according to al-Maqqarī, was a native of Santarem and died A.H. 542 (A.C. 1147-8). In the year 1861, I published an account of the *Dhakhīrah* in the *Journal asiatique*. See also Professor Dozy's *Histori Abbadiadrūm*, tome III, page 38.



(*glory of the empire*), and afterwards that of al-Mu'taḍid<sup>1</sup>. He was the axle of the mill-stone of affliction (*for his foes*) and the utmost limit of torment : think of a man whom neither high nor low could withstand<sup>2</sup>, from whom neither the near nor the distant could escape ; a mighty prince who consolidated the power which had been shaken, a lion who whilst crouching, devoured the fawn ; a precipitate (*politician*) against whom even the astucious had to be on their guard, and a dastard of whom the bravest warriors stood in awe ; misguided, he followed the right path ; consolidating (*one state*), he cut away and spared not ; he assaulted, and the people were hostile (*to him*). Yet, he established his authority, agitated as he was<sup>3</sup> so that he extended his power, enlarged his kingdom, multiplied his troops, and increased his means. Besides this, he was gifted with a handsome face, a body perfect in its proportions, a colossal stature, a liberal hand<sup>4</sup>, penetration of intellect, presence of mind, and a just perception. By these qualities he surpassed all his contemporaries ; and moreover, before ambition led him to aspire after power, he had looked into literature with a close glance and an acute apprehension ; so that by his quick intelligence, he acquired an abundant stock of information, noted down without serious study, without advancing far into its depths, without extensive reading, and without indulging in the passion of collecting books of that kind. With these accomplishments, he derived from his genius the talent of speaking in an ornate style. He composed also pieces of verse remarkable for sweetness, containing thoughts which the natural turn of his disposition enabled him to attain, expressing perfectly well what he wished to say, and displaying such excellence as caused them to be copied by literary men. To these brilliant qualities he united a liberal disposition, wherein he rivalled the (*copious*) rain-clouds. The history of al-Mu'taḍid, in all his actions and his various projects, is singular

---

1 *Al-Mu'taḍid*, or more correctly *al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allah*, signifies : *one who recurs to the assistance of God*.

2 Literally ; The standing and the mowed down. A metappor taken from corn.

3 Literally : Between standing up and sitting down.

4 Literally : Copiousness of fingers.

and striking, he was addicted to women, of whom he had great numbers and of various races ; in this indulgence he reached a limit which none of his contemporaries ever went, and by its frequency and his natural vigour, he begot a numerous progeny. It is said that he had about twenty sons and as many daughters. ”<sup>1</sup>

This writer gives some pieces composed by him, of which this is one :

“When the night was washing from its eyes the collyrium (*of darkness*) with the water of morning, and the zephyr blew mildly, we drank an old (*liquor, in colour*) the gold, in perfume strong, and in body weak<sup>2</sup>.”

In the life of Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn ‘Ammār (*No. 643*), we have given some extracts from the two *qaṣīdahs* composed by that wazīr in honour of al-Mu’taḍid<sup>3</sup> ; one of these poems rhymes in *r* and the other in *m*. Al-Mu’taḍid is thus described in a piece of verse composed by his son al-Mu’tamid :

“A generous prince, bestowing thousands before the request is made, and who offers excuses, thinking his gifts too small. His hand is kissed by every mighty man, and were it not for its moisture (*its liberality*), we should say it is the sacred store (*of Makkah’s temple*).”

He continued in the glory of power and the enjoyment of pleasure, till he was attacked by a quinsy which soon carried him off. On perceiving his death draw near, he ordered a singer to be brought in, with the intention of drawing an omen from the first words of the piece which might be sung, and the singer commenced with this verse :

“We kill time, knowing that it will kill us ; mix then the (*wine*) with the water of the cloud and give us to drink.”

---

1 The latter half of this extract consists of a passage which Ibn Bassām borrowed from Ibn Ḥazm.

2 I believe that, with the Arabian poets, a weak-bodied wine means a pure transparent wine.

3 This is a mistake. The poems of which Ibn Khallikān speaks were composed in honour of al-Mu’tamid.

From these words he drew a bad omen, and effectively, he only survived five days. His death took place at Seville, on Monday, the first of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 461 (28th March, A.C. 1069), and he was interred there the next day. His son al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allāh Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad succeeded to the throne. Speaking of al-Mu'tamid, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' (No. 422) says, in his *Lumaḥ al-Mulaḥ*: "The most liberal, the most hospitable, the most munificent, and the most powerful of all the princes who ruled in Spain. His court was the halting place of travellers<sup>1</sup>, the rendezvous of poets, the point towards which all hopes were turned, and haunt of men of talent; so much so, that, at the door of no other contemporary prince were to be found so many eminent poets and literary men as were assembled in his presence<sup>2</sup>." Ibn Bassām says, in the *Dhakhīrah*: Al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād left some pieces of verse (*beautiful*) as the bud when it opens to disclose the flower; and, had the like been composed by persons who made of poetry a profession and a merchandise, they would still have been considered as charming, admirable, and singularly original." One of these pieces is the following:

"Thou hast often shunned me, though sometimes events induced thee to treat me kindly. The time of our separation seemed (*dismal*) as night, and the moments of our meeting (*bright*) as the moon."

This idea bears some relation to that which a poet has expressed in the following verses of a poem:

"The light of morning removed (*the cover of darkness*) off her face, and the mole on her cheek arose, imbued with moisture. The mole on her cheek seemed, like the moment of (*a mistress*') displeasure during the hour of love."

Having resolved to send his concubines from Cordova to Seville, he set out with them and escorted them from night-fall till

---

1 Literally: The place where the baggage is taken off.

2 Literally: As were enclosed between the two ranks of servants in his hall.

morning. He then bade them farewell and returned back, reciting some verses, two of which ran as follows :

"I travelled with them whilst the robe of night was of one uniform colour, but, when it appeared striped (*by the rays of dawn*), I stopped to say farewell, and the morning received from my hand those stars<sup>1</sup>.

This idea is highly beautiful. He said also on the subject of his bidding them farewell :

"Early in the morning, when I stopped to say farewell, standards were waving in the court of the castle, and we wept blood, so that, by the shedding of red tears, our eyes appeared like wounds."

This is an imitation of the thought which a poet has thus expressed :

"I wept blood, so that a person said : 'This youth is bleeding from the nose with the lids of his eyes.' "

A similar idea occurs also in a piece of al-Abiwardi's which we have already given (*No. 648*). The following verses are by al-Mu'tamid :

"Were the eyes of delators not fixed upon me, and did I not fear that the guards might tell, I should have made you a visit to retribute your cruelty, even were I to creep on my face or walk on my head.<sup>1</sup>"

He addressed the following lines from his palace at Cordova to his boon-companions who had made a morning party at al-Zahrā, inviting them to come and carouse with him that evening :

"On your account, the palace envied al-Zahrā, and I swear by my existence and yours that it was not in the wrong ! At al-Zahrā you rose as suns to light the day ; appear near us as moons to light the night."

This idea is novel and striking. "Al-Zahrā<sup>2</sup> is one of the most admirable edifices in the world ; its erection was commenced in

1 Read, in the text, *لنرتكم لا كانيكم* and *او سعي*

2 *Zahrā* is the feminine singular of the adjective *azhar* (*bright, splendid*).

the beginning of the year 325 (November, A. C. 936) by Abu 'l-Muṭarrif 'Abd al-Raḥmān, surnamed al-Nāṣir, (the son of Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd Allāh), who was one of the Umayyad sovereigns of Spain. It lies at the distance of four miles and two-thirds from Cordova. Its length from east to west is two thousand seven hundred cubits, and its breadth, from north to south<sup>1</sup>, one thousand five hundred cubits; the number of its pillars is four thousand three hundred, and it has upwards of fifteen thousand\* doors. Al-Nāṣir divided the revenue of the state into three portions; one was given to the troops, another deposited in the treasury, and the third spent on the construction of the Zahrā. The taxes of Spain at that time amounted to five millions four hundred and eighty thousand dīnārs, besides seven hundred and sixty-five thousand dīnārs produced by the tolls and the demesnes of the sovereign. The Zahrā is one of the most colossal buildings erected by man, the most splendid and the most renowned<sup>2</sup>. The preceding indications are taken from Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl's history of Spain (No. 206). The celebrated poet Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad al-Lakhmī al-Dānī felt a natural partiality for the 'Abbād family in consequence of the patronage which he had received from al-Mu'tamid<sup>3</sup>; and he celebrated the praises of that prince in a number of beautiful pieces. In one of these poems, he mentions al-Mu'tamid's four sons namely: al-Raṣhīd 'Ubayd Allāh, al-Rāḍī Yazīd, al-Māmūn al-Faṭḥ, and al-Mūtamin. In this piece he says, with the utmost elegance:

“(He is) a helper in want, an assister in adversity; in armour, he appals; in silks, he excites admiration. (His are) beauty, beneficence, rank, and power; (he is) like the noontide sun, the (refresh.

---

1 Ibn Khallikān's copyists have here committed a blunder which it is impossible to render into English. The passage, if translated into French, would run thus Et sa largeur, du sud au midi, est, etc. They have written الجنوب instead of الجوف.

2 Not a trace of Zahrā can now be discovered.

3 Literally: Because al-Mu'tamid was the person who drew him by the arm. In English, we should say: Who took him by the hand.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives "fifteen" only. —Ed.

ing) cloud, the lightning (*which announces the genial rains*) and the thunder (*which threatens*). With his blood he raised a monument of glory, and he enlarged that edifice by sons, mighty and resolute; four in umber, like the temperaments, combined to maintain in health the body of renown and the nobleness of ancient descent."

Notwithstanding the illustrious deeds and the generosity of this family, it could not escape detracting; thus, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ja'far Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Lūrqi<sup>1</sup> said of them:

"Mourn for the world and for the death of beneficence, since beneficence subsists not in the family of 'Abbād! I passed three months with them as a visitor, yet never obtained a dinner; I then left them and received no provisions for my journey."

At that time, Alphonso (VI), the son of Ferdinand, the sovereign of Castile and king of the Spanish Franks, had become so powerful that the petty Muslim kings of that country were obliged to make peace with him and pay him tribute. He then took Toledo on Tuesday, the 1st of Ṣafar, A. H. 478 (29th May, A.C. 1085), after an arduous siege. That city belonged to al-Qādir bi-Allāh Ibn Dhī 'l-Nūn. In allusion to this event, the following verses were pronounced by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Faraj Ibn Ghazlūn al-Yaḥsubī, generally known by the appellation of *Ibn al-'Assāl* (السال) al-Ṭulayṭilī, and of whom Ibn Bashkuwāl speaks in his *Ṣilat*<sup>2</sup>.

1 Dhū 'l-Wizāratayn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ja'far Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Lūrqi (native of Lorca), a distinguished poet and prose-writer, belonged to an eminent family some members of which rose to the rank of wazīr. Addicted in his youth, to wine and pleasure, he afterwards reformed his life and passed the remainder of his days in asceticism and self-mortification. (*Bughyah. Qal'id al-'Iqyān.*) The date of his death is not given, but Ibn Khāqān, the author of the latter work, cites a piece of verse composed by him in the year 517 (A.C. 1123-4).

2 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Faraj Ibn Ghazlūn al-Yaḥsubī, generally known by the appellation of *Ibn al-'Ammāl* (العمال), was a native of Toledo, a learned traditionist, a grammarian, a philologist, and a poet. He gave lectures on the interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and these assemblies were numerously attended. He led a retired life, and succeeded Abu 'l-Walid al-Waqshī as *qādī* of Talavera. He died A.H. 487 (A.C. 1094), aged upwards of eighty years. (Ibn Bashkuwāl, in his *Ṣilat*.)

"Hasten the speed of your horses, inhabitants of Spain ! none can dwell in quiet there unless by chance. The beads (*fortresses*) drop off from the ends of its necklace, and soon, I think, the necklace of the peninsula will be broken in the middle. He who resides near evil should not think himself secure from its attacks ; how could a man live in a basket of snakes ? "

Al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād surpassed all the other kings in greatness of power and extent of empire, yet he also paid tribute to Alphonso. After capturing Toledo, the latter conceived hopes of getting that prince's kingdom into his possession, and therefore refused to receive the tribute. At the same time, he sent him a threatening message, ordering him to deliver up his fortresses ; on which condition, he might retain the open country as his own. These words provoked al-Mu'tamid to such a degree, that he struck the ambassador and put to death all those who accompanied him. Alphonso had set out with the intention of besieging Cordova when he received intelligence of this event, and he immediately returned to Toledo in order to provide machines necessary for the siege (*of Seville*). When the *shaykhs* of Islāmism and its doctors were informed of his projects, they assembled and said : "Behold how the Muslim cities fall into the hands of the Franks, whilst our sovereigns are engaged in warring against each other ! If things continue in this state, the Franks will subdue the entire country." They then went to the *qādī* (*of cordova*) 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Adham, and conferred with him on the disasters which had befallen the Muslims and on the means by which they might be remedied. Every person had something to say, but it was finally resolved that they should write to Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn, the king of the *al-Mulaththimūn*<sup>1</sup> and sovereign of Morocco, imploring his assistance. (We shall give the life of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn).\* The *qādī* then waited on al-Mu'tamid and

1 This word signifies the *liṭhām wearers*, and is frequently used to designate the Almoravides. The *liṭhām* is the piece of stuff worn by the inhabitants of the great African desert to protect their faces from the reflected heat of the sun. It covers the forehead, the cheeks, the extremity of the nose, the mouth, and the chin. It is still in use among the Tu-warigs.

\* No. 817—Ed.

informed him of what had passed. Al-Mu'tamid concurred with them on the expediency of such an application, and told the *qādī* to bear the message himself to Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn. The *qādī* hesitated at first, but as the prince insisted, he retired, imploring of the Almighty that things might turn out well. Having then written to the sovereign of Morocco, acquainting him with what had taken place, he despatched the letter by one of his slaves. When Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn received this communication, he set out in all haste for Ceuta; and the *qādī*, with a numerous company, proceeded to the same place for the purpose of meeting that monarch and representing to him the situation of the Muslims. Yūsuf then gave orders that the army should be taken over to Algeziras, which is a city in the territory of Spain, whilst he himself remained at Ceuta, a city in the territory of Morocco and lying opposite to Algeziras. He recalled from (*the city of*) Morocco the troops which he had left there, and when all were assembled, he sent them across to Spain, and followed with a body of ten thousand men. Al-Mu'tamid, who had also assembled an army, went to meet him; and the Muslims, on hearing the news, hastened from every country for the purpose of combating the infidels. On receiving intelligence of these events, Alphonso, who was then at Toledo, took the field with forty thousand horse, exclusive of the other troops which came to join him. He wrote also a long and threatening letter to Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn, who inscribed on the back of it these words: *What will happen thou shalt see!* and returned it. On reading the answer, Alphonso was filled with apprehension, and observed that this was a man of resolution. The two armies then advanced and met at a place called al-Zallāqah, near the town of Baṭalyaws (*Badajoz*), where they formed in line. The Muslims gained the victory, and Alphonso fled with a few others, after witnessing the extermination of his troops. Some state that this engagement took place on a Friday, in one of the first ten days of the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 479, but the true date is the middle the 12th of Rajab of that year (23rd October, A.C. 1086). This year was adopted in Spain as the commencement of a new era, and was called the *year of al-Zallāqah*. The battle of al-Zallāqah is one of the most celebrated in history. Al-Mu'tamid on that day made a most firm resistance, and



numerous wounds in his face and body attested his undaunted courage. The beasts of burden and the arms of the enemy fell into the hands of the Muslims. The amir Yūsuf (*Ibn Tāshifīn*) then returned to Africa, and al-Mu'tamid to his kingdom. The ensuing year, Yūsuf passed into Spain, and al-Mu'tamid having gone to meet him, he laid siege to a fortress (*named Aledo and*) belonging to the Franks, but was unable to take it. Having resumed his march, he went across to Granada, and 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bulukkin, the lord of that city, came out to receive him. 'Abd Allāh then re-entered Granada with the intention of sending the customary presents (*to his powerful visitor*) but Yūsuf penetrated perfidiously into the city, expelled 'Abd Allāh, and proceeded to the palace, where he found an immense quantity of money and treasures. After this exploit he returned to Morocco, his mind deeply impressed with the beauty of Sabin, its magnificence, its edifices, its gardens, the rich productions of its soil, and those various (*sources of*) riches which did not exist in Morocco, a country inhabited by (*rude*) Berbers and wild uncivilised Arabs. The persons whom he admitted into his intimate society then began to extol Spain in his presence, to represent to him the facility with which he might obtain possession of so fine a country, and to irritate him against al-Mu'tamid, by repeating things which, as they pretended, that prince had said. Yūsuf's feelings towards al-Mu'tamid thus underwent a complete change, and he at length marched against him. On arriving at Ceuta, he sent his army across to Spain and placed it under the orders of Sir Ibn Abi Bakr al-Andalusi<sup>1</sup>. This general (*after achieving various conquests*) reached Seville and besieged it vigorously. Al-Mu'tamid, who was then in the city, displayed the greatest firmness and bravery, encountering every danger with unheard-of courage. The inhabitants, overcome with consternation and filled with terror, wandered (*in despair*) through the streets; some escaped by swimming across the river, and others let themselves down from the battlements of the walls. At length, on Sunday, the 20th of Rajab, A.H. 484 (7th Sept. A.C. 1091), the army of the amir Yūsuf burst into the city, spread devastation

---

1 Sir Ibn Abi Bakr belonged to the Berber tribe of Limtūnah, I do not know why Ibn Khallikān calls him (*al-Andalusi*) (*native of Spain*).

through every quarter, and deprived the people of all they possessed. The inhabitants, concealing their nudity with their hands, fled from their houses, and al-Mu'tamid, with his family was taken prisoner. He had already lost two of his sons; one of them, al-Māmūn, commanded at Cordova as his father's lieutenant, but being besieged there (*by the Almoravides*) he was taken and executed. Al-Rāḍī, the other son met with a similar fate at al-Rundah, a strong fortress in which he also commanded as his father's lieutenant. Al-Mu'tamid composed a number of elegies on their death. This prince was no sooner made prisoner than they bound him in chains and embarked him with his family on board a ship. Ibn Khāqān (*No. 500*) says, in his *Qalā'id al-'Iqyān*, on coming to this part of (*al-Mu'tamid's history*): "Then he and his family were borne off in the lofty (*masted*) coursers (*of the sea*), enclosed therein as if they were dead; they for whom, (*but a short time before*) a palace was not sufficiently ample, and whose presence had given lustre to the age. The people assembled on the banks of the river, shedding tears as the clouds of morning (*shed rain*), and (*the exiles*) departed with lamentations to escort them, and the manifestation of general grief failed them not." Alluding to this event, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Isa al-Dānī, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Labbānah<sup>1</sup>, expressed his feelings in a long *qaṣīdah*, which we need not insert, and which begins thus :

"The heavens shed tears, evening and morning, over the noble princes, the son of 'Abbād.

Describing the same event, the Sicilian poet Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Ḥamdis (*No. 371*) composed a long piece of verse which contained these lines :

"When you left us and bore off in your hands generosity itself, whilst the mountains of your (*power*) were shaken to their

---

1 At the end of this article, Ibn Khallikān gives a note on Ibn al-Labbānah. See also (*No. 371 n*).

basis<sup>1</sup>, I raised my voice and exclaimed: The day of judgment has come! behold the firm mountains pass away<sup>2</sup>!"

The idea of this last verse is taken from the following lines composed by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz (No. 316) on the death of Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al al-Furāt (No. 462).

"The human race are now all on a level; perfection is dead and the vicissitudes of time exclaim: Where are the (*great*) men?<sup>3</sup> Behold Abu 'l-'Abbās on his bier! arise and see how the mountains are removed from their places."

It has been said that Ibn al-Mu'tazz recited these verses on the death of the wazīr Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Wahb, and this statement I have since found confirmed. Al-Mu'tamid pronounced the following verses one day, whilst suffering from the weight and tightness of his chains:

"For the shade of my once triumphant banners I have received in exchange the ignominy of fetters and the weight of chains. The irons which I once used were the pointed lance and the sharp, thin, and polished sword; but both are now turned into rusty (*chains*), grasping my leg as lions grasp their prey."

They then bore him to Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn, at Morocco, and that amīr sent him to Aghmāt and imprisoned him there for life. Ibn Khāqān says: "Torn from his country and stripped of his possessions, he was carried off in a ship and deposited on the (*African*) shore as a corpse is deposited in its place of burial; the pulpits of his (*states*) and the throne<sup>4</sup> deplored his absence, those who once visited his table or his bed of sickness went near

1 This is an allusion to the third verse of the 81st sūrah of the *Qur'an*, where Mu ammad mentions the signs which announce the approach of the day of judgment.

2 See (No. 371), where the same verses are given.

3 These verses are incorrectly rendered in No. 371.

4 The word *اعواد* signifies *boards*, and is elegantly employed in *Arabic*, to designate the pulpit. To avoid tautology, I have employed the word *throne*. It signifies also a bier.

him no more, he remained alone in his grief, uttering deep-drawn sighs and pouring forth tears as a conduit pours forth water; none were left to console him in his solitude, and, instead of the bowers (*which he once frequented*), he now saw nought but strangers. Deprived of consolation, hopeless of the approach (*of friends*), debarred from the aspect of joy, he called to mind his native abodes, and that thought made him long for home; he saw in imagination the splendour of his (*court*), and that image filled him with delight; his fancy showed him his dwelling laid desolate, the palace bewailing its (*former*) inhabitants, its heavens (*extent*) darkened by the absence of its full moons (*beautiful women*), and of its guards and the companions of his evening hours."

His imprisonment inspired Abū Bakr al-Dānī (*Ibn al-Labbānah*) with the celebrated *qaṣīdah* which begins thus:

"Each thing has its appointed hour; each wish, a time for its fulfilment. Fortune has been immersed in the dye of the camelion, and the colours of its various states are always changing. We are chessmen in the hands of fortunes, and sometimes the pawn may check the king<sup>1</sup>. Cast off the world and its inhabitants; the earth is now tenantless; men (*worthy of the name*) are dead. Tell the creatures who dwell here below, that the secret plan of Providence above is now concealed at Aghmāt."

This is a long poem, containing about fifty verses. In the year 485 (A.C. 1093) he (*Ibn al-Labbānah*) composed at Aghmāt the following piece on al-Mu'tamid's Imprisonment<sup>2</sup>:

"Smell this nosegay of salutations; by it I break the seal of that musk (*condolence*) from which thou hadst been precluded. Let me know indirectly, if thou canst not do it openly, that thou

---

1 The rhyme here obliges us to pronounce the word *shāh* as if it was written *shat*; this is a fault against the rules of versification. The observation is made by Ibn Kṛallikān in the text, but, as it interrupts the piece, I have placed it here.

2 In the *Khariḍah*, MS. No. 1375, fol. 183, the verses of this poem are given in another order, and part of them suppressed. The piece itself is very obscure, and I am by no means certain of having rendered its meaning correctly in some parts.

who gavest happiness to others canst yet taste of it thyself. When I think of those times which for thee passed over so brightly, the light of morning becomes darkness for me. I marvel how the milky way, on seeing thee, a sun, eclipsed, could ever rise again and shew its stars. Though our affliction for thy loss was great, we found thee a still greater affliction (*for thy foes*): a spear rushing to the charge till it was shivered, a sword dealing its blows till it was indented. The rain-cloud pouring down its showers wept for the family of 'Abbād, but equalled not (*in abundance the gifts once bestowed by*) Muḥammad and his sons. A friend dear to my heart wept for the family of 'Abbād: How dearly I love Ḥabīb<sup>1</sup> for these words: "Perhaps a (*ship*) appearing in the horizon may bring them near (*to us*); perhaps it may!<sup>1</sup> When their morning (*their prescence*) dawned upon us, we praised (*our diligence in*) travelling (*even*) by night (*to reach their court*); but since we have lost them, we travel in darkness. We once borrowed in the pasture ground of honour all around their park (*empire*) but now that pasture-ground is barren, and that park is deserted. Time hath clothed their dwelling with a raiment, the warp and woof of which are formed by the rains<sup>2</sup>. Their palaces are no longer inhabited; nought is seen therein but the fallow (*deer*) walking around the statues<sup>3</sup> still erect. The echo answers the screech-owl in those halls where the birds once sung responsive to the voice of the musician. It is now as if no human being had ever resided there; as if ambassadors had never found therein a crowded court; as if (*hostile*) troops had never found there an army (*to repeal them*)."

In the same piece the poet says:

"On departing from thy kingdom Thou wert like unto Mālik and I, through grief for thee, am like Mutammim<sup>4</sup>. (*What*) a

1 By Ḥabīb the poet means Abū Tammām (*No. 143*).

2 That is: the palace and the grounds about it are furrowed and cross-furrowed by torrents.

3 It is strange that a Muslim prince should have ornamented his gardens with statues in the human form.

4 See the life of Waṭḥimāh Ibn Mūsā (*No. 742*), and the Easai l' *Histoire des Arabes*, tome III.

misfortune (*was yours*)! it cast down the luminaries from their exalted sphere, and left not a mark to distinguish the region of beneficence. Oppressed by the narrowness of the earth, I think that I and it have been formed for each other as the bracelet is formed for the arm<sup>1</sup>. I have lamented thee so that grief hath left me neither tears nor blood to weep thy loss withal. I shall persevere in that course, and, if I die, I shall leave my conduct as an example for other mourners. For thee the rain wept, the wind tore open its bosom, and the thunder uttered thy name in its meanings; the lightning rent its robe, the day put on the raiment of mourning, and the stars of heaven formed an assembly to deplore thee. Thy son, the light of day, was bewildered with sorrow and swerved from its path; thy brother, the ocean, shrunk with indignation and swelled no more<sup>2</sup>. Since thy departure, the full moon hath never stationed within a halo, and the noontide sun hath never been seen to smile. God ordained that thou shouldst be dismounted from a bay and towering (*steed*) and be embarked in a black and unlucky (*vessel*.)”

In the following passage of the same poem, the poet alludes to the circumstance of al-Mu'tamid's chains having fallen off:

“Thy chains melted away and thou wert loose; thy chains were then more compassionate towards the generous than they. I marvelled that the iron should soften whilst their hearts remained hard; the iron knew better the secret intentions of Providence than they. He will deliver thee Who delivered Joseph from the well; He will protect the Who protected Jesus, the son of Mary.”

Ibn al-Labbānah composed a number of detached pieces and long *qaṣīdahs*, in which he lamented the (*glorious*) days of that family and the ruin of their power. These poems he collected in a small volume, to which he gave the title of *Naẓm al-Sulūk fī Wa'z il-Mulūk* (*the string of beads, being an admonition to kings*). He

1 The earth oppressing by its narrowness is a *Qur'ānic* expression to denote intense grief. As the poet takes this figurative expression in its literal sense, it is impossible to render his meaning clearly in another language.

2 The poet calls the day al-Mu'tamid's son on account of its splendour, and the ocean his brother because its waters were as copious as his beneficence.

visited al-Mu'tamid at Aghmāt with the intention of fulfilling a duty, not with the hope of obtaining a present, and it is stated that, when about to take leave, he received from the prince a present of twenty dinārs and a piece of Baghdād cloth, accompanied with a note containing these lines :

"Receive these precious objects from the hand of a captive ; if you accept them, you will be truly grateful. Accept (*a trifle*) from one who melts with shame to (*offer*) it, although poverty is his excuse."

These verses are only a part of the piece. Abū Bakr Ibn al-Labbānah here says : I sent this present back to him, being aware of his poverty and knowing that he had nothing left. I wrote to him at the same time the following answer to his note :

"Thou hast met with a man who knoweth what is honour ; leave me then in the ideas I have formed of thee. May I renounce the love I bear thee, and which forms half my soul, if the mantle which covers me ever discloses an impostor ! May I never be delivered from misfortune if I wrong a captive. Thou art Jadhīmah ; al-Zabbā deceived thee, and I shall not be less than Qaṣīr<sup>1</sup>. I journey forth but not with mercenary views ; God preserve me from motives so disgraceful ! I know thy merit better than thou dost thyself ; I have often enjoyed its shade in the ardent heat (*of affliction*). Thou wheelst about squadrons of noble deeds in the field of generosity, and out of little thou bestowest much. I wonder how thou art left in the darkness (*of despair*) whilst thou settest up beacons of light to guide the needy traveller. Have patience ! thou shalt hereafter overwhelm me with joy, when the time returns for thee to mount the throne ; thou shalt place me in an honourable rank, the morning of thy arrival at yonder palace. There thou shalt surpass Ibn Marwān in liberality, and I shall surpass Jarīr (*in talent*)<sup>2</sup> Prepare to rise again : the moon doth not remain eclipsed for ever."

---

1 See Pococke's *Specimen Hist.* Ar. p. 68 ; Fleischer's *Historia Antei Islamica*. p. 123 ; Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, p. 2 ; and Freytag's *Meiduni* tom. I. p. 424 ; especially the two last.

2 He means Jarīr the poet, who was a favourite with the Khalīf 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān. See No. 127.

One festival day, he received, in his prison, the visit of his daughters ; who were then gaining a livelihood at Aghmāt by spinning ; one of them was even employed as a spinner by the daughter of a person who had been in the service of her father and commanded the police guards when he was on the throne. Seeing them dressed in old tattered clothes, his heart was rent (*with grief*)<sup>1</sup> and he recited these verses (*addressing them to himself*) :

"In former times festivals made thee rejoice, but now, a prisoner in Aghmāt, a festival afflicts thee. Thou seest thy daughters hungry and in rags, spinning for hire and penniless. They went forth to salute thee, with down-cast eyes and broken hearts ; they walk barefoot in the mud, as if they had never trod (*on floors strewed with*) musk and camphor. Not a cheek (*of theirs*) but its surface complains of drought (*miser*), and is never watered but with sobs (*and tears*). Fortune was once obedient to thy command ; now it has reduced to obey the commands of others. He who, after thee, lives rejoicing in the exercise of power, lives in the mere delusion of a dream. "

Whilst in this (*miserable*) state, "with fetters enclosing his legs in a lion's grasp, encircling them as with the coils of black serpents, unable to stir his limbs, shedding not a single tear unmixed with blood, he, who had seen himself mounted on the pulpit and the throne, who (*had lived*) in the midst of silks and gardens, with standards waving over him. whilst the assemblies were enlightened by his presence"<sup>2</sup>, he received the visit of his son Abū Hāshim, and on perceiving him, he wept and recited these lines :

"O my chains ! see you not that I am resigned, and yet you shew neither pity nor compassion? My blood hath been your drink : my flesh you have devoured ; but do not break my bones. Abū Hāshim sees me in your grasp, and broken-hearted, he turns away his face. Pity a boy light of heart, who never supposed that he should have to implore your mercy. Pity his little sisters, whom

1 I translate thus, by conjecture, the words فصد عن قلبه

2 The phrase is borrowed from the notice on al-Mu'tamid by Ibn K'l āqān.



like him, you obliged to swallow the poisonous and bitter draught (*of misery*). One of them can comprehend in some degree (*her situation*), and I have sometimes feared that she would lose her sight from excessive weeping; the other comprehends nothing, and only opens her mouth to take the breast."

Whilst he was in this situation, a number of needy solicitors assembled in his room and assailed him with importunities. On this occasion, he pronounced the following lines:

"They ask a trifle from a prisoner; yet strange enough, I have greater cause to ask than they. Were it not for a feeling of shame and that hereditary pride<sup>1</sup> which imbues the inmost folds of my bosom, I should follow their example in begging."

The poems composed by al-Mu'tamid and those composed on him are very numerous. We have now passed our usual limits, but we were induced to lengthen this article because the like of so extraordinary a fate as his was never seen; our notice contains besides an account of his father and grandfather, and this contributed to extend it. Al-Mu'tamid was born in the month of the first Rabī', A. H. 431 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 1039); in Bājjah (*Beja*), a city of Spain. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, in the year already mentioned; he was deposed in the year which we have indicated (*above*), and he died in prison at Aghmāt, on the 11th of *Shawwāl* (16th October)—some say, of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah* A.H. 488 (11th December, A.C. 1095). At his internment, the crier called on the people to come to the funeral prayer about to be said over a stranger; singular fate of a once mighty and powerful prince! glory be to the Being Whose existence, power, and might endure for ever! A great number of the poets who had visited his court to celebrate his praises, and who had been generously rewarded by him, assembled round his grave, to weep and recite over it various long *qaṣīdahs* in which they lamented his death. One of them was Abū Baḥr 'Abd al-Ṣamad, his favorite poet, who

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: *Lakḥmite pride*. The 'Abbād family drew its descent from the progenitor of the tribe of Lakḥm.

then deplored his loss in a long and excellent *qaṣīdah* beginning thus :

“King of kings ! canst thou still hear, so that I may call on thee ? or doth a fatal misfortune prevent thee from hearing ? On quitting thy palace, in which I saw thee no longer as once I did on days of rejoicing, I came, in humble respect, to kiss this grave and make the tomb the place of my recitation. ”

On finishing, he kissed the grave, and rolled himself on the ground, and soiled his face with dust ; at this sight all the assembly burst into tears. It is related that after (*al-Mu'tamid's*) overthrow, a person dreamt that he saw a man mount the pulpit in the mosque of Cordova, turn towards the people and recite the following lines :

“How often have the caravans halted with the camels in the court of their glory, when it surpassed all rivalry ! During a time, misfortune addressed them not, but, when it spoke, it caused them to shed tears of blood. ”

Al-Mu'tamid had a grandson, who, in the days of their power, bore the surname of Fakhr al-Dawlah (*glory of the empire*), which, with that dynasty, was an imperial title. This boy, who was remarkably well looking, took to the trade of a goldsmith, and Abū Bakr al-Dānī (*Ibn al-Labbānah*) having seen him one day blowing the fire by means of a hollow reed, composed a *qaṣīdah* in which he introduced the following passage :

“Great is our affliction for thee, O Fakhr al-'Ulā (*glory of exaltation*), and great the misfortune for one whose rank was so high ! Time has placed around thy neck the tight collar of its vicissitudes ; yet how often didst thou place round ours the collar of thy beneficence ! The collar given thee in return (*thou didst receive*) in the shop of adversity, and yet thou once dwelledst in a palace like that of Iram<sup>1</sup>. Thou wieldest goldsmith's tools in that hand which only knew beneficence, the sword, and the pen ; a hand which I have often seen thee hold out to be kissed, and

---

<sup>1</sup> See an account of this fabulous city in Lane's translation of the Arabian Nights, vol. II, p. 342.

then the Pleiades aspired to become a mouth.<sup>1</sup> Artisan ! thou for whom high rank formed a brilliant ornament and who once was decked with sets of pearls ! the blowing of the trumpet (*on the day of judgment*) will create a consternation equalled only by that which I felt on seeing thee blowing coals. When I saw thee thus employed, I wished that, before it, my eyes had been afflicted with blindness. When fortune degraded thee from thy rank, it did not degrade thee, neither did it diminish thy noble qualities. Shine in honour ! shine as a star, if thou canst not as a moon ; rise in honour as a hill, if thou canst not as a mountain ! By Allāh were the stars just towards thee, they would eclipse their light, and were men's eyes faithful to thee, they would spend their tears. Thy story would make even the pearls weep, since they resemble thee in family, in words, and in smiles<sup>2</sup>.

It is unnecessary to make further additions to this article. *Lūrqi* means belonging to *Lūrqa* (*Lorca*) a city in Spain. The author of the *Khariḍah* mentions the poet al-Lūrqi in that work, and states that he survived al-Mu'tamid many years ; he gives also numerous specimens of his poetry. *Aghmāt* is a town situated at a day's journey beyond Morocco ; it has produced many men distinguished for learning. As for Abū Bakr [*Muḥammad Ibn 'Isā al-Dānī* (native of Denia), *surnamed*] Ibn al-Labbānah, none of the works which I have consulted give the date of his death, and I never met with any person who knew it. I saw, however, in the *Ḥamāsah* composed by Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Bayyāsī, a person of whom we shall again speak, that Ibn al-Labbānah arrived at Majorca. towards the end of the month of *Ṣha'bān*, A. H. 489 (August, A. C. 1096), and that he celebrated the praises of Mubashshir Ibn Sulaymān<sup>3</sup>, sovereign of that island, in a piece of verse commencing thus :

1 The meaning of the last hemistich is doubtful.

2 In the MS. the verse runs thus : The poet here indicates the points in which the young prince resembled pearls ; first, by his family, who were the pearls of the age ; secondly, by the elegance of his discourse, the expressions he made use of being the pearls of the language ; and thirdly, by his teeth, which appeared when he smiled, like two rows of pearls.

3 See Gayanjos's History of the Moḥammedan dynasties in Spain, vol. II, p. 258, and *Appendix*, p. XLII.

"A king who, when arrayed with jewels, strikes thee with admiration by his splendour, and whose magnificence gives lustre to the qualities of the age in which he lives."

Not finding any elegies of Ibn al-Labbānah on the death of al-Mu'tamid, I imagined that he had died before that prince; I then found al-Bayyāsī's statement, which, if true, proves the contrary.<sup>1</sup>

### 661 AL-MU'TAŠIM IBN ŠUMĀDIH

Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ibn Ma'an Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Šumādiḥ, surnamed al-Mu'tašim al-Tujībī<sup>2</sup> was sovereign of al-Mariya (*Almeria*), Bajjānah (*Pechina*), and al-Šumādihiyah<sup>3</sup>, cities in Spain. His grandfather Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Šumādiḥ possessed the city and district of Huesca (*Washqah*) in the days of al-Muwayyad Ḥishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, the Umayyad prince of whom mention has been made in the life of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād (*No.* 660). Being attacked and defeated by his cousin Mundhir Ibn Yaḥyā al-Tujībī, and unable to resist the numerous troops of his adversary, he took to flight, and, having abandoned Huesca, he remained without the smallest tie to connect him with that city. (*Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad*) was endowed with judgment, acuteness, and eloquence, qualities in which none of the military chiefs of that time were his equals. His son Ma'an, the father of al-Mu'tašim, married the daughter of 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Abī 'Āmir, (*al-Manšūr*) the sovereign of

1 For a much more satisfactory account of these sovereigns see Mr. Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, vol. IV. Most of the pieces written by the Arabs on the 'Abbāside dynasty have been published by him in three volumes in 40, under the title of *Scriptorum Arabum loci de Abbasis*. I have profited by many of Mr. Dozy's observations.

2 *Al-Mu'tašim al-Tujībī* signifies the *Mu'tašim* of the tribe of *Tujib*. It appears that he was descended by that branch, from the Yamanite tribe of Kindah.

3 It appears from al-Maqqarī, who relates some anecdotes of Ibn Šumādiḥ's generosity, that the Šumādihiyah was a magnificent palace. For this portion of Spanish history see the fourth volume of Dozy's *Musulmans d'Espagne*.

Valencia, who subsequently, when Zuhayr, his father's *mawlā* who commanded at Almeria, lost his life, seized on that city, pretending that it belonged to a *mawlā* of his family<sup>1</sup>. This act excited the jealousy of Abu 'l-Jaysh Mujāhid Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Āmirī (*No. 121, note*), the sovereign of Denia, who immediately set out to invade the territory possessed by 'Abd al-'Azīz whilst the latter was engaged in taking possession of the heritage which Zuhayr had left. When 'Abd al-'Azīz heard of Mujāhid's march, he departed from Almeria in all haste with the intention of suing for peace, and left his son-in-law and wazīr, Ma'an Ibn Ṣumādīh, to govern that city as his lieutenant. Ma'an betrayed the confidence placed in him and, having declared himself independent, succeeded in establishing his authority, notwithstanding the universal reprobation which this act excited amongst the provincial kings who then ruled in Spain. On his death, the kingdom passed into the hands of his son al-Mu'taṣim. This prince, who had assumed one of the surnames special to *khalīfs*, was distinguished for hospitality, liberality, and aversion to bloodshed; the hopes of the needy were turned towards him, every mouth spoke his praise, visitors flocked to his court<sup>2</sup>, and eminent poets, such as Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥaddād and others, devoted their talents to his praise. Al-Mu'taṣim himself composed some good poetry, such as the following verses addressed by him in a letter to Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Ammār al-Andalusī (*No. 643*), complaining of his conduct :

"My knowledge of the world and long experience has estranged me from mankind. Never did fortune show me a friend who pleased me on a first acquaintance, but in the end he gave me motives of complaint; and never did I expect a friend's assistance against misfortune, but I found in him also another affliction."

To this Ibn 'Ammār replied in a long piece of verse which it is unnecessary to reproduce. Another of al-Mu'taṣim's pieces is the following :

"O thou whose absence hath afflicted my body with a sickness not to be cured but by thy return! My eyes and sleep are

1 See vol. III, Introduction.

2 Literally : And the caravans (or *camels*) were impelled unto his court.

engaged in a warfare to which the battles of Şifî'n appear a trifle<sup>1</sup>. Though vicissitudes of time keep us separated, the *ṭayf al-khiyāl*<sup>2</sup>. may unite us."

It was from this passage that the *Kātib* Bahā al-Dīn Zuhayr Ibn Muḥammad (*No.* 231) took the idea expressed in the following verse of one of his poems :

"Since thy absence, my eyelids and slumber are at war."

Al-Mu'tamid\* left a great number of other pieces besides these. Some splendid *qaṣīdahs* were composed in his praise by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Khalaf Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Uḥmān Ibn Ibrāhīm, a native of Almeria, and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Ḥadād al-Qaysī. One of these poems begins thus :

"Hast thou then walked on the bank of this blessed valley ? for the soil on which I tread smells like Indian ambergris. In the perfume which thou hast left I recognise the sweet odour which floated around those (*whom I loved*), and the gales of passion again spring up within my bosom. In my nocturnal journey, their fire and their beacon were my guides and conductors, when the stars were extinguished. By some such cause, my camels were excited, my Arabian steeds neighed, and the quickest (*in the caravan*) seemed to move too slowly. Were they urged on by the same motive as I was ? perhaps they took refuge in the ardour (*which animated them*) that they might escape from the fires of my heart. Slacken your speed, for this is the valley of (*my beloved*) Lubaynā ! this is the spot where I shall accomplish my wishes and quench the thirst which consumes me<sup>3</sup>. Fair is the abode of Lubnā's people ! fair the soil on which Lubnā trod ! In that land was the hippodrome of my passionate desires ; there, the field in which I gave career to my imagination ; there, my

1 The battle of Şifî'n was fought between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah in A. H. 37. The two parties remained in the field eleven months, and ninety conflicts or skirmishes took place between them.

2 See vol. I Introduction.

3 Literally : Certe (*est*) aquarium volorum meorum, et certe sum sitiens.

\* It should be : He (*al-Mu'tasim*).— Ed.

love took its beginning and received its utmost height. Think not the maidens of that land (*cruel and*) ungrateful; those were hearts indeed which their bosoms contained; under their azure veils (*was sheltered*) well-protected honour, guarded by the azure points of watchful spears. Beauty, sent on her (*divine*) mission abolished the creed of indifference and made all men converts to the religion of love.

The same piece contains the following passages,

The space which extends between his two ear--rings (*i. e. his face*) excites the love of the brunettes whose necks are so graceful, and the languor of his eyes charms the large-eyed gazelles (*maidens*). In the sporting ground of (*his*) ringlets is a clear white (*complexion*) mixed with a bright red to complete its beauty.

Maiden, so prompt to wound with your treacherous glances! so insensible to love! you stood in fear of God, but the glance of your eyes was sinful. Your lovers are pierced with wounds; but their blood is floods of tears, and their eyes are the wounds. How can I endure thy sharp glances striking me to the heart, when no magician can close the gash left by that fatal steel? How can I expect to be cured of love? It is not all who suffer from sickness that are cured."

From this the poet makes a transition to the praises of his patron. It is a long and high-sounding *qaṣīdah*. Abu 'l-Qāsim al-As'ad Ibn Billīṭah<sup>1</sup>, another Spanish poet and one of the most eminent among them, celebrated al-Mu'taṣim's praises in a *qaṣīdah* *rhyming* in ʔ (b) which opened thus:

"At Rāmah<sup>2</sup> I received the visits of a fawn (*a maiden*) which at first had avoided me; in my dream, I caught it on the bank of the river, then it fled away. The fruits which love produced in the bosoms of men were its pasture, not the odoriferous and acid shrubs of the desert<sup>3</sup>."

1 Al-As'ad Ibn Billīṭah, a celebrated poet and a native of Cordova, died towards. A. H. 440 (A. C. 1048-9). (*Bughyah*.)

2 See No. 89, note.

3 Literally: Not the 'arār nor the *khāmā*. In the preceding line شمس seems to be a poetical license for شمس

In this poem he says :

"The black collyrium of darkness was dissolved by the tears of the dawn, and the morning light appeared like greyness in black hair. The darkness seemed like a host of Negroes (*Zenj*) taking to flight and pursued by (*tawny*) Copts sent after them by the morn.

In the same poem he introduces the following description of a cock :

"We might think that Anūshirwān had placed his crown on the animal's head, and that the hand of Māriyah had suspended ear-rings to his ears<sup>1</sup>. He has stolen the robe of the peacock, the handsomest part of his dress, and not content with that, he has stolen his mode of walking from the duck<sup>2</sup>."

In the same poem he says :

"The curve of the ringlet on her cheek might be taken for a nūn, (ن) and the black mole on that cheek represents the point<sup>3</sup>. In mien like a young page, she approached, and darkness had inscribed a line of black (literally : *of civet*) on the perfumed seal of her mouth. She came moistening her toothpick in the coolness (*humidity*) of her mouth, after imbuing her comb with the musk of her hair. And I said, in taunting her with the (*languor*) of her eyes and the beauty bestowed upon her dark red lips : 'O thou whose glances are unsteady, but not from intoxication ! since when did the glances of thy eyes drink wine ? I see the yellow toothpick<sup>4</sup> in thy red lips, and the green (*dark*) moustaches traced with musk (*blackness*). Methinks thou hast kissed a rainbow and its colours have been impressed upon thy dark lips."

1 Māriyah, the wife of the Ghassanid prince Abū Shammir, possessed a pair of ear-rings, each composed of a single pearl of immense value. See the proverbs on this subject Freytag's *Maidani*, tome I, p. 422. and Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, p. 52.

2 I am unable to assign any other meaning than this to the words حتى سبي البطا المشيعة البطا.

3 In this piece he describes a youth who had the appearance of a young girl, and whom he pretended to take for one.

4 Toothpicks in the south of Europe are made of olive wood, which is yellow.



This poem contains the following eulogistic passage :

"(*The rains fall in torrents*) as if poured forth by (*the beneficence of*) Abū Yaḥyā, the son of Ma'an and as if his hand had taught the clouds to shower forth abundance. His lineage is composed of pearls and beads of gold, and renown bears it as a collar round her neck. When he marches forth, glory marches under his standard, and glory takes its station only where he sojourns. At night, he rears a pillar of fire to guide nocturnal travellers, and the camel, arriving unexpectedly, stumbles no more through the shades of darkness. I say to the caravans which seek the spot where the rains of generosity are wont to fall, when its riders have passed the desert which separated them from thee : 'Do you seek a rival to Ibn Ma'an in glory? He who lights a candle in sunshine is much mistaken!'"

This is a long *qaṣīdah*, containing about ninety verses, the poet has displayed great skill in its versification when we consider the difficulties attending the peculiar rhyme which he adopted. When the amīr Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn passed into Spain, he treated al-Mu'taṣim with more benevolence than he shewed towards the other provincial Kings; he even received him into his intimacy; but, when al-Mu'tamid (*No. 660*) openly resisted Yūsuf, whose mind had been turned against him, al-Mu'taṣim sided with the former and repudiated the authority of the African monarch. The amīr Yūsuf, on his return to Spain, resolved to dethrone and imprison them both, a circumstance to which Ibn Bassām (*No. 439, note*) alludes in the following passage of his *Dhakhīrah* : "Some secret (*agreement*) must have existed between al-Mu'taṣim and God, or else some meritorious act must have preceded his death, for, a few days only before the great catastrophe happened, he died in the exercise of power, still possessing his native city and surrounded by his family and children. I have been informed by a person whose statement I can have no motive to reject, that Arwā, an aged concubine of al-Mu'taṣim's father, made him the following relation : 'Truly, I was near him whilst he was giving his last injunctions, and he had almost lost the power of his hands and his tongue. The camp of the *amīr of the Muslims*'—she meant Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn—'was then so near that we might count his tents and hear the confused cries of the soldiers when any thing remarkable

occurred. Al-Mu'taṣim then said: 'There is no god but God! we have been troubled in all things and even in dying.' 'On this, said Arwā, my tears began to flow, and I shall never forget the look he gave me, as he lifted up his eyes and repeated with a voice so feeble as hardly to be heard:

'Spare thy tears! spend them not! a time of long weeping awaits thee!' "

Muḥammad Ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣārī composed a work in the year 568 (A.C. 1172-3), for the sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*Saladin*); it contains a notice on al-Mu'taṣim Ibn Ṣumādīḥ, in which he says after giving a sketch of his history, some passage of his poetry, an account of the siege he had to sustain, and mentioning his words: *We have been troubled in all things and even in dying*. "He died soon after, at Almeria, on Thursday, the 22nd of the first Rabi', A.H. 484 (14th May, A.C. 1091); towards the hour of sunrise, and was interred at the Bāb al-Khawḥah (*the gate with the wicket*), in a mausoleum erected to receive him." *Ṣumādīḥ* signifies *strong*. Billīṭah, the name of Abu 'l-Qāsim al-As'ad's father, is a word of which I do not know the signification; it belongs to the language of the Spanish Christians (*A'ājim*)<sup>1</sup>. Of *Tujib* we have already spoken (*No. 147*). *Bajjānah* \* (*Pechina*) is the name of a town in Spain. *Al-Mariyah* (*Almeria*) has been already mentioned (*No. 18*). *Al-Ṣumadīḥiyah* was so named after the *Ṣumādīḥ* of whom we have spoken. *Washqah* (*Huesca*) is a town in Spain.

## 662 THE MAHDĪ IBN TŪMART

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Tūmart al-Harghī, styled al-Mahdī<sup>2</sup>, the *chief of the call*<sup>3</sup> made in Maghrib

1 *Bellido*, in Spanish, signifies *handsome*; *billete* means a billet or note.

2 The meaning of this title is explained in No. 533. See also my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, in the *Nocices et Extraits*, t. xx, premiere partie, p. 53. My translation of the same author's *History of the Berbers*, t. II, p. 161, *et seq* may also be consulted.

3 See No. 194, note. and No. 524, note.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: *Bajjāyah*.—Ed.

in favour of 'Abd al-Mūmin Ibn 'Alī (No. 383)—see some particulars respecting him in the life of the latter—was stated to be a descendant of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. I here copy textually a note which I found inscribed on the cover of the treatise on patronymics (*Kitāb al-Nisab*) attributed to al-Sharīf al-Ābid, which note is in the handwriting of some literary man of the present age: Muḥammad (*Ibn Tūmart was*) the son of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Hūd Ibn Khālid Ibn Tammām Ibn 'Adnān Ibn Ṣafwān Ibn Sufyān Ibn Jābir Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn 'Aṭā Ibn Rabāḥ Ibn Yasār Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib. God best knows how far this statement may be true<sup>1</sup>. He belonged to Jabal al-Sūs (*the mountain of al-Sūs*) in the farthest part of Maghrib, and there he passed his early years. When a youth, he travelled to the East for the purpose of acquiring learning, and, on his arrival in 'Irāq, he met Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (No. 562), al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī (No. 405), al-Ṭurṭūshī (No. 579), and other masters. Having made the pilgrimage, he remained, for a time, at Makkah, and attained a very fair knowledge of the law, the Traditions of Muḥammad, and the fundamental principles of jurisprudence and religion<sup>2</sup>. Pious and devout, he lived in squalid

---

1 Ibn Khaldūn admits as correct a genealogy by which Ibn Tūmart is made to descend from 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib by Sulaymān, the brother of Idris, the progenitor of the Idrisids. Though Ibn Tūmart belonged to the Berber tribe of Harġhah, he was not a member of it by descent, but by a matrimonial alliance contracted by one of his ancestors. Ibn Khaldūn observes that this was also the case with some of the descendants of Idris.

2 Having examined the collection of treatises composed by Ibn Tūmart, I can bear testimony to the correctness with which his talents are here appreciated. These treatises form a small but closely-written volume, transcribed, as the *post-scriptum* informs us, in the month of Ṣha'bān, A. H. 579 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 1183), fifty-five years after the author's death. This MS. is in the *bibliothèque imperiale* supplement. The doctrines taught by al-Mahdī bore a great resemblance to those of al-Aṣḥ'arī; like him, he had recourse to *tāwīl*, or allegorical interpretation, in explaining certain verses of the *Qur'ān* which, if taken in their literal sense, would have led to anthropomorphism, a belief which he accused the Almoravides of professing. His doctrines were orthodox, one single point excepted and which he borrowed from the Shī'ites; namely, that the true *imām*, or spiritual and temporal chief, of the Muslims was impeccable (*muṣṣim*). He particularly insisted on the *belief in the unity*

(Continued on page 77)

poverty, subsisting on the coarsest fare and attired in rags; he generally went with downcast eyes; smiling whenever he looked a person in the face, and ever manifesting his propensity for the practices of devotion. He carried with him no other worldly goods than a staff and a skin for holding water; his courage was great; he spoke correctly the Arabic and the Maghrib (*Berber*) languages; he blamed with extreme severity the conduct of those who transgressed the divine law, and not content with obeying God's commandments, he laboured to enforce their strict observance<sup>1</sup>; an occupation in which he took such pleasure that he seemed to have been naturally formed for it, and he suffered with patience the vexations to which it exposed him. The ill usage which he incurred at Makkah by his zeal obliged him to pass into Egypt, and having expressed the highest disapprobation of the culpable proceedings which he witnessed there, the people treated him in the roughest manner, and the government drove him out of the country. When he saw himself in danger of personal violence and chastisement, his discourse became incoherent, and this circumstance was considered as a proof of his insanity. On quitting Cairo, he proceeded to Alexandria and embarked for his native country. When in the East, he dreamed that he had drunk up the sea at two different times<sup>2</sup>. He was no sooner on board the vessel than he began to reform the profane conduct of the crew, obliging them to say their prayers at the regular hours and to read (*each time*) a portion of the *Qur'ân*. In this occupation he persevered till his arrival at al-Mahdiyyah, a city of Ifriqiyah, which was then, A. H. 505 (A. C. 1111-2) under the rule of the amir Yaḥyā Ibn Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs al-Ṣunhāji. So I find it stated in the History of

---

(Continued from page 76)

of God (*tawḥīd*), and for this reason he gave his disciples the name of *al-Muwahhīdīn* (*professors of the unity*). This denomination has given rise to the word *Almohades* of European writers.

1 Every Muslim is obliged by his religion to maintain, by his example and exhortations, the strict observance of the law. He cannot employ constraint to effect his purpose, that faculty being reserved for the *qāḍī*, the governor, and the police magistrate.

2 According to the most approved treatises on the oneirocritic science, a branch of knowledge still sedulously cultivated by the Muslims, drinking up the sea means, the acquisition of a great empire.

Qayrawān; I have mentioned, however, in the life of Tamīm, Yaḥyā's father (*No. 123*), that it was under Tamīm's reign that Ibn Tūmart passed through Ifrīqiyah on his return from the East, and so also have I found it written. God best knows which of these accounts is right; Ibn Tūmart did not make two journeys to the East, so we cannot suppose that he returned twice, and if he came back in the year 505, as we have just mentioned, it must have been during the reign of the amīr Yaḥyā; for Tamīm, Yaḥyā's father, died in 501, as we have already said in his life. I notice this contradiction, lest the reader should suppose that it escaped my attention. In the historical work drawn up in the form of annals by al-Qāḍī 'l-Akrām Ibn al-Qifṭī, the wazīr of Aleppo (*No. 510, note*), we find the following passage: "In this year,"—that is, towards the close of 511—"Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart left Egypt in the dress of a jurisconsult, after having pursued his studies there and in other countries, and he arrived at Bijāyah (*Bugia*)."<sup>1</sup> God knows who is in the right!! On arriving at al-Mahdiyyah, he took up his abode in a mosque built over vaulted chambers<sup>2</sup>, and situated on the road-side; there he used to sit at a window, watching those who passed by, and, whenever he perceived any thing reprehensible, such as musical instruments or vessels containing wine, he never failed to go down and break them. When the people of the city heard of his conduct, they went to see him and read over treatises on the principles of religion under his tuition. The amīr Yaḥyā being informed of these proceedings, assembled a number of jurisconsults, and caused Ibn Tūmart to be brought before him. Struck with his appearance and discourse, the prince showed him the highest respect and requested the holy man to offer up a prayer in his favour. "May God direct thee," said Ibn Tūmart, "for the welfare of thy subjects!" A few days after this he departed from

1 Ibn Khaldūn says that al-Mahdī landed at Tripoli and proceeded to Bugia, which was then (A. H. 512) under the rule of al-'Azīz Ibn al-Manṣūr, who expelled him from the city. It appears from the sequel of Ibn Khallikān's relation that he had previously visited al-Mahdiyyah. Al-Nuwayrī says that Ibn Tūmart arrived at al-Mahdiyyah, from Tripoli, in the reign of 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā.

2 The meaning of the word *mu'allaqah* is thus explained by M. de Sacy in his *Abd-Allatif*, page 482.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: Muḥallaq.—Ed.

al-Mahdiyyah and proceeded to Bugia, where he passed some time in his usual occupation of reproving acts contrary to religion. Being expelled from the city, he went to Mallāiah, a village in the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>, and there met 'Abd al-Mūmin Ibn 'Alī 'I-Qaysī (No. 383). I have read in the work entitled : *Kitāb al-Maghrib 'an Sīrat Mulūk al-Maghrib*<sup>2</sup> that Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart had studied the *Kitāb al-Jafr*<sup>3</sup>, a work containing one of those (mysterious) sciences with which the *People of the House* (the decendants of 'Alī) alone are acquainted, and that he found therein the description of a man descended from the Prophet, who was to appear in a country of al-Mghrib al-Aqṣā called al-Sūs, and invite the people to the service of God ; that person was to dwell and be buried at a place the name of which was spelt with these letters, T, I, N, M, L ; his authority was to be supported and established by a man of his disciples, the letters of whose names were A, B, D, M, U, M, N, and that this was to happen subsequently to the fifth century of the Hijrah. God then put it into his head that he was the person destined for this undertaking, and that the time of its accomplishment was at hand ; therefore, wherever he passed, he made inquiries respecting the person who was to support his cause ; asking the name of every individual whom he saw and examining his appearance, for he had with him 'Abd al-Mūmin's description. Journeying on his way, he passed by a youth answering the indications, and said : "What is thy name, my boy ?" The other replied : " 'Abd al-Mūmin." On hearing these words, he turned

1 The village of Mallālah lies at the distance of *three miles* or four S. W. of Bugia.

2 This title signifies : *the relator of extraordinary things concerning the history of the kings of Maghrib*. I suspect this to be the same work which is cited lower down under the title of *Kitāb al-Maghrib*, etc. (*the relator of extraordinary things concerning the honorable characteristics of the people of Maghrib*), and in which the historian and geographer Abu 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Ḡharnāfi (native of Granada), generally known by the appellation of Ibn Sa'īd, gives a series of biographical notices on the eminent men of Spain and North Africa. Ibn Sa'īd was born A. H. 610 (A. C. 1214), and he died at Tunis A. H. 685 (A. C. 1286-7). M. De Gayangos has inserted a note on Ibn Sa'īd in the first volume of his *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*. Ḥājji Khalifah places Ibn Sa'īd's death in the year 673 (A. C. 1274-5).

3 See No. 383 and Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, tome II, pp. 215, 224.

back to him and said : "God is great ! thou art the person whom I seek !" He then examined his features, and, finding them to correspond with the description he had with him, he said : "To what people dost thou belong ?" 'Abd al-Mūmin answered : "To the Kūmīyah." Wither art thou going ?" "To the East." "With what intention ?"—"To acquire knowledge." "Well !" said Ibn Tūmart, "knowledge thou hast found, and glory moreover, and renown ; be my disciple and thou shalt obtain them." 'Abd al-Mūmin accepted his proposal, and Muḥammad (*Ibn Tūmart*) then explained to him his project and confided to him his secret. He communicated also his design to a man called 'Abd Allāh al-Wanṣharīsī\*, who had become his disciple, and he obtained his full consent to the undertaking. Al-Wanṣharīsī had studied jurisprudence and learned the substance of various works<sup>1</sup> ; he was handsome in person, and spoke with elegance the language of the Arabs and that of the natives of Maghrib. As he and Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart were one day conversing on the means by which their project might be accomplished, the latter said to him : "My opinion is, that you conceal from the people your learning and eloquence, and that you manifest such incapacity, such incorrectness of language, such mean abilities and such a want of talent as may render your name notorious ; we shall then represent as a miracle, when we require one, the suddenness with which you quit your assumed character and become possessed of learning and eloquence ; then, every word you say will be believed." Al-Wanṣharīsī acted accordingly. Muḥammad (*Ibn Tūmart*) then got about him some Maghribis remarkable for bodily strength, but grossly ignorant ; preferring such persons to men of intelligence and penetration. They were six in number, and, being accompanied by them and by al-Wanṣharīsī, he set out for the farthest extremity of Maghrib. 'Abd al-Mūmin then joined him and the whole party took the road to Morocco. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the sovereign of that city, was

1 The word *تهذيب* means : To extract the essential part of a thing. It seems employed here to denote that he had not attained that degree of proficiency which would enable him to repeat from memory the entire contents of the works which he had studied ; in fact, that he was still a mere scholar.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd : gives Wanṣharīshī—Ed.

the son of Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifīn, the same of whom we have spoken in the lives of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād (*No. 660*) and al-Mu'taṣim Ibn Ṣumādīh (*No. 661*). He was a powerful prince, mild, devout, just, and humble (*before God*), and he had then at his court a learned and pious native of Spain called Mālik Ibn Wuḥayb (*No. 421, note*). Muḥammad began, as usual, to express his disapprobation of what he witnessed, and even dared to reprimand the daughter of the king. The particulars of this last adventure are too long to be related here<sup>1</sup>. The king, being informed of his conduct, and learning he talked of reforming the state, spoke to Mālik Ibn Wuḥayb on the subject, and received this reply: "We should be afraid of opening a door which we shall find difficulty in shutting again; we had best cite this fellow and his companions before an assembly of jurisconsults belonging to the city, and hear what they have to say." The King approved of his counsel and sent for Muḥammad and his disciples, who were then sojourning in a ruined mosque outside the town. When they entered the hall of audience, the king said to his jurisconsults: "Ask this man what he wants with us," and Muḥammad Ibn Aswad, the *qāḍī* of Almeria, obeyed and said: "What are those discourses which thou art said to hold relative to the just and merciful king who is so submissive to the (*doctrines of*) truth and who prefers being obedient towards God to the following of his passions?" To this Muḥammad replied: "The discourses spoken of I did hold, and I have yet more to make; as for thy words, that the king prefers being obedient towards God to the following of his passions, and that he is submissive to the truth, the moment is now come to put them to the test. It shall then be known, if he possess not the qualities you mention,

---

1 According to Ibn al-Aṭhīr, the Almoravides, the rulers of Morocco at that period, differed from the other Muslims in one remarkable particular; the men wore a veil (*liḥām*) and their women wore none. Al-Mahdī met the sister (*not the daughter*) of the king, taking a ride and accompanied by a numerous train of handsome female slaves, all mounted. The reformer was scandalised at this spectacle, and ordered them to cover their faces; he and his companions even dared to strike their horses, in consequence of which the princess was thrown off. She complained of this to her brother, who ordered al-Mahdī to be brought before him. The rest of the narration is given by Ibn Khallikān.



that he is led astray by the discourses and flattery which you address to him, though you are well aware that their refutation is at hand. Hast thou been informed, O *qādl* ! that wine is sold here publicly ? that swine run about in the midst of the Muslims ? that the property of the orphan is seized upon ?" He proceeded in this manner with a long enumeration, and the king was so deeply affected that he shed tears and hung down his head with shame. The persons present perceived from the drift of this discourse that the speaker aspired to the possession of the kingdom, but, remarking that the king remained silent and had evidently been imposed on by Ibn Tūmart's words, they abstained from making any reply. At length Mālik Ibn Wuhayb, who could take great liberties with the king, addressed him in these terms : "O king ! I have an advice to give, which, if you accept it, will have the most satisfactory results, whilst its rejection will expose you to great danger." "Let me hear it," said the king. "I am afraid," said Ibn Wuhayb, "that this man will do you harm, and my advice is that you imprison him and his companions and assign to them for their support the daily sum of one *ḍinār*. This will secure you from his evil intentions ; and, if you refuse doing so, he will cost you all the money in your treasury, and your indulgence will have profited you nothing." The king approved the counsel, but his *wazīr* said : "It would be shameful for you, after having wept at the exhortations of this man, to treat him ill in the same sitting, and disgraceful for you who possess so great a kingdom to stand in dread of a man who does not possess where-withal to appease his hunger." The king, whose pride was excited by these words, declared Ibn Tūmart's proceedings unworthy of attention, and dismissed him after asking his prayers. The author of the work entitled *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī Akhbār Ahl al-Maghrib*, says : "Ibn Tūmart, whilst retiring from the king's presence, kept his face turned towards him till he reached the door, and some persons having said to him : 'We see that thou showest respect to the king in not turning thy back to him' ; he replied : 'My intention was to watch vanity as long as I could, until the time come that I may change it.'" On leaving the king's presence, Muḥammad said to his companions : "We cannot possibly remain at Morocco whilst Mālik Ibn Wuhayb is there ; he is capable of bringing our

business again before the king, and subjecting us to ill usage. But we have, in the city of Aghmāt, a brother in God ; let us go to him, and his good advice and prayers shall not fail us." This man, whose name was 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ibn Ibrāhīm, was a jurisconsult to (*one of*) the Maṣmūdah tribes. They set out to find him, and, having stopped at his house, Muḥammad told him who they were, and informed him of their design and of what had passed between them and the king. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq replied : "This place cannot protect you, but one of the strongest holds in the neighbourhood is the town of Tin-Mall ; it lies in this mountain, at the distance of a day's journey. You may remain there in retirement till all recollection of your proceedings has passed away." The mention of this name recalled to Ibn Tūmart's memory the name of the place which he had seen in the *Jafr*, and he immediately proceeded thither with his companions. When the inhabitants saw them arrive in that state and learned that they were students in pursuit of knowledge, they stood up to give them an honourable reception and a friendly welcome, lodging them in the best rooms of their dwellings. After their departure from Morocco, the king asked about them and learned with satisfaction that they had left the city : "We have escaped," said he, "the sin of putting them in prison." When the mountaineers were told that Muḥammad, he of whom they had already heard so much, was arrived among them *they came unto him from every deep valley*<sup>1</sup>, thinking that, in going to see him, they should obtain the divine favour. Every person that came, he took apart, and discovered to him his intention of revolting against the king ; if the visitor promised to assist him, he admitted him into the number of his partisans ; if he refused, he turned away from him. He sought particularly to gain over the young and inexperienced ; but as the more prudent and intelligent advised them to avoid him, and warned them not to become his followers lest they should incur the vengeance of the king, his efforts were useless. Whilst thus engaged, time passed away ; he began to fear that death might surprise him before the accomplishment of his purpose ; he dreaded lest an order from the king might oblige the people to deliver him up and abandon him.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, sūrah 22, verse 28.

These considerations induced him to have recourse to stratagem in order to forward the affair in which he had engaged them, and he laid a plan for pushing them to rebellion. Having remarked that some of their children had rosy cheeks and blue eyes, although the fathers were of a tawny complexion and black-eyed, he asked them the reason. They at first refused to answer, but yielding at length to his urgent request, they said: "We are subjects of this king, and pay him a tax (*kharāj*); therefore, every year, his mamlūks<sup>1</sup> come up to us (*to receive it*), and they lodged in our houses after turning us out; there they remain alone with our women, who, in consequence, bear children of that complexion. This treatment we have no means of resisting." "By Allāh!" exclaimed Muḥammad, "death were preferable to a life such as that; how can you consent to such a disgrace, you who are the best swordsmen and spearmen that God ever created?" "We do not consent to it," was the reply; "it is done against our will." "Well," said Muḥammad, "answer me; if a person offered to help you against your enemies, what would you do?" "We would march before him even to our death; who is he?" "Your guest," replied Muḥammad, meaning himself.—"We engage to hear and obey him", answered the people. From that moment, they treated him with extreme respect and bound themselves to him by pacts and engagements, so that his heart was tranquillised. He then said to them: "Prepare your arms for the coming of these fellows, and, on their arrival, let them pursue their usual course; leave them and the women together, serve them with wine, and when they are drunk, let me know." When the mamlūks came, the people of the mountain treated them as Muḥammad advised, and, the night having set in, they informed him of what had been done. He immediately ordered them to slay them all, and the first hour of the night had not passed over when they were exterminated. Only one mamlūk escaped; he had gone out on some necessary occasion, and, hearing the cries of *Allāh akbar* (*God is great*) and the noise of the attack, he fled in avoiding the beaten path and

---

<sup>1</sup> These mamlūks were natives of Spain. The Almoravides, the Almohades, and the Merīnides always kept in their capital a troop of four or five thousand Christians.

succeeded in getting out of the mountain and reaching Morocco. When the king was informed of what had happened, he repented of having suffered Muḥammad to escape, and felt that the advice given him by Mālik Ibn Wuhayb was the result of foresight and prudence. He immediately despatched an army large enough to fill up such a narrow pass as that of Tin-Mall; but Muḥammad, convinced that troops would be sent against the insurgents, called some of the neighbouring (*tribes*) to his assistance and posted the people of the mountain in the defiles of the valley and on the heights by which it was commanded. As the cavalry advanced, showers of stones were poured down upon them from every side, and the defence was sustained in this manner from morning till night. The approach of darkness put an end to the combat, and the army returned to the king and acquainted him with what they had suffered. The king, perceiving his inability to subdue the rebels in their stronghold, turned his attention from them and Muḥammad, who had foreseen this result won the devoted attachment of the mountaineers. He then called al-Wanṣharīsī and said to him: "Now is the time to display thy talents all at once; that will serve us as a miraculous sign whereby we shall gain the hearts of those who have not acknowledged our authority." Having concerted together, it was agreed on that al-Wanṣharīsī should say the morning prayer, and that, after having so long stammered out his ideas in a language full of barbarisms, he should say, in a clear and intelligible voice: "I dreamt yesterday that two angels came down from heaven and split open my heart and washed it, and filled it with science and wisdom and the *Qur'ān*<sup>1</sup>". The next morning he did so; and we shall only state, without entering into particulars, that even the most stubborn yielded, and all were struck with amazement at

---

1 In the latter part of this passage, the author has passed from the first to the third person. This is a negligence readily pardoned by Arabian critics, as frequent examples of it are found in the *Qur'ān*. They observe that, in such cases, the *ḥikāyah* passes into *ikhbār*, or, in other words, that the literal reproduction of a conversation or discourse passes into a mere account given of the same discourse. In the former case the speakers utter their sentiments in the first person, and, in the latter, they are made to speak in the third.

his learning by heart the *Qur'ān* in a dream. Muḥammad then said to him : "Tell us quickly the heavenly news ; are we destined to eternal happiness or everlasting misery?" Al-Wanṣharīsī replied : "As for thee, thou art the Mahdī, the maintainer (*qā'im*) of the cause of God ; whosoever followeth thee shall be saved, and whosoever resisteth thee shall perish." He then said : "Present thy followers unto me, in order that I may separate those who are destined for paradise from those who are destined for hell." He thus executed a stratagem by means of which all those who resisted Muḥammad were to be put to death ; but the narration of these proceedings would lead us too far<sup>1</sup>. His object was, not to leave in the mountain a single adversary to Muḥammad. When these people were slain, Muḥammad perceived that those among the survivors who had thus lost relations or (*a part of their*) family were by no means satisfied ; he therefore assembled them and announced that the kingdom of the sovereign of Morocco would pass into their hands and that the wealth of the enemy would become their prey. On hearing these words, they were much rejoiced and they ceased to regret the loss of their relatives. The details of these events are abundant but they do not enter into our subject. We shall only state, in a summary manner, that Muḥammad never relaxed his efforts till he sent forth an army of ten thousand men, horse and foot, with 'Abd al-Mūmin, al-Wanṣharīsī, and all his other disciples, whilst he remained in the mountain. These troops besieged Morocco for the space of a month, but they then met with a most disgraceful

---

1 Ibn Tūmart having remarked that a number of profligate and wicked men inhabited the mountain, he assembled the chiefs of the tribes and ordered them to exhort such persons to amend their lives, and to take down the names of those who refused. Having received these lists, Ibn Tūmart caused a second and a third warning to be given to the obstinate. He then selected out of the lists the names of the persons whom he disliked, and gave them to al-Wanṣharīsī, directing him to pass the tribes in review and to place those people on his left hand. This operation being terminated, al-Mahdī said : "Behold a set of reprobates whom it is a duty to put to death." The people hastened to execute this sentence, each tribe slaying the individuals who belonged to it. That day was ever afterwards called : *Yawm al-Tamyīz* (the day of the discrimination).—(Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, *Kāmil al-Tawārīkh*, year 514)

defeat, and 'Abd al-Mūmin took a flight with the survivors. In this engagement, al-Wansharīsī lost his life. Muḥammad was in the mountain when he received the news, and he died before his partisans returned<sup>1</sup>; but, in his last moments, he enjoined the persons present to inform them that victory and complete success awaited them; wherefore they should not despond, but renew the fight; God would enable their hands to achieve a signal triumph; the vicissitudes of war were alternate; his followers would be now strong and now weak, now numerous and now few; their power was only commencing, whilst that of their enemies was drawing to a close. He continued a long series of injunctions in the same style, and then expired. This event took place A. H. 524 (A. C. 1130). He was buried in the mountain, and his tomb is still a well-known object of pilgrimage. His followers designate this year as the *'ām al-Baḥīrah*<sup>2</sup>. He was born on the festival of 'Āshūrāh (10th of Muḥarram), A. H. 485 (21st Feb., A. C. 1092). The first time he made his appearance to call the people to his cause was in the year 514 (A. C. 1120). He was a man of middle size and slight form; his complexion was tawny, his head large, and his eyes piercing. The author of the *Kitāb al-Mughrib* says respecting him: "The traces which he has left acquaint thee with his history as plainly as if thou sawest him with thy eyes:

His foot was on the earth, but his mind towered to the Pleiades!

His soul preferred shedding the water of life (*his own blood*) to shedding the water of the face (*doing a degrading act*). The Almoravides saw him with indifference stop and settle (*in their country*), and they allowed him to steal forward as the dawn steals upon the darkness, and to leave the world filled with the sound (*of his renown*). He laid the basis of an empire which

---

1 He died four months after their defeat.—(Ibn Khaldūn.)

2 Al-Nuwayrī informs us that, at the siege of Morocco, the Almohades, on finding themselves attacked by superior numbers, retreated to the wall of a large garden called al-Baḥīrah (*the Kitchen garden*), and leaning their backs against it, they fought desperately till night put an end to the combat. "And this battle," adds the historian, "was called the battle of al-Baḥīrah, and the year of al-Baḥīrah (*'ām al-Baḥīrah*)."

would have obliged Abū Muslim (*No. 347*), had he seen it, to acknowledge the foresight of its founder. He subsisted on what his sister earned by spinning: a biscuit each day with a little butter or oil sufficed him, nor did he abandon this simple nourishment when he abounded in worldly wealth. Remarking, one day, that the minds of his followers were turned towards the ample booty which they had obtained, he ordered all the spoil to be heaped together and burnt. 'Whoever follows me,' said he, 'for worldly goods shall have nothing from me but what he sees there, and whoever follows me for the recompense of the next world shall find his reward with God.' Though plain in his dress and affable in his manners, he inspired a profound respect; he was of difficult access except for persons who came to complain of oppression, and he had a man whose duty was to wait on him and give admittance to visitors." Ibn Tūmart left some poetry of which we may notice the following passage :

"When these people were far off, you lent them your assistance, and when they bade thee farewell, they left thee (*with indifference*). How often did you forbid them (*to sin*) and were not obeyed; how often did you give admonitions, yet you were not heeded. Whetstone (*of others' wit*)! how long will you sharpen steel, and never receive a cutting edge yourself?"

He frequently repeated the following lines :

"Strip thyself of the world (*and its passions*); for naked thou camest into the world."

And he often applied to himself these verses of al-Mutanabbī's :

"When you strive after glory much-desired, cease not to aspire until you reach the stars. In a mean and in a noble undertaking, the taste of death is quite the same."

The two following passages of the same poet were often repeated by him :

"He who knows the times and mankind as well as I do, should quench without remorse his lance's thirst for blood. He would meet no mercy from them if they got him in their power; to hurl destruction on them is not then a crime.

I become not one of them by living among them ; sandy earth is the gangue in which gold is found."

Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart did not make any conquests ; he laid the foundations of the enterprise, organised and established it, but the conquests were achieved by 'Abd al-Mūmin. *Harghī* means belonging to *Harghah*, which is a large tribe of the Mašmūdah (*Berbers*), who occupy the mountain of al-Sūs in the farthest extremity of Maghrib<sup>1</sup>. They are considered as descended from al-Ḥasan, the son of (*the khalif*) 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib<sup>2</sup>; and it is said that they settled in that place when the county was subdued by Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr. *Tūmart* is a Berber name.<sup>3</sup> *Wansharisī* means *belonging to Wansharis*, a village of Ifrīqiyah in the province of Bugia<sup>4</sup>. Of *Tin-Mall* mention has been already made (*Nö. 383*).<sup>5</sup> In the life of 'Abd al-Mūmin we have spoken of the *Jafr*.

## 663 AL-IKSHĪD

Abū Bakr Muḥammad, the son of Abū Muḥammad Ṭughj, the son of Juff, the son of Yaltikīn, the son of Fūrān, the son of Fūrī, the son of the *Khāqān* of Farghānah, and lord of the throne

1 He means the chain of the Atlas which bounds the south and south-east frontiers of the kingdom of Morocco.

2 This is a manifest error ; the *Harghah* were a Berber race, and consequently they could not have sprung from an Arabian stock. Ibn Khaldūn observes that many of the indigenous tribes of North Africa sought, by means of false genealogies, to prove their descent from the Arabs.

3 I am almost certain that *Tūmart* is the diminutive of the Arabic name 'Umar, and that it signifies little 'Umar. In Berber, the feminine and the diminutive are formed by the addition of a *t* at the commencement and another *t* at the end of the masculine noun. I must add that the letter 'ayn does not exist in Berber.

4 *Wansharis* is not a village, but a mountain ; it lies, not in the province of Bugia, but in the province of Algiers, to the south of Milyānah.

5 *Tin-Mall* is incorrect, the true name *est Tinmelel (illa quoc alba est)*, that is to say : *the white or snowy mountain*. Those words belong to the Berber language.



of gold<sup>1</sup> was surnamed al-Ikhshīd. He drew his descent from the kings of Farghānah and became sovereign of Egypt, Syria, and Hijāz. The word Ṭughj is the equivalent of 'Abd al-Rahmān (*the servant of the Merciful* (?). (*The khalif*) al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh, the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, drew into his service, from Farghānah, a great number (*of warriors*), and, being informed of the courage and intrepidity which Juff and some others displayed in war, he sent for them and received them with the highest honour. They obtained from him the concession of certain fiefs (*qaṭā'i*) at Sarra man r'ā (*Sāmarrah*), and one of these grants is called the *Qaṭā'i of Juff* to the present day. Juff took up his residence there and became the father of a family. He died at Baghdād the night in which (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil was murdered. This event occurred on the eve of Wednesday, the 3rd of Shawwāl, A. H. 247 (10th December, A. C. 861). The sons of Juff then went abroad to seek a livelihood for their family, and Ṭughj entered into the service of Lūlū, the page (*ghulām*) of Ibn Ṭūlūn (*No. 70*); (*the latter*) was at that time residing in Egypt, and had appointed (*Lūlū*) as his lieutenant in that country. Ṭughj afterwards passed into the service of Ishāq Ibn Kundāj<sup>2</sup> and remained with him till the death of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn. A peace having been effected between Abu 'l-Jaysh Khumarawayh, the son of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn (*No. 209*) and Ishāq Ibn Kundāj, the former noticed Ṭughj who was then in Ishāq's suite, and being struck by his appearance, he took him from Ishāq and gave him the command of all his troops.

---

1 *The lord of the throne of gold, in Arabic: Ṣāhib surir al-Dhahab.* D'Herbelot says that the *throne of gold* was the name given to a country or province situated near Darband, between the Black Sea and the Caspian. It was so called because the Marzubān, or governor, enjoyed the privilege of sitting on a throne of gold see also al-Mas'ūdī t. II, p. 41 of the French translation.

2 Whilst the Zanj were attacking the dominions of the *khalif* on the southern side, Ibn Abi 'l-Sāj, the governor of Qinnisrīn in the north of Syria, and Ishāq Ibn Kundāj, or Kundājīk, the governor of Moṣul, took possession, the former of Syria, and the latter of Mesopotamia. These two chiefs then waged war against each other, and Ibn Kundāj acknowledged Khumarawayh for his sovereign. He subsequently turned his arms against the Egyptians, and during some years a desperate struggle for power was maintained between four parties: Khumarawayh, the *khalif*, Ibn Kundāj, and Ibn Abi 'l-Sāj. The details of their proceedings are given by Ibn al-Aṭhīr.

He appointed him also governor of Damascus and Tiberias. On the death of Khumarawayh, Ṭughj, who had always remained with him, went to join al-Muktafi bi-Allāh, and this (*mark of respect*) gave the khalif such satisfaction that he bestowed on him a pelisse of honour. Al-'Abbās Ibn al-Ḥasan was then al-Muktafi's wazīr; accustomed to see all (*the officers of the state*) bend in humble submission to his will, he endeavoured to exact the same deference from Ṭughj; finding, however, that his spirit scorned to brook such humiliation, he excited the khalif's anger against him, and succeeded in having him and his son, Abū Bakr Muḥammad, cast into prison. Ṭughj died in confinement, but his son at length recovered his liberty and received a pelisse of honour. Burning to avenge the death of their father, Abū Bakr and 'Ubayd Allāh waited with unremitting vigilance for an opportunity of attacking the wazīr, and they at length obtained the satisfaction of seeing him fall by the hand of al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ḥamdān (*No. 462*), 'Ubayd Allāh then, A. H. 296, went to join Ibn Abi 'l-Sāj, and Abū Bakr fled into Syria, where, during the space of a year, he remained a fugitive in the desert. Having then joined Abū Mansūr Tikīn al-Khazari\* (*governor of Egypt and Syria*)<sup>1</sup> he became one of his most efficient supporters, and, being invested by him with the government of 'Ammān and the mountains of al-Sharāt<sup>2</sup> he gained a great name by the expedition which he made to al-Nuqayb<sup>3</sup>. This was in the year 306 (A. C. 919), a large band had assembled to intercept the pilgrim-caravan, but Abū Bakr marched against them, slew some, took others prisoners, put the rest to flight, and delivered the caravan. A female attached to the palace of the khalif al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh, and known by the name of 'Ajūz, happened to make the pilgrimage that year, and, on her return, she related to al-Muqtadir what she had witnessed of

1 Ibn Khallikān has a short notice on this person, towards the end of the present article. Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn gives an account of his government in the *Nujūm*.

2 'Ammān and al-Sharāt lie between the Dead Sea and Aylah.

3 Al-Nuqayb lies in the north-west extremity of Arabia, between Ma'an and Tabūk, on the road of the pilgrims from Syria to Makkah.—(*Marāsīd*.)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives; al-Jazari.—Ed

Abū Bakr's (*intrepid conduct*). This account induced the khalif to send him a pelisse of honour and increase his pay. Abū Bakr remained with Tikin till the year 316 (A. C. 928-9), when he left him for a reason too long to be exposed here. He then proceeded to Ramlan and received letters from (*the khalif*) al-Muqtadir, constituting him governor of that city. He remained in this post till the year 318, when al-Muqtadir sent him his nomination as governor of Damascus. He continued at Damascus till the month of Ramaḍān, 321 (August-September, A. C. 993), when al-Qāhir bi-Allāh appointed him governor of Egypt. During thirty-two days, the prayer was offered up for him in Egypt (*as governor*), but he had not yet entered it, when al-Qāhir nominated Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Kayghaligh governor of that province for the second time. This appointment took place on the 9th of Shawwāl, A. H. 321\*. Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ikhshid was restored to the government of Egypt by al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh, the son of al-Muqtadir, on the deposition of his uncle al-Qāhir, and he received from him besides, the command of Syria, Mesopotamia, al-Ḥaramayn (*Makkah and Madīnah*) and other places. He entered Egypt on Wednesday, the 23rd Ramaḍān, A. H. 323 (26th August A. C. 935). It is said, however, by some that, till the death of al-Rāḍī, in 329, he possessed only the government of Egypt; Syria, Ḥijāz, and the other provinces having been then placed under his orders by al-Muttaqī bi-Allāh†, the brother and successor of al-Rāḍī. In the month of Ramaḍān, 327 (June-July, A. C. 939), al-Rāḍī granted to him the title of al-Ikhshid because he drew his descent from the kings of Farghānah, a circumstance which we have already noticed towards the commencement of this article. *Ikhshid* was the title borne by these sovereigns; it signifies *king of kings*<sup>1</sup>. It was thus they gave to the king of Persia the title of Kisrā (*Chosroes*), to the king of the Turks that of Khāqān, to the king of the Romans that of Qaysar (*Caesar*), to the kings of Syria that of Hiraql (*Heraclius*), to the king of Yaman that of Tubba', to the king of

1 Abū Maḥāsīn adds: *in the language of the Farghāniyans*,

\* 2 December, A. C. 933—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives by mistake al-Muqtafi bi-umr Allāh, (1096-1160 A. C.) for al-Muttaqī bi-Allāh (940-944).—Ed.

Abyssina that of al-Najāshī, etc.<sup>1</sup> *Qayṣar* is a Frankish word, signifying: *delivered by means of an incision*<sup>2</sup>. He was so called because his mother died in childbirth, and he was extracted through an incision made in the womb. This was a circumstance in which he vaunted his pre-eminence over other kings, in as much as he had not been born of woman. His name was Ughuṣtus (*Augustus*); he was the first king of the Romans, and it is said that, in the forty-third year of his reign, the blessed Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary (*al-Masīḥ 'Isā Ibn Maryam*) was born. Others say that Jesus was born in the seventeenth year of his reign. The kings of the Romans all bore the title of *Qayṣar*. In the prayers offered up from the pulpits for Muḥammad Ibn Ṭughj, he was designated by the title of al-Ikhshid; he thus became known by it, if it was his as proper name. Al-Ikhshid was a resolute prince, displaying great foresight in war, and a close attention to the prosperity of his empire; he treated the military class with honour, and he governed with ability and justice. His bodily strength was so great that he made use of a bow which none but himself could draw. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadānī (*No. 167*) says, in his lesser historical work entitled: '*Uyūn al-Siyar* (*sources of history*), that his army consisted of four hundred thousand men, that he was a coward, and had eight thousand mamlūks. Two thousand of them guarded him every night, and, when travelling, his eunuchs were posted around his tent; yet, not trusting to these precautions, he would go to the tents occupied by the tent-pitchers (*farrāshin*) and sleep there. He continued in his government and the enjoyment of good fortune till the year 334, when he died at Damascus, on the fourth hour of Friday, the 21st of *Dhu' l-Ḥijjah* (24th July, A. C. 946). His corpse was

1 To this list may be added, on the authority of Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn in the *Nujūm*, year 320. *Al-Iṣbahid* (الإصبهيد) the title of the king of Ṭabaristān *Ṣul* (سول) that of the king of Jurjān; *al-Iṣṣhin*, that of the king of Ushrī ṣḥnah; *Sāmdn*, that of the king of Samarqand and *Fir'awn*, that of the king of Egypt in ancient times.

2 It is impossible to render exactly the terse concision of the Arabic words (*شق عنه*); their literal translation would be, *it was split off from him*, *diffissum fuit ab eo*, but these expressions are unintelligible. Pliny says; *Primusque Caesarum a caeso matris utero dictus*. *Hist. Nat.* VII. 7. 9.

borne to Jerusalem in a bier, and interred in that city. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī says that he died A. H. 335; God knows best! His birth took place on Monday, the 15th of Rajab, A. H. 268 (8th February, A. C. 882), at Baghdād, in the street leading to the Kūfah Gate (*Shāri' Bāb al-Kūfah*). Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī and Fātik al-Majnūn were slaves of his: in the preceding part of this work (No. 499 and No. 520) we have allotted a separate article to each of these two persons. On the death of al-Ikhshīd, his sons Abu 'l-Qāsim Anujūr and Abu 'l-Ḥasan were taken charge of by his servant Kāfūr, who conscientiously discharged that duty. We need not mention here the dates of their birth and death, nor the length of their reign, as we have already given a brief indication of these points in the life of Kāfūr; we have also related the history of the latter up to the time of his death, and, after stating that the military then placed Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad, the son of 'Alī, the son of al-Ikhshīd, on the throne, we referred to the present article for the remainder of our observations. As Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad was only eleven years of age, they established as his lieutenant in the administration of the state his father's cousin, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ṭughj Ibn Juff, the lord of Ramlah in Syria and the same person whose praises were celebrated by al-Mutanabbī in the *qaṣīdah* which commences thus:

"I should reproach myself were I conscious, when my companions blame (*me for yielding to affliction*), of all (*the grief*) I feel in the midst of these ruined dwellings<sup>1</sup>."

In the same piece, he enters into his subject by means of the following transition:

"When I attack the foe, I leave no resistance for (*other*) warriors to vanquish; when I utter (*verses*), I leave no maxim for (*other*) sages to adduce. If this be not the case, my poetic talent has deceived me, and want of resolution has hindered me from (*doing fit honour to the merit of*) Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh!"

1 In translating these fragments I have followed the authority of the excellent commentary on al-Mutanabbī preserved in the *Bibliothèque imperiale*. In the MSS. of Ibn Khallikān these verses are disfigured by errors resulting from the negligence or ignorance of copyists.

The followidg passage from the same poem is really beautiful :

"I see at the foot of the region which extends from the Euphrates to Barqah<sup>1</sup>, a combat in which the steeds trample on warrior's heads ; I see lances wielded by princes whose hands must have known the spear before they knew the bracelet<sup>2</sup>. On every side, that troop is guarded against the foe by the swords of the sons of Ṭughj Ibn Juff, those gallant chieftains. 'Tis they who nobly return to the charge in the tumult of battle, and yet more nobly do they return to acts of beneficence ! 'Tis they who grant a generous pardon to offenders ; 'tis they who pay the fine (*of blood*) for him who is amerced. Modest in their deportment, yet, when they encounter an adversary, they face, but not with modesty, the edge of the sword. Were lions not too vile, I should compare these heroes to them, but lions are creatures of an inferior class."

In the same piece he says :

"On reaching that noble prince I shook off all other men, as the traveller, on arriving, shakes from his bag the old and dried remains of his provisions. Yet my joy could hardly compensate my sorrow for having kept away from him during my past life."

This is a long and brilliant *qaṣīdah*. When this arrangement was effected, al-Ḥussayn Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh married Fāṭimah, the daughter of his uncle al-Ikhshīd, and remained in Syria, but his name was mentioned in the prayer offered up from the pulpit, immediately after the name of Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī. Matters continued in this state till Friday the thirteenth of Sha'bān, A.H. 358 (2nd July, A.C. 969), when the Maghribīn army commanded by the *qā'id* Jawhar (*No. 141*), the general (*of al-Mu'izz*), entered Old Cairo with flying colours and overthrew the Ikhshidite dynasty after it had subsisted thirty-four years, ten months, and twenty-four days. Some time previously (*al-Ḥusayn*)

---

1 The word *Barqah* signifies a stony soil ; a number of places bore this name, one of them in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates.

2 Bracelets here spoken of are the amulets tied round the wrists of young children in order to protect them from the evil eye.

Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh had arrived there from Syria, having fled before the Qarmāṭs who had taken possession of that country. He went to the palace of his wife and cousin Fāṭimah, and assuming the exercise of sovereign authority, he arrested the wazīr Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt (*No. 130*), whom he put to the torture and amerced with a large sum. He then departed for Syria, on the 1st of the latter Rabi', A.H. 358 (February, A.C. 969)\* Ja'far Ibn Falāh (*No. 134*) having occupied Syria, into which country he had been dispatched by the *qā'id* Jawhar, as we have already related, he took Abū Muḥammad (*al-Ḥusayn*) Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh prisoner and sent him with a number of Syrian amīrs to Jawhar, who had remained in Egypt. They entered Old Cairo in the month of the first Jumādā, A.H. 359 (March-April, A.C. 970), and, as (*al-Ḥusayn*) Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh had tyrannised over the Egyptians during the time of his rule, (*the guards*) kept their prisoners standing and exposed to public gaze, for the space of five hours, much to the satisfaction of those who had to complain of their conduct. They were then brought into Jawhar's tent and placed among the other captives kept there in chains. On the seventeenth of the first Jumādā †, the *qā'id* Jawhar dispatched his son Ja'far to al-Mu'izz, with a quantity of presents too precious to be described, and he sent off with him the prisoners brought from Syria. They were put into a boat on the Nile whilst Jawhar stood by and looked on; the boat upset, and (*al-Ḥusayn*) Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh cried out to him: "Do you mean to drown us?" Jawhar offered some excuses and made a great show of pity for his unfortunate prisoners. They were then removed into another boat, all of them bound in chains. This is the last information I could learn respecting al-Ḥusayn. I have since found, in the historical work composed by al-'Utaqī (*No. 122, note*), that al-Ḥusayn died on the eve of Friday, the 20th Rajab, A. H. 371 (19th January, A.C. 982), and that the funeral prayer was said over him in the citadel of Cairo by al-'Azīz Nizār, the son of al-Mu'izz. Al-Farghānī states, in his history<sup>1</sup>, that al-Ḥusayn

---

1 See No. 71 and No. 125, note.

\* 22 February—Ed.

† 28 March, A. C. 970—Ed.

was born in the year 312 (A.C. 924-5) ; he assigns also to his death the date which has been just given. According to the same author, Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī died on the 13th of the first Rabi', A.H. 377 (13th July, A.C. 987). *Al-Ikhshīd Ṭughī<sup>1</sup> Juff or Jaff Yaltikin, Fūrān, Fūrī* ; such is the pronunciation of the names *فوري* and *فوري يلتيكين جف طاج الاخشيد*. The Tikin mentioned in this article was thrice governor of Egypt ; he died on Saturday, the 16th of the first Rabi', A.H. 321 (16th March, A.C. 933), whilst occupying that post for the third time. He was succeeded by Abū Bakr al-Ikhshīd. The *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Asākir (*No. 416*) gives a separate article on Aḥmad Ibn Kayghaligh, in his History of Damascus ; speaking of his administration in Egypt, he says ; "A warfare was carried on between him and Muḥammad, the son of Tikin, al-Khāṣṣah, but he finally remained in the full possession of his authority. Muhammad Ibn Ṭughj was then sent by the *khalif* al-Rādī as amīr over Egypt, and Ibn Kayghaligh resigned the command to him. Aḥmad possessed abilities as a scholar and a poet ; in one of his poems he says :

"On rainy days, let not the goblet linger in thy hand (*but pass it round*) ; knowest thou not that rain is an urgent cupbearer<sup>2</sup> ? "

His brother Ibrāhīm Ibn Kayghaligh died on the first of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, A. H. 303 (7th May, A. C. 916). Ishāq the son of Ibrāhīm, was the governor of Tripoli who, when al-Mutanabbī visited that city on his journey from Ramlah to Antioch, endeavoured to extort from the poet a *qaṣidah* in his praise. Al-Mutanabbī not only refused to gratify his wish, but attacked him in a satire commencing thus :

"Men's hearts love a secret known to none but them, etc".

He then left him, and having afterwards learned his death in Jabalah, he said :

"They told us Ishāq was dead, and I said to them, etc."

1 This name should be pronounced Turj.

2 This is a quibble ; the verse signifies also : Knowest thou not that rain is an impetuous waterer ?



These two *qasīdashs* are to be found in his *dīwān*, for which reason I omit them. He composed also other satires against the same person.

#### 664 ṬUGHRULBEK AL-SALJŪQĪ

Abū Ṭālib Mikāyil Ibn Saljūq Ibn Duqāq, surnamed Rukn al-Din Ṭughrulbek (*Toghrulbek, the column of the faith*), was the first monarch of the Saljūq dynasty. This people, before it established its domination over so many provinces, dwelt *beyond the rivers (the Oxus)* at a place twenty parasangs distant from Bukhārā. They were Turks, and their numbers were immense; they lived in complete independence, and, when armies too strong for them to resist were sent against them, they passed into the deserts and took refuge in the midst of the sands, where no one could approach them. Maḥmūd Ibn Subuktikīn, sultān of Khurāsān, Ghaznah, and that country (we shall give his life), having crossed the river and entered Transoxiana, he found the leader of the Saljūqids to be a powerful chief, maintaining a numerous people in obedience (*more*) by wile and address (*than by force*); always moving from one region to another and making incursions into the neighbouring provinces. Having employed every means to gain his confidence and draw him (*to the camp*), he at length succeeded in circumventing him; and, on the chieftain's arrival, he seized upon him and sent him off to a castle, (*where he remained in confinement*). Maḥmūd's insidious policy was then directed against his prisoner's partisans, and, having consulted the principal officers of his empire on the measures to be taken with regard to them, some gave their opinion that they should be drowned in the Jayhūn (*the Oxus*), whilst others advised him to cut off their thumbs and thus preclude them from the possibility of drawing the bow and wielding arms; various plans were proposed, but they finally agreed on the propriety of transporting them across the Jayhūn and dispersing them throughout the province of Khurāsān, where

they should be constrained to pay the tax (*al-kharāj*) to government. This advice was adopted, and the Saljūqs continued for some time to hold a submissive and peaceful line of conduct. This encouraged the collectors of the revenue to oppress them, to seize on their wealth and flocks, and to grind them down by their extortions and tyranny; the consequence was, that two thousand tents or (*families*) emigrated to Kirmān. The amīr Abu 'l-Fawāris Bahā al-Dawlah, the son of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, who then ruled over that country, received them with kindness and arrayed their chief in robes of honour; he even resolved on taking them into his service, but ten days had scarcely elapsed when he died. The fugitives immediately hastened their departure through dread of the Daylamites who inhabited that country, and, having proceeded to Iṣbahān, which was then under the rule of 'Alā al-Dawlah Abū Ja'far Ibn Kākūyah, they encamped outside the city. This prince wished to employ them in his service, but, having received a letter from the sulṭān Maḥmūd, ordering him to attack them and seize on their property, he proceeded to obey, and a combat ensued which cost many lives to both parties. The survivors set out for Adharbā'ijān, and those who had remained in Khurāsān retired to a mountain near Khuswārizm. The sulṭān Maḥmūd sent an army against them which pursued them through these deserts during the space of nearly two years; he then took the field himself and followed them with unremitting activity till they were completely dispersed. On the death of Maḥmūd, his son and successor Mas'ūd found himself under the necessity of strengthening his army, and wrote to the Saljūqids in Adharbā'ijān, inviting them to come to his assistance. One thousand horsemen having joined him, he took them into his pay and led them towards Khurāsān. At the request of his new allies, he wrote to the remnant of the Saljūqids whom his father had dispersed, and having obtained from them the promise of obedience, he granted them an amnesty, and reinstated them, on their arrival, in all the privileges which his father had conceded to them at first. Mas'ūd then passed into India to appease the troubles which had broken out there, and the Saljūqids took advantage of his absence to resume their disorderly conduct and ravage the country. During the course of these events, the history of which

would lead us to far, the sultān Ṭugh̃rulkbek and his brother Dāwūd had remained in Transoxiana and encountered Malik Shāh, the sovereign of Bukhārā, where they lost a great number of their partisans in a desperate conflict. This defeat forced them to retire among their people in Khurāsān and to write to Mas'ūd, imploring mercy and requesting to be taken into his service. To this prayer Mas'ūd replied by imprisoning their messengers and sending an army against the Saljūqs in Khurāsān. A bloody battle ensued, subsequently to which they obtained their pardon on giving proofs of their complete submission to his authority and engaging to conquer the province of Khuwārizm. Mas'ūd then tranquillised their hearts and set at liberty the ambassadors sent from Transoxiana, they requested him to abate the rigour of the confinement in which their chief had lingered from the time of his arrestation by the sultān Maḥmūd. In pursuance of their desire, Mas'ūd caused the prisoner to be removed from the castle and taken, bound in chains, to Balkh. The captive prince then asked permission to write to his nephews, Ṭugh̃rulkbek and Dāwūd and, having obtained Mas'ūd's consent, he opened a correspondence with these chiefs. The consequence was that Ṭugh̃rulkbek and Dāwūd assembled all their people and marched with a large army into Khurāsān. They had then contests, too numerous to be related, with the officers who commanded in that country and with the lieutenants whom Mas'ūd had established in its cities. The result of this expedition was a complete triumph for the Saljūqids. The first city of which they gained possession was Tūs, (or Ray, according to another statement), having effected its conquest in the year 429 (A. C. 1037-8), and, in the month of Ramaḍān of the same year (June-July, A. C. 1038) they took Naysābūr, one of the capitals of Khurāsān. The sultān Ṭugh̃rulkbek was the chief of this people, and to him alone pertained the sovereign authority. His brother Dāwūd, the conqueror of Balkh, was the father of Alp Arslān, a prince whose life we shall give. At the commencement of their victorious career, (*the two brothers*) acknowledged the authority of Mas'ūd, and offered up the prayer for him as their sovereign, but, when they had shared their widely extended conquests (*they withheld this homage*) and Mas'ūd retired into the province of Ghaznah. Their power became so great that the

*imān* (*khalif*) al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh sent an embassy to them, and the person whom he selected for this mission was the *qādī* Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī, the author of the *Ḥāwī* (No. 403). (On this occasion, al-Māwardī) exhorted them to fear God, to govern their subjects with justice and mildness, and to extend their beneficence to the people<sup>1</sup>. Ṭugh̃rūlbek was mild and generous; every Friday, at the regular hours,\* he attended the five prayers (*in the mosque*); he fasted every Monday and Thursday; wrought numerous works of charity; founded mosques, and used to say: "I should be ashamed to appear before God, were I to build for myself a dwelling and not erect a mosque beside it." The following is one of his honourable deeds, enregistered by history: He sent the *sharīf* Nāṣir Ibn Ismā'il on an embassy to the queen of the Greeks (*Theodora*), who was an unbeliever; and the *sharīf* asked her for permission to preside at the prayer of Friday in the mosque at Constantinople. Having obtained this authorisation, he said the prayer and pronounced the *khutbah* in the name of the *imān* al-Qā'im. This circumstance gave great offence to the ambassador of al-Mustanṣir the Fatimid sovereign of Egypt, who happened to be present, and it was one of the principal causes which led to the rupture between the Egyptians and the Greeks. When Ṭugh̃rūlbek had effected his conquests and obtained possession of 'Irāq and Baghdād, he sent to the *imān* al-Qā'im and asked his daughter in marriage. This demand caused the *khalif* great vexation; and, as he wished it to be withdrawn, frequent messages passed between him and the sultān. This fact is mentioned in the *Shudhūr*<sup>2</sup> under the year 453 (A. C. 1061.) Finding it impossible to withhold his consent,

---

1 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isbahānī speaks of two envoys: one called Abū Bakr al-Tūsī, and the other Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Māmūn. He does not notice the mission of al-Māwardī. In some of the manuscripts of Ibn Khallikān, the following passage is inserted before that which begins by the words: *He exported them*: Then he (Ṭugh̃rūlbek) got possession of Baghdād and 'Irāq on the 6th Ramaḍān A. H. 447 (29th Nov., A.C. 1055).

2 The *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* is an historical work composed by Abū 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī. His life will be found in No. 345 of this work.

\* The addition of 'Fri' by de Slane is an error; it is simply 'day'—Ed.

al-Qa'im yielded at last, and the marriage contract was ratified outside the gates of Tabriz. Ṭuḡhrulbek then proceeded to Baghdād, in the year 455 (A. C. 1063), and, on his arrival, he sent for his bride, (to whom) he transmitted a present of one hundred thousand dīnārs, under the designation of money for the removal of the (princess') furniture. On the eve of Monday, the 15th of Šafar, she was borne in state to the royal palace, where her husband awaited her, and, having taken her seat on a throne covered with cloth of gold, she received his visit. On appearing before her, he kissed the ground, but did not remove the veil from her face in that interview; having then offered her a quantity of presents magnificent beyond description, he kissed the ground again, remained for some time in a respectful posture, and retired, manifesting the utmost delight at his reception. The events which marked the course of the Saljūq dynasty are very numerous, and have occupied the attention of many historians<sup>1</sup>; these writers have composed works on the subject, including every detail, and my sole motive in giving the preceding sketch was, to point out the origin of their power and expose the real circumstances of their early history, for the satisfaction of those who might desire such information. Ṭuḡhrulbek died at Ray on Friday, the 18th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 455 (14th September, A. C. 1063)\*, aged seventy years. His body was carried to Marw and interred near the tomb of his brother Dāwūd. We shall have occasion to speak of Dāwūd in the life of his son Alp Arslān. Ibn al-Hamadhānī (*No. 167, note*) says, in his history, that he was buried in a funeral chapel at Ray, and al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) makes the same statement in that article of his *Dhayl (or supplement)* which he has devoted to the life of the sultān Sinjar. His wazīr

---

1 The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī composed a work on the subject which was remodelled by al-Bundarī. See MSS, *fonds st. Germain*, No. 327 and ancient *fonds No. 767*. Ibn al-Aṭḥir gives copious information respecting them in his *Kāmil*, and Mirkhond in his *Rawḍat al-Šafa*. This section of Mirkhond's work was published, with a German translation, by Professor Vullers, at Giessen, in 1838.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives 8th of Ramaḍān (5 September). This appears to be correct, since the day also corroborates. On the 18th it was Monday or Sunday as calculated by de Slane.

Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Kundurī\*, a person whose life shall be given (*in this work*), states that Ṭugh̃r̃ulbek once said: "When in K̃h̃urāsān, I dreamed that I was raised up to heaven in a cloud which prevented me from seeing, but I smelt a sweet perfume and I heard a voice exclaim: 'Thou art near unto the throne of the Creator, may His power be glorified! ask what thou needest; it shall be granted.' On hearing these words, I said within myself; 'I ask Thee for length of life;' and a voice answered: 'Thou shalt have seventy years.' I replied: 'O Lord! that sufficeth me not;' and it said; 'For thee are seventy years.'" This anecdote is mentioned by our *shaykh* Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*No. 435*), in his history. When Ṭugh̃r̃ulbek was at the point of death, he said: "I am like unto a sheep; its legs were tied that it might be shorn of its wool, and it thought that it was tied for slaughter; it therefore struggled, and, when let loose, it rejoiced; then, it was tied for slaughter, and thinking that it was for the shearing of its wool, it remained quiet and was killed. Now, this sickness which hath come upon me is the binding of my legs for slaughter." The daughter of al-Qā'im remained with him about six months: she died on the 6th of Muḥarram, A. H. 496 (20th Oct., A. C. 1102). As Ṭugh̃r̃ulbek left no male children, his kingdom devolved to his nephew Alp Arslān. Ṭugh̃r̃ulbek is a Turkish compound name: the Turks employ the word *juḡr̃ul* to designate a species of bird (*falcon*) well known in that country, and it is used also as a proper name for men; *bek* signifies commander (*amīr*). The words *سلجوق* and *دقاق* must be pronounced Saljūq and Duqāq. (*Jayhūn*) is the name of the great river which separates K̃h̃uwārizm and K̃h̃urāsān from Buk̃h̃ārā, Samarqand, and that country: all the region on the (*Buk̃h̃ārā*) side of the river is called *the country beyond the river* (*mā wara al-nahr*)<sup>1</sup>. It is one of those rivers of Paradise which are mentioned in the Tradition, where it is said that four rivers flow out of it; two of them manifest, and two hidden; the manifest being the Nile and the Euphrates, and the hidden, the Jayhūn and the Sayhūn. The *Sayhūn* is situated at a fifteen days' journey

<sup>1</sup> *Transoxiana*, a word of modern invention, is well adapted to express the meaning of *Māwarā al-nahr*.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives al-Kindī—Ed.

beyond the Jayhūn, near the country of the Turks. Though these rivers are very large and wide, they freeze over in winter, so that travellers can cross them with their beasts of burden; they remain frozen about three months. These observations, though foreign to our purpose, have some connection with the article in which we are here engaged, and discourse will run into digressions: besides, those readers who dwell in other countries and are ignorant of the position in which these localities lie, will find in the remarks here given the information which they are naturally led to expect.

#### 665 ALP ARSLĀN AL-SALJŪQĪ.

Abū Shujā' Muḥammad, the son of Chegribek\* Dāwūd, the son of Mikāyīl, the son of Saljūq, the son of Duqāq, surnamed 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Alp Arslān (*the arm of the empire, the hero lion*), was the nephew of Ṭuḡhrubek. In the life of that sultān (No. 664), we have mentioned some facts connected with the history of Dāwūd Alp Arslān's father. When Ṭuḡhrubek was drawing near his end, he nominated as his successor, Sulaymān, the son of Dāwūd and brother of Alp Arslān, having been led to make this choice by the influence of Sulaymān's mother, who was then with him. Sulaymān assumed the supreme command, but, having to sustain a war with his brother Alp Arslān and his uncle Shihāb al-Dawlah Qutulmish, who revolted against him, he was unable to establish his authority. Alp Arslān having gained the victory, took possession of the empire, and, became formidable by his power, he increased his possessions by conquests which his uncle Ṭuḡhrubek had never been able to achieve. In his expedition to Syria, he laid siege to Aleppo, which was at that time under the rule of Maḥmūd Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ṣāliḥ Ibn Mirdās al-Kilābī; negotiations being opened between the two parties, Alp Arslān declared that Maḥmūd should come and *tread on his*

---

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives *Ji'arbek* an Arabicised form of the Turkish name—Ed.

*carpet (do him homage)* if he wished for peace. Maḥmūd therefore went by night with his mother to the tent of Alp Arslān, who received them with great kindness, arrayed them in robes of honour, sent them back to their city, and then decamped. Al-Māmūnī (*No. 455, note*) says in his History: "It is said that neither in ancient nor in Islāmic times, did any Turkish king, prior to Alp Arslān, cross the Euphrates." On his return, he resolved to march into the country of the Turks, and, having assembled an army of at least two hundred thousand horse, he threw a bridge across the Jayhūn (*Oxus*) and spent a month in getting his troops over the river. He then followed, and on the 6th of the first Rabi', A. H. 465 (20th November, A. C. 1072), he prepared a grand feast in a village called Farbar, the citadel of which was situated on the bank of the Jayhūn, and commanded by an officer called Yūsuf al-Khuwārizmī. This person was led the same day, bound with cords, into Alp Arslān's presence, and accused of some misconduct relative to the citadel. When he was brought near, the monarch ordered four stakes to be driven into the ground and that the prisoner, after having been attached to them by the arms and legs, should be tortured and put to death. On hearing this sentence, Yūsuf exclaimed: "Is it for a man like me that such a punishment is reserved?" Alp Arslān, being incensed at these words, seized his bow and, fitting an arrow to it, he ordered the prisoner to be unbound, meaning to display his skill in archery, an accomplishment in which he took great pride. Having missed his aim, he rose from the throne in which he was seated, but he stumbled on getting down and fell on his face; Yūsuf instantly sprung forward and plunged a dagger into his side, but was immediately killed by an Armenian tent-pitcher, who struck him on the head with a mallet. Alp Arslān was carried to another tent, and, having sent for his wazīr Nizām al-Mulk (*No. 171*), he gave him his dying injunction and recommended him to his son Malik Shāh, whom he designated as successor to the throne. He expired on Saturday, the tenth of

---

1 Or, according to Ibn al-Athīr and his epitomizer Abu 'l-Fedā: "*In-famous wretch (ya muḥannatūh)!*, is it for a man like me, etc.



the month\* above mentioned. He was born in the year 424 (A. C. 1032-3). His reign lasted nine years and some months. His body was transported to Marw and interred near the tombs of his father Dāwūd and his uncle Tughrulbek. Although Baghdād was included in his empire, he never entered nor saw that city. It was he who built the mausoleum which covers the tomb of Abū Ḥanifah. He erected also a college at Baghdād, on which he spent large sums. It is stated in the *Zubdat al-Tawarikh*<sup>1</sup>, that he received his mortal wound on Saturday, the 30th of the first Rabi', A. H. 465 (14 December, A. C. 1072), and that he survived three days; God knows best (*whether this statement be truer than the other*). We have already spoken of his father (Dāwūd) and mentioned that he was sovereign of Balkh; he died in that city in the month of Rajab, A. H. 451 (August-September, A. C. 1059). His body was carried to Marw and interred there. Some say that Dāwūd died at Marw. According to another statement he died in the month of Šafar, A. H. 452 (March-April, A. C. 1060), and was interred in the college which he had founded at Marw. We have already spoken of his son Tutuṣh (No. 119). *Alp Arslān* is a Turkish word signifying *the hero lion*; *alp* means *hero*, and *arslān*, *lion*. Shihāb al-Dawlah Qutulmish, the son of Isrā'il, the son of Saljūq, was the father of Sulaymān Ibn Qut'lmish, the ancestor of the dynasty which governs Asia Minor (*Rūm*) to this day. He possessed a number of fortresses and castles, such as Gurdkūh (*in Zābulistān*), and others in Persian 'Irāq. He revolted against his nephew Alp Arslān and encountered him in battle near Ray. When the conflict ended, Qutulmish was found dead, but the cause of his death remained unknown. This took place in the month of Muḥarram, A. H. 456 (January, A. C. 1064). It was said that he died of fright, and this circumstance gave great vexation to Alp Arslān.

---

1 (*The cream of histories*). Ḥājji Khalifah indicates three works bearing this title; all of them were composed subsequently to the time of our author.

\* 24 November, A.C. 1072—Ed.

666 MUḤAMMAD IBN MALIK SHĀH AI-SALJŪQI

Abū Shujā' Muḥammad, the son of Malik Shāh, the son of Alp Arslān (see the preceding article), was surnamed Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*succour of religion*). We omit the remainder of his genealogy, as it has been already given in the article on his grandfather (*No.* 665). On the death of Malik Shāh, the empire was divided between his three sons, Barkyāruq (*No.* 107), Sinjar (*No.* 260), and Muḥammad: the two latter were sons of the same mother, and little notice was taken of them whilst Brakyāruq reigned; the fact being that he was sultān and they were only his subordinates. Dissensions having sprung up between Muḥammad and Barkyāruq, the former proceeded to Baghdād with his brother Sinjar, and the *imām* al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh arrayed them in robes of honour. Muḥammad had previously requested that the Commander of the Faithful would grant a solemn reception to his brother Sinjar and himself. The khalīf consented to his desire, and, having held a sitting to receive them in the Saloon of the Crown (*qubbat al-Tāj*), in the presence of all his officers and their followers, he took his seat on the throne, with the Prophet's mantle on his shoulders, the turban on his head, the sceptre placed before him, and Sayf al-Dawlah Ṣadaqah Ibn Mazyad (*No.* 276), the lord of al-Ḥillah, standing on the right of the throne. He then arrayed Muḥammad in seven pelisses, according to the custom followed with respect to sultāns, and, having put the collar round his neck, the crown on his head, and the bracelets on his arms, he knotted a standard for him with his own hand, suspended two swords from his shoulder, and presented him with five horses fully caparisoned. He clothed Sinjar in the same number of pelisses. The customary *khutbah* was then said in the great mosque of Baghdād, and Muḥammad was named in it as sultān; the *khutbah* for Barkyāruq had been suppressed for motives which it is needless to explain. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadāni (*No.* 167) states, in his History, that this took place in A. H. 495 (A. C. 1101-2). The author of the History of the Saljūqids says that the *khutbah* was said at Baghdād in Muḥammad's name, for the first time, on the 17th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 492 (4th November, A. C. 1099), and

other writers agree with him in this point. Al-Hamadānī adds : A singular circumstance occurred : the preacher in the mosque of the palace (*al-Qaṣr*) at Baghdād, was saying the *khuṭbah*, and having come to the place in which the prayer was made for the sultān Barkyāruq, he substituted unintentionally for this name the name of the suṭān Muḥammad. On this, the partisans of Barkyāruq came forward and blamed bitterly the line of conduct held by the court of Baghdād (*al-Diḡān al-'Azīz*). The preacher was deprived of his place and his son nominated to succeed him. A very few days after, the *khuṭbah* was authorised to be said for the sultān Muḥammad, and the occurrence itself proved to be an omen of the honour which he was about to receive. Barkyāruq was unwell at the time, and had gone down to Wāsiṭ : but, having afterwards strengthened his authority and augmented his army, he gave battle to his brother, near Ray, and routed his troops. The history of these events would lead us, however, too far<sup>1</sup>. Muḥammad was the bravest and boldest of the Saljūq Sultāns ; he shone preeminent by his valiant deeds, his virtuous conduct, his universal justice, his charity to the indigent and the orphan, his wars with the followers of Ismā'ilism and his close attention to the welfare of his subjects. Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī (*No.* 528) mentions, in his History of Arbela, that Muḥammad arrived in that city on the 9th of the first Rabi' A. H. 498 (November, A. C. 1104)\*, and that he left it for Moṣul on the 12th of the same month. He then adds that he found in a book the following passage : "The *imām* Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī (*No.* 562) said, in an address to the sultān Muḥammad, the son of Malik Shāh : 'Sultān of the universe ! the children of Adam form two classes ; one of them heedless (*of their salvation*), who fix their eyes on the spectacle of worldly prosperity, who cling to the hope of a long life and who reflect not on the moment in which they shall breathe their last ; the other is the class of the wise, who keep their eyes fixed on their dying hour, who reflect on what they shall become, on the manner in which they may quit the world in preserving their

<sup>1</sup> See Abu 'l-Feda, Price's *Retrospect*, and Vuller's *Mirkhond*.

\* 29 November.—Ed.

faith unaltered, on the worldly goods which they shall take with them into their tombs, and on those which they shall leave behind them as an affliction and a source of woe to their enemies.' " On the death of Barkyāruq, the sultān Muḥammad became sole master of the empire; no rival remained to resist him and his reign was a course of uninterrupted prosperity. He died, after a long illness, on Thursday, the 24th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A. H. 511 (19th April, A. C. 1118), at Iṣbahān, aged thirty-seven years, four months, and six days. He was interred in the great college which he had founded in that city for the followers of the Ḥanafite sect. It surpasses every establishment of the same kind in Iṣbahān. When he lost all hopes of recovery, he sent for his son Maḥmūd, and, having kissed him, they both wept together; he then told him to go out and take his seat on the imperial throne and look into public affairs. On this, Maḥmūd observed that it was an unlucky day; meaning that the stars had declared it such. "True," replied Muḥammad, "it is unlucky for thy father, but lucky for thee, since it makes thee a sultān". Maḥmūd then went out and took his seat on the throne, with the crown on his head and the bracelets on his arms. None of the Saljūq kings left such a quantity of treasure, wealth, horses, and other valuable objects as he; it would be too long to make an enumeration of what he possessed. We shall give the life of his father. The *imām* al-Muqtafi li-amr Allāh married Fāṭimah, the sultān Muḥammad's daughter, in the year 531 (A. C. 1136-7) The wazīr Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Tīrād al-Zaynabī (*No. 650, note*) acted as his proxy on that occasion. Her brother Mas'ūd was present at the ratification of the contract. Three years later, she was conducted in pomp to the palace of the khalīf. It is said that she could read and write. In political matters she displayed the justest views. She inhabited (*the palace called*) Dargāh Khātūn (*the hall of the princess*), and she died under his (*the Khalīf's*) guardianship<sup>1</sup> on Saturday, the 22nd of the latter Rabi', A. H. 542 (21st September, A. C. 1147). She was interred at al-Ruṣāfah.

1 That is to say, she was still residing with the Khalīf and had not been divorced.

# 667 AL-MALIK AL-'ĀDIL, THE BROTHER OF ŞALĀḤ AL-DĪN

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abi 'l-Shukr Ayyūb Ibn Shādi Ibn Marwān, surnamed al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn (*the just king, the sword of religion*) was brother to the sultān Şalāḥ al-Dīn. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 104*), and shall speak of his brother in the letter *Y*. Al-Malik al-'Ādil entered Egypt at the same time as his brother and his uncle Asad al-Dīn Shirkūh (*No. 272*), and he used to relate that, when on the point of setting out, he wanted a wallet for the road and asked one from his father. "My father gave me one," said he, "and addressed me thus: 'O Abū Bakr! when you get possession of Egypt, return it to me filled with gold.' On his arrival in Egypt, he asked me for the wallet, on which I went and filled with black dirhams<sup>1</sup>, placing some pieces of gold on the top. I presented it to him and he at first thought it was gold, but, on turning it down, the silver pieces dropped out: 'Ah, Abū Bakr!' said he, 'thou hast learned from the Egyptians how to pass off false money.' " The Sultān Şalāḥ al-Dīn having established his authority in Egypt, he left al-Malik al-'Ādil as his lieutenant in that country on proceeding to Syria, and he then applied to him for money when he had to pay his troops or defray other expenses. I saw in one of al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil's (*No. 349*) epistles that, on one occasion, a delay having occurred in forwarding a convoy (*of specie*), the sultān ordered 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī to write to al-Malik al-'Ādil, and insist on his sending it off immediately; he even went so far as to say: "Let him send us a convoy of our own money or else of his." When al-Malik al-'Ādil received the letter and read this passage, he was highly displeased and wrote to al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil, complaining of the sultān. On this, al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil drew up an answer to " 'Imād al-Dīn's letter, and, in this document, he inserted the following passage: "As to his lordship's words: *let him send us a convoy of our own money or else of his*; I answer that it cannot be considered as the demand of a master for a necessary provision, but rather as the addition made by a secretary in order to give a

<sup>1</sup> *Black dirhams* mean silver pieces of base alloy; *the moneta nigra* of the middle ages. Gold pieces alloyed with silver are called *white dinārs*.

cadence to the phrase : how many offensive expressions ! how many rude words have been employed merely to dispel the languor of the pen and fill up the hiatus of discourse ! It is on your humble servant that falls the responsibility of this pointed expression, of which, O what reticence escaped from the tongue of the pen ! Your humble servant was present when those strokes of incitation were heard, and, with respect to the audacity of 'Imād al-Dīn, that the cry of the falcon gives audacity to the kites.<sup>1</sup> Adieu." When the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn took possession of Aleppo, in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 579 (May-June, A.C. 1183), as we have already stated in our article on 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī<sup>2</sup>, he gave (*the government of*) that city to his son al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī (*No. 497*), but he afterwards took it from him and bestowed it on al-Malik al-'Ādil, who proceeded thither the same year, and occupied the castle on Friday, the 22nd of Ramaḍān. \* By a subsequent arrangement made with his brother Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, al-Malik al-'Ādil gave up the city to al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, and left the place on the eve of Saturday, the 24th of the first Rabi', A.H. 582 (June, A.C. 1186).† He then received from the sultān the fortress of al-Karak, and he subsequently passed from the command of one province to that of another, not only during the lifetime of his brother, but after his death. The history of his proceedings with al-Malik al-Afḍal, al-Malik al-'Aziz and al-Malik al-Zāhir is so well known that we need not enter into details<sup>3</sup>. It may suffice to state that he finally obtained possession of

---

1 The original text of this last phrase is so very obscure and ambiguous, that I may probably have missed its real meaning. If the translation be correct, the idea meant to be conveyed is equivalent to the following : the haughty tone of the sovereign encouraged the secretary 'Imād al-Dīn to employ insolent language. It must be acknowledged that the whole passage is singularly difficult, though not more so than most of the other official papers drawn up by al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil and 'Imād al-Dīn ; they strove to outdo each other in what was considered fine in writing, and, for the sake of farfetched allusions, expressed in well turned rhythmical phrases, they never hesitated to sacrifice sense to sound.

2 See No. 230.

3 See No. 461.

\* 6 January, A.C. 1184.—Ed.

† 12 June.—Ed.

Egypt, and that, having made his entry into Cairo the 16th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 596 (2nd February, A.C. 1200), he fully established his authority in that country. In the biographical notice on *Ḍiyā al-Dīn* Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Aṭḥir al-Jazarī<sup>1</sup>, which Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī has inserted in his *History of Arbela*, we read as follows: "And I found in his (*Ḍiyā al-Dīn's*) handwriting that the *khuṭbah* was said in Old and New Cairo for al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr Ibn Ayyūb, on Friday, the 21st of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 596 (5th August, A.C. 1200), and that it was said for him in Aleppo on Friday, the 11th of the latter *Jumādā*, A.H. 598 (9th March, A.C. 1202)." Having obtained possession of Syria also and of al-Sharqiyah (*the East Mesopotamia*), success attended all his projects, and, in the year 612 (A.C. 1215-6), he became master of Yaman, to which country he dispatched (*as governor*) his grandson al-Malik al-Mas'ūd (*the fortunate prince*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, and generally known by the appellation of Aṭṣis. His son al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm al-Dīn (*the unequalled prince, the star of the religion*). Ayyub governed as his lieutenant the city and districts of Mayyāfāriqīn and, in the year 604 (A.C. 1207-8), he took possession of *Khalāṭ*<sup>2</sup> and Armenia. His kingdom thus received a great extension. Al-Malik al-'Ādil having assured the tranquil exercise of his power in all these states, divided them between his sons: al-Malik al-Kāmil received Egypt for his share, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam obtained Syria, al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf got al-Sharqiyah, and al-Malik al-Awḥad retained the countries which we have already indicated. He (*al-'Ādil*) was a powerful monarch, displaying great foresight and information, having well profited by the lesson of experience; virtuous in his conduct, always animated with the best intentions and gifted with consummate prudence; he was resolute in his undertakings, holy in his life, attentive to fulfil the duty of prayer at the regular hours, careful in following the example of the pious who directed their conduct by that of the prophet, and remarkably partial to the learned (*in the law*). It is not therefore astonishing that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi

1 His life is given by our author.

2 See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*. year 604.

(No. 574) should have composed and dedicated to this sovereign the (*metaphysical*) work entitled *Tāsīs al-Taqdīs* (*confirmatio sanctificationis*), which he sent to him from *Khurāsān*. We may conclude his history by stating that he was highly fortunate in every way: no other monarch ever left sons so illustrious, so brave, so learned, and so highminded as his; nations acknowledged their sway, and the finest kingdoms of the earth formed their empire. When the poet Ibn 'Unayn celebrated the praises of al-Malik al-'Ādil in the *qaṣīdah* of which we have already given a fragment (No. 658) and which rhymes in *r* he introduced into it the following eulogium on that prince's sons:

"He has sons, one of whom, in every land, leads an army against the foe; each, by the brightness of his forehead, seems a moon, but, when in combat, a lion; he presses forward to the fight, but, when the bright (*swords*) dispel (*the darkness of*) the dust and disclose to view the captured (*maidens*) of the haram, he retires. 'Tis a family pure in origin, excellent in race, copious in liberality, pleasing to behold. Their steeds scorn to drink from a stream unless its waters be encrimsoned by the blood of battles. They hasten with delight to the fire of combat, but they are not capable of hastening to the fire of hospitality<sup>1</sup>.

How many the exquisite *qaṣīdahs* which poets have composed on the members of this family! but I shall only notice the foregoing piece, because it applies to them all. The same poem contains the following passage in praise of al-Malik al-'Ādil; the author has displayed in it superior ability:

"(*He is*) the just (*al-'Ādil*), the king (*al-malik*), whose titles in every region ennoble the pulpits (*from which they are proclaimed*). In every land, his unsullied justice has formed a paradise watered by the heavenly stream of his liberality. So just is he that the wolf passes the night in the torments of hunger, although the brown gazelle is before his eyes. No believer in the direction (*the true religion*) can be troubled by a doubt respecting the

---

1 In the life of Ibn 'Ammār, No. 643 is a verse in which the same idea is expressed.



excellence of Abū Bakr<sup>1</sup>. He is a sword of which the surface has been polished by glory, and of which the metal denotes the excellent temper<sup>2</sup>. His praise is not borrowed (*metaphoric*), neither are the wonders, of his prowess a forged narration. He is as far above former kings in merit as the Pleiades are above the earth. In his good qualities we find written all that books relate of Persian and Grecian kings. When the sagest minds are troubled with terror, the firmness of this king is only augmented. Strong of heart, his attacks and his intrepidity, in the tumult of battle, would appal the lions of al-Sha'rā<sup>3</sup>. (*His is*) the tongue which can almost declare what shall come to pass tomorrow, and that with a promptitude which dispenses him from reflecting: (*his*) the prudence which surpasses and disconcerts the prudence of others; his, the judgment and resolution which shame those of Alexander. His generosity leads him to pardon the gravest offences, and his noble pride turns him from obscene discourse. You need not listen when the history of other kings is read; (*hear his*;) in the belly of the wild ass is every sort of game<sup>4</sup>."

It is certainly an exquisite poem, to say the least of it. When al-Malik al-'Ādil had divided his states between his sons, he used to visit them, and kept thus removing from one kingdom to another. His general practice was, to spend the summer in Syria on account of the fruit, the snow and the cool water which are readily procured in that country, and he passed the winter in Egypt on account of its mild temperature in that season, and the absence of cold. He lived in all the enjoyments of life, and his appetite for food was most extraordinary; it is said that he used to eat up a roast lamb at a meal, and, in the gratification of his passion for the sex, his indulgences were equally great. In a word, he was permitted to partake of all the pleasures this world can afford. His birth took place at Damascus, in the month of

1 This verse applies equally to al-Malik al-'Ādil, whose name was Abū Bakr, and to the first Khalif.

2 Literally: *et cujus indicat praestans origo substantiam*. The poet meant to say: *et cujus indicat praestantem originem substantia*, we find frequent examples of such inversions. See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tom. II, p. 399.

3 See No. 459, note on al-Sha'rā.

4 That is: the flesh of the wild ass has the taste of every sort of game. It is a common proverb. See Freytag's *Maidani*, tom. II, p. 316.

Muḥarram, A.H. 540 (June-July, A.C. 1145), or 538, by another account. He died on the 7th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 615 (31st August, A.C. 1218), at 'Āliqīn. The next day, his body was transported to Damascus and interred in the Castle, whence it was afterwards removed to the college bearing his name, and deposited in the mausoleum by the road-side. His tomb is the edifice which passengers remark through the trellis-work (*which is set up*) there. 'Āliqīn is the name of a village outside Damascus. The death of al-Malik al-'Ādil occurred at the epoch of the landing of the Franks (*the crusaders*) in Syria<sup>1</sup>. Their first operation being to march against him, he set out to meet them and proceeded to the vicinity of Damascus, that he might equip his troops and make the other necessary preparations, but, on reaching 'Āliqīn, he expired. The whole body of the invaders then abandoned their project against Syria and passed into Egypt. This brought on the celebrated war of Damietta. The date of this war is given in the life of Yaḥyā Ibn Maṣṣūr, surnamed Ibn al-Jarrāḥ<sup>2</sup>. *Aṭsīs* is a Turkish compound word signifying *nameless*: it is related that, as none of al-Malik al-Kāmil's children lived to grow up, a Turk who was present at his levee said, on the birth of al-Malik al-Mas'ūd: "People in our country have the custom of naming a child *Aṭsīs* when none of his children survive." Al-Kāmil then gave this name to his son. The people pronounce it *Aqsīs*, with a *q* (ق), but the former is the right pronunciation; so, at least, I have been informed. I have since found the precise date of the cession of Aleppo: 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī evacuated its castle on Thursday, the 22nd of Ṣafar, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn occupied it on Monday, the 26th of the same month.

## 668 AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL, THE SON OF AL-'ĀDIL

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad, surnamed al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn (*the perfect prince, champion of the faith*), was the son of

1 This invasion of the Franks is what is generally denominated the sixth crusade.

2 His life will be found in this work. Damietta was taken in A.H. 616 (A.C. 1219).

al-Malik al-'Ādil. We have already mentioned something of his history in the life of his father ; see the preceding article. When the Franks (*the crusaders*) arrived at Damietta, (A.C. 1218) al-Malik al-Kāmil had just assumed the supreme authority. 'Imād al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb (*No. 74*) and a great number of other grandees were then with him ; but they joined the party of al-Malik al-Fā'iz Sābiq al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the brother of al-Malik al-Kāmil, in consequence of a plan concerted with the former of these princes. Though al-Kāmil had discovered from some circumstances of their conduct that they meant to depose him and confide the sultānship to his brother, and though their intention had been divulged, he felt obliged to keep on good terms with them on account of the presence of an enemy in the country, and he acted towards them with great longanimity, it being then impossible to have recourse to expostulation and discussion. He continued to pursue this line of conduct till the arrival of his brother al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam, the lord of Damascus (*No. 490*). This was on Thursday, the 19th Dhū 'l-Qa'dah. A.H. 615 (6th February, A.C. 1219). In a secret conference with this prince, he disclosed matters to him and designated Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb as the ringleader of the band. Some days afterwards, he (*al-Mu'aẓẓam*) proceeded, unexpectedly, to Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb's tent and, having called him out, he expressed the desire of conversing with him in private. Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb immediately mounted on horseback and rode off with him, unaccompanied. Al-Mu'aẓẓam had previously selected some men on whom he could rely and give them directions to follow. He then entered into conversation with Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb, and continued to keep his attention engaged, whilst he gradually drew him off from the camp. He then said : " 'Imād al-Dīn ! this country is yours, but we wish you to give it up to us." Having then furnished him with a sum for his necessary expenses, he told the detachment (*which had now come up*) to take charge of him and conduct him out of the desert. Ibn al-Maṣḥṭūb, being alone and unable to resist, was obliged to submit. Al-Mu'aẓẓam then returned to his brother and informed him of what had passed ; having then recourse to another stratagem in order to send al-Fā'iz out of the country, he despatched him off to Moṣul for the purpose of bringing up reinforcements from that city and

Mesopotamia. Al-Fā'iz died on reaching the city of Sinjār. These two individuals being thus removed out of the way, the generals who had conspired with them abandoned their projects and acknowledged, though much against their will, the authority of al-Malik al-Kāmil. The Damietta business then came on, but this is a subject on which we need not expatiate. The Franks, on obtaining possession of Damietta, marched out with the intention of reaching Old and New Cairo, and they encamped at the extremity of the isle on which Damietta is situated, the Muslims having already occupied the village of al-Manṣūrah, on the other side of the river. This river is the Ushmūm (*branch of the Nile*). Almighty God, by His favour and generous bounty, granted the victory to the Muslims, and, on the eve of Friday, the seventh of Rajab, A.H. 618 (27th August, A.C. 1221), the Franks abandoned their position. A peace being concluded between the two parties, on the 11th of the same month, the enemy evacuated the country in the month of Sha'bān (September-October) of that year. They had passed forty months and seventeen days in the land of Islāmism, part of the time in Syria, and the rest in Egypt, but God averted their evil designs; praise be unto Him for so doing! For the particulars of this event, we refer the reader to our notice on Yaḥyā Ibn Jarrāḥ. When al-Malik al-Kāmil was delivered from the uneasiness which the presence of the Franks had given him, he found leisure to think of the amīrs who had endeavoured to subvert his authority; and, having expelled them from Egypt, he broke up and dispersed their party. On entering Cairo, he took steps for restoring the prosperity of the country, and proceeded to the recovery of the taxes from all the quarters in which they were due. Al-Malik al-Kāmil was a powerful monarch and left an honourable reputation; he loved the men of learning (*the doctors of the law*) and, being a strict observer of the doctrines of the *sunnah*, (*the authentic record of Muḥammad's acts and sayings*) he adhered with zeal to the orthodox belief; he liked the society of talented men; in all his undertakings he evinced great foresight, never taking an unreasonable measure, and avoiding equally the extremes of parsimony and prodigality. Every Thursday, a number of the learned went to pass the evening with him, and he took a share in their discussions, questioning them

on the obscure points of the different sciences, and treating them as if he was one of themselves. He frequently quoted the following verses which he much admired :

"Before you were mistress of my heart, you never turned away from the sad and afflicted ; (*but now you do so !*) and though you occupy a secure position (*in my heart*), I still hope to conquer (*your disdain*)."

He founded at Cairo a school for Traditions (*dār ḥadīth*) and established a considerable *waqf*<sup>1</sup> for its support ; he built also a large dome over the tomb of al-Shāfi'ī, and, having interred his mother near that *imām's* grave, he went to an immense expense in leading to it the waters of the Nile by a canal of great length. When al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Dāwūd succeeded to the government of Syria on the death of his father al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, (*his uncle*), al-Malik al-Kāmil, who was brother to the deceased prince, set out from Egypt with the intention of taking Damascus. Being joined by his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mūsā, a prince whose life we shall give, they occupied Damascus towards the beginning of *Shā'bān*, A.H. 626 (June-July, A.C. 1229), after some proceedings too long to be related. Al-Kāmil then gave Damascus up to his brother al-Ashraf and received in return the cities of Ḥarrān, Edessa, Sarūj, al-Raqqah, and Rās 'Ayn, in Mesopotamia. On the 9th of Ramaḍān\*, the same year, he set out to visit his new acquisitions, and, in the month of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 626 (Aug.-Sept., A.C. 1229), as I was passing through Ḥarrān, I found him established there with the Egyptian army. Jalāl al-Dīn Khuwārizm Shāh was at that time besieging *Khalāt*, which city belonged to al-Malik al-Ashraf. Al-Kāmil then returned to Egypt, and in the year 629 (A.C. 1231-2) he set out at the head of a large army and took Āmid, Ḥiṣn Kayfā, and other cities, in the same part (*of Mesopotamia*) from al-Malik al-Mas'ūd Rukn al-Dīn Mawdūd, the son of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd, the son of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Fakhr al-Dīn Qarā Arslān, the son of Rukn al-Dawlah

<sup>1</sup> See No. 21, note on *waqf*.

\* 1 August, A.C. 1229.—Ed.

Dāwūd, the son of Nūr al-Dawlah Sukmān, the son of Urtuq. We have already spoken of Urtuq, the ancestor of this dynasty (*No.* 77). I learned from a native of Āmid, a well informed man that Āmid was surrendered to al-Malik al-Kāmil on the 19th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah* of that year (October, A.C. 1232)\*. On the 20th of the same month, his son, al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, entered into that city and, on the first day of Muḥarram†, in the following year, al-Kāmil entered also. Al-Malik al-Ashraf having died in A.H. 635 (A.C. 1237), and designated for successor his brother al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'il, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, (*the other brother*) al-Malik al-Kāmil took the field and occupied Damascus, after concluding a treaty of peace with al-Šāliḥ. He achieved this conquest on the 9th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 635 (28th December, A.C. 1237), and permitted his rival to retain possession of the town and district of Ba'labak, Buṣrā, the Arḍ al-Sawād<sup>1</sup>, and other places in the same country. Having established his authority in al-Šarqiyah (*Mesopotamia*), Āmid, and the neighbouring places, he left his son al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ayyūb to rule there as his lieutenant and he appointed his youngest son, al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr, to govern Egypt in the same capacity. We have already mentioned, in the life of al-Malik al-'Ādil, that that prince sent to Yaman al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, the eldest son of al-alik al-Kāmil. Al-Mas'ud then occupied Makkah and united under his sway the provinces of Yaman and Ḥijāz. He left Egypt for his destination on Monday, the 17th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 611 (20th January, A.C. 1215); he entered Makkah on the third of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* (6th March), the same year, and the *khutbah* was then said there in his name; having performed the pilgrimage, he set out for Zabīd and took possession of that capital the first of Muḥarram, A.H. 612 (2nd May, A.C. 1215). In the month of the latter Rabi', A.H. 620 (May-June, A.C. 1223), he took Makkah from

1 This *Sawād* must not be confounded with the Sawād of 'Irāq. According to the author of the *Marāṣid*, it is situated in the Balqā, the province to the south-east of the Jordan, and was called *Sawād* (*black*) on account of the colour of its stones.

\* 6 October.—Ed.

† 18 October, A.C. 1232.—Ed.

the *sharīf* Ḥasan Ibn Qatādah al-Ḥasanī<sup>1</sup>. Thus was extended the empire of al-Malik al-Kāmil. I was informed by a person who heard the *khūṭbah* pronounced at Makkah, on Friday, that the orator, on coming to the prayer for al-Malik al-Kāmil, pronounced these words : "(May the divine blessing be on him who is) lord of Makkah and its pious inhabitants<sup>2</sup>, of Yaman and Zabīd, of Egypt and Ṣa'id, of Syria and its heroes, of Mesopotamia and its sons, the sultān of the two *qiblahs* (*Makkah and Jerusalem*), the lord of the two '*alāmahs*<sup>3</sup>, the servants of the two holy and noble cities (*Makkah and Madīnah*), Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn (*the perfect king, the defender of the faith*), the friend of the Commander of the Faithful!" But these digressions lead us from our subject. In the year 633 (A.C. 1235-6), I saw him (*al-Malik al-Kāmil*) at Damascus on his return from the East, after having delivered the cities of that country from the hands of 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād Ibn Kaykhusrū Ibn Qilij Arslān Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Qilij Arslān Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Qutulmish Ibn Isrāyīl Ibn Saljūq Ibn Duqāq, the Saljūqid, lord of Asia minor (*Rūm*). The history of this important event would lead us, however, too far. Al-Kāmil had then in his train upwards of ten kings, one of whom was his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf. He continued in the height of power and authority till his death. Having fallen ill soon after he had taken possession of Damascus, he ceased riding out, and, during his indisposition, he frequently repeated the following lines :

"Tell me, my dear friends ! what may be the taste of sleep, for I am ill at ease<sup>4</sup>."

His sickness continuing, he died on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 21st of Rajab, A.H. 635 (8th March, A.C. 1238), and his

1 Ibn Khaldūn gives a notice on the Qatādah family in his universal history; MS. No. 2402 C, fol. 46v.

2 This passage is in rhyming prose, and it is for that reason, probably, that Ibn Khallikān gives it.

3 See No. 457. Al-Malik al-Kāmil had probably two '*alāmahs*, one as sultān of Egypt and the other as sultān of Syria and the East.

4 Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, who quotes this and other passages of Ibn Khallikān in his notice on al-Malik al-Kāmil (*Nujūm*, year 615), reads the last words of this verse فاني نسيت (*for I have forgotten it*). This is probably the true reading.

corpse was interred the following day, in the citadel of Damascus. I was in that city at the time, and was present at the cry raised in the great mosque of Damascus on the Saturday following; his death having been kept secret till then and not announced (*the day before*) Friday, at the hour of public prayer<sup>1</sup>. When the hour of prayer drew near, a herald stood up on the throne which is before the pulpit, and, having implored God's mercy on al-Malik al-Kāmil, invoked the divine favour on his son al-Malik al-'Ādil, lord of Egypt. I was there present, and the people uttered one general exclamation: they suspected that the king had died, but they did not acquire the certitude of the fact till then. His brother's son, al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar al-Dīn (*the generous prince, triumphant in his religion*) Yūnus Ibn Shams al-Dīn Mawdūd al-Malik al-'Ādil, was then installed at Damascus as vicegerent of the sultānship and lieutenant of al-Malik al-'Ādil Ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil, sovereign of Egypt. This nomination resulted from a unanimous decision taken by those amīrs who happened to be present in Damascus. A *turbah* (*mausoleum*) was erected for the reception of the corpse, and this edifice communicates, by a trellissed window, with the great mosque. Al-Malik al-Kāmil was born on the 25th of the first Rabi', A.H. 576 (August, A.C. 1180)\*; so at least I have found it written in the handwriting of a person who had been engaged in historical researches. Al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil and sovereign of Yaman, died at Makkah on the 13th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 626 (9th April, A.C. 1227); he was born A.H. 597 (A.C. 1200-1). There was then at Makkah a Kurd from the town of Arbela, a man of great holiness and called the *shaykh* Ṣadiq (or Ṣiddiq) Ibn Badr Ibn Janāh<sup>2</sup>, who was making a devotional residence in the neighbourhood of the temple. When al-Malik al-Mas'ūd was on the

1 The reading which I adopt is *لأنهم اخذوا يوم الجمعة وقت الصلاة*. Some of the MSS. offer other readings which are manifestly false.

2 The *Shaykh* Ṣadiq belonged to the tribe of the ḡlamaydī Kurds. He died at Makkah, A.H. 639 (A.C. 1241-2) and was interred in the Ma'lā (*see note* 2, p. 122). Al-Rāzī has inserted a short notice on Ṣadiq in the *Biographical History of Makkah*. See MS. of the *Bibliothèque imperiale* No. 721, fol. 30 verso.

\* 19 August. Ed.



point of death, he gave directions that none of his own money should be employed for the expenses of his funeral, and that his body should be delivered to the *shaykh* Ṣaḍīq, to be buried by him as he thought proper. On Mas'ūd's death, the *shaykh* shrouded the corpse in a cloak (*izār*) which he himself had worn for many years in his repeated pilgrimages and visits to the 'Umrah<sup>1</sup>, and had it buried as well as he could afford, giving it a poor man's funeral. Mas'ūd had also directed that no edifice should be raised over his grave and that he should be interred by the side of the cemetery near Makkah called al-Ma'lā<sup>2</sup>, in a tomb bearing the following inscription: "This is the tomb of one who stands in need of the mercy of Almighty God, Yūsuf\*, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Abū Bakr, the son of Ayyūb." A dome was afterwards erected over the grave by his freedman Ṣārim al-Dīn Qā'imāz al-Mas'ūdī, who was afterwards governor of Cairo<sup>3</sup>. When al-Malik al-Kāmil was informed of what Ṣaḍīq had done, he sent him a letter of thanks, and the *shaykh* said, on receiving it; "I do not deserve thanks for what I have done; a poor man asked me to take charge of him, and I merely fulfilled a duty incumbent on every individual when I lent my services and buried the dead." It was then suggested to him, that he should write an answer to al-Malik al-Kāmil, but he replied: "I have nothing to ask of him." Al-Kāmil had told him to ask for whatever he required, but the *Shaykh* did not return an answer. All these circumstances were related to me by an eye-

---

1 The 'Umrah is a small chapel at the distance of an hour and a half or two hours from Makkah. Every pilgrim is required to visit it. See d'Ohsson's *Tab. gen. de l'emp. Oth.* tome III. p. 238, and Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*. vol. I, pages 176 and 322.

2 In the *Marāṣid al-Ittīlā'* and al-Azraqī's description of Makkah, this name is written *الملا*. See Burckhardt's description of it in his *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 226. It now forms a quarter of the city.

3 Ṣārim al-Dīn Qā'imāz al-Mas'ūdī acted with great cruelty and tyranny when governor of Cairo. In the month of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 664 (September, A.C. 1266), he was stabbed to the heart, in the court of justice, by a person who meant to assassinate the sulṭān's lieutenant, the amīr 'Izz al-Dīn al-Mujallī.—(Al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*, chapter entitled *سويقة السمعي*).

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives Aṭṣis.—Ed.

witness, who knew well what he was saying ; but God knows best ! Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, continued to govern the empire till Friday, the 8th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 637 (31st May, A. C. 1240) ; when his own amīrs arrested him outside of Bilbays, and sent for his brother al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. Previously to this, al-Šāliḥ had made an arrangement with al-Malik al-Jawād, by which he was to receive Damascus in exchange for Sinjār and ʿĀnah, and, in the beginning of the month of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 636 (January, A. C. 1239), he went and took possession of Damascus. Some time after, al-Malik al-Šāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, uncle to al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb and lord of Baʿlabak concerted a plan with al-Malik al-Mujāhid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh, the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh (*No.* 272), lord of Emessa, for the purpose of seizing Damascus, and al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb having left that city for Egypt, with the intention of dethroning his brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, these two princes burst into Damascus with their troops. This event, which caused a profound sensation, took place on Tuesday, the 27th of Šafar, A. H. 637 (28th Sept. A. C. 1239), whilst Najm al-Dīn was stopping at Nāblus. The soldiers of al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb then returned home to their families in Damascus and left their chief at Nāblus with a few of his pages and followers. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the son of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, and lord of al-Karak, arrived there soon after, and, having arrested al-Šāliḥ on the eve of Saturday, the 22nd of the first Rabiʿ,\* the same year, he sent him into confinement at Karak. On the eve of Saturday, however, the 27th of Ranaḍān† following he set his prisoner at liberty. The details of these events would be too long to relate<sup>1</sup>. Al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd having then united their forces at Nāblus, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was arrested, as has been already said. His amīrs sent off immediately for al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, and that prince, accompanied by al-Malik al-Nāṣir, having joined them, they entered Cairo on the second

<sup>1</sup> See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 637.

\* 22 October, A.C. 1239.—Ed.

† 21 April, A.C. 1240.—Ed.

hour of Sunday, the 27th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 637 (19th June, A. C. 1240). I was residing in Cairo at the time. His brother al-Malik al-Ādil was placed in a litter and brought into the city under a strong guard, and taken, by the road outside the city to the citadel, where he remained a prisoner in the imperial palace. Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ then extended the sway of justice over all his subjects; he treated the people with kindness, distributed alms, and repaired the mosques which had fallen into ruin. The history of his proceedings would form a long narration. On Monday, the 8th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 643 (1st October, A. C. 1245), he took Damascus from his uncle al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'il, but left him in possession of Ba'labak. In the year 644, he returned to Syria and entered Damascus on the 19th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah (28th March, A. C. 1247). He then went back to Egypt, but, in the year 646, he set out thither again, and, having arrived at Damascus in the beginning of the month of Sha'bān (November, A. C. 1248), he sent an army to besiege Emessa, which city had been taken from its sovereign, al-Malik al-Ashraf, by al-Malik al-Nāṣir, lord of Aleppo. He returned to Egypt in the beginning of the year 647 (April-May, A. C. 1249), being unwell at the time, and he stopped at Ushmūm to await the coming of the Franks. This people arrived on Friday, the 20th of Ṣafar, the same year (4th June, A. C. 1249), and, on Saturday, having occupied the island on which Damietta is situated, they took possession of that city and established themselves there, on Sunday, the third day. (*This conquest they easily effected*), as the garrison and all the inhabitants had fled and abandoned it. Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ then left Ushmūm for al-Manṣūrah, and his illness was at its height when he arrived. He remained there till his death, which occurred on Monday, the 15th of Sha'bān (22nd November, A. C. 1249). His corpse was borne to the New Castle, in the island<sup>1</sup>, and

1 The author means the island of al-Rawḍah, near Cairo. Al-Maqrizī has a chapter on this island and its castle, in the *Khiṭaṭ*. He agrees with Ibn Khalikān in stating that the corpse of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ was deposited there. The Castle of the island, called also Qal'at al-Rawḍah, Qal'at al-Miqyās (*castle of the Nilometer*), and al-Qal'at al-Šāliḥiyah was an immense fortified palace, embellished with colonnades, plantations, and all the ornaments which art could bestow. It was founded by al-Šāliḥ and destroyed by the mamlūk sulṭāns.

deposited there in the mosque. During nearly three months, his death was kept secret, and the *khutbah* continued to be said in his name till the arrival of his son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrān Shāh from Ḥiṣn Kayfā. This prince arrived at al-Manṣūrah by the road which passes through the desert. It was only then that they published al-Ṣāliḥ's death and that the *khutbah* was said in the name of his son. A mausoleum was afterwards built close to the college which he had founded at Cairo, and his body was transported thither in the month of Rajab, A. H. 648. He was born on the 24th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 603 (26th January, A. C. 1207); so I saw it written in the handwriting of his father, but I found stated elsewhere that his birth took place on the eve of Thursday, the fifth\* of the latter Jumādā, and a third account says: On the 4th of Muḥarram, A. H. 604† Ward al-Munā (*gratification of wishes*), his mother, was a mulatto of a tawry complexion. Al-Malik al-'Ādil was born in the month of *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*, A. H. 617 (Jan.-Feb. A. C. 1221), at al-Manṣūrah, where, his father had stationed to observe the enemy in Damietta. He died in prison on Monday, the 12th of *Shawwāl*, A. H. 645 (9th Feb., A. C. 1248), in the Castle of Cairo, and was interred in the mausoleum of *Shams al-Dawlah* situated outside the Gate of Succour (Bab al-Naṣr). I indicate these events in a summary-manner; were I to enter into details, I should be led too far, particularly as my object is concision; I may add, however, that I was present when the greater part of them took place. Al-'Ādil left a child, a little boy, called al-Malik al-Mughīth; he remained in the Castle till his cousin al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrān Shāh sent from al-Manṣūrah at where he had just arrived, and removed him to the fortress of al-Shawbik. On the catastrophe<sup>1</sup> which befell al-Mu'azzam, the guardian of the fortress of al-Karak sent to al-Shawbik for al-Malik al-Mughīth and remitted to him the

---

1 This catastrophe was the assassination of al-Mu'azzam by his own officers. See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 648, tom. IV. pages 511 and 517.

\* 'Abd al-Ēamīd gives 15th (18th January) which appears to be more correct since the day tallies, otherwise it does not tally and it would be Sunday according to Mahler's calculation.—Ed.

† 31 July A.C. 1207.—Ed.

possession of these two places and the neighbouring country. He is still reigning there<sup>1</sup>. He continued in possession of that place till A. H. 661 (A. C. 1262-3), when al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Bibars, having halted in al-Ghawr (*the valley of the Jordan*), wrote to him to give up the fortress and promised to concede him great advantages as an equivalent. Having bound himself by oath (*to act honourably*), he induced al-Mughīth to come to his camp at al-Tūr (*Tabor*), in the province of al-Ghawr. It is said that Bibars purposely expressed the oath in equivocal terms, as he had not the intention of fulfilling it. Immediately on al-Mughīth's arrival, he arrested him and sent him a prisoner to the Castle of the Mountain at Old Cairo. From that moment, nothing more was heard of him<sup>2</sup>. He left a son called al-'Azīz Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān; this prince, who was then a mere boy, received an appointment as amīr from al-Malik al-Zāhir and continued in his service till the conquest of Antioch, in Ramaḍān, A. H. 666 (May-June, A. C. 1268). He subsequently left Syria and proceeded to Egypt; but, on his arrival, al-Zāhir arrested him and sent him to the Castle of the Mountain, where he is still in confinement. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Tūrān Shāh died on Monday, the 27th of Muḥarram, 648 (1st May, A. C. 1250).

### 669 IBN AL-ZAYYĀT THE WAZIR

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Abī Ḥamzah Abbān, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Zayyāt (*son of the oilman*), was wazīr to al-Mu'taṣim. His grandfather, Abbān, was a native of al-Daskarah<sup>3</sup>, a village in the district of Jubbul, and carried oil from the environs of that place to Baḥdād; but his own aspiring soul raised him, as we shall see,

1 What follows is evidently a subsequent addition, and is not to be found in most of the MSS. It was known, however, to al-Yāfi'i, who gives an abridgment of it in his *Mir'at*, year 635.

2 Abu 'l-Feda gives a much more satisfactory account of al-Mughīth's fall in his *Annals*, year 661.

3 The village of al-Daskarah was situated in the province of Baḥdād.

from the obscurity of a station so humble. His literary acquirements were of the most brilliant description, and his talents of the highest orders; he was an able philologist, an eloquent (*writer*), and a learned grammarian. Maymūn Ibn Hārūn the *kātib* relates that, when Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī (*No. 115*) arrived at Baghdād, in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, his pupils and the persons who attended his lectures entered into the depths of grammatical disquisition, and, when any doubtful point set them at variance, Abū 'Uthmān would tell them to send and consult the *young kātib*, meaning the (*Muhammad Ibn*) 'Abd al-Malik here mentioned. This they did, and Abū 'Uthmān, to whom they communicated his answers, always acknowledged their correctness and coincided in opinion with him who made them. Di'bil Ibn 'Ali al-Khuzā'i (*No. 213*) makes mention of Ibn al-Zayyāt in his classified list of the poets (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*), and he is spoken of also by Abū 'Abd Allāh Hārūn Ibn al-Munajjim in his *kitāb al-Bārī*. The latter writer, whose life will be found in this work, quotes also numerous fragment of his poetry. In the beginning of his career, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik was one of the common *kātib*s (or clerks in the service of the state), and it happened that al-Mu'taṣim, having received a letter from one of his governors, ordered his wazīr Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammār Ibn Shādhī\*<sup>1</sup> to read it aloud. In this letter the writer spoke of

---

1 "Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammār Ibn Shādhī,\* a native of al-Madhār, (المذار), a town near Baṣrah, see al-Idrīsī's Geography), removed from that place to Baṣrah, where he purchased large estates and augmented his fortune. He followed the profession of a miller. Having gone up to Baghdād, his wealth became yet more ample, and it is said that he gave away, every day, one hundred dīnārs in alms. Having been described to al-Mu'ta'im by al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān (*No. 505*) as a man of strict integrity, that Khalīf raised him to the wazīrate when he deposed al-Faḍl. Ibn 'Ammār held this post for some time, but a letter having arrived to al-Mu'taṣim in which the writer spoke of the fertility of the country and mentioned that there was a great abundance of *kald*, the Khalīf asked his wazīr what the word meant. Ibn 'Ammār, being totally devoid of the literary information requisite for a wazīr, did not know what to say, and al-Mu'ta'im then ordered one of his followers, and favourites, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, to be brought in. Having proposed

(Continued on page 128)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥalīm adds : al-Baṣrī—Ed.

*al-kalā* (forage), and al-Mu'taṣim asked Ibn 'Ammār what the word *al-kalā* meant. The wazīr replied that he did not know; for he possessed, in fact, but a very slight acquaintance with philology. On this, al-Mu'taṣim exclaimed: "An illiterate *khalif* (is well fitted) with a low born wazīr!" Al-Mu'taṣim himself possessed but little instruction in (reading and) writing. He then ordered the attendants to bring in the first *kātib* they could find in the antechamber, and Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik was introduced. "What is the meaning of *al-kalā*?" said the *khalif*. "*Al-kalā*," replied Ibn al-Zayyāt, "in its general acceptation, signifies *grass*; if it is fresh, it is called *al-kalā*, and if dry, *al-ḥaṣḥiṣh*." He then enumerated the different sorts of herbage, and al-Mu'taṣim having thus discovered his merit, raised him to the post of wazīr, with full juridical and executive authority. We have already mentioned, in the life of the *qāḍī* Aḥmad Ibn Abī duwād al-Iyādi (No. 31), what passed between him and Ibn al-Zayyāt. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bimāristānī relates that Abū Ḥaḥṣ al-Kirmānī, the *kātib* (or secretary) of 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah (No. 482), wrote the following note to Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik: "To come to our subject: thou art one of those who water when they plant, and who edify the structure when they lay its foundations, so that the building raised on these foundations is completed and the fruit produced by these plantations affords an ample crop. But the edifice which thou hast erected in my love is now tottering and on the brink of ruin; the plantation which thou hast formed in my heart suffers from drought and is on the point of being parched up; hasten therefore to repair the edifice which thou hast founded, and to water what thou hast planted." Al-Bimāristānī adds that, having spoken of this letter to Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Aṭawī, the latter

(Continued from page 127)

to him the same question. Ibn al-Zayyāt replied: 'Herbage just sprouting up is called *al-Baql*: when it grows a little longer, it is called *al-kalā*. and, when it is dry, they give it the name of *al-ḥaṣḥiṣh*. On this, al-Mu'taṣim said to Ibn 'Ammār; "Take you the inspection of the government offices, and this man will read to me the letters which I receive; ! He afterwards honourably dismissed Ibn 'Ammār from the place of wazīr, and conferred it on Ibn al-Zayyāt." (*Al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah*).

immediately expressed the same thought in a verse which he designed as a eulogium on Muḥammad, the son of 'Imrān, the son of Mūsā, the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Khālid, the son of Barmak ; I must observe, however, that I have since found the (*first*) three verses in (*'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah*) al-Iṣbahānī's edition of Abū Nuwās's poetical works (*No. 162*) :

"The generous Barmakides learned beneficence and taught it to the human race ; when they planted, they watered, and they never destroyed the edifice which they founded ; when they conferred favours on mankind, they clothed their bounties in a raiment which endured for ever. You once gave me to drink from the cup of your love ; why do you now present me the cup of your cruelty ? You allayed my apprehensions by kindness : know you not that your estrangement will arouse them ?"

The same idea is also expressed in (*two verses which we have inserted in*) the life of 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Ṣūrī (*No. 381*). Ibn al-Zayyāt composed some graceful poems, such as the following :

"Hearken to me, O men ! and abstain from casting glances at the fair. Although love begins by exciting joy, it has death for its end. My friends said to me : 'Cease to watch the Pleiades ; sleep, for the wing of night is turned black.' And I replied : 'Has my heart then so far recovered, that it can distinguish between night and morning ?'"

I found in the handwriting of (*a person who was evidently*) a man of instruction, the following piece which is there given as Ibn al-Zayyāt's :

"(*She was*) a tyrant as long as I knew her ; an oppressor, yet may I never be delivered from her ! She makes (me) hope to gain her love, yet she refuses when I ask. When my tears betrayed the passion I concealed, she said : 'Though he should weep all his life, with tears of blood, I should not have compassion on him.' How often did I control my angry feelings and suppress my indignation ! how often was I weary of life, and yet I never felt weary of love."

The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) relates, in his History of Baghdād that Ibn al-Zayyāt loved a slave-girl who was a professional



musician, and his mind was so greatly troubled on learning that she had been sold to a native of *Khurāsān* and taken away, that his friends feared for his reason. He then pronounced these lines :

"How long the nights of the afflicted lover ! How long his watching of the Pleiades in the darkness ! What now remains for my garments to cover, in me who am consumed with passion, and whose body now appears as slender as the letter *alif* ? When Jacob exclaimed : 'Alas !' (*ya asafā*)<sup>1</sup> in his affliction, he did so for the length of the sorrow (*al-asaf*) which he had undergone. Let him who wishes to see a man who died of love, turn towards *al-Zayyāt* and observe."

In (*Ibn al-Munajjim's*) *Kitāh al-Bārī* we find an elegy composed by *Ibn al-Zayyāt* on his slave-girl, who died leaving a son eight years old. He thus expresses his sorrow for her loss and his pity for the child :

"Who has seen the child deprived of his mother ? sleep is far from him and his eyes pour forth their tears. He sees every mother, but his own, conversing with her child under the shades of night, but he lies in his solitary bed, holding converse with the sorrows of a heart in constant agitation. Suppose me able, in my strength of mind, to bear her loss with patience ; yet who can give patience to a boy but eight years old ? his force is weak ; he knows not that patience is a merit (*in the eyes of God*), and in his misfortune, he cannot take example by the conduct of (*grown up*) men."

*Ibn al-Zayyāt* left a *diwān* of elegantly written letters. *Al-Buhturī* has celebrated his praises in the *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *d* wherein he extols his penmanship and eloquence. Towards the end of this poem he says :

"I see all mankind, the commanders and the commanded, united in the praise. The learned appreciate thy talents in the sciences. and. on their word, the ignorant acknowledge thy merit."

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, sūrah 12, verse 84.

Abū Taimmām (*No. 143*) and many other contemporary poets praised him in their verses. There exists a number of fragments by Ibrāhīm Ibn al-‘Abbās al-Ṣūlī (*No. 10*) in which that writer attacks him; such, for instance, as the following:

“I had a friend near whom, when I reminded him (*of my distress*), I found such shelter as can be given by a chief, justly proud and lofty in his glory. But the vicissitudes of time passed between me and him, and they left us, one a tyrant and the other an implorer of assistance. In counting on Muḥammad as a support through life, I resembled him who sought to extinguish the fire by blowing on it.

Forced by the approach of affliction, I called on you to succour me; but in your hatred, you stirred up the fire of misfortune to consume me. In calling on you when danger threatens, I resemble the woman who begged assistance from the inhabitants of the tombs. I said to her, when she multiplied reproaches: ‘Alas! what can I do? my honourable feelings injure my success! ‘Where are then the noble princes?’ said she—‘Ask me not,’ I replied, ‘they are dead.’ ‘How did that happen?’—‘Because the khalif has taken an oilman for his wazir.’

Abū Ja‘far, now in the height of power! fear a reverse of fortune, and rein in, for a time, thy pride in its career. If you possess to-day the object of thy hopes, think that, to-morrow, my hopes may be crowned like thine. If, in visiting Muḥammad, I sometimes met with a repulse, yet I have often avoided him of my own accord. Am I not placed under an obligation to a man like Muḥammad when he spares me the necessity of being grateful for his favours.

Fortune hath procured thee wealth, and, once poor, thou art become rich. But wealth hath disclosed the vile qualities which lay concealed under the robe of thy poverty.”

Al-Ṣūlī attacks him in other passages besides these, but illustrious men have always been the object of praise and vituperation.

1 The poet's wife or mistress reproached him with not gaining money by celebrating the praises of great, and he replied that his honourable feelings prevented him from extolling the unworthy.

tion. Ibn al-Zayyāt composed a satire of ninety verses against the *qādī* Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād, to which the latter replied by the two following lines :

"A satire of ninety verses is less to the purpose than its meaning condensed into a single verse: *How much the state requires a shower of rain to wash away that filthy stain of oil!*"

The author of the *Iqd* (No. 45) attributes these last verses to 'Alī Ibn al-Jahm (No. 437), but the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* gives them as Ibn Abī Duwād's.

\*[When Ibn al-Zayyāt heard of this epigram, he replied :

"You defiled the state with your pitch, and nothing could clean it till we rubbed it with our oil!."

To make this allusion intelligible, it is necessary to observe that Abū Duwād's grandfather sold pitch at-Başrah.] On the death of al-Mu'taṣim and the accession of his son al-Wāḥiq Hārūn, Ibn al-Zayyāt pronounced the following verses :

"When they returned after depositing the best of the dead in the best of tombs, I said : 'God can never repair the misfortune which the people suffer in losing one like thee, but by giving them (a prince like) Harūn.'"

Al-wāḥiq, in his father's lifetime, had conceived a violent hatred against Ibn al-Zayyāt, but, when he heard these verses, he confirmed him in the possession of all the authority which he had exercised during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim. He had even sworn by a most solemn oath<sup>2</sup> that, on his accession, he would cast the wazīr down from the height of his power ; but, having ordered the *kātib*s, after he had assumed the supreme command, to draw up a notice relative to the ceremonies to be observed at his

1 These verses have been already given, with some variation, in the life of Ibn Abī Duwād ; see No. 31.

2 According to the author of the *al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah* he vowed to make a pilgrimage to Makkah, to manumit all his slaves, and bestow large sums in alms, in case he did not wreak vengeance on Ibn al-Zayyāt.

\* ! ] Abd al-Ḥamīd omitted this passage—Ed.

inauguration, he was dissatisfied with the draughts which they submitted to his examination, and the only one which met his approval was that which Ibn al-Zayyāt wrote out subsequently to their failure. This document he ordered to be adopted for the model of all the copies of the notice, and he proceeded to expiate the breach of his vow according to the legal formalities. "Money," said he, "can be replaced, and so can the sum given to redeem a broken vow, but we can have no equivalent for the empire or for such a man as Ibn al-Zayyāt." Al-Mutawakkil, the successor of al-Wāṭḥiq, bore a violent rancour towards the wazīr, and, on the fortieth day after his accession, he gratified his animosity by putting him under arrest and confiscating his property. The motive which led him to this act of vengeance was that, on the death of his brother, al-Wāṭḥiq, Muḥammad Ibn al-Zayyāt had proposed to raise the deceased khalif's son to the throne, whilst the *qāḍī* Ibn Abī Duwād recommended that al-Mutawakkil should be chosen. To accomplish his purpose, the *qāḍī* displayed the utmost activity, and he carried his zeal so far that he placed, with his own hands, the turban on al-Mutawakkil's head and the Prophet's mantle on his shoulders, after which, he kissed him on the forehead. Under the reign of al-Wāṭḥiq, whenever al-Mutawakkil went to see the wazīr, the latter received him with a frowning look, and accosted him in the rudest terms; hoping, by this line of conduct, to ingratiate himself yet more with his sovereign. Al-Mutawakkil's hatred was excited by this treatment, and if, on his accession to power, he abstained for a time from venting his anger on Ibn al-Zayyāt, it was only to allay his apprehensions and prevent him from concealing his money. In order, therefore, to inspire him with a false security, he chose him for wazīr, whilst he complacently listened to the suggestions of the *qāḍī* Ibn Abī Duwād, who pushed him on to vengeance. When he at length arrested Ibn al-Zayyāt and put him to death in the manner which we shall relate lower down, he could only discover, of all his wazīr's possessions, farms, and treasures, property to the value of one hundred thousand dinārs. He then repented of what he had done, and finding no one capable of replacing him, he said to Ibn Abī Duwād: "You inspired me with vain hopes, and incensed me against a man

whom I shall never be able to replace." When Ibn al-Zayyāt was wazīr, he caused a large lantern<sup>1</sup> to be framed of iron and fastened with nails, the sharp points of which projected inwards, like needles. In this machine he used to torture the officers of the civil administration and the other persons from whom he meant to extort money: as often as the victim turned round or moved from the intensity of his sufferings, the nails entered into his body and put him to excruciating pain. Ibn al-Zayyāt was the first who ever imagined such an instrument of torture. When the sufferer cried out to him: "O wazīr! have compassion on me!" he used to answer: "Compassion is mere weakness of character." It happened however that, when he was himself imprisoned by al-Mutawakkil, that khalif ordered him to be chained in irons of thirty pounds weight and put into the same lantern. To his cry of: "O Commander of the faithful! have compassion on me!" he answered in the words so often addressed by the wazīr to other sufferers: "Compassion is mere weakness of character<sup>2</sup>". Whilst undergoing these torments, Ibn al-Zayyāt asked for ink and paper, and wrote as follows:

"Such is the way of earthly things: from day to day, they fleet on and pass away as visions seen in sleep. Cease repining! such events are the vicissitudes which fortune transmits from man to man."

These lines he sent to al-Mutawakkil, who was prevented by business from attending to them, but, the next morning, he read them and gave orders to deliver the wazīr. When they came to take him out, they found him dead. This was in A.H. 223. He had passed forty days in the lantern. His arrest took place on the 8th of Šafar, of that year (September, A.C. 847)\*. After his death, the following lines were found written with charcoal on the side of the lantern, in his own hand:

1 The word is *tannūr*: it appears from M. de Sacy's life of al-Ḥākim, *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes*, page CCCLXV, that these lanterns were sometimes of enormous size.

2 The author of the *al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah* states positively that Ibn al-Zayyāt was tyrannical, overbearing hard-hearted, and inhuman. He alludes also to the story of the lantern.

\* 23rd September.—Ed.

"Let him who knows where sleep is to be found, direct towards it one who longs for it; may God have mercy on the compassionate man who will lead sleep to my eyes! I wake, but he sleeps by whom I am despised."

Aḥmad al-Aḥwal relates as follows: "When Ibn al-Zayyāt was arrested, I contrived to gain admittance, and, finding him heavily ironed, I said. 'I am deeply grieved at what I see;' on which he pronounced these words:

"Ask the dwellings of the tribe who changed their aspect and destoryed the traces of their existence? 'Tis Fortune; when she favours most, her favours turn to afflictions. The world is like a fleeting shadow; let us praise God! 'twas thus He predestined it to be."

When he was put in the lantern, his slave said to him: "Thou art come, my lord, to this, and hast not left a single man (*inclined by gratitude*) to speak thy praise." To this he answered: "Of what use to the Barmakides was their beneficence?" The slave replied: "It makes you think of them now." Ibn al-Zayyāt acknowledged the truth of his words.

#### 670 IBN AL-'AMĪD THE KĀTĪB

Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad the *kātib*, surnamed Ibn al-'Amīd (the *son of al-'Amīd*), was wazīr to Rukn al-Dawlah Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Buwayh al-Daylamī, the father of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah (*No. 168 and No. 507*). The title of *al-'Amīd* (the *column*) had been given to his father by the people of *Khurāsān*, in attributing to this word an intensive signification, according to their custom<sup>1</sup>. His father

1 It is well known that the regular diminutive form *fu'ayl* (فُعَيْل) assumes, in some cases, an intensive signification; thus *'umayd* (a little column, a pilaster) may bear the signification of a large column. This circumstance induced me to suppose that the name of this wazīr should be pronounced *'umayd*, and M. de Sacy was so deeply impressed with the same opinion that, in translating the

(Continued on page 136)

was a man of merit and displayed considerable abilities as an epistolary writer and a philologist. Ibn al-'Amīd succeeded Abū 'Alī 'l-Qummī as wazīr, in the year 328 (A. C. 939-40). He possessed a moderate degree of information in astronomy and the philosophical sciences, but, in philology and epistolary composition he surpassed all his contemporaries, and was (*therefore*) called the *second Jāhiz* (No. 481). (*As a wazīr*) he exercised unbounded authority and great influence. Ibn 'Abbād (No. 93) received the surname of *al-Ṣāhib* (*the companion*) from the fact of his being the constant companion and follower of Ibn al-'Amīd. The abilities of Ibn al-'Amīd as an epistolary writer were of the highest order, and al-Tha'ālibī (No. 356) said, on this subject, in his *Yatīmah*, that epistolary writing began with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (No. 380) and finished with Ibn al-'Amīd. The *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād having made a journey to Baghdād, was asked by Ibn al-'Amīd, on his return, how he found that city :

(Continued from page 135)

passage to which the present note refers, he wrote : "Il avait reçu ce surnom d'après l'usage ou sont les habitants de Khurasan, d'employer les diminutifs comme un signe d'estime et de considération." (*Chrestomathie*, t. II, p. 58.) He then adds : "Ceci prouve qu'on doit prononcer *Omaïd* et non pas '*Amīd*.'" I must however observe that, in the Arabic text of the passage (which I have translated literally), the equivalent of this word *diminutifs* does not exist ; and, to prove that the name should be pronounced '*Amīd*', not '*Umayd*', I shall refer to the versified proverb : Epistolary writing commenced with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, and ended with Ibn al-'Amīd. I shall also refer to the *diwān* of al-Mutanabbī ; in all the manuscripts, the poems addressed to this wazīr are entitled *al-'Amīdiyyāt*, with the vowel points clearly marked, and in these pieces, the word العمد is *invariably* pointed so as to be read *al-'Amīd*. M. de Sacy has therefore misunderstood the observation of Ibn Khalikān, but his error was almost inevitable, owing to the vagueness of our author's expression. I believe that Ibn Khalikān meant to say that the people of Khurāsān give to the form *fa'il* فاعل an intensive signification, and this we know is an irregularity. The commentators of the *Qur'ān* and all the grammarians who explain the words *Bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* (*In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement!*) attribute to *Raḥīm*, in consequence of its form (*fa'il*), a much less comprehensive signification than to the word *Raḥmān*. It is therefore an established principle of Arabic grammar that the form *a'il* expresses less than *fa'lān* and some other forms. But it appears that in Khurāsān it was considered to express more and to be really the intensive form, and this is what our author intended to say.

"Baghdād," replied the Šāhib, "holds the same place amongst other cities as your lordship (*al-ustād*) amongst other men." It must be here observed that Ibn al-'Amīd was addressed by the title of *al-ustād*. This wazīr was an able ruler and administered the empire with firmness and talent: the most celebrated poets repaired to his court from distant countries and recited poems of the highest beauty in his praise. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mtuanabbī (No. 49) went to see him at Arrajān and eulogized him in a number of *qaṣīdahs*, one of them beginning thus:

"Be patient or impatient under suffering, thy passion will still appear; thy tears may flow or not, 'twill still be seen that thou art weeping."

In this poem he manages the transition to his subject in the following manner:

"To Arjān, my rapid steeds! such is my firm resolution, which leaves the spears (*of all opposers*) broken behind it. Had I acted as you (*my slothful steeds*) desired, your troop had never cloven the clouds of dust (*but stayed at home in idleness*). Hasten to Abu 'l-Faql! to him whose aspect relieves me from my vow! no richer ocean in pearls (*virtues*) is ever visited by man<sup>1</sup>. The human race gave their opinion (*fatwā*) that his aspect (*would release me from the vow of visiting the ocean*), and God forbid that I should be restrained or should abstain (*from its fulfilment*)! I have formed a bracelet for the hand which first waves to announce Ibn al-'Amīd, and for the first servant who (*at his sight*) cries (*with exultation*) *Allāh Akbar* (*God is great*)!"

The same poem contains the following passage:

"Who will tell the Arabs of the desert that, on leaving them, I saw (*in one man*) Aristotle and Alexander? They sacrificed for my table their camels ten months pregnant, but he gave me hospitality who sacrifices bags of gold for his guest. I then heard a deep student in the books of Ptolemy, who ruled with sovereign power, and who enjoyed, with equal pleasure, the life of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Humidity and generosity are synonymous in Arabic poetry. To call a generous patron *an ocean* is the highest praise a poet can bestow.



desert and of the town; (*united in him*) I met all the men of talent (*of ancient days*); God seems to have restored us their persons and their times; they were first drawn up in order, like sums for calculation; then came the amount, because you (*O learned wazir!*) came the last!."

This is one of the most exquisite *qaṣīdahs* ever composed. Ibn al-Hamadḥānī says, in the '*Uyūn al-Siyar*'<sup>2</sup>, that Ibn al-'Amīd rewarded the poet with three thousand dinārs. In this piece, al-Mutanabbī gives but one *r* to *Arrajān*, although it should have two, according to al-Jawharī (*No. 9, note*) in his *Ṣaḥāḥ*, al-Ḥāzimi (*No. 599*) in his *Mā ittafaq lafẓu wa ifīraq musammahu* (or *synonyms*), and Ibn al-Jawālīqī<sup>3</sup> in his *Mughrib*. We have already spoken of this *qaṣīdah* in the life of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt (*No. 130*), and mentioned that it was composed in honour of this wazir when the author was in Egypt; al-Mutanabbī, however, being dissatisfied with his conduct, did not recite it to him, but, having gone to Fārs, he changed it to the address of Ibn al-'Amīd. Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Nubātah al-Sa'dī (*No. 361*) went to see Ibn al-'Amīd at Ray, and praised him in a poem commencing thus:

"(*I suffer from*) the pains of desire and remembrance, from the ardour of burning sighs; deprived of sleep, tears gush from my eyes. Alas! how many anxious thoughts has my heart concealed! The intoxication of youth has passed away, but its hurtful effects still remain: I am too old to gain the love of youthful maidens, and yet I cannot behold them with indifference. How happy were the nights and mornings in which I visited the court of al-Ruṣāfah<sup>4</sup>, when my youth, inebriated with delight, swept the ground with its robe of pride. I then made my

1 In these verses he means to say that Ibn al-'Amīd united in himself the talents of all the great men of former times, and that he, coming last, represented the sum total of which they were the *items*.

2 The '*Uyūn al-Siyar*' appears, from the short account of it given by Ḥajjī Khalīfah, to be a collection of anecdotes or poems. He places al-Hamadḥānī's death in 521 (A.C. 1127).

3 His life will be found in this work.

4 The poet probably means the town of Ruṣāfah. See *No. 1272, note*.

ipigrimage to the stone of al-Šarāt<sup>1</sup> and my residence<sup>2</sup> in its shady bowers : the abodes of pleasure were my abodes, and the dwelling of joy was mine."

In the same piece he says :

"Life has no longer any charms for me unless I spend it in passing the wine-cup around, whilst I encourage the musicians to emulate the strains of the turtle-dove ; and then, let Ibn al-'Amīd appear, the torrent of his beneficence shames the rain-cloud and arrests its copious showers. The character of that generous prince is formed of the purest molten gold ; his gifts flow copious as the ocean-waves, and his renown diffuses around the perfumes of the gilliflower and the 'arār ; he scatters his gifts like the comfits scattered at a marriage feast ; he keeps so closely the secrets of a friend that his bosom is like the night in which no moon appears."

In the same poem, we remark also the following verses :

"Lofty enterprises are achieved by lofty minds, and to Abu 'l-Faḍl I sent on their nocturnal journey the inspirations of my heart."

The poet waited vainly<sup>3</sup> in expectation of a recompense for this piece, and he at length followed it up by another poem and then by a letter which, though he arrived at court in a most destitute condition, only served to confirm Ibn al-'Amīd in his indifference. He finally succeeded in entering into the wazīr's presence on a day in which he held a levee for the reception of the grandees and the chiefs of the civil administration ; posting himself then before him, he pointed at him and said : "*O ra'īs !* I have followed thee as closely as thy shadow ; I have abased myself before thee as humbly as thy shoe, and I have swallowed the burning food of absence (*from home*) in expectation of thy gift ;

1 See No. 129, note. The poet seems to have compared Ibn al-'Amīd to the sacred stone of Makkah, but the meaning of the verse is doubtful.

2 Residence ; in the original *i'timār* (to perform the visit to the 'umrah) See note on 'Umrah No. 668.

3 I read *علي* instead of *علي*.

yet by Allāh ! I do not feel my disappointment, but I dread the sneers of foes ; people who gave me good advice, yet I distrusted them ; who spoke me truly, yet I suspected their sincerity. With what a face can I now meet them, and what pretext can I now oppose to them ? I have received for eulogium after eulogium, for prose after verse, nothing else but bitter regret and sickening misery. If success have a mark to make it known, where is that mark and what is it ? Those whom thou enviest for the praises which they received were formed of the same clay as thyself ; those whom satire covered with dishonour were like thee ; forward them and surpass the highest of them in exaltation, the brightest of them in lustre, the noblest in station !” Astonished and confounded at this address, Ibn al-‘Amīd remained silent with his eyes fixed on the ground ; but at length, he raised up his head and replied : “Time is too short to permit thee to solicit favours in a lengthened discourse, or to allow me to offer a long apology ; and were we to accord to each other what we are led to bestow, we should only be obliged to recommence the same acts which give us mutual satisfaction.” On this, Ibn Nubātah said : *O ra’is !* these (*verses*) are the utterance of a heart which hath long concealed its thoughts, and of a tongue which hath been long silent ; and, moreover, the rich man who defers (*his generosity*) is a despicable character.” These words roused the anger of Ibn al-‘Amīd, and he exclaimed : “By Allāh ! I did not deserve this reproach from any of God’s creatures ; for even less than I quarrelled with (*my father*) al-‘Amīd, so that we were led to mutual ill will<sup>1</sup> and unceasing discussion. But thou art not one of those to whom I owe an obligation and whose humours I must support, neither art thou one of my dependents for whom I may have indulgence ; nay, a part of that with which thou hast dinned my ears would provoke the spleen of the sage and overcome the firmest patience. And besides, I did not invite thee hither by letter, I did not send for thee by a messenger, I did not ask thee to praise me, I did not impose on thee the task of extolling

---

<sup>1</sup> The words *قري عاتم* mean : a supper of hospitality for which the guest must wait long, before he gets it. Such a supper is a proof of the ill will of the host. In this phrase, the expression appears to be taken figuratively.

me." To this, Ibn Nubātah replied: " 'Tis true, *O ra'is!* thou didst not invite me hither by letter, thou didst not send for me by a messenger, thou didst not ask me to praise thee, and thou didst not impose on me the task of extolling thee; but, in as much as thou wert seated in the midst of thy court, surrounded with all thy splendour (*as if*) to say: 'Let no one give me any other title than that of *ra'is* (*chief*), let no creature dispute my sovereign orders, for I, the *kātib* of Rukn al-Dawlah, am the head of the courtiers, the lord of the metropolis, the supporter of the welfare of the kindgom,' that circumstance alone appeared to be for me a sufficient invitation, although thou didst not invite me verbally." On hearing these words, Ibn al-'Amīd sprang from his seat in a passion and hastened into the vestibule of the palace whence he gained his chamber: the assembly broke up in confusion, and Ibn al-Nubātah was heard to say as he was crossing the vestibule: "By Allāh! it were better to eat dust and walk on burning coals than to endure this; God's curse upon literature since patrons despise it and those who cultivate it are its dupes!" The next morning, when Ibn al-'Amīd's anger had passed over and his self-possession had returned, he caused search to be made for the poet with the intention of offering him excuses and removing from his mind the disagreeable impressions left by what had passed; but none could discover whither he had gone<sup>2</sup>. The whole occurrence was a constant subject of regret for Ibn al-'Amīd, up to the time of his death. I have since found this poem and the conversation at the wazīr's levee attributed to a different person from Ibn Nubātah, and on looking for the *qaṣidah* in that poet's *diwān*, I could not find it. At a later period, on perusing Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's *Kitāb al-Wazlrayn*<sup>3</sup>, I found this poem attributed to Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn al-Ḥusayn, a native of Baghdād, a philologist, a logician, and a poet, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Abi 'l-Thiyāb,\*

1 I read *باسا*.

2 Literally: But it was as if he had sunk into the hearing and the sight of the earth; that is: as if he had sunk into the earth. No reasonable explanation has ever been given of this expression.

3 Ibn Khālikān speaks of this work at the end of the present article.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Siyāb.—Ed.

and that the discourse at the levee was held by Ibn Mamūyah\*, a poet and a native of al-Karkh. The *kātib* Abu 'l-Faraj Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad enjoyed great favour in the sight of his sovereign Rukn al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh and held a high rank in his esteem, but he did not receive from Ibn al-'Amīd the respect to which he was entitled. At different times, he complained to him of his behaviour, but finding his remonstrances unsuccessful, he wrote to him these lines :

"What avail your riches if they render you arrogant to the poor? How often, when you came in, have we stood up, and, when we went in, you stirred as if to rise, but did not finish (*the movement*). When I withdrew, you never said: 'Let his horse be brought to the door'; as I said when you withdrew. If you possess science, what do you know which is not known by others. You are not mounted on the back of the empire, and we are not placed below thee, at its feet. We also held commandments like you and were deposed as you may be, but we were never haughty nor proud. We are equal in all things. Persevere in a reasonable line of conduct, or else give up your place."

The *Sāhib* Ibn 'Abbād composed a great number of poems in praise of Ibn al-'Amīd, and, being in Iṣbahān when the latter went there on a visit, he wrote to him the following lines :

"They said: 'Your (*long expected*) spring<sup>1</sup> has come.' 'Good news!' I exclaimed, 'if true; is it spring the brother of winter, or spring the brother of generosity? 'Tis that spring,' they replied, 'whose gifts secure the indigent from poverty.'—'Tis then,' said I, 'the *ra'is* Ibn al-'Amīd?' They answered: 'Yes.' "

Ibn al-'Amīd expressed his high admiration of the following verses :

"She came, fearing (*discovery*), to the curtain of the door which was closed between us, and at which the slave-girls already stood. She listened to my poetry, whilst her heart was

<sup>1</sup> *Spring*; in Arabic *al-Rabī'*. The poet means to quibble on this word which is also employed as a proper name.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: Mawtah.—Ed.

touched by the inspiration of my *qaṣīdahs*. And whenever she heard a tender though she heaved a sight sufficient to burst her necklaces."

Ibn al-'Amīd left some poetry, but the only piece of his which pleased me and seemed worthy of insertion, is the following, taken from Ibn al-Šābī's<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb al-Wuzarā* (book of wazīrs).

"I remarked on my face a hair which still remained black, and my eyes took pleasure at the sight; and I said to the white hairs, when their aspect struck it with affright: 'I conjure you to pity its loneliness. Seldom does a black female remain in a place when her husband's other wife is a white'".

The amīr Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mikālī<sup>2</sup> gives the following verses as his in the *Kitāb al-Muntaḥil*:

"Choose your friends among strangers, and take not your near relations into favour; relations are like scorpions or even more noxious."

Ibn al-'Amīd died in the month of Šafar,—some say, of Muḥarram,—A.H. 360 (December, A.C. 970), at Ray, but Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hilāl Ibn al-Muḥassin Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Šābī states, in his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā*, that he died A.H. 359. God knows best! Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amīd was visited alternately by attacks of gout and colic; when one of these disorders left him, it delivered him over to the other. Being asked which of the two was the more painful, he answered: "When the gout attacks me, I feel as if I had in my joints a ravenous beast, devouring me, mouthful by mouthful; and when the colic visits me, I would willingly change it for the gout." It is said that, seeing one day a labourer in a garden eating bread, with onions and milk, and making a hearty meal, he exclaimed: "I wish I was like that labourer, able to eat my fill of whatever I liked." I may here say, in the words of Ibrāhīm al-Šābī, Hilāl's grandfather (No. 14), in his *Kitāb*

1 The life of Hilāl Ibn al-Šābī will be found in this work.

2 Al-Ṭha'ālībī gives, in his *Yatimah*, MS. No. 1370, a great number of passages, in prose and verse, composed by the amīr Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Mikālī, the most distinguished of all the members of the Mikāl family. Two other persons of the same family were eulogised by Ibn Durayd (see No. 611).

*al-Tāji* : \* "Such is human life ; it is seldom free from trouble." I read, in a collection of anecdotes, that some time after the death of Ibn al-'Amīd, the *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād passed by his door, and remarking that the vestibule, which used to be crowded with people, was completely empty, he recited these lines :

"Tell me, thou abode ! why art thou covered with sadness ? where are the ushers and the door curtain ? Where is he before whom adversity fled ? He is now earth enclosed in earth. Say without fear or shame : 'My master is dead, and sadness hath overwhelmed me.'"

I have since observed that al-'Utbi, in his *Kitāb al-Yamīn*<sup>1</sup>, attributes these words to Abu 'l-Abbās al-Ḍabbī<sup>2</sup> ; "but," says he, "some state that they were composed by Abū Bakr al-Khuwārizmī, on passing by the door of the *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād." This cannot, however, be true, for al-Khuwārizmī died before the *Ṣāhib*, as we have observed in his life (*No.* 638). Similar to this is an anecdote related by 'Alī Ibn Sulaymān : "I saw," says he, "the ruins of a large palace at Ray, of which nothing remained but the door-way, and on that was written :

"Wonder at the vicissitudes of fortune, and be instructed ; this dwelling is a striking example of such changes : I once saw it filled with a crowd of princes<sup>3</sup>, and lights shining in every part of it : but solitude is now its only inhabitant : O how desolate the house when the master is gone !"

---

1 The work called *al-Yamīn*, or *Tārīkh al-'Utbi* is written in a very pompous style and contains the history of the Ghaznawid Sulṭān Yamīn al-Dawlah Maḥmūd Ibn Subuktīn, whose life will be found in this work. The author, whose name was Abu 'l-Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbi, was a contemporary of that prince and brought down his history to the year 428 (A.C. 1036-37). M. de Sacy has given an analysis of this work in the fourth volume of the *Notices et Extraits*:

2 Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḍabbī, a favorite of the *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād, acted as his lieutenant and succeeded him on his death. (*Yatimah*, No. 1370, fol. 3.7, where numerous passages of his prose writings and poetical compositions are given.)

3 I read زاهیه بالوکی with one of the manuscripts.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥmid gives : *Tārīkh*.—Ed.

On the death of Ibn al-'Amīd, his son Dhu 'l-Kifāyatayn<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Alī replaced him in the wazīrate by the choice of their sovereign Rukn al-Dawlah. Dhu 'l-Kifāyatayn was a prince of great authority, eminent for his abilities, talents, and beneficence: it was to him that al-Mutanabbī addressed the five lines rhyming in *d* which are to be found in that poet's *diwān*, and form part of the eulogium composed by him on Ibn al-'Amīd. It is not necessary, however, to insert them. Al-Tha'ālibī speaks of him in the *Yatīmah*, in the article on Ibn al-'Amīd, and he gives there the following note in which Dhu 'l-Kifāyatayn requests a friend to send him some wine without letting his father, Ibn al-'Amīd, perceive it: "May God prolong your lordship's existence! I have hastened to pass this night in enjoyment, as if to take advantage of the moment when the eye of adversity slumbers; I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers, to form with my companions a part of the band of the pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be (*sad*) like the daughters of the hearse<sup>2</sup>. Adieu." Al-Tha'ālibī gives also some pieces of verse composed by the author of this letter. Abu 'l-Faṭḥ continued to fill the office of wazīr up to the death of Rukn al-Dawlah (*No.* 168), and the accession of Muwayyad al-Dawlah that prince's son. He was again chosen as wazīr by the new monarch, but he held this post for a very short time. A profound jealousy subsisted between him and the *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād, and it is said that the latter was the person who turned Muwayyad al-Dawlah's heart against him. That prince began by expressing his disapproval of Dhu 'l-Kifāyatayn's conduct and testifying the aversion which he had conceived for him, till at length, in the year 366, he cast him into prison. There still exist some pieces composed by Dhu 'l-Kifāyatayn during his confinement, and in these, he describes his miserable situation. Al-Tha'ālibī says that he lost all his wealth, and that they tortured him by cutting off

1 This surname signifies : *possessor of the double capacity*. The author of the *Yatīmah*, MS. No. 370, fol. 270, gives numerous extracts from his writings.

2 The daughters of the hearse (*Banāt Na'sh*) is the name given by the Arabs to the constellation of *Ursa Major*.



his nose and plucking his beard. Another writer states that one of his hands was cut off also, and perceiving that his case was hopeless and escape impossible, even were he to surrender up all he possessed, he tore open the breast of his robe, and taking out of it a paper containing a list of all the wealth and hidden treasures which he and his father had collected, he cast it into the fire. When he saw it entirely consumed, he said to the man who had him in custody; "Execute thy orders, for, by Allāh! not a single dirham of our money shall fall into the hands of thy master." He was then put to the torture and kept in suffering till he died. His arrest took place on Sunday, the 8th of the latter Rabi', A.H. 366 (4th December, A.C. 976)\*. He was born in 307 (A.C. 919-20). At the time of the expedition, in the year 355 (A.C. 966), when the Khurāsānids returned from Ray after the grave event which occurred there, and when God had delivered (*the country*) from their perversity<sup>1</sup>, the *ra'is* Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amid commenced the construction of an immense wall around the palace of his sovereign. This induced the army inspector to observe that such an undertaking reminded him of the common saying: *post crepitum ventris stringere podicem*; on which Ibn al-'Amid replied: "And that also is useful to prevent another from escaping." This answer was considered excellent. Ibn al-'Amid was appointed to office A.H. 337 (A.C. 248-9). In allusion to (*the death of* Abu 'l-Faḥḥ), one of his friends said:

---

1 "In the year 355, an army of more than ten thousand men marched from Khurāsān against the Greeks" (who had penetrated into Mesopotamia and Syria, where they laid siege to Antioch; see Abu 'l-Fedā's *Annals*), "and reached Ray. On their arrival Rukn al-Dawlah furnished them with provisions in abundance, but one day, those warriors mounted their horses, and proceeding to the dwelling of Rukn al-Dawlah's captains, they slew all the Daylamites whom they met and pillaged the palace of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amid the wazir of Rukn al-Dawlah. Ibn al-'Amid succeeded however, in defeating them and putting them to flight. They retired by the Ādhraḥā'iḥān road, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, and, having subsequently reached Moṣul, they entered Syria and encountered the Greeks." (Al-Dhahabī's Tārīkh al-Islām, MS. No. 646, fol. 237.)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives 18, but then the day must have been Wednesday and not Sunday.—Ed.

"Family of al-'Amīd and family of Barmak! what has befallen you? your friends are few, and your supporters intimidated. Fortune took you for its favourites, but it then thought fit (*to change its mind*); fortune is certainly deceitful and treacherous!"

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, the son of Ibn al-'Amīd had the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād for successor; see the life of the latter (*No. 93*). He frequently repeated the following lines, some time before he lost his life:

"Men entered the world before us, and they departed from it, leaving it to us; we sojourned therein as they did, but we shall leave it to our successors."

The following piece is attributed to Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, the son of Ibn al-'Amīd:

"The delators who watched my conduct asked me how I loved her? and I answered: 'With a passion neither inadequate nor excessive'. Had I not mistrusted them, I should have spoken the truth and said: 'My passion for her surpasses all that lovers ever felt.' How often have my brethren asked me why I was so sad? And I replied: 'You see my malady, yet you ask me what is the matter!'"

Abū Ḥayyān 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Tawḥīdī, a native of Baghdād, composed a work entitled: *Mathālib al-Wazīryn* (*the disgraceful acts of the two wazīrs*) in which he inserted all the circumstances which could tend to the dishonour of Ibn al-'Amīd and the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād; he attacked them violently in this production, enumerating their faults, stripping them of all the renown which they had acquired by their talents and generosity, displaying the utmost prejudice against them and treating them with great injustice. This book is one of those which bring ill luck<sup>1</sup>; no person ever had it in his possession without suffering a reverse fortune, as I myself have experienced, and as others, on whose

---

<sup>1</sup> Such is the meaning of the word محذور, in this case. It occurs also with a nearly similar signification in *Abd-Allatif's Relation de l' Egypte*, see M. de Sacy's translation of that work, page 250.

words I can place reliance, have experienced also. This Abū Ḥayyān was a man of talent and an author: he composed some works of great repute such as the *Kitāb al-Imtīnā' wa 'l-Muwānasah* (aversion and attachment) in two volumes; the *Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir wa 'l-Dhakhā'ir* (guiding marks and treasures); the *Kitāb al-Ṣaḍīq wa 'l-Ṣadāqah* (the friend and friendship), in one volume; the *Kitāb al-Maqā'isāt* (mutual comparisons), in one volume; the *Mathālib al-Wazīrayn*, in one volume, etc. This writer was still alive in the year 400 (A.C. 1009-10), as we learn from his own words in the *Kitāb al-Ṣaḍīq wa 'l-Ṣadāqah*. I have not found the word *Tawḥīd* noticed by any of the authors who have composed treatises on patronymics, not even by al-Sam'ānī; but it is said that Abū Ḥayyān's father sold *tawḥīd* at Baghdād, and that this *tawḥīd* is a species of date produced in 'Irāq. It is this signification which some commentators of al-Mutanabbī's poems assign to the following verse:

"They draw from my mouth draughts which are sweeter than the profession of God's unity (*al-tawḥīd*)."

#### 671 IBN MUQLAH

Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan\* Ibn Muqlah the celebrated *kātib*, commenced his career as administrator and revenue-collector in one of the districts of Fārs. He successively occupied various situations till he was at length appointed wazīr by al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh, who invested him with this office on the 16th of the first Rabi', A. H. 316 (May, A. C. 928) †. The same *khalif* arrested him on Wednesday, the 16th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 318 (June, A. C. 930) ‡, extorted from him a large sum of money, and banished him into the province of Fārs. The *imām* al-Qāhir bi-Allāh (*al-Muqtadir's* successor) sent a messenger to bring him back from that country, and appointed him to act as

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: al-Ḥusayn.—Ed.

† 9 May.—Ed.

‡ 16 June.—Ed.

his lieutenant. On the morning of the Day of Sacrifice, A. H. 320 (December, A. C. 932)\*, Ibn Muqlah returned from Fārs, and being invested with the pelisse of office, he continued to hold the post of wazīr till the month of Shā'bān in the following year. At that time, he withdrew into concealment on receiving information that the khalif suspected him of having taken an active part in the revolt excited by 'Alī Ibn Baliq (*No. 467, note*). Al-Rāḍī bi-Allah, who succeeded to the khalifate on the 6th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 322 (24th April, A. C. 934), chose him for wazīr, three days after his accession. Al-Muẓaffar Ibn Yāqūt, who had acquired the absolute direction of al-Rāḍī's affairs, conceived a dislike for the wazīr Abū 'Alī and concerted a plot with the pages of the chambers<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of seizing on him when he entered the palace; assuring them that such a proceeding would meet with no opposition from the khalif and that it would in all probability give him great pleasure. It happened therefore that, when the wazīr entered the vestibule of the palace, Ibn Yāqūt and the pages seized on him and sent him in to al-Rāḍī whom they acquainted with the circumstance; enumerating, at the same time, a number of crimes which they attributed to their prisoner and which forced them to take so decided a measure. The khalif returned an answer in which he gave his approval to their conduct. This occurred on Monday, the 16th of the first Jumādā, A. H. 324 (April, A. C. 936)†. They then agreed that the wazīrship should be confided to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn 'Isā Ibn Dāwūd Ibn al-Jarrāh<sup>2</sup>, and al-Rāḍī, in consequence, invested him with that

1 *The pages of the chambers (al-Ḡhilmān al-Ḥujariyah)* formed a numerous body of youths who received their education at the court of the 'Abbāsīd khalifs and were afterwards employed in their service; see No. 462. Under the Fātimīd in Egypt, a similar institution existed, the members of which were designated under the title of the *youths of the chambers (Ṣibyān al-Ḥujar)*; see No. 460; and, under the mamlūk sultāns, we perceive the existence of a seminary nearly identical, the *al-Ṣibyān al-Ḥujariyah*; see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 156. An establishment of the same kind is that of the *Itch Oghlans (the youths of the interior)* at Constantinople.

2 Speaking of this wazīr, the author of the *al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah* says: "When al-Rāḍī arrested Ibn Muqlah, he sent for 'Alī Ibn 'Isā Ibn al-Jarrāh  
(Continued on page 150)

\* 12 December.—Ed.

† 11 April.—Ed.

office and delivered over to him Abū 'Alī Ibn Muqlah. 'Abd al-Rahman caused his prisoner to be scourged with whips, and having put him to the rack and inflicted on him various other tortures, he extorted his signature to a promissory note of one million of *dinārs* (£ 460,000). Ibn Muqlah then obtained his liberty, and retired to his house, where he remained for some time unemployed. Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Rā'iq having then revolted against the *khalīfate*, and usurped the supreme authority, al-Rāqī sent to the insurgent chief and propitiated his favour by entrusting him with the government of the empire and creating him *amīr al-umarā'*<sup>1</sup>. He granted him also the administration of the revenue (*kharāj*) and of all the landed estates belonging to the *khalīfate*, besides which, he caused the public prayer (*khutbah*) to be said in his name from all the pulpits of the empire. Ibn Rā'iq having thus attained the height of power and influence, exerted his authority uncontrolled, and seized on the possessions and landed property of Ibn Muqlah and his son Abu 'l-Husayn. Ibn Muqlah then waited on Ibn Rā'iq and his secretary, and requested, in the humblest manner, the restitution of his estates. Being unable to obtain any thing from them but vague promises, he decided on employing against Ibn Rā'iq every possible means of intrigue, and wrote to the *khalīf* advising his arrestation; engaging, at the same time, in case his advice was followed and that he himself was appointed *wazīr*, to force from Ibn Rā'iq the sum of three millions of *dinārs*. The letter containing this communication was in the handwriting of 'Alī Ibn Hārūn al-Munajjim (*No. 444*). Al-Rāqī appeared inclined to give his consent to this proposal, and having then encouraged Ibn Muqlah in his expectations, he entered into a correspondence with him, and numerous letters passed between them. Ibn

---

(Continued from page 149)

and offered him the *wazīrship*. 'Alī refused accepting, and recommended his brother 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn 'Isā to be chosen. The *khalīf* followed his advice, but, in a short time, affairs got embroiled and the new *wazīr* offered his dismissal. This led to his arrest. During his administration he did nothing worthy of remembrance."

<sup>1</sup> *Amīr al-umarā'* (*amīr over the amīrs, or commander in ch'ef*) this post, the highest in the *khalīfate*, was created for Ibn Rā'iq.

Muqlah finally obtained from al-Rāḍī the full assurance of his cooperation, and it was agreed on between them both that he should proceed secretly to the khalif's palace and remain there till their plan was put in execution. He then cast a horoscope which indicated the eve of the last day of the month of Ramaḍān as a propitious moment for quitting his house and riding to the palace, because the moon is then (*concealed*) under the rays of the sun, and such epochs are favourable for engaging in affairs requiring secrecy. On arriving at the palace, he was detained in a chamber and refused admittance to al-Rāḍī. The next morning, the khalif sent a messenger to Ibn Rā'iq informing him of what had occurred, and stating that this was a stratagem devised by himself for the purpose of getting Ibn Muqlah into his power. Frequent communications, in writing, then passed between them both, and, on the 14th of Shawwāl, A. H. 326 (August, A. C. 938)\*, al-Rāḍī made known to the public the designs of Ibn Muqlah, and, drawing him from confinement, he confronted him with Ibn Rā'iq's chamberlain and some of the military chiefs. As Ibn Rā'iq had expressed the wish that Ibn Muqlah should be punished by the amputation of the hand with which he had written the horoscope (*just mentioned*), the declarations of the persons present at this confrontation were no sooner terminated, than the (*executioners*) cut off his right hand and took him back to prison. Al-Rāḍī then repented of what had been done, and sent doctors to attend him and heal his wound. Such was the result of the imprecation which Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Shanbūdh, the *Qur'ān-reader*, pronounced against Ibn Muqlah, as we have already related (*No. 602*), and it was certainly an extraordinary coincidence. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit Ibn Sinān Ibn Thābit Ibn Qurrā (*No. 125, note*), one of the physicians who attended him, relates as follows: "I went to see him when he was in that state, and he asked me news of his son Abu 'l-Ḥusayn; I informed him that he was concealed in a place of safety, and these words gave him great comfort. He then began to lament and weep for the loss of his hand: 'With that hand,' said he, 'I laboured in the service of the khalif's and twice transcribed the *Qur'ān*;

---

\* 14 August.--Ed.

yet they cut it off as if it had been the hand of a thief!' I endeavoured to console him, saying that it would be the last of his afflictions and that no other mutilation would befall him. To this he replied by the following verse :

"When a part of thee perisheth, weep for the loss of another part ; for one part is near unto another."

He at length recovered, and sent from his prison a message to al-Rāḍī, promising him a large sum and requesting to be appointed wazīr ; he added that the amputation of his hand could be no obstacle to his nomination. He had contrived, in fact, to write with a pen by fastening it to the stump of his arm. When Bajkam al-Turkī (*No. 182, note*), who was one of Ibn Rā'iq's partisans approached Baghdād, Ibn Rā'iq ordered the prisoner's tongue to be cut out. After a protracted confinement, Ibn Muqlah was attacked by diarrhea, and having no person to attend him, he was forced to draw water from the well for his own use ; this he effected by seizing the rope successively with his left hand and his teeth. He composed some poems in which he described his miserable fate and deplored the loss of his hand ; in these pieces, one of which we here give, he complained of the ingratitude which he had experienced in return for his fidelity :

"(*To act thus*) I was not weary of existence, but I trusted to their good faith and lost my right hand. To obtain wordly rank, I sold to them my spiritual welfare, and they deprived me of one and of the other. I used all my efforts to preserve their lives, but mine they did not preserve. After the loss of my right hand, there is no pleasure in life ; my right hand is gone ! depart thou also, O my soul !"

The following lines are attributed to him :

"I cringe not when pinched by misfortune, neither am I haughty when it spares me. I am fire when blown upon by the deep-drawn sighs of envy ; I am a gentle stream with my friends."

It was from th's passage that *Sibī* Ibn al-Ta'āwīḍhī (*No. 654*) borrowed the thought which he has thus expressed in one of his *qaṣīdahs* :

"Seek not to gain my love by (*affected*) scorn ; I am stubborn when roughly used. Kindness finds me like limpid water ; severity, like the hardest rock."

It was of this wazīr that a poet said :

"They say that dismissal from office is the infirmity (*menstrua*) to which noble characters are subject ; may God curse it for a hateful thing ! but the wazīr Abū 'Alī is one of those who expect no longer such an infirmity<sup>1</sup>."

According to al-Tha'ālibī (*No. 356*), in his *Yatīmah*, the following verses were composed by Ibn Muqlah :

"When I see a man in an exalted station mounted on the pinnacle of thoughtless pride, I say within myself ; 'Favours must be appreciated at their just value ; what a service he has rendered me in taking that place (*of danger*) ! '"

Ibn Muqlah continued in this miserable state till his death, which took place on Sunday, the 10th of Shawwāl, A.H. 328 (19th July, A.C. 940). His corpse was buried in the prison where he died, but, after some time, it was disinterred and delivered up to his family. He was born in Baghdād, on the afternoon of Thursday, the 20th of Shawwāl, A.H. 272 (March, A.C. 886)\*. We have already mentioned in the life of Ibn al-Bawwāb (*No. 432*) that it was he who derived the present system (*of writing*) from the written characters used by the people of Kūfah and that he gave it its actual form : I mean to say, either he or his brother, because there exists a difference of opinion on this subject. I have observed also that Ibn al-Bawwāb followed the path marked out by Ibn Muqlah and ameliorated his system.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Muqlah uttered some sayings which are still preserved and employed ; such, for

---

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 65, verse 4. The poet means to say that the wazīr need never apprehend being deprived of his place ; a very unfortunate prediction, as we have just seen.

2 The characters introduced by Ibn Muqlah are what we call *Sharqi*, or *Oriental* ; they are merely a slight alteration of the so called *Maghribi* or *Occidental* which were in use before the promulgation of Islāmism.

\* 31 March.—Ed.



instance, are the following: "When I love, I risk death; and when I hate, I inflict it." "When pleased, I favour; when displeased, I punish." "I like him who cultivates poetry for self instruction, not for lucre, and him who practises music for pleasure, not for gain." He has expressed a great number of fine ideas both in prose and verse. The poet Ibn al-Rūmi (*No. 438*) eulogised Ibn Muqlah, and one of the ideas which he expressed respecting him is the following:

"If the pen be master of the sword, (*the sword*) before which the necks are humbled and to whose edge the nations are obedient: (*recollect*) that death also, death which nought can resist, follows (*from*) words traced by the pen (*of fate*). 'Tis thus that God hath decreed, from the time in which pens were first made; (*he decreed*) that swords, from the moment they received their edge, should be servants to the pen."

Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muqlah, the wazīr's brother, was an accomplished and eminent *kātib*. It was really he who invented that handsome written character. His birth took place on Wednesday, at daybreak, the 30th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 278 (January, A.C. 892)\*, and his death, in the month of he latter Rabi', A.H. 338 (October, A.C. 949). As fort Ibn Rā'iq, the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn 'Asākir (*No. 416*) states, in his History of Damascus, that he arrived there in the month of *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*, A.H: 357 (Sept.-Oct., A.C., 939),<sup>1</sup> and that the *imām* al-Muttaqī † appointed him governor of that city in the place of Badr Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ikhshidī, whom he had expelled. Ibn Rā'iq then set out for Egypt and had an encounter with Muḥammad Ibn Tūghj (*No. 663*), the sovereign of that country. Being defeated in this engagement, he returned to Damascus, whence he proceeded to Baghdād. He was assassinated at Moṣul, A.H. 330 (A.C. 941-2). It is said that he fell by the hand of Nāṣir al-Dawlah al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥamdān (*No. 167*).

1 According to Ibn al-Aṭhir, the city of Damascus fell into the hands of Ibn Rā'iq in the year 328; and al-Muttaqī was proclaimed *khalif* in 329.

\* 5 January.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Muqtafī.—Ed.

## 672 IBN BAQIYAH THE WAZIR

Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad\* Ibn Baqiyah Ibn 'Alī, surnamed Nāṣir al-Dawlah (*assister of the empire*) and wazīr to 'Izz al-Dawlah Bakḥtiyār (No. 106), the son of Mu'izz Ibn al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, was an eminent *ra'īs*<sup>1</sup>, a powerful wazīr and a generous patron. We have already spoken of him in our notice on 'Izz al-Dawlah and mentioned that the wax-chandler, being asked what quantity of wax-lights was allotted by that sovereign to his own service, replied :

"The allowance of wax-lights which this prince furnished to him was two thousand pounds weight every month." Now, wax lights being an object of little necessity, it may be conceived from this single circumstance how great must have been the quantity of things more essential and more requisite with which (*the khalif*) was provided. Ibn Baqiyah was a native of Awānā<sup>†2</sup> a place (*in the province*) of Baghdād. In the commencement of his career, he was appointed superintendent of the kitchen by Mu'izz al-Dawlah, and then passed successively through other posts connected with the service of that sovereign. On the death of his master and the accession of 'Izz al-Dawlah, his situation became still more prosperous, having merited the favour of the new monarch by the zeal which he had displayed in the service of his father. Possessing a pleasing address and a generous disposition, he advanced to more elevated situations, and, on Monday, the 7th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 362 (September, A.C. 973)<sup>‡</sup>, he received from 'Izz al-Dawlah his appointment to the place of wazīr. At a later period 'Izz al-Dawlah was led to arrest him for reasons too long to be fully related : we may, however, state, in

---

1 The word *ra'īs* (chief) is usually employed by our author to designate a person holding a high rank in the civil administration.

2 "Awānā is a village on the Tigris, surrounded by trees and gardens. It lies at ten parasangs above "Baḡdād, and is situated opposite to Akbara, from which it is separated by the river". (Marāṣid.)

\* 'Abd al-Hamid omits this name in the text but mentions it in marginal note on the authority of Ibn al-Jawzi.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Hamid gives Wānā.—Ed.

‡ 8 September.—Ed.

summary manner, that Ibn Baqiyah pushed him to wage war against his cousin 'Aḍud al-Dawlah (No. 507), and, in the battle which ensued at al-Ahwāz, the troops of 'Izz al-Dawlah were defeated. The prince attributed this disaster to the counsels of his wazīr. In allusion to this circumstance, Abū Ḡhassān, a physician of Baṣrah, said :

"He remained fifty days at al-Ahwāz, directing the empire to its ruin. He embarked in an affair which began by blindness, proceeded through misfortune, and ended in disgrace."

His arrest took place on Monday, the 16th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 366 (August, A.C. 977)\*, at Wāsiṭ. Being then deprived of his sight by the application of a red-hot plate of metal, he confined himself thenceforward to his house. When in the exercise of the wazīrship, he grievously offended 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh by some sarcasms which came to that prince's ears ; and particularly, in designating him by the name of Abū Bakr al-Ḡhudadī. This Abū Bakr was a man with blue eyes and a face mottled with red, who sc'd cat's meat (*ghudad*) at Baghdād and who resembled 'Aḍud al-Dawlah very much. The wazīr applied this nickname to him with the intention of gaining increased favour with his own sovereign, 'Izz al-Dawlah, who bore a deep enmity to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, his cousin. When 'Aḍud al-Dawlah took possession of Baghdad, on the death of 'Izz al-Dawlah, he sent for Ibn Baqiyah and caused him to be trampled to death by elephants, after which he gave orders that the body should be fastened on a cross and exposed to public view before the 'Aḍudian hospital (No. 507) in that city. This happened on Friday, the 6th of Shawwāl, A.H. 367 (17th May, A.C. 978). Ibn al-Hamadānī says, in his *'Uyūn al-Siyar* : "When 'Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtiyār conferred the place of wazīr on Ibn Baqiyah, who had formerly been chief of the kitchen, the people said ; *min al-ghidārāh ila 'l-wizārāh* (from the dish to the wazīrship), but all his defects were thrown into the shade by his generosity. In the space of twenty days, he distributed twenty thousand robes of honour." "I saw him one night at a drinking

\* It should be 17 of Dhu 'l-Hijjah (6 August).—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : al-Uḍḍi.—Ed.

party," says Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābī (*No. 14*), "and, (during the festivity, he changed frequently his outer dress, according to custom :) every time he put on a new pelisse, he bestowed it on one or other of the persons present, so that he gave away, in that sitting, upwards of two hundred pelisses. A female musician then said to him: 'Lord of wazirs! there must be wasps in these robes to prevent you from keeping them on your body! He laughed at this conceit, and ordered her a present of a casket of jewels." Ibn Baqiyah was the first wazir who ever bore two titles, the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Muṭī' li-Allāh having given him that of al-Nāṣiḥ (*the sound adviser*), and his son al-Ṭā'i that of Nāṣir al-Dawlah. During the war which was carried on between the two cousins, 'Izz al-Dawlah and 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, the former seized on Ibn Baqiyah and, having deprived him of sight, delivered him over to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. That prince caused him to be paraded about with a clock (*burnus*) over his head, and then ordered him to be cast to the elephants. Those animals killed him, and his body was exposed on a cross at the gate called Bāb al-Ṭāq, near his own house<sup>1</sup>. He had passed his fiftieth year. On his crucifixion, an '*adl*<sup>2</sup> of Baghdād, called Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Ya'qūb al-Anbārī, deplored his fate in the following lines :

"Exalted during life and after death, thou art, in truth, a prodigy ! the crowd standing around thee seems like those bands of visitors who courted thy liberality in the days of thy donations. Erect as thou art among them, thou appearest like a preacher, and they stand all erect, as if to pray. Thy arms are openly extended towards them, as thou wert wont to extend them when bestowing thy gifts. The bosom of the earth being too narrow, after thy death, to contain such glory as thine, they gave thee the sky for a tomb and the robe of the air for a winding sheet. Thy importance was so deeply impressed on people's minds that thou passest even now thy nights closely watched by faithful guards. By night, torches are lighted around thee, and such also was the case in the days of thy life. Thou art mounted on the steed which Zayd once rode

<sup>1</sup> This account disagrees with that which has been just given.

<sup>2</sup> The '*adl*' is (a sort of public notary ; see) the *qāḍī's* assistant, and acts as a public notary, see No. 29, note.

in former years<sup>1</sup>. Such an advantage is a consolation, as it delivers thee from the envy of thy foes. I never saw a tree, before this, enabled to sustain all that was generous. Thou wert hurtful to adversity (*in warding off its strokes from others*) ; it therefore sprang upon thee and thou hast fallen a victim to its wrath. 'Twas thy custom to heal the wounds inflicted by misfortune ; it therefore turned against thee to take vengeance ; and time converted thy beneficence towards us into a crime. Thou wert an emblem of happiness for mankind, but, on thy departure, they were scattered by calamities. For thee my heart burneth with a hidden thirst which can only be assuaged by flowing tears. Were I able to perform my duty towards thee and acknowledge all my deep obligations, I should fill the earth with poems in thy praise and recite my lamentations alternately with the cries of the female mourners : but I am forced to withhold myself from thee, lest I should be taken for a criminal. Thou hast not a tomb on which I need implore the blessed rains to fall ; for thou art set up as a target to the impetuous gushing of the showers. On thee be the salutation of the All-Merciful ! may his blessings never cease to descend upon thee, morning and evening !"

The body of Ibn Baqiyah remained on the cross till the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah ; it was then taken down and buried at the spot where it had been exposed. The following verses were recited on his death by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Anbārī, the author of the piece just given :

"They inflicted on thee no dishonour when they fixed thee on a cross ; they only committed a crime of which they afterwards repented. They then felt that they had acted wrong, and exposed to public view (*one who was*) a beacon of authority. They took thee down, and in interring thee, they buried a mountain (*of noble qualities*) ; and with that mountain they entombed noble worth and generosity. Though thou hast disappeared, thy liberality remains unforgotten ; yet how many the dead who are thought of no longer ! Mankind share the (*duty of*) repeating thy praises, as thou used, unceasingly, to share thy wealth amongst them."

<sup>1</sup> In page 159 Ibn Khallikān informs us who this Zayd was.

The *ḥafīz* Ibn 'Asākir (No. 416) says, in his History of Damascus, that Abu 'l-Ḥasan, on composing the first of these elegies, that which rhymes in *t*, copied it out and threw it into one of the streets of Baghdād. It fell into the hands of the literati, who passed it one to another, till 'Aḍud al-Dawlah was at length informed of its existence. He caused it to be recited in his presence, and (*struck with admiration at its beauty*) he exclaimed: "O that I were the person crucified; not he! let that man be brought to me." During a whole year strict search was made for the author, and the *Ṣāḥib* Ibn 'Abbād (No. 93), who was then at Ray, being informed of the circumstance, wrote out a letter of protection in favour of the poet. When Abu 'l-Ḥasan heard of this, he went to the court of the *Ṣāḥib* and was asked by him if it was he who had composed these verses? He replied in the affirmative, on which the *Ṣāḥib* expressed the desire to hear them from his own mouth. When Abu 'l-Ḥasan came to the verse: *I never saw a tree, before this, to sustain all that was generous*, the *Ṣāḥib* rose up and embraced him, kissing him on the lips; he then sent him to 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. On appearing before 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, that prince said to him: "What motive could have induced thee to compose an elegy on the death of my enemy?" Abu 'l-Ḥasan replied: "Former obligations and favours granted long since; my heart therefore overflowed with sorrow, and I lamented his fate." There were wax lights burning, at the time, before the prince, and this led him to say to the poet: "Canst thou recollect any verses on wax lights? and to this the other answered by reciting the following line:

"The wax lights, showing their ends tipped with fire, seem like the fingers of thy trembling foes, humbly stretched forth to implore thy mercy!."

On hearing these verses, 'Aḍud al-Dawlah clothed him in a pelisse of honour and bestowed on him a horse and a bag of money. So far Ibn 'Asākir. I may here observe that the person to whom allusion is made in the verse: *Thou art mounted on the steed which Zayd once rode in former years*, was Abū 'l-Ḥasan Zāyid the son of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidin (No. 397) Ibn al-Ḥusayn,

1 This simile is by no means obvious.

Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib; he came forward in A.H. 122 (A.C. 740), and summoned the people to espouse his cause. This occurred in the reign of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī, governor of the two 'Irāqs, despatched al-'Abbās al-Murri with an army against the insurgent chief. Zayd was struck by an arrow shot by one of Murri's soldiers, and he died of his wound. His body was fastened to a cross and set up in the Kunāsah<sup>1</sup> of Kūfah, but his head was carried to the different cities of the empire and there exposed. Ibn Qāni' (No. 149, note) says: "This took place at Kūfah, in the month of Ṣafar, A.H. 121 (Jan.-Feb., A.C. 739)". Some say, in Ṣafar, A.H. 122. Zayd was then forty-two years of age. (Hishām) Ibn al-Kalbī mentions, in his *Jamharat al-Nisab*, that Zayd Ibn 'Alī was struck by an arrow in the forehead, towards the close of the day, and that his partisans carried him off. They then sent for a surgeon, but, when the arrow was extracted, the patient breathed his last. Abū 'Umar al-Kindī (No. 159, note) states, in his *Kitāb Umarā Miṣr* (history of the amīrs of Egypt), that, on Sunday, the 10th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 122 (12th May, A.C. 740), Abū 'l-Ḥakam Ibn Abi 'l-Abyaḍ al-Anasī<sup>2</sup> arrived at Old Cairo, in the quality of *khayyib* (preacher), bringing with him the head of Zayd Ibn 'Alī, and the people assembled at the mosque to hear him. It is this Zayd to whom the mausoleum is dedicated which is situated between Old Cairo and Birkah Qārūn, near the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn. It is said, I know not with what certainty, that his head is interred there. His son Yaḥyā, lost his life in the year 125 (A.C. 742-3); his history is well-known<sup>3</sup>. He was slain at Juzjān (in the neighbourhood of

1 The author of the *Marāsid* mentions Kunāsah as a well-known place in Kūfah. It perhaps received this name because the sweepings and rubbish of the city were deposited there.

2 Abū 'l-Abyaḍ al-Anasī was one of the *Ṭabī'is* and particularly renowned for the number of military expeditions in which he bore a share. He died A.H. 87 (A.C. 706). (*Nujūm*). I can discover no information respecting his son.

3 For a full history of Zayd and his son Yaḥyā see the '*Uyūn al-Tawārikh*', MS. No. 638, fol. 176, vol. III and al-Nuwayrī, MS. No. 702, fol. 73 verso et seq. Yaḥyā, the son of Zayd, effected his escape into Khurāsān on the death of his father, but was arrested there by the governor Naṣr Ibn Sayyār (No. 347)

(Continued on page 161)

*Balkh*), by Salim Ibn Aḥwar\* al-Māzinī. Some say that he fell by the hand of Jahm Ibn Ṣafwān, the commander of the troops employed to guard the frontier<sup>1</sup>. All learned men agree that the like of this *qaṣidah* was never composed. Abū Tammām (No. 145) has inserted in the poem which he composed in honour of al-Mu'taṣim, a passage relating to persons crucified. This piece was written by him on the crucifixion of Ifshīn<sup>2</sup> Khayḍhar Ibn Kāwūs, the khalif's general in chief, and on that of Bābak<sup>3</sup> and Māzyār<sup>4</sup> in the year 226 (A.C. 840-1). Their history is well-known. We here give the passage from Abū Tammām's *qaṣidah* :

"The fever of my heart was cooled when Bābek became the neighbour of Māzyār; he now makes the second with him under the vault of heaven, but he was not like *the second of two, when they were both in the cave*<sup>5</sup>. They seem to have stood aside that they might conceal some secret news from the curious inquirers. Their clothing is black, and the hands of the *samūm*<sup>6</sup> might be supposed to have woven for them a vest of pitch. Morning and

(Continued from page 160)

He was subsequently liberated by order of the Khalif Walid Ibn Yazīd, but was massacred, with all his companions, by a body of troops which Naṣr sent after him.

1 In Arabic : *Ṣāhib al-Ḥamiyah* (الحميد).

2 See No. 31, note and 259, note. The true pronunciation of his name is Ifshīn.

3 See d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, under the word Bābek.

4 Māzyār Ibn Qārūn Ibn Zayd, governor of Tabaristān, revolted against al-Mu'taṣim, A.H. 224 (A.C. 839). He was taken prisoner by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir and put to death by order of the khalif. (Ibn al-Aṭhīr gives a long account of Māzyār's revolt in his *Annals*).

5 That is : He was not a holy man, favoured with the divine assistance, like Muḥammad. The poet alludes to the passage of the *Qur'ān* sūrah 9, verse 40, where it is said, speaking of the departure of Muḥammad from Makkah and of his hiding in the cavern of mount Ṭhawr with Abū Bakr : "If ye assist not the Prophet, verily God will assist him, as He assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him (out of Makkah), the second of two : when they were both in the cave."

6 The *samūm* is the burning and poisonous wind which travellers generally call *simoom*. The true pronunciation of this word may be represented by *sinoom*, pronouncing the diphthong in the English manner.

\* Abd al-Ḥamid gives : Aḥwaz.—Ed.



evening they ride on slender steeds, brought out for them from the stables of the carpenters. They stir not from their place, and yet the spectator might suppose them to be always on a journey."

Alluding particularly to Afshin, he says :

"They gaze at him on the top of his tree, as if they were watching for the new moon on the night which ends the fast (of *Ramaḍān*)."

This *qaṣīdah* is remarkable for its high-sounding style. *Afshin* or *Ifsh'n*, for so this name may be pronounced, was the surname given to *Khaidhar* Ibn Kāwūs. I have here fixed the orthography of *Khaidhar*, because it is often read as if it were *Haydar*. The Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Anbārī above mentioned composed the following lines on new beans :

"Studs of emeralds in cases of pearl, and enclosed in pods shaped like nail parings ; spring has arrayed them in a garment of two colours, white and green."

The *Khafīf* (No. 33) speaks of Ibn al-Anbārī, in his History of Baghdād, and observes that he composed but little poetry.

### 673 FAKHR AL-MULK THE WAZIR

Abū Ghālīb Muḥammad Ibn *Khālaf*, surnamed *Fakhr al-Mulk* (*glory of the empire*), was successively wazīr to Bahā al-Dawlah Abū Naṣr, (the son of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh), and to his son Sulṭān al-Dawlah Abū Shujā' Fannākhusrū. With the exception of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-'Amīd (No. 670) and of the *Ṣāhib* Ibn 'Abbād (No. 93), *Fakhr al-Mulk* was certainly the greatest wazīr ever employed in the service of the Buwyhid dynasty. His family belonged to Wāsiṭ, and his father followed the profession of a money-changer. Possessing a large fortune, he gave an ample career to his generous disposition, and the accomplishments of his mind were equalled only by his beneficence. Poets of the highest reputation visited his court and

extolled his merit in *qaṣīdahs* of exquisite beauty, and Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Nubātah (No. 361) celebrated his praises in some beautiful poems, one of which, rhyming in *n*, contains the following passage :

"Every man who aspires to eminence has rivals, but Fakhr al-Mulk remains without an equal : alight at his residence and make known to him thy wishes : I answer for their fulfilment."

I have been informed by a literary man that, after the publication of this *qaṣīdah*, a certain poet composed a piece of verse in honour of Fakhr al-Mulk, and not receiving a recompense equal to his expectations, he went to Ibn Nubātah and said : "It was you who encouraged me, and I should not have eulogised him, had I not trusted to the engagement which you took (*that my expectations should be fulfilled*). Pay me therefore the value of my *qaṣīdah*." Ibn Nubātah satisfied, out of his own purse, the demand of the poet, and Fakhr al-Mulk, on being informed of his generous conduct, sent him a large sum of money as a present. Another poet who sung the praises of this wazīr was al-Mihyār Ibn Marzawayh, a *kātib* whose life shall be given (No. 728). He composed in his honour the *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *r*, which contains this passage :

"When my heart feels a slight relief (*from cares*) I inquire if grief be dead and if joy has returned to life, or if misfortune fears to assault me because I fled from it to the protection of Fakhr al-Mulk."

The poems written in praise of Fakhr al-Mulk are very numerous. It was for this wazīr that the accountant Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī<sup>1</sup> composed his treatise on algebra, entitled *al-Fakhrī* (*the Fakhrīyan*), and his arithmetical work, the *Kāfi* (*sufficient*). I read in a certain compilation that an elderly man having presented to Fakhr al-Mulk a memorial in which he accused another person of a capital crime, the wazīr perused it and wrote these words on the back of the paper :

<sup>1</sup> Abū Bakr al-Karkhī was wazīr to Bahā al-Dīn and bore the surname of Fakhr al-Dīn. His *Fakhrī* is a full and highly valuable treatise. (My deceased friend, Mr. Woepeke, published an analysis of it under the title of *Extrait du Fakhrī*. Paris, 1853.

"Delation is vile, even though well founded ; and if you *meant* it as a counsel, your failure therein is greater than your success. God forbid that (*the accusation made by*) a man dishonoured against a respectable person should be received ! and were you not protected by your grey hairs, I would inflict on you the punishment which you invoke on others, and thus prevent persons like you from acting in the same manner. Hide this disgraceful (*passion of calumny*) and fear Him from Whose knowledge nothing is hidden. Adieu."—Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha'ālībī (*No. 356*) has inserted the following lines in his *Yatīmah* as the production of al-Aṣṣṣraf, Fakhr al-Mulk's son :

"The splendid train passed by me, but I saw not there (*him who in beauty was as*) the moon among the stars. Say to the amīr of the troops : 'Tell me, sir ! what hinders the lord of beauty from riding on ?'"

Numerous anecdotes are related illustrative of Fakhr al-Mulk's noble character. He continued in the enjoyment of rank, power, and honours till he incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, Sulṭān al-Dawlah and, being imprisoned by his orders, he was executed some time after, at the foot of the mountain which is near al-Ahwāz. His death occurred on Saturday, the 27th of the first Rabī', A.H. 407 (3rd September, A.C. 1017)\* His corpse was interred on the spot, but so carelessly, that it was torn up and devoured by dogs. His bones were then restored to the tomb, and, on the following year, they were removed, through the intercession of a friend, and buried in a funeral chapel which stands there. Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad Ibn al-Qādisī (*No. 125, note*), says, in his history of the wazīrs (*Akhbār al-Wuzarā*) ; "The wazīr Fakhr al-Mulk was guilty of a negligence in the discharge of his duty, and he received a speedy chastisement. One of his favourites had killed a man out of malice, and the wife of the person murdered applied to the wazīr for redress. He paid no attention to her complaint, and one night, as he went to pay a devotional visit to the funeral chapel near

---

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : Saturday and according to another version Tuesday.—Ed.

the gate called Bāb al-Tin, she met him there and said ; 'O Fakhr al-Mulk ! the request which I addressed to you, imploring for vengeance, and to which you paid no attention, that request I have referred to Almighty God, and I am now expecting the announcement of His decision !' The wazīr being then called into the sultān's tent, was arrested by his orders. 'Now,' said he, 'there is no doubt but that God's decision has been pronounced on the woman's complaint.' When the sultān rose to retire, they led off the wazīr, and conducted him to another tent after seizing on his wealth, treasures, and equipages, and imprisoning his sons and companions. He was then executed on the date"—above mentioned. "His confiscated wealth amounted to six hundred and thirty thousand dinārs, (£ 300.000), besides a vast quantity of furniture. It is even said that one million two hundred thousand dinārs, in specie, were found in his possession." The *sharīf* al-Murtaḍā (No. 418) composed an elegy on his death, but, as I neglected to make extracts from it, I am unable to quote any part of it here. May He be exalted, the Being subtle and All-knowing, Who worketh what He pleaseth ! Fakhr al-Mulk was born at Wāsiṭ on Thursday, the 22nd of the latter Rabi', A.H. 354 (27th April, A.C. 965).

#### 674 FAKHR AL-DAWLAH IBN JAHĪR THE WAZĪR

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Jahīr, surnamed Fakhr al-Dawlah (*glory of the empire*) Muwayyad al-Dīn (*strengthened in religion*), was a member of the tribe of Tha'labah and a native of Moṣul. Gifted with judgement, intelligence, foresight, and aptitude for business, he left Moṣul for reasons too long to be related, and obtained the place of director in chief (*nāzīr*) in the board of public administration (*diwān*) at Aleppo. Having lost this situation, he proceeded to Āmid, where he remained some time unemployed, but he had at length sufficient interest to procure from the amīr Naṣr al-Dawlah Aḥmad Ibn Marwān al-Kurdi (No. 72), lord of Mayyāfāriqin and Diyār Bakr, his nomination

to the post of wazīr<sup>1</sup>. He continued to govern with absolute authority till the death of his master Naṣr al-Dawlah and the accession of Nizām al-Dīn, that prince's son. Being then admitted into the favour of the new sovereign, who treated him with the highest marks of honour, he brought the affairs of the empire into order and re-established the administration of the state on the same plan as it had been under the reign of Naṣr al-Dawlah. Having subsequently conceived the project of removing to Baghdād, he directed his measures towards that object, and, opening a correspondence with the *imām* (*khālif*) al-Qā'im bi-amr Allāh, he never ceased intriguing and lavishing money till Ibn Tīrād al-Zaynabī<sup>2</sup>, the *naqīb al-nuqabā*<sup>3</sup>, came to him and entered into arrangement. The preliminaries being terminated to his entire satisfaction, he left the city with the (*ostensible*) intention of bidding farewell to his visitor, but (*instead of returning*) he continued his route towards Baghdād. (*Nizām al-Dīn*) Ibn Marwān immediately sent after him to bring him back, but his efforts were unsuccessful. On arriving at Baghdād, Fakhr al-Dawlah replaced Abu 'l-Ghanā'im Ibn Dārist (*No. 650, note*) in the wazīrship, A.H. 454 (A.C. 1062), and he continued to fill this office during the lifetime of al-Qā'im. Under al-Muqtadi bi-amr Allāh, al-Qā'im's (*grand*) son and successor, he remained in place two years longer, but, on the Day of 'Arafah

---

1 "Fakhr al-Dawlah Abn Naṣr Muḥammad Ibd Muḥammad Ibn Jahīr was a native of Moṣul. He entered into the service of the concubine of Qirwāsh (No. 137, note), and then into that of Barakah, the sister of Qirwāsh. He was sent by the latter with presents to the king of the Greeks, and, on his return, he passed into the service of Quraysh Ibn Badrān (No. 647). Discovering that his master had the intention of casting him into prison, he took refuge under the protection of another member of the 'Uqayl family and then passed to Aleppo, where he became wazīr to Mu'izz al-Dawlah Abū Thumāl Ibn Ṣāliḥ. He afterwards removed to Malāṭiyah, where he met Naṣir (*read Naṣr*) al-Dawlah Ibn Marwān, who chose him for wazīr." (Ibn Khaldūn, MS. n° d'entree 2405, fol. 145).

2 We must read *Tīrād*, or suppose that Ibn Tīrād was the family name. Ibn Tīrād al-Zaynabī did not obtain the place of *naqīb al-nuqabā* till A.H. 491 (*No. 650, note*), whereas Fakhr al-Mulk received the visit here spoken of in the year 454.

3 See note 650.

(the 9th of *Dhul-Hijjah*), he was deposed by the *khalif* in pursuance of the counsels of the *wazir* Nizām al-Mulk (*No. 171*), and Ibn Dārist was reinstated in the vacant place. 'Amīd al-Dawlah *Sharaf al-Dīn* (*column of the empire, nobleness of religion*) Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad, the son of Fakhr al-Dawlah, he acted as his father's lieutenant in the *wazirship*, but on the removal of his parent from office, he went to the court of Nizām al-Mulk, the *wazir* of Malik *Shah* Ibn Alp Arslān the Saljūq, and having conciliated his favour, he continued with him in high credit, for some time, and then returned to Baghdād, where he occupied the place formerly held by his father. In the year 476 (A.C. 1083-4), Fakhr al-Dawlah accepted the invitation of the sultān Malik *Shah* and visited the court of that sovereign, where he received his nomination to the government of Diyār Bakr. He proceeded to that province, accompanied by the amīr Urtuq Ibn Aksab (*No. 77*), lord of Hulwān, and a numerous troop of Turkomāns, Kurds, and amīrs. Soon after his arrival, the city of 'Āmid fell into the power of his son Abū'l-Qāsim Za'im al-Ru'asā (*leader of the chiefs*), after sustaining a severe siege, and three months later, he himself took the city of Mayyāfāriqīn from Nāṣir al-Dawlah Abū'l-Muẓaffar Maṣṣūr, the son of Nizām al-Dīn and seized on the treasures of the Marwānid dynasty. This took place in the year 479 (A.C. 1086)<sup>1</sup>. We may here notice a prediction with which this event coincided in a singular manner. An astrologer went to Naṣr al-Dawlah Ibn Marwān and foretold to him, among other things, that a man of whom he had been the benefactor would attack the kingdom and take it from his (*Naṣr al-Dawlah's*) children. The prince, after some moments' reflexion, raised his head, and, looking at Fakhr al-Dawlah he said: "If these words be true, this *shaykh* is the man!" He then turned towards him and recommended his children to his care. Things fell out as was foretold; Fakhr al-Dawlah having invaded the country and taken its cities, as we have already related, but the details would lead us too far<sup>2</sup>. This *Wazir* was a *ra'is* of the

1 Abū'l-Feda and Ibn Khaldūn (MS. No. 2402, f. 145 verso) place the fall of the Marwānid dynasty of Diyār Bakr in the year 478.

2 Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. laud.*, has consecrated a chapter to the Marwānids.

greatest influence: his family produced a number of wazīrs and *ra'īs* whose praises were celebrated by eminent poets. When Fakhr al-Dawlah (*Ibn Jahīr*) was raised to the wazīrship, the poet Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan, generally known by the appellation of Ṣurr Durr (*No. 449*), addressed to him from Wāsiṭ the celebrated *qaṣīdah* which begins thus:

"To satisfy the longing of a heart which will never recover from the seductions (*of love*), and the longing of a soul whose slightest wishes remain ungratified, we stopped in ranks at the (*deserted*) mansions,—dwellings which appeared like volumes cast on earth whilst we presented the aspect of their written lines. My friend then said, as the gazelle passed by: 'Is that the object of thy love?' and I replied: 'One like to it; but, if its neck and eyes resemble those of my beloved, it differs from her in the back and in the breast.' Strange that she should avoid a person with whom she is familiar, whilst the most timid of animals foregoes its fears and approaches near us! But the gazelles of 'Āmir<sup>1</sup> know well that lovers who visit them are the falcons (*which they have to dread*). Was it not sufficient for these dwellings that their suns (*youths*) have tormented our hearts? why then should their moons (*maidens*) have assisted to afflict us? We turned away through fear of their females; why then should their males call us to combat? By Allāh! I know not whether, on the morning those females looked at us, their glances were arrows or cups (*of intoxication*) which they passed around! If they were arrows, where was their rushing sound? If wine (*cups*), where was their joy? O my two companions! permit me to approach the wine they offer, for before this, I was permitted to approach even to them<sup>2</sup>. Suppose that they shun the lover whom they dread, what am I but the mere shadow (*of a lover*) which visits them (*in their dreams*). You two have told me that no paradise exists on earth; but do I not here behold the large eyed maids of paradise seated upon the pillions of these camels? Think not that my heart is free; my bosom is its prison, and there it remains a captive (*unable to follow my*

1 A mountain near Makkah. By *gazelles* are meant maidens.

2 Literally: to their *curtains, or chambers*.

*beloved*). 'Tis difficult for lovers to assuage their ardent thirst<sup>1</sup> when the source at which they try to quench it is the lips of the fair. Acacia-tree of these reserved grounds! tell me by what means you gained her favour so that you were kissed by her lips<sup>2</sup>?"

In the eulogistic part of the same poem, the poet says :

"Thou hast restored to the body of the wazīrship its soul (*in occupying that post again*), at a time when no hopes were entertained of its being ever raised to life and revived. For a season it remained in a state of impurity with another man, but now is the time of its cleanness and purity<sup>3</sup>. It is but just that it should be given to him who deserved it, and that he who lent it should take it back again. When a handsome female is matched to a man beneath her, prudence recommends a divorce. "

The same poet recited to him the following poem on his restoration to the wazīrship, in the month of Šafar, A.H. 461 (December, A. C. 1068), by the *khalif* al-Muqtadī<sup>4</sup>. This was previous to the departure of (*Ibn Jahūr*) for the court of the sultān Malik *Shāh* :

"Justice has been rendered to (*you who were*) its source ; and you, of all mankind, deserved it best. You were like the sword, drawn from its scabbard to be sheathed again. The hand of its master brandished it to try its edge, and its brightness dispensed him from putting its sharpness to the test. How noble the post of wazīr ! it maintains its efficacy, only when confided to competent hands. From the moment you left it, it was impelled towards you with a desire strong as that of the aged man for the restoration of his youth. Men like you are exposed (*to the strokes*

1 Literally : It is difficult for bewildered beings, kept from water during five days, to drink at the source, etc. The epithets are here figurative ; being properly applied to camels.

2 The thorn of the acacia is used as a toothpick.

3 This metaphorical language refers, in its primitive acceptation, to the periodical infirmity of females.

4 There is here an anachronism : al-Muqtadī did not become *khalif* till A.H. 467.



of) envy, but it is impossible to strike the thunderer in his cloud. Many desire that place, but who dare expel the lion from his den? The sire of many whelps rends with teeth and claws the man who presses him too closely in his covert. Hast thou ever seen or heard of one who arrays himself in the skin cast off by the serpent ?<sup>1</sup>".

In the same piece we remark the following passage:

"On seeing the (*wazīrship*) become his field (*of action*), they received the conviction that to his eagle alone belonged (*the empire of*) the air. The moon is expected to appear again after its disappearance, when the month is ended, and never do men despair of the sun's rising again, although he may be enveloped in the shades of night. How sweet is home! and sweeter is it yet for him who returns from a distant land! How often has a man's return conducted him to a perpetual sojourning; so that, coming back, he remains at home for ever. Were pearls to draw near to the merchant, the diver would not prosper; were they to remain for ever in their shells, they had never been valued as ornaments for crowns<sup>2</sup>. No pearl of the sea, no coral can be had, but by traversing the dangers of its waters".

This *qaṣīdah* being of great length, we shall confine ourselves to these extracts. In the life of Sābūr Ibn Ardāshīr (*No. 238*), we have given three verses addressed to him by Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi (*No. 14*), in which he congratulates him on his restoration to the wazīrship; nothing of the kind has ever been composed to equal them. Another poet who celebrated the praise of Ibn Jahir was the general (*al-qā'id*) Abū 'l-Riḍā al-Faḍl Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn al-Ẓarīf\* al-Fāriqi (*native of Mayyāfāriqīn*), who composed on him the celebrated piece of verse rhyming in ḥ (ح). We give it here:

"O you who speak in verse! I give you good counsel, but I am never so unfortunate as when I give advice: time has removed (*from the world*) all the generous men, and thereby

1 The poet means; Behold in Ibn Jahir a man arrayed in terrors equal to those of the serpent.

2 Literally: Crowns had never been taken into their account.

\* 'Abd al-ḥamīd gives Ẓarīf.—Ed.

hangs a tale long to relate. You extol for beauty and comeliness the ugliest faces to be seen, and you seek for liberality in a man whose soul was formed in the mould of avarice; hence you lose your pains, for your praises are falsehood. Spare your verses, for, in such attempts, I never saw the hopes of any man even by accident successful. If you doubt my words prove me a liar by citing a single patron who has acted generously; with the exception of that wazīr whose rule offers a series of noble acts to charm the ear of time."

Fakhr al-Dawlah (*Ibn Jahīr*) was born at Moṣul in the year 398 (A.C. 1007-8); he died there in the month of Rajab—some say of Muḥarram—A.H. 483 (Sept., A.C. 1090), and was interred at Tall Tawbah (*No. 167, note*), a hill opposite to Moṣul and separated from it by the river (*Tigris*). In the year 482 (A.C. 1089-90), he returned to Diyār Rabi'ah as viceroy to Malik Shāh, and, in the month of Ramaḍān, he commenced his campaign by occupying Naṣībīn: he subsequently took possession of Moṣul, Siniār, al-Raḥabah, al-Khābūr, and Diyār Rabi'ah, and prayers (*the khutbah*) were then offered up for him, from the pulpits, as lieutenant of the sulṭān. From that time, he continued to reside at Moṣul till his death. As for his son 'Amīd al-Dawlah (*see beginning of the notice*) he is spoken of in these terms by Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamaḍhānī, in his historical work: "He acquired a wide renown by his gravity, dignity, integrity, and wisdom; he served (*in a civil capacity*) under three *khalīfs*, and acted as wazīr to two of them. The pensions which he enjoyed and the presents received by him were immense. Niẓām al-Mulk always spoke of him in terms of the highest respect, and looked upon him as a man of the greatest ability and intelligence; he took his advice on every affair of importance and preferred it to that of the most prudent and distinguished members of the council. The chief defect to be found in him was his advanced age. His words, of which he was very sparing, were treasured up in the memory (*of his hearers*), and a verbal application to him was equivalent to the accomplishment of the speaker's wishes. One of his remarkable sayings was that which he addressed to the son of the *shaykh* and imām Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (*No. 374*): 'Study and be diligent or you will become a 'dyer (*ṣabbāgh*) without (*the*

*necessity of deriving that epithet from) a father.' "* The wazīr Nizām al-Mulk gave his daughter Zubaydah in marriage to Ibn Jahīr, who was at that time out of place, and this alliance procured his re-appointment to the wazīrship. In allusion to this circumstance, the *sharīf* Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Habbāriyah (No. 650) composed the following lines :

"Say to the wazīr without being deterred by the gravity of his aspect, though he appear grand and exalted in his station: 'Were it not for the daughter of the *shaykh*, you had not been appointed wazīr a second time ; thank then the thing<sup>1</sup> which created thee lord-wazīr.' "

I read the following anecdote in the handwriting of Usāmah Ibn Munqidh (No. 81), who states that the poet al-Sābiq Ibn Abī Mahzūl al-Ma'arri (No. 650, note), related as follows :- "Having gone to 'Irāq. I joined Ibn al-Habbāriyah and he said to me one day : 'Let us go and pay our respects to the wazīr Ibn Jahīr.' This wazīr had been just restored to power. When we presented ourselves before him, Ibn al-Habbāriyah handed him a small piece of paper. Ibn Jahīr read its contents, and I perceived his countenance change and express displeasure. We immediately left the hall of audience, and I asked my companion what was in the paper? He replied that we could expect nothing better than to have our heads cut off<sup>2</sup>. These words filled me with trouble and apprehension: 'I am a stranger here,' said I ; 'I have kept your company for the last few days only, and yet you seek my death !' To this he merely replied: 'what has happened has happened !' We then went to the door with the intention of going out, but the porter prevented us, saying that he had received orders to stop us. On this I exclaimed: 'I am a stranger here, from Syria, and the wazīr does not know me; the person whom he wants is this man.' The porter merely replied : 'It is useless to talk; thou shalt not go out.' I then felt certain that my last hour was come. The company had nearly all departed when a page came to the door with a paper containing fifty dinārs, and said (*in his master's name*):

1 The Arabic word here employed designates the female sexual organ.

2 Literally : The best moment (*for us*) strikes off my head and thine.

'We have already given thanks; give thou also thanks.'<sup>1</sup> We then went off and he (*Ibn al-Habbāriyah*) then handed me ten of these *dīnārs*, and I asked him what was in the paper? He replied by reciting to me"—the two verses just mentioned—"and I swore that I would keep company with him no longer." 'Amīd al-Dawlah (*the son of Ibn Jahīr*) left some poetry which (*Imād al-Dīn*) has inserted in the (*Kharidah*), but it is by no means satisfactory. Ibn al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) speaks of him in his *Dhayl*, and a great number of contemporary poets have celebrated his praises. It was in his honour that Šurr-Durr composed the celebrated *qaṣīdah* rhyming in 'ayn, which begins thus :

"When the caravan took their leave, (*we saw the object of thy love, and*) thy excuse (*for loving*) was evident; all the passions of our souls were borne off in those palanquins. Wherever their camels direct their course, thither thou turnest thy eyes; dost thou see full moons (*fair maids*) arising in every valley? In the caravan which departed from the grounds of the tribe is a gazelle (*maiden*) for whom my heart is a pasturage and my eyes a watering-place. From the regions of her beauty we are debarred access, and, to protect her from all eyes, a veil is her guardian. She mistook the nets (*the ties of love*) for huntresses and yielded to fear; therefore she broke every tie. The protector of her path knew not that, when discourse with her was forbidden, I spoke with my fingers, and that, when she sent her image to visit my couch and salute me (*in my dreams*), I heard with my eyes."

This is a long *qaṣīdah* of great brilliancy. The verse: *She mistook the nets for huntresses, etc.*, bears some resemblance to the words of Ibn al-Khammārah, a Spanish poet :

"Why ask news of sleep from these eyes which, for so long a time, knew it not; it came seldom, and those nights were rare. When the bird of sleep thought my eyes a nest, it saw the eyelashes and yielded to fear, mistaking them for nets."

As I have not been able to discover the date of Ibn al-Khammārah's death, so as to determine the age in which he

---

<sup>1</sup> This is an allusion to the words in the last verse.

lived, I know not if one of these poets has copied the other. It may be, however, that both fell upon the same thought, and that neither of them borrowed it from the other. 'Amid al-Dawlah was deposed from the wazīrship and imprisoned in the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 492 (July-August, A. C. 1099), and he died, the same year, in the month of Shawwāl. The poet Abu 'l-Karam Ibn al-'Allāf addressed to him the following lines :

"Without our eulogiums, the deeds of the good would not be distinguished from those of the wicked. Thinkest thou, because thou art hidden from our eyes, that thou art sheltered from our tongues ?"

His wife, the daughter of Nizām al-Mulk, died in the month of Sha'bān, A.H. 470 (February-March, A.C. 1078). Her marriage took place in the year 462 (1069-70). Šurr-Durr composed on Za'im al-Ru'wasā Abu 'l-Qāsim, the son of Fakhr al-Dawlah, the poem rhying in *qāf* (ق) which commences thus :

"Tears visit my eyes by day, and sleeplessness by night ; between them both, how can sight escape ?"

It is an exquisite poem, full of originality and highly celebrated, but it is needless to lengthen this article by inserting it. Za'im al-Ruwasā Abu 'l-Qāsim was appointed to the wazīrship under the imām (*khal'f*) al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh, in the month of Sha'bān, A.H. 496 (May-June, A.C. 1103) ; he then received the surname of Nizām al-Dīn (*maintainer of religion*). The word ~~جهر~~ must be pronounced *Jahr*, al-Sam'ānī being mistaken when he says that it should be pronounced *Juhayr*. They say of a man that he is *jahr* and that he displays the quality called *jahārah* when he has an agreeable countenance. They say also of a man's voice that it is *jahir* when it sounds clear and loud.

## 675 AL-RÜDHRAWARI

Abū Shujā' Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm, surnamed *Zahīr al-Dīn* (*champion of*

*religion*) al-Rūdhrawārī, was born at al-Ahwāz, but his family belonged to Rūdhrawār. Having studied jurisprudence under the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī (*No. 5*) and cultivated the belles-lettres, he was appointed wazīr to the *imām* (*khalīf*) al-Muqtadī bi-amr Allāh, on the deposition of 'Amīd al-Dawlah Ibn Jahīr. We have spoken of this person in the life of his father Fakhr al-Dawlah, see the preceding article. Al-Rūdhrawārī's nomination took place in the year 476 (A.C. 1083-4), and he was dismissed from office on Thursday, the 19th of Šafar, A.H. 484 (April, A.C. 1091)\*. 'Amīd al-Dawlah was then reinstated in the wazīrship. When al-Rūdhrawārī read the ordinance (*tawqī'*) of the *khalīf* proclaiming his deposition, he recited the following verse :

"He entered into office without an enemy ; he retired without a friend."

The Friday following, he proceeded on foot from his house to the mosque, and the people flocked about him, offering up prayers for his welfare and all anxious to take him by the hand. In consequence of this occurrence, he received orders to remain at home and not to appear in public. Being then exiled to Rūdhrawār, the ancient seat of his family, he resided there for some time and, in the year 487 (A.C. 1094), he undertook the pilgrimage to Makkah. On reaching the vicinity of al-Rabadhah<sup>1</sup>, the caravan which he accompanied was attacked by the Arabs of the desert, and not one of the travellers escaped except himself. Having performed the pilgrimage, he went to make a devotional residence in the City of the Apostle (*Madīnah*), and remained there till his death. He expired on the 15th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 488 (June, A.C. 1095)† ; and was interred in the Baqī' cemetery, under the dome which covers the tomb of Ibrāhīm, the Prophet's son. He was born in the year 437 (A.C. 1045-6). The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions him in the *Khariḍah*, and speaks of him in these terms : "The age in which he lived was the happiest of ages, and the time in which he existed the most prosperous of times. None of the wazīrs had ever displayed such zeal as he for the service of

1 See No. 391, note.

\* 10 April.—Ed.

† 22 June.—Ed.

religion and the observance of the law. In all affairs connected with religion he was strict and severe, but, in temporal matters, easy and indulgent. Never did he incur the slightest reprehension for remissness in his duty towards God." He then adds : "Ibn al-Hamadānī has spoken of him in the *Mudhayyal* (Appendix)<sup>1</sup> : 'His days,' says he, 'were the most fortunate of days for the two empires<sup>2</sup> the most happy for the people, the most complete for the security, prosperity, and welfare of the country ; no misfortune came to trouble those (*days*), no terror to alloy them. Under his administration, the *khalifate* recovered that respect and veneration which it received in former times. As a penman and an orator, he was the most accomplished of men.'" The *hāfiẓ* Ibn al-Sam'ānī says of him in his Supplement : "He drew his renown from a fund of consummate merit, vast intelligence, dignified conduct, and unerring foresight. He left some poems pervaded by a strain of natural tenderness. Adversity having given him a moral lesson, he was deposed from the wazīrship and obliged to confine himself to his house, but he subsequently removed from Baghdād and took up his abode at Madīnah, in the neighbourhood and under the protection of the Prophet's tomb. He remained in that city till his death. I went to visit his tomb which is near that of Ibrāhīm, the son of our Prophet, in the Baqī' cemetery." Farther on, he says : "I have been informed by a person on whose word I can rely, that Abū Shujā', on the approach of death and on the point of departing from this world, was carried to the mosque of the Prophet, and being placed near the enclosure which surrounds the tomb, he wept and said : 'O Prophet of God ! Almighty God has said : *But if they, after they have injured their own souls, come unto thee and ask pardon of God, and the Apostle ask pardon for them, they shall surely find God easy to be reconciled and merciful*<sup>3</sup>. Now I have come unto thee acknowledging my faults and transgressions, and hoping for thy intercession'. He here wept again

---

1 The title of this work sufficiently implies that it was a *continuation* of some biographical or historical treatise. It is not noticed by Hājji Khalīfah.

2 Probably the Salūjqid empire and that of the *khalifate*.

3 *Qur'an*, sūrah 4, verse 67.

\* 'Abd al-Hamid gives : *Dhayl*.—Ed.

and returned to his house, where he died the same day." His poetical productions have been collected into a *dīwān* and are very fine. Here are some extracts from it :

"I shall punish my eyes, heedless whether they shed tears or drop blood ; and I shall forego the pleasure of sleep till it become for my eyelids a thing forbidden. My eyes cast me into the nets of temptation, and, had they not looked (*on beauty*), I should have remained a pious Muslim. They shed my blood<sup>1</sup>, yet they shed not their tears ; 'twas they which commenced (*to transgress*) and are therefore more culpable (*than I*).

Though I love thee, I seem insensible, but this heart of mine is filled with pain and anguish. Think not that I have forgotten thee ; a man may appear in health and yet be unwell.

Must the best part of my life and yours pass away without our meeting ? that would be a severe infliction ! but if deceitful fortune ever grant me to meet you, then, despite my poverty, I shall be happy."

Al-Rūdhawarī drew up a continuation to Abū 'Alī Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Miskawayh's (*No. 192*) *Taj̄rīb al-Umam*, the celebrated historical work which is in every body's hands. Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadānī says in his History : "Arrayed in piety, a supporter of religion, a patron and kind protector of pious men, a chastiser of perversity, he displayed virtues which remind me of the equity of the just. He never went out of his house without transcribing a portion of the *Qur'ān* and reading part of that sacred volume ; he paid the legal alms-tax on all his real property, such as goods, estates, and fiefs. He gave large charities in secret : having one day received a note mentioning that, in such a house, in the street of the Pitch-seller (*Darb al-Qayyār*)\* there was a woman with four orphan children, naked and hungry, he called for one of his followers and said : 'Go, clothe that family and give them to eat.' He then took off his clothes, and having sworn not to put them on nor warm himself

<sup>1</sup> That is : my eyes exposed my heart to the wounds inflicted by beauty.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : al-Qubbār.--Ed.



till the messenger returned and informed him that his orders had been executed, he waited, trembling with cold, till that person came back. His charities were immense." *Rūdhrawārī* means belonging to *Rūdhrawār* (روذراور) a town in the neighbourhood of Hamadhān.

### 676 AL-'AMĪD AL-KUNDURĪ

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed 'Amīd al-Mulk (*column of the empire*) al-Kundurī, was one of the most eminent men of the age for beneficence, liberality, acuteness of mind, and abilities as a *kātib*. Having been chosen for wazīr by the Saljūq sultān Tuḡhrulbek, he rose to the highest rank in the service of that monarch and administered the state with uncontrolled authority<sup>1</sup>. He was the first who filled the place of wazīr under this dynasty, and, had he no other merit<sup>2</sup> but that of his intimacy with the *imām* al-Ḥaramayn 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwaynī (*No. 353*), the *Shāfi'*-ite doctor and author of the *Nihāyat al-Maṣṭab* (*that alone would have sufficed for his reputation*). It is al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*) who mentions the fact in the notice on the *imām* which he has inserted in his Supplement. After enlarging on the character of this doctor and noticing the journeys which he undertook to different countries, he says: "And, having gone to Baghdād, he became a companion of Abū Naṣr al-'Amīd al-Kundurī and accompanied in his (*official*) circuits through the empire; he met also at his court the most eminent jurisconsults (*of the country*) and attained great skill in controversy by the conflict<sup>3</sup> of his genius with theirs in learned discussions. He then

1 Literally: and to none of his colleagues (*it pertained to bandy*) words with him.

2 I read with one of the MSS. ولولم يكن له منقبه الاصعبه الخ. The corresponding member of the phrase is لکناء, it has disappeared from the text in consequence of the additional observations inscribed afterwards by the author, and which made him lose sight of this word, which is indispensable.

3 Or more literally: by the rubbing يحتك.

got into reputation." I must here observe that al-Sam'āni's words are in contradiction with the statement of our *shaykh*, Ibn al-Athīr (No. 435), in his History. This writer says, under the year 456 (A.C. 1064): "The wazīr (*al-'Amīd al-Kundurī*) displayed a violent prejudice against the *Shāfi'ite* sect and frequently inveighed against (*its founder*) the *imām* al-*Shāfi'*; to such lengths was he carried by the spirit of party, that, having obtained permission from the sultān Alp Arslān to have curses pronounced against the Rafīdīs (*the Shi'ites*) from the pulpits of *Khurāsān*, he caused the *Ash'arites* (No. 404) to be included in the same malediction<sup>1</sup>. This proceeding gave such scandal to the *imāms* of *Khurāsān*, that some of them, including Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (No. 369) and the *Imām* al-Haramayn al-Juwaynī left the country. The latter then passed four years at Makkah, teaching (*jurisprudence*) and giving opinions as a *muftī*, on points of law. It was for this reason that he received his surname<sup>2</sup>. When Nizām al-Mulk (No. 171) came into power, he recalled the emigrants and treated them with marked honour and kindness. It is said that, at a later period, al-Kundurī repented of his invectives against al-*Shāfi'*, if this be true, 'tis so much the better for himself." The praises of 'Amīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī were celebrated by numerous poets who came to visit his court, and the greatest masters of the age in the art of verse, such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī 'i-Bākhārī (No. 450) and the *ra'īs* Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alī Ṣurr-Durr (No. 449), extolled him in their poems. The latter composed in his honour the following *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *n* :

"Is (*disdain*) the reward which all (*my*) fellow men receive for their love ? or rather, is this the nature of the large-eyed gazelles (*maidens*) ? Relate to me the history of those who fell victims to

---

1 The *Ash'arites* were the scholastics of the Musulmān religion. It was from them that our scholastics of the middle ages learned, indirectly, the method of demonstrating the dogmas of the faith by means of principles drawn from human reason. They followed, in general the doctrines of Aristotle. Most of them belonged to the sect or school of divinity and law ; which had been founded by the *imām* al-*Shāfi'*. In their belief, they were perfectly orthodox.

love; the afflicted live only in their sympathy for other's woes. You may conceal from me their fate through apprehension; but (*every lover*) knows the fate of the 'Udhrite and of Majnūn<sup>1</sup>. Mounted on their camels—but let me avoid long comparison,—yet I shall say that theirs were charms which ravished every soul and every eye. Gracefully bending their taper waists, they said in sportive mood to the zephyr: 'Does the willow bear branches as pliant as ours?' Behind those lips is a source of which the pebbles are pearls (*teeth*) hidden from view; is it honey which is contained between them or rather intoxicating wine<sup>2</sup>? (*Companion of my journey*!) you cast your eyes to the right and left, over these paths, but even were you gifted with the sharp sight of Zarqā al-Yamāmah<sup>3</sup>, (you could distinguish nothing, for even) she never saw a living cloud darting its lightnings over Jīrūn<sup>4</sup>. You complain of the long and weary nights, but I am deprived of sleep by the shades which the dark locks and ringlets of my mistress spread around. A censor rebuked me for my passion, but I replied: 'Be not so prompt! those tears are my own and so are my sighs. If they avail me not (*to gain her heart*), what will avail me the vigour of youth and the intercession of my twenty years?' (*But come, my heart!*) be not cast down by the blame of thy censor; thou art not the first which, though resolute, yielded to temptation. Can I require from strangers that they conform to my wishes, whilst my heart within my bosom obeys me not? My devotion to their gazelles (*maidens*) was not exacted from me; by what right then should they exact from me pledges (*of fidelity*)? For a moment I feared that my heart would fly and join them, but I forced it to give bail. I can support every affliction except dishonour; contempt is the torture of noble minds. As grains of dust pain my eyes, so also does the sight

---

1 By the 'Udhrite he means the poet Jamīl; see No. 138. For Majnūn, see d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, art. *Megnoun*, and M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 150.

2 Literally: Are not the houses of the bee arranged within these lips, or else do they contain a shop for wine.

3 See M. De Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tome II, p. 446.

4 The poet here compares to flashes of lightning the glances shot from the eyes of his mistress. Jīrūn is a village outside Damascus.

of men who, devoid (*of virtue*), notwithstanding their wealth and (*the precepts of*) religion, only resemble the human race in being formed of a (*yet more*) fetid clay ; whose looks are ill-omened and whose aspect defiles, so that, after seeing them, I must cleanse my eyes and exhaust all their waters to make them pure. If they count their treasures, there they surpass me ; but if they enumerate their virtues, I am their superior. Let not the environs rejoice in the disappointment of my hopes ; the moon does not round its orb till it has appeared like a palm-leaf in thinness. Yet this noisy road (*of human life*) speeds forward the camel (*of my worldly course*), and this ocean impels before it the ship laden (*with my hopes*). And, when the abode of 'Amīd al-Mulk is adorned by victory, we exclaim : 'A happy omen !' When the resolution of that prince spurs on his generous steeds, they hasten forward with their brilliant riders of bold and lofty bearing. Seldom did I see his shining forehead but mine compelled me to fall prostrate before him. Men's eyes perceive on his throne and on his saddle, the lion in his den, and the moon which dispels the darkness. His beneficence extends to all mankind, and he receives the thanks of the rich accompanied by the blessings of the poor. When they direct their attacks towards his (*generosity*), they exclaim (*struck with his prompt liberality*) : Are these sums given from his bounty or paid to us as a debt ? Had he lived in ancient times, riches would have complained of his tyranny and appealed to Qārūn<sup>1</sup>. The treasures of his wealth are free to every man ; then ask him only for the treasures of his learning. To obtain favours at his court, asking is superfluous, and the reward of services is never granted with regret. I swore to meet all the virtues, knowing well that, in seeing him, I should fulfil my oath. He sways the state and abandons not his intentions through fear, neither does he exchange courage for feebleness. Like the sword, the marks of his splendour appear on his blade (*exterior*), and his sharpness in his well-protected edge (*acuteness of mind*). His glory bears to witness that the substance of his person is *musk*, whilst that of other men's is clay."

1 Qārūn, the Korah of the Bible (Numb. xvi). possessed immense riches, if we are to believe the legend given in the *Qur'ān*, sūrah 28. verse 76 *et seq.*

He recited this *qaṣīdah* to 'Amīd al-Mulk on the arrival of the latter at 'Irāq, where he appeared on the throne of the wazīrate and in the height of his exalted rank. I have given the whole of this excellent and exquisite poem, with the exception of three verses which did not please me. A number of poets have composed imitations of it in the same rhyme and measure, Ibn al-T'āwīdhī, (*No. 654*) for instance, whose *qaṣīdah* begins thus ;

"If thy custom, when in love, resembles mine, stop thy camels at the two sand-hills of Yabrin.<sup>1</sup>"

This poem, which displays extraordinary talent, was composed in praise of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was then in Syria, and the author sent it to him from 'Irāq. Did I not wish to avoid prolixity, I should give it here. I have (*since*) inserted it in my notice on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb, and there the reader will find it. Ibn al-Mu'allim (*No. 655*) imitated it also in a *qaṣīdah* beginning thus :

"Why does the camel-rider stop at Yabrin ? Is not his heart free from the pains inflicted by the large-eyed gazelles ?"

This also is a good poem, and I have given a part of it in the life of the author. Al-Ablah (*No. 653*) also composed a piece in imitation of it ; but, on the whole, Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī's is the only one which comes near it. These remarks have led us away from our subject, but discourse naturally runs into digressions which we cannot help inserting. 'Amīd al-Mulk continued in high power and credit during the reign of Tugh̃r̃ulbek ; on the death of that sovereign, his nephew and successor Alp Arslān confirmed the wazīr in his post and conferred on him a higher rank and additional honours. Some time afterwards, this monarch resolved on contracting an alliance with Kh̃ũwārizm Shāh, and sent al-'Amīd to demand for him that prince's daughter in marriage. The wazīr's enemies then spread the report that he had asked her hand for himself, and this news having reached his ears, he conceived so serious an apprehension of his master's displeasure, that he shaved off his beard and eradicated from his body every attribute of

---

<sup>1</sup> Yabrin is a sandy region in the south-east of Arabia.

manhood. By this act he saved his life. Some say that he was castrated by the sultān's orders. In allusion to this, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Bāḳharzī composed the following lines :

"They say that, in your absence, the sultān deprived that rampant station of every mark of virility. I replied : 'Be silent ! he is now increased in virility since the removal of his testicles. Every male scorns that any part of him should be called *female*<sup>1</sup> and he therefore cut them away by the roots.' "

This idea is singularly original. In the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 456 (Dec.-Jan., A.C. 1063-4), Alp Arslān dismissed him from office, for motives too long to relate, and confided the wazīrship to Nizām al-Mulk Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (No. 171). He afterwards imprisoned 'Amīd al-Mulk in the palace of the governor ('*amid*) of Khurāsān, whence, at a later period, he was removed to Marw al-Rūd and confined in a house, a closet of which was allotted to his only daughter and the other members of his family. On discovering that his death had been resolved on, he went into the closet and, having bid a last farewell to his relatives, he took with him a shroud (*which he kept ready prepared*) ; he then locked the door of the closet, and having performed his ablutions and offered up a prayer of two *rak'ahs*, he gave one hundred Naysābūrian dīnārs to the executioner and said to him : "What I require of you is, that you shroud my corpse in this cloth, which I washed in the (*holy*) waters of (*the well*) Ḥammām, and that you say to the wazīr Nizām al-Mulk : You have acted wrong in teaching the Turks to put to death their wazīrs and the chiefs of the civil administration ; he that digs a pit shall fall into it ; he that traces out and acts by an evil line of conduct shall bear the sin of it and the sins of all those who follow his example." He then yielded with resignation to the sealed decree of God, and was executed on Sunday, the 16th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, A.H. 456 (29th November, A.C. 1064) ; being then aged upwards of forty years. In allusion to this event, the poet al-Bāḳharzī composed the following lines in which he addresses Alp Arslān :

---

1 *Unḥiyāni*, the Arabic term for testicles, is the dual of *unḥā*, a word which signifies *female*.

"Thy uncle took him into favour, and, raising him to honours, he gave him a spacious residence in (*the edifice of*) the empire. Every prince in thy family did justice to his servants; (*thy uncle*) therefore bestowed on him prosperity, and thou hast bestowed on him paradise."

It is worthy of remark that his testicles were buried in Khuwārizm, his blood was shed at Marw al-Rūd, his body was interred at Kundur, his native village, his skull and brain at Naysābūr, and his *scrotum* was stuffed with straw and sent to Nizām al-Mulk, at Kirmān, where it was committed to the earth. What a lesson for those who are capable of reflection, that a man who was the first *ra'īs* of his time should meet with such a fate! *Kundurī* means *belonging to Kundur*, a village in Turaythīth, a district in the neighbourhood of Naysābūr which has produced a number of eminent men, some of them remarkable for learning.

#### 677 THE WAZĪR JAMĀL AL-DĪN AL-JAWĀD AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Iṣbahānī, surnamed Jamāl al-Dīn (*beauty of religion*) and generally known by the appellation of al-Jawād (*the bountiful*), was wazīr to the sovereign of Moṣul. His grandfather Abū Maṣṣūr was one of the persons employed in the hunting establishment of the sultān Malik Shāh Ibn Alp Arslān as keepers of the lynxes. His father, 'Alī, received good education, and being ambitious of distinction, he rose to several high offices in the state and contracted matrimonial alliances with families of the first rank. Jamāl al-Dīn was educated under his parent's tuition, and, having obtained a situation in the service of the sultān Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Malik Shāh, as member of the military inspection office, he gave great satisfaction by his conduct and the abilities which he displayed in that post. When the *atābek* Zinkī Ibn 'Āq Sunqur (No. 229) obtained the sovereignty of Moṣul and the neighbouring country, he took Jamāl al-Dīn into his service and honoured him

with his particular favour. Having then proceeded with him to Moṣul, he conferred on him the government of Naṣībīn, and, in consequence of the able manner with which he filled the duties of this office, he augmented his jurisdiction by the addition of al-Raḥabah. Here the talents and integrity of Jamāl al-Dīn appeared conspicuous, and having been admitted into the intimacy of his sovereign and received into the number of his boon companions, he was appointed by him controller (*mushrif*) of the entire principality and authorised to act with unlimited power. Dīyā al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Bahrām Ibn al-Khiḍr al-Kafratūthī, whom the *atābik* Zinkī had chosen for wazīr in the year 528 (A.C. 1133-4), having died in office, on the fifth of Sha'bān, A.H. 536 (March, A.C. 1142)\*, Abū 'l-Riḍā Ibn Ṣadaqah was appointed to succeed him and Jamāl al-Dīn continued to occupy his former post. The amiable disposition of Jamāl al-Dīn, and his conversation, equally elegant and amusing, gave such pleasure to the *atābik* Zinkī, that he admitted him into the number of his boon companions; and in the latter part of his reign he confided to him the presidency of the *diwān* (board of administration). Jamāl al-Dīn thus acquired great wealth, but, during the lifetime of Zinkī, he neither displayed the generosity and beneficence nor any other of the qualities (*for which he was afterwards distinguished*). When the *atābik* Zinkī met with his death at the siege of Qal'at Ja'bar (A.H. 541, A.C. 1146), part of the troops attempted to slay the wazīr and plunder his wealth; they attacked his tent and shot arrows against it, but were repulsed by some of the amīrs who took his defence. Having then led the army back to Moṣul, he was confirmed in the wazīrship by Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī (No. 495), the son of the *atābik* Zinkī, who entrusted to him and Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Baktikin the entire administration of the empire. Of Zayn al-Dīn we have already spoken in the life of his son, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, lord of Arbela (No. 522). From that moment, the wazīr displayed the generous dispositions of his heart; he gave away with open hand, and he continued lavishing his wealth and spending immense sums till his reputation for beneficence was so universally established, that he became known by the name of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jawād

\* 5 March.—Ed.



(*the bountiful*). A number of poets celebrated his praises, and one of them. Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ṣaghīr\* al-Qaysarānī (*No. 651*), went and recited in his presence the celebrated *qaṣīdah* which begins by this verse :

"Blessing on those (*fair*) gazelles in the western borders of al-Zawrā<sup>1</sup> who quenched their thirst with the life's water of our hearts !"

Amongst the numerous monuments which he left of his beneficence, we may mention the aqueduct by which water was brought from a great distance to 'Arafāt during the days of the pilgrimage, the stairs leading from the foot to the summit of that mountain<sup>2</sup>, the wall around Madīnah, and the reparations of the mosque of the Prophet. Every year he sent to Makkah and Madīnah money and clothing sufficient for the wants of the poor and destitute during the next twelve months : he had a special register-office for the persons to whom he granted pensions or who applied for pecuniary assistance. So various were his deeds of beneficence that, during a famine which afflicted Moṣul, he spent all he possessed in alleviating the misery of the people. His *iqṭā'* (*grant from government*) consisted in the tenth part of the produce of the soil, such being the usual allowance to wazīrs under the Saljūq government. One of his intendants related that, having gone to see the wazīr one day, he handed him his *baqyār*<sup>3</sup> and told him to sell it and give the money to those who were in need. The intendant observed to him that he had only two *baqyārs* remaining, that and the one which was on his head, so that, if he wished to change (*his head-dress*), he would not then have another

1 A number of places in Arabia bear the name of al-Zawrā (*Inflexa, Incurva*). It is also one of the names of the river Tigris, and is poetically used to designate the city of Baḡhdād.

2 These stairs are still in existence. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II, p. 41.

3 Meninski gives, on the authority of Castell, the following explanation of this word, which he indicates as Persian : *Tapeti non villosi genus, nigrum, ex pills comelinis*. In the passage of Ibn Kḥallikān, it evidently denotes a sort of covering for the head ; perhaps a shawl. See, however M. Dozy's *vetements des Arabes*. p. 87.

\* This name is omitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

to put on. To this the wazīr replied : "The times are hard, as you see, and perhaps I may not again find a moment so favourable as the present for doing an act of charity ; as for the *baqyār*, I can easily find something to supply its place." The intendant then withdrew and, having sold the *baqyār*, he distributed the money to the poor. A great number of similar anecdotes are related of Jamāl al-Dīn. He continued in office till the death of his master Ghāzī in A.H. 544 (A.C. 1149), and on the accession of that prince's brother, Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd he acquired great influence over the new sovereign. After some time however, Mawdūd judged his *iqṭā'* too great, and, being weary of the preponderance which he had acquired in the administration, he arrested him in the month of Rajab, A.H. 558 (May-June, A.C. 1163). In the history of Zayn al-Dīn, lord of Arbela, will be found a short account of al-Jawād's arrest and his imprisonment in the citadel of Moṣul<sup>1</sup>. He died in confinement on one of the last ten days of Ramaḍān—some say, of *Shahbān*—A.H. 559 (August, A.C. 1164), and was interred at Moṣul. When the funeral service was said over his corpse, crowds of poor persons, widows, and orphans attended the ceremony and made the air resound with their lamentations. The following year, his body was conveyed to Makkah and borne in procession around the Ka'bah, after having been taken to the top of Mount 'Arafāt on the night during which the pilgrims station there<sup>2</sup>. Every day that they remained at Makkah, they carried his body round the Ka'bah at different times. On the day of its arrival at that city, crowds assembled about it, weeping and lamenting. It is said that the like of such a day was never witnessed at Makkah. There was a man appointed to accompany the corpse and proclaim the noble deeds and virtues of the deceased at every sacred spot which the pilgrims are accustomed to visit : when they arrived at the Ka'bah, that man stood forward and said :

1 An account of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jawād's fall will be found in 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī's *History of the Atābeks* ; MS of the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, ancient fonds, No. 818, p. 266.

2 Station (*waqfah*) ; see Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II, p. 46.

"O Ka'bah of Islāmism ! he who cometh here to visit thee was a ka'bah (*centre*) of beneficence. Thou art visited once a year, but not a day passed without his receiving visits (*from the needy*)."

The corpse was then borne to Madinah and interred in the Baqī' cemetery, after having been brought into the city and carried, a number of times, around the enclosure of the Prophet's tomb. On this occasion the same person pronounced these lines :

"His bier was borne on men's shoulders, but how often did they bear (*the load*) his gifts ! When he passes by the valley, its sands speak his praise, and when he passes by the assembled people, the widows bewail his loss."

These verses are taken from a *qaṣīdah* which shall be noticed in the life of Muqallad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Munqidh al-Shayzārī\*. Jalāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jawād, was an accomplished scholar, a man of merit, eloquent and liberal. I have seen the *dlwān* (*collection*) of his epistles, in which species of composition he displayed great talent. This collection was made by Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt al-Mubārak, surnamed Ibn al-Aṭhīr al-Jazarī (*No. 526*), the author of the *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*. He entitled it : *Kitāb al-Jawāhir wa 'l-La'ālī min al-Imlā il-Mawlawī 'l-Wazīr 'l-Jalāl al-Dīn*. Majd al-Dīn commenced life as private secretary to Jalāl al-Dīn, being employed not only to write down, under his dictation the epistles and other productions of his mind, but to sign (*official papers*) in his name. He alludes to this circumstance towards the beginning of the book, and praises him in the highest terms, extolling him above all preceding writers for the elegance of his style. He speaks also of an epistolary correspondence carried on between Jalāl al-Dīn and Ḥayṣ-Bayṣ (*No. 241*) ; some of these letters he gives, and I should insert part of them here were I not afraid of being led too far. I shall only notice one, because it is very short ; it was composed by Ḥayṣ-Bayṣ in the name of a man greatly in debt : "(*Thy*) generosity is flourishing, thy renown wide-spread ; to succour against misfortune is the

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : *Shirāzi*, but he observes in the footnote that it should be *Shayzari*.—Ed.

noblest support (*of a generous man's reputation*), and to assist the afflicted (*is his*) richest treasure. Adieu." Jalāl al-Dīn was wazīr to Sayf al-Dīn Qhāzī (*No. 496*), the son of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd. He died A.H. 574 (A.C. 1178-9) at Dunaysar, and his body was taken to Moṣul and thence to Madīnah, where it was interred in the funeral chapel of his father Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jawād. *Dunaysar* is a city in Mesopotamia, between Naṣībīn and Rās 'Ayn; merchants resort thither from all quarters, as it is situated at a point where the roads of that country meet. Hence it derives its name; *Dunaysar* being a Persian compound word altered from *Dunyāsar* (*the world's head*); it being the custom of the Persians to place the consequent before the antecedent when in the relation of the genitive case. *Sar* means *head* in Persian. *Kafratūḥl* means *belonging to Kafratūḥā*<sup>1</sup>, a village in Mesopotamia, between Rās 'Ayn and Dārā.

## 678 THE KĀTIB 'IMĀD AL-DĪN AL-ISBAHĀNĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ṣafī al-Dīn Abi 'l-Faraj Muḥammad Ibn Nafīs al-Dīn Abi 'l-Rajā Hāmid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn Hibat Allāh, known by the appellation of Aluh<sup>2</sup>, and surnamed 'Imād al-Dīn (*pillar of religion*) al-Kātib al-Iṣbahānī (*the scribe of Iṣbahān*) was distinguished by the appellation of Ibn Akḥi 'l-'Azīz (*the nephew of 'Azīz al-Dīn*). We have already spoken of his uncle (*No. 76*) under the letter *hamzah*. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī was a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect; he studied the law, for some time, at the *Nizāmiyāh* college (*No. 374*) and mastered the science of polemic divinity and the various branches of polite literature. His poems and epistles are so well known that we need not enlarge on the subject. Having passed his first years in Iṣbahān, he removed to Baghdād while yet a boy and took lessons in jurisprudence from the shaykh Abū

1 According to Abu 'l-Fedā, this name is pronounced *Kafratūḥā*.

2 This appears to have been the family name. Its meaning is given by our author at the end of the article.

Manṣūr Sa'īd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Razzāz\*<sup>1</sup> a professor of the *Nizāmiyah* college. He learned Traditions in the same city from Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Jirūn, Abū 'l-Makārim al-Mubārak Ibn 'Alī al-Samarqandī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ashqar, and other masters. Having resided there till he completed his education and attained a great proficiency in erudition, he courted the patronage of the wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Yahyā Ibn Hubayrah<sup>2</sup> who was then at Baghdād, and obtained from him the inspectorship (*of the administration in the province*) of Baṣrah. Some time after, he received his appointment to the same post in Wāsiṭ, and thenceforward he continued removing from one place to another, during the remainder of his life. After the death of 'Awn al-Dīn (in A. H. 560 (A. C. 1165), the band of his followers and of all connected with him was dissolved; some had to encounter the strokes of adversity, and 'Imād al-Dīn remained for a time in poverty and misery<sup>3</sup>. He then proceeded to Damascus, where he arrived in the month of *Shā'bān*, A. H. 562 (May-June, A. C. 1167), and obtained an introduction to the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-Shahruzūrī (*No. 572*) who, at that time, acted as chief magistrate and governor of the city in the name of the sulṭān al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd<sup>4</sup> the son of the *Atābik* Zinkī. Happening, then, to discuss a question of controversy in the presence of the *qāḍī* on a day in which he received company, 'Imād al-Dīn was recognised by the grand amir Najm al-Dīn Abū Shukr Ayyūb (*No. 104*), the father of the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who had known his uncle al-'Aziz

1 Abū Manṣūr Sa'īd Ibn Muḥammad al-Razzāz (the *rice merchant*), an *Imām* and chief president of the *Shāfi'ite* sect at Baghdād, studied jurisprudence under Abū Sa'd al-Mutawallī (*No. 340*), Abū Bakr al-Shāshī (*No. 563*), al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī (*No. 405*), and As'ad al-Mihani (*No. 86*). He was, for some time, professor in the *Nizāmiyah* College. Born A. H. 462 (A. C. 1069-70); died in *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A. H. 539 (May-June, A. C. 1145). (*Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*.)

2 The life of the wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayrah is given by our author.

3 Literally : A miserable life and a waking eye.

4 His life will be found in this work.

\* 'Abd al-Iḥāmīd gives : al-Wazzān.—Ed.

at the castle of Tikrīt. From that moment, Najm-al-Dīn treated him with the kindest attention and granted him such marks of honour as placed him on a rank with the most eminent and the most distinguished. Through his means, 'Imād al-Dīn became known to the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was then at Damascus, and obtained an opportunity of celebrating the praises of that prince. 'Imād al-Dīn mentions all these particulars in his work entitled *al-Barq al-Shāmī*, and he there gives the *qaṣīdah* which he composed in honour of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn then extolled his merit and capacity in the presence of the Ṣultān Nūr al-Dīn and recommended him as a person perfectly well qualified to draw up the state correspondence (*kitābat al-Inshā*). "I hesitated" says 'Imād al-Dīn, "engaging in an occupation which lay completely out of my profession and for which I had no previous experience;" but it is nevertheless certain that he possessed all the talents requisite for this office, only he had not yet applied them. At first, he was afraid of undertaking the duties of such a place, but he had no sooner commenced than every difficulty disappeared, and the ability with which he filled it remains well established by the originality of his productions. He drew up epistles equally well in Persian and in Arabic. A close and intimate friendship was then formed between him and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Having risen into high favour with Nūr al-Dīn, he became the depository of that prince's secrets, and was sent by him on a mission to the court of the *imām* al-Mustanjid at Baghdād. On his return, he was appointed by Nūr al-Dīn to a professorship in the college now called after him *al-'Imādiyah*. This nomination took place in the month of Rajab, A. H. 567 (Feb.-March, A. C. 1172). The following year, Nūr al-Dīn conferred on him the presidency of the council of state (*bishrāf al-dīwān*). 'Imād al-Dīn's prosperity continued untroubled till the death of his sovereign A. H. 569. (A. C. 1174), and the accession of his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il. This prince, who was quite a boy, allowed himself to be circumvented and governed by some individuals who bore a deep enmity to 'Imād al-Dīn, and the latter was forced by their encroachments and threats to give up all his places and depart for Baghdād. On arriving at Moṣul, he had a severe illness, and learning that the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had left Egypt with the intention of occupying

Damascus, he gave up his journey to 'Irāq and resolved on returning to that city. Having left Moṣul on the 4th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 570 (1st December, A.C. 1174), he took the road which leads across the desert, and arrived at Damascus on the eighth of the following month, whilst Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was encamped outside of Aleppo. He then set out to pay his respect to that prince who had already taken possession of Emessa since the month of Ṣha'bān, and, being admitted into his presence, he recited to him a *qasīdāh* in which he displayed great elevation of mind. From that time, he continued to follow the court, journeying when the sulṭān journeyed and stopping when he stopped. A considerable period elapsed before he could obtain a situation, and, during that time, he attended the levees of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and recited eulogiums to him on every opportunity, alluding occasionally to their former acquaintance. Having at length succeeded in entering the sulṭān's service, he became the secretary, and obtained the confidence, of his master. The high favour which he now enjoyed placed him on a level with the most eminent men at court, and enabled him to assume the state and attribution of a wazīr and to engage in that career. As for al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil (No. 349), he was generally absent from court, being wholly engaged in directing the administration of Egypt, whilst 'Imād al-Dīn, whom the sulṭān had now chosen as the depository of his most secret thoughts, never left the imperial presence, but accompanied his sovereign to Syria and the other provinces of the empire. It was he who composed the *al-Sirr al-Maktūm*<sup>1</sup>. He wrote also a number of useful works, such as the *Khariḍat al-Qaṣr wa Jarīdat al-'Aṣr* (the vergin of the palace and palm-branch of the age,) designed by him as a continuation to Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'd al-Ḥaḍiri's *Zīnat al-Dahr* (No. 242) (which work was meant as a continuation of al-Bākhārzi's *Dumyat al-Qaṣr* (No. 450), which was written as a continuation to al-Tha'ālībī's *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (No. 356). Al-Tha'ālībī meant his work to serve as a continuation to Hārūn Ibn 'Alī 'l-Munajjim's *Kitāb al-Bārī*: we shall give the life of this author. The *Khariḍah* of 'Imād al-Dīn contains an account of the poets who flourished between the

<sup>1</sup> The work entitled *al-Sirr al-Maktūm* (the hidden secret) treats of judicial astrology.

years 500 (A. C. 1106) and 572 (A. C. 1176); it includes, with the exception of a few obscure individuals, all the poets of 'Irāq, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Maghrib<sup>1</sup>, and attests the great abilities of the author. It forms ten volumes<sup>2</sup>. His work, *al-Barq al-Shāmī* (the Syrian Lightning), in seven volumes, is devoted to historical subjects. The author commences with the history of his own life and gives an account of his journey from 'Irāq to Syria, and of what happened to him when in the service of the sultān Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd. He then relates, by what means he got attached to the service of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and notices some of the conquests achieved in Syria. He entitled this useful book *the Syrian Lightning*, because the hours he spent in those days resembled the lightning flash in the pleasure which they gave<sup>3</sup> and the rapidity with which they passed away. His *al-Faṭḥ al-Qussī fi'l-Faṭḥ al-Qudsī* (the Kossian<sup>4</sup> elucidation on the conquest of Jerusalem), forms two volumes and contains an account of the manner in which Jerusalem was taken (from the Crusaders<sup>5</sup>). His *Sayl ala 'l-Dhayl* (torrent after the train, or after the rain) was designed by him as a supplement to the work which Ibn al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) composed as a continuation (or supplement, Dhayl) to the *Khaṭīb's* (No. 33) History of Baghdād. So, at least, I heard said, but, having met with the work, I found it to be a continuation of the *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr*. In his *Nuṣrat al-Fiṭrah wa 'Uṣrat al-Fiṭrah*\* [succour against languor

1 *Maghrib* (the west) here designates North Africa, Spain, and Sicily.

2 An incomplete copy of this work, made up with volumes belonging to different sets, is preserved in the *Bibliothèque impériale*. Our author is mistaken in saying that the *Kharīdah* contains notices on those poets only who lived subsequently to A.H. 500. The work is merely a collection of poetical extracts to which the compiler has joined observations written in his usual pretentious style and of very little real importance. A fact or a date is seldom to be met within these phrases which are all pomp and glitter, alliteration and affectation.

3 See No. 191, note.

4 See No. 307, note on Quss.

5 Several copies of this work are preserved in the *Bibliothèque impériale*; a very old and well written one belongs to the *Supplement* of the same library.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives al-Qa'rah. Ed.



and asylum for the human race (?)], he relates the history of the Saljūq dynasty<sup>1</sup>. He left also a *diwān* (collection) of epistles, and another of poems, in four volumes. In these *qaṣīduhs*, he displays a lofty mind. Another *diwān* of his, a small one, is composed entirely of quatrains (*dubayt*). Numerous interesting letters and conversations passed between him and al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil: it is related that, meeting him one day on horseback, he said: "Proceed, and may thy horse never stumble with thee (*Sir fulā kabūbik al-Faras*)!" to which the *qāḍi* replied "May the glory of 'Imād al-Dīn endure (*Dām 'ala al-'Imād*)!" These phrases may be equally read backwards and forwards<sup>2</sup>. They were one day riding in the suit of the sulṭān and their attention being attracted by the clouds of dust raised by the numerous horsemen and covering all the field, 'Imād al-Dīn recited to him extempore the following lines:

"The dust is raised by the horses' hoofs (*al-Sanābik*); the sky is darkened by it, but it receives light from the brightness of thy presence (*anāra bihi al-sanābik*). O fortune! spare me 'Abd al-Raḥīm<sup>3</sup>, and I shall not fear the touch of thy fangs (*massa nābik*)."

In these three verses he has hit on a beautiful play of words. Al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil having set out from Egypt in the year 574 (A. C. 1178-9), to perform the pilgrimage, he took shipping on his way, and 'Imād al-Dīn addressed him the following letter: "Happiness to the *Ḥijr* and to al-Ḥajūn<sup>4</sup> from the possessor of caution and

1 This work, of which a copy exists in the *Bibliothèque impériale* fonds St. Germain, No. 327, is written in 'Imād al-Dīn's swollen and extravagant style. Its tone has been softened by the *imām* al-Faṭḥ Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Bundārī al-Iṣbahānī, who entitled his work; *Zubdat al-Nuṣrah wa Nuḥbat al-'Uṣrah* (cream of the Nuṣrah and extract of the 'Uṣrah. See MS of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, No. 761A.

2 In transcribing them, I have put in *italics* the vowels which are not represented in the Arabic writing.

3 This was al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil's real name.

4 *Ḥajūn* is a hill near Makkah. The *ḥijr* is a semicircular area on the west side of the Ka'bah, and enclosed by a wall called *ḥaṭīm*. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I, p. 252.

intelligence<sup>1</sup>, from him whose glory reaches the stars and whose presence enlightens the darkness ! (*Happiness*) to the assembly at the Ka'bah from (*him who is*) the pivot (*ka'b*) of generosity, and to the sacred offerings from one who points out the true path ! (*Happiness*) to the noble station (*of Abrahām*) from that noble presence, and to the *ḥatīm*<sup>2</sup> from him who breaketh the back of poverty. When he appears, he seems a pyramid in the sacred territory, and a bird hovering around him who draws the Zamzam waters ; on sea, he is a sea (*of generosity*) ; on land, beneficence itself. Quss has now returned to his 'Ukāẓ<sup>3</sup> and Qays has come back with his Traditionists. Admire a ka'bah visited by one who is a ka'bah (*centre or source*) of bounty and munificence ; (*admire*) a *qiblah*<sup>4</sup> towards which advances one who is the central point of (*universal*) favour and regard. Farewell." This note is composed with singular art and ingenuity, but the writer is evidently mistaken when he speaks of Qays and his Traditionists ; he should have said *Anas with his Traditionists* in accordance with the well-known saying : *Anas* (master) *of the Traditionists* (*Anas al-Ḥuffāz*)<sup>5</sup>. They were four brothers, each bearing a different surname. Their history I should give here were I not afraid of lengthening this notice and being led away from my subject. On the death of the wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayrah, the government of the *khālīfate* (*al-dīwān al-'azīz, the majestic board*) arrested a number of his followers and, amongst them, 'Imād al-Dīn, because he was then acting as his deputy at Wāsiṭ. In the month of *Shā'bān*, A. H. 560 (June-July, A. C. 1165), 'Imād al-Dīn addressed from his prison a *qaṣīdah*, containing the following lines, to 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn 'Aḍud al-Dīn

---

1 This piece derives its sole merit from the numerous quibbles and puns with which it is filled. Such futilities being of no interest to the ordinary reader, I abstain from indicating them and confine myself to the task of rendering intelligible 'Imād al-Dīn's obscurities of style.

2 See note on *Hajūn* above.

3 See No. 307, note.

4 The *Ka'bah* is the name of the temple at Makkah. For *qiblah* see No. 16, note.

5 The celebrated Traditionist *Anas Ibn Mālīk* had for disciples four of his sons : al-Naḍr النضر 'Abd Allāh, Mūsā and Malik. A very considerable number of Traditions are given on his authority.

Ibn Ra'is al-Ruwasā, who was then acting as mayor of the palace (*ustād al-dār*) to the *khalif* al-Mustanjid :

"Say to the *imām* : 'Wherefore the imprisonment of your client (*walī*) ? let your kindness be shown to me who always served you faithfully. When the cloud withheld its showers (*wall*), did not his father, by his prayers, set them free ?'

(On hearing these lines, the *khalif*) ordered him to be set at liberty. They contain an original thought and an allusion to the history of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and al-'Abbās, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the uncle of the Prophet. Under the *khalifate* of 'Umar, a drought prevailed which threatened the earth with sterility, and he went out accompanied by people to pray for rain. Having taken his station, he pronounced these words : "Almighty God ! when we suffered from drought we used to solicit Thy assistance through Thy favour for our Prophet, but, to-day we implore it through Thy favour for the uncle of our Prophet ; grant us rain." And rain was granted. The word *walī*, in the verses just given, signifies the rain which comes after the *wasmi*, or first rains of spring ; it is called *walī* (*follower*) because it *follows* the *wasmi* ; and the *wasmi* is so called because it marks (*wasamah*) the surface of the earth with plants. It is the adjective formed from *wasm* (*mark*). Al-Mutanabbī has employed both terms in the following verse :

"Will that gazelle (*maiden*) grant me the favour of a renewed affection, the first rains (*wasmi*) of whose kindness were never followed by a second shower (*walī*) ? "

He means that her first visit was not followed by a second. 'Imād al-Dīn continued to hold the place of secretary and maintain his high rank at court till the death of the sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn A.H. 589 (A.C. 1193). This event reduced him to ruin and deprived him of all his influence. Finding every door shut against him, he withdrew to his house and remained there, occupied in the composition of his works. He mentions something of this in the beginning of his *al-Barq al-Shāmi*. In the life of Ibn al-Ta'āwidhī (*No.* 654) we have

noticed the epistle and *qaṣīdah* in which he requested from 'Imād al-Dīn the gift of a furred cloak, and we have spoken of the answer returned to both documents. 'Imād al-Dīn was born at Iṣbahān on Monday, the 2nd of the latter Jumādā—some say of *Shā'bān*—A.H. 519 (6th July, A.C. 1125), and he died at Damascus, on Monday, the first of Ramaḍān, A.H. 597 (5th June, A.C. 1201). He was interred in the cemetery of the *Ṣūfis*, outside the gate called Bāb al-Naṣr. A person who held an eminent rank in the administration and who remained with him during his last illness, informed me that, whenever a visitor came to see him, 'Imād al-Dīn recited the following lines :

"I am a guest at your dwelling ; where, O where is the host ? My acquaintances know me no longer, and those whom I knew are dead !"

*Aluh* is a Persian word signifying *eagle* ; *'uqāb*, in Arabic. It is said that no male eagles exist ; all being females which are impregnated by a bird of another species. Some say that they are impregnated by the fox. This is certainly marvellous. Ibn 'Unayn (*No. 658*) the poet has the following line in a satire directed against a person called Ibn Sidah :

"Thou art a mere eagle ; we know who thy mother was but none knows who was thy father."

This alludes to the opinion of which we have just spoken, but God alone knows whether it be true or false".

## 679 ABŪ NAṢR AL-FĀRĀBĪ

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭarkhān Ibn Awzalagh al-Fārābī the Turk, a celebrated physician and author of various works on logic, music, and other sciences, was the greatest philosopher among the Muslims. None of them ever reached in the philosophical sciences the same rank as he, and it was by the study of his writings and the imitation of his style that Avicenna

(No. 184) attained proficiency and rendered his own works so useful. Al-Fārābī passed his youth in Fārāb, the place of his birth, and then set out to travel. After various peregrinations, he visited Baghdād, where he arrived well acquainted with Turkish and some other languages, but wholly ignorant of Arabic. Having then commenced learning the latter language, he mastered it completely and devoted his mind to the philosophical sciences. On arriving at Baghdād, he found the celebrated philosopher Abū Bishr Mattā Ibn Yūnus<sup>1</sup>, who was then far advanced in age, teaching logic in that city and possessing the very highest reputation: every day crowds of pupils attended the lectures in which he explained Aristotle's treatise on that subject, and al-Fārābī filled seventy volumes with the observations which he wrote down from the lips of so able a master. (*Mattā*) stood unrivalled in that art; in his writings, he shone by precision of style and subtlety of elucidation, and he aimed at simplifying his meaning by developments and annotations. It was therefore said by an able logician that the abilities which Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī displayed in rendering the most abstract ideas intelligible and expressing them in the simplest words, could only be attributed to the tuition of Abū Bishr (*Mattā*). Al-Fārābī attended his lessons, and always took his station among the crowd of students who surrounded the learned professor. Having thus passed a considerable time, he removed to Ḥarrān, where he met Yūḥannā Ibn Khaylān<sup>2</sup>, a Christian and an able philosopher, from whom he learned some particular applications of the art of logic. He then returned to Baghdād and studied the philosophical sciences. Having mastered all Aristotle's works, he acquired a great facility in comprehending the ideas and the scope of that author's writings. It is related that the following note was found inscribed, in Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's handwriting, on a copy of Aristotle's treatise on the soul:

1 Abū Bishr Mattā Ibn Yūnus (*Mathew the son of Jonas*), a Christian and a native of Baghdād, held a high reputation as a logician and as a teacher of that science. He died at Baghdād under the Khalīfate of al-Rāḍī, (A.H. 322-329, A.C. 934-941). He composed a commentary on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and a number of other works, the titles of which are given in al-Zūzanī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥukamā*.

2 In the MS. of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥukamā*, this name is written *جبلاد* (*Jablād*).

"I have read over this book two hundred times." It is related also that he said; "I read over the philosopher Aristotle's *Physics*<sup>1</sup> forty times, and I feel that I ought to read it over again." It is stated that, having been asked whether he or Aristotle was the more learned in this branch of science, he replied: "Had I lived in his time, I should have been the chief of his disciples." Abu 'l-Qāsim Sā'id Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Sā'id al-Qurṭubī mentions him in his *Ṭabaqāt*, or *classified list* of philosophers<sup>2</sup>, and says: "Al-Fārābī, the philosopher of the Muslims in reality, learned the art of logic from Yūḥannā Ibn Kḥaylān, who died at Madīnat al-Salām (*Baghdād*) in the reign of al-Muqtadir; he then excelled all the people of Islāmism and surpassed them by his real acquirements in that science; he explained its obscurities, revealed its mysteries, facilitated its comprehension and furnished every requisite for its intelligence, in works remarkable for precision of style and subtlety of elucidation; noticing in them what al-Kindī (*No. 143, note*), and others had neglected, such as the art of analysis (*taḥlīl*) and the modes of conveying instruction<sup>3</sup>. In these treatises he elucidated in plain terms the five main principles<sup>4</sup> of logic, indicating the manner of employing them with advantage and the operation of

1 The Arabic title is *al-Sama' al-Ṭabī'i*, a literal translation of the Greek (*Auscultatio physica*).

2 Ḥājī Kḥalīfah entitles this work *Ṣawān al-Ḥukm fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥukamā*. The author, Abu 'l-Qāsim Sā'id Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sā'id al-Taḥlībī was born al-Almeria in the year 420 (A. C. 1029), but his family belonged to Cordova. He was appointed *qāḍī* of Toledo by al-Māmūn Yahyā (*Ibn Ismā'il*) Ibn ḥu 'l-Nūn, and he continued to fill this office till his death. This event occurred in the month of Ṣḥawwāl, A. H. 462 (July-Aug., A. C. 1070). (*Ibn Bashkuwāl's Ṣīlat*).

3 The original text has انحاء التعامل (*mathematical processes*). The same passage occurs in the life of al-Fārābī, given by al-Zūzanī in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥukamā*, but there we read انحاء التعلم, which is a well known expression and is probably the right reading.

4 The MSS. read مبادئ, but the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥukamā* has طرق. If the writer meant *the five predicables*, why did he not employ the الفاظ which is the usual term?

reasoning (*sūrat al-qiyās*) to each of them. His writings on this subject are therefore highly satisfactory and possess the utmost merit. He afterwards composed a noble work in which he enumerated the sciences and indicated the object of each; this treatise, the like of which had never before been composed and the plan of which had never been adopted by any other author, is an indispensable guide to students in the sciences." Ibn Šā'id then proceeds to mention some of his works and the subjects of which they treat<sup>1</sup>. Abū Naṣr continued, at Baghdād, to labour in the acquisition of this science till he attained in it a conspicuous rank and surpassed all his contemporaries. It forms the subject of most of his work. He then set out for Damascus, but did not stop there, having turned his steps towards Egypt. He mentions in his work, entitled *al-Siyāsat al-Madaniyah* (*administration of the city, i. e., political economy*) that he commenced it at Baghdād and finished it in Egypt. Having then returned to Damascus, he settled there and met with a kind reception from the reigning sultān, Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān (*No. 456*)<sup>2</sup>. I read in a miscellany that, when Abū Naṣr went to Sayf al-Dawlah's levee, which was a point of union for all persons distinguished by their acquirements in any of the sciences, he appeared in his usual attire, which was that of the Turks<sup>3</sup>. Sayf al-Dawlah having invited him to sit down, he said; (*Shall I sit down*) where I am, or where thou art? Sayf al-Dawlah replied: "Where thou art;" on which Abū Naṣr stepped over the shoulders of the persons (*seated on the floor*), till he reached the prince's throne and sat down so close to him that he forced him out of his place<sup>4</sup>. Sayf al-Dawlah had some mamlūks standing behind

1 Al-Zūzanī, or rather al-Qāḍī al-Akrām Ibn al-Qifī whose work he abridged, has given a life of al-Fārābī in his *Ṭabaqāt Ḥukamā*, which life is evidently extracted from that composed by the *qāḍī* Šā'id al-Qurubī. The list of works alluded to by Ibn Khalikān fills more than a page in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

2 Sayf al-Dawlah took possession of Damascus in the year 334 (A.C. 946).

3 According to al-Zūzanī, he wore the *šūfi* dress.

4 Had Sayf al-Dawlah answered: *Where I am*, Abū Naṣr would have sat down without quitting the place where he stood. Having designated that place by the words *where I am*, and Sayf al-Dawlah's by the words *where thou art*, he pretended that these terms had the same acceptation when uttered by the prince. To be logically exact, Sayf al-Dawlah's answer should have been: *Sit down on the floor where thou art now standing*.

him, with whom he was accustomed to hold private communications in a particular language known to very few persons. On this occasion, he said to them. "This *shaykh* has grossly offended against politeness; I shall now propose him some questions, and, if he does not reply to them in a satisfactory manner, turn him into ridicule." Abū Naṣr immediately answered, in the same language: "Consider of it, O amīr! for every proceeding is appreciated according to its result." These words filled Sayf al-Dawlah with astonishment: "How!" said he, "you know this language?"—"Yes," replied Abū Naṣr, "I know upwards of seventy!" From that moment, the prince conceived a high opinion of him. Abū Naṣr then began to converse with the learned men of the company on all the different sciences, and he continued to harangue till he reduced them to silence and had the whole discourse to himself. They had even commenced writing down his (*learned*) observations when Sayf al-Dawlah dismissed them and remained alone with the philosopher. "Would you like to eat anything?" said he. "No." "Or to drink?" "No." "Or to hear (*music*)?"—"Yes". The prince then ordered some of the most eminent performers of instrumental music to be brought in, but not one of them could touch his instrument without exciting Abū Naṣr's disapprobation. "Have you any skill in this art,?" said Sayf al-Dawlah. "I have," replied the other and drawing a case from beneath his waistband, he opened it and produced a lute. Having turned it, he began to play and cast all the company in a fit of laughter. He then undid the strings and, having tuned it in another manner, he played again and drew tears from their eyes. Mounting it a third time, in a different key, he played and set them all asleep, even the door-keepers, on which he took the opportunity of retiring and left them in that state. It is stated that instrument called the *qānūn*<sup>2</sup> was of his invention and that he was the first who mounted it in its present form. Al-Fārābī led a solitary life and never went into company; during his residence at Damascus, he passed the greater part of his time near the borders of some rivulet or in a shady

1 I avow that I consider all this narration as a fiction.

2 The *Qārūn* is a sort of dulcimer. Mr. Lane has given a figure of it in his *Modern Egyptians*.



garden; there he composed his works and received the visits of his pupils. He wrote most of his works on loose leaves and very few in quires, for which reason nearly all his productions assume the form of detached chapters and notes; some of them exist only in fragments or unfinished. He was the most indifferent of men for the things of this world; he never gave himself the least trouble to acquire a livelihood or possess a habitation. Sayf al-Dawlah settled on him a daily pension of four dirhams (*two shillings*) out of the public treasury; this moderate sum being the amount to which al-Fārābī had limited his demand. He continued to live with the same frugality up to the moment of his death. He died at Damascus, A.H. 339 (A.C. 950-1), aged upwards of eighty years, and the funera! service was said over his body by Sayf al-Dawlah accompanied by four officers of the court. He was interred in the cemetery outside the gate called Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.<sup>1</sup> Mattā Ibn Yūnus died at Baghdād under the khalīfate of al-Rāḍī; so, at least, it is stated by Ibn Ṣā'id al-Qurtubī, in his classified list (*Ṭabaqāt*) of physicians<sup>2</sup>. I found in a miscellany the following verses attributed to al-Fārābī, but have no proof of their authenticity:

"Quit, O brother! the place of the frivolous and frequent the place of heavenly truths. This (*earthly*) dwelling is not for us a lasting abode; no human being on earth can avert (*the stroke of fate*). This man envies that one, even for (*things which endure*) less than (*the time for uttering*) the shortest words. What are we but a drop of sperm on which various fortunes have descended? fortunes always ready to depart! The circuit of the heavens is our fittest place; why therefore so much eagerness for its central point (*the earth*)?"

In the *Khariḍah* I found these verses attributed to the shaykh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Fāriqī, an inhabitant of Baghdād whom 'Imād al-Dīn, the author of that work, says that he met on Friday the 18th of Rajab, A.H. 561 (May, A.C. 1166),\* and

1 M. Munk's *Me'langes de philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris, 1859, in 8°) contains a very good article on Farāb and another on al-Kindī.

2 Al-Zūzani makes the same statement.

\* 20 May.—Ed.

that he died a few years later, *Awzalagh* is a Turkish name. *Fārābī* means *belonging to Fārāb*, the modern *Uṭrār* (اوارار); this city lies beyond al-*Shāsh* and near the city of *Balāsāghūn*. All its inhabitants follow the doctrines of the *imām* al-*Shāfi*<sup>1</sup>. It is one of the capital cities of the Turkish nation, and was called the Inner *Fārāb* (*Fārāb al-Dākhilah*) to distinguish it from the Outer *Fārāb* (*Fārāb al-Khārijah*) which is situated on the border of the province of *Fārs*. *Balāsāghūn* is a town on the Turkish frontier, beyond the river *Sayhūn* (No. 664) and lying near *Kāshghar*. *Kāshghar* is a large city, situated, it is said, within the limits of the Chinese empire (*al-Ṣīn*).

#### 680 ABŪ BAKR AL-RĀZĪ (RIASES)

Abū Bakr Muḥammṣd Ibn Zakariyā al-Rāzī (*native of Ray*) was a celebrated physician. Ibn Juljul<sup>1</sup> says, in his *History of the Physicians*: "He (*al-Rāzī*) directed the hospital at Ray and afterwards, under the *khalīfate* of al-Muktafi the hospital at Baghdād. In his youth, he played on the lute and cultivated vocal music, but, on reaching the age of manhood, he renounced these occupations, saying that music proceeding from between mustaches and a beard had no charms to recommend it. Having then applied himself to the study of medicine and philosophy, he read the works on these subjects with the attention of a man who seeks to follow the author's reasonings step by step; and he thus acquired a perfect acquaintance with the depths of these sciences and appropriated to himself whatever truths were contained in the treatises which he perused. He then commenced attending the sick and composed a great number of books on medicine." Another writer says; "He was the ablest physician of that age and the most distinguished; a perfect master of the art

<sup>1</sup> Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān Ibn Ḥassān, surnamed Ibn Juljul, was physician to Hishām al-Muwayyad bi-Allāh, the Umayyad sovereign of Spain. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's notice on this physician will be found in M. de Sacy's *Abd Allatif*, p. 495.

of medicine, skilled in its practice and thoroughly grounded in its principles and rules. Pupils travelled from distant countries to receive the benefit of his tuition. He composed a number of useful works on medicine, such as the *ʿĪwāl* (*comprehensive*), a large treatise in about thirty volumes, which remains a standard authority for physicians and to which they refer in every doubtful case. His *Jāmiʿ* (*collector*) is also a large and useful work, and his *Kitāb al-Aqḡāb*<sup>1</sup> is a voluminous production." His abridged treatise on medicine, the *Kitāb al-Manṣūri*, is a work of great repute, and though of small extent, is highly appreciated; in this treatise, he combines theory with practice and furnishes essential information for persons of all classes<sup>2</sup>. He composed it for Abū Sālīḥ Manṣūr Ibn Nūḥ Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Asad Ibn Sāmān, one of the Sāmānid kings, and for this reason, he entitled his book *al-Manṣūri* (*the Manṣūriyan*). Besides these works, he composed many others all of them indispensable (*to physicians*). One of his sayings was; "When you can cure by a regimen, avoid having recourse to medicine; and when you can effect a cure with a simple medicine, avoid employing a compound one." He said again: "With a learned physician and an obedient patient, sickness soon disappears." And again: "Treat an incipient malady with remedies which will not prostrate the strength." Till the end of his life, he continued at the head of his profession. He began the study of medicine at an advanced age, being then, it is said, upwards of forty years old. Towards the close of a long life, he lost his sight, and he died A.H. 311 (A.C. 923-4). He studied medicine under the physician Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Rabn\* al-Ṭabarī<sup>3</sup>, the author of the *Firdaws al-Ḥikmah* and

1 In Arabic كتاب الاقطاب. The right pronunciation and the meaning of this title are unknown to me.

2 An article on Abū Bakr al-Rāzī will be found in M. Wustenfeld's *Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte* (*history of the Arabian physicians*).

3 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Rabn al-Ṭabarī, an able physician, belonged to a Jewish family and was a native of Ṭabaristān. Having been forced by the troubled state of his native country to take refuge in Ray, he had there Abū Bakr al-Rāzī for disciple. He then proceeded to Sarra-man-ra'ā and composed his work entitled *Firdaws al-Ḥikmah* (*garden of knowledge*). He had been

(Continued on page 205)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Zayn.—Ed.

other useful works. Al-Ṭabarī was at first a Christian (*a Jew*), but he subsequently embraced Islāmism. We have already (*No. 48*) explained the meaning of the word *Rāzī* (*native of Ray*). As for the Sāmānīd kings, they were sultāns of Transoxiana and *Khurāsān* and one of the best dynasties which ever ruled. The reigning monarch was styled the Sultān of the Sultāns, and this title came to be considered as the real name of the sovereign. They were distinguished by their justice, piety, and learning. This dynasty was overthrown by Maḥmūd Ibn Subuktīkīn, a sultān whose life we shall give (*in this work, No. 686*). The Sāmānīds reigned during one hundred and two years, six months and ten days. Abū Šāliḥ Maṣṣūr, the prince mentioned in this article, died in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 365 (June, A.C. 976); he was a boy when al-Rāzī drew up the *Maṣṣūrī* for his instruction. Since writing the above, I have seen a copy of this work bearing on the title-page an inscription, stating, that it was composed for and named after Abū Šāliḥ al-Maṣṣūr Ibn Ishāq Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Nūḥ, prince of Kirmān and *Khurāsān*, and a descendant of Bahrām Kūsh\*. God knows best which of these statements is true. Ibn Juljul relates also, in his History, that al-Rāzī composed for the same al-Maṣṣūr a treatise establishing the certainty of alchemy, and set out from Baghdād to present it to him. Al-Maṣṣūr testified great satisfaction on examining the work and, having rewarded the author with the

(Continued from page 204)

secretary to Māzyār (*No. 627, note*), and afterwards made his profession of Islāmism to the Khalīf al-Mu'tasim. He then proceeded to the court (*of Baghdād*) and became one of al-Mutawakkil's boon companions. The word *Rabn* (ربن), *Rābīn* (رابین) and *al-Rabb* (الرب) are names given by the Jews to the chief doctors of their law. (*Tārīkh al-Hukamā*, pp. 160, 195). *Rabn* is therefore the equivalent of *Rabbi*. There can be no doubt respecting the orthography of this word, as the author of the dictionary here cited, places *Rabn* after *Rizq Allāh* and before the chapter of names beginning with Z. In some Arabic MSS. this word is erroneously written *Zayn* (زين).

1 In the MSS. the word *Kūsh* is written کوش or کوس *Mikḥond* and Abu 'l-Fedā write this name جوبین *Tchupin* or *Jūbīn*. Ibn Kullikān may have perhaps written کوبین.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, gives : Jūr (Gor).—Ed.

sum of one thousand dinārs, he said to him: "I wish you to produce the thing of which you speak in this book." "That is a task," replied al-Rāzī, "for the execution of which ample funds are necessary, as also various implements and aromatics of genuine quality; and all this must be done according to the rules of art, so that the whole operation is one of great difficulty." "All the implements you require," said al-Manṣūr, "shall be furnished to you, with every object necessary for the operation; so that you may produce (*the substance*) mentioned in your book." Perceiving the prince to be in earnest, al-Rāzī hesitated to undertake the task and declared his inability to perform it. On this, al-Manṣūr said: "I should never have thought a philosopher capable of deliberate falsehood in a work represented by him as a scientific treatise, and which will engage people's hearts in a labour from which they can draw no advantage. I have given you one thousand dinārs as a reward for this visit and the trouble which you have taken, but I shall assuredly punish you for committing a deliberate falsehood!" He then struck him on the head with a whip and sent him off to Baghdād with a stock of provisions for the journey. That stroke caused a descent of humour into al-Rāzī's eyes, but he would not permit them to be lanced, declaring that he had seen enough of the world. Abū Muḥammad Nūḥ Ibn Naṣr, the father of (*Manṣūr*), died in the month of latter Rabi' A.H. 343 (August, A.C. 954). Abu 'l-Ḥasan Naṣr Ibn Ismā'il, his grandfather, died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 331 (March-April, A.C. 943), and his great-grand father Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il Ibn Aḥmad, on the eve of Tuesday, the 14th of Ṣafar, A.H. 295 (24th November, A.C. 907) at Bukhārā: he was born, A.H. 234 (A.C. 848-9), at Farghānah. Abū Ibrāhīm took pleasure in writing down Traditions, and honoured men of learning. Aḥmad Ibn Asad Ibn Sāmān died at Farghānah in the year 250 (A.C. 864). These observations are foreign to our subject, but we were led into them by the drift of this discourse: they furnish also some important information.<sup>2</sup>

1 Literally—For considering falsehood as licit على تحليل الكذب لـ.

2 A new and much improved edition of al-Rāzī's treatise on the small-pox and measles was published in London, 1848, with a very carefully made translation and instructive notes, by Dr. Greenhill.

681 MUḤAMMAD IBN MŪSĀ IBN SHĀKIR

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn Shākir was one of the three brothers after whom the art of engineering was called the *contrivances of the sons of Mūsā* (*ḥiṣāl banī Mūsā*): Muḥammad, Aḥmad, and al-Ḥasan, these three brothers being celebrated for their talents in that line. Animated with the noble ambition of learning the sciences of the ancients and acquiring their books, they laboured to effect this object and sent persons to bring them books from the country of the Greeks<sup>1</sup>. By the offer of ample rewards, they drew translators from distant countries, and they thus made known the marvels of science. Geometry, engineering, the movements (*of the heavenly bodies*)<sup>2</sup>, music, and astrology were the principal subjects to which they turned their attention but these were only a small number (*of their acquirements*). They composed on engineering an original and curious work, filled with every sort of curious information. I met with a copy of it, in one volume, and found it to be an excellent and highly instructive production. A thing which they, the first in Islāmic times, brought from theory into practice<sup>3</sup> (*was the measurement of the earth*); for, although, astronomical observers in ancient times, anterior to the promulgation of Islāmism, had executed the operation, yet no statement exists to prove that it had been attempted by any person of this religion, except by themselves. (*The khalif*) al-Māmūn had a strong predilection for the sciences of the ancients and a great desire of putting their exactness to the test: having read in their productions, that the circumference of the globe is twenty-four thousand miles, or eight thousand parasangs, (three miles make a parasang,) and that, if one end of a cord were placed at any point on the surface of the earth and the cord passed round the earth till the two ends met, that cord would be twenty-four thousand miles long, he wished to prove the truth of this assertion and asked the sons of Mūsā what was their opinion. They replied that the fact was certain, and he then said:

---

1 Or : *from Asia Minor* (Bilād al-Rūm).

2 The term *ḥarakat* is the equivalent of *ḥarakat al-nujūm*.

3 Literally : *De potestate in actum* ; an Acistotelian expression.

"I wish you to employ the means indicated by the ancients, so that we may see whether it be correct or not." On this, they inquired in what country a level plain could be found, and, being informed that the desert of Sinjār was perfectly level, as also the country about Kūfah, they took with them a number of persons on whose veracity and skill in this art al-Māmūn placed reliance, and set out for Sinjār. On arriving in the plain just mentioned, they stopped at a spot where they took the altitude of the north pole by means of certain instruments, and drove a picket into the place where the observation was made. To this picket they fastened a long cord and walked directly towards the north, avoiding, as much as possible, any deviation to the right or to the left. When the cord was run out, they set up another picket, and tied to it a cord, after which they walked towards the north as before. They continued the same operation till they came to a place where they observed the altitude of the pole and found it to surpass by one degree the altitude observed at the first station. Having already obtained the length of the intermediate space by means of the cords, they found the distance to be sixty-six miles and two thirds. From this they learned that every degree of the sphere corresponded to a space of sixty-six miles and two thirds on the surface of the earth. They then returned to the place where they had driven in the first picket, and, having fastened a cord to this picket, they went directly towards the south, operating as they had previously done when going towards the north; that is, setting up pickets and fastening cords. When the cords employed in the operation directed towards the north were again run out, they took the altitude of the pole and found it one degree less than the altitude first observed. Their calculation was thus verified and (*the result of*) their undertaking confirmed. Persons acquainted with astronomy will understand this. It is well known that the number of degrees in the zodiac is three hundred and sixty: for the zodiac is divided into twelve signs, and each sign into thirty degrees. There are therefore three hundred and sixty degrees in all, and, if this sum be multiplied by sixty-six and two thirds, the number of miles in a degree, we obtain twenty-four thousand miles, or eight thousand parasangs (*for the circumference of the earth*). This is certain and indubitable. When the sons of

Mūsā returned to al-Māmūn and informed him of what they had done (*he perceived that the result*) corresponded with what he had read in the books of the ancients relative to the deductions of that people, and, wishing to verify the fact elsewhere, he sent them to the land of Kūfah, where they operated as they had done at Sinjār. The two calculations agreeing, al-Māmūn acknowledged the truth of what the ancients had written on that subject. This is the passage to which I referred in the life of Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, where I said (No. 622): *Were I not apprehensive of extending this article to too great a length, I should render this evident.* The sons of Mūsā were the authors of various extraordinary inventions some of which I should notice, did I not wish to avoid prolixity.<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā died in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 259 (January, A.C. 873).

## 682 MUḤAMMAD IBN JĀBIR AL-BATTĀNĪ (ALBATEGNIUS)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Jābir Ibn Sinān, a native of Harrān and an inhabitant of al-Raqqah, surnamed al-Battānī, was a famous calculator and astronomer, and the author of (*the astronomical work entitled*) *the Ṣābean Table (al-Zij al-Ṣābi)*. He executed many curious (*astronomical*) operations and made correct observations. His observations were commenced in the year A.H. 264 (A. C. 877-8), and he continued them till the year A.H. 306 (A. C. 918-9). In his table, he marked the position occupied by the fixed stars in the year A.H. 299 (A. C. 911-2). He was the paragon of the age in the art which he cultivated, and his operations furnish a proof of his great talents and extensive

<sup>1</sup> Our author would have done better to suppress some of his poetical citations and give us more information about the inventions of Banī Mūsā. He had before him documents which we have not.



information. He died in the year 317 (A. C. 929-30), at a place called Qaṣr al-Ḥaḍr (*the fortress of al-Ḥaḍr*) on his return from Baghdād. I know not if he professed the doctrines of Islāmism; his name, however, indicates that he was a Muslim.<sup>1</sup> He made two editions of his *Zīj*, the second of which is better than the first. His other works are: *the Ma'rifat Maqālī' al-Burūj* (*knowledge of the rising-places of the zodiacal signs*) in the interval between the quarters of the sphere<sup>2</sup>; a treatise on the quantity of the conjunctions (*fī Miqdar al-Iṭṭisālāt*) a treatise in which he explained the four quarters of the sphere; a treatise on the appreciation of the quantity of the conjunctions; an explanation of Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*<sup>3</sup> etc. *Battānī*, or according to Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Akfānī<sup>4</sup>. *Bittānī*, means *belonging to Battān* or *Bittān*, a place in the province of Ḥarrān. *Al-Ḥaḍr* is an ancient city near Tikrit, and situated in the desert between the Tigris and the Euphrates<sup>5</sup>. Al-Sāṭirūn الساترون the lord of al-Ḥaḍr, was besieged by Ardashīr Ibn Bābak, the first (*Sāsānid*) king of Persia, who took the city and put him to death. Alluding to this event, Ḥārithah Ibn Ḥajjāj, better known by the appellation of Abū Duwād al-Iyādī<sup>6</sup>, said:

"I see that death has descended from al-Ḥaḍr upon the lord of its people, al-Ṣatirūn. The vicissitudes of time have overthrown him, after his possessing a kingdom, prosperity, and pearls hidden (from sight)".

1 The ancestors of al-Battānī were Sābeans and he was probably so himself.

2 This is perhaps a treatise on the mode of calculating the horizontal amplitude of the signs of the Zodiac for every latitude. Such a work would be useful for the history of spherical trigonometry.

3 The Arabic title is *Arba' Maqālāt* (*four discourses*). Ptolemy's treatise on judicial astrology entitled *Tetrabiblion* was first translated by Ibrāhīm Ibn al-alt whose translation was reviewed and corrected by Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq.

4 Ibn Khalikān speaks of al-Akfānī in No. 108 of this work. According to the author of the *Nujūm*, he died A.H. 523 (A.C. 1129).

5 In the *Memoirs of the Geographical Society*, vols. IX and XI, will be found an account of present state of al-Ḥaḍr. It was the capital of the celebrated al-Zabbā. See Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad hist.* ar. p. 2.

6 For the history of Abū Duwād see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, t. 11, pp. 112, 113.

Some attribute these verses to Ḥanẓalah Ibn Sharqī.<sup>1</sup> 'Adī Ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī<sup>2</sup> also mentions this place in the following verse;

"And the brother of al-Ḥaḍr, when he built that place, and when the Tigris and al-Khābūr<sup>3</sup> paid him tribute."

The name of al-Ḥaḍr frequently occurs in poems. According to a statement repeated by Ibn Hishām (No. 355) in his *Sīrat al-Rasūl*, it was Sāpūr Dhu 'l-Aktāf who besieged al-Ḥaḍr; but this is an error. Ṣāṭirūn is a Syrian word signifying *king*; the real name of al-Ṣāṭirūn was Ḍayzan ذيزن Ibn Mu'āwiyah. Ḍayzan was an idol adored in the times of ignorance (*anterior to the promulgation of Islāmism*) and its name was given to different men. Al-Ṣāṭirūn belonged to the tribe of Quḍā'ah and was one of the provincial kings (No. 622). When these princes met with the design of waging war against the other kings, they chose al-Ṣāṭirūn for their chief on account of his power. Ardashīr besieged him during four years without being able to subdue him.

Al-Ṣāṭirūn had a daughter of extreme beauty called Naḍīrah نضيره the same of whom a poet said :

"Al-Ḥaḍr, al-Mirbā', and the bank of al-Tharthār<sup>4</sup> are deprived of the presence of Naḍīrah."

The custom of the people there was, that, when a female had her periodical indisposition, they lodged her in the suburb. Naḍīrah, being unwell, was lodged in the suburb of al-Ḥaḍr, and, looking out one day, she saw Ardashīr, who was a very handsome man, and fell in love with him. She then sent to him, offering to open the fortress and admit him, provided he married her. Having made her conditions, (*she betrayed the city*) and Ardashīr

1 See M. Caussin's *Essai*, tome 1. p. 330. *et-seq.*

2 See No. 85, note.

3 Al-Khābūr, a river of Mesopotamia, falls into the Euphrates at al-Qarqisiyah.

4 The river al-Tharthār passes near al-Ḥaḍr and falls into the 'Tigris.

fulfilled his promise. (*Authors*) differ as to the means which she pointed out to Ardashīr, so that he was enabled to take the fortress. Al-Ṭabarī says that she directed him to a talisman which was kept there : the people knew that he could not take the place till he found a grey pigeon, which, after its legs had been stained with the *menstrua* of a blue-eyed virgin, would alight, when let loose, on the wall of the fortress ; the talisman would then fall and the fortress be taken. Ardashīr did so, and devastated the fortress after giving it up to pillage, and exterminating the inhabitants. He then departed with Naḍīrah, and married her. It happened afterwards that, one night, as she was unable to sleep and turned from side to side in the bed, Sābūr<sup>1</sup> asked her what prevented her from sleeping ? She replied: "I never yet, since the first moment of my existence, slept in a rougher bed than this; I feel something annoy me." Sābūr ordered the bed to be changed, but she was unable to sleep, and the next morning she complained of her side. On examination, a myrtle leaf was found adhering to a fold of the skin, from which it had brought blood. Astonished at the circumstance, Sābūr asked her if it was that which had kept her awake ? She replied in the affirmative. "How then," said he, "did your father bring you up ?" "He spread me a bed of satin, and clothed me in silk, and fed me with marrow and cream, and the honey of virgin bees, and he gave me pure wine to drink." "The same return which you made your father for his kindness," replied Sābūr, "would be made much more readily to me". He then ordered her to be tied by the hair to the tail of a horse, which galloped off with her and killed her. The ruins of al-Ḥaḍr are still in existence with the remains of various edifices, but, since that time, it has never been inhabited. This is a long narration and I insert it only on account of its singularity. I read in another historical work, that al-Battānī went to Baghdād, whence he set out again and died on his way, at the fortress of al-Ḥaḍr, in the year already mentioned. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (*No.* 763) says in his *Mushtarik* : "The fortress of al-Ḥaḍr is in the neighbourhood of Sāmarrāh, the city erected by al-Mu'taṣim" God knows best !

<sup>1</sup> The author meant to write *Ardashīr*. He commits the same fault lower down.

## 683 ABU 'I-WAFĀ AL-BŪZJĀNĪ

Abu 'I-Wafā Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn al-'Abbās al-Būzjānī, the celebrated calculator, was one of the most distinguished masters in the science of geometry, and he deduced from it certain corollaries which had till then remained undiscovered. Our *shaykh*, the very learned Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'I-Faṭḥ Mūsā Ibn Yūnus<sup>1</sup>, (may God be merciful to him!) was deeply skilled in that branch of knowledge and he highly extolled Abu 'I-Wafā's works, taking them as guides in most of his investigations and citing the author's words as a conclusive authority. He possessed a number of Abu 'I-Wafā's books. Abu 'I-Wafā composed a good and useful treatise on the manner of finding the length of the chords of arcs (*fī Istikhrāj al-Awtār*)<sup>2</sup>. He was born on Wednesday, the first of Ramaḍān, A.H. 328 (10th June, A.C. 940); at Būzjān, and he died A.H. 387 (A.C. 997)<sup>3</sup>. Būzjān is a small town of Kḥurāsān, between Herāt and Naysābūr. Abu 'I-Wafā visited 'Irāq in the year 348 (A.C. 959-60). I found the date of his birth, as given above, in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, by Abu 'I-Faraj Ibn al-Nadīm (No. 273), but that writer does not mention the year of his death. I therefore left it in blank when drawing up this article, hoping to find it later; as it was my main object in this work, as I have already said in the preface, to mark the dates on which distinguished individuals died. I afterwards found the year of

---

1 His life will be found in this work.

2 The *Bibliothèque imperiale* possesses an almagest attributed to Abu 'I-Wafā. In the *Tārīkh al-Jukamā* we find the following list of his works: the *Manāzil* (stations), a good arithmetical treatise; an explanation of al-Kḥuwārizmī's treatise on algebra; an explanation of the work of Diophantus on algebra; an explanation of Ibn Yaḥyā's work on algebra; the *Mudkḥil* or introduction to arithmetic; the *Kitāb al-Barāhīn fī 'I-Qaḍāyā fī mā ista'malahu Diofantos fī kitābih* (proofs of the rules employed by Diophantus in his work), the *Kitāb Istikhrāj mabalagh al-Ka'b bi-mel māl wa mā yatarakkab minhā* (the obtaining of the amount of the cube by a double multiplication, and of the other combination effected by that operation), an almagest, a treatise on the use of the sexagesimal table.

3 Abu 'I-Wafā continued to reside in Baḡhdād till his death. He died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 388 (June-July, A. C. 998) (*Tārīkh al-Jukamā*).

his death in the historical work of our *shaykh* Ibn al-Athīr (No. 435), and I inserted it here. Upwards of twenty years elapsed from the time in which I commenced this biographical work before I discovered the date of Abu 'l-Wafā's death.

#### 684 JĀR ALLĀH AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar al-Khuwārizmī al-Zamakhsharī, the great master (*imām*) in the sciences of Qur'ānic interpretation, the Traditions, grammar, philology, and rhetoric, was incontrovertibly the first *imām* of the age in which he lived, and he attracted students from all quarters by his lessons in various branches of knowledge<sup>1</sup>. He learned grammar from Abū Muḍar Maṣṣūr. Al-Zamakhsharī was the author of those admirable works, the *Kashshāf* (*revealer*), a production the like of which had never before appeared on the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*, the *Muḥājāt bi 'l-Masā'il al-Naḥwīyah* (*questions on points of grammar*); the *al-Mufrad wa 'l-Murakkab* [*the simple and compound (expression)*] in the Arabic language<sup>2</sup>; the *Fā'iqa* (*surpassing*), on the interpretation of the Traditions; the *Asās al-Balāghah* (*principles of eloquence*), a philological work; the *Rabī' al-Abrār* (*the vernal season of the just*)<sup>3</sup>; the *Fuṣūṣ al-Aḥbār* (*the signet-stones of histories*)<sup>4</sup>; the *Mutashābih Asmā al-Ruwāt* (*names of historical traditionists which are liable to be confounded with others*); the *al-Naṣā'ih al-Kibār* (*the great book of counsels*); the *al-Naṣā'ih al-Ṣiḡhār* (*the lesser book of counsels*); the *Ḍallat al-Nāshid* (*the stray camel of the seeker*); the *al-Shā'iq fi 'Ilm-al-Farā'id* (*the*

1 Literally : and the saddle-bags were tied (*on, to go*) unto him on account of his branches (*of science*). The tying on of saddle bags is a very usual expression.

2 This is a very vague title ; it may signify ; 1st., the simple and compound propositions ; 2dly, the second simple and compound numerals (see de Sacy's grammar, second edition, tom I. p. 417) ; 3dly, the simple and compound proper names,

3 Some copies of this work are in the *Bibliothèque imperiale*. It is a large collection of anecdotes, classed according to their subjects.

4 Perhaps historical facts and anecdotes which leave a lasting impression on the mind.

*instructor in the science of inheritance-shares*); the *Mufaṣṣal fī al-Naḥṣ* [drawn up in sections (faṣl)], a treatise on grammar<sup>1</sup>, the *al-Muḥrad wa 'l-Muwallaf* (simple and compound terms), a grammatical treatise; the *Anmūdḥaj* (specimen), a treatise on grammar (See de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*); the *Ru'ūs al-Masā'il* (leading questions), on jurisprudence; an explanation of the verses cited in the grammar of Sibawayh (No. 479); the *Mustaqṣl* (profound investigator), treating of the proverbs of the desert Arabs; the *Ṣamīm al-'Arabiyah* (the genius of the Arabic language); the *Sawā'ir al-Amthāl* (current proverbs); the *Diwān al-Tamaththul*\* (collection of similes); the *Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mān* [anemonies, being a treatise on the merits of (Abū Ḥanīfah) al-Nu'mān]; the *Shāfi 'l-'Ayyimin Kalām al-Shāfi'i* (the remedy of hesitation in speech, taken from the sayings of al-Shāfi'i); the *Qisṭās* (balance), on prosody; the *Mu'jam al-Ḥudūd* (lexicon of definitions); the *Minhāj* (highway), a treatise on the fundamentals (of theology); the *Muqaddamat al-Adab* (introduction to philological sciences); a *diwān* of epistles; a *diwān* of poetry; the *al-Risālat al-Nāṣiḥah* (epistle of good advice); *Amālī* (dictations) on various branches of science, etc. He commenced the composition of his *Mufaṣṣal* on the first of Ramaḍān, A.H. 513 (December, A.C. 1119)† and he finished it on the first of Muḥarram, A.H. 515 (March, A.C. 1121)‡. Previously to this he had travelled to Makkah and resided there for some time, whence he derived the title of *Jār Allāh* (neighbour or client of God), and he was designated by this appellation as by a proper name. I heard a certain *shaykh* say that al-Zamakhshari had lost one of his feet, and that he walked with a crutch<sup>2</sup>. He lost it in *Khuwārizm*, where he

1 I have discovered two copies of this excellent grammatical treatise in the *Bibliothèque impériale*. The Arabic text has since been printed at Christiana, in 1859, by Mr. Broch.

2 Or perhaps: With a wooden leg. The word *جلون* has been already rendered by *crutch* in No. 233, but it does not occur in our dictionaries.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: *Tamthīl*, which appears to be more correct reading.—Ed.

† 6 December.—Ed.

‡ 22 March.—Ed.

happened to be travelling; having encountered on his way a heavy storm of snow joined to an intense frost, his foot fell off. He carried with him a certificate attested by a great number of persons who knew the fact to be true; this he did lest those who were not acquainted with the real nature of the accident which had befallen him, might suppose that his foot had been cut off in punishment of some crime. The snow and frost frequently affect the extremities of the body in those regions and cause them to fall off. This is particularly the case in Khuwārizm, the cold being excessive in that country. I myself have seen numbers who lost the extremities of their body from that very cause; therefore the persons who have never witnessed such things should not consider them as improbable. I read in a historical work composed by a writer of later times, that, when al-Zamakhshari went to Baghdād, he had an interview with the Ḥanafite doctor al-Dāmaghānī<sup>1</sup>, who asked him how he lost his foot. To this question al-Zamakhshari replied: "Through an imprecation uttered by my mother: when a child, I caught a sparrow and tied a string to its leg; it escaped, however, into a hole, and, in trying to draw it out, I pulled its foot off with the string. My mother was so deeply grieved at this that she exclaimed; 'May God cut off the foot of that wretch<sup>2</sup> as he has cut off the foot of the sparrow!' When I reached the age at which students set out on their travels, I proceeded to Bukhārā in pursuit of knowledge, and broke my leg by a fall off the animal which I was riding. The results of this accident were so grave, that amputation became necessary." Almighty God best knows which of these statements is true! Al-Zamakhshari publicly professed the doctrines of the Mu'tazelites, and it is related that whenever he went to see any of his acquaintances, he used to have himself announced by the door-keeper as Abu 'l-Qāsim the

---

1 Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Dāmaghānī, a jurisconsult of the Ḥanafite sect, acted for some time as Qāḍī of al-Karakh (the suburb of Baghdād). Having resigned his office, he cast aside the 'aylasān, (doctor's hood or scarf and entered into the service of the khalīf as chamberlain (*hājib*). He was of a noble and generous character, and an able statesman. He died A.H. 518 (A.C. 1124-5). (*Nujūm*.)

2 The word عبد, the superlative of عبد is frequently employed with the sense of *accursed wretch*.

Mu'tazilite. When he first composed his *Kashshāf*, he commenced the introduction of it with these words : *Praise be unto God Who hath created the Qur'ān*<sup>1</sup>, and on being told that, if he let the passage stand so, the public would reject his book and no one would wish to procure it, he altered the phrase thus : *Praise be unto God Who hath established (Ja'ala) the Qur'ān* ; the verb *to establish*, bearing with them (*the Mu'tazilites*), the signification of *to create*. The examination of this point would lead us, however, too far. In a great number of copies I have read *Praise be unto God who hath sent down (anzala) the Qur'ān*, but this is a correction made by other persons, not by the author. The *hāfiẓ* Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Silafī (No. 43) addressed a letter from Alexandria to al-Zamakhsharī, who was then making a devotional residence at Makkah, requesting from him a licence to teach his works and that information which he had gathered from al-Zamakhsharī's own lips. The latter returned an unsatisfactory reply, and, the following year, al-Silafī wrote to him by a pilgrim, renewing his application, and requesting a licence in the most pressing manner. Towards the conclusion of his letter, he said : "Let not (*your reverence*), and may God continue to favour you, place me under the necessity of renewing my application ; for the distance is great, and already, last year, you answered in a manner which did not satisfy my wishes. In acceding to my request, you will lay me under deep obligation."<sup>2</sup> I shall here give a part of al-Zamakhsharī's reply, and were I not unwilling to lengthen this article, I would give both the request and the answer : "I, amongst the illustrious learned, am like a dim star amongst the luminaries of the heavens ; like a cloud devoid of water compared with the clouds of morning which cover the plains and the hills with their fertilizing showers ; like the race-horse distanced by his competitors ; like the kite among the nobler birds. To entitle a man *the very learned* ('*allāmah*) is like placing the points on the '*alāmah*'<sup>3</sup>. Learning is a city which none can

1 According to the orthodox Muslim doctrine, the *Qur'ān* is the created or eternal word of God. The Mu'tazilites taught the contrary.

2 Literally : and to him (*to you*) in return for that (*may there be*) an ample recompense.

3 To understand this, it must be recollected that certain official papers must receive the sultān's '*alāmah*' before they can be considered as valid. The



enter but by knowledge acquired from books or oral transmission : these are its two gates, and at either I should appear with a very slight stock of acquirements, and (*in that place*) my shadow (*appearance*) would be even less than that of a pebble (*in the plain*). As for the knowledge I have acquired from oral transmission, I derive it from a low and shallow source<sup>1</sup>, and it is unsupported by the authority of men versed in erudition or illustrious for talent : as for the knowledge I have acquired from books, it is a mere pool, not deep enough to reach the mouth ; a slight drop, insufficient to wet the lips." Further on he says, mentioning at the same time the pieces of poetry composed in his praise by poets and men of talent ; pieces which it is unnecessary to reproduce : "Let not the words of such a one or of such a one respecting me lead thee into delusion, for that proceeded from their being deceived by the varnished exterior (*of my reputation*) and from their ignorance of my foul interior ; and perhaps they might have been led into error by the good services which they saw me render to the true believers, by my extreme condescension for those who sought instruction, by my disinterested conduct towards them, by the kindness and the favours which I bestowed upon them, by my independent spirit which scorned worldly cares, by my attending to my own concerns and avoiding to meddle in those of others. I may have thus appeared a great man in their eyes, and they, being mistaken as to my real worth, attributed to me (*virtues*) which I had not the slightest right to claim. In saying this, I do not mean to depreciate my real merit and act according to the saying of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*No. 148*) who observed, in allusion to Abū Bakr's addressing (*the Muslims*) in these words : *I have become*

(Continued from page 217)

'*alāmah* consists in a short phrase or motto written in large characters on the document. As each prince has a particular '*alāmah* which he never changes, every person knows it familiarly and can read it at first sight, even though the diacritical points, so essential in Arabic writing, be omitted, as is usually the case. *Al-Zamakḥsharī* here means to say that '*alāmah* (*the very learned*) is as vain an addition to a man's name as the points are to an '*alāmah* ; if the man be really learned, every one knows it, and the title is needless. Al-Silafī had evidently styled him *the very learned* in the address of the letter ; and this title al-Zamakḥsharī, with affected modesty, disclaims.

<sup>1</sup> Literally : it is recent in origin and inferior in authority.

*your chief, but I am not the best of you*<sup>1</sup>, that it was the duty of the true believer to depreciate his own merits. (*This is by no means my case*); I only tell the truth to one who inquires into my character and my acquirements in oral and written learning, who desires to know the masters whom I met and under whom I studied, and to appreciate the extent of my learning and the limits of my talent. I have therefore acquainted him with my real character, communicated to him the secret which I kept concealed, displayed to him all my hidden defects, and told him of my origin and rise<sup>2</sup>. The place of my birth is an obscure village in Khuwārizm, called Zamakhshar; and I heard my father, to whom God be merciful! say: 'An Arab of the desert who happened to pass by, asked the name of this place and of its chief man; having received for answer, Zamakhshar and *al-Ridād*, he observed that there was no good either in *sharr* (evil) or *radd* (repulse) and would not go near it. I was born in the month of Rajab, 467. To God all praise is due; may the divine blessing be on Muḥammad, his family, and his Companions<sup>3</sup>!' Such was the termination of this certificate in which al-Zamakhshari expatiated widely without returning a positive answer to al-Silafi's request<sup>4</sup>. I do not know if he gave him a licence at a later period. In traditional information, one person only intervened between me and al-Zamakhshari: he had given a licence to Zaynab, the daughter of al-Sha'ri, and I received one from her, as I have already mentioned (*No. 235*). Amongst the verses of al-Zamakhshari which are in general circulation, we may notice the following:

1 Abū Bakr's address to the Muslims in Kosegarten's *Ṭaharī*, part I, p. 21.

2 Literally: *of my seed and of my tree*.

3 M. Hamaker has given the text of Ibn Khallikān's notice on al-Zamakhshari, with a Latin translation and learned notes, in his *Specimen Catalogi MSS., Luyd. Bat.* In some cases he appears to me to have adopted false readings and the manner in which he has rendered this letter is by no means satisfactory.

4 Ibn Khallikān should have informed us what impression this singular letter left on al-Silafi's mind. Al-Zamakhshari, in a tone of the deepest modesty, affects to disclaim every title to learning and renown, whilst he very adroitly enumerates his own good qualities and cites all the poems composed in his honour. I suspect that this ironical production imposed equally upon the simplicity of al-Silafi and of our author.

speaking of them, al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*), who mentions the author in his *Supplement*, says: "The following lines were dictated to me from memory, at Samarkand, by Aḥmad Ibn Maḥmūd al-Khūwārizmī who stated that they had been recited to him at Khūwārizm by al-Zamakḥsharī as his own":

"Tell Su'dā that we want her not; and that she need not borrow the large eyes of the gazelles (*to tempt us still*). For we now bound our desires to one whose eyes are narrow<sup>1</sup>, and God will reward those who bound their desires. She (*whom I love*) is fair<sup>2</sup> and scornful; but I have never yet found, in this world, pure enjoyment, unmixed with pain. Never shall I forget the time when I courted her near the meadow, on the bank of the lake which received the waterfall: 'Bring me a rose.' Said I meaning the rose of her cheeks; but she understood me not and answered: 'Wait for me; in the twinkling of an eye I will bring it.' 'Nay,' I replied, 'I cannot wait.' 'There is no rose here,' said she, 'except these cheeks,' ' 'Tis well,' said I, 'what you have there will do.' "

In an elegy on the death of Abū Muḍar Maṣṣūr, the (*grammarian*) above-mentioned, he said:

"She said: 'What pearls (*tears*) are those which fall in two lines from your eyes?' I replied: 'These are the pearls (*maxims*) with which Abū Muḍar filled my ears and which now fall from my eyes.' "

This is similar to the following, by the *qāḍī* Abū Bakr al-Aṭṭāṣī (*No. 62*): as they were contemporaries, I am unable to say which of them borrowed the thought from the other:

"I wept merely on hearing the news of their departure whispered to me by one who bade me adieu. Those (*tears*) are the pearls which they deposited in my ears, and which I now pour forth from my eyes."

1 This perhaps means: one who closes her eyes as if to sleep.

2 Here all the pronouns and adjectives which refer to the beloved are in the masculine gender. Throughout Islāmism, from India to Spain, an extreme corruption of morals prevailed among the higher classes, the doctors of the law and the poets. Al-Zamakḥsharī himself appears to have followed the current.\*

\* This baseless accusation indicates the prejudice of the translator.—Ed.

These verses are taken from a long and brilliant *qaṣīdah*. The following piece, attributed to al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil (No. 349), contains a similar idea :

"Bestow not on me a second glance ; the first sufficed to repay my love. I have words of yours treasured in my heart ; never shall I deny the treasure which love confided to my care. Receive now in drops from my eyes those treasures which you deposited in my ears."

Amongst the passages by other poets which he cited in the *Kashshāf*, he introduces the following, in his commentary on these words of the *sūrah* of the Cow : *God is not ashamed to propose any parable whatsoever ; a gnat, or an object surpassing it (littleness) ; (Qur'ān, Surah 2, verse 24).*

"O thou who seest the gnat spread its wings in the darkness of the gloomy night, who observest the veins in its neck and the marrow in those slender bones,—pardon a servant who hath repented of the faults committed in his youth."

A man of talent who recited these lines to me in Aleppo, told me that al-Zamkhasharī had given directions that they should be inscribed on his own tomb. The same person then recited to me the verses which follow, and informed me that the author designed them for his own epitaph :

"Almighty God ! here in the bosom of the earth, I have become Thy guest ; and the rights of the guest are acknowledged by every generous host. As a gift of hospitality bestow on me the pardon of my sins ; the gift is great, but great is Thy hospitality."

A friend of mine mentioned to me that he found the following lines inscribed, at Sawākin, on the tomb of 'Aziz al-Dawlah Rihān, the prince of that island :

"Know, O men ! that death hindered me from obtaining the object of my hopes. Let that man who hath the power of acting before the arrival of death, fear the Lord. I am not the only person brought to this state ; all shall be brought to the same state as mine."

Al-Zamak<sup>h</sup>sharī was born on Wednesday, the 27th of Rajab, A.H. 467 (18th March, A.C. 1075), at Zamak<sup>h</sup>shar, and he died on the 9th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, A.H. 538 (13th June, A.C. 1144), at Jurjāniyah, in Khuwārizm, subsequently to his return from Makkah. An elegy composed on his death contained the following line :

"The land of Makkah drops tears from its eyes through grief for the departure of Jār Allāh Maḥmūd."

Zamak<sup>h</sup>shar is a large village in Khuwārizm. Jurjāniyah is the capital of Khuwārizm; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī says, in his *Kitāb al-Buldān* : "This city is called *Kurkānj* in the language of the inhabitants, but this name has been arabicized into Jurjāniyah. It is situated on the bank of the Jayḥūn (*Oxus*).<sup>1</sup> "

#### 685 ABŪ ṬĀLIB AL-QĀDĪ AL-IṢBAHĀNĪ

Abū Ṭālib Maḥmūd Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi 'l-Rajā al-Tamīmī al-Iṣbahānī (a member of the tribe of Tamīm and a native of Iṣbahān), generally known by the appellation of al-Qāḍī and the author of a *Ṭariqah*, or system of controversy, studied jurisprudence under Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā the martyr (No. 565). He excelled in controversy and composed on that art a *ta'liqah* (No. 311) which attested his eminent talent, his skill in the investigation of truth, and his superiority over nearly all his rivals. This work, in which he combined (the principles of) jurisprudence with (their) demonstration, became the text book of professors in their lessons on controversy and those who did not refer to it were only prevented from doing so by the inability of their mind to seize on its subtle reasonings. Great numbers studied with profit under his tuition, and he obtained the reputation of being a most able doctor. He possessed the highest abilities as a preacher and was versed in many sciences. He taught for some time at Iṣbahān, and died in the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 585 (Nov.-Dec., A. C. 1189).

1 A complete and elegant edition of al-Zamak<sup>h</sup>sharī's *Kashshāf*, accompanied with the *Qur'ānic text*, has been printed at Calcutta, in 1856, by Mr. Nassau Lees. It forms two large volumes in quarto.

## 686 MAḤMŪD IBN SUBUKTIKĪN

Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, the son of Nāṣir al-Dawlah Abū Maṣṣūr Subuktikīn, bore, at first, the surname of Sayf al-Dawlah (*sword of the empire*), but, on being nominated to the sulṭānate, after the death of his father, by the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Qādir bi-Allāh, he received from him the titles of Yamīn al-Dawlah (*right hand of the empire*) and Amīn al-Millāh (*the trusty friend of the faith*). It was by these appellations that he continued to be known. His father Subuktikīn arrived at Bukhārā in the reign of Nūḥ Ibn Maṣṣūr, one of those Sāmānid kings of whom we have spoken in the life of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Rāzī the physician (*No. 680*), to which city he had accompanied Abū Ishāq Albtikīn<sup>1</sup>, in the quality of grand chamberlain. As he was the main director of all Albtikīn's affairs, his intelligence and decision of character led the great officers of the empire to prognosticate his future elevation. When Abū Ishāq went to replace his father as governor of Ghaznah, the amīr Subuktikīn accompanied him as commander of his troops and grand chamberlain. Abū Ishāq died soon after his arrival, and as none of his relations were capable of replacing him, the people felt the necessity of choosing a ruler. After some debates, they agreed to confer the command on Subuktikīn, and, having engaged their fealty towards him they acknowledged his authority. When his power was solidly established, he began to make hostile inroads on the frontiers of India, and he took a great number of fortresses in that country. Numerous combats, too long to relate, were fought between him and the Hindūs, and a short period sufficed to increase the extent of his empire, form a mighty army, replenish his coffers, and fill every soul with the terror of his name. One of his conquests was the territory of Bust, and amongst the prisoners who then fell into his power was Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Bustī, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*No. 445*), and who was then secretary to Bāi Tūz\*<sup>2</sup>, the king of that country.

1 Who was general of the armies of Khurāsān, according to the historian al-'Utbi, in his *Yamīn*.

2 Or *Pa'i Tūz* according the MS. of al-'Utbi.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives Abū Nūr.—Ed.

Al-Bustī entered into the service of Subuktikīn and became his prime minister and confident; but the history of these events would lead us too far. The amīr Subuktikīn at length fell sick at Balkh, to which city he had proceeded from Tūs, and, feeling a longing desire of again seeing Ghāznah, he set out for that place, ill as he was, and died on the way, in the month of Sha'bān, A. H. 387 (Augu.-Sept., A. C. 997). His body was placed in a coffin and carried to Ghāznah. A number of contemporary poets composed elegies on his death, and the following lines were pronounced on the same subject by his *kātib* Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī:

"On the death of Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawlah (*the champion of religion and of the state*), I said: 'May the Lord receive him with honour! The empire which he founded threatens ruin; it is thus, that the day of judgement will arrive (*unforeseen*)!'"

Some time after his death, a man of talent passed by the palace, and perceiving it much dilapidated, pronounced these lines:

"On thee, solitary dwelling! may God bestow his benediction! thou hast unconsciously awakened in my bosom feelings of love long dormant. A month ago, I saw thee quite new; alas! I did not think that the vicissitudes of time could ruin these abodes within a month!"

The amīr Subuktikīn nominated for successor his son Ismā'īl and recommended to his protection his other sons and the rest of his family. The grand chamberlains and the principal generals of the army having embraced the cause of the new monarch and acknowledged his authority, he took his seat on the throne of the sultānate, issued his mandates and examined the state of the public treasury. Whilst Ismā'īl was thus exercising his power at Ghāznah, his brother, the sultān Maḥmūd, wrote to him from Balkh in Khurāsān, on receiving intelligence of his father's death. In this document, which was drawn up in a very conciliatory style, he said: "My father appointed you his successor and preferred you to myself, because I did not happen to be near him when he died; had I been there, he would not have done so. It is therefore our interest to share in his wealth between as an

inheritance and that you remain at Ghaznah, where you are, whilst I govern Khurāsān. In this agreement we shall find our mutual advantage and frustrate the hopes of our enemies. On the contrary, if the public discover that dissensions have arisen between us, their respect for us will be diminished." Ismā'il refused acceding to this proposal, and, being of a weak and easy temper, he yielded to the turbulence of the soldiery and emptied his treasuries to satisfy their exorbitant demands. Maḥmūd then set out for Hirāt and wrote again to his brother, but his efforts only served to augment Ismā'il's false security. Having succeeded in obtaining the support of his uncle Dighrājuq and of his brother Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr Ibn Subuktikīn, who was then governing the province of Bust and who hastened to obey his orders and follow him, he felt that with these allies he could boldly undertake to attack his brother Ismā'il in Ghaznah. Having laid siege to the city at the head of an immense army, he carried it after a severe conflict. Ismā'il, being forced to take refuge in the citadel, appealed to the clemency of his brother Maḥmūd, and, having obtained his pardon, he surrendered to the conqueror and delivered up the keys of his treasures. The sultān Maḥmūd then proceeded to Balkh after leaving some experienced officers as his lieutenants at Ghaznah. Subsequently to this conquest, he had a friendly interview with his brother Ismā'il, and said to him : "What would you have done to me, had I fallen into your power ?" The captive prince being then excited by wine, replied with his usual sincerity : "I should have sent you to a castle and provided you abundantly with whatever you required ; with a dwelling, pages, female slaves, and sufficient means for your support." Maḥmūd immediately resolved on treating him in the same manner; and, having sent him off to a fortress, he ordered the governor to furnish the prisoner with whatever he desired. When the sultān Maḥmūd had fully established his authority, he encountered in battle and defeated some of the lieutenants whom the Sāmānid sultān of Transoxiana had established in different parts of Khurāsān. The province of Khuwārizm was thus detached from the Sāmānid empire in the year 389 (A. C. 999), and passed under the domination of Maḥmūd. His power being now consolidated, the *imām* (*Khalif*) al-Qādir bi-Allāh sent him the imperial robe and



conferred on him the titles mentioned in the commencement of this article. Seated on the throne of the empire with the amirs of *Khurāsān* drawn up in a double line before him to pay him homage and testify their respect, Maḥmūd authorised them to sit down after having given public audience. He then engaged with them in friendly conversation and bestowed on each of them and on his pages, the officers of his court, his favourites and his servants, an incredible quantity of pelisses and valuable presents. The whole authority being now in his hands, and the provinces of the empire being completely united under his sway, he imposed on himself the duty of making every year an expedition into India. In the year 393 (A. C. 1002-3), he obtained possession of Sijistān, without striking a blow; the generals and governors who commanded there having consented to acknowledge his authority. He still continued to pursue his conquests in India, and he carried his arms into regions which the banner of Islāmism had never yet reached, and where no *sūrah* nor verse of the *Qur'ān* had ever been chanted before. Having purified that country from the filth of polytheism, he built in it numerous mosques and places of prayer; but the history of these proceedings would lead us too far. On achieving the conquest of India, he wrote to the court (*al-Dīwān al-'Aẓīz*) of Baghdād a letter in which he enumerated the cities of that country which God had subdued by means of his arms, and mentioned that he had broken the idol called *Sūmnāt*\* : "According to the Hindūs," said he, "this idol giveth life, inflicteth death, worketh what it willeth, and decideth what it pleaseth : if it fell inclined, it cureth every malady, and it sometimes happens, to their eternal misery, that sick pilgrims on visiting it are cured by the goodness of the air and by exercise; this increaseth their delusion, and crowds come to it on foot and on horse back from distant countries; if they obtain not the healing of their maladies, they attribute it to their sins, and say; 'He that does not serve him faithfully, meriteth not from him an answer.' They believe in transmigration, and pretend that the souls, on quitting the bodies, assemble near this idol, and are born again in whatever bodiest it pleaseth. They believe also that the ebb and flow of the sea

\* The Egyptian edition gives : *Sūsnān* : which is a mistake.—Ed.

are the signs by which that element adores it. In consequence of these opinions, they go in pilgrimage to it from distant countries and *from every deep valley*<sup>1</sup>: they offer it presents of the highest value, and there is not in the countries of India and Sind, even in the farthest borders and in those regions where a different religion is professed, a king or a subject who hath not offered to this idol the most precious portion of his wealth, hence, the *wagfs*<sup>2</sup> settled on it consist of ten thousand well-known villages of those countries, and its treasury is filled with all kinds of riches. It was served by one thousand Brahmins; three hundred barbers were there to shave the heads and beards of the pilgrims on their arrival; three hundred youths and five hundred females sang and danced at its gate, and each individual of these classes received a fixed sum out of the *wagfs* settled on the idol." The Muslim army was separated from the fortress containing this false divinity by a desert of thirty days' journey, notorious for want of water and the difficulty of its roads, which are always covered by the sands. The sulṭān Maḥmūd having selected thirty thousand horsemen out of his numerous army and spent immense sums on their equipment, marched with them against the fortress, which they found to be strongly fortified. After a siege of three days, they carried it and entered into the house of the idol. Around its throne, they remarked a great number of other idols, some of them in gold and others ornamented with every variety of precious stones. According to the Hindus these were angels. The Muslims burned the idol, and found in its ears upwards of thirty rings. Maḥmūd asked the people the meaning of those rings, and was informed that each of them represented one thousand years of adoration; believing, as they did, in the eternity of the world, they pretended that their idol had been worshipped during more than thirty thousand years, and that a ring was placed in its ear at the expiration of each thousand years' worship. The details on this subject would lead us however too far. Our *shaykh* Ibn al-Aṭṭār (No. 435) states in his History, under the year 414. that a king of one of the fortresses in India

---

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 23, verse 28.

2 See No. 21, note.

made him (*Maḥmūd*) a great number of presents, one of which was a bird in the form of a dove, the eyes of which watered when poisoned food was served at table. This water, on flowing out, changed into stone, which, when rubbed and applied to the widest wounds, healed them up. The learned Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utḡī composed on the life of Maḥmūd a celebrated work, called *al-Yamīnī*<sup>1</sup>. Towards the commencement of this history he says "He reigned over the East and its two extremities ; over the bosom of the universe and its two arms, and that, for the purpose of ranging the fourth climate, with the contiguous portions of the third and the fifth, under the rule of his empire ; of getting its ample kingdoms, and extended states into the grasp of his possession ; of reducing its amīrs and grandees with royal titles under his sway as tributaries ; of making them take refuge from the strokes of fortune under the shade of his empire and his government ; of humbling the monarchs of the earth before his might ; of filling them with the dread of his majesty ; of making them apprehend the suddenness of his attacks, though distant their abodes, and despite the intervention of mountains and valleys ; of forcing the Hindūs to hide in the bosom of the earth at the mention of his name, and of making them shudder before the blasts coming from his country ; for, from the time of his quitting the cradle and leaving the breast, from the moment that speech undid the knot of his tongue and that he could express his thoughts without the aid of signs, he had occupied his tongue with prayer and with the *Qur'ān*, enflamed his soul with the love of the sword and the spear, extended his ambition towards the highest aims, and fixed his wishes on the governing of the universe. With his companions, his sports were serious, his toils incessant : grieving over that of which he had no knowledge till he knew it well, sad before difficulties till he smoothed them by main force." <sup>2</sup>

---

1 See No. 670, note on *Yamīnī*, where in some copies, the title of al-'Utḡī's work is incorrectly transcribed al-Yamanī. The *Bibliothèque impériale* possesses two ancient and excellent MSS. of the *Yamīnī*. It is with shreds and scraps of this work that Ibn Khallikān has composed the greater part of the present article.

2 This is not an unfair specimen of al-'Utḡī's inflated style. The whole book is written in the same strain.

The Imām al-Ḥaramayn (No. 353) mentions, in his work entitled *Mughīth al-Khalq fī Ikhtiyār il-Aḥaqq* (assister of Gods creatures in the selection of what is fittest), that the sultān Maḥmūd followed the rite of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, and being zealously devoted to the science of the Traditions, the *shaykhs* used to teach them in his presence and explain to him their meaning when required. Perceiving that the greater part of those sayings agreed (in their prescriptions) with the doctrines of the imām al-Shāfi'i (No. 532), he conceived doubts (respecting the excellence of the rite which he professed and convoked in Marw a meeting of Shāfi'ite and Ḥanafite jurisconsults for the purpose of obtaining their opinion on the relative superiority of these two systems. The jurisconsults agreed that a prayer of two *rak'ahs* should be said in the presence of the sultān, first according to the rite of al-Shāfi'i and then according to the rite of Abū Ḥanīfah, so that he might examine and reflect, and choose that which was the better. These prayers were said by al-qaffāl al-Marwazī (No. 309), who commenced by a complete purification and the fulfilment of all the conditions requisite (for the validity of the prayer), such as the purification, the *sutrah*<sup>1</sup>, and the turning towards the *qiblah*; he then proceeded with the main points (*arkān*), the postures (*hiyat*), the consecrated usages (*sunan*) the acts prescribed by decorum (*ādāb*), and those imposed as obligations *farā'id* accomplishing them all fully and perfectly; this being the only manner of prayer authorised by al-Shāfi'i. He then commenced a prayer of two *rak'ahs* such as was allowed by Abū Ḥanīfah, and, having clothed himself in the curried skin of a dog<sup>2</sup>, and daubed one fourth of his body with an impure matter<sup>3</sup>, he made an ablution with date wine<sup>4</sup>, (being in the

1 The *sutrah* means any thing put up before one engaged in prayer to prevent others from intruding on his devotion: it may be a stone, a pillow, a spear, a sabre, a lamp, etc.

2 According to the Ḥanafite doctrine, the tanned skin of every animal, except the hog, is pure. See d'Ohsson's. *tome. II*, p. 32).

3 The excrements of every animal not fit for food invalidate the prayer, if they cover more than one fourth of the body, or of the dress, or of the oratory. (Ḥanafite doctrine, in d'Ohsson, t. II, p. 9).

4 The expressed juice of every plant and fruit is impure, except the juice of the date (*nabīdh*), says Abū Ḥanīfah. A tradition on this matter is set forth in the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*, translation of Matthews, vol. 1, page 108.

heart of summer and in the desert, he was soon surrounded by flies and gnats); this ablution being performed in the contrary way<sup>1</sup>, he turned towards the *qiblah* and began the prayer without having manifested the intention of doing so whilst making the purification<sup>2</sup>, he then pronounced the *takbir* in Persian, after which he read this verse of the *Qur'ān* in Persian; *du bargak sabz*<sup>3</sup>, and stooped his head to the ground twice, like a cock picking up corn<sup>4</sup>, without leaving any interval between these motions and without making the prostration; he next pronounced the profession of faith (*tashahhud*) and finished by breaking wind backwards<sup>5</sup>, without even marking the intention of pronouncing the salutation. "Such," said he, "O sultān! is Abū Ḥanīfah's mode of prayer". The prince replied: "If it be not so, I shall put you to death, for no religious man would authorise such a prayer." The Ḥanafite doctors denied it to be their master's, on which al-Qaffāl ordered Abū Ḥanīfah's books to be brought in,

---

1 The regular mode of making the ablution will be found in d'Ohsson, tome. II, p. 14.

2 See on the *niyah* or *intention* what d'Ohsson says in his *Tub. gen.* t. II, p. 75.

3 These words mean *two green leaves*. They are a very inadequate translation of the word *ملءا متان* which alone forms the 64th verse of the 55th sūrah of the *Qur'ān*. The final *k* of *bargak* I suppose to be the sign of the diminutive. In the Ḥanafite law-books, it is laid down that at least three verses of the *Qur'ān* should be recited during the prayer. Perhaps Abū Ḥanīfah may have said that three words of it sufficed. The *Shāfi'ites* do not admit the validity of the prayer in which the passages of the *Qur'ān* are pronounced in any other language than Arabic.

4 This is however condemned by Muḥammad (see Matthews' *Mishkāṭ*, vol. I, p. 186) and by the Ḥanafites themselves (see d' Ohsson, tome. II, p. 89).

5 Had the prayer not been already finished, this alone would have rendered it invalid. In the *Naẓm al-Jumʿān*, a treatise on the Ḥanafite sect by Ibn Duqmāq, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale* No. 741, fol. 136, will be found a refutation of this anecdote. The author attributes to the *Shāfi'ites* the ridiculous form of prayer which gave such scandal to the sultān, who, says he, was induced by their unfair conduct to become a Ḥanafite. He mentions there that Yamin al-Dawlah composed a treatise on Ḥanafite jurisprudence, entitled *Kitāb al-Tarīd*, a work which bear a high reputation in *Ghaznah*, *India*, and *Sind*. Ibn Duqmāq's refutation does not appear to me conclusive. The MS. in question is written in the hand writing of the author.

and the sultān directed a Christian scribe to read aloud the system of each *imām*. It was then found that the mode of prayer as represented by al-Qaffāl was really authorised by Abū Ḥanīfah; and the sultān abandoned the Ḥanafite rite for that of al-Shāfi'i. So far the Imām al-Ḥaramayn. The sultān Maḥmūd was distinguished for his meritorious acts and the virtue of his conduct. His birth took place on the 9th of Muḥarram, A. H. 361 (November, A. C. 971)\*, and he died in the month of the second Rabi' or on the 11th of Ṣafar†, A. H. 421 (April, A. C. 1030), at Ghaznah. Some place his death in the year 422. His son Muḥammad, whom he had designated for successor, then mounted the throne, and united in his favour the vows of all classes by a prodigal distribution of donations. When he had established his power, he received a letter from his brother Abū Sa'id Mas'ūd, who happened to be absent when their father died and had then set out from Naysābūr. The courage of Mas'ūd and his highly dignified bearing gained him the hearts of the people and, as he pretended that the *imām* al-Qādir bi-Allāh had invested him with the government of Khurāsān and conferred on him the title of al-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh (*the champion of God's religion*) with the pelisse, the collar, and the bracelets, he succeeded in forming a strong party, whilst his brother neglected the administration of the state and plunged into a life of pleasure. The troops having at length resolved on dethroning him and transferring the supreme authority to Mas'ūd, they arrested Muḥammad and imprisoned him in a fortress. The amīr Mas'ūd, having thus obtained possession of the kingdom, had numerous encounters, too long to relate, with the Saljūqids. In the life of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād we have related the dream concerning Mas'ūd<sup>1</sup>, and to that article we refer the reader. He was slain in the year 430 (A. C. 1038-9)<sup>2</sup>, and his empire fell into the possession of the Saljūqids. Of these events we have already given a sketch in the life of Tughrul Bek, the Saljūqid (No. 664). and related Mas'ūd's conduct

1 This anecdote is not to be found in any of our MSS.

2 In 432, according to Abu 'l-Feda and Ibn al-Athīr.

\* 1 November.—Ed.

† 18 February.—Ed.

towards them, with the manner in which they conquered the empire. Pronounce *Subuktikīn*. The words *du bargak sabz* signify *two (small) green leaves*, and this is the meaning of the word *mudhāmmatāni* which occurs in the *Qur'ān*<sup>1</sup>.

### 687 MAḤMŪD THE SALJŪQID

Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Malik Shāh Ibn Alp Arslān al-Saljūqī, surnamed Mughith al-Dīn (*assister of religion*), was one of the most illustrious monarchs of the Saljūq dynasty. We have already spoken of his father (*No.* 666) and some of his relatives, and, in the sequel, we shall notice his grandfather and other members of the same family. In the life of al-'Azīz ('*Azīz al-Dīn*) Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Ibn Ḥāmid al-Iṣbahānī (*No.* 76), the uncle of the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (*No.* 678), we have indicated some facts concerning him. Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd obtained the sultānate on the death of his father, and, on Friday, the 23rd of Muḥarram, A.H. 512 (May, A.C. 1118)\*, in the *khalīfate* of al-Mustaẓhir bi-Allāh, prayers were offered up for him in the city of Baghdād, according to the custom of that court in its proceedings with the Saljūq monarchs. He was then at the age of puberty, full of liveliness and intelligence, and well versed in Arabic; he knew by heart a great quantity of poetry and proverbs; in history and biography he displayed considerable acquirements and he manifested a strong predilection for men of learning and virtue. The poet Ḥayṣ-Bayṣ (*No.* 241) went from 'Irāq for the purpose of seeing him, and celebrated his praises in the well-known *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *d*, which begins thus:

“Unsaddle the camels, now emaciated and submissive to the rein, and let them feed; long has been thy nocturnal march, and

---

<sup>1</sup> *Mudhāmmatāni* signifies *two gardens of a dark green colour*.

\* 17 May.—Ed.

the deserts complain under the heavy tread of thy caravan. O you who travel by night ! fear no longer sterility or danger ; (*here*) the shrubs are tender and the sultān is Maḥmūd. By the awe which he inspires, extremes, as I told, are united ; and, in the narrow path leading to the fountain, the sheep and the wolf walk together."

For this long and brilliant poem he received from the sultān an ample recompense. Maḥmūd married successively the two daughters of his uncle, the sultān Sinjar (*No.* 260), as we have already mentioned in the life of al-'Aziz al-Iṣbahānī. Towards the end of his reign the empire was much enfeebled and its revenues were so greatly reduced that, one day, being unable to furnish the necessary funds to the brewer, he ordered some of the (*empty*) treasure-chests to be given him, that he might sell them and purchase what he required. A short time before his death, Maḥmūd went to Baghdād, and on his return, he fell sick on the way. His malady having increased in violence, he died on Thursday, the 15th of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 525 (10th September, A.C. 1131). Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī<sup>1</sup> states, in his History, that he died on the 15th of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 524\*, at the gate of Iṣbahān. He was buried in that city and had for successor his brother Tuḡhrul Bek. This prince died A.H. 527, and his brother Mas'ūd succeeded to the throne. We shall give his life. Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad, was the same who besieged Baghdād with Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Baktīn, the prince of Arbela, in the year 552 (A.C. 1157), or 553, according to the statement made by our *shaykh* Ibn al-Athīr (*No.* 435), in his lesser historical work, entitled (*al-Atābiki*)<sup>2</sup>. Muḥammad Shāh died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A.H. 554 (Dec.-Jan., A.C. 1159-60). We have marked the date of Zayn al-Dīn's death in our article on his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn, prince of Arbela (*No.* 522). Muḥammad Shāh died outside the walls of Hamadān : he was born in the month of the latter Rabi' A.H. 522 (April, A.C. 1128).

1 See farther on in the life of Mas'ūd al-Saljūqī.

2 This is a history of the Atābeks of Moḥul.

\* 21 September, A.C. 1130. —Ed.



## 688 AL-MALIK AL-'ĀDIL NŪR AL-DĪN

Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, surnamed al-Malik al-'Ādil (*the just prince*) Nūr al-Dīn (*light of religion*), was the son of 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī (*No.* 229), the son of Āq-Sunqur (*No.* 99). On the death of his father at the siege of Qala't Ja'bar, he was serving under his orders, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ayyūb al-Yaghīsānī\* having then passed into his service, he marched with the Syrian army to Aleppo and occupied that city the same year, while his brother Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī (*No.* 495) took possession of the city and province of Moṣul. On the third of Ṣafar. A.H. 549 (April, A.C. 1154)†, Nūr al-Dīn laid seige to Damascus, which was then under the rule of Mujīr al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Aybik‡, the son of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī, the son of Ṣahīr al-Dīn Ṭuḡtikīn, the *atābek* of the prince Duqāq¹, the son of Tutuṣh, and, on Sunday, the 9th of the same month§, he occupied the city and gave Emessa to Mujīr al-Dīn Aybik in exchange. He subsequently deprived Aybik of Emessa and bestowed on him the town of Bālis.|| Aybik removed thither, and after residing there for some time, he proceeded to Baghdād, in the reign of the *imām* al-Muqtafī (*li-Amr Allāh*), and obtained from that *khalīf* a pension for his support. The *atābek* Mu'īn al-Dīn (*Aner*) Ibn 'Abd Allāh was an enfranchised slave of Ṭuḡtikīn, Aybik's great-grandfather. Nūr al-Dīn then subdued the other cities of Syria, such as Ḥamāt and Ba'lbek, of which he re-edified the walls, and he occupied the places intervening between those two capitals and Manbij of which he also obtained possession. He took besides a number of fortresses on the frontiers of Asia Minor, such as Mar'ash and Bahasrā, the former in the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah* A. H. 568 (June-July, A.C. 1173), and the latter in *Dhu 'l-Hijjah* of the same year (July-Aug.) Towards the end of the month of Ramaḍān, A.H. 559 (August, A.C. 1164), he had reduced

1 Such is the correct pronunciation of this name, which has been incorrectly transcribed *Daqāq* in the life of Tutuṣh. (See *No.* 119.)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : Yaḥsānī.—Ed.

† 19 April.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : Urtuq.—Ed.

§ 25 April.—Ed.

|| Nābulis, according to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

Hārim, in the country (*under the domination*) of the Franks and taken besides upwards of fifty fortresses, amongst which were 'Azāz and Bāniyās. He then sent Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh (*No. 272*) three times into Egypt, and in the third, the sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn was established as lieutenant in that country, and had Nūr al-Dīn's name struck on the coinage and pronounced in the public prayer (*khuṭbah*). Of this event we need not enter into further particulars, as we give a fuller account of it in our notice on the sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn. Nūr al-Dīn was a just monarch, pious and devout, a strict observer of the law, partial to virtuous men, a firm champion in the cause of God, and indefatigable in works of charity. He built colleges in all the great cities of Syria, such as Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥamāt, Emessa, Ba'lbek, Manbij, and al-Raḥabah, as we have already stated in the life of Shāraf al-Dīn Ibn Abī 'Uṣrūn (*No. 313*): in Moṣul he erected the mosque (*called after him*) al-Jāmi' al-Nūri; in Ḥamāt, another, the same which stands on the bank of the Orontes; in Edessa, another; in Manbij, another; and in Damascus, an hospital and a Tradition school (*dār al-Ḥadīth*). His merits, monuments, and glorious deeds surpass description. On account of the proximity of their respective states, a number of letters and conferences passed between him and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sinān Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Rāshid al-Dīn, lord of the Ismā'īlian fortresses, chief of the Bāṭīnites of Syria, and the person from whom the Sinānian sect took its name. At one time, Nūr al-Dīn was under the necessity of writing him a threatening letter, to which he received the following answer, in verse and prose:

"O you who threaten us with the stroke of the sword! may my power never rise again if once overthrown by you! A pigeon dares to threaten the hawk! the hyenas of the desert are roused against the lions! You stop the mouth of the serpent with your finger; let the pain which has befallen your finger suffice you.

We have examined your letter in sum and in detail, and have appreciated in word and in deed the dangers with which it threatens us. Admire the fly buzzing in the ear of the elephant! and the gnat which is counted as an emblem (*of littleness*)!<sup>1</sup> Already

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, sūrah 2, verse 24.

before you, other people have held a similar discourse, but we hurled destruction upon them, and they had none to assist them! Do you mean to oppose the truth and uphold falsehood? *They who act perversely shall know the fate which awaits them!* As for your words, that you will cut off my head and tear my fortresses from the firm mountains which sustain them, know that these are delusive thoughts, vain imaginations; for the substance is not destroyed by the disparition of its accidents, neither is the soul dissolved by the maladies of the body. How wide the difference between strong and weak, between noble and vile! But, to return to things external and sensible from things internal and intellectual, we shall say that we have an example in the blessed Prophet, by whom were pronounced these words: 'Never was a prophet afflicted as I have been; and you will know what befel his race, his family, and followers. Circumstances have not changed; things are not altered; and praise be unto God in the beginning and the end! in as much as we are the oppressed, not the oppressors; the offended, not the offenders; *but, when the truth cometh, falsehood disappears, for falsehood fleeteth away!* You well know our external state, the character of our men, the sort of food for which they long, and for which they offer themselves to the abyss of death. *Say: wish then for death if you speak true. But they will never wish for it on account of what their hands have already wrought, and God well knoweth the perverse*<sup>1</sup>. In a common and current proverb it is said: *Is a goose to be threatened with (being cast into) the river?* Prepare therefore a tunic against misfortune and cloak against affliction; for evils of your own doing shall prevail against you; you shall feel convinced that they proceeded from yourself, and you were like the animal which scraped with its hoof till it found its death<sup>2</sup>, and like him who cut off his nose with his own hand. To effect this will not be difficult for God." I transcribed this epistle from a copy in

1 *Qur'an*, sūrah 2, verses 87, 88. The words, five lines higher up, *but when truth cometh, etc.* are taken from the same book, sūrah 17, verse 83.

2 An Arab caught a gazelle and sought an instrument to kill it. The animal, in struggling, scraped up the sand with its foot and laid bare a knife; with this the Arab put it to death. See Freytag's *Maydānī*, tom. II. p. 359.

the handwriting of al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil (*No. 349*), but, in another copy of the same document, I found the following additional passage: "When you have read our letter, expect to see us and be prepared; read also the commencement of the *Bee* and the end of *Ṣād*!" The truth is that this letter was addressed to the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb. In other copies, I found the following verse joined to those given above:

"Let men beware of an event dreadful by its terrors, an event which I never heard that any dare await."

Another time, when a coldness arose between them, Sinān. wrote him the following lines:

"By our means you obtained this empire, so that your house was rooted in it, and its columns were exalted; yet you shoot at us an arrow fashioned by ourselves; it grew in our own plantations, and with us it received its point.

Of Nūr al-Dīn's conduct we shall only say, that it was adorned by many meritorious deeds. His birth took place on Sunday, the 17th of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 511 (11th February, A.C. 1118); at the hour of sunrise, and he died of a quinsy, on Wednesday, the 11th of *Shawwāl*, A.H. 569 (15th May, A.C. 1174), in the citadel of Damascus. His physicians advised blood-letting, but he refused, and such was the awe which he inspired, that none dared to expostulate with him. He was buried in the apartment of the citadel which served him as a sitting-room and a bed-chamber. His corpse was subsequently removed to the mausoleum erected in the college which he had founded near the entrance of the *Sūq al-Khawwāṣīn* (*the hāzār to the workers in palm-leaves*). I heard a number of the Damascus people say that prayers offered up at his tomb received their fulfilment, and having wished to prove the fact, I found it to be true. \* [Our *shaykh* 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī

1 The *Bee*, the 16th sūrah of the *Qur'ān*, begins thus: "The sentence of God will surely come to be executed" and *Ṣād*, the 38th sūrah, concludes with these words: "And ye shall surely know what is delivered therein to be true, after a season."

\* [ From: "Our *shaykh*" to "others" is omitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.

Ibn al-Athīr (*No.* 435) says, in his great historical work the *Kāmil* under the year 558, that Nūr al-Dīn having encamped, that year, in al-Buqay'ah (*the little plain*) at the foot of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād<sup>1</sup>, with the intention of besieging that fortress and then marching against Tripoli, a great number of Franks assembled and attacked him one day, unexpectedly, without giving the Muslims sufficient time to prepare for the encounter. His troops were put to flight, but he succeeded in making his escape. This combat is generally designated as the *Combat of al-Buqay'ah*. Having halted at the lake of Qadas, near Emessa, at the distance of about four parasangs from the Franks, he sent to Aleppo and other cities for large sums of money, which enabled him to recruit his army. He then returned against the enemy and fully avenged his defeat. One of his companions having, at that time, observed to him that he might advantageously apply to his own use, under the present circumstances, the numerous pensions, alms, and gifts, allowed to the jurisconsults, the *ṣūfis* and the *Qur'ān* readers, he flew into a violent passion, and said: "By Allāh! I expect assistance from them and no others! *It is through the feeble among you that you receive sustenance and aid.*"<sup>2</sup> How could I possibly suspend the donations given to people who combat for me with arrows which miss not the mark, even when I am sleeping in my bed? and that for the purpose of bestowing them on persons who combat for me with arrows which sometimes strike and sometimes miss! Those people have a right to a share out of the public treasury; how then could I legally transfer that share to others? ] Nūr al-Dīn was of a tawny complexion, a lofty stature, and a handsome countenance; he had no hair on any part of his face except the chin. He had designated as successor his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'il, a boy eleven years old, who in consequence succeeded to the supreme authority on his death, and removed from Damascus to Aleppo. He entered the citadel of that place on Friday, the first of Muḥarram, A.H. 570 (Aug.,

---

1 Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (*the Castle of the Kurds*) was situated on a peak of Mount Lebanon, half-way between Tripoli and Emessa.

2 This is one of Muḥammad's sayings. D'Ohrsson has quoted it in his *Tab. gen. de l'Emp. Oth.*, t. II., page 242.

A.C. 1174)\*, and the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn then left Egypt and occupied Damascus and the other cities of Syria. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ retained Aleppo only, and he continued to reside there till his death. This event took place on Friday, the 25th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 577 (6th October, A.C. 1181)†. It is said that he had not yet attained his twentieth year. His illness‡ commenced on the 9th of Rajab, and, on the first day of the first Jumādā, he was (had been ?) attacked by an inflammation in the bowels. His death created a profound sensation and general regret, on account of his beneficence and his virtues. He was interred in the Station (*al-Maqām*) within the citadel, but his body was afterwards removed to the *ribāṭ* (*monastery*) bearing his name and situated at the foot of the citadel. This *ribāṭ* bears a high reputation in Aleppo. Mujir al-Dīn Aybik died, A.H. 564 (A.C. 1168-9, in Baghdād, and was interred in his own house; so I found it written among some rough notes in my own handwriting; but God knows if the indication be correct. He was born at Ba'lbek on Friday, the 8th of Sha'bān, A.H. 534 (29th March, A.C. 1140).

## 689 MARWĀN IBN ABĪ ḤAḤṢAH

Abu 'l-Simṭ, or Abu 'l-Hindām, Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaḥṣah Sulaymān Ibn Yahyā Ibn Abī Ḥaḥṣah Yazid, a celebrated poet, was the grandson of Abū Ḥaḥṣah, a *mawla* of Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam Ibn Abi 'l-'Āṣi the Umayyad. Abū Ḥaḥṣah's master granted him his freedom on the *Day of the House*<sup>1</sup> to

---

1 By the Day of the House (*Yawm al-Dār*) is meant the day in which the khalīf 'Uṭḥmān was murdered. He had shut himself up in his house and sustained a siege of fifty or sixty days, but the insurgents finally broke in and put him to death. Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam, with al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the sons of 'Alī, assisted by a body of slaves, fought in 'Uṭḥmān's defence, but their efforts were unavailing. The injudicious counsels of Marwān, who had great influence over 'Uṭḥmān, mainly contributed to this revolt.

\* 2 August.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives 25 Rajab, 4 December, as the date of his death; this appears to be correct.

‡ قولنج means colic pain.—Ed.

recompense him for the courage which he displayed on that occasion. It is said that Abū Ḥafṣah was a Jewish physician, and that he made his profession of Islāmism to 'Uṭhmān Ibn 'Affān, or, by another account, to Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam. The people of Madīnah say, however, that he was a *mawlā* to al-Samaw'al Ibn 'Ādiyah, the Jew so famous for his good faith, and whose conduct with respect to Amro 'l-Qays Ibn Iḥujr, the well-known poet, acquired him such celebrity<sup>1</sup>. They state also that Abū Ḥafṣah was made prisoner, when a boy, at the capture of Iṣṭakḥar, and that 'Uṭhmān Ibn 'Affān, who purchased him, gave him as a present to Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam. Marwān Ibn Abi Ḥafṣah, the poet of whom we are about to speak, was a native of al-Yamāmah (in Arabia). Having proceeded to Baghdād, he celebrated the praises of (the *khalifs*) al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Rashīd, and conciliated the favour of the latter by satirizing the descendants of 'Alī. He was a good poet, and ranked with the first and the ablest masters in that art. Abu 'l-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz (No. 316) mentions him in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* and says: "The best piece uttered by Marwān is his brilliant *qaṣīdah*, rhyming in / (al-*Lāmiyah*), composed by him in honour of Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah al-Shaybānī<sup>2</sup>; by this production he surpassed all the poets of his time. It is said that he received from Ma'an, in recompense, an incalculable sum of money and that none of the former poets ever gained so much by their art as he. On one occasion, he was presented, by a certain *khalif*, with three hundred thousand pieces of silver for a single verse." His *qaṣīdah*, the *Lāmiyah*, contains upwards of sixty verses, and, were it not so long, I should insert it here. I cannot, however, omit the following extract from the eulogistic portion of the poem:

"In the day of battle, the sons of Maṣar<sup>3</sup> are like lions (protecting) their whelps in the valley of Khaffān<sup>4</sup>. It is they who defend their clients, and their clients (live as secure from danger) as if

1 See Rasmussen's *Addimenta ad Hist. Ar.* p. 14 Abu 'l-Feda, *Hist. Anteislamica*, p. 135, and Freitag's *Maidani*, t. II, p. 828, and M. Courssin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*.

2 His life will be found in his work.

3 Maṣar was one of Ma'an's ancestors.

4 Khaffān, a place near Kūfah, was noted for being infested by lions.

they were lodged among the stars. (*Ma'an*) avoids pronouncing the word 'no'; when he is asked a favour, 'no' seems to be for him a word forbidden. We confound his conduct in the day of battle with his conduct in the day of beneficence<sup>1</sup>, so that we know not which is the fairer: is it the day of his overflowing liberality? is it the day of his prowess? Nay, each of them is brilliant and glorious! Noble princes they are in Islāmic times; and their oldest progenitors had no rivals in the ancient days of paganism. They are the people who execute when they promise, who answer when called on, and who give in abundance when they bestow. The bravest warriors cannot achieve such deeds as theirs<sup>2</sup>, even though they displayed the greatest firmness under the vicissitudes of fortune. Three (*chiefs they are*) whose foreheads are equal to the mountains (*in majesty*), and whose prudence would outweigh them."

This is certainly (*lawful magic*)<sup>3</sup>, exquisite both in style and thought! the author really deserves to be ranked not only above the poets his contemporaries, but above many others besides. His eulogiums on Ma'an, and the elegies which he composed on his death, abound with striking ideas. Of these pieces we shall give specimens in the life of Ma'an. Ibn al-Mu'tazz states also that the following anecdote was related by *Shurāḥīl*, the son of Ma'an: "I met Yaḥya Ibn *Khālīd* the *Barnakide*, on the road to Makkah, whither he was going to perform the pilgrimage with the *qādī* Abū Yūsuf al-Ḥanafī<sup>4</sup>. He was borne in a *qubbah*<sup>5</sup>, being seated in one side of it, and Abū Yūsuf in the other. I was riding by the side of the *qubbah* when a well-dressed Arab of the tribe of Asad came forward and recited to Yaḥyā a piece of verse. One line of the poem excited Yaḥyā's animadversion, and he exclaimed: 'Did I not forbid thee, man! to employ a verse such

1 Literally: his two days are so like each other that we confound them.

2 Literally: the doers cannot do their deeds.

3 Poetry is called by the Arabs *lawful magic*.

4 His life is given in this work.

5 The vehicle here called a *Qubbah* (*dome, cupola, alcove*) consisted apparently of two seats, one on each side of a camel, and both seats under the same canopy.



as that?' He then added: 'O brother of the sons of Asad! when thou utterest verses, let them be like the verses of him who said: *In the day of battle, the sons of Maṣar*, etc., repeating the *Lāmiyah* just mentioned. The *qāḍī* Abū Yūsuf expressed great admiration on hearing the verses, and said to Yaḥyā: 'Tell me, Abu 'l-Faḍl, who was the author of that piece.' Yaḥyā replied: 'It was composed by Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah in praise of the father of the youth now riding by the side of our *qubbah*'. I was then mounted on a spirited horse which belonged to me, and Abū Yūsuf gazed at me and said: 'Who art thou, young man? May God favour thee and prolong thy life!' I replied: 'I am *Shurāḥīl*, the son of Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah al-*Shaybānī*.' And I declare, by Allāh! that I never felt such pleasure and satisfaction as at that moment." It is related that a son of Marwān Ibn Ḥaṣṣah went to visit *Shurāḥīl*, the son of Ma'an, and recited to him these lines:

"*Shurāḥīl*, son of Ma'an! son of Zā'idah! most generous of men, Arabs or foreigners! Thy father gave mine wealth enough for his subsistence: give me as much as thy father gave to mine. My father never stopped in a country where thy father was, but he received from his a talent (*qinṭār*) of gold."

*Shurāḥīl* immediately bestowed on him a talent of gold. An anecdote similar to the foregoing is related of Abū Mulaykah Jarwal Ibn Aws, generally known by the appellation of al-Ḥuṭayyah (*No. 91, note*), this celebrated poet having been imprisoned by (*the Khalif*) 'Umar Ibn al-*Khaṭṭāb* for the virulence of his tongue and his propensity to satire, he addressed the following lines to 'Umar from the place of his confinement:

"What wilt thou say to the famished nestlings in the parched and barren *Dhū Marakh*?<sup>2</sup> Thou hast cast their purveyor into a dungeon; have pity! and the blessing of God be upon thee. O 'Umar! Thou art the *imām* to whom the people, on the death of its master, confided the keys of authority<sup>3</sup>. When they raised

1 In this verse we must read *شراحيل بن* to obtain the measure.

2 Literally: to the nestlings with red crops in the waterless and treeless *Dhū Marakh*.

3 Literally: of prohibitions.

thee to that post, it was not for thy own advantage, but for theirs."

'Umar then set him free, on condition that he would abstain from satire, and al-Ḥuṭayyah said to him; "Commander of the faithful! give me a letter for 'Alqamah Ibn 'Ulāṭḥah,<sup>1</sup> since thou hast hindered me from gaining a livelihood by my verses." 'Alqamah, a man celebrated for his beneficence, was then residing in the province of Ḥawrān: Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>2</sup> says, in his *Jamharat al-Nisab*: 'Alqamah was the son of 'Ulāṭḥah Ibn 'Awf Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Ja'far Ibn Kilāb Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'ah Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawāzin. His ancestor Rabi'ah Ibn Ja'far was surnamed *al-Aḥwaṣ* (*narrow eye*) on account of the smallness of his eyes. 'Alqamah had been appointed governor of Ḥawrān by 'Umar<sup>3</sup>, and he died there." 'Umar refused to grant al-Ḥuṭayyah's request, but a person having said to him: "Commander of the Faithful! it can do you no harm to give him a letter; 'Alqamah is not one of your provincial governors, that you should fear to incur censure<sup>4</sup>. Consider that this is a Muslim who requests a recommendation from you to 'Alqamah." 'Umar having then written a letter conformable to al-Ḥuṭayyah's wishes, the poet set off with it, but found, on his arrival, that 'Alqamah was dead, and met the people returning from the funeral. Seeing 'Alqamah's son among them, he went up to him and recited these lines:

"O how excellent that man of the family of Ja'far whom yester-even in Ḥawrān (*death*) entangled in its toils! Whilst thou livest, I shall not be weary of my life; wert thou to die, life were joyless for me; and, if I meet thee in good health, a few days only separate me from riches."

'Alqamah's son here said to him: "How much dost thou think that my father would have given thee, hadst thou found him

1 See for the history of this Arab chieftain, M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

2 The life of Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī will be found in No. 755.

3 This is in direct contradiction with what follows, unless we suppose his nomination to have taken place subsequently to the anecdote here related.

4 Rigid Muslims might have blamed him for causing 'Alqamah to spend the public money on al-Ḥuṭayyah.

alive?"—"One hundred female camels", replied the poet, "each of them followed by a young one". The other bestowed on him the expected present. I found the two last verses in the *diwān* of Ziyād Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Jābir, surnamed al-Nābiḡḡah al-Dhub-yānī<sup>1</sup>; they occur in an elegy composed by him on the death of al-Nu'mān Ibn Abī Shamir al-Ḡḥassānī<sup>2</sup>. The adventures of Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah and the anecdotes told of him are very numerous, but it is needless to dilate on the subject. His birth took place in the year 105 (A. C. 723-4), and his death in A. H. 181 (A. C. 797)—some say, 182—at Baghdād. He was interred in the cemetery of Naṣr Ibn Mālik al-Khuzā'ī. His grandson, Marwān al-Aṣḡhar (*the younger*) Abu 'l-Simṭ the son of Abu 'l-Junūb, the son of Marwān al-Akbar (*the elder*), him of whom we have just spoken, was one of the most celebrated and eminent poets of his time. Al-Mubarrad (No. 610), in his *kāmil*, gives a short notice on 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of Ḥassān Ibn Thābit<sup>3</sup>, in which he says: "It is related that 'Abd al-Raḥmān, having been stung by a wasp, went crying to his father, who asked what was the matter. He replied: 'I have been stung by a flying thing, dressed, as it were, in a double cloak of striped cloth.' 'By Allāh!' exclaimed the father, 'thou hast there pronounced a verse'." He then adds: "The family which had the greatest skill in poetry was that of Ḥassān, for it produced six persons, in succession, all of them poets; these were: Sa'id, his father 'Abd āl-Raḥmān, his father Ḥassān, his father Thābit, his father al-Mundhir, and his father Ḥizām\*. After them came the family of Abū Ḥaṣṣah, the members

1 For a notice on this ancient poet, see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tome II, p. 412.

2 This is the twenty-fifth person in Pococke's list of the Ḡḥassanid kings. The poems of al-Nābiḡḡah to which these verses belong is to be found in the *Diwān of the Six Poets*. It is there given as an elegy on the death of al-Nu'mān Ibn Ḥarith Ibn Abī Shamir al-Ḡḥassānī.

3 Ḥassān Ibn Thābit was one of the poets who espoused the cause of Muḥammad. His son 'Abd al-Raḥmān lived under Mu'āwiyah, and used to address complimentary poems to Ramlah, the daughter of that Khalīf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was inferior in talent to his father.

4 The Arabic words uttered by the child do not appear to form a verse, as they cannot be scanned by any metrical scale.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives Ḥarām.—Ed.

of which inherited a talent for poetry, from father to son. Yaḥyā, the son of Abū Ḥafṣah (*the elder*), was surnamed Abū Jamīl; his mother, Ṭaḥyā\*? was the daughter of Maymūn, or, according to another statement, of al-Nābiḡah al-Ja'dī (*No. 187, note*); and to this circumstance is attributed the transmission of a faculty for poetry into the family of Abū Ḥafṣah. All these persons could touch the point of their nose with their tongue, and this denotes a talent for speaking with elegance and precision." God knows how far that may be true!

### 690 MUSLIM IBN AL-ḤAJJĀJ

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjaj† Ibn Muslim [Ibn Ward Ibn Qūsād<sup>1</sup>] al-Qūshayrī, a native of Naysābūr and the author of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*<sup>2</sup>, was a most eminent *ḥafīz* and a highly distinguished traditionist. He travelled (*in pursuit of learning*) to Ḥijāz, 'Irāq, Syria, and Egypt, and heard Traditions delivered by Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā al-Naysābūrī<sup>3</sup>, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*), Iṣḥāq Ibn Rāḥwayh (*No. 82*), 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maslamah al-Qa'nabī (*No. 304*), and other great masters. He visited Baghdād more than once, and the people of that city delivered Traditions on his authority. He went there for the last time in the year 259 (A. C. 872-3). Al-Tirmidhī (*No. 587*) was one of those who taught Traditions on his authority; and, as a trustworthy Traditionist, he bore the highest character. Muḥammad Ibn al-Māsarjisi

1 One of the MSS. reads *Qūshād* and another *Qūshyār*.

2 The *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*true, authentic*) is a title by which is designated each of the six great collections of Traditions. To distinguish them, the name of the author is added after the word *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

3 Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Yahya Ibn Bakr al-Ḥanzalī al-Tamīmī, a native of Naysābūr distinguished for his piety and mortified life, was considered as the first Traditionist and *ḥafīz* of that age in Khurāsān. He died A.H. 226 (A.C. 840-1) (*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*; *Mir'āt al-Zamān*).

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives Ḥayyā.—Ed.

† Two names are omitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamid. Ibn Ḥajar did not trace his genealogy further.—Ed.

states that he heard Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj say<sup>1</sup>: "I drew up this *authentic musnad*<sup>2</sup> (*al-Musnad al-Ṣaḥīḥ*) out of three hundred thousand Traditions (*which I*) heard (*with my own ears*)." "There is not under the expanse of heaven," said the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Alī al-Naysābūrī<sup>3</sup>, "a more authentic work on the science of Traditions than that of Muslim." Al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī (No. 33) mentions that Muslim defended al-Bukhārī (No. 543) so strenuously that the intimacy between himself and Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Dḥuhlī<sup>4</sup> was broken off. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qūb<sup>5</sup> relates (*this event*) thus; "When al-Bukhārī was residing at Naysābūr, Muslim went frequently to see him. A misintelligence then arose between Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā and al-Bukhārī on the subject of the pronunciation (*of the Qur'ānic text*)<sup>6</sup>, and Muḥammad caused a proclamation to be

1 There seems to be some mistake here; Muḥammad al-Māsarjīṣī (No. 550) was born forty-seven years after Muslim's death.

2 The meaning of the word *musnad* is explained in No. 82, note.

3 The Traditionist Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Naysābūrī bore a high reputation for learning and piety. He inhabited Baḡhdād and died in the month of the first Jumādā. A.H. 341 (Oct., A.C. 952), aged sixty-four years. (*Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*.)

4 A notice on this person is given by our author at the end of the present article.

5 The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qūb al-Shaybānī, a native of Naysābūr and an able Traditionist, died A.H. 344 (A.C. 955-6), aged ninety-four years. (*Ḥuffāẓ*.)

6 The orthodox Muslims consider the *Qur'ān* to be uncreated, and the eternal word of God. This opinion has been expressed by some of their doctors in the following manner: "The *Qur'ān* is one of the eternal attributes of His essence; it is uncreated, and consists neither of letters nor of vocal sounds." These last words are evidently directed against an opinion held by certain theologians, such as Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā, who declared that whoever pretends the *Qur'ān* to be created is an infidel, and whoever pretends that the act of pronouncing the *Qur'ān* is a created act, is also an infidel. Al-Bukhārī taught that the pronunciation of the *Qur'ān* (meaning its utterance by the organs of speech) is created, because, said he, it is an act of God's creature, and such acts are created (*not eternal*). In a work advocating the Aṣḥ'arite principle of giving a figurative interpretation to such passages of the *Qur'ān* as would lead to anthropomorphism if taken literally, the author, Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn

(Continued on page 247)

made against his adversary, forbidding the people to attend his (*lessons*). This persecution forced al-Bukhārī to quit Naysābūr, and every person avoided him, except Muslim, who continued his visits as before. Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā being then informed that Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj had always adhered to the opinion of al-Bukhārī and did so still, notwithstanding the censures which he had incurred on that account in Ḥijāz and 'Irāq, he said, one day, at the close of his lesson: 'Whoever holds the pronunciation (*of the Qur'ān*) to be created, I forbid that person to attend my lessons.' Muslim immediately passed his cloak (*ridā*) over his turban, and standing up in the midst of the assembly, left the room. "Having then collected all the notes which he had taken at Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā's lessons, he loaded some camels with them and sent them to the latter's door. This confirmed the misunderstanding which subsisted between them, and Muslim ceased to visit him." Muslim died at Naysābūr, on Sunday evening, and was interred at Naṣrabād, outside Naysābūr on Monday, the 25th some says the 24th—of Rajab, A.H. 261 (5th May A.C. 875), aged fifty-five years. So I found it written in some book, or other but I never met with his age or the date of his birth specified by any of the *ḥāfiẓes*, though they all agree that he was born subsequently to the year 200. Our *shaykh* Taqī al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (*No.* 386), mentioned the date of his birth, which, to the best of my recollection, was in the year 202. I have since examined Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's statement and find the date to be 206 (A. C. 821-2); he gives it after the *Kitāb 'Ulamā al-Amṣār* (*history of the doctors of the great cities*), a work composed by the Ḥākim Ibn al-Bayyī' al-Naysābūrī (*No.* 589). I met with the book from which he took this indication, and obtained the very copy which he made use of; it had belonged to him, and was sold, with his other property, after his death. It then fell into my possession. Here

---

(Continued from page 246)

al-Mu'alim, has a long discussion on the foregoing question. His work is entitled *Najm al-Muṭtadī wa Rajm al-Mu'tadī*. See MS. of the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, Supplement No. 200. It may be here observed that this MS. has been corrected by the author. The question of the pronunciation of the *Qur'an* is technically called *maṣālat al-lafẓ*.

is what the author says; "Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Naysābūrī died on the 25th of Rajab, A.H. 261, aged fifty-five years." His birth must have therefore taken place in 206. We have already explained the word *Qushayrī* in our article on 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (No. 369), the author of the Epistle and need not, therefore, repeat our words. As for the Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā, mentioned above, his names were Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Khālīd Ibn Fāris Ibn Dhūwayb al-Dhūhlī (الذهلي) al-Naysābūrī (*belonging to the tribe of Dhul, and a native of Naysābūr*). He was highly distinguished as a *ḥāfiẓ*, and Traditions were given on his authority by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dawūd (No. 254), al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī (No. 588). He was a sure and trustworthy Traditionist. The coolness which subsisted between him and al-Bukhārī originated from the following circumstance: when the latter arrived at Naysābūr, Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā quarrelled with him about *the creation of the pronunciation*. As al-Bukhārī had already learned Traditions from him, he could not avoid giving them on his authority; this he does in about thirty places of his book, in the chapters on fasting, medicine, burials, and enfranchisement, but without giving his name in full; he merely says: *I was told by Muḥammad* or by *Muḥammad the son of 'Abd Allāh*, thus naming him after his grandfather, or by *Muḥammad the son of Khālīd* after his great-grandfather. Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā died, A.H. 252 (A.C. 886), some say, 257 or 258.

#### 691 QUṬB AL-DĪN AL-NAYSĀBŪRĪ

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Mas'ūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Ṭāhir al-Naysābūrī al-Turayhī (الطريحي), a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect and surnamed Quṭb al-Dīn (*axis of religion*), studied jurisprudence at Naysābūr and at Marw, under the first masters in these cities. He learned Traditions from a number of teachers and met with the *ustād* (master) Abū Naṣr al-Qushayrī (No. 369). He gave lessons in the *Nizāniyah* college of Naysābūr as the substitute of Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'l-Juwaynī (No. 353), he had studied

the *Qur'ān* and polite literature under his own father. Having visited Baghḍād, he delivered pious exhortations there, and discussed, with great ability, various questions (*of jurisprudence*). In the year 540 (A. C. 1145-6), he went to Damascus and preached there with great effect; he taught also in the *Mujāhidiyah* college, and afterwards, in the western corner<sup>1</sup> of the great mosque, on the death of the doctor Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh al-Miṣṣiṣi<sup>2</sup>. The ḥāfiẓ Ibn 'Asākir (*No. 416*) mentions him in the History of Damascus. Having then proceeded to Aleppo, Quṭb al-Dīn professed for some time in the two colleges founded there by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (*No. 459*) and Asad al-Dīn *Shīrkūh* (*No. 272*). He subsequently went to profess at Hamadān, whence he returned to Damascus and resumed his lessons in the Western Corner. He delivered Traditions also and became president of the *Shāfi'ite* community. He was conspicuous for learning, virtue, and piety. His summary of jurisprudence, the *Hādī* (*director*) is a useful treatise, and every maxim which it contains having already served as the basis of a legal decision. He drew up for the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn an '*aqidah* (*exposition of the Muslim creed*) containing every necessary information on religious matters, and this work (*the sultān*) taught his children, so that it was impressed on their youthful mind. Bahā al-Dīn (Yūsuf) Ibn *Shaddād*<sup>3</sup> says in his life of that prince<sup>4</sup>: "I saw him"—meaning the sultān—"holding

1 In Arabic, *al-Zāwiyat al-Gharbiyah*. These words should perhaps be rendered by *the western cloister*.

2 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Miṣṣiṣi (*native of Miṣṣiṣah*), a descendant of al-Aṣḥ'arī (*No. 404*) and a follower of his doctrines, was born A.H. 448 (A.C. 1056). "He was a jurisconsult of the highest authority," says Ibn al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*), "versed in dogmatic and scholastic theology, pious, virtuous, intelligent, and condescending. He studied under the great *shaykhs* of Syria." Amongst his masters was al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡḍādī (*No. 33*). He travelled to Baḡḍād, Iṣbahān, and al-Anbār, after which he settled at Damascus and professed in the *Ḡhazzāliyah* college (*No. 562*). Some *waqfs* (*No. 21*, note) were founded by him for pious uses, and he carefully avoided frequenting men in power. He died at Damascus, in the month of the first Rabi', A.H. 542 (August, A.C. 1147), and was interred at the Lesser Gate (*al-Bab al-Saghīr*),—(*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*.)

3 His life will be found in *No. 815*.

4 See Schulten's *Vita et res gesta Saladin*, p. 4.



the book whilst his children repeated to him the contents from memory." Qutb al-Dīn was a man of great humility, careless in his dress, and a despiser of ceremony. His birth took place on the 13th of Rajab, A. H. 505 (January, A.C. 1112)\*, and he died at Damascus on the 30th of Ramaḍān, A. H. 578 (27th January, A. C. 1183). The funeral prayer was said over him on the Day of the Festival (*the 1st of the following month*), which fell on a Friday. He was interred in the cemetery established by himself at the west end of Damascus, near that of the Ṣūfis. I visited his tomb more than once. His father belonged to *Turayhith*. Of this place we have already spoken in the life of 'Amid al-Mulk al-Kundurī (No. 676); it is situated in the district of Naysābūr. One of his disciples mentioned that he heard the *shaykh* Qutb al-Dīn recite these verses as the composition of some other person:

"They say that love is a fire in the bosom; they lie! fire blazes, and dies out. Love is a firebrand touched by moisture: it dieth not, neither doth it blaze up."

## 692 THE SHARĪF ABŪ JA'FAR MAS'ŪD AL-BAYĀDĪ

The *sharīf* Abū Ja'far Mas'ūd al-Bayāḍī was the son of 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Muḥassin Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq, so I found the genealogy of this celebrated poet written out in the handwriting of a very accurate *ḥāfiẓ*: but, at the head of his collected poetical works, I perceive it set forth as follows: Abū Ja'far Mas'ūd Ibn al-Muḥassin Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās (No. 43, note) Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Ibn Hāshim, member of the tribe of Quraysh and of the family of Hāshim. This *sharīf* was one of the good poets of later times, and his poetical works, which form a small

\* 15 January.—Ed.

volume, overflow with tenderness. His *dīwān* contains very few eulogistic pieces. One of the best poems in it is 'he *qaṣīdah* rhyming in q (ق) which begins thus :

"If thy tears flowed not on the departure of the caravan, notwithstanding the passion which filled thy heart, such conduct in thee was sheer dissimulation. Retain not the water of thy eyelids, O thou who hast been smitten with love ! that water is for thy wounds a balm. Avoid the company of the censorious ; their intentions are not pure, although they reprove with seeming compassion. Blessings on the days which are past ; those days of which the branches flourished in a foliage ( *of pleasure* ), when eyes were our narcissus-flowers<sup>1</sup>, cheeks our blowing roses, and lips the cup from which we sipped intoxication. At the Zawrā of al-'Irāq<sup>2</sup> we then held frequent marts, and there love's delights found a rapid sale. If my eyes weep blood through my longing for that time, ( *wonder not !* ) a time such as that may well be longed for. Those youths by whose aspect alone the taste of such love<sup>3</sup> is rendered sweet, bear in their hands lances ( *slender as* ) their bodies and tipped with points ( *of steel blue as* ) their eyes. They spread ravage through all hearts with their glances, and their captives can never hope for freedom. For them, the tears of others are sweet ; so they torment their captive till his eyes overflow. 'Tis said that they have vowed to shed my blood, as the fittest libation for the day on which we separate."

The following piece of his used to be sung to music :

"How has the herbage of love been parched up ( *in my heart* ), although watered by my eyes ? If men can be freed from the bondage of love, behold me its captive ! If beauty be bound to do charity, let it behold in me a beggar."

By the same author :

"O happy night when the full moon ( *the beloved* ) embraced me without fear or apprehension, till the morning dawned ! her

1 See vol. I, Introduction.

2 The poet means Baghdād.

3 *Of such love* ; literally ; *amoris pulchrorum*. From verses such as these we may appreciate the corruption which pervaded Muslim civilisation ; and a *qāḍī*, a *custos morum*, to quote them with approbation.

words were pearls, and their brilliancy replaced the light of the stars; her face replaced the moon. Whilst I allowed my ears and eyes to revel in her charms, behold! I received warning that day-break had come. The only fault of that (*night*) was its shortness; but what fault could it have more hateful? To render it longer I would have furnished it with darkness even out of the dark spot of my heart and the pupil of my eye."

In this last verse the poet had in view the following, by Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (*No. 46*) :

"He would wish that the darkness of night was prolonged for himself, by the addition of the black of his heart and of his eye."

The rest of his poetry is in the same style. We have quoted two verses of al-Bayāḍī's in the life of Şurr-Durr (*No. 449*). He died at Baghdād on Tuesday, the 16th of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 468 (21st June, A. C. 1076), and was buried in the cemetery at the Abrez Gate. He was called *Al-Bayāḍī* (*the man in white*), because one of his ancestors appeared in a white dress at the levee of a khalif, where the rest of the company, who were all 'Abbāsids, were dressed in (*the family colour*) black. The khalif asked who was *the man in white*? and the name stuck to him so closely, that by it he and his descendants became generally known. Ibn al-Jawzi (*No. 345*) says, in his *Kitāb al-Alqāb* (*book of surnames*) that the person to whom this happened was Muḥammad Ibn 'Isā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; a member of the 'Abbāsīd family, and I read in the handwriting of Usāmah Ibn Munqidh (*No. 81*) that the khalif who asked the questions was al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh. God best knows who is in the right!

### 693 MAS'ŪD AL-SALJŪQĪ

Abu 'l-Faḥ Mas'ūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Malik Shāh Ibn Alp Arslān al-Saljūqī, surnamed Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*defence of the faith*), was one of the most illustrious of the Saljūq kings. We

have already spoken of his father (*No.* 666) of his brother Maḥmūd (*No.* 687), and of other persons belonging to the same family. In the year 505 (A.C. 1111-2), Mas'ūd was entrusted, by his father to the care of the amīr Mawdūd [Ibn Altūtikīn,]\* whom he appointed lord of Moṣul on condition of bringing up the young prince. Mawdūd being slain, two years later, at Damascus, Mas'ūd was confided by his father to the amīr Āq-Sunqur al-Bursuqī (*No.* 100), and subsequently to Jūsh Bek, atābek of Moṣul. His brother Maḥmūd having succeeded to the throne on the death of their father, Jūsh Bek encouraged his ward to revolt against the new monarch and aspire to the sulṭānship; nor did he remit his efforts till he induced Mas'ūd to levy a large body of troops and march against his brother. The two armies encountered near Hamadān, in the month of the first Rabī', A. H. 514 (June, A. C. 1120), and Maḥmūd gained the victory. In this engagement, the *ustād* Abū Ismā'il al-Ṭughrā'i (*No.* 191) lost his life. After some vicissitudes, fortune at length declared for Mas'ūd, and he obtained the sulṭānship in the year 528 A. H. (A.C. 1133-4). On arriving in Baghdād, he chose for wazīr Sharaf al-Dīn Anūshirwān Ibn Khālīd al-Qāshānī (see the life of al-Ḥarirī, *No.* 510), who had served the *khalif* al-Mustarshid in the same capacity. Mas'ūd was just, affable, and highminded; he shared his empire among his partisans, and retained nothing for himself but the mere title of sulṭān; yet, with all his condescension, none ever dared to resist his power without incurring a defeat. He put to death not only a great number of the most powerful amīrs, but also the *khalifs* al-Mustarshid and al-Rāshid. Previously to his accession, Mas'ūd had been on ill terms with al-Mustarshid, and he had no sooner mounted the throne than the lieutenants whom he established in 'Irāq commenced encroachments on the possessions of that *khalif*. The breach was thus widened between them, and al-Mustarshid at length equipped an army and took the field. Mas'ūd, who was then at Hamadān, assembled a large body of troops and marched against him. The two armies met near Hamadān, but that of the *khalif* was defeated, and he himself with

\* This name is omitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

the principal officers of his court were taken prisoners. The sultān led his captive in triumph through the cities of Āḍharbā'ijān, and al-Mustarshid finally lost his life, near Marāghah, in the manner we have related; see our notice on Dubays Ibn Ṣadaqah (No. 212) \* Mas'ūd deposed also the khalif al-Rāshid and appointed al-Muqtafi (li-amr Allāh) to succeed him. This event is well known.† He then gave himself up to pleasure and to every sort of enjoyment, being confident that the fortune which had hitherto attended him would always be subservient to his will; but, being attacked by vomiting fits and mental derangement, he expired at Hamdān, on the 11th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 547 (13th Sept., A. C. 1152); or, according to some, on Wednesday, the 29th† day of that month. He was interred in the college built by the eunuch (*al-Khādim*) Jamāl al-Dīn Iqbāl. Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī says, in his History, that he saw the sultān Mas'ūd in Baghdād, A.H. 547<sup>2</sup>, and that he then set out for Hamadān and died outside the walls of that city. His corpse was borne to Iṣbahān. We have spoken of this sultān in the life of Dubays Ibn Ṣadaqah, lord of al-Ḥillah. He was born on Friday, the third of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, A. H. 502 (4th June, A. C. 1109). On his accession to the sultānship, he had to sustain a conflict with his uncle Sinjar, and, on Friday, the 12th of Ṣafar, A. H. 527 (23rd Dec., A. C. 1132) he obtained that his name should be inserted, after that of his uncle, in the public prayer *khutbah* offered up at Baghdād.

#### 694 MAS'ŪD IBN MAWDŪD

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, surnamed also Abu 'l-Muẓaffar, Mas'ūd, the *atābek* and lord of Moṣul, was the son of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, the son of 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, the son of Āq Sunqur. He bore

1 See Abu 'l-Feda's *Annals*, year 530. This historian's name should be pronounced *Abu 'l Fida*.

2 From this we learn that Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, the Author of the history of Mayyāfāriqīn, was living in A.H. 547 (A.C. 1152).

\* This sentence is omitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

† 'Abī al-Ḥamid gives : 22nd of latter Jumādā (24 September).—Ed.

the title of 'Izz, al-Dīn (*glory of religion*). We have already spoken of his grandfather (No. 229), his great-grandfather (No. 99), his son Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh (No. 79), and other members of the family. Farther on, we shall give a notice on his father. When his father Mawdūd died. Ghāzī (No. 496), the eldest son, succeeded to the throne. His other sons were Mas'ūd and 'Imād al-dīn Zinkī, lord of Sinjār (No. 230). 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd held the post of commander in chief of the troops, in the lifetime of his brother Ghāzī. When the sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn left Egypt, on the death of al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (No. 688), and laid siege to Aleppo after occupying Damascus, Ghāzī was filled with apprehension: he felt that the power of the sulṭān had now become immense and that he would acquire the sovereign authority, were he allowed to take possession of Syria. He therefore equipped a large army, and, having placed it under the orders of his brother 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, he sent it to combat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and expel him from the country. When this intelligence reached Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn he set out from Aleppo on the first of Rajab, A.H. 570 (Jan. A.C. 1175),\* and proceeded to Emessa. He then took the citadel of Emessa, having already occupied the city itself, on the first of the first Jumādā of that year (Nov.).† when marching from Damascus to Aleppo. 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd then arrived at Aleppo for the ostensible purpose of giving assistance to his cousin al-Malik al-Ṣālīḥ, Ismā'īl, the son of Nūr al-Dīn, who was then lord of that city, but his real motive was to prevent Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn from extending his domination over the whole country. Having been joined by the troops of Aleppo 'Izz al-Dīn continued his march, at the head of a numerous army, and reached Qurūn (*near*) Ḥamāt, whither Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had already advanced to meet him. As the latter wished to come to an amicable arrangement, he opened a correspondence, with his adversaries, but all his efforts were useless. The two princes imagined that they might attain, by risking a battle, the principal object which they had in view, but fate leads to things which none can foresee. Both parties having come to an engagement, the army of 'Izz al-Dīn was defeated, and a number of his

\* 26 January.—Ed.

† 28 November, A.C. 1174.—Ed.

principal officers were taken prisoners, but afterwards received their liberty from the sultān. This celebrated encounter took place on Sunday, the 19th of Ramaḍān (April, A.C. 1175).<sup>\*</sup> Having routed his enemies, the sultān marched against Aleppo and encamped, for the second time, under its walls. Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'il then obtained peace, on condition of leaving to Šalāḥ al-Dīn the towns of al-Ma'arraḥ, Kafriṭāb, and Bārīn. Šalāḥ al-Dīn then raised the siege. The history of these events would lead us too far, but the remainder of 'Izz al-Dīn's proceedings will be found related in the life of his brother Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī. On the death of the prince just named, 'Izz al-Dīn succeeded to the throne. [*In the year 577 (A.C. 1181)*] al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'il, who was then on the point of death, bequeathed the kingdom of Aleppo to his cousin 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, and caused the amirs and soldiers to swear allegiance to that prince. When this intelligence reached 'Izz al-Dīn, he hastened to Aleppo, lest Šalāḥ al-Dīn should occupy it before him. Having arrived there on the 20th of Shā'bān, A.H. 577 (end of December, A.C. 1181) †, he went up to the castle and took possession of all the treasures and valuable objects deposited in that edifice. On the fifth of Shawwāl, ‡ the same year, he married the mother of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ, and remained in the city till the 16th of that month. Finding then his inability to retain the command of Syria and Moṣul, apprehensive also of the dangers to which he was exposed by the vicinity of Šalāḥ al-Dīn, and fatigued by the obsessions of the amirs whose exorbitant demands for additional pay he was unable to satisfy, he departed from Aleppo, leaving there his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn to act as his lieutenant, and with him Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the son of Zayn al-Dīn, lord of Arbela (*No. 522*). 'Izz al-Dīn, who was then entirely controlled by Mujāhid al-Dīn Qāyimāz al-Zaynī (*No 515*), proceeded to al-Raqqah, where he was received by his brother 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī, lord of Sinjār. Having agreed with him on exchanging the government of Aleppo for that of Sinjār, a mutual oath was taken to that effect, and each sent agents to receive

\* 13 April.—Ed.

† 29 December.—Ed.

‡ 11 February, A.C. 1182.—Ed.

possession of their new acquisitions. On the 13th of Muḥarram, A.H. 578 (May, A.C. 1182)\*, 'Imād al-Dīn entered the castle of Aleppo. Previously to this a treaty of peace had been concluded between 'Izz al-Dīn, his cousin (*al-Malik*) al-Ṣāliḥ and (*the sultān*) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, by the intervention of Qilij Arslān, the sovereign of al-Rūm (*Asia Minor*). The sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn then set out for Egypt, after leaving his nephew 'Izz al-Dīn Farrūkh Shāh, the son of Shāhanshāh, to govern Damascus in his absence; but on learning the death of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and the arrangements which had subsequently taken place, he returned to Syria and entered Damascus on the 17th of Ṣafar, A.H. 578 (June, A.C. 1182)†. Being then informed that 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd had sent an ambassador to the Franks, and that the object of this mission was to induce them to march against himself, he broke the treaty, and, indignant at the treason which he had thus discovered, he resolved on marching against Aleppo and Moṣul. 'Imād al-Dīn, the lord of Aleppo, had no sooner received intelligence of the preparations made by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, than he sent to warn his brother, the governor of Moṣul, and request from him a reinforcement. The sultān (*Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*) having left Damascus, halted under the walls of Aleppo on the 12th of the first Jumādā, A.H. 578 (September, A.C. 1182)‡; but, after occupying this position during three days, he departed on the 21st of the same month. Soon after this, it happened that the lord of Ḥarrān, Muẓaffar al-Dīn (the son of Zayn al-Dīn, lord of Arbela), who was then in the service of the sovereign of Moṣul, and apprehended violence from 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, lord of Moṣul, and from Mujāhid al-Dīn Qāyimāz al-Zaynī, crossed the Euphrates and placed himself under the protection of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The sultān, to whom he represented the facility with which he might subdue Mesopotamia resolved on invading that province, and having passed the Euphrates, he took the cities of Edessa, al-Raqqah, Naṣībīn, and Sarūj. He then appointed a resident agent in the province of al-Khābūr and conceded it in fief; after which, he set out with

---

\* 19 May.—Ed.

† 22 June.—Ed.

‡ 2 September.—Ed.



the intention of laying siege to Moṣul, and encamped under its walls, on Thursday, the 11th of Rajab, 578 (November, A.C. 1182).<sup>\*</sup> After some days, he perceived that no result could be obtained from besieging so large a city, and that the only means of taking it was to reduce the fortresses in its environs and in the neighbouring districts, and thus weaken the garrison in lapse of time. He in consequence departed, and having taken position against Sinjār on the 16th of Sha'bān.<sup>†</sup> the same year, he occupied the city on the 2nd of Ramaḍān (December)<sup>‡</sup> and gave it to his nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar (No. 476). Not to enter into long details, we shall merely state that he returned to Syria, and reached Ḥarrān in the commencement of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, the same year. Towards the beginning of the month of the first Rabi' A.H. 581 (June, A.C. 1185), he appeared again before Moṣul and laid siege to the city. The mother of 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, accompanied by the daughter of Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh and a number of females belonging to the Atābek family, then went forth and requested him to enter into a treaty and consent to a peace. The sultān, imagining that 'Izz al-Dīn had sent the princess on this mission because he had not the means of defending the city, refused compliance and sent her back disappointed, offering at the same time pretexts to excuse his conduct. But of this he had afterwards reason to repent, for the people of Moṣul being indignant at his rejecting the prayer of 'Izz al-Dīn's mother and of the females who accompanied her, strained every nerve to make a vigorous defence. He continued to besiege the city till he learned the death of Shāh Armin Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Sukmān al-Quṭbīṣ; lord of Khalāt, and the accession of that prince's *mamlūk*, Biktīmūr, to the supreme authority. This officer, finding himself exposed to the ambition of the neighbouring princes, and discovering that they had resolved to attack him, sent to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, offering to deliver the city into his hands on condition of receiving a suitable return. The death of Shāh Armin took place on Thursday, the 9th of the latter Rabi',

\* 11 November.—Ed.

† 15 December.—Ed.

‡ 30 December.—Ed.

§ 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : al-Qibṭi. - Ed.

A.H. 581 (July, A.C. 1185)\* and, on the 20th of the same month, the sultān departed from Moṣul and directed his march towards Khalāt. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, afterwards lord of Arbela, but then lord of Ḥarrān, accompanied the vanguard with Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh and cousin of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Having halted at a village called at Ṭawānah,† and situated in the neighbourhood Khalāt, they sent envoys to Biktīmūr for the purpose of settling the conditions of the treaty. When the envoys arrived, Shams al-Dīn Bihliwān Ibn Ildukuzī, lord of Adḥarbā'ijān, Arrān. and Persian 'Irāq, had already approached, with the design of besieging the city, but Biktīmūr having caused him to be informed that he would deliver up Khalāt to the sultān if he (*Bihliwān*) did not withdraw his troops, the latter complied, and made peace on receiving Biktīmūr's daughter in marriage. Biktīmūr then sent to the sultān, retracting his promise of delivering up Khalāt and offering some excuses. The sultān was then laying siege to Mayyāfāriqīn and had attacked it with great vigour. Quṭb al-Dīn 'Il Ghāzī Ibn Albīṭ Ibn Kirtāsh Ibn Ghāzī Ibn Urtuq, the lord of this city, had left it, on dying, to his son Ḥusām al-Dīn Bulūq Arslān, a mere boy: and this circumstance had encouraged Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn to undertake its siege. On the 29th of the first Jumādā (August, A.H. 1185),‡ he succeeded, by means of a stratagem, in deciding the garrison to capitulate and surrender the place. Having then given up the hope of getting Khalāt into his possession, he returned to Moṣul for the third time, and encamped at some distance from it, at a place called Kafr Zammār. He remained there a considerable time, and the weather being intensely hot, he was attacked by a malady which brought him to the verge of death, and, on the first of

I I follow the orthography of the autographic MS. of Abu 'l-Fida's *Annals*.

\* 11 July.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd: al-Ṭawābah.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Ildhukuri in his original edition (1845) M. de Slane says: "The MSS. of Ibn Khallikān have الذکر in place of الذكر.—Ed.

§ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Allī Kirmās.—Ed.

|| 28 August.—Ed.

Shawwāl (December),\* he decamped for Ḥarrān. When 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd heard of the sultān's illness and learned that his heart was inclined to clement measures, he profited by so favourable an opportunity and despatched to Ḥarrān the *qādī* Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shadād, a person whose life we shall give, accompanied by Bahā al-Dīn al-Rabīb. On their arrival, they asked for and obtained peace; the sultān himself, who had now recovered, ratifying the treaty by an oath. This took place on the 9th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah (March, A.C. 1186),† and Ṣalāh al-Dīn never swerved from that engagement as long as he lived. 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd being delivered from his apprehensions by the departure of the sultān from Syria, continued to enjoy peace and tranquillity till his death. He died of diarrhea on the 27th of Sha'bān, A.H. 589 (28th August, A.C. 1193). A large college was founded and endowed by him at Moṣul for doctors of the Shāfi'ite and Ḥanafite sects. He was interred in a mausoleum erected within the walls of this establishment. I have seen the college and mausoleum, and was greatly struck with their beauty. Opposite to this college, and separate from it by a large open space, stands the college founded by his son Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh. On the death of 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, his son Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh (No. 79) succeeded to the throne. Nūr al-Dīn had two sons, al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Izz al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd and al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī. When on the point of death, he divided his states between them and gave to al-Malik al-Qāhir, who was the elder, the city and province of Moṣul; the younger, 'Imād al-Dīn, received Shūsh,‡ al-'Aqr, and the neighbouring districts. Al-Malik al-Qāhir was born at Moṣul in the year 590 (A.C. 1194), and he died there, suddenly, on the eve of Monday, the 26th of the latter Rabi' A.H. 615 (22nd July, A.C. 1218). He also had erected a college and was interred within its precincts. As for 'Imād al-Dīn, he took possession of Qal'at al-'Imādiyyah, on the death of his brother al-Malik al-Qāhir, but it was subsequently taken from him. It is one of the finest fortresses in Jabal al-Hakkāriyah, a mountain in the territory of

---

\* 26 December, A.C. 1185.—Ed.

† 3 March.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : al-'Inādiyyah.—Ed.

Moşul. He took also and lost a number of other castles in the vicinity. Having married the daughter of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, lord of Arbela, he removed to that city and resided there for some time. As we dwelt in his neighbourhood, we remarked that he was an extremely handsome man. Muẓaffar al-Dīn then arrested him for a motive too long to explain here, and sent him to al-Malik al-Ashraf, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, at Sinjār. We shall again speak of al-Ashraf. Having received his liberty from this prince, he returned to Arbela and obtained from Muẓaffar al-Dīn the city and district of Shahrūzūr in exchange for al-ʿAqr. He removed thither and made it his residence during the rest of his life. He died A.H. 630 (A.C. 1232-3), his son and successor died soon after. Bahliwān Ibn ʿIldukūz died towards the end of Dhu'l-Hijjah, A.H. 581 (March, A.C. 1186). His father Shams al-Dīn ʿIldukūz the atābek died at Naqjawān, towards the end of the latter Rabi'. A.H. 570 (November, A.C. 1174), and was interred in that city. He had been atābek (*guardian*) to the Ṣaljūq sultān Arslān Shāh Ibn Tughrūlbek Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Malik Shāh al-Saljūqī. About a month after the death of ʿIldukūz, Bahliwān's father (A.H. 571, A.C. 1175), Arslān Shāh died at Hamadān and was interred there. Quzul, (*another*) son of ʿIldukūz, lost his life in the beginning of Shābān, A.H. 587 (Aug., A.C. 1191); he was a powerful prince.

#### 695 MUṬARRIF IBN MĀZIN AL-ṢANʿĀNĪ

Abū Ayyub Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin, a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Kinānah, or of the tribe of Qays, according to another statement, was a native of Ṣanʿā in Yaman and held the post of Qāḍī in that city. He delivered Traditions on the authority of ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Jurayj (*No. 350*) and a great number of other masters. The imām al-Shāfiʿī (*No. 532*) and many other doctors cited Traditions on his authority. His exactitude as a Traditionist has been contested, and it is related that Yahyā Ibn Maʿīn<sup>1</sup> having been asked respecting his character,

<sup>1</sup> His life will be found in this work.

replied: "He is a liar." Al-Nasā'ī (No. 28) declares positively that Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin was not trustworthy, and al-Sa'dī<sup>1</sup> said: "Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin al-Ṣan'ānī's Traditions should be received with caution till his authorities be put to the test." Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabbān al-Bustī<sup>2</sup> says; "Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin al-Kinānī, *qāḍī* of Yaman, delivered Traditions on the authority of Ma'mar (see Introduction) and Ibn Jurayj; al-*Shāfi'* and the people of 'Irāq cited Traditions on his authority. He used to relate Traditions which he never heard delivered, and repeat (*as being consigned to paper*) information which had never been written down, and that information he gave on the authority of persons whom he never saw. It is not therefore allowable to relate Traditions on his authority; except to men of special merit and then, only for their examination." "Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin," says Ḥājib Ibn Sulaymān, "was *qāḍī* of Ṣan'ā and a man of holy life." He then relates that Muṭarrif declared a man justified who, having been constrained to swear that he would commit a scandalous deed, had acted according to his oath. Abū Aḥmad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Adī 'l-Jurjānī<sup>3</sup> quotes some Traditions as given by Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin, and adds: "He delivered also some other Traditions, known only to himself, and never communicated to the persons who have handed down Traditions on his authority; and I never remarked a

---

1 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Sa'dī, the ablest doctor in the science of the Traditions whom the city of Marw ever produced, was considered as a most competent judge in these matters and looked on as a veracious and trustworthy Traditionist. Al-Dhahabī states, in his *Tabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, that al-Sa'dī died A.H. 302 (A.C. 914-5).

2 Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabbān, a native of the town of Buṣṭ. in Sijistān, studied under al-Nasā'ī and other eminent masters. He was profoundly learned in jurisprudence, the Traditions medicine, astronomy, and other branches of science. He filled the post of *qāḍī* at Samrqand and composed a critical work in which he estimated the character and trustworthiness of those persons by whom Traditions were handed down. He died A.H. 354 (A.C. 965), aged upwards of eighty years.

3 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Adī al-Jurjānī generally known by the surname of Abū al-Qaṭṭān (القطان) composed a work on the character of the Traditionists, and entitled it the *Kāmil* (complete). His authority as a doctor in Traditions stood very high. He died A.H. 365 (A.C. 975-6).

suspicious text in any of his relations. Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī says : "Abū Sa'īd informed us that Abu 'l-'Abbās<sup>1</sup> told him that he had heard al-Rabī' (No. 221) mention that al-Shāfi'ī said: 'Amongst the judges established in different regions, there were some who made witnesses swear by the *Qur'ān*; and that in my opinion, is approvable. Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin told me, on an authority which I do not recollect, that Ibn al-Zubayr<sup>2</sup> ordered witnesses to be sworn on the *Qur'ān*." Another doctor relates as follows: "Al-Shāfi'ī said: 'I saw Muṭarrif at Ṣan'ā, and he swore witnesses on the *Qur'ān*;' " and a third doctor says; "al-Shāfi'ī declared that he saw Ibn Māzin, who was *qādī* of Ṣan'ā, swear witnesses on the *Qur'ān* in order to corroborate their oath". Muṭarrif died at al-Raqqah, or at Manbij, by another account, towards the close of the *khalīfate* of Hārūn al-Rashīd. That sovereign died on the eve of Saturday, the 3rd of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 193 (24th March, A. C. 809), at Ṭūs, he commenced his reign on Friday, the 16th of the first Rabī', A. H. 176 (15th Sept., A. C. 786). Though this Muṭarrif does not rank with those celebrated individuals whom it was necessary for me to notice, I have been induced to do so because the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī (No. 5) says, in the *Muḥadḍḥab*, chapter on oaths, section on claims, paragraph on corroborating the oath: "And, if he makes the person swear by the sacred volume and its contents, we know that al-Shāfi'ī related, on the authority of Muṭarrif, that Ibn al-Zubayr swore persons on the *Qur'ān*, 'and,' said al-Shāfi'ī, 'I saw Muṭarrif at Ṣan'ā swearing persons on the *Qur'ān* which is approvable.' " Now, I remarked that juriconsult inquired who this Muṭarrif could be, and so little was known of him, that our master 'Imād al-Dīn Abu 'l-Majd Ismā'il Ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Abi 'l-Riḍā Ibn Bāṭish al-Mawsilī (No. 185), the Shāfi'ite doctor, made the following gross mistake concerning him in the work which he composed on the proper names of men mentioned in the *Muḥadḍḥab* and on the unusual terms which occur in that work: "Muṭarrif Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-

1 By *Abū Sa'īd* is meant al-Isṭakhrī (see No. 150) and, by *Abu 'l-'Abbās*, Ibn Surayj (No. 20) (MS. ancient fonds, No. 755., f. 63 verso).

2 Perhaps 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, the anti *khalīf*, is meant.

Shikhkhīr," says he, "died subsequently to the year 87," meaning of the Hijrah. There, by Allāh! is a wonder: a person who died at that period, how could he possibly have been seen by al-Shāfi'ī, who was born A. H. 150, sixty three years after Muṭarrif Ibn al-Shikhkhīr's death? I know not what could have led him into this mistake and had he not mentioned the date, people might have said: "He thought that al-Shāfi'ī met with him." I had brought down my article thus far when I found, in the *Annals* of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd al-Bāqī Ibn Qānī' (No. 149, note) that Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin died in the year 191 (A.C. 806-7), which agrees with our statement that his death took place towards the end of the khalīfate of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd. For the first part of this article, as here given, I was indebted to the kindness of the *shaykh* and *hāfiẓ* Zakī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhīrī (No. 43, note); may God prolong his days for our advantage! The Muṭarrif mentioned by 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Bāṭish, bore the surname of Abū 'Abd Allāh; he was a jurisconsult and the son of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Shikhkhīr Ibn 'Awf Ibn Ka'b Ibn Waḥdān\* Ibn Ḥarīsh Ibn Ka'b Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah Ibn Mu'āwīyah Ibn Bakr Ibn Manṣūr Ibn 'Ikrimah Ibn Khaṣafah Ibn Qays Ibn Ghaylān† Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān al-Ḥarīshī. His father 'Abd Allāh was one of the Prophet's Companions. Muṭarrif (Ibn 'Abd Allāh) was one of the most devout and pious of men; it is related that, in a dispute with an adversary, in the mosque of Baṣrah, he raised up his hands and exclaimed: "Almighty God! I beg of thee that thou deliver me from this man before he rise from his place!" He had not finished speaking when the man fell dead to the ground. Muṭarrif was taken before the *qādī*, but that officer said: "He did not kill him; he only prayed against him, and God answered his prayer." From that time, people stood in awe of his imprecations. He died A. H. 87 (A. C. 706), but other dates are given, and Ibn Qānī' says 95 (A. C. 713-4). God best knows the truth!

---

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Waḥdān.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives 'Aylān. See also Ibn Khallikān's observations regarding this name at the close of No. 697.—Ed.

## 696 QUṬB AL-DĪN AL-MARWAZĪ

Abū Maṣṣūr al-Muẓaffar Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥusayn Ardashīr Ibn Abi Maṣṣūr al-'Abbādī, surnamed Quṭb al-Dīn (*axis of religion*), and distinguished by the title of al-Amīr, was a pupil-orator and a native of Marw (*Marwazī*). As a preacher and an exhorter to piety, he displayed great abilities and expressed his thoughts in elegant terms. This talent he continued to cultivate from his early youth till an advanced age, and he excelled in it to such a degree that his merit became proverbial. He thus came to be considered as the paragon of the age, and his surpassing merit was universally acknowledged. Having gone to Baghdād, he resided there nearly three years, and, during that time, regular sittings were held to hear him preach. His character gained him the friendship of all classes, and the *imām* (*khalīf*) al-Muqtafi li Amr Allāh took him into particular favour. Being then sent from Baghdād on a mission to the court of the sultān Sinjar Ibn Malik Shāh the Saljuqid (*No. 260*), he proceeded to Khurāsān, and, on his return, he was despatched on another mission to Khūzistān. He died at 'Askar Mukram on Monday, the 29th of the latter Rabi' A. H. 547 (3rd August, A. C. 1152). His corpse was carried to Baghdād and buried within the enclosure which surrounds the grave of the holy shaykh al-Junayd Ibn Muḥammad (*No. 140*) in the Shunīzī cemetery. He was born in Ramadān, A. H. 491 (August, A. C. 1098). He learned a great quantity of Traditions at Naysābūr from Abū 'Alī Naṣr Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Uthmān al-Khushanāmī, Abu 'Abd Allāh Ismā'il, the son of the ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (*No. 377*), and other masters. Some Traditions were given on his authority by the ḥāfiẓ Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*), who speaks of him in these terms: "The Traditions which he heard are all genuine, but his religious principles were mistrusted. I saw something in his conduct which gave me doubts, and I met with a treatise, in his own handwriting, wherein he essays to prove that it is lawful to drink wine; God pardon him and forgive us all!" His father Abu 'l-Ḥusayn was also known by the appellation of *al-Amīr*; he preached with elegance and led an exemplary life. His death occurred between the year 490 and 500 (A. C. 1097-1107). 'Abbādī, means *belonging to Sinj 'Abbād*, a large village in the vicinity of Marw. In the province of Marw also



is another large village called Sinj, the native place of the juris-consult Abū 'Alī al-Sinjī (*No.* 176). These two villages are quite distinct and must not be confounded ; a number of masters in this branch of knowledge (*the derivation of patronymics*) have already given a similar caution.

### 697 MUWAFFAQ AL-DĪN MUẒAFFAR

Abu 'l-'Izz Muẓaffar Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamā'ah Ibn Alī Ibn Shāmī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Nāhid Ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq al-'Aylānī, surnamed Muwaffaq al-Dīn (*favoured in his religion*), was a member of the Ḥanbalite sect, a native of Egypt, an able philologist, prosodian, and poet. He composed a short treatise on prosody, which testifies, by its excellence, the acute intelligence of the author, and he left a *dīwān* of charming poetry. He was a blind man, and in one of his pieces, he says :

“ ‘You are in love’ said they, ‘and yet you are blind !’ You love a dark-eyed nymph with rosy lips, yet you never saw the charms of her person ; you cannot then say that they captivated your imagination. Her image never fled round you in your dreams ; it never approached your couch ; whence then has it sent, invisible to you, an arrow into your heart ? By what means have you been enabled to describe her beauty in prose and verse ?’ I replied : ‘ In love I am like Moses ; I feel and am silent<sup>1</sup> : I love through the medium of my ears, though I never saw the figure of her whom you name.”

As one thing brings on another, these verses remind me of the following piece, composed also by a blind man :

“ A maiden said to her companions : ‘ How strange a being is that blind man ! can he love an object which he never saw ’ ?

---

1 Literally : I am Mosaic in love, by silence and comprehension. I find nothing in the *Qur'ān* to which this can allude : it may perhaps refer to some anecdote respecting fūsa al-Kāzīm, an *imām* whose life will be found in *No.* 719.

With tears gushing from my eyes, I replied : ' Though my eyes never saw her person, yet her image exists in my imagination.' "

This thought is similar to that which Muḥaddhab al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn Muḥammad, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Shīḥnah,\* a philologer and poet of some celebrity, who was a native of Moṣul, inserted in a long *qasidah* composed by him in praise of the sultān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb. The verse to which we allude is the following:

" I am a man who loved you on hearing of your virtues; the ear, like the eye, is sensible to love."

The author took this thought from a verse of the poet Baḥshār Ibn Burd (*No. 110*), who said :

" O my friends ! my ear is in love with a person of that tribe : the ear is sometimes enamoured previously to the eye."

The wazīr Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī, who was generally known by the surname of Ibn Shukr (*No. 88, note*) had set out from Syria with the intention of returning to Egypt, and his friends went forth to meet him as far as the station of Khashabi<sup>1</sup> near al-'Abbāsah<sup>2</sup> and Muẓaffar, the subject of this article, wrote to him the following lines to excuse himself from not having gone forth like the others :

" They said : ' We are hastening to al-Khashabi<sup>3</sup> that we who are his pensioners, may meet the wazīr; yet you, blind men ! do not set out.' I replied : ' I stay behind not through fear of fatigue, but because my heart burns, in desolation for his absence. and I dread lest that fire and al-Khashabi may come together. ' "

1 Al-Khashabi was situated on the road leading from Cairo to Syria, at the distance of three stations from Fuṣṭāṭ (*Marāṣid*).

2 The town of 'Abbāsah (*No. 209*) lay at 15 parasangs from Cairo, on the road to Syria (*Marāṣid*).

3 Here in the original Arabic is a fault against prosody. The poet pronounced al-Khashabi, whereas the true pronunciation, according to the *Marāṣid*, is al-Khashabiyy.

4 Khashabi, in Arabic, signifies any thing made of wood.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : al-Shaykh.—Ed.

This is a trite idea, but the manner in which it is here employed renews its beauty. One of his disciples told me that a person said to Muẓaffar: "I saw in one of Abu 'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri's (No. 46) compositions the following passage<sup>1</sup>, and I wish to know what is the measure and whether it be one verse only or more than one: I should also like to be informed if the verses terminate in the same rhyme or not." Muẓaffar reflected for some time and returned a satisfactory answer. On hearing these words, I said to the relator of the anecdote: "Wait a moment till I examine the passage and don't tell me Muẓaffar's answer." I then perceived that it was a *majzū*<sup>2</sup> branch of the *rujuz* measure, that the verses terminated in a consonant not followed by a vowel, that the passage consisted of four verses rhyming in *l*, and that it was versified in a manner which prosodians admit of. Persons unacquainted with the science of prosody would not perceive that the words form verses, because, the separation between them falls on letters which are united to those that follow. To render this evident, it is necessary to give the verses here in their proper form:

"May God favour thee! thou must come to-day to our solitary abode, so that we may renew our acquaintance with thee, O ornament of friends! for it is not a man like thee that would change or neglect an old friendship."

Prosodians quote these verses as a puzzle, not as a form of versification usually employed. Having discovered the solution of the difficulty, I submitted it to that person, and he replied: "Such was also the answer given by Muẓaffar the blind." The following anecdote was related by the *shaykh* Zākī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī, the Egyptian Traditionist (No. 43, note): "The learned Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muẓaffar, the blind poet of Egypt, told me that having gone to visit al-Qāḍī 'l-Sa'id Ibn Sanā al-Mulk"—I shall give the life of this person; his real name was Hibat Allāh,—"the latter said

---

1 I omit the Arabic text of the passage, as it is to be found in the two printed editions; its meaning is given lower down.

2 In prosody, a distich is called *majzū* when a foot is suppressed in each hemistich.

to him: 'Learned scholar! I have composed the first hemistich of a verse, but cannot finish it, although it has occupied my mind for some days!' Muẓaffar asked to hear what he had composed, and the other recited as follows:

"(*Bayāḍu 'idhārī min sawādī 'idhārīhi*). The whiteness of my beard proceeds from the blackness of her ringlets."

"On hearing these words, Muẓaffar replied that he had found their completion, and recited as follows:

'(*Kamā jalla nāri flhi min jullanārihi*) even as the flame with which I burn for her acquired its intensity from her pomegranate-flower (*her rosy cheeks*).'

Al-Sa'id approved of the addition and commenced another verse on the same model, but Muẓaffar said to himself: 'I must rise and be off, or else he will make the entire piece at the expense of my wits.' " Those anecdotes have drawn us from our subject, but one word brings on another. Muẓaffar was born at Old Cairo, on the 24th of the latter Jumādā, A. H. 544 (29th Oct., A.C. 1149); and he died on Saturday morning, the 9th of Muḥarram, A. H. 623 (10th Jan., A. C. 1226). He was interred the next day, at the foot of Mount Muqaṭṭam. 'Aylānī means *belonging to Qays* 'Aylān, or *Qays the son of* 'Aylān<sup>1</sup> Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān. Those who call him *Qays* 'Aylān do not agree as to signification of 'Aylān; some say that it was the name of a horse belonging to Qays, who was therefore called *the Qays of* 'Aylān; others say that it was the name of his dog, whilst others again tell us that 'Aylān was a man who brought up Qays in his childhood. According to those who make this statement Qays was named *Qays* 'Aylān because there was a person contemporary with him who bore the name of *Qays Kubbah* (*the Qays of Kubbah*), which *Kubbah* was a horse that he possessed: therefore each of them was called after an object belonging to him, in order to distinguish him from the other. God knows best! Some state that Qays 'Aylān's real name was al-Nās, and that he was the brother of al-Yās, one of the Prophet's ancestors.

---

1 I may add that some authors write *Ghaylān* in place of 'Aylān.

## 698 MU'ĀDH IBN MUSLIM AL-HARRĀ

Abū Muslim Mu'ādh Ibn Muslim al-Harrā, a grammarian of Kūfah, was *mawlā* to Muḥammad Ibn Ka'b al-Qaraḏī<sup>1</sup>. Al-Kisā'i (No. 408) studied *Qur'ān-reading* under him and delivered some Traditions on his authority. Numerous anecdotes are told of his (*al-Harrā's*) *Qur'ān-readings*. He composed a great number of grammatical treatises, none of which were ever published. He professed *Shī'ite* doctrines, and left some poetry, such as grammarians may compose. The advanced age to which he lived fixed the attention of his contemporaries; he had great grand-children, but all his descendants died before him. A secretary of his relates as follows: "When I was in the service of Mu'ādh Ibn Muslim, a man one day asked him his age. He replied: sixty-three years. Two years later, the same person repeated his question and received the same answer. On this, I said to Mu'ādh: 'I have been with thee for the last one and twenty years, and every time thou hast been asked thy age, thou repliest, sixty-three years.' To this observation he merely answered: 'Wert thou to be with me one and twenty years more, thou wouldst never hear from me any other answer'<sup>2</sup>". It is related by 'Uthmān Ibn Abi Shaybah<sup>3</sup> that he saw Mu'ādh Ibn Muslim and remarked that his teeth had been secured with gold fastenings on account of his advanced age. Speaking of him, the celebrated poet Abu 'l-Sari Sahl Ibn Abi Ghālib al-Khazrajī<sup>4</sup> said:

1 *Al-Qaraḏī* (القرطبي) means a *dealer in qaraḏ*: *Karaḏ* is the name given to the leaves of the *salam* tree, a material used in tanning. According to the *Nujūm*, Muḥammad Ibn Ka'b al-Qaraḏī died A.H. 117 (A.C. 735) or A.H. 120. He was a Traditionist.

2 Muḥammad commenced his prophetic mission at forty and died at sixty-three, the age after which, according to the Muslims, the mental faculties begin to decline: Ibn Muslim had therefore a motive for not making himself older.

3 The *ḥāfiẓ* 'Uthmān Ibn Abi Shaybah, a native of Kūfah, died A.H. 239 (A.C. 853-4). He composed a commentary on the *Qur'ān*, and a *musnad*, or collection of Traditions. Thirty thousand persons are stated to have attended his lessons. (*Mir'at al-Zamān*.)

4 Our author speaks of this poet at the end of the present article.

"Mu'adh Ibn Muslim is a man to whose existence no limit has been fixed. Time has grown hoary with age, yet the raiment of Mu'adh's life is still new. Tell Mu'adh, when you meet him, that eternity is vexed to see him live so long. O first-born of Eve! how long wilt thou live? how long, O Lubad! wilt thou proudly sweep along in the robe of life? The tent of Adam has fallen to ruin, but thou remainest like one of its pickets. When thou hearest that the ravens are dead (*of old age*), thou mayest then inquire what headache and weakness of sight may be; full of health, thou stalkest about like an ostrich in thy double cloak, and art as active as fire. Thou wert a companion of Noah's; and, when grown an aged man whose sons had children, you broke in the mule, of Dhu 'l-Qarnayn. Go on then and leave us; death shall be thy end, though eternity sustain the column of thy existence."

As for the words, *How long, O Lubad, etc.*, we may state that Lubad was the last of the eagles of Luqmān Ibn Ā'ād. This Luqmān of whom God hath spoken in His Holy Book<sup>2</sup>, was sent by his people the 'Ādites, that he might pray for rain into the sacred territory of Makkah. When the 'Ādites perished, Luqmān was given the choice of living as long as seven dun heifers<sup>3</sup> or as long as seven eagles<sup>4</sup>, each of which, when it died, was to be succeeded by another. He chose the eagles, and, having taken a young one as it came out of the shell, he reared it and it lived for eighty years. On the death of the sixth eagle, he took a seventh, called Lubad. When Lubad grew old and unable to fly, Luqmān used to say to him: "Rise (*and depart*), O Lubad!" On the death of Lubad, Luqmān died also. The Arabs (*of the desert*) make frequent allusions to Lubad in their poems: it is thus that al-Nābighah al-Dhubayānī<sup>5</sup> says:

1 A little lower down, the author tells us who, or rather what Lubad was.

2 *Qur'an*, sūrah 31, verse 11.

3 The right reading appears نمرات (*pellets of gazelle's dung*). See the *Qāmūs* under the word نمر, and de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Ar.* tome II, p. 432.

4 The word *nasr* signifies eagle and vulture.

5 M. de Sacy has given a notice on al-Nābighah al-Dhubayānī in his *Chrestomathie*, tome. II. p. 410.

"That abode has become desolate and its inhabitants have removed: it was destroyed by that agent (*time*) which destroyed Lubad."

Let us return to our subject. Mu'adh pronounced the following lines on the death of his sons and grandchildren :

"What can he hope for in life who has consumed, of his past existence, ninety years? The ties which bound him to them (*his children*) are dissolved, and time has forced him to swallow the bitterest of woes. Yet he must drink of the same pond (*death*) as they have done, even were his life prolonged yet more."

An intimate friendship subsisted between Mu'adh and al-Kumayt Ibn Zayd<sup>1</sup> the celebrated poet: Muḥammad Ibn Sahl, the person who published by oral transmission the poems of al-Kumayt, relates as follows: Al-Ṭirimmāh<sup>2</sup> the poet went to Khālīd Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī (*No. 204*), who was then at Wāsiṭ, and recited to him a poem which he had composed in his praise. Khālīd

---

1 Coumait, fils de Zayd, issu d'Adnan par Acad Ibn Khozayma, poète très-distingué, dont le prénom était Abou 'l-Moustahill المستهيل, florissait sous les Omeyyades et mourut avant l'avènement des Abbassides, auxquels il était très-attaché. Ses poésies composées en l'honneur de la famille de Hachem, et nommées pour cette raison *Hachemiyyat*, sont comptées parmi ses Oeuvres les plus remarquables. Pendant toute sa vie, il ne cessa de célébrer la gloire des poètes issus d'Adnan et de faire la guerre aux poètes de la race de Cahtan, excepté cependant Tirimmah, dont il était l'ami intime, malgré la différence de leur origine et de leurs opinions politiques, religieuses et littéraires. Coumait habitait Coufa, où il tint quelque temps une école d'enfants. Il a fait beaucoup de vers à la louange d'Abban, fils de Walid, de la tribu de Badjila. Coumait était né à l'épouse de la mort de Hossayn, fils d'Ally en l'année 61 de l'hégire. Il mourut sous le khalifat de Merwan Ibn Mohammad (Merwan II), en l'année 126. Il fut entermé dans un lieu voisin de Coufa, nommé *mekran*, qui est devenu depuis le cimetière des Benou Acad. (Aḡḥānī III, 463-471). A. Caussin de Perceval.

2 Ṭirimmāh fils de Hakim, issu de Cahtan par Tay, est un des bons poètes du premier siècle de l'islamisme. Il avait été élevé à Damas; il alla ensuite à Coufa avec les troupes syriennes, et s'établit en cette ville. Il embrassa la secte des *Azareka*. Il a fait des vers à la louange de Khaled, fils d'Abdallah el Kasry. Il fréquentait le poète Rouba et surtout le poète Coumait, fils de Zayd, avec lequel il était intimement lié. (Aḡḥānī III, 66.) A. Caussin de Perceval.

ordered him a present of thirty thousand dirhams, and arrayed him in two mantles of figured silk and of inestimable value. When al-Kumayt heard of the circumstance, he resolved on going to Khālīd with a poem composed in his praise, but Mu'ādh Ibn Muslim al-Harrā said to him: "Do not; You are by no means like al-Ṭirimmāh; he is the son of Khālīd's uncle, and other differences exist between you: you are a Muḍarite, and Khālīd is a Yamanite strongly prejudiced against the descendants of Muḍar; you are a Shī'ite and he is a partisan of the Umayyads; you are a native of 'Irāq and he is a Syrian." Al-Kumayt refused to take his advice and persevered in the intention of visiting Khālīd. When he arrived; the Yamanites said to Khālīd: "Al-Kumayt has come, he who attacked us in his qaṣīdah which rhymes in *n*, and in it glorified his people at our expense." Khālīd, in consequence, cast him into prison, observing that it was right to do so with a man who molested people by satirical attacks. Al-Mu'ādh learned with regret what had happened, and pronounced the following lines.

"I gave you good advice, but counsels which thwart the inclinations of him to whom they are addressed, are seldom well received. You acted against an advice in which you would have found your welfare, and of a sudden, between you and your hopes, misfortune intervened. The contrary of your expectations occurred to cross you, and brought with it a long share of affliction."

When al-Kumayt heard these lines, he wrote the following verse to Mu'ādh:

"You appear to me like one who adds water to the ocean; who makes a trade of bearing sand to the desert of Yabrin."

To this he added: "The judgment has fallen upon me; what resource is now left?" Mu'ādh advised him to try and escape from prison, because Khālīd would assuredly put him to death; he in consequence disguised himself in the clothes of his wife, who came to him regularly with food, and, passing himself off for her, he left the prison and took refuge with Maslamah Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik<sup>1</sup>, whose protection he implored and to whom he addressed the following lines:

<sup>1</sup> The amīr Maslamah, son of the khālīf 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, died A.H. 122 (A.C. 739-40). (*Nujūm*).



"I passed through (*the gate*) to reach you, as the arrow of Ibn Muqbil passed through (*the target*)<sup>1</sup>; (*escaping thus*) from contention and constraint. I wore the dress of a female, but underneath I bore a determined heart, (*prompt to act*) like the sword drawn from the scabbard<sup>2</sup>."

It was thus that he escaped from Khālīd. Mu'ādh being asked the date of his birth, replied that he was born in the reign of Yazīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, or in that of 'Abd al-Malik. Now, Yazīd succeeded to the khālifate on the death of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 101 (Jan.-Feb., A. C. 720), and he died in the month of Sha'bān, A. H. 105 (January, A. C. 724): his father 'Abd al-Malik succeeded to the khālifate on the death of his father Marwān, in the month of Ramaḍān, A. H. 65 (April-May, A. C. 685), and he died in the month of Shawwāl, A. H. 86 (Sept.-Oct., A. C. 705). Mu'ādh's birth lies therefore between these limits: he died A.H. 190 (A. C. 805-6), or, according to some, in the year the Barmakids were overthrown, namely, A. H. 187 (A. C. 803), and this statement is the more correct. He was surnamed Abū Muslim, but, having got a son whom he called 'Alī, he assumed the surname of Abū 'Alī. *Harrā*, with a long final *a*, means a *dealer in the cloth of Hirāt* and such was the trade of Mu'ādh. The poet Abu 'l-Sarī, author of the piece of verse quoted in this article, was brought up in Sijistān; he pretended to have been suckled by the *genii* (*jinn*) and to have been incorporated in that class of beings. He composed a work on the *genii*, their government, genealogy, and poetry, and he pretended that he had made them take the oath of fidelity to al-Amin, the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, as successor to the throne. This obtained for him the favour of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Amin, and Zubaydah, al-Amin's mother, and, by his interest with them, he gained considerable wealth. He left some good poetry which he gave as having been uttered by *genii*, demons (*shayāṭīn*), and *sa'ālī* (*female demons*). Al-Rashīd once said to him, "If thou sawest what thou hast described, thou hast

1 This proverbial expression, the origin of which I do not recollect, is not noticed by al-Maydānī.

2 Literally: resembling the drawing of the blade.

seen wonders; if not, thou hast composed an instructive piece of literature." His whole history is a series of marvellous and strange anecdotes.

### 699 AL-MU'ĀFĀ IBN ZAKARIYĀ

The *Qāḍī* Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā Ibn Zakariyā Ibn Yahyā Ibn Ḥumayd Ibn Ḥammād Ibn Dāwūd al-Nahrawānī, surnamed Ibn Ṭarārā al-Jarirī, was a jurisconsult, a philologist, a poet, a learned scholar, versed in every branch of science. He held the post of *qāḍī* in that quarter of Baghḍād called Bāb al-Ṭāq, exercising the functions of that place as deputy to the *qāḍī* Ibn Ṣabr. Traditions were delivered by him on the authority of some eminent masters, such as Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Baghawī (No. 130, note), Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd (No. 254), Yahyā Ibn Sa'id (No. 543, note), Abū Sa'id al-'Adawī, and Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad Ibn Hārūn al-Ḥaḍramī<sup>1</sup>. One of the teachers from whom he received his philological information was Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Arafah Ibn Niṣṭawayh (No. 11), and (Traditional information) was transmitted from him to later students by Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Azharī, the *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabari (No. 544) doctor of the *Shāfi'ite* sect. Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī al-Thawrī, Aḥmad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Rawḥ, and others. Aḥmad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Rawḥ relates as follows: Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā went to the house of a certain *ra'īs*<sup>2</sup>, and found a number, of the literati and philologists assembled there. They asked him what branch of science he felt inclined to discuss with them, and he addressed the *ra'īs* in these terms: "Your library contains treatises on all the branches of knowledge and of literature; will you be pleased to send your boy there and let him open the door and bring us the first book he lays his hand on; you will then examine the subject of which it treats, and that subject we shall discuss." "This," says

1 This traditionist died A.H. 321 (A.C. 933), (*Nujūm*.)

2 See No. 648, note, and No. 325, note. The word *ra'īs* now signifies captain of a vessel.

Ibn Rawḥ, "proves that Abu 'l-Faraj was acquainted with all the sciences." Abū Muḥammad al-Bāfi<sup>1</sup> used to say: "When the qāḍī Abu 'l-Faraj is present, we have with us all the sciences." He said also: "Were a man to devise one third of his property to the most learned of men, it should be delivered over to Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā." Al-Mu'āfā was a sure and trustworthy transmitter of traditional information. He composed some good poetry, and the following piece is given as his by Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī.

"Say to him who envies me: 'Do you know whom you offend by your conduct? you offend God in finding fault with what he did; for you are not pleased at what God hath bestowed upon me. My God therefore punish you in giving me an increase (of knowledge) and excluding him from every path by which knowledge may be reached.'"

The shaykh Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī (No. 5) mentions him with commendation in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, and then adds these words: "Abū 'Alī 'l-Dāwūdī, the Qāḍī of our city states that the following verses were recited to him by Abu 'l-Faraj as his own:

"Shall I seek to obtain light from the cloud, or water from the mirage? I ask of vile fortune to lavish on me its favours, and I am sated with the fruit of bitterness. And yet I hope with longing desire to meet the best of men in the worst of ages<sup>2</sup>."

The following piece is by al-Mu'āfā:

"The Lord of the universe is bound to provide for me; why then should I submit myself as a slave to the world! Before I was created, he who formed me, may His name be glorified! fixed my

---

1 The manuscripts read erroneously *al-Baḥrī* الباهي instead of al-Bāfi البافي\* Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Bāfi al-Khūwārazmī (native of the village of Bāf, in the province of Khūwārizm or Khārizm) was highly distinguished as a jurisconsult, a poet, and a literary scholar. He succeeded al-Dārakī (No. 360) as professor at Baḥḥadād, and died in the year 398 (A.C. 1007-8). (*Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā*, autographic manuscript belonging to the *Bibliothèque impériale*, No. 755, fol. 77 verso).

2 Literally: In the age of dogs.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd hives: al-Bāji.—Ed.

share of adversity and prosperity. When rich, liberality and beneficence are my companions; when poor, my companion is meekness. As I am unable to repel the favours of God, so is all my intelligence unable to attract them."

It is stated that he composed these lines in imitation of the following by 'Alī Ibn al-Jahm (No. 437):

"Be assured that idleness is not always hurtful, and that application is not always useful. Since the provision God has allotted you will reach you equally soon, be you at home or abroad, enjoy the pleasure of repose."

A singular coincidence (*of names*) is thus related by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (No. 590) in his *al-Jam' bayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*: he there says: I read the following anecdote in the handwriting of Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā Ibn Zakariyā al-Nahrawānī: "I made the pilgrimage one year, and, being at Mina on one of the three days which follow the Day of the Sacrifice, I heard a person call out: 'Ho! Abu 'l-Faraj!' I said to myself: He perhaps means me; but then I reflected that many persons bore the surname of Abu 'l-Faraj, and that some other individual might be meant. When the man found that no one answered him, he called out again: 'Ho! Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā!' I was on the point of answering when I reflected that there might exist another man named al-Mu'āfā and surnamed Abu Faraj; so I said nothing, and the same person shouted out a third time: 'Ho! Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā Ibn Zakariyā al-Nahrawānī!' 'Oh!' said I to myself, there can be no doubt but that he calls me; he mentions my name, my surname, the name of my father, and the name of the town to which I belong; I therefore, answered; 'Here I am; what do you want'? He replied 'You are perhaps from al-Nahrawān in the East'? I answered that I was, on which he observed that the Nahrawān which he meant lay in the West. I was much struck with all these coincidences and I learned that there was a place in Maghrib called al-Nahrawān, quite different from the Nahrawān which is in 'Irāq!'" Abu 'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā composed a number of

---

1 This anecdote is curious enough, but, unfortunately for its authenticity, no place of that name exists in Maġhrib.

instructive works on literary and other subjects. He is the author of the book entitled *Al-Jalis wa 'l-Anis* (the companion and friend). His birth took place on Thursday the 8th of the month of Rajab, 303 (January, A.C. 916)\*, or 305 according to another statement. He died on Monday, the 18th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 390 (19th November, A.C. 1000), at Nahrawān. *Ṭarārū* is written with a final ā (ا) but some persons replace this letter by a (ة) *Al-Jarīrī* means related to Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, the *imām* of whom we have already spoken. Abu 'l-Faraj received this surname because he had accepted and followed implicitly the religious opinions taught by al-Ṭabarī who, as we have already stated (*No. 544*), was a *mujtahid imām* and the founder of a particular sect. He had a great number of disciples, many of whom adopted his system of doctrine, and one of these was Abu 'l-Faraj. As we have already spoken of *Nahrawān* (*No. 164*), we need not repeat our observations here.

#### 700 AL-MU'IZZ LI-DĪN ALLĀH

Abū Tamīm Ma'add, surnamed *al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh* (the exalter of God's religion), was the son of al-Manṣūr, the son of al-Qā'im, the son of al-Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 95*), of his grandfather (*No. 659*) and of his great grandfather (*No. 332*) and given a sketch of their history. Al-Mu'izz received from the people, in the lifetime of his father, the oath of fealty as heir to the throne. The oath was renewed to him after his father's death and on the date mentioned in our article on that prince. Having then taken into his hands the direction of affairs, he governed the state remarkably well. On Sunday, the 7th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah 341 (25th April, A.C. 953), he took his seat on the throne of the empire, so that the grantees and a great number of the people might do him homage. They saluted him with the title of *khalif*, on which he assumed the surname of *al-Mu'izz*, without shewing any sorrow for the death of his father.

\* 18 January.—Ed.

Having then set out to visit the provinces of Ifrīqiyah and provide for their welfare and tranquillity, he subdued the rebels in these countries, chose from among his pages and followers those whose ability and intelligence he had appreciated and confided to them the government of his (towns and) districts. To each of them he furnished a numerous troop of militia and men at arms. He then placed a large army under the orders of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Jawhar, the *qā'id* of whom we have spoken under the letter *J* (No. 141) and sent him to subdue all the countries of Maghrib which had refused obedience. Jawhar went to Fez and from that to Sijilmāssah. Having taken these cities, he marched towards the ocean which environs the world, caught, some fish therein, put them into jars filled with water and sent them to al-Mu'izz. He then returned to his master, bringing with him as prisoners, in an iron cage, the sovereigns of Fez and Sijilmāssah. A full account of that expedition would be too long to relate; let it suffice to say that the *qā'id* did not return to al-Mu'izz until he had solidly established that prince's authority in those countries and chastised the disobedient and the refractory. (*He vanquished them everywhere he met them*), from the door (*or capital*) of Ifrīqiyah to the ocean, in the West, and from the same capital as far as the provinces of Egypt, in the East. There remained not a spot in all these regions wherein the sovereignty of al-Mu'izz had not been proclaimed; in every one of them, the Friday prayer was offered up in his name by the congregation, with the sole exception of Sibtah (*Ceuta*), which city remained in the possession of the Umayyad sovereigns who ruled in Spain. When al-Mu'izz was informed of the death of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī (No. 520), who was governor of Egypt, as we have already stated, al-Mu'izz ordered Jawhar to make preparations for marching into that country. Jawhar, before going, made an expedition towards the West, in order to settle matters there. He took with him an immense army, assembled all the Arab tribes that were to accompany him to Egypt, and collected from the Barbarians five hundred thousand dinārs of taxes which they owed for territories granted to them by government. When the winter season arrived, al-Mu'izz set out for al-Mahdiyyah and caused five hundred camel-loads of dinārs to be transported from the palaces of his forefathers to his own. On Sunday, the 27th of Muḥarram, A.H. 358 (21st Dec.

A.C. 968), Jawhar came back, bringing to al-Mu'izz troops and money, and then received the order to set out for Egypt. He took with him a great number of tribes (*both Arabic and Barbar*). In our article on Jawhar we have given the date of his departure and that of his arrival in Egypt, so we need not repeat them here. Al-Mu'izz spent on the army which accompanied Jawhar so great a sum of money that the donatives (*in some cases*) amounted to one thousand *dīnārs* (*a man*) and were never less than twenty. The soldiers being thus enriched by his gifts, laid out their money at Qayrawān and Šabrah<sup>1</sup>, in purchasing whatever they stood in need of. Jawhar departed with the army and took with him one thousand camels loaded with money and arms. The quantity of cavalry and ammunitions was immense. Dearth and pestilence had prevailed in Egypt that year and carried off, it is said, (six hundred thousand persons in the capital and the provinces. On the 15th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 358 (2nd of August, A.C. 969), al-Mu'izz received intelligence of the conquest of Egypt by his troops. Some time after, the dromedary express arrived with a dispatch containing an account of the conquest. Jawhar wrote repeatedly to al-Mu'izz, requesting him in the most pressing terms to come to Egypt, and soon after, he informed him by a courier that Egypt, Syria and Hījāz were brought into perfect order and that the prayer was offered up in his name throughout all those countries. This news gave al-Mu'izz the utmost satisfaction and, as soon as his authority was consolidated in Egypt, he set out, after naming Bulukkin Ibn Ziri Ibn Manād (*No. 116*) as his lieutenant governor in Ifriqiyah. He took with him an immense sum of money and a number of very influential and powerful chiefs. He started from al-Manšūriyah<sup>2</sup>, the seat of his empire, on Monday, the 21st of Shawwāl, A.H. 361 (5th August, A.C. 972) and proceeded to Sardāniyah<sup>3</sup> where he stopped in order to rally his officers,

1 Šabrah was one of the suburbs of Qayrawān.

2 The name of *al-Manšūriyah* was given to Šabrah by Ismā'il al-Manšūr, the third Fātimid Khalif. Al-Barqī's *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, p. 64).

3 Al-Bakrī places Sardāniyah near Jalūlā, which place is about 24 miles from Qayrawān. Sardāniyah was so called because a number of Christians,

(Continued on page 281)

followers and all those who were to accompany him. Whilst at that station he ratified Bulukkīn's nomination, the date of which has been already given in his biographical notice. He departed thence on Thursday, the 5th of Šafar 362 (15th Nov., A.C. 972) and continued his march, halting at certain places for a few days and, at other times, proceeding with great speed. On his way, he passed through Barqah and entered Alexandria on Saturday, the 23rd *Ša'bān* of the same year (29th May, A.C. 973). He went in on horse-back and proceeded to the bath. Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad, *qādī* of Mišr (Old Cairo), accompanied by the chief men of the country waited on him (*in Alexandria*) and offered him their salutations. He held a sitting near the light-house, in order to receive them and, addressing to them a long speech, he said that he had come to Egypt, not for the purpose of augmenting his dominions and his wealth but of maintaining the true faith, protecting pilgrims and making war against the infidels. He declared his resolution to close his life in the exercise of good works and to act in conformity with the orders he had received from his ancestor, the Prophet (*Muḥammad*). He then preached to them and made a long exhortation which drew tears from some of those who were present; after which, he arrayed the *qādī* and other persons of the assembly in robes of honour, made each of them a present of a horse (*or mule*), ready harnessed, and dismissed them. Towards the end of the month of *Ša'bān*, he left Alexandria and, on Saturday, the 2nd of Ramaḍān (6th June, A.C. 973) he stopped at Mīnā, which is the wharf of Mišr, opposite Jizah. The *qā'id* Jawhar went forth to meet him and, on drawing near, dismounted (*from his horse*) and kissed the ground before him. The wazīr Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt, of whom we have given some account under the letter *J* (*No. 130*) had also an interview, at al-Jizah, with al-Mu'izz, who remained there three days. The army prepared for crossing the river to the wharf of Mišr, with their baggage, and, on Tuesday, the 5th of Ramaḍān,—or, by another account, on the 7th

---

(Continued from page 280)

whom the Musulmāns had carried off from the site of Sardāniyah, were permitted to settle there. Another colony of the same people existed in the neighbourhood of Tūzar. (Al-Bakrī, p. 78; Ibn Khaldūn's *Historie des Berbers*, vol. III, p. 156, of my translation).



of that month, al-Mu'izz passed the Nile and proceeded to al-Qāhirah (*Cairo*), without entering Miṣr (*Old Cairo*), although the inhabitants had adorned the streets of the city, thinking he would visit it. On the other hand, the people of Cairo had made no preparations for his reception, as they supposed that he would, first of all, go to Miṣr. On arriving at Cairo, he went to the Castle and entered a hall of audience where he fell prostrate in adoration of almighty God. He then said a prayer of two *rak'ahs*<sup>1</sup> and dismissed the company. It was after al-Mu'izz that Cairo received the surname of *al Mu'izziyah* (*the Muizzian*), this city having been built for him by the *qā'id* Jawhar. On Friday, the 17th of Muḥarram 364 (7th Oct., A.C. 974), al-Mu'izz took away from Jawhar the superintendence of the government offices, the collectorship of the revenue and the direction of all other public affairs. In our article on the *sharīf* 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (*No. 317*) we stated that, in a conversation with al-Mu'izz, he questioned him about his genealogy, and we gave that sovereign's answer; we mentioned also what he was bold enough to do on his return to the Castle. Al-Mu'izz was highly intelligent, resolute and lofty-minded, an accomplished scholar, and a good astronomer (*or astrologer*). The following piece of verse is said to be his :

"See what those eyes have wrought upon us from beneath those hoods ! They are more cutting and more piercing to the soul than daggers to the throat. Between them all I am as much fatigued as a proscrip<sup>t</sup> flying under a mid-day sun."

These lines also are said to be his :

"Beauty, rising in your forehead like a sun, looked down on roses of your cheeks, and thy loveliness, fearing that these roses might fade in that parching heat, spread over them thy hair as a shade."

This is a fine and original idea. We have already given an article on his son Tamīm (*No. 122*) and some specimens of his poetry. We shall speak of his (other) son, al-'Azīz Nizār, under the letter *N*. Al-Mu'izz was born at al-Mahdiyyah, on Monday,

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 270, note.

the 11th of Ramaḍān 319 (27th Sept, A.C. 931) ; he died at Cairo on Friday, the 15th, or as some say the 13th of the second Rabi' 365 (20th Dec., A.C. 975), or, by another account, the 7th of that month<sup>1</sup>.

## 701 AL-MUSTANŠIR BI-ALLĀH

Abū Tamīm Ma'add, surnamed al-Mustanšir Bi-Allāh (*the invoker of God's assistance*), was the son of al-Zāhir li-l'zāz Dīn Allāh, the son of al-Hākīm, the son of al-'Azīz, the son of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, him whose biography we have just given. The rest of his ancestors we have already mentioned. He was proclaimed sovereign on Sunday, the 15th of Sha'bān 427 (14th June, A.C. 1036), after the death of his father. During his reign a number of events took place the like of which never occurred in the reign of any other prince of that family, either before or after him. Such, for instance, was the affair of Abu 'l-Hārith Arslān al-Basāsiri (*No. 78*) who, having acquired great power and influence in Baghdād, substituted in the public prayer (*khutbah*)<sup>2</sup> the name of al-Mustanšir for that of the *imām* (and 'Abbasid *khalif*) al-Qā'im. This took place in the year 450 (A.C. 1058). During twelve months the *khutbah* was recited, in the name al-Mustanšir from all the pulpits of Baghdād. Another remarkable occurrence was the revolt of 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣulayhī who, having become master of Yaman in the manner we have already related (*No. 459*) had prayers offered up for al-Mustanšir from all the pulpits of that country, immediately after the *khutbah*. This event is so well-known that details are unnecessary. Another extraordinary fact was that he reigned sixty years, which was more than any member of the 'Abbasid family or of his own ever did. Another strange thing was his being raised to the sovereignty at

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the life of this sovereign consult the *Vie d' el-Moezz* by Quatremere (*Journal asiatique* de 1837), and the *Histoire des Berbers*, tome II, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See *No. 78*, note on *khutbah*.

the age of seven years. Another was that, from the time his ancestor al-Mahdī obtained the supreme power till the days of al-Mu'izz,—see the preceding article,—the prayer had been always offered up in Maghrib for the Fātimids; when al-Mu'izz set out for Egypt, he appointed Bulukkin Ibn Zīrī as his lieutenant in that country, and *khutbah* continued to be said there as usual (*for the Fātimid dynasty*); but al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, of whom we shall give some account (No. 703) put a stop to the practice. This happened in the year 443 (A.C. 1051-2), during the reign of al-Mustanşir. The author of the History of Qayrawān<sup>1</sup> gives the year 435 as the date of this event; <sup>2</sup> but God knows best. In the year 439 (A.C. 1047) the names of al-Mustanşir and of his ancestors were replaced in the *khutbah*, at Makkah and at Madinah, by that of al-Muqtadī<sup>3</sup>, the *khalif* of Baghdād; but an account of this would lead us too far. Another extraordinary thing happened during al-Mustanşir's reign: a great famine, the like of which had never

1 The history of Qayrawān has been written by the following authors: 1st, Ibn al-Rāqīq, who was still living in the year 341 (A.C. 952); 2nd, Ibn al-Jazzār, who, according to the *Bayyān al-Mūghrib*, died in 369 (A.C. 979), or, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, in 395 (A.C. 1004-5); 3rd, Ibn Raṣṣīq, who died in Sicily in the year 463 (A.C. 1070-1); 4th, Ibn Ṣhaddād the Ṣanhāiyan, who died in 501 (A.C. 1107-8); 5th, Ibn Ḥammād, whose work is cited by Ibn Khaldūn, 6th, Ibn Ṣharaf, whose history is quoted in the *Bayyān*; and 7th, Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Mālikī, author of a biographical work, arranged in chronological order, and treating of the most remarkable jurisconsults and devotees who had appeared at Qayrawān, up to the year 356 of the Hijrah inclusively. It furnishes occasionally some good historical information. The MS. of the *Bibliothèque imperiale* is dated 24th Rajab 727 (June, A.C. 1327), and one of those from which it was copied bore the date of 544 A.C. 1149-50).

2 Ibn Khaldūn, who gives a full account of this event, (see *Histoire des Berbers*, tome I, page 31st suiv.) states that it took place in the year 437, (A.C. 1045-6); but, in the second volume of the same work, page, 20, he says it happened in the year 440, and this is also the date given by the author of the *Bayyān*.

3 The author has here fallen into a mistake; the *khalif* al-Muqtadī commenced his reign A.H. 467. It was the *khalif* al-Qā'im whose supremacy was acknowledged in Maghrib after the revolt of al-Mu'izz the Ziride. Ibn Khaldūn, in his *Histoire des Berbers*, tome II, p. 21 says so positively, and the date suffices to prove that he is in the right. Ibn Khallikān has avoided this error in his life of al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, (No. 703).

been known since the days of (*the patriarch*) Joseph the faithful, desolated Egypt during seven years; men ate the flesh of their fellow-men and, it is said, a single cake of bread was sold for fifty pieces of gold (*dinārs*). As long as this calamity lasted, al-Mustanşir alone possessed a horse, and, when he rode out, the courtiers followed on foot, not having a beast to carry them. Individuals walking in the streets fell dead of hunger. Al-Mustanşir was obliged to borrow a mule for his parasol-bearer, from Ibn Hibat Allāh, president of the board of official correspondence<sup>1</sup>. - The famine rose at length to such a height that, in the year 462 (A.C. 1069-70), al-Mustanşir's mother and daughters removed to Baghdād. The inhabitants of Egypt dispersed into various countries and were scattered abroad. It continued to rage with unabated violence till Badr al-Jamālī Amīr al-Juyūsh, the father of al-Afdāl Shāhanshāh, set sail from Acre, as we have related in the life of his son (*No. 266*) and proceeded to Egypt where he took in hands the direction of affairs and re-established the prosperity of the country. The details of his proceedings would lead us too far. Al-Mustanşir was born on the morning of Tuesday, the 16th of the second Jumādā 420 (2nd July, A.C. 1029); he died on the eve of Thursday, the 18th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah 487 (6th Jan., A.C. 1095). I may here observe that the 18th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah is the anniversary of the *Festival of Ghadīr* (*'Id al-Ghadīr*) which is the same as that of *Ghadīr Khumm* (*the pond of Khumm*). I mention this, having heard many persons ask on what day of the month that festival took place. *Khumm*, situated between Makkah and Madīnah, is a place where there is a pond of water, or by another account, a morass. When the Prophet returned from Makkah, the *year of the farewell*<sup>2</sup>, he halted at *Khumm* and adopted 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib as his brother, saying: "'Alī is to me what Aaron was to Moses. Almighty God! be a friend to his friends and a foe to his foes; help those who help him and frustrate the hopes of those

---

1 See, for the board of correspondence or chancery office, No. 14, note on chancery.

2 The tenth year of the Hijrah was called the *year of the farewell*, because it was that in which Muḥammad made his last pilgrimage and bid adieu to Makkah.

who betray him." The Shī'ites attach great importance to this (tradition). According to Al-Ḥāzīmī (*No. 599*), *Khumm* is the name of a valley lying between Makkah and Madinah, and in the neighbourhood of al-Juḥfah<sup>1</sup>. It contains a pond near which the Prophet pronounced his invocation. This valley is notorious for the insalubrity of its air and the malignity of its fevers. We have already noticed some members of Mustanṣir's family and shall speak of others in their proper places<sup>2</sup>.

## 702 MA'RŪF AL-KARKHĪ

Abū Maḥfūz Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, the celebrated saint, was the son of Firūz\*, or Firūzān, or 'Alī, and one of the clients of 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā, a person of whom we have already spoken (*No. 398*). His parents, who were Christians, delivered him over to a school-master of that persuasion, and when this man told him to say: "(God is) the third of three," he replied: "Not so! He is the Only One<sup>3</sup>". Having once received a severe beating from his master for making such an answer, he ran away and left him. His parents then said: "O! were he to come back to us we should conform to whatever religion he may have chosen." Some time after, he made his profession of Islāmism in the hands of 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā and, having returned to his parents' house, he knocked at the door. A voice (*from within*) said: "Who is there? He answered: Ma'rūf." "What religion does he follow?" Islāmism". His parents then became Muslims. Ma'rūf had the reputation of always obtaining from God the fulfilment of his prayers; so, in

1 See No. 145, note on Juḥfah.

2 A long notice on al-Mustanṣir, compiled from the works of various Arabic authors, was published by Quatremere in the second volume of his *Memoires sur l' Egypte*.

3 That means: God is the third person of the Trinity. It is a *Qur'ānic* expression (see sūrah 5, verse 77), but could never have been made use of by a Christian teacher. This shews that the story here related is a Muslim fabrication.

\* The Arabic pronunciation of this name is Fayrūz.—Ed.

times of drought, the inhabitants of Baghdād offer up the prayer for rain at his tomb. They have also a saying that the tomb of Ma'rūf is an approved remedy for every ill. He said, one day, to his disciple Sarī al-Saqāṭī (*No.* 239): "When thou standest in need of God's assistance, invoke Him to grant it for my sake." "I saw, in a dream, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī;" so relates al-Sāqāṭī, "he seemed to be under the throne (*of God*) and the Creator, may His power be glorified! said to the angels: 'Who is that?' To which they answered: 'Thou knowest, O Lord! better than we do.' (God) replied: 'It is Ma'rūf al-Karkhī; he was intoxicated with love for me and did not recover till he met Me.'" Ma'rūf once related as follows: "One of the disciples of Dāwūd al-Ṭā'ī<sup>1</sup> said to me: 'Take care not to discontinue the act, for, by it, thou art brought near unto the favour of thy Lord.'" 'What is that act?' said I. He answered: 'Continual obedience to thy Lord and respect, with good counsel, for the Muslims.'" Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn relates that he heard his father say: "I saw, in a dream, Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, after his death, and I said to him: 'How did God treat thee?' and, he answered: 'He hath shewn mercy unto me.' 'Was it for thy self-mortification and thy devotion?' said I. 'No,' said he, 'but because I had hearkened to the exhortation of Ibn al-Sammāk (*No.* 603) and because I clung to poverty and consorted with the poor." Ma'rūf himself gave the following account of Ibn al-Sammāk's exhortation: "As I was passing through Kūfah, I stopped to hear a man called Ibn al-Sammāk, who was preaching to the people. In the course of his sermon he said: 'Whosoever turneth altogether from God, God will turn totally away from him; whosoever turneth his heart towards God, God will turn towards him with mercy and a look of consent to his wishes, and he who has been (*devour*) from time to time, God will shew him mercy on a time'! His words sunk into my heart, so I turned towards God and left every occupation except the service of my patron 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā. I related this discourse to al-Riḍā and he said: 'That exhortation is quite sufficient if thou art capable of being touched by an exhortation.'" We have already spoken of Ibn al-Sammāk among the *Muḥammads*. When Ma'rūf was on his

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 143, note.

death-bed, they asked him for his last injunctions and he answered : "After my death, give away my shirt in alms ; naked I came into the world and naked I wish to leave it." He passed, one day, by a water-carrier who was crying out : "God have mercy on him who drinketh ! " On this, he went up to him and took a drink, though he was at that time keeping a strict fast. Some one then said to him : "Art thou not keeping a fast ?" and he replied : "Yes, I am, but I hoped for the fulfilment of that man's prayer." The merits of Ma'rūf and the anecdotes respecting him are too numerous to be related. He died at Baghdād in the year 200 (A.C. 815-6) or, by other accounts, in 201 or 204. His tomb is in that city ; it is a well-known monument, much frequented by pious visitors. *Karkhī* means *belonging to Karkh*. Nine places bearing this name are mentioned in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī's geographical dictionary, but the best known of them is that which is (*the suburb*) of Baghdād. Ma'rūf most certainly belonged to that place, though some say he was a native of the *Kharkh of Juddān*, which is a village in 'Irāq situated on the line which separates the government of *Khaneqān* from that of *Shahrzūr*.

### 703 AL-MU'IZZ IBN BĀDĪS THE ZĪRIDE

Al-Mu'izz al-Ḥimyarī al-Ṣanhājī (*the Ṣanhājīyan Ḥimyarite*)<sup>1</sup>, sovereign of Ifrīqiyah and its maghribine dependencies, was the son of Bādīs, the son of Maṣṣūr, the son of Bulukkin, the son of Zīrī, the son of Manād. In our article on his son, the amīr Tamīm (*No. 123*), we have given the rest of the genealogy. Al-Ḥākim the (Fātimid) sovereign of Egypt, conferred on him the title of *Sharf al-Dawlah* (*nobleness of the empire*) and sent him a robe of honour with a diploma authorising him to take that title. This happened in the month of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah* 407 (May, A.C. 1017). Al-Mu'izz was a powerful and

1 Ibn al-Kalbī, Ṭabarī, Nuwayrī, and other historians assert that the Ṣanhājah, a people who form one of the oldest and purest Barbar tribes, that of Zenag (*Senegal*), descended from the Arabic tribe of Ḥimyar. This opinion, though deserving of attention, was not admitted by the native genealogists of the Barbar race (See *Histoire des berbers*, tome II, p. 2 et suiv.)

high-minded prince, a friend to the learned, and prodigal of gifts. In the series of sovereigns belonging to that family, he held the central place<sup>1</sup>. We have already mentioned his father and his grandfather (*No. 105*) and also his great grandfather (*No. 116*). Poets were loud in his praise, literary men courted his patronage and all who hoped for gain made his court their halting-place. The rite of Abū Ḥanifah was (*at that time*) more prevalent in Ifriqiyah than any other, but al-Mu'izz obliged all the people of Mauritania\* to adopt that of Mālik Ibn Anas (*No. 524*), and thus put a stop to all contestations arising from the diversity of legal and ritual observances. Things have continued in the same state up to the present time<sup>2</sup>. In our article on Mustanşir bi-Allāh the 'Ubaydide<sup>3</sup>, we mentioned that al-Mu'izz repudiated the authority of that sovereign, suppressed his name in the *khutbah* and replaced it by that of al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh, the *khalif* of Baghdād. On this, al Mustanşir wrote him a long and threatening letter, in which was this passage: "Why hast thou not trod in the steps of thy forefathers, shewing us obedience and fidelity?" To which al-Mu'izz replied: "My father and my forefathers were kings of Maghrib before thy predecessors obtained possession of that country. Our family rendered them services not to be retributed by any rank which thou canst give. When people attempted to degrade them, they exalted themselves by means of their swords." He persisted in suppressing al-Mustanşir's name and, from that time up to the present day, the *khutbah* has never been said in Ifriqiyah for any Egyptian sovereign. Many anecdotes are told of al-Mu'izz, but his history is so well-known that we need not expatiate on the subject<sup>4</sup>. He composed a few pieces of verse, but none of them

---

1 Literally: He was the central (and finest) pearl of their neck-lace.

2 The rite of Mālik is still the only one prevalent in the states of northern Africa. It is followed also in the Negro countries.

3 See No. 699 of this volume. The Fāṭimids were called 'Ubaydids by those who did not look upon them as descendants of Fā'imah, the daughter of Muhammad. This designation was given to them because their ancestor was named 'Ubayd Allāh.

4 The history of al-Mu'izz the Ziride is given by Ibn K̄aldūn in the *Histoire des Berbers*, tome I, p. 30 et suiv; et tome II, p. 18 et suiv.

\* Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Maḡhrib.—Ed.



have fallen into my hands. He was sitting, one day, in his saloon with a number of literary men about him, and before him lay a lemon shaped like a hand and fingers<sup>1</sup>. He asked them to extemporize some verses on that subject, and Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (*No.* 157) recited the following lines :

"A lemon, with its extremities gracefully spread out, appears before all eyes without being injured<sup>2</sup>. It seems to hold out a hand towards the Creator, invoking long life to the son of Bādīs."

Al-Mu'izz declared the verse excellent and shewed more favour to the author than to any other literary man in the assembly. He was born at al-Manṣūriyah, a place called also Ṣabrah, and forming one of the governments of Ifrīqiya<sup>3</sup>. His birth took place on Thursday, the 7th of the first Jumādā 398 (19th January, A.C. 1008). He obtained the supreme command after the death of his father Bādīs and on the day specified in our account of that prince's life<sup>4</sup>. He was solemnly inaugurated at al-Muḥammadiyah<sup>5</sup>, another of the governments of Ifrīqiya. This event took place on Saturday, the 3rd of Dhu 'l-Hijjah 406 (13th May, A.C. 1016). He died at Qayrawān on the 4th of Shā'bān 454 (13th August, A.C. 1062) of a malady he had contracted, a weakness of the liver. None of the princes of his family reigned so long as he. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn Rashīq lamented his death in an elegy of which all the verses rhymed in *k*; we abstain from inserting this piece, in order to avoid prolixity. This prince had no other name but al-Mu'izz (*which is however a simple title or surname*). To clear up this point, I made every possible search: consulting books, learned men, natives of Mauritania and writers of annals, but could only find that he was called al-Mu'izz and that his surname was unknown. It would therefore appear that al-Mu'izz was really his

1 Lemons of this form are not uncommon in Algeria.

2 The effects of the evil eye may be averted by holding up the hand, with the fingers spread open. It is to this circumstance that the poet alludes.

3 Ṣabrah was quite contiguous to Qayrawān.

4 The inauguration of al-Mu'izz had been deferred because he was only eight years old on his father's death.

5 The town and canton of al-Muḥammadiyah lie nine miles south of Tunis.

name ; besides, we are not authorised to suppose that (*in his case*) it was a surname, for none of his family ever bore one. I give it therefore for his name, as I found it.

## 704 ABŪ 'UBAYDAH

Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar Ibn al-Muthannā, an adoptive member of the Qurayshid family of Taym and a native of Baṣrah, was an able grammarian and an accomplished scholar. He is spoken of by al-Jāhīz (*No. 481*) in these terms : "There was never on earth a *Khārijite* (*dissenter*) or an orthodox believer more learned in all the sciences than he." Ibn Qutaybah (*No. 306*) speaks of him thus in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* : The unusual expression (*of the Arabic language*), the history of the (*ancient*) Arabs and their conflicts, were his predominant study ; yet, with all his learning, he was not always able to recite a verse without mangling it ; even in reading the *Qur'ān*, with the book before his eyes, he made mistakes. He detested the Arabs (*of the desert*) and composed a number of treatises in their dispraise. His opinions were those of the *Khārijites*. "Another author relates as follows : " In the year 188 (A.C. 804) he proceeded from Baṣrah to Baghdād, whither he had been called by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and explained some of his works to that prince. He taught Traditions on the authority of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah<sup>1</sup> and others ; Traditions were given on his authority by 'Alī Ibn al-Mughriah al-Aṭṭham<sup>2</sup>, Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (*No. 509*) Abū 'Uṭhmān al-Māzini (*No. 115*), Abū Ḥatīm al-Sijistānī (*No. 262*) ? 'Umar Ibn Shabbah al-Numayrī (*No. 466*) and others". Abū 'Ubaydah related the following anecdote : "Al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' (*No. 503*) sent to me, at Baṣrah, the order to go and see him. So, I set out, though I had been informed of his haughtiness, Being admitted into his presence, I found him in a very long and broad saloon, (*the floor*

1 The life of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah will be found in this work.

2 See No. 531, note (3), and read *Mughriah* in place of *Mughhayrah*. (The error has been corrected in this edition.—Ed).

of which was) was covered with a carpet of one single piece. At the upper end of the room was a pile of mattresses, so lofty that it could not be got upon without a foot-stool, and on those mattresses al-Faḍl was seated. I said to him: 'Hail to the wazīr!' He returned my greeting, smiled on me and, bidding me draw near, he placed me on the same seat with himself. He then asked me sundry questions and showed me such affability as set me quite at ease. At his request, I recited to him the finest anteislamite poems I could recollect. 'I know most of these;' said he 'what I want is (to hear) gay verses!' I recited some to him, and, as I proceeded, he shook his sides, laughed and got into an excellent humour. A well looking man, in the dress of a *kātib*<sup>1</sup>, then came in, and al-Faḍl made him sit down beside me and asked him if he knew me. On his reply that he did not, he said to him: 'This is Abū 'Ubaydah, the most learned man of Baṣrah, we sent for him that we might derive some benefit from his learning.' 'May God bless you!' exclaimed the man, 'you did well!' Turning then towards me, he said: 'I have been longing to see you, as I have been asked a question which I wished to submit to you.' I replied: 'Let us hear it.' 'The (*Qur'ān* which is the) word of God, said he, 'contains this passage: '*the buds of which are like heads of demons*<sup>2</sup>. Now, we are all aware that, in promises and threats, the comparisons which are made should refer to things already known; yet no one knows what a demon's head is like.' 'To this' I replied: 'God spoke there to the Arabs in their own style; have you not heard the verse of Imra al-Qays:

"Will he kill me? me whose bed-fellows are a sword and (arrows) pointed with azure (steel), like unto the fangs of ogres."

"Now, the Arabs never saw an ogre, but, as they stood in awe of such beings, they were often threatened with them." Al-Faḍl and the man who questioned me approved this answer, and, on that very day, I took the resolution of composing a treatise on

1 See Introduction.

2 See *Qur'ān*, sūrah 37, verse 63. There is, say the commentators, a thorny tree which grows in Tihāmah and bears a fruit like an almond, but extremely bitter. Its name, *zaqqūm*, is given, in the *Qur'ān*, to a tree growing in hell, the fruit of which will be the food of the damned.

the *Qur'ān*, in explanation of this and similar difficulties, with every necessary elucidation. On my return to Baṣrah, I drew up the work and entitled it *al-Majāz (metaphors)*. On enquiry respecting that man, I learned that he was one of the wazīr's *kātib*s and boon companions.' Abū 'Ubaydah, having been informed that (*Abū Sa'id*) al-Aṣma'i (No. 354) blamed him for composing the *Kitāb al-Majāz*, and that he had said: "He speaks of God's Book after his own private judgement!" enquired when and where he gave lessons, and, on the day mentioned, he mounted his ass, rode up to the circle of scholars, dismounted and after saluting al-Aṣma'i, sat down and conversed with him. On finishing, he said: "Tell me, Abū Sa'id! what sort of a thing is bread?" The other answered: "It is that which you bake and eat." "There," said Abū 'Ubaydah, "you have explained the book of God after your own private judgement<sup>2</sup>, for God, may His name be exalted! has said (*in repeating the words of Pharaoh's chief (baker)*): 'I was bearing on my head (a load of) bread<sup>3</sup>:'" Al-Aṣma'i replied: "I said what appeared to me true and did not (*mean to*) explain the *Qur'ān* after my private judgement." On which Abū 'Ubaydah replied: "And all that I said and which you blamed me for appeared to me true, and I did not (*mean to*) explain the *Qur'ān* after my private judgement." He then rose from his place, mounted his ass and went off. Al-Bāhili, the author of the *Kitāb al-Mā'ani*<sup>4</sup> declared that students who went to al-Aṣma'i's lessons were purchasing pellets of dung in the pearl-market, and that, when they went to those of Abū 'Ubaydah, they purchased pearls in the dung-market. He said so because al-Aṣma'i recited with much elegance and could set off anecdotes and verses, even of the poorest kind, so as to make the very worst appear

---

1 Private judgment was at first allowed in explaining certain obscure passages of the *Qur'ān* and of the Traditions; but, after the establishment of the four orthodox rites, it was formally disapproved of by the Muslim doctors.

2 See No. 354.

3 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 12, verse 36.

4 Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Bāhili composed a commentary on a work in which al-Ṭaḥāwī (No. 24) explained the obscure terms and passages which occur in the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions. He died A.H. 321 (A.C. 933), His treatise and that of al-Ṭaḥāwī bore the same title.

good, but that little real information was to be obtained from him; whereas, Abū 'Ubaydah expressed himself badly but furnished a mass of useful knowledge. Abū 'Ubaydah never explained the verses (*which he recited*). Al-Mubarrad (No. 610) said: "Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (No. 245) was an abler grammarian than al-Aṣma'ī and Abū 'Ubaydah, but these two came next to him and were near to each other; Abū 'Ubaydah was the most accomplished scholar of the day." 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī (No. 409, note) spoke of him in the highest terms, and declared that he was a most correct transmitter of traditional literature. "Never," said he, did he give as a genuine production of the desert Arabs a piece which was not authentic. Abū 'Ubaydah and al-Aṣmā'ī were taken before Hārūn al-Raṣhīd in order that he might choose one of them for a member of his private society, and the preference was given to al-Aṣma'ī, as being better qualified for a table-companion. Abū Nuwās (No. 162) took lessons from Abū 'Ubaydah; he praised him highly and decried al-Aṣma'ī, whom he detested. When asked what he thought of al-Aṣma'ī, he replied; "A nightingale in a cage"<sup>1</sup>. Of Kh̲alaf al-Aḥmar<sup>2</sup> he said: "In him are combined all human knowledge and intelligence;" and of Abū 'Ubaydah: "A bundle of science packed up in a skin." A poem addressed by Ishāq' Ibn al-Nadīm al-Mawṣilī (No. 84) to al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' contains the following passage in praise of Abū 'Ubaydah and in dispraise of al-Aṣma'ī:

"Take Abū 'Ubaydah and treat him with favour, for in him you will find all science. Honour him therefore, prefer him, and reject the she-monkey's cub."

When Abū 'Ubaydah recited verses, he did not mark the measure and, in repeating passages of the *Qur'ān* or relating Traditions, he made mistakes designedly: "For," said he,

1 A nightingale in a cage is pleasing to hear, but there is nothing else good about it. Such seems to be the meaning of the remark made by Abū Nuwās.

2 See No. 245, note. The father of Kh̲alaf was enfranchised by Abū Burdah, the son of Abū Mūsā (see No. 295) and married a woman of the tribe of Māzin. According to Mr. de Hammer, in his *Literaturgeschichte de Araber*, vol. III, p. 550, Kh̲alaf died A.H. 180 (A.C. 796-7). Mr. Ahlwardt published at Griefswald, in 1859, one of Kh̲alaf's poems with critical notes. The title of his work is *Chalef elahmar's Qasside*.

"grammar brings ill luck<sup>1</sup>." He continued to compose works until he died and left nearly two hundred treatises<sup>2</sup>, of which we may name the following: the *Kitāb Majāz al-Qur'ān* (figurative expressions occurring in the *Qur'ān*), the *Gharīb al-Qur'ān* (unusual expressions employed in the *Qur'ān*), the *Ma'ānī 'l-Qur'ān* (rhetorical figures made use of in the *Qur'ān*), the *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* (rare expressions occurring in the Traditions), the *Kitāb al-Dibāj* (silken robe), the *Tāj* (diadem), the *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd* (book of definitions), the *Kitāb Khurāsān* (treatise concerning *Khurāsān*), the *Kitāb al-Khawārij al-Baḥrayn wa'l-Yamāmah* (on the *Khārijites* of *Baḥrayn* and *Yamāmah*), the *Kitāb al-Mawālī* (on *mawlās*), the *Kitāb al-Bulh* (on simpletons), the *Kitāb al-Difān* (on guests), the *Kitāb Marj Rāhiḡ* (on the battle of *Marj Rāhiḡ*), the *Kitāb al-Munāfarāt* (contestations between individuals concerning the illustriousness of their respective families), the *Kitāb al-Qubā'il* (on the Arabian tribes), the *Kitāb Khabar al-Barrād* (history of *al-Barrād*)<sup>3</sup> the *Kitāb al-Qarā'in* (book of female companions, or of concomitant circumstances), the *Kitāb al-Bāzī* (on the falcon), the *Kitāb al-Ḥamām* (on turtle-doves), the *Kitāb al-Ḥayyāt* (on serpents), the *Kitāb al-'Aqārib* (on scorpions), the *Kitāb al-Nawākih* (on concubines), the *Kitāb al-Nawāshir* (on the muscles of the arm), the *Kitāb Ḥuḍr al-Khayl* (on the galloping of horses), the *Kitāb al-A'yān* (on great men?), the *Kitāb Bunyān bi-Ahlihī* \* (on setting up house), the *Kitāb Ayādi 'l-Azd* (on the generous deeds of the tribe of *Azd*), the *Kitāb al-Khayl* (on horses), the *Kitāb al-Ibl* (on camels), the *Kitāb al-Insān* (on man), the *Kitāb al-Zari* (on corn-fields), the *Kitāb al-Rahl* (on the camel's saddle), the *Kitāb al-Dilwi*

1 This signification of the word *سجدو* has been already noticed in No. 670, note.

2 The purely philological character of most of the treatises mentioned in the following list has been indicated in the Introduction to the first vol. They were composed of extracts made from the poems and sententious discourses of the desert Arabs.

3 About twenty years before the promulgation of Islāmism, the tribe of *Quraysh* was embroiled in a war with that of *Hawāzin*, because *al-Barrād Ibn Qays* had slain *'Urwah Ibn 'Utbah*. *Al-Tabrizī*, in his commentary on the *Ḥamāsah*, page 351, alludes to this event. Mr. Caussin de Perceval gives a full account of it in his *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, tome I. p. 391 et suiv.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: *Bayān Bāhileh* (description of the *Bāhilah* (tribe).—Ed.

(on the leathern bucket for drawing water), the *Kitāb al-Bakrah* (on the pulley of draw-wells) the *Kitāb al-Sarj* (on the saddle), the *Kitāb al-Lijām* (on the bridle), the *Kitāb al-Faras* (on the horse), the *Kitāb al-Shawārid* (on animals gone astray, or on verses current through the Arabian tribes), the *Kitāb al-Iḥtilām* (on puberty, or on dreaming), the *Kitāb maqātil al-Fursān* (on combats where celebrated horsemen met their death), the *Kitāb maqātil al-Ashraf* (on the violent deaths of the *Sharīfs* or descendants of 'Alī), the *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa al-Shu'arā* (on poetry and poets), the *Kitāb fa'ala wa af'ala* (on verbs which in the fourth form have a privative signification), the *Kitāb al-Ma'ḥālib* (vices of the Arabs reprehended), the *Kitāb Khulq al-Insān* (on the human frame), the *Kitāb al-Farq* (on the difference between the names given to the members of the human body and these given to the same members in animals), the *Kitāb al-Khuff* (on the feet of camels, or on boots), the *Kitāb Makkah wa 'l-Ḥaram* (on Makkah and its sacred territory), the *Kitāb al-Jaml wa 'l-Ṣiffīn* (on the battles of the Camel and *Ṣiffīn*), the *Kitāb Buyūtāt al-'Arab* (on the tents of the Arabs),\* the *Kitāb al-Mulāwamāt* (on mutual blame), the *Kitāb al-Ghārāt* (on predatory excursions), the *Kitāb al-Mu'atābāt*† (on mutual reproaches), the *Kitāb al-Aḍḍād* (on words which have each two opposite significations), the *Kitāb ma'āthir al-'Arab* (the memorable deeds of the Arabs), the *Kitāb Ma'āthir Ghaṭafān* (the noble recollections left by the tribe of *Ghaṭafān*), the *Kitāb Ad'iyat al-'Arab* (on the high pretensions of the Arabs), the *Kitāb maqtal 'Uthmān* (on the murder of the *khalīf* 'Uthmān), the *Kitāb Asmā al-Khayl* (on the names given to horses), the *Kitāb al-'Aqqah*‡ (on ungrateful children), the *Kitāb quḍāt al-Baṣrah* (on the *qāḍīs* of Baṣrah), the *Kitāb Futūḥ Irminiyah* (on the conquest of Armenia), the *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Ahwāz* (on the conquest of al-Ahwāz), the *Kitāb Luṣūṣ al-'Arab* (on celebrated Arab robbers), the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj* (the history of al-Ḥajjāj), the *Kitāb Qiṣṣat al-Ka'bah* (the history of the Ka'bah), the *Kitāb al-Ḥums min Quraysh* (on the Qurayshide families called the *Ḥums*)<sup>1</sup>, the *Kitāb*

1 The word *ḥums* signifies heroes. It was a title assumed by the principal  
(Continued on page 297)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid dds: *Kitāb al-Luḡḥāt* (Lexicon).—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives these two names before *Mulāwamāt*.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: *Kitāb al-'Iffat* (on Chastity).—Ed.

*Faḍā'il al-'Arsh\** (on the excellences of the throne of God), the *Kitāb ma talḥano fīhi 'l-'Āmmah* (on the faults of language committed by the vulgar), the *Kitāb al-Sawād wa Fatḥihl* (on Babylonia and its conquest), the *Kitāb man shukira min al-'Ummāl wa ḥumida* (on governors who have been thanked and praised), the *Kitāb al-Jam'a wa 'l-Tathniyah* (on the plural and the dual), the *Kitāb al-Aws wa 'l-Khazraj* (on the Aws and Khazraj, the two great Arab tribes of Madīnah), the *Kitāb Muḥammad wa Ibrāhīm* (history of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm), the sons of 'Abd Allāh, the son of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, the *Kitāb al-Ayyām al-Saghīr* (the shorter work on celebrated battle-days), containing an account of seventy-five conflicts, the *Kitāb al-Ayyām al-Kabīr* (the greater work on battle-days), containing an account of one thousand two hundred conflicts, the *Kitāb Ayyām Banī Māzin wa Akḥbārihim* (the battle-days and history of the tribe of Māzin). He left besides other instructive works, all of which I should mention, were I not afraid of lengthening this article too much. Abū 'Ubaydah relates as follows: "When I appeared before al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī', he asked me who, of all men, was the best poet? and I answered: 'Al-Rā'ī'." "Why," said he, "do you give him the preference?" I replied. "Because he went to see Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān the Umayyad who, the very day he received him, made him a present and allowed him to depart; this circumstance al-Rā'ī described in the following verses:

(Continued from page 296)

Qurayshides and granted by them to some of the Kināniyan and Khuzā'iyan families which resided in their neighbourhood. (*Ḥamāsah*, page 2; *Essai sur l'hist. des Arabes*, t. I, p. 280).

1 For information respecting these two *ināms* of the Zaydiyyah sect, see de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, tome I, p. 3, of the second edition, and my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's History of the Berbers, tome II, page 499.

2 'Ubayd Ibn al-Ḥusayn, a member of the tribe of Numayr, which was a branch of that of 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, was eminent Arabian chief and an excellent poet. He received the surname of Al-Rā'ī (*the pastor*), or Rā'ī al-ibī (*the camels' herdsman*), because he excelled in the description of these animals. He composed poems in praise of the Umayyad Khalīf 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān and died at an advanced age. (Al-Suyūṭī's *Sharḥ shawāhid al-Mughnī: Masālik al-Absār*).

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: *Kitāb al-Faḍā'il al-Faras* (on the excellences of the Horse).—Ed.



'At midnight, our camels, emaciated (*by a long journey*), arrived panting at Sa'id's door. The next morning, they hastened off again, praising the courtyard where he had allowed them to repose; for they had obtained (*for me*) not a dilatory promise but a solid gift.'

On hearing this, al-Faḍl exclaimed: 'Abū 'Ubaydah! you have presented to us your request with much address.' The next morning, Abū 'Ubaydah went to the court of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd: "He gave me a present," said he, "ordered me something out of his own private treasury and dismissed me." Abū 'Ubaydah was a *mawlā* of the tribe of 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ma'mar al-Taymī. A man of high rank said to him: "You, who insult every one, who was your father?" to which he replied: "My father informed me that his father told him that he was a Jew of (*the town of*) Bājarwān;" the questioner went off immediately and left him<sup>1</sup>. Abū 'Ubaydah was of so sarcastic a humour that every one in Baṣrah who had a reputation to maintain was obliged to flatter him. He once set out for Fārs with the intention of visiting Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hilālī who, being informed of his approach, said to his pages: "Be on your guard against Abū 'Ubaydah, for every word of his is (*sharp and*) cutting." A repast was served and one of the pages spilled some gravy on the skirt of Abū 'Ubaydah's cloak. "Some gravy has fallen on your cloak," said Mūsā, "but I shail give you ten others in place of it." "Nay!" replied Abū 'Ubaydah, "do not mind! your gravy can do no harm." By that he meant that there was no strength<sup>2</sup> in it. Mūsā understood the sarcasm, but held his peace. It is related that, when Abū 'Ubaydah composed his *Kitāb al-Maṭhālīb*, an Arab said to him: "You have insulted the whole of the Arabs;" on which he replied; "That can do you no harm, for it does not concern you;" meaning by these words that the man was not an Arab. When al-Aṣma'ī went to the mosque, he always said (*to his disciples*), before he entered: "Look in and see if that fellow be there;" meaning Abū 'Ubaydah, so much he dreaded

1 The wit of Abū 'Ubaydah's answer is, for the translator, quite imperceptible.

2 The word rendered here by *strength* means *grease*.

the sharpness of his tongue. When Abū 'Ubaydah died, no one attended his funeral because he had not spared, in his acrimony, either gentle or simple. He was filthy in his habits and lisped; his genealogy was unsound and his orthodoxy suspected, for he had a leaning towards the doctrines of the Khārijites. Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (No. 262) related that Abū 'Ubaydah treated him with respect because he thought him to be one of the Khārijites of Sijistān. Al-Ṭhawrī (No. 248) relates the following anecdote: "I went to the mosque and found Abū 'Ubaydah sitting alone and writing with his finger on the floor. He asked me who was the author of this verse:

"I said to my soul, when it shook and trembled: Back to thy wonted mood! Strive to merit praise or else repose (*in death*)."

"I replied that he was Qaṭarī Ibn al-Fujā'ah (No. 519) on which he exclaimed: 'God smash your mouth! why not say: the Commander of the faithful, Abū Na'āmah<sup>1</sup>. He then requested me to sit down and never to repeat what he had just uttered. So I kept it a secret till the day of his death." This anecdote appears to me contestable, for the verse just mentioned belongs to a poem composed by 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥazraḡ al-Anṣārī al-Khazraḡī. Ḥazraḡ was his mother's name and Zayd Manāt the name of his father. No literary scholar can deny the verse to be his, the poem from which it is taken being acknowledged to be of that author's composition. Al-Mubarrad (No. 610) relates in his Kāmil that Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān the Umayyad said: "Let poetry be one of your chief occupations, and principal studies. The noble deeds of your forefathers are mentioned in poems, and there also you can find counsels to direct you." At the battle of al-Ḥarīr<sup>2</sup> I was on the point of running away, when these words of Ibn al-Ḥazraḡ (*came to my mind and*) changed my intention:

1 Our author has already mentioned, in the life of Qaṭarī, that this chief of the Khārijite sect was surnamed Abū Na'āmah and had taken the title of Commander of the Faithful.

2 The battle of Qādisiyah was fought A.H. 15 and lasted three days. The first *journée* was afterwards called Yawm Armāth يوم ارمات; the second Yawm Aghwāth يوم اغواث and the third Yawm Aghmā يوم اغماس or 'Amās عماس or

"I was hindered by my self-denial, by my fortitude, by the hope of purchasing glory at an easy rate (*in facing dangers*)<sup>1</sup> by the pleasure of encountering perils, of striking off the heads of many a valiant hero, and of saying (*to my soul*), every time she shook and trembled: 'Back to thy wonted mood! strive to merit praise or else repose (*in death*). Let me thus defend my pure renown and ward off hereafter imputations which I had well deserved<sup>2</sup> ' "

Let us return to our account of Abū 'Ubaydah: no magistrate would receive his evidence because he was suspected of an unnatural vice. Al-Aṣma'ī relates this anecdote: "I and Abū 'Ubaydah entered one day into the mosque and, behold! on the pillar at the foot of which he usually sat and at the height of nearly seven cubits, was inscribed this verse:

"God's blessing on Lot and on his people! come, Abū 'Ubaydah! say *amen*."

He said to me: "Aṣma'ī! rub that out." So I got on his shoulders and effaced the writing, but not before my weight made him cry out: 'You are too heavy; you are breaking my back!' I answered: 'Nothing remains (*to rub out*)' but the *ṭ* (*of the word Lot*).' 'That,' said he is the worst letter of the whole verse.' " According to another account, Abū 'Ubaydah, finding al-Aṣma'ī so heavy, told him to make haste. "Nothing remains now," said the other, "excepting the word Lot." On this, Abū 'Ubaydah

---

(Continued from page 299)

*Ghimās* غماس . On the night preceding the third day and which was called *Laylat al-Harir* ليلة الحرير (*the night of growling, or snarling*), the battle was renewed and victory finally declared in favour of the Muslims. Arabic historians and geographers are uncertain whether the names given to these three *journees* designated places or not. For a full account of this celebrated battle see Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai, etc.*, t. III, p. 481 et suiv., professor Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, t. III, and Price's *Retrospect of Mahomedan History*, vol. I, p. 304.

1 As we do not possess the traditional explication of this piece, we can indicate its meaning by conjecture only.

2 This verse may perhaps signify: that I may defend the honour of virtuous women and maintain, hence-forward, an unspotted reputation.

exclaimed ; "From him let us fly.<sup>1</sup>" The person who wrote the verse was Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan Ibn Hānī, he of whom we have already spoken (*No. 162*). It is related that, near the place where Abū 'Ubaydah had his sittings, were found scraps of paper containing the above mentioned verse and the following :

"For thou, I am sure, art one of their survivors (*and hast been always so*) since the age of puberty, though thou art now in thy ninetieth\* year"

The anecdotes related of Abū 'Ubaydah are very numerous. He was born in the month of Rajab, 110 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 728), on the same night in which al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (*No. 148*) died. Other accounts place his birth in the year 111, 114, 118 and 119, but the date here given is the true one. The proof is that the amīr Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib<sup>2</sup> having asked him when he was born, he replied : " 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabi'ah al-Makhzūmī (*No. 465*), has already shaped out my answer : being asked the date of his birth, he replied : 'The night on which (*the khalif*) 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb died ; what excellence was then removed from the world and what worthlessness brought into it ! 'Now I was born the night of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's death, and (*the rest of*) my answer shall be the same as 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabi'ah's". In the life of this 'Umar we mentioned that these words have been attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Abū 'Ubaydah died at Baṣrah in the year 209 (A.C. 824-5), or according to other statements, in 211, or 210, or 213. A banana, which (*Abū Ja'far*) Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim Ibn Sahl al-Nūshijānī gave him to eat, was the cause of his death. Some time afterwards, Abu 'l-'Atāhiyah (*No. 91*) went to see al-Nūshijānī, who offered him a banana, on which he

---

1 I suspect that this dialogue, in Arabic, offers a number of equivocal significations, such as were comprehensible to Muslim debauchees, in Eastern countries. In that case, the insertion of the anecdote does no honour to the author nor to the generation for whom, he compiled his work.

2 Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'alib held, at one time, the government of Madīnah. He was removed from his post in the year 150 (A.C. 767), by the *khalif* al-Manṣūr. He died at Baṣrah, but on what date is not ascertained.

\* According to the verse given by 'Abd al-Ḥamid it should be rendered seventieth.—Ed.

exclaimed : "What do you mean ? Abū Ja'far ! you took away Abū 'Ubaydah's life by means of a banana and you intend to kill me in the same manner ! do you consider as lawful the murdering of learned men ? Abū 'Ubaydah must not be confounded with Abū 'Ubayd, whose names were al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (*No. 509*), *Ma'mar al-Muthannā*<sup>1</sup>. Bājarwān, the native place of Abū 'Ubaydah's father, is a village in the district of al-Balikh, which constitutes a government in the province of al-Raqqah. It is also the name of a town situated in *Shirwān*, a province of Armenia and near which, it is said, lies the fountain of immortality which was discovered by al-Khidr<sup>2</sup>. I am inclined to believe that Abū 'Ubaydah belonged to this place. Some say that Bājarwān is the name of the town from the inhabitants of which Moses and al-Khidr asked hospitality<sup>3</sup>. *Nūsh jān* means *belonging to Nūsh jān* which is a village in one of the districts of Fārs.

### 705 MA'AN, THE SON OF ZĀ'IDAH

Abu 'l-Walīd Ma'an al-Shaybānī was the son of Zā'idah, the son of 'Abd Allāh, the son of Zā'idah, the son of Maṭar, the son of Sharik, the son of 'Amr, surnamed Al-Ṣulb ; the son of Qays, the son of Shurāḥil, the son of Hammām, the son of Murrah, the son of Dhuhl, the son of Shaybān. The rest of genealogy is well-known<sup>4</sup>. Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>5</sup> says, in his *Jamharat al-Nisab* : "Ma'an was the son of Zā'idah, the son of Maṭar, the son of

1 The author marks the orthography of these proper names, letter by letter. Such indications I suppress, as usual, but give the results.

2 Al-Khidr is the name by which the Muslims seem to designate the prophet Elias. According to them, he discovered the fountain of life and, having drunk of it, became immortal.

3 See *Qur'ān*, sūrah 18, verse 76.

4 The genealogy of Shaybān will be found in Eithorn's *Monumenta antiqussimae historiae Arabum*, and in Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

5 The life of Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī the genealogist will be found in this work.

Sharik, the son of 'Amr, the son of Qays, the son of Shurāhīl, the son of Murrah, the son of Hammām, the son of Murrah, the son of Dhuhl, the son of Shaybān, the son of Tha'labah, the son of 'Ukābah, the son of Ṣa'b, the son of 'Alī, the son of Bakr, the son of Wā'il, the son of Qāsiṭ, the son of Hinb, the son of Afṣā, the son of Du'mī, the son of Jadilah, the son of Asad, the son of Rabi'ah, the son of Nizār, the son of Ma'add, the son of 'Adnān. Ma'an was generous, brave, liberal, and beneficent, highly extolled (*by poets*) and much visited (*by the needy*). " Al- Aṣma'i related as follows : "An Arab of the desert went to see Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah and recited to him a poem in his praise. He then waited so long at the (*palace*) door that he was about to depart, when he saw Ma'an on the point of riding out. He immediately rose, went up to him and, seizing the bridle of the steed, he said :

"O Ma'an ! thy hands are all beneficence ; (*they pour*) favours on the people and (*open new*) ways to thy (*generosity*). The daughters of my uncle will know what I have obtained, when on my return, the saddle-bags shall be examined."

"Ma'an ordered five female camels, chosen from the best of his flock, to be brought out, and, having them loaded with gifts, presents and clothes, he gave them to him and said : 'Son of my brother ! return, and may God protect thee ! to the daughters of thy uncle ; when they examine the saddle-bags, they will surely find something to rejoice at.' The Arab answered : ' By the House of God ! thou hast spoken truly.' " In the life of the poet Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah (*No. 689*) will be found other anecdotes concerning him. Marwān was particularly devoted to him and most of his poems were in praise of this chief. Under the dynasty of the Umayyads, Ma'an rose successively from one post of authority to another, and remained attached to the service of Yazīd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah al-Fazārī, governor of the two 'Irāqs. When the sovereignty passed into the hands of the 'Abbasids, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr besieged Yazīd Ibn 'Umar in the city of Wāsiṭ. What occurred between them on this occasion is well known, and some account of it will be found in our article on Yazīd. Ma'an had displayed great bravery in support of Yazīd and, when this chief was put to death, he lay hid for some time, through fear of

al-Manṣūr. During the period of his concealment he had a number of extraordinary adventures, one of which we here give in the words of Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah, the celebrated poet: "When Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah was governor of Yaman<sup>1</sup>, he made me the following narration: (*Abū Ja'far*) al-Manṣūr caused the strictest search to be made for me and offered a reward in money to whoever would bring me to him. Perquisitions were made so closely that I was obliged to alter my complexion by exposing myself to the rays of the sun; I cut off my whiskers, put on a woollen frock and, having mounted on a camel, I proceeded towards the desert, with the intention of staying there. I had just gone out by the Bāb Ḥarb, which is one of the gates of Baghdād, when a Negro, with a sword suspended in a belt from his shoulder, followed me until I had got out of the sight of the guards. He then seized my camel by the halter and, making it kneel down, he grasped me by the hand: 'What is the matter?' said I. He answered: 'Thou art he whom the Commander of the Faithful is searching for.' I replied: 'And who am I, that search should be made for me?' 'Thou art Ma'an, the son of Zā'idah,' said he. 'My good fellow! said I, 'have the fear of the Almighty before thy eyes! where is the likeness between me and Ma'an?' 'Cease denying,' said he, 'for by Allāh! I know thee better than thou knowest thyself.' Perceiving that he was in earnest, I said to him: 'Here is a jewel worth many times the sum offered by al-Manṣūr to the person who may bring me to him, take it and be not the cause of shedding my blood.' 'Hand it out,' said he. On my producing it to him, he looked at it for some time and then said: 'As for its value, thou hast told the truth, but I will not accept it before asking thee a question: if thou givest me a true answer, I shall let thee go.' 'Ask,' said I, 'All people,' said he, 'declare that thou art noted for thy generosity; tell me if thou didst ever give away at once the whole of thy fortune?' 'No,' 'Or the half?' 'No.' Or the third? 'No,' He proceeded thus till he said: 'Or the tenth?' on which I blushed and replied: 'I think I have sometimes done so.' 'Well!' said he, 'that

1 When Ma'an obtained his pardon from al-Manṣūr, he was appointed by that Khalif to the government of Yaman. He was afterwards removed to the government of *Āḍḥarbā'ijān* (*al-Makīn's Hist. Saracen*, p. 103), and then transferred to the government of Sijistān.

was no great matter (*for such as thee*) ; now I, by Allāh ! am a simple foot-soldier, living on the pay I get from Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr ; every month, he gives me twenty dirhams<sup>1</sup>, and this jewel is worth many thousand dinārs ; here, I give it to thee back as a present for thy own sake, and on account of the generosity for which thou art noted, and in order to make thee know that there is, in the world, a man more generous than thou art. So, for the future, be not proud of thyself, but consider henceforward the gifts thou makest as trifling, and stop not in thy career of generosity'. He then threw the necklace into my lap and let go the halter of my camel. As he was turning to depart, I said to him : 'By Allāh ! thou hast disgraced me, man ! I would suffer less from the shedding of my life's blood than from what thou hast done to me. Take back what I offered thee, for I am rich enough to do without it.' He laughed and said : 'Thou intendest to make me belie my words ; now, by Allāh ! I shall not receive it nor ever take a reward for doing a good action.' He then went his way and, when I had no longer any danger to apprehend. I had search made for him and promised to whoever would bring him to me whatever reward he might ask ; but I never heard of him again ; it was as if the earth had swallowed him up.' " Ma'an, remained in concealment till the affray of al-Hāshimiyah<sup>2</sup>. On that memorable day, a band of Khurāsānids revolted against al-Manṣūr and proceeded to attack him. A combat took place between them and the partisans he had in al-Hāshimiyah, a town which (*the khalif*) al-Saffāḥ had built in the neighbourhood of Kūfah. Ghars al-Ni'mah Ibn al-Ṣābī (*No. 125, note*), says, as follows, in his work entitled *Kitāb al-Hafawāt (book of faults)* : "In the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*. A.H. 134 (May-June, A.C. 752), al-Saffāḥ finished the building of the town which he had founded for himself near al-Anbār", Ma'an who was lying concealed in the neighbourhood (*at the time of this revolt*), set out at night disguised in a turban, with a veil over his face, and, having attacked the insurgents, in the sight of al-Manṣūr, he displayed great bravery and resolution, and put them to flight.

---

1 About ten shillings.

2 See the Annals of Abulfeda, A.H. 141, and Price's Retrospect, Vol. II, p. 13.



Al-Manṣūr was no sooner delivered from danger than he said to him : "Deuce take thee ! who art thou ?" The other removed the veil from his face and answered : "Commander of the faithful ! I am he "whom thou hast been making search for ; I am Ma'an, the son of Zā'idah". Al-Manṣūr immediately granted him a free pardon, heaped upon him gifts and honours, arrayed him in a fine dress, with splendid ornaments, and received him into the number of his favourites. Some days after, Ma'an entered into the presence of al-Manṣūr who, on seeing him, said : "Teli me, Ma'an ! did you not give to Marwān Ibn Abi Ḥafṣah a reward of one hundred thousand dirhams for this verse ?

" 'Tis Ma'an, the son of Zā'idah, by whose prowess the tribe of Shaybān had fresh glory added to its glory."

Not so ! Commander of the faithful ! but I gave it to him for this passage of the same poem :

"On the day of al-Hāshimiyah, you stood boldly forth with your sword in defence of God's vicar (*upan earth*). You protected the spot where he stood and warded off from him the strokes of the sword and spear."

"Well answered, Ma'an !" exclaimed the khalif. Another day, he said to him : "Ma'an ! people often speak ill of your tribe ;" to which Ma'an replied :

"You will always find the illustrious exposed to envy, but never will you find detractors of the vile."

He went, one day, when advanced in age, to visit (*al-Manṣūr*) and (*this prince*) said to him . "Ma'an ! you are growing old." "Yes, Commander of the faithful ! in your service," replied Ma'an. "And yet you are still vigorous," added the khalif. "Yes, Commander of the faithful ! in attacking your enemies." "And you have still some strength remaining ?" "Yes," answered Ma'an, "and it shall be used for you." When 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Zayd, a pious ascetic of Baṣrah heard of this conversation, he exclaimed : "Unfortunate man ! he reserves nothing for (*the service of*) the Lord." The best known of Marwān's *qaṣ'idahs* were composed in honour of Ma'an and the finest of them is that which rhymes in / and of which I inserted a passage in the life of the former. It is

rather long, as it consists of more than fifty verses ; so not to lengthen this article, I shall abstain from giving it. In another poem, he said of him :

"God has secured against fear and want him who has Ma'an for a protector in adversity. Ma'an, the son of Zā'idah ! he keeps his promises and gives the highest price to purchase fame. He considers what he bestows as so much gained, if it obtains for him lasting praise ; yet he who receives his gifts thinks them cheaply earned. He has erected for (*the tribe of*) Shaybān a (*monument of*) glory never to fall till the solid basis of Ḥaḍan shall pass away."

Ḥaḍan (حَضْن) is the name of a great mountain, situated between Najd and Tihāmah, and at a day's journey from the latter country. There is a proverb which says : *He is in Najd who sees Ḥaḍan*. It is frequently mentioned in poems and historical anecdotes. A person noted for the elegance of his language visited Ma'an, one day, and addressed him in these (*choice*) terms : "It would have been easy for me to get myself recommended to you by one whom you might find irksome ; but I preferred choosing for intercessor your own merit and making an appeal to your own generosity. If you think to place me as high in your noble favour as I have placed my hopes in your beneficence, do so. I have not been too proud to solicit your bounty ; spare therefore my honorable feelings the shame of a disappointment." Ma'an composed some good poetry, most of which is on bravery. Abū 'Abd Allāh (*Hārūn*) Ibn al-Munajjim (*see his life in this work*), speaks of him in the *Kitāb al-Bārī*<sup>1</sup>, and gives a number of passages taken from his poems. Such is the following, addressed to Khattāb, a nephew of 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān<sup>1</sup>, on seeing him strut about at court after having been defeated and put to flight by the Khārijites :

---

1 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, of the tribe of Azd, was appointed governor of Khurāsān by the Khālīf al-Manṣūr, in the year 140 (A. C. 757-8), according to the author of the *Nujūm*, or, two years later, according to Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahānī. This historian gives some account of 'Abd al-Jabbār in his *Annals*, p. 22 of the Arabic text.

"Why didst thou not walk so, O Khaṭṭāb! on the morning you encountered the foe? Why didst thou not stand firm when death was near? Thou wert saved by a steed, obedient to the rein and which, spurred on by thee through a cloud of dust, flew like an eagle. Thou didst leave thy companions when the spears came to their encounter, and so doth every man who is lost to honour."

The grammarian Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī (*No. 115*) relates as follows: "The commander of Ma'an's police-guard<sup>1</sup> said to me: 'I was standing behind Ma'an (*who was seated in his chair of state*), when he perceived a man riding (*on a camel*) and coming up at full speed.' 'I do not think,' said Ma'an, 'that he wants to see any one else but me. Door-keeper! let him enter.' (*The stranger*) came in, saluted Ma'an and said:

"God preserve thee! little is what I have; my family are numerous and I am not able to support them. Stubborn fortune hath borne me down; so, they sent me to thee and await the result."

"Ma'an, being then in one of his generous moods, made answer: 'All will be right; by Allāh I shall hasten thy return!' He then told one of his pages to bring out such and such a female camel and a thousand pieces of gold<sup>2</sup>, and all this he gave to the man, without knowing who he was." It is in these terms that the occurrence is related by the Khaṭīb (*No. 33*), in his history (*of Baghdād*). Numerous other anecdotes are told of Ma'an and of his generous deeds. Towards the end of his life, he was appointed governor of Sijistān. Having proceeded to that province, he did there many memorable acts, had numerous adventures and received frequent visits from poets. In the year 151 (A.C. 768), or 152 or 158, according to other accounts, being then in Sijistān, he had

---

1 The shurṭah, or police-guard, was a troop of armed horsemen, receiving regular pay and charged to maintain order in the city and punish offenders. It formed also the body-guard of the sovereign. Ibn Khaldūn furnishes information respecting the shurṭah in his *Prolegomena*, tome. II, p. 35, of my translation.

2 About five hundred pounds sterling.

workmen occupied in his palace, when some *Khārijities* slipped in amongst them and murdered him. He was at that moment undergoing the operation of cupping<sup>1</sup>. His nephew, Yazīd Ibn Mazyad Ibn Zā'idah, whose life we shall give went in pursuit of the assassins and slew them all in the town of al-Bust. The poets composed admirable elegies on the death of Ma'an. One of the finest and noblest of those pieces we shall here give; it is a *qaṣidah* composed by his own poet, Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah, and begins thus:

"Ma'an has gone his way, leaving a glorious reputation, never to perish and never to be equalled. When Ma'an received the fatal stroke, the sun seemed to have shrouded himself in darkness. Ma'an was the mountain with which (*the tribe of*) Nizār demolished the mountains of the foe<sup>2</sup>. Since Ma'an is gone, the frontiers, where the lances used to quench their thirst, remain without defense. 'Irāq is overspread with gloom; his misfortune, so afflicting for us all, has left to it an inheritance of disorder (*and ruin*). Syria trembled from side to side, when that pillar of might leant over and gave way. On the morning of his departure (*from life*), all the lands of Tihāmah and of Najd had nearly been removed from their places. The countries which so long flourished proudly (*in his life time*) are now humbled by his death. When death struck Ma'an on that day, it struck the noblest in deeds among those who were the best of men. Till Ma'an was borne to his grave<sup>3</sup>, all mankind were his children, and never did a man who sought a favour think of going to any other (*patron*) than Ma'an, the son of Zā'idah. He is gone who lightened all (*our*) burdens, and the flow of whose beneficence anticipated (*our*) demands. Never did bands of visitors go to see (*another chief*) like Ma'an; never did they discharge their baggage in another court like his. All the hands of the freest givers never equalled the right hand or the left of Ma'an. The ponds of his generosity never went dry; the buckets always ascended from them full; (*ponds belonging*) to a man of fair renown who considered wealth as nothing unless bestowed on all who sought for aid. O, that those who rejoiced at his

1 Cupping was a favorite remedy with the Arabs in many cases.

2 By the word *mountains*, the poet means to designate the *chiefs*. This is a common metaphor.

3 Literally: visited the grave.

death had been sacrificed to save him ! O, that his existence could be lengthened and prolonged ! His treasures consisted, not in gold but in swords of Indian steel, and ample coats of mail, a lance from al-Khatt<sup>1</sup> yellow and pliant, exhibiting flexibility and just proportion, and a store of lasting renown, and superabundant piety, by which he attained excellence."

Here is another passage from the same elegy :

"He has gone his way by whose aid you hoped to see repaired the errors of fortune. I cannot stop the tears of those eyes ; they will not be controlled but flow in torrents. For thee (*O Ma'an !*) my entrails are parched with sadness, ardent as a brightly-flaming fire. She who perceived both my body and complexion altered and changed since she saw me last. (*exclaimed*) : 'Lo ! Marwān is like a sword worn thin and requiring to be brightened.' She saw a man extenuated and injured by grief, which left to him an inheritance of misery ; and I said to her : 'That which seems to you so strange in me was caused by a stroke of misfortune grievous and unforeseen. The days of time are full of changes and transport a man from one state in another.' "

The same poem contains this passage :

"After the death of Ma'an, each night (*of my sadness*), seems, lengthened by the addition of many others. I grieve for him as for a father ! now that my hopes have proved false and delusive ; I grieve for him as for a father ! now that the orphans are famishing and seem as if consumed by sickness ; I grieve for him as for a father ! now that our verses and he who was praised in them are lost (*to us*) for ever ; I grieve for him as for a father ! where are now those numerous battles which caused mothers to abort (*with terror*) ? Plunged in despair, we have fixed our abode in Yamāmah ; we never intend to quit it and we say : 'Whither should we go since Ma'an is dead ? presents have ceased, and are not to be replaced.' Never did battles witness a bolder warrior than thee (*O Ma'an !*) one more nobly-daring and more firm of heart. The khalif will call you to remembrance, but with no hostile feeling,

---

<sup>1</sup> Al-Khatt, a town in the province of 'Umān, was celebrated for the excellence of its lances.

when he is engaged in serious matters and men (*of action*) are wanting; neither will he forget those combats so fatal to his foes, nor that encounter in which you proved yourself (*his sole*) protector, when other horsemen feared to charge. The brother of Umayyah now offers you elegies, after having bestowed on you his praise. He is now settled (*in a fixed abode*) who, every year before, used to remain so long without quitting the saddle<sup>1</sup>. He has now discharged his baggage, through sorrow, and sworn a solemm oath never again to bind it up with a cord."

This is one of the finest elegies of its class. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*No. 316*) relates as follows, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*: 'Ja'far the Barmakid (*No. 129*), having received a visit from Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah, said to him 'Come now! recite part of your elegy on the death of Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah' 'Nay!' replied the poet, 'I would rather recite to you an eulogium composed by me on yourself'. 'No'; said Ja'far 'recite to me part of the elegy.' Marwān then commenced to recite:

"Till Ma'an was borne to his grave, all mankind were as his children."

'And he continued to the end of the poem. Ja'far, whose cheeks were now bedewed with tears, asked him if any of Ma'an's children or family had given him a recompense for that elegy?' Marwān replied that they had not. 'And,' said Ja'far, 'if Ma'an were alive and heard you recite it, how much, do you think, would he have given you for it?' 'May God favour the wazīr! (*he would have given*) four hundred pieces of gold.' 'But I,' said Ja'far, 'do not think he would have considered that sum enough for you; so, in Ma'an's name, I shall order you the double and, in my own, I shall give you as much more. Go to my treasurer and receive from him one thousand six hundred pieces of gold, before you return to (*mount*) your camel." In the following lines, Marwān mentioned how generously Ja'far acted in Ma'an's name:

---

1 Such appears to be the meaning of the Arabic words. Rendered literally they may signify: Remained long in attachment to the middle of the saddle; or: who was always sitting cross-legged on the saddle. Domedary-riders sit with their feet crossed and lean them on the animal's neck.

"You gave me, as a recompense coming from Ma'an's tomb, an ample portion of the wealth which you so generously bestow. That gilt, you made it immediately, O son of Yaḥyā ! to one who lamented his death, and you did not delay the payment. A generous (*patron*) has replaced, for us, the spirit of Ma'an, and bestowed a recompense with the most liberal hand that ever lavished gifts. Khālīd and your father Yaḥyā have erected for you, in the regions of beneficence, an edifice never to be equalled. When the hands of the Barmakid dispense wealth around, he thinks it so much gained for himself."

He then took the money and departed. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (*No. 415*) relates, in his *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, that Muḥammad al-Baydaq al-Nadīm (*the boon companion*) went to see Ḥārūn al-Raṣhīd and was asked by him to recite the elegy composed by Marwān on the death of Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah. He began, and had only repeated a part of it, when tears flowed from al-Raṣhīd's eyes, "and so copiously" said al-Baydaq, "that they filled a plate which was before him." It is said that Marwān, after composing this elegy, could never gain any thing by his verses, for, as often as he celebrated the praises of a khalīf or of any other person less elevated in rank, he to whom the poem was addressed would say to him: "Did you not say, in your famous elegy:

'Whither should we go, since Ma'an is dead ? presents have ceased and are not to be replaced ? ' "

So the person he meant to praise would not give him anything nor even listen to his poem. Al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabī' (*No. 503*) related the following anecdote: I saw Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥaṣṣah after the death of Ma'an; he entered into the presence of (*the khalīf*) al-Mahdī with a number of other poets, amongst whom was Salm al-Khāsir (*No. 9, note*) and recited to him a panegyric. 'Who art thou ?' said the khalīf. 'Thy (*humble*) poet, Marwān, the son of Abū Ḥaṣṣah. 'Art thou not he who said: *Whither should we go since Ma'an is dead?* and yet thou hast come to ask gifts from us ! *presents have ceased*; we have nothing for thee. Trail him out by the leg !' 'They dragged him out in that manner, but, on the following year, he contrived to gain admittance with

the other poets. At that time, they were allowed to enter into the khalif's presence once a year. He then stood before him and recited the *qaṣīdah* which begins thus :

'A female visitor came to thee by night ; salute her fleeting image . '

We have already given part of this poem in the life of Marwān<sup>1</sup>. 'Al-Mahdī listened in silence and, as the poet proceeded, he became gradually more and more agitated, till at length he rolled on the carpet with delight. He then asked how many verses were in the poem and, on being answered : 'One hundred,' he ordered to the author a present of one hundred thousand pieces of silver." This does not tally with what we have related in the life of Marwān, but anecdotes vary according to the different channels by which they are handed down. People say that it was the first time, under the 'Abbāsīd government, that a poet received so large a sum. "Very soon after," continued Al-Faḍl, "the khalifate devolved to Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, and I saw Marwān appear in his presence with the other poets and recite to him a poem. 'Who art thou ?' said the khalif. 'I am thy poet, Marwān'. Was it not thou who said of Ma'an so and so ? (*repeating the verses above given*). Take him by the hand and lead him out ; we have nothing for him. Marwān again managed to be introduced and then recited a poem for which he was amply rewarded." One of the finest elegies which exists was that which al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muṭayr Ibn al-Aṣḥam al-Asadī<sup>2</sup> composed on the death of Ma'an ; and which is to be found in the *Ḥamāsah*<sup>3</sup>. We give it here :

1 This hemistich is in the measure called *kāmil*. But such is not the case with any of the verses given by our author in the life of Marwān. He seems to have confounded the piece of verse he was thinking of with that which begins thus : *In the day of battle*, etc.

2 Al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Muṭayr, a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Asad and a poet of some reputation, accompanied Ma'an to Yaman. One of his poems is in honour of the 'Abbāsīd khalif al-Mahdī. Some of the verses composed by him are given in the *Ḥamāsah*. His death is placed on or about A.H. 150 (A.C. 767), by De hammer who, in the third vol. of his *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, gives, on the authority of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, some rather unsatisfactory information concerning him. Several fragments of his poems are to be found in the *Ḥamāsah*.

3 *Ḥamāsuh*. p. 425.



"Draw near, my two friends ! unto (*the tomb of*) Ma'an and say : 'May vernal showers water thee every morning !' Grave of Ma'an ! how art thou able to contain such beneficence as filled both land and sea ? Grave of Ma'an ! thou art the first cavity ever formed in the earth, to serve as a couch for every virtue. 'Tis too true ! thou containest beneficence itself, for beneficence is dead ; were it living, it would have rent thee as under. He is the man on whose bounty people live after his death ; thus the bed of the torrent (*when dry*) becomes a pasturage. With Ma'an beneficence has ended and disappeared, and the pinnacle of generous deeds has been overturned<sup>1</sup>."

In our article on the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād (*No. 93*) we have related an amusing anecdote concerning Ma'an, so, we need not repeat it here. Did I not fear being led too far, I should give a number of highly interesting stories respecting Ma'an's noble deeds. Al-Ḥawfazān Ibn Ṣharīk al-Ṣhaybānī, who was much renowned for generosity and bravery, was the brother of Maṭar Ibn Ṣharīk, one of Ma'an's ancestors. He received the name of Ḥawfazān because Qays Ibn 'Āṣim al-Minqarī (*No. 74, note*) gave him a *ḥafz*, that is a *stroke in the back*, with his spear, to prevent him making his escape.<sup>2</sup> His real name was Al-Ḥārith Ibn Ṣharīk. According to another account, the person who struck him in that manner was Bisṭām Ibn Qays al-Ṣhaybānī<sup>3</sup>, but the first statement is truer.

## 706 MUQĀTIL, THE COMMENTATOR OF THE QUR'ĀN

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Bashīr, a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Azd, and a native of Marw in

1 Literally : and the nose (*the pride*) of noble deeds has been cut off.

2 For Qays Ibn 'Āṣim, see *No. 74, note*, and the *Essai* of Caussin de Perceval. The adventure of Ḥawfazān is related in the *Essai*, tome II, p. 595.

3 Bisṭām Ibn Qays, chief of the tribe of Ṣhaybān lost his life in a combat, six or seven years after the Hijrah (A.C. 627-8). (*Ḥamāsah*, p. 282 and 457 ; Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, tome II, pp. 593, 598, 599).

**Khurāsān**, drew his origin from a family of **Balkh**. Having removed to **Baṣrah**, he proceeded from thence to **Baghdād** and taught Traditions in that city. He is known as an interpreter of God's noble book (*the Qur'ān*) and as the author of a celebrated commentary. Traditions were taught to him by **Mujāhid Ibn Jubayr** (No. 243), **ʿAṭā Ibn Abī Rabāḥ** (No. 394), **Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿī** (No. 477), **al-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Muzāḥim** (No. 249, note), **Muḥammad Ibn Muslim al-Zuhri** (No. 537) and others. **Baqiyah Ibn al-Walid al-Ḥimsī**<sup>1</sup> **ʿAbd al-Razzāq Ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī** (No. 249, note), **Ḥaramī Ibn ʿUmārah**,<sup>2</sup> **ʿAlī Ibn al-Jaʿd**<sup>3</sup> and others delivered Traditions on his authority. He held a high rank among the learned. The *imām* **Al-Shāfiʿī** (No. 532) was heard to say: "All the people derived their nourishment (in knowledge) from three men; they had **Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān** for the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*, **Zuhayr Ibn Abi Sulmā**<sup>4</sup> for poetry, and **Abū Ḥanīfah**<sup>5</sup> for dogmatic theology." It is related that (*the khalīf*) **Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr** was sitting (in his palace) when a fly came and settled on him. He drove it away, but it returned to him again and again, most pertinaciously, striking him on the face and continuing to tease him. He at length lost patience and called out; "See who is (waiting) at the door;" and, being informed that **Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān** was there, he had him brought in and said to him: "Canst thou tell me why almighty God created flies?" **Muqātil** replied: "I can; it was to humble the mighty by their means<sup>6</sup>."

1 **Abū Muḥammad Baqiyah Ibn al-Walid**, a member of the **Ḥimyarite** tribe called **al-Qalaʿī** and surnamed **al-Ḥimī** (belonging to *Emessa*), was esteemed a good Traditionist. Born A.H. 110 (A.C. 728-9); died A.H. 197 (A.C. 812-3) (*Nujūm*).

2 According to the author of the *Qūmūs*, **Ḥaramī Ibn ʿUmārah** belonged to the tribe of **ʿAtik** (العتيك), a branch of that of **Azd**, and was esteemed a good Traditionist. I can find no other information respecting him.

3 **ʿAlī Ibn al-Jaʿd al-Jawharī**, a Traditionist and a native of **Baghdād**, died A.H. 230 (A.C. 844-5), aged upwards of ninety six years. (*Tabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, *Nujūm*).

4 This **Zuhayr** is the author of the *Muʿallaqah*. For his life see *Rosenmüller's Analecta Arabica*, pars secunda, and *Caussin de Parceval's Essai sur l'histoire, des Arabes*, tome II, p. 527, etc.

5 The life of **Abū Ḥanīfah Nuʿmān** will be found in this work.

6 According to an old Tradition, God punished **Nimrod** by sending a gnat which penetrated into his brain and gave him intolerable pain, till he died.

Al-Manṣūr did not say another word. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (No. 19, note) related the following anecdote : "Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān took his seat (*in order to teach*) and said : 'You may question me concerning whatever is beneath the throne of God!.' On which a man said to him : 'When Adam performed the pilgrimage, who shaved his head? '—'Nay !' replied Muqātil, 'such (*a question*) does not proceed from your own mind<sup>1</sup> but God meant to humble me for my presumption.' " Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (No. 249) relates (*the same anecdote*) as follows : "Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān said, one day : 'You may ask me respecting whatever is beneath the throne of God ; and a man addressed him in these terms' : 'Tell me, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ! are the intestines of ants and pismires in the fore part of the body or the back part ?' The *shaykh* remained silent and knew not what to answer. It seemed to me a just punishment inflicted on him." The doctors (*in Traditions*) differ in opinion respecting Muqātil : some declare that, as a Traditionist, he was worthy of confidence, and others accuse him of falsehood. Baqiyah Ibn al-Walīd said : "I heard *Shu'bah* Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (No. 207, note) questioned concerning Muqātil, and he never spoke of him but in a favourable manner." 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (No. 300) being asked what he thought of him, replied : "We have been told that he was apt to make mistakes." It is related that the same Ibn al-Mubārak renounced (*making use of*) the Traditions delivered by Muqātil. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, being asked if Muqātil had received Traditions orally from Al-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Muzāḥim, replied : "No ; al-Ḍaḥḥāk died four years before Muqātil was born and Muqātil himself said : 'A gate of four years was closed between me and al-Ḍaḥḥāk.' By this, he meant to designate the gate of the city which opens the burying-ground." He said also that Muqātil never received Traditions orally from Mujāhid nor ever met the man. Aḥmad Ibn Sayyār<sup>4</sup> says : "Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān, a native

1 That is : every thing in the universe.

2 Shaving of the head is one of the obligatory rites of pilgrimage.

3 Literally : from your own knowledge.

4 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Sayyār al-Marwazī, the greatest Traditionist who ever taught in the city of Marw, was distinguished also for his knowledge of the law, his piety and self-mortification. Al-Bukhārī and Al-Nasā'ī have given Traditions on his authority. He died A.H. 268 (A.C. 881-2). (*Nujūm*.)

of Balkh, went to Marw, whence he proceeded to 'Irāq. His veracity is suspected; his Traditions should be left aside and his declarations should be rejected. Speaking of the Divine attributes, he said things which it would be sinful to repeat." Ibrāhīm Ibn Yā'qūb al-Jūzjānī<sup>1</sup> called Muqātil an audacious liar. Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nasā'ī (No. 28) said: "Liars notorious for forging Traditions and passing them off as coming from the Prophet were four in number: Ibn Abī Yaḥyā<sup>2</sup> at Madīnah, Al-Wāqidi (No. 618) at Baghdād, Muqātil, Ibn Sulaymān in Khurāsān, and Muḥammad Ibn Sa'īd, surnamed *Al-Maṣlūb*, in Syria." Wak'ī Ibn al-Jarrāḥ (No. 149, note) said of Muqātil that he was a confirmed liar. Abū Bakr al-Ājurri (No. 597) said: I asked Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān Ibn al-Ash'ath (No. 254) concerning Muqātil, and he answered: "All Traditions given by him should be rejected." According to 'Umar Ibn al-Ghallās<sup>3</sup> Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān was a liar and his Traditions were to be rejected. "As for Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān, "said Al-Bukhārī (No. 543) pass him over in silence." In another place he says of him: He is just nothing at all." Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in<sup>4</sup> declared that Muqātil's Traditions were of no value, and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal said: "As for Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān, the author of the Commentary, I should not like to cite anything on his authority." "His Traditions are to be rejected:" said Abū Ḥatim al-Rāzi<sup>5</sup>. According to Zakariyā Ibn Yaḥyā al-Sājī<sup>6</sup>, people said

1 Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Yā'qūb al-Jūzjānī resided at Damascus. His authority as a Traditionist is highly appreciated. He died A.H. 259 (A.C. 872-3). (*Nujūm*, *Huffāz*).

2 Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Yaḥyā, one of the masters under whom the celebrated doctor al-Shāfi'i made his studies, is considered as a Traditionist on whom no reliance can be placed. He died A.H. 184 (A.C. 800-1). *Nujūm*, the *Tahdhīb al-Asmā* of al-Nawawī).

3 Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Ibn 'Alī al-Ṣayrafī, surnamed al-Ghallās. or, according to another reading, al-Qallās, was a Traditionist of great authority. He died A.H. 249 (A.C. 863-4) at Sarr-man ra'ā. (*Huffāz*, *Nujūm*).

4 The life of Yāḥyā Ibn Ma'in will be found in this work.

5 Abū Ḥatim Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥanzalī al-Rāzi, a Traditionist of great learning and noted for his veracity, died at Ray. his native place, A.H. 277 (A.C. 890-1). (*Huffāz*, *Nujūm*).

6 Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyā Ibn Yaḥyā al-Sājī composed an important work on the Traditions. He died A.H. 307 (A.C. 919-920), at a very advanced age. (*Huffāz*).

of Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān, the native of Khurāsān, that he was a liar and that his Traditions should be rejected. Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabbān al-Bustī<sup>1</sup> said; "Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān received from the Jews and the Christians such information on *Qur'ānic* matters as tallied with the contents of their own (*sacred*) books. He was an *assimilator*<sup>2</sup> declaring a likeness to exist between the Lord and His creatures; besides which, he lied in his Traditions."

On the whole, a great number of opinions have been omitted concerning him, but what we have just mentioned will suffice; it has even led me away from my subject, but I wished to make known what the learned said of his character. He died at Baṣrah in the year 150 (A. C. 767-8).

#### 707 ABU 'L-HAYJĀ SHIBL AL-DAWLAH

Abu 'l-Hayjā Muqātil Ibn 'Atiyah Ibn Muqātil al-Bakrī al-Ḥijāzī (*member of the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wā'il and native of Ḥijāz*), surnamed Shibl al-Dawlah (*the young lion of the empire*), was the son of an Arab chief. Being obliged to quit his brothers in consequence of a quarrel, he proceeded to Baghdād and then set out for Khurāsān, whence he went to Ghaznah. Having returned to Khurāsān, he devoted his service to the Wazīr Nizām al-Mulk (No. 171) and married into his family. When Nizām al-Mulk was

---

1 See No. 695. There is a note, which does not give sufficient information respecting certain names and surnames by which some doctors are designated in works on jurisprudence. I shall complete it here. *Abu 'l-'Abbās* is Ibn Surayj (No. 20); *Abū Ishāq* al-Marwazī (No. 3); *Abū Sa'id*, al-Istakhrī; (No. 150); Abū Ḥamīd, al-Isfarā'īni (No. 25); *Abu 'l-Qāsim*, al-Anmāfi (No. 384) and al-Dārakī (No. 360) *Abu 'l-Ṭayyib* al-Ṭabarī (No. 279) and Ibn Salamah or Salimah (No. 553); 'Abd Allāh, Ibn Mas'ūd, a celebrated Traditionist and one of Muḥammad's Companions; died A.H. 32 (A.C. 952-3); al-Rabī' al-Mu'ādh (No. 221) and 'Aṭā, Ibn Abi 'l-Rabāh.

2 See Sale's *Preliminary discourse* to his translation of the *Qur'ān*, section VIII.

assassinated, he composed an elegy of which we have inserted two verses in the life of that wazīr (*No. 171*). He then went back to Baghdād and, after remaining there some time, he formed the intention of going to Kirmān and soliciting the bounty of Nāṣir al-Dīn Mukram Ibn al-'Alā<sup>1</sup>, the wazīr of that country and a man renowned for beneficence. He therefore addressed a petition to the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Mustaẓhir bi-Allāh, requesting to be favoured with a letter of recommendation for that person. Al-Mustaẓhir wrote the following words at the top of the petition (*and sent it back*); "Abu 'l-Hayjā! you go very far in search of a pasture-ground; may God speed you back! from Ibn al-'Alā can be obtained satisfaction (for every wish); his path in beneficence is wide and, what he may bestow on you will make you savour with pleasure the fruit of gratitude and find sweetness in the waters of his beneficence. (*Receive my*) salutation." Abu 'l-Hayjā considered these lines quite sufficient, and resolved on setting out for Kirmān without any other letter of recommendation. When he arrived there, he went to the Wazīr's audience-chamber and, having obtained permission to enter, he placed before his eyes the petition (*with the khalif's note inscribed on it*). The wazīr, on seeing it, descended from his throne in order to show his respect for the note and for him who had written it; he then returned to his seat, after ordering a sum of one thousand dinārs to be given to Abu 'l-Hayjā. The poet then informed him that he had composed a poem in his praise and brought it with him. The wazīr told to recite it, and he began thus:

"Let your camels measure the breadth of the desert (*if you mean*) to go to Ibn al-'Alā; if (*you mean it*) not, then (*let them*) not."

The wazīr, on hearing this verse, ordered the poet another thousand dinārs and when the recitation of the *qaṣīdah* was finished, he gave him one thousand more and had him arrayed in a robe of honour. An excellent horse being then brought out, saddled and bridled, the wazīr said: "The wish of the Commander

1 See No. 17, where this Wazīr is surnamed Naṣr al-Dīn.\*  
(As already mentioned in Vol. I, No. 17 the correct surname is Nāṣir.

\* (It is not necessary because every *نعمون* may be substituted by *نعمول* illustrations of which may be found in this very *qaṣīdah*.—Ed).

of the faithful "shall be heard and fulfilled<sup>1</sup> he prayed God to speed you back." He then provided him with every thing necessary (*for the journey*), and sent him off again to Baghdād. Abu 'l-Hayjā remained but a short time in that city and then proceeded to Transoxiana, whence he returned to Khurāsān. Having stopped at Herāt, he fell in love with a woman of that place and composed a great number of poems in her praise. From thence he removed to Marw, where he settled. Towards the close of his life, he fell into a melancholy madness<sup>2</sup> and was transported to the hospital, where he died. This event took place on or about the year 505 (A. C. 1111-2). He ranked among the most accomplished literary scholars of the age. His poems are full of originality and sweetness. An epistolary correspondence, in a sportive style, was carried on between him and the learned doctor Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (*No.* 684). Before their first meeting, he wrote to him these lines :

"He (Zamakhsharī) is a perfect scholar ; the flow (*of his style*) is (*brilliant*) as the radiance of the stars. Zamakhsharī has every merit ; he is the noblest production of (*his birth-place*) Zamakhshar. (*For me*) he is like the sea ; though I have not seen it, I have heard of it."

Zamakhsharī wrote to him (*in reply*) :

"Your verses outshine so much my own, that I have arrayed myself in a robe of envy. But why should not the (*humblest*) plant become a lion (*i.e. flourish*) when the sons of the lion<sup>\*3</sup>, water it every night" ?

---

1 Literally : exalted.

2 The verb *tesawdan* is derived, by a strange anomaly, from *sawdā* (*melancholy*) and bears, to this day, in Syria, the signification which is here given to it.

3 *The sons of the lion*, in Arabic, *Banu 'l-Asad*. The tribe of Bakr Ibn Wā'il, to which Abu 'l-Hayjā belonged, was a branch of the Banu 'l-Asad. Al-Zamakhsharī makes a poor quibble on the signification of the name and on the double meaning of the verb *istāsad*.

\* M. de Slane has read it *banu 'l-Asad* while the correct reading is *bi naw al-Asad*. The former reading does not conform to measure. It means : plant flourishes when it is watered every night under the (zodiac sign of) Leo.—Ed.

Abu 'l-Hayjā's detached pieces are very numerous and elegant. The wazīr above mentioned is the same we have spoken of in our article on Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Ghazzī (No. 17) a celebrated poet who went to Kirmān and recited to him a *qaṣidah* made in his honour. This is the high-sounding poem which rhymes in *ba* and of which two very fine and original verses have been inserted in that article. The piece begins thus :

"To drink from the wells of (*my*) tears will suffice for the camels which we ride on ; to smell the odour of the soil where (*my beloved*) had her vernal residence, will relieve their bosoms (*from the pangs of thirst*). When you see the lightning flash over (*the valley of*) al-'Aqīq, count on no other rain but that which our eyes afford."

In the transition to the encomium the poet says :

"With camels whose proof (*of excellence*) is (*like*) that of 'Isā Ibn Maryam (*Jesus, the son of Mary*) when the deep and rugged defile disables the pursuer<sup>1</sup>. They seem to dance through the mirage, now floating on waves, now sinking. They look like swimming castles, as if I had transformed them thus in traversing the deserts. They perceive a well-known odour breathing from Kirmān and, in their ardour, they sport about and play. They saw (*i. e. they have left*) behind the horizon of Minā (*many*) sun-risings and settings which they now think of no more. (*For they hasten*) towards a glorious (*prince*) who received not his honour by inheritance, but who toiled to acquire them as a gain ; (*towards*) a prince on whom fortune looks always with smiles as on one who, in serious undertakings, has no companion but a firm resolution."

The same poem contains this passage :

"When he speaks, all ears are attentive ; when he writes, all eyes are fixed on him. Never, till I met with Mukram, did I see

---

1 In scanning this verse it will be perceived that the verb قَتَلَ must be pronounced as if it belonged to the second form. These camels proved their excellence by saving the lives of the fugitives who rode them and bearing them through defiles in which the pursuers were completely knocked up. They thus gave life to the fugitives as Jesus gave life to the dead. Such is the conjectural explanation of the translator.



a lion in his den aspiring to high renown and bestowing precious gifts. Were he not a lion, with all his generosity, he should at least be one when the finger-nails (or *pens*) with which he attacks have become claws."

Here is another passage of the same poem :

"Let others be honoured by poets who describe their noble qualities, we have mentioned such excellence of his as gives fresh lustre to his virtues. To him belongs exalted merit such that if it took a material form, it would become as the eye and the eye-brow of the face of time. He cast a look towards the wazīrate, then hoary (*with age*), and that slight glance rendered it young again. He obtained it at first without stretching forth his arm ; and he held it, at last without springing forth (*to seize it*)."

The rest of this splendid *qaṣīdah* may be appreciated after the specimens here given.

#### 708 ḤUSĀM AL-DAWLAH AL-MUQALLAD

Abū Ḥassān al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab Ibn Rāfi' Ibn al-Muqallad Ibn Ja'far Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Muḥannā 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Burayd\* Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zayd Ibn Qays Ibn Juḥah<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ṭahfah Ibn Ḥazn Ibn 'Uqayl Ibn Ka'b Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'ah Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawāzin ; such is the genealogy of the 'Uqaylide chief who was lord of Moṣul and bore the title of *Ḥusām al-Dawlah* (*the glaive of the empire*). His brother, Abu 'l-Dḥuwād Muḥammad, the son of al-Musayyab, was the first of the family who established his domination in Moṣul. That event took place in the year 380 (A. C. 990-1). His daughter married the Daylamite (*sovereign*) Abū Naṣr Bahā

1 In one manuscript, this name is writtin *Ḥawthah*. (The Egyptian edition gives this reading.—Ed).

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : Yuzayd.—Ed.

al-Dawlah, the son of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, the son of Buwayh<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-D<sup>h</sup>uwād died in the year 387 (A. C. 997) and his brother Muqallad succeeded him in the government (*of Moṣul*). He had a cast in one of his eyes. Our professor Ibn al-Athīr (*No. 435*) mentions, in his *Annals*, that al-Muqallad's accession to power took place in the year 386; that he aspired to the throne on the death of his brother; that the 'Uqaylids refused him their support and conferred the supreme authority on his brother 'Alī, because the latter was advanced in age; that Al-Muqallad had recourse to treacherous means and continued to employ them till he obtained the command. We here present a summary of the long account which Ibn al-Athīr gives of these events. According to another author, Al-Muqallad was highly intelligent, well skilled in the arts of government and an able politician. Having augmented his kingdom by the conquest of Saqī 'l-Furāt<sup>2</sup> he obtained from the imām (*Khalif*) Al-Qādir bi-Allāh the title of *Husām al-Dawlah*, the standard (*of commandment*) and the pelisse of honour. This he put on at al-Anbār, and took into his service three thousand soldiers, part of them Daylamites, and the rest Turks. (*The tribe of*) *Khafajah* then yielded him obedience<sup>3</sup>. Being himself a man of talent, he was fond of literary men and composed verses. Abu 'l-Hayjā Ibn 'Imrān Ibn Shāhin relates as follows: "I once travelled on the road between Sinjār and Naṣībīn in company with Mu'tamid al-Dawlah Abu 'l-Manī'ah Qirwāsh, the son of al-Muqallad. We came to a

---

1 Bahā al-Dawlah succeeded his brother Shāraf al-Dawlah in the government of 'Irāq, A. C. 980. Eleven years later, he deposed the 'Abbāsīd *Khalif* al-Tā'ī li-Allāh. He died at Arrajān. A.H. 403 (A.C. 1012-3).

2 Saqī 'l-Furāt signifies the country irrigated by the Euphrates. The author of the *Mārāṣīd* says, under the word *Furāt*, that the territory of the Saqī extended from 'Ānah to Sīb. This shows it to have been situated towards the south-eastern extremity of Arabian 'Irāq.

3 The Banū *Khafajah* descended from *Khafajah*, the son of 'Amr, the son of 'Uqayl, and belonged therefore to the same family as al-Muqallad. In Ibn *Khaldūn's* time, a little after the middle of the fourteenth century, this numerous and powerful tribe occupied a great part of the country situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris (see the *Hist. des Berbers*, tome I, page 26). The *Khafajah*, were noted for their turbulence and love of plunder. (*Abulfedae Annales*), t. III, p. 20).

halting place and, some time after we had dismounted, he sent for me. I found him lodged in a neighbouring castle, which was called after al-'Abbas Ibn 'Amr al-Ghnawī. This building commanded a fine view over numerous gardens and streams of water. On going in, I found him standing and looking at something which was written on the wall. I read the inscription, which ran as follows :

'Castle of al-'Abbās Ibn 'Amr ! why did thy Ibn 'Amr quit thee ? Long didst thou defy the strokes of fortune ; how then did (*ill-*) fortune take thee by surprise ? Alas ! where is thy magnificence ? or rather, where is thy hospitality ? or rather, where is thy renown ? or rather, where is thy glory ? '

Underneath were inscribed these words : 'Written by 'Alī, the son of 'Abd Allāh, the son of Ḥamdān, with his own hand ; in the year 331 (A.C. 942-3).' " I may here observe that the writer of these lines was Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān (*No. 456*), he whose praises are celebrated in the poems of al-Mutanabbī (*No. 49*). "Underneath was written :

'O castle ! time hath shaken thee and abased thy glory. It hath defaced the beauty of these lines which ennoble thy solid wall. Alas ! where is their illustrious writer ? where is all his might which so well befitted thine ? . '

Below this were inscribed the following words : 'Written by Al-Ghadānfar, the son of Al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī, the son of Ḥamdān, with his own hand ; in the year 363 (A.C. 973-4)' ". The writer of this was 'Uddat al-Dawlah (*Faḍl-Allāh, see No. 167*) the son of Nāṣir al-Dawlah al-Ḥasan who was the brother of Sayf al-Dawlah. Lower down was written :

"O castle ! what has become of those who pitched their tents in thy court ? Time has destroyed and removed them whilst thou remainedst widely extended<sup>1</sup>. Alas ! how short was the existence of those who walked in thee so proudly, and how long has been thine. "

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally : and folded them up in consequence of thy being long spread out.

"Under these verses were inscribed the following words : 'Written by Al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab Ibn Rāfi' with his own hand ; in the year 388 (A.C. 998)' ". The writer of this note was the person whose life we are giving. Then followed these lines.

"O castle ! what has become of the noble ones who dwelt here in former times ? Thou wert coeval with them and, in long duration, hast, outlived them all. The lines traced upon thy walls renew my grief for the son of al-Musayyab. Know that I shall soon join him and that I am hastening on in his foot-steps ! "

"These verses were subscribed : 'Written by Qirwāsh, the son of al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab, with his own hand in the year 401 (A.C. 1010-1011).' I was surprised at what I saw and said to Qirwāsh : 'Was it you who wrote that ?' He replied : 'It was ; and I am thinking of having this castle thrown down, for it is an unlucky place and has sent many to their graves.' I wished him long life and three days after, we set out again on our journey, but the castle has not yet been demolished." Al-'Abbās Ibn 'Amr al-Ḡhanawī, the person above mentioned was a native of Tall Banī Sayyār, a place situated between al-Raqqah and Rās-'Ayn, in the neighbourhood of Ḥiṣn Maṣlamah, a fort which bears the name of Maṣlamah the Ḥakamīde, who was the son of (*the Umayyad khalif*) 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān (*Ibn al-Ḥakam*). (*Al-'Abbās*) was governor of Yamāmah and Baḥrayn when the (*khalif*) al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh sent him to fight the Qarmaṭs, who were then making their first appearance. He gave them battle, but was defeated and taken prisoner. Some time afterwards, he obtained his liberty and returned to join al-Mu'taḍid, at Baghdād. He arrived there on the eve of Sunday, the 12th of the month of Ramaḍān, 287 (10th Sept., A.C. 900). Abū 'Abd Allāh al-'Azīmi, of Aleppo, states in his lesser historical work<sup>1</sup>, that al-'Abbās Ibn 'Amr al-Ḡhanawī died in the year 305 (A.C. 917-8). It is a singular fact that the ten thousand men he led against the Qarmaṭs were all slain and that he alone escaped with his life. (*An occurrence equally strange befel*) 'Amr Ibn al-Layth the Ṣaffārid : he marched with an army of fifty thousand men against Ismā'il Ibn

<sup>1</sup> See No. 281, note.

Aḥmad (*the Sāmānid who afterwards became*), lord of Khurāsān, and was taken prisoner, but all his soldiers escaped. Seventy years elapsed from the time Sayf al-Dawlah wrote the above mentioned lines till Qirwāsh wrote his. In the life of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr (*No. 351*) we have inserted an anecdote similar to the foregoing and taken from conversation which passed between him and 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān; to it we refer the reader. One day, al-Muqallad was in the sitting-room (*of his palace*) at al-Anbār, with some familiar acquaintances, a young Turkish page sprung upon him and slew him. This occurred in the month of Ṣafar, 391 (January, A.C. 1001). It is stated that he was buried on the border of the Euphrates, at a place called Shifyā\*<sup>1</sup> and situated between al-Anbār and Hit. Some relate that the Turk murdered him (*through fanaticism*) because he heard him say to a person that was taking leave of him with the intention of going on a pilgrimage (*to Makkah*): "When you arrive at the tomb of God's Apostle, draw near to it and say to him in my name: 'Were it not for your two Companions, I should pay you a visit?'" The sharif al-Raḍī (*No. 641*) composed two elegies on his death and a number of poets wrote verses on the same subject. His son, Mu'tamid al-Dawlah Abu 'l-Manī' Qirwāsh, who was absent at the time, succeeded him in the supreme command, but had to maintain a struggle for its possession against two of his uncles, one of them named Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Musayyab and the other Abu 'l-Murrah Muṣ'ab Ibn al-Musayyab. The former died in the year 392 (A.C. 1001-2) and the latter in 397. Qirwāsh then remained sole master of the principality and was delivered from the anxiety which they had given him. His possession consisted of Moṣul, Kūfah, al-Madā'in and Saqī 'l-Furāt. In the year 401 (A.C. 1010-1011) he had the khutbah offered up throughout all his states for the prosperity of al-Ḥākim, the sovereign of Egypt.

1 According to the author of the Marāṣid, the village of Shifyā was situated at seven parasangs from Wāsiṭ.

2 Abū Bakr and 'Umar, whose memory the Shī'ites detested, were buried in the mosque of Madīnah by the side of Muḥammad's grave.

\* Abd al-Ḥamid gives: Shiqqā.—Ed.

whose life we shall give, but he afterwards discontinued the practice. The Ghuzz<sup>1</sup>, having penetrated into Moşul, pillaged the palace of Qirwāsh and carried off from it more than two hundred thousand dīnārs. On this, he called to his assistance Nūr al-Dawlah Abu 'l-A'azz Dubays Ibn Ṣadaqah, a chief of whom we have already spoken (No. 212), and their united forces attacked the Ghuzz, slew a great number of them and obtained the victory. Abū 'Alī Ibn (*Abi'l*) Shibl al-Baghdādī (No. 635) a celebrated poet, composed a *qaṣidah* in his praise and spoke in it of this battle. He says:

"You spared your native soil the disgrace of entombing their corpses; the only tomb they got was the vultures maw. Yet they had overrun the land and obtained all that was possible of worldly wealth. They had broken open the gate (*ritāj*) of the

---

1 By the Ghuzz is here meant that race of Turks which founded the Saljūq dynasty. Our author has already (No. 664), given a sketch of their early history and noticed the departure of a fraction of that people from Işbahān to Ādharbā'ijān. Ibn Khaldūn, in his Universal History, chapter on the 'Uqaylides, enables us to trace the path followed by this detachment. In the year 429 (A.C. 1037-8), they took and plundered Marāḡḡah, defeated the Hadbāniya Kurds and then stormed the city of Ray, which was occupied at that time by Ibn Kākuyah. They marched from thence to Qazwin, ravaged Armenia, and devastated Dīnawar in the year 435 (A.C. 1038-9). From Armenia they passed into the country of the Hakkarite Kurds and, in 433, they entered Diyār Bakr and took possession of Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar. Having then defeated Qirwāsh, they laid siege to Moşul, took it and commenced there again the work of plunder and massacre. The inhabitants at length took up arms and slew all the invaders whom they found in the city. The rest of the Ghuzz penetrated into Moşul, the year 435 (A.C. 1043-4) and put the inhabitants to the sword. During twelve days, the city was given up to plunder. Qirwāsh then united his forces to those of Dubays and proceeded to Moşul. The enemy retreated to Tall A'far and, in the month of Ramaḡān 435 (April, A.C. 1044) they encountered the Arabs. A desperate struggle ensued, in which the latter were victorious. They seized on the camp and baggage of the Ghuzz, who fled to Na ib n. Qirwāsh pursued them as far as that town. They then entered Diyār Bakr which they ravaged and passed from that province into Armenia and Asia minor, where they acted in a similar manner. From thence they returned to Ādharbā'ijān.

barrier which kept Gog confined, but they found, in your prowess, the might of Alexander.<sup>1</sup>"

Qirwāsh bore the surname of *Majd al-Dīn* (*glory of religion*). His mother was sister to the amir Abu 'l-Hayjā al-Hadbānī, lord of Irbel (*Arbela*). He was a good scholar and an elegant poet. Some of his pieces have got into general circulation; such, for instance, as that which Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bākhārī (*No. 450*) has given in his *Dumyat al-Qaṣr* and which we reproduce here:

"Praised be adversity! it tarnishes the vile but gives polish to the noble. I was mere mass of iron when adversity forged me into a sword, and the vicissitudes of fortune gave to my edge a free career."

The same author cites the following piece as a production of Qirwāsh:

"Let those who have inherited paternal wealth be praised or reviled (*I care not*). As for me, I give abundant thanks to the only God, so as to draw down (*upon me*) an increase of favour. Mine is a bay horse, impatient when reined in, and who, in our incursions, procures for us, by his efforts, all we can hope for. Mine is the sharp sword which seems to flash undulating lightnings when drawn from the scabbard; me, the sharp and pliant spear, the point of which seems to be tipped with death itself<sup>2</sup>. By these I acquired wealth, but I granted to the liberality of my hand full power to spend it."

These verses are really fine and well turned. The following lines are said to be his:

"(*That girl*) habitually perfumed, using odours not every second day (*but always*), delicately limbed, whose skin is smooth to the touch. When the vapour of the aloes-wood ascends through the bosom of her (*robe*) and covers her face, it seems to me a cloud shadowing the sun."

---

1 The musulmān fables concerning Gog and Magog (Yājūj) and Mājūj) are well-known. According to these legends, Alexander the Great chastised this people and built the barrier of Darband, in order to prevent them from invading Syria and Mesopotamia.

2 Literally; as if the mother of the fates was on the wood of it.

Al-Bākhazī, in his *Dumyat-al-Qaṣr*, attributes the following lines to Abu 'l-Jūḥah<sup>1</sup>, a cousin of the amīr Qirwāsh:

"When they dash through the dust of the battle-field, they seem like suns (*in brilliancy*) and like moons (*in beauty*). Let fortune treat them justly or unkindly, they never withhold their gifts from those who ask. When their help is called for, in impending danger, they risk their existence and care not for their lives. When the fire of war is dying out, they light it up again with the points of their spears<sup>2</sup>"

Among the pieces of verse contained in the (*Dumyat al-Qaṣr*), we find an eulogium on Qirwāsh composed by al-Zāhir† al-Jazārī, and offering this very good specimen of the (*rhetorical figure called*) *istiṭrād*<sup>3</sup>

"On a night gloomy as the visage of al-Barqa'īdī, cold as his ditties and long as his horns, I travelled forth. My sleep, that of a fugitive, was troubled like the reason of Sulaymān Ibn Fahd and like his religious belief. The camel which bore me was headstrong, and dashed forward with the giddiness and folly of Ibn Jābir; till the light of morning appeared, bright as the face of Qirwāsh, and brilliant as his forehead<sup>4</sup>."

1 Or *Hawṭḥah*, according to another reading.

2 The author employs here the term *zinād*, which signifies the flint and steel, or the two pieces of wood made use of for producing fire.

3 This technical term signifies, in rhetoric, the bringing about of the transition. In the Arabic literary schools it is defined thus: *Istiṭrād* signifies giving to the discourse such a turn as leads necessarily to a subject which was not, as first, that of the discourse.

4 The name of Sulaymān Ibn Fahd occurs in No. 387. According to Abu 'l-Feda (*Annales*, tome III, p. 50), he entered into the service of al-Muqallad, the father of Qirwāsh, and was appointed intendant of the latter's demesne, as he acted most tyrannically towards the farmers, Qirwāsh had him imprisoned and subsequently put to death, A.H. 411 (A.C. 1020-1021). The same historian cites the verses of al-Jazārī, whom he designates by the surname of Ibn al-Ṭamqarām, and informs us that Barqaidī was a singer attached to the service of Qirwāsh and that Ibn Jābir was the door-keeper or chamberlain of that amīr. They were all present when the poet recited these verses.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: Ḥuwayyah.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: al-Ṭāhir.—Ed.



Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn 'Unayn, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*No. 658*), is the author of a piece composed in the same style and directed against two jurisconsults of Damascus, one of whom was nicknamed *the mule* and the other *the buffalo*. We give it here :

"The mule and the buffalo had a dispute which made them a show for every spectator. They went forth one evening and contended, one with his horns, the other with his hoofs. They did nothing well but vociferate as if they had learned to argue from al-Murtaḍā Ibn 'Asākir. 'Twas all long talk with meaning slender as the wits of 'Abd al-Laṭīf, the speculative philosopher. These two I warrant you, have not a third to match them in stupidity except the poet Madhlawayh!."

A friend of mine told me that he spoke to Ibn 'Unayn respecting the verses composed by Al-Zāhir al-Jazarī, and praised him at the same time for having imitated them so well, but the poet assured him that he had never heard them before. God knows best ! Madhlawayh : the person who bore this surname was al-Rashīd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Badr al-Nāblusī (*native of Napluse*), a well-known poet who resided at Damascus and on whom Ibn 'Unayn composed a number of (*satirical*) pieces. He died on the 15th of the month of Ṣafar, 619 (31st March, A. C. 1222), at Damascus, and was interred near the gate called Bāb al-Ṣaghīr. The Dumyat al-Qaṣr contains another piece of verse composed by Al-Zāhir al-Jazarī. It is so witty that I cannot refrain from giving it here :

"See what an ample share of love fell to the lot of Ibn Shibl ! he never ceased lighting desires in every bosom. For him, the women neglected their husbands, et in juventute sua, immemores uxorum ipsos reddidit maritos. Illum impubrem amaverunt mares; puberem feminac; gloria Deo ! nunquam amatoribus carebit."

Of these three verses, I have since met with the two last in an article on Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Naḥḥās al-Ḥalabī<sup>2</sup>, which is contained

1 A few lines farther on, the author gives some account of this poet.

2 Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Naḥḥās, a native of Aleppo, and a good poet, lived in the fifth century of the Hijrah, for we know that his contemporary, Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī (see 381, note), died A.H. 466 (A.C. 1073-4). ('Imād al-Dīn, in his *Kharidah*, ms. of the Bib. imp. ancien fonds, No. 1414, fol. 156 recto).

in the *Kharidah*<sup>1</sup>. The author of that work says that Abu 'l-Ṣalt<sup>2</sup> gives them in his *Ḥadiqah* as the production of that person, meaning Ibn al-Naḥḥās. God knows best! His (*al-Zāhir*'s) poetry abounds in fine ideas. Let us return to our account of the amīr Qirwāsh. He was very generous, a great plunderer and a free giver, following thus the custom of the desert Arabs. It is related that they reproached him for having two sisters for wives at the same time, and that he made this reply: "Tell me what thing we ever did which was permitted by law." He said also: "I have nothing on my conscience except the death of five or six inhabitants of the desert whom I slew; as for the town's people, God makes no account of them." He had governed fifty years when a quarrel arose between him and his brother Barakah Ibn Muqallad, who resided outside the city: he fell in to his hands, in the year 441 (A. C. 1049-50), was bound in chains and cast into prison. Barakah took his place in the supreme command, assumed the title of *Zu'lm al-Dawlah* (*the guardian of the empire*) and governed for two years. He died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, 443 (April-May, A. C. 1052). His nephew and successor, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Quraysh, was the son of Abu 'l-Faḍl Badrān and the grandson of Al-Muqallad. Badrān was lord of Naṣībīn; he died in the month of *Rajab*, 425 (May-June, A. C. 1034). The

---

1 See No. 679.

2 Umayyah Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Abi 'l-'alt, a Spanish Muslim, is the compiler of a poetical anthology entitled *al-Ḥadiqah* (*the shady bower*), and containing extracts from the works of his countrymen. He passed the first twenty years of his life in Seville, his native place; twenty more in Ifriqiyyah (the kingdom of Tunis), at the court on the Ṣanhājiyyan kings (the Zirids who succeeded the Faṭimids and whose dynasty furnished to Ibn Khaldūn the matter of a long chapter in his (*Histoire des Berbers*, tome II, p. 9 et seq) he passed twenty years more as a prisoner in the (sultān's) library at Cairo. He had been sent to that city on a mission by (al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī), the Zirid sovereign who held his court at al-Mahdiyyah, but the Egyptian sulṭān had him arrested and confined in that establishment. On leaving it, he had acquired an intimate acquaintance with the philosophical sciences and the arts of medicine and musical composition. It was he who set to music the verses contained in the book of songs composed by African authors. He died at al-Mahdiyyah in the year 560 (A. C. 1164-5), or in 568, according to another account. (*Maqarrī*, Vol. I, p. 530).

first thing Quraysh did was, to hold an audience and have his uncle Qirwāsh put to death in his presence. This took place in the beginning of Rajab 444. Qirwāsh was buried at Tall Tawbah, a place situated to the east of Moṣul. He was generous and brave, an elegant speaker and poet. His name *Qirwāsh* is a derivative noun of the form *fi'wāl*<sup>1</sup>; it comes from the root *Qarash*, which signifies, in Arabic, *to gain and to collect*. (The tribe of) Quraysh drew its name from the same root, because the people which composed it was engaged in commerce. (The amīr) Quraysh joined with Arslān al-Baṣāsiri (No. 78) in plundering the seat of the *khalifate* (*Baghdād*). Some time after, the *imām* (*khalif*) al-Qā'im bi-Amr-Allāh, being again enabled to govern after his own will, wrote to the sultān Ṭughhrubek (see No. 664), requesting him to treat Quraysh with indulgence. After these events, news was brought (*to Baghdād*) of his death, that is, of the death of Quraysh, Ibn Badrān, who was carried off by the plague, in the town off Naṣībīn, towards the beginning of the year 453 (Jan., A. C. 1061). He died at the age of fifty-one years. The command of the tribe of 'Uqayl devolved on his son, Abu 'l-Mukārim Muslim Ibn Quraysh, who was surnamed *Sharaf al-Dawlah* (*the nobleness of the empire*). After the death of the Saljūqid sultān Tughhrubek, he aspired to the possession of Baghdād, but then gave up his project. He extended his rule over Diyār Rābī'ah, Diyār Muḍar and Aleppo; he even received tribute from the country of the Greeks (*Asia Minor*). Having laid siege to Damascus, he was on the point of taking it when he was informed that the people of Ḥarrān had ceased to acknowledge his authority. He immediately marched against that city, attacked and took it, and massacred a great number of the inhabitants. This occurred in the year 476 (A. C. 1083-4). None of his family ever possessed so extensive a kingdom as he. Under his administration, which was remarkably good and equitable, all the roads throughout his

---

1 That is : the first of the three radical letters in this word must have after it the vowel *i*, and the second must be separated from the third by the letters *waw*, *alif*. *Fi'al* is derived from the root *fa'al* (*to do*) ; the divers form of which verb are employed by Arabic grammarians as types serving to represent the forms of all other verbs.

states were perfectly safe. Among the numerous anecdotes related of him, we may indicate the following: Ibn Ḥayyūs, the poet of whom we have already given a notice (*No. 647*) died in the house where Muslim resided and left a fortune of more than ten thousand *dīnārs*. This was taken to the treasury of Muslim who, however, ordered the sum to be remitted (*to the heirs*). "No" said he, "never shall it be said of me that I gave money to a poet and then through covetousness, took it back. The cash which enters into my treasury is taken from the vilest of mankind<sup>1</sup>." The whole amount of the poll-tax<sup>2</sup> was distributed by him to the descendants of Abū Tālib; none of it being reserved for his own use. It was he who repaired the walls of Moṣul: the work began on Sunday, the 3rd of *Shawwāl*, 474 (6th March, A. C. 1082) and was finished in six months. The anecdotes told of him are very numerous. He lost his life in a battle fought, at the gates of Antioch, between him and the Saljūqid sultān Qutlumish, sovereign of al-Rūm (*Asia Minor*). This occurred on the 15th of *Ṣafar*<sup>3</sup>, 478 (12th June, A. C. 1085). "He was then aged forty-five years and some months," so says Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Ḥamdānī in the work entitled *Al-Ma'ārif al-Muta'akhkhirah* (*information respecting later times*)<sup>4</sup>. Ibn al-Ṣābi<sup>5</sup> says, in his chronicle, that Muslim, the son of Quraysh, was born on Friday, the 23rd of *Rajab* 432 (28th of March, A. C. 1041). Al-Māmūnī (*No. 455, note*) states, in his historical work, that one of his favourite slaves attacked and strangled him in the bath; he places this event in the year 474 (A. C. 1081-2). The Saljūqid sultān Malikshāh established Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of Muslim, in the government of Raḥabah, Ḥarrān, Sarūj and the territory of al-Khābūr, and gave to him in marriage his sister Zalikhā the daughter of the sultān Alp Arslān. Muslim, the son of Quraysh and the father

1 That is, from the inhabitants of towns, merchants and farmers, three classes of men whom the Arabs of the desert heartily despised.

2 This tax was imposed by the law of Muḥammad on all Christians, Jews and Sabeans.

3 One manuscript has: the 25th of *Ṣafar*.

4 Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Ḥamdānī, the author of the historical abridgment mentioned here, died A.H. 521 (A.C. 1127).

5 The life of Hilāl Ibn al-Ṣābi will be found in this work.

of Abū 'Abd Allāh, had imprisoned his brother, Abū Muslim Ibn Quraysh, in the castle of Sinjār and kept him there fourteen years. On the death of Muslim, his son, Muḥammad, was established in the command (*of the tribe*), but his family rallied round Ibrāhīm, delivered him from confinement and placed him at their head. Some time afterwards, he was shut up again, with his nephew Muḥammad, by the order of Malikshāh. On the death of that sultān, they obtained their liberty. Ibrāhīm then assembled the Arabs and attacked Tāj al-Dawlah Tutush, the Saljūqid (*see No. 119*), at a place called al-Muḍayya'.\*<sup>1</sup> Tutush took him prisoner and afterwards put him to death. This happened in the year 486 (A.C. 1093). Another chief of the 'Uqaylids was Abu 'l-Hārith<sup>2</sup> Mahārish, the son of Al-Mujallī, the son of 'Uqayb<sup>3</sup>, the son of Qiyān<sup>3</sup>, the son of Shu'ayb, the son of al-Muqallad the elder, the son of Ja'far, the son of 'Amr, the son of al-Muhannā. He was sovereign of (the town of) al-Hadithah. When the *imām* al-Qā'im left Baghdād, in consequence of the affair of al-Basāsiri, he was hospitably received by Mahārish and treated, during a whole year, with the highest honour and attention. This is an event so well known that we need not give a more particular account of it.<sup>4</sup> Mahārish was constant in almsgiving and prayer, and a regular attendant at the mosque and at (*religious*) assemblies. He died in the month of Šafar, 499 (Oct. Nov., A. C. 1105), at the age of eighty years. May God have mercy on them all!

## 709 MUKHLIŠ AL-DAWLAH MUQALLAD

Abu 'l-Mutawwaj Muqallad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Munqidh al-Kināni, surnamed *Mukhlīš al-Dawlah* (*saviour of the empire*), was the father

1 In Arabic character المضيعة. This is the reading offered by the autograph manuscript of Abu 'l-Feda's Annals. The place which bore this name was a district in the neighbourhood of Moṣul.

2 According to another reading 'Ukayth.

3 According to another manuscript Qiyār.

4 In the Annals of Abu 'l-Feda, year 450, will be found an account of al-Qā'im's expulsion from Baghdād and of his reception by Mahārish.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : al-Muṣanna'.—Ed.

of the amir Sadīd al-Dawlah<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, lord of the castle of Shayzar, him of whom we have already spoken (*No.* 458). He was a man of great influence and wide renown, singularly fortunate in his son and grandsons. In the article on his son we have related succinctly how the power of this family took its origin and how they obtained possession of the above-named fortress. Muqallad dwelt, with a numerous band of retainers, in the vicinity of Shayzar near the bridge called after them *Jisr Banu Munqidh*, and from thence they went to reside alternately at Aleppo, Ḥamāt and other places, in the vicinity of which they possessed magnificent houses and valuable estates. This was before the family got possession of the castle of Shayzar. The prince who reigned in Syria treated them with great honour and showed them the highest respect. The poets of the time used to visit them and celebrate their praises: for many illustrious chieftains, noble, high-spirited and learned, belonged to the family of Munqidh. We have already spoken of one of his (*Muqallad's*) great-grandsons, Usamah Ibn Murshid (*No.* 81). Mukhlis al-Dawlah remained in the command of his people and in the enjoyment of exalted rank till the day of his death. That event took place in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 450 (Jan.-Feb., A. C. 1059). His corpse was borne to Kafr-Ṭāb (*and there buried*). I find, in the collected works of the poet Ibn Sinān al-Khafāji (*No.* 381, *note*), a passage to this effect: "And he (*Ibn Sinān*) recited the following elegy on his (*al-Muqallad's*) death, which happened in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 435." God knows which is the true date. I give here an elegy which is really a very fine production and which was composed on his death by the *qāḍī* Abū Ya'lā Ḥamzah Ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Abī Ḥusayn, who recited it to Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, him whom we have mentioned above. Though it is very long, I shall insert it in full, because copies of it are rarely to be found. I never met any person who knew by heart more than a few verses of it; so, for that reason, I am induced to give it:

"How well death aims its strokes against all living beings! the moment most to be feared speeds on more quickly than the rest.

<sup>1</sup> In the article on this chief, the author entitles him Sadīd al-Mulk.

The man (*hitherto*) safe and unharmed, how can he be gay when the cavalry of death and its ambushes are always before him? To human existence safety is granted but for a time, yet he who is most deceived by life's illusions confides in them the most. He to whom the robe of life has been lent must strip it off; he who defers paying his debt (*to nature*) is forced to acquit it. The Caesars have disappeared, and their palaces availed them not; the Chosroes have been prostrated to the earth, and their citadels could not protect them. The kingdom of Solomon could not save him from death, neither did his father find protection in his coats of mail<sup>1</sup>. Nought is in the world but travellers, arriving and departing; they journey towards a place far distant from their home. The breath of man is the bridle by which fate leads him on; and the nights (*of his existence*) are the stage of his journey. Why did death begin by assaulting Mukhlis al-Dawlah? Why were its sudden strokes turned away from others? Death is a watering place towards which man hastens after man, and others follow in rapid succession. The people have buried a noble chief, but never shall disappear (*the memory of*) his virtues. May the dew and the cloud-drops water the tomb of him upon whom has been poured the earth of the grave; for it contains a cloud whose (*beneficent*) showers used to dispel the parching droughts, a sea of generosity whose waves flowed over all the land. The son of Naṣr, borne upon his bier, seems like a dark vernal cloud whose (*expected*) rains were dissipated by the winds. He (*now*) passes the river, and its sands extol him<sup>2</sup>; he passes by assembled people, and the widows burst into tears. His bier is borne forth on (*men's*) shoulder (*riqāb*), but often were his gifts and presents borne away by travellers (*rikāb*). O, thou poet, who meanest to lament his death! see what thou hast to say; for the souls of all men will be suspended in attention to thy words. Earth in thy mouth<sup>3</sup>! though knowest not what hath been committed to the

---

1 See No. 254, note.

2 This seems to mean that the sands of the river admired his beneficence as being more copious than the waters which flowed over them, or because his noble deeds were more numerous than they.

3 A well-known imprecation. It means: may you be dead and buried!

earth; thou art ignorant (*of it*) and he who is ignorant of a thing, underrates its importance. He was a lord (*whose glory seemed*) like the moon hastening towards its full; whose hands were always ready to bestow, and whose spear, to strike. He now draws floods to tears from all; so that their eyes are like his hands from the torrents which they pour forth<sup>1</sup>. Eyes! spare not your tears, but let them flow in streams for the loss of a glorious chief whose flow of gifts never knew what stinting was. When asked for money, his hands showered it around; when asked to punish oppression, his lances showered streams of blood. How often did the self-sufficient depart humbled from his presence; how often did the modest obtain from him their wishes. His were victories which destroyed each warrior who dared to face him and every rival who had courage to resist him. His guests (*reposed*) in a garden the shade of which was his beneficence; those who tried to rival him in glory lost their lives in the attempt. O, how short was his life! short his stay (*here below*), short (*the days of*) his generosity! short (*the time he went*) sword in belt<sup>2</sup>. Noble ambition was the steed<sup>3</sup> that bore him to a goal which others could never reach. He died not before obtaining his utmost wishes; he disappeared like the moon when she has passed through all her stations. How long was he accus'tomed to receive with hospitality the troops which came to ask it; and to march against them if they came as enemies. Indulgent for offenders, his sword's blade spared them and his clemency sufficed to chastise them. (*In battle*) he ensanguined the bushy tail of his steed, and used to make the

---

1 The poet means that the tears caused by that amir's death flowed in a torrent, copious as the gifts which he used to shower from his hand.

2 Such seems to be the meaning of this verse. Here is the literal translation: O life of him! why wert thou shortened? and why were not long his stations, or rather, his hand, or rather, his shoulder-belt?

3 The adverbial expression *سلاء تروجها* is not easy to be rendered. It is applied to horses of the noblest breed and denotes that their long and busy tails fill up completely the space formed by the bifurcation of the hind legs. See al-Zawzani's commentary on the fifty-eighth verse of the *Mu'allaqah* composed by Amro 'l-Qays. Here it signifies *at full speed*.



shoulders of his (*horse*) throw out drops of blood<sup>1</sup>. Generous steed ! how long did thy back sustain the pain inflicted by thy intrepid (*ride*) ; O, that it sustained it now<sup>2</sup> ! Confusion and trouble abound since the death of that sagacious man whose genius cleared up every perplexity. His conjectures never deceived him, but guided always to result from which other men were misled. May the showers of divine mercy never depart from him ! may they always descend upon him, morning and evening. May the source of mercy water every morning the grave of him who shed, every evening, upon the needy, the torrents of his gifts. God decided that the amir's might should be no longer feared, yet numerous still are his horses and his spears. Here are his young warriors whose swords, now in their scabbards, gleamed like the lightning-flash to obey his orders, and whose lances shone like lamps. O, that his arrows were to-day rustling before him, and that the bellies of his horses rumbled still, but not from fasting<sup>3</sup>. Sons of Munqidh ! be patient under your misfortune ; in him whom you have lost, both rich and poor<sup>4</sup> have received a fatal stroke. Every man is overwhelmed with grief, and, if their sorrow persists, none will be found to blame them. Whilst the hands of other men are parched up (*by avarice*), you, sons of Munqidh ! are meadows and groves of generosity. When a man escapes from the burden of adversity, you are his support and his refuge. Aid me to bear our loss with patience ; he who has patience for his companion is not dismayed by the departure of his friend. He (*Muqallad*) did not sleep (*in death*) till there appeared in you (*his son*) a man fit to succeed him, one gifted with vigilance and firm resolve<sup>5</sup>. You and he are as two opposite constellations in the sphere of glory ; one has set and the other has arisen. Your people had not charged you

1 The meaning of this verse appears to be that the tail of his horse was reddened in passing through torrents of blood and that his shoulders were bleeding from the strokes of the whip. The word rendered by *bushy* signifies a tail of which all the hairs are equally long.

2 The poet means evidently the pain caused by the whip.

3 The rumbling noise produced by the belly of some horses in trotting is well known.

4 Literally ; the shod and the bare footed.

5 Literally ; abundant and perfect in resolution.

with the (*supreme*) command, did they not know that you accomplish what you undertake. Like him, you toiled to acquire honour and, had you not toiled, his superabundant merits would have sufficed for your renown. But you did not intend rising (*to power*) by means of what he did; you were in the right! the actions which raise a man must be his own<sup>1</sup>. I swear by your life that, in all which has happened, I was his bridle-companion and bestowed on him my sincerest love. How could my heart be devoid of that affection whose influence has penetrated into my bosom, to remain there for ever"? ?

We have here given the whole *qaṣīdah*. In our article on al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'i' Ibn Ruzziq (*No.* 283), who was wazīr of Egypt, we have spoken of an elegy composed on his death by the jurisconsult 'Umārat al-Yamani (*No.* 464). It is in the same measure and the same rhyme as the foregoing. I quoted only a few verses of it, because copies of 'Umārah's collected poetical works are in every one's hands; whereas, the poem I have inserted here is seldom found complete. For this reason, I gave the whole of it. Two of its verses have been already inserted in the article on Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī, wazīr of Moṣul (*No.* 677). Abu 'l-Mughīth Munqidh Ibn Naṣr Ibn Munqidh, the brother of Muqallad, died in the year 439 (A.C. 1047-8). An elegy was composed on his death by the learned scholar, al-Khafājī, whose names were Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id Ibn Yahyā Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Rabī' Ibn Sinān<sup>2</sup>. This celebrated poet, who was a native of Aleppo, is the author of a collection of verses. The elegy of which we speak was one of his earliest productions as he composed it when a boy. We give it here:

"Thy excellent qualities have disappeared most strangely: we had them near us, but fortune burried them away<sup>3</sup>. Their

---

1 This verse contains a grammatical quibble, as the last hemistich bears two meanings, one of which is that the subject of a verb must be put in the nominative case. Trifling allusions of this kind are quite in the Musulmān taste.

2 This is the same poet of whom mention has been made in No. 381, note.

3 Literally: but time darted its remoteness against their proximity.

departure was like that of spring, and to spring's abundant showers has succeeded the burning heat (*of sorrow*) in our bosoms. "

A long *qaṣīdah* rhyming in *r*, was composed by al-Kḥafājī on the death of Mukhlīṣ al-Dawlah; another, by the same author and rhyming in *h*, was in praise of that amir. The poet displayed in both great talent.

## 710 MAKKĪ THE TEACHER OF THE QUR'ĀN-READINGS

Abū Muḥammad Makkī Ibn Abī Ṭālib Ḥammūsh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mukhtār al-Qaysī al-Muqrī (*a member of the tribe of Qays, a teacher of the Qur'ān-readings and*), a native of Qayrawān, passed into Spain and settled in Cordova. He was deeply read in the sciences connected with the *Qur'ān* and the Arabic language; his intellect was clear, his person handsome, his piety sincere and his understanding great. The numerous works composed by him on the *Qur'ānic* sciences are very good. He was well acquainted with the *seven readings* (*or editions of the Qur'ān*) and the signification of every various reading which they offer. His birth took place at Qayrawān on the 22nd of *Sha'bān*, 355 (13th August, A.C. 966) at the hour of sunrise, or a little before it, according to another account; but the *Qur'ān-reader*, Abū 'Amr al-Dānī<sup>1</sup> says that he was born in the year 354. Al-Makkī passed his early youth at Qayrawān, at the age of thirteen years he went to Old Cairo and frequented the schools where the teachers of youth and the professors of arithmetic gave their lessons. He then

---

1 Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān Ibn Sa'id, a *mawla* to the Umayyad family and surnamed al-Dānī, was born at Cordova in the year 371 (A.C. 981-2). He began his studies in the year 387, set out for the East in 397, spent four months at Qayrawān, one year in old Cairo, and made the pilgrimage. He returned to Spain in the year 399, after acquiring much traditional learning from the lips of Ibn Ḡhalbūn and other great masters. The number of works composed by him is stated to be one hundred and thirty. He died in the month of *Shawwāl*, 444 (Jan.-Feb., A.C. 1053). Al-Dānīyah (*Denid*) was his usual place of residence and, for that reason, he received the surname of al-Dānī. (*Al-Maqqarī*).

returned to Qayrawān and, in the year 374, finished learning the *Qur'ān* by heart, having previously terminated his studies in arithmetic and general literature. In the year 377, he proceeded to Egypt for the second time, after acquiring a complete knowledge of the *readings* (as taught) at Qayrawān. The same year, he made the pilgrimage which is obligatory for the followers of Islāmism, and in the beginning of the year 378, he commenced studying the *readings* at Old Cairo under the tuition of Abu 'l-Tayyib 'Abd al-Mun'im Ibn *Ghalbūn*<sup>1</sup>. During the remainder of the year and part of the next, he continued his studies under that master, and then returned to Qayrawān. As some various readings of the *Qur'ān* still remained for him to learn, he went to Egypt for the third time, in the year 382, and completed his task. In the following year he returned to Qayrawān, where he began to teach the *readings*, and he continued his lessons till the year 387. Having then proceeded to Makkah, he resided there till the end of the year 390, and made the pilgrimage four years consecutively. In 391, he returned from Makkah to Old Cairo, whence he proceeded to Qayrawān, the year following. From that city he set out for Spain and, having arrived there, in the month of Rajab, 393 (May-June, A.C. 1003), he commenced a course of lectures on the *Qur'ān-readings* in the principal mosque of Cordova. A great number of students profited by his lessons and acquired a competent knowledge of the *Qur'ānic* text; this spread his reputation through the city and obtained for him high respect. On arriving at Cordova, he stopped at the mosque of *al-Nukhaylah* (the little palm-tree) situated in the street called *al-Zuqāqayn*\* (the two lanes) near the Gate of the Druggists (*Bāb al-Atṭārīn*) and there taught the *readings*. He was removed from that to the principal mosque of al-Zāhirah<sup>2</sup>, al-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Abi 'Āmir<sup>3</sup>, and continued to

---

1 See at the end of this article.

2 The town of al-Zāhirah was built near Cordova by al-Man ūr Ibn Abi 'Āmir. See professor Dozy's *Histoire des Musulman d'Espagne*, tome III, page 179.

3 Al-Muẓaffar was the son and successor of the celebrated al-Manṣūr, prime minister of Hishām al-Muwayyad, the Umayyad sovereign of Spain.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : *al-Ruwāqayn* (two proticoes).—Ed.

give lessons there till the power of the 'Āmirids was overthrown. (The *khalif*) Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the son of Hishām (*Ibn al-Ḥakam*) transferred him to the Outer Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Khārij*) of Cordova, and there, Makkī gave lessons during the whole period of the civil war. On the death of Yūnus Ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>1</sup>, he was appointed *imām* and preacher of the principal mosque by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Jahwar<sup>2</sup>. Notwithstanding his learning and intelligence, he was hardly adequate to the duties of that place, yet he continued to fill the office of preacher till his death. Makkī was noted for his virtue, his merit, his humility and his piety; the readiness with which heaven granted whatever he prayed for gained him great celebrity, and some anecdotes of his (*miraculous powers*) are still preserved. One of them is thus related by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭarafī<sup>3</sup>, a teacher of the *readings*: "We had at Cordova a man of some sharpness, who had the talent of annoying the *shaykh* Abū Muḥammad (Makkī); he would draw near to him when he was about to preach and nod at him and take a note of every fault he made. The *shaykh* had a great hesitation in his speech and often stopped short. One Friday, that man came to public prayers and kept glancing his eye at the *shaykh* and nodding to him. Makkī and I went out together and,

1 Abu 'l-Walīd Yūnus Ibn 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Ibn al-Ṣaffār (*the son of the brazier*) was *qādī* of the community (*qādī 'l-Jamā'ah*), or chief *qādī*, of the kingdom of Cordova. He was distinguished for his piety and learning. Some treatises were composed by him on Sūfism, for which doctrine he had a great inclination. One of his works bore the title of *kitāb al-Munqaṭa'in ilā Allāh* (*book of those who renounced the world for God*), from which may be concluded that it was a history of pious ascetics. He died in the year 420 (A.C. 1037-8), aged upwards of ninety years. (Casiri's Bib. Arab, t. II. p. 148; *Bughyat al-Multamis*).

2 Abu 'l-Ḥazm (not Abu 'l-Ḥasan, as Ibn Khallikan writes it), Ibn Jahwar, one of the wazīrs in the service, of Hishām III, took into his hands the government of Cordova in the year 422 (A.C. 1031), on the deposition of that sovereign. He retained the supreme authority till his death, which event took place in 435 (A.C. 1043-4).

3 Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Muṭarrif al-Kinānī, a native of Cordova celebrated as a teacher of the *Qur'ān-readings* and generally known by the surname of al-Ṭarafī (*native of Ṭariffah*), was born in the year 38. (A.C. 997) he died in the month of Ṣafar, 454 (A.C. 1062). (*Ṭuḥfaqāt al-Qurra*).

on reaching the place where he usually gave his lessons, he bid us say *amen* to the prayer he was about to make. Having then raised up his hands, he exclaimed: 'Almighty God! deliver me from that man,' which words he repeated three times. We said *amen* to the prayer; so, the man became a cripple and never again went to the mosque." Makkī composed a great number of instructive works, such as the *Hidāyah ilā Bulūgh al-Nihāyah* (*guidance towards the attainment of one's object*), treating of the rhetorical figures employed in the noble *Qur'ān*, of its interpretation and of the various sciences connected with it, and forming seventy parts<sup>1</sup>; the *Muntakhib al-Ḥujjah* (*selections from Abū 'Alī al-Fārisi's Ḥujjah*)<sup>2</sup>, in thirty parts; the *Tabṣirah* (*elucidation*), on the *Qur'ān-readings*, in five parts and the best known of his works; the *Mūjaz* (*abridgment*) treating of the readings, in two parts; the *Kitāb al-Māihūr*, etc. (*opinions transmitted down from Mālik* (No. 524), relative to the maxims of law contained in the *Qur'ān* and its interpretation, in four parts, the *Ri'āyah li-Tajwīd al-Qur'ān* (*guide to the correct recitation of the Qur'ān*) in four parts; the *Ikhtisār Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, (*abridgment of the legal decisions contained in the Qur'ān*), in four parts; the *Kushuf an Wujūh al-Qar'āt wa 'Ilalihā* (*indication of the various channels through which the different readings have been transmitted down and of the defects remarked in these channels*), in twenty parts; the *'Idāh* (*Elucidation*), on the abrogating and abrogated verses the of *Qur'ān*, in three parts; the *Kitāb al-'Ijāz* (*Abridgment*), on the same subject, in one part; the *Kitāb al-Zāhi fi 'l-Lum'a al-Dāllat 'alā musta'malāt al-I'rāb* (*the blooming, being a treatise on the lights which indicate the grammatical inflexion in general use*), four parts; the *Tanbih* (*Indication*) on the principles of Nāfi's,<sup>3</sup> system of *Qur'ān-readings* and its controverted points, two parts; the *Intiṣāf*

1 It is not probable that the word جزء (*part*) should be employed throughout this article to signify *volume*; it may mean *quire* or chapter.

2 See No. 155.

3 The life of Nāfi' will be found in this work.

(vindication), being a refutation of Abū Bakr al-Adfū'i's<sup>1</sup>, *Kitāb al-Ibānah*<sup>2</sup> and an indication of that author's mistakes, three parts; the *Kitāb al-Risālah* (Epistle) addressed to the disciples of al-Anṭākī<sup>3</sup> in order to justify the system of Warṣh<sup>4</sup> relative to the *maddah*, in three parts; the *Ibānah* (Elucidation), on the rhetorical figures of the *Qur'ān*, in one part; the *Kitāb al-Waqf*, treating of the pause to be made after the words *Kallā* (by no means) and *balā* (certainly yes) when they occur in the *Qur'ān*, two parts; the *Kitāb al-Ikhtilāf* fi 'Adad al-A'shār (on the diversity of opinions respecting the number of tenths<sup>5</sup> one part; the greater *Idghām*, treating of the organs of pronunciation, in one part; the *Bayān al-Kabā'ir wa 'l-Ṣaghā'ir* (distinction between sins and faults); in two parts; the *Ikhtilāf fi 'l-Dhābiḥ* (differences of opinion relative

1 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Adfū'i (native of Edfou in Upper Egypt), was a grammarian, a commentator of the *Qur'ān* and a teacher of its readings. He was considered as the great master of the age in these sciences. His commentary on the *Qur'ān* filled one hundred and twenty volumes. He died in the month of the first Rabi' 388 (March, A.C. 998), at the age of eighty-eight years. *Suyūṭī, de Interpretibus Qur'ānī*.

2 According to another reading *Kitāb al-Imālāh* (treatise on the inclination) that is, indication of the cases in which the pronunciation of the letter *a* inclines towards that of the letter *i*. The work is not mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalifah.

3 This is perhaps the same person of whom mention is made in No. 139, note.

4 The nickname of Warṣh (milk-curd) or Warṣhān (wild pigeon) was given, by the celebrated *Qur'ān*-reader Nāfi' to his second disciple Abū Sa'id 'Uḥmān Ibn Sa'd, a native of Egypt and a Copt by origin, or according to another account, a native of Ifriqiyah (the province of Tunis). Warṣh was born A.H. 110 (A.C. 728-9) and died A.H. 167 (A.C. 783-4). (*Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrd*). His system consisted in softening the pronunciation of the *alif-hamzah* moved by a *fatḥah*, when it is preceded by another letter bearing a *fatḥah*, and followed by a quiescent letter. According to him the words انزلهم (sūr. 2, verse 5) and ارايتكم (sūr. 6, verse 40) should be pronounced *andhartahum* and *araytakum* and not a *andhartahum*, *ara'aytakum*. The translator is indebted to professor Fleischherd for these indications.

5 This title is too vague to indicate the subject of the work, which treated, perhaps, of the number of verses, counted by tens, which are contained in the *Qur'ān*.

to the Victim)<sup>1</sup> a treatise on the substitution of one preposition for another, one part; the *Tanzih al-Malā'ikah 'an al-Dhunūb* (on the impeccability of the Angels) and their pre-eminence over the sons of Adam, in one part; a treatise on the letter *i* as it occurs redoubled in the *Qur'ān* and in ordinary discourse, in one part; a work on the opinions of the learned concerning what is meant by the terms *nafs* (soul) and *rūh* (spirit), in one part; another on the necessity of exacting a fine from him who kills game unintentionally in the sacred territory round Makkah, being a maxim of Mālikite jurisprudence, with the proofs in its favour, one part, the *Mushkil Gharīb al-Qur'ān* (*Qur'ānical expression of rare occurrence and doubtful signification*), three parts; the *Bayān al-'Amal fi 'l-Ḥajj* (indication of what is to be done during the pilgrimage), from the moment of putting on the pilgrim-dress till the visiting of the Prophet's tomb, one part; a treatise on the obligation of making the pilgrimage for him who has means to perform that duty, one part; the *Tadhkirah* (remembrancer), treating of the points on which the *Qur'ān*-readers disagree, one part; the *Tasmiyat al-Aḥzāb* (indication of the names given to the sixty equal sections of the *Qur'ān*), one part; selections from Ibn Waki's<sup>2</sup> *Iklhwān*, in two parts; a treatise on the letters which coalesce in pronunciation, two parts: the *Sharḥ al-Tamām wa 'l-Waqf* (explication of the difference between the full stop and the pause), in four parts; the *Mushkil al-Ma'āni wa 'l-Tafsir* (obscure passages and figurative expressions) found in the *Qur'ān*, fifteen parts; the *Hijā al-Maṣāḥif* (on the number of letters contained in the different editions of the *Qur'ān*), two parts; a miscellany entitled *Al-Riyāḍ* (meadows) in five parts; the *Muntaqī fi 'l-Akḥbār* (historical selections), in four parts, and many other treatises on the readings, on the points wherein the readers disagree, and on the sciences connected with the *Qur'ān*. The titles of these works I suppress, so as to avoid prolixity. Makkī died at Cordova on Saturday, the 1st of Muḥarram, at the hour of the dawn-prayer,

1 In this work the author probably discussed the question whether it was Ismā'īl or Isaac whom Abraham intended to offer up as a victim.

2 Hājji Khalifah furnishes no information respecting this author or his work.



in the year 437 (19th of July, A.C. 1045); he was interred, the next day, in the suburb, and the funeral service was said over him by his son, Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad. Abu 'l-Ṭayyib 'Abd al-Mun'im Ibn Ghalbūn, the teacher of the *Qur'ān-readings* of whom we have spoken, was a native of Egypt. Al-Tha'ālībī (No. 356) mentions him in the *Yatīmah* and says: "To his piety, his talent and his profound acquaintance with the rhetorical figures and the grammatical analysis of the *Qur'ān*, he joined the knowledge of other branches of science and of literature. I heard a *qaṣīdah* of his recited in which was the following passage:

"Let your visits be rare; if frequent, they lead to mutual dislike. See you not that rain, falling without intermission, is an affliction; and that, if it be withheld, it is prayed for with uplifted arms."

Another author says that Abū Ṭayyib Ibn Ghalbūn was born in the month of Rajab, 309 (Nov-Dec., A.C. 921), and that he died in Old Cairo on Thursday, the 7th of the first Jumādā, 389, (26th April, A.C. 999).\*

## 711 MAKKĪ AL-ḌARĪR

Abu 'l-Ḥazm Makkī Ibn Rayyān Ibn Shabbāh Ibn Ṣālih, surnamed Ṣā'in al-Dīn (*guarding the religion*) al-Ḍarīr (*the blind*), a teacher of the *Qur'ān-readings* and a grammarian, was born at Mākisīn and resided at Moṣul. His father made leather carpets at Mākisīn and died poor, leaving nothing after him but a wife, a daughter and a son, this Abu 'l-Ḥazm. The widow, being unable to support them on account of her poverty, was so much afflicted that her son left her. On departing from his native place, he set out for Moṣul and there applied to the study of the *Qur'ān* and general literature. Having then proceeded to Baghdād, he met there the ablest professors of literature and took lessons in *Qur'ān-reading* from Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Khashshāb

\* In the Egyptian edition 309 is obviously a misprint for 389.

(No. 325) Ibn al-Šaffār, Ibn al-Anbārī (No. 616) and Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd Ibn al-Dahhān (No. 247). Having then returned to Moṣul, he began to give lessons and had a great number of pupils. His reputation then spread throughout the country and his renown was borne far and wide. In Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfi's (No. 528), History of Arbela he is spoken of in these terms: "To a knowledge of the philological sciences he joined (*a perfect acquaintance with the passages serving as examples and*) proofs of (*pure*) Arabic phraseology; his piety and his intelligence were universally acknowledged and all agreed respecting (*the extent of*) his learning and (*the greatness of*) his merit. He went to Baghdād and there met the ablest masters in grammar, philology and Traditions. The quantity of oral information which he transmitted down is very considerable. He set up as teacher of the *Qur'ān*, and was acquainted with all the branches of literature. He recited to me the following piece of his own composition" :-- Ibn al-Mustawfi had studied under him at Moṣul.

"I am weary of life and have ceased to care for it; now it treats me as a friend, and then it afflicts me<sup>1</sup>. My foes cease not to harm me, and such also is the conduct of my friends. Al-Ḥadbā was my earliest abode, but those whom I love are now dwelling in the desert of al-'Aqīq<sup>2</sup>.

*Al-Ḥadbā (the knoll)* is a word used to designate the city of Moṣul.

By the same :

"When a favour requires solicitation, receive it not, so that you may rise next morning with a tranquil mind<sup>3</sup>. If a favour bestowed with a single reproach be disagreeable, how much more so, if bestowed with two".

1 The poet says : afflicts me in my saliva. This expression seems to signify rendering the saliva bitter, making a man unhappy.

2 A number of valleys in Arabia bore the name of al-'Aqīq.

3 Literally : that you may be next morning with a cool eye. The coolness of the eye indicates that it has not been inflamed by weeping. It is a very usual expression. In this verse we meet a verb which must be written *نضح* (*nudhi*).

By the same :

"At thy door is a servant who desires admission ; he looks for an usher<sup>1</sup> to announce him ; being assured that thy bounty is withheld from none. If he obtain his wish, he will enter (*thy door*) as good fortune has done ; if not, he will retire as adversity has retired".

This thought is borrowed from the following passage, composed by another poet :

"One of thy servants stands at the door, overwhelmed with thy bounty and acknowledging his gratitude. Shall he approach thee like the favours of fortune ? Mayest thou never cease to enjoy them as long as time endures ! or shall he retire from thee as adversity has done ?"

"At the age of eight or nine years," continues Ibn al-Mustawfī, "he lost his sight. He had always a great partiality for Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī (*No. 46*) and took much delight in learning from him his poems. Such was the conformity which blindness and the love of literature had established between them that he took him for a model in the composition of his own poems". A person who had received lessons from Abu 'l-Hazm Makki relates that, in his native town, his neighbours and acquaintances called him (*Mukayk*) which is the diminutive of *Makki*<sup>2</sup>. Having subsequently gone abroad to prosecute his studies, he felt a longing to revisit the place of his birth and returned there. On learning his arrival, those of his former acquaintances who were still alive went to see him and express their happiness that so eminent a man had been born in their town. The next morning, as he was going out to take a bath, he heard a woman calling from the upper room of a house and saying to another : "Do you know who is come ? Mukayk, the son of such a woman. "By Allāh ! " he exclaimed. "never shall I step in a town where they call me *Mukayk*" ; and he set out immediately although he had meant to make a residence there<sup>3</sup>. He then returned to Moṣul and, towards the close of his

1 The word rendered by *usher* must be written and pointed thus *أُذِيَ*.

2 This proves that, in the name of *Makki*, the *k* is double.

3 The correct reading is *تربث*.

life, he proceeded to Syria with the intention of visiting the holy temple of Jerusalem. Having executed his project, he went to Aleppo and from that to Moṣul, where he arrived in the month of Ramaḍān 603. He died there on the eve of Saturday, the 6th of Shawwāl, the same year (6th May, A. C. 1207), leaving one son, a little boy. He was interred in the plain outside the Bāb al-Maydān (*Hippodrome gate*), in the cemetery called after al-Mu'āfā Ibn 'Imrān (*No. 111, note*). His grave is near those of Abū Bakr al-Qurṭubī<sup>1</sup> and Ibn al-Dahhān, the grammarian. It is said that he died of poison given to him by the order of Nūr al-Din Arslān Shah (*No. 79*) the sovereign of Moṣul, who had some motive for desiring his death. The orthography of the names *Rayyān* and Shabbah as given above, is exact. *Al-Mākisīn* is a town in one of the provinces of Mesopotamia and situated on the river al-Khābūr. Though small, it resembles a city in the beauty of its edifices and houses.

## 712 MAKḤŪL AL-SHĀMĪ

Abū 'Abd Allāh Makḥūl Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shāmī (*the Syrian*) was one of the captives taken at Kābul (*on the first conquest of that city by the Musulmāns*). \* [Ibn Mākūlā (*No. 414*) speaks of him in the *Ikmāl*, under the article Shādīl, and indicates his origin: "Makḥūl," says he, "was the son of Abū Salamah Shahrāb, the son of jhīdīl, the son of Sind, the son of Shirwān, the son of Bardak, the son of Ya'qūb, the son of Kisrā." ] Ibn 'Āyishah<sup>2</sup> states that he had been enfranchised by a woman belonging to the tribe of Qays, that he was a native of Sind and that he spoke (*Arabic*) incorrectly. Al-Wāqidi (*No. 618*) says that he

1 The life of Abū Bakr Yaḥyā al-Qurṭubī will be found in this work.

2 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Taymī, surnamed Ibn 'Āyishah taught Traditions at Baḡhdād. He was noted for his piety, his literary information and his acquaintance with the anecdotes respecting the Arabs of the desert and their combats. His death took place in the year 228 (A.C. 842-3) (*Nujūm, Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*).

\* [ ] 'Abd al-Ḥamid omits this passage.—Ed.

was a *mawlā* to a woman of the tribe Hudhayl; others say that he was a *mawlā* to Sa'id Ibn al-'Āṣī<sup>1</sup> or to the tribe of Layth, "His grandfather Shādīl\*, " says the Khaṭīb (No. 33), "was a native of Hirāt† and married a daughter of a king of Kābul. He died leaving her pregnant, and she returned to her family, where she gave birth to Shahrāb,‡ who remained in Kābul, with his maternal uncles, till he had a son called Makḥūl. When Makḥūl grew up to manhood, he was carried off prisoner from that place and then passed into the possession of Sa'id Ibn al-'Āṣī, by whom he was given to a woman of the tribe of Hudhayl, from whom he received his liberty." Makḥūl was the preceptor of al-Awzā'i (No. 336) and of Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz<sup>2</sup>. "The learned men," says al-Zuhri (No. 537) "are four in number: Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyib (No. 244) at Madīnah, Al-Shā'bi (No. 296) at Kūfah, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (No. 148) at Baṣrah and Makḥūl in Syria. There was not in that age a more clearsighted *muftī* than he; and he never gave an opinion on a point of law without saying; "There is no power and no might but through God! this is (*the result of*) private judgement, and private judgement is sometimes wrong, sometimes right." He learned traditions from Anas Ibn Mālik (No. 539, note), Wāḥilah Ibn al-Ashqa'§, Abū Hind al-Dārī|| and a number of others. Damascus was the place of his residence. He spoke

1 Sa'id Ibn al-'Āṣī Ibn Abi Uḥaybah Sa'id, descended from Umayyah, the progenitor of the Umayyad family. His birth took place soon after the Hijrah, and his death in the year 59 (A.C. 678-9). He was governor of Kūfah under the Khalīf 'Uṭṭūman. (*Nujūm*.)

2 Abū Muḥammad Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz of the tribe of Tanūkh, was one of the principal juriconsults and Traditionists of Syria. He died in the year 167 (A.C. 783-4). (*Huffāz*.)

3 Wāḥilah Ibn al-Ashqa' Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā emigrated from Makkah to Madīnah when the persecution began against the first Muslims. He died in the year 85 (A.C. 704). (*Nujūm*.)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Sāwūl.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Harah.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Sahrāz.—Ed.

§ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Wā'ilah Ibn al-Asqa', Wā'ilah appears to be a mistake for Wāḥilah. See Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb* vol. X, p. 290; Vol. XI, p. 101; his father's name is Asqa'.—Ed.

|| 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Rāzī, but Ibn Hajar supports de Slane (vide *Tahdhīb* Vol. X, p. 291).—Ed.

with a strong foreign accent, substituting some letters for others. Nūḥ Ibn Qays<sup>1</sup> relates that a certain amīr, having asked him what free-will (*al-qadar*) was, received this answer: *Am I awake?* [*a-Ṣāḥir* (اساهر) *anā*] whereas Makhūl meant to say: *Am I a conjurer?* [*a-Sāḥir* (اساحر) *anā*]. He at one time declared his belief in (*the doctrine of*) man's free will, but afterwards abandoned that opinion. Ma'qil Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā al-Qurashī relates as follows: "I heard him address a man in these terms: *mā fa'alt tilk al-hājah* (الهاجة) meaning to say: *ma fa'alt tilk al-hājah* (العاجه) (*I did not do that business*); and this fault of pronunciation is very common with the natives of Sind." It is related that Abū 'Aṭā Marzūq al-Sindī, a poet of some reputation and a *Mawlā* of the family of Asad Ibn Khuzaymah, had the same defect in his pronunciation, and that, one evening, Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah (*No. 196*), Ḥammād 'Ajrād the poet (*No. 197*), Hammād Ibn Zibriqān<sup>2</sup> and Bakr Ibn Muṣ'ab al-Muzanī met together for the purpose of holding a conference. One of them then said: "We have here ready, in our assembly-room, every thing we may require; suppose that we send for Abū 'Aṭā al-Sindī, so that the company may be complete? They sent for him, and Ibn Zibriqān asked if any of them were inclined to entrap Abū 'Aṭā and induce him to pronounce the words *jarādah* (*locust*), *zujj* (*the butt end of a spear*) and *ṣhayṭān* (*demon*). He chose these words because Abū 'Aṭā pronounced the *j* like a *z* and the *ṣh* like an *s*. "I shall do it," replied Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah. Abū 'Aṭā entered soon after and said: *Ḥayyākum Allāh* (*God grant you long life!*), (*pronouncing the first word with an ordinary h (ه) instead of the emphatic h (ح)*) on which they made answer: *Marhaban! Marhaban!* (*Welcome! Welcome!*), (*substituting one h for the other and thus*) imitating his (*vicious*) pronunciation. They asked him if he had dined (*ta'ashshīt*)\*? and he replied: "Yes I have dined (*ta'assīt*); but have you got any *nabidh*<sup>3</sup> here"? They answered that they had and,

1 Nūḥ Ibn Qays, a native of Baṭrah, died in the year 183 (A.C. 799-800) (*Nuḥūm*).

2 The three Ḥammāds were strongly suspected of holding infidel doctrines (*zandīqiyah*). The year in which the third died is not mentioned in the works consulted by the translator.

3 See No. 129, note.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: *tata'ssi*.—Ed.

when it was brought, he drank till he relaxed from his gravity. Ḥammād al-Rāwiyah then said to him: "Tell me, Abū 'Aṭā! have you a talent for solving riddles?" he replied: "Pretty fair" (*hasan*), meaning to say *hasan*. Ḥammād then propounded to him the following enigma of which the word is *locust* (*jarādah*):

"What is the yellow thing nicknamed Umm 'Awf, whose two little legs are like two reaping books"?

"*Zarādah*, replied Abū 'Aṭā. "Right!" said the other. Ḥammād then proposed this riddle, the word of which is *zujj*:

"What is the name of the iron fastened to the spear, somewhat below the centre of it, and which is not the head"?

"Zuzz," said Abū 'Aṭā. "You have hit upon it," said Ḥammād. He then propounded the following riddle, on a mosque near Baṣrah:

"Knowest thou a mosque belonging to the Banū Tamīm, a little beyond al-Nīl\* and on this side of Banū Abbān?"

"It is Banū Sayṭān", answered Abū 'Aṭā. "Right!" said Ḥammād. They thus passed an agreeable night, conversing and carousing till morning. This Abū 'Aṭā was a good poet and an *akḥrah* slave, *akḥrah* means: *having the ears slit*. Some fine pieces of his are given in the *Ḥamāsah*<sup>1</sup> and, were I not afraid of being prolix and led away from my subject, I should insert here a number of them.—Makḥūl died in the year 118 (A. C. 736); other accounts place his death in the years 113, 116, 112 and 114. Kābul is a well known place in the province of Sind.

### 713 MALIK SHĀH, THE SON OF ALP ARSLĀN

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Malik Shāh, the son of Alp Arslān Muḥammad, the son of Dāwūd, the son of Mikāyil, the son of Saljūq, the son

<sup>1</sup> In Freytag's edition of the *Ḥamāsah*, we find only one piece by Abū 'Aṭā.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: النيل (a mile). Al-Nīl is the name of a village, near Kūfah, between Baḥdād and Wāsiṭ.—Ed.

of Duqāq, bore the surname of *Jalāl al-Dawlah* (*the magnificence of the empire*). We have already spoken of his father (*No. 665*) and of some other members of the same family. At the time of Alp Arslān's death, his son Malik Shāh was with him, though he had never accompanied him in any previous expedition. When Alp Arslān was about to breathe his last, he nominated Malik Shāh as his successor and caused the amīrs and the troops to swear fealty to him; he ordered, at the same time, his wazīr Nizām al-Mulk Abū 'Alī al-Hasan (*No. 171*), to distribute the provinces of the empire between his other sons, on the condition of their acknowledging the supremacy of Malik Shāh. The directions being executed, Malik Shāh crossed the Jayhūn and returned into the province, (*of Khurāsān*). As we have spoken of this event (*the death of Alp Arslān*), we need not relate it here. On arriving in that country, Malik Shāh, being informed that his uncle \*Qadard, lord of Kirmān,] had revolted against him, hastened to attack him and gave him battle near Hamadhān. [Qadard] \* was defeated and being closely pursued by a detachment of Malik Shāh's troops, he fell into their hands and was brought back into the presence of his nephew. Finding that all his promises of repentance were of no avail and that the declaration of his willingness to remain imprisoned for life, provided his life were spared, obtained no reply from Malik Shāh, he sent to him a casket containing the letters of those amīrs who had pushed him to revolt. The sultān called for Nizām al-Mulk and told him to examine the contents of the casket; but the wazīr, instead of obeying his orders, threw it unopened into a brazier which happened to be at hand. As a great number of Malik Shāh's officers had written to [Qadard,]\* the discovery of the casket gave them much alarm, but the burning of its contents allayed their apprehensions and secured their fidelity. This proceeding, which established the authority of the sultān, is considered as a striking example of Nizām al-Mulk's consummate prudence. Malik Shāh then ordered his uncle to be put to death and had him strangled with the string of his own bow. Having settled his power on a solid basis, he increased his

\* [ ] 'Abd al-Ḥamīd omits it.—Ed.



empire by conquests such as had never been made by any Muslim Prince, since the time of the ancient Khalifs. \* [He reduced under his sway the country beyond the Jayhūn, the territory of the Hayāṭilah (*Tukhārīstān*), Bāb al-Abwāb (*Darband*), Al-Rūm (*Asia Minor*), Diyār Bakr, al-Jazīrah (*Mesopotamia*) and Syria. The public prayer was offered up in his name from all the pulpits of Islāmism, excepting those of Maghrib (*Africa and Spain*);] for his dominion extended in length from Kāshghar, a city in the farthest extremity of the country inhabited by the Turks, to Bayt al-Maqdis (*Jerusalem*), and, in breadth, from (*the vicinity of*) Constantinople to the country of the Khazars<sup>1</sup> and the Indian Ocean. He was thus enabled to entrust to his Mamlūks the government of the world. The justice of his conduct ranked him among the best of kings and obtained for him the title of *al-Malik al-'Ādil* (*the just prince*). Successful in war, he laboured also with zeal in spreading (*throughout his empire*) the benefits of civilisation: he dug numerous canals, walled a great number of cities, built bridges and constructed *ribāṭs*<sup>2</sup> in the desert places. The mosque at Baghdād which is called *Jāmi' al-Sulṭān*, was erected by him; the building of this edifice, which added new splendour to the seat of the empire, was commenced in the month of Muḥarram, 485 (Feb-March, A. C. 1092). He spent immense sums in constructing (*cāravānserāis*) on the road leading to Makkah, and he suppressed all (*illegal*) tolls and duties<sup>3</sup> throughout his dominions. His fondness for the chase was excessive; it is stated that he had an account taken of the number of animals killed by him, with his own hand, and that it amounted to ten thousand. He therefore gave ten thousand pieces of gold in alms; but previously to that, he had slain many more of which no reckoning had been kept. "I fear," said he, "offending Almighty God by shedding the blood of animals (*for pleasure and*) not for food;" so ever after, when he killed a head of game, he

1 The Khazars inhabited the country to the north of the Caspian Sea.

2 See No. 72 note.

3 The word *khafārāt*, here rendered by duties, signifies more exactly the sums paid by travellers for an escort or safe-conduct, when passing through a dangerous country.

\* [ ] C nitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

bestowed a piece of gold in charity. Having set out from Kūfah, with the intention of accompanying the pilgrim caravan a part of the way, he passed through al-'Uzayb<sup>1</sup> and went with them as far as Wāqīṣah. As he had met a great number of wild animals on his way, he erected there a tower with the hoofs of the onagers and the horns of the deer which he killed during the journey. This took place in the year 480 (A. C. 1087-8). The tower still remains standing and is called the *minaret of horns* (*Minārat al-Qurūn*). During his reign, all the roads were safe, and places of danger no longer inspired terror; caravans travelled without an escort from the country beyond the Jayhūn to the farthest extremity of Syria, even one or two persons might undertake a journey without fear or apprehension. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadḥānī (No. 167) relates, in his History, that the sultān Malik Shāh marched against his brother Tutuṣh, and, on passing by the funeral chapel erected at Tūs over 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (No. 398), he entered into it with Niẓām al-Mulk. They both remained a long time in prayer, after which the sultān asked the wazīr what he had prayed for. Niẓām al-Mulk replied: "I implored God to assist you and grant you the victory over your brother." "Well!" said Malik Shāh, "that was not what I asked for; I only said: Almighty God! come to our assistance and give Thy aid to him of the two whose reign will be the more advantageous to the Musalmāns and the more profitable to the people." Farther on, al-Hamadḥānī says: "It is related that a preacher entered into his presence and made him an exhortation, in which he said, amongst other things: A certain Chosroes happened to go apart from his army and pass near a garden. He went up to the gate and asked for a drink of water. A young girl brought him out a cup filled with sugar-cane juice (*cooled*) with snow. Finding the draught very good, he asked how it was made, and she answered: The sugar-cane grows so well with us that we can squeeze it with our hands and press out of it this juice. Go then, said he, and bring me more. The girl obeyed (*and went in*) without knowing who he was, and Chosroes said to himself: I must

---

1 Al-'Uzayb is the name of a source situated at the distance of four miles from al-Qādisiyyas. (*Marāṣid*).

remove those people elsewhere and take their garden for myself. Almost immediately after, the girl came out weeping and said : The intentions of our sultān are changed ! How do you know that ? said he. She replied : I used to take at random as much of that (*sugar-cane*) as I wanted ; but now, notwithstanding all my efforts in pressing it, I cannot obtain from it even a small part of what I got the first time. The sultān felt the truth of her words, gave up his intention and told her to go back again, saying that she would succeed. The girl obeyed and then came forth rejoicing, with an abundance of sugar-cane juice. The sultān here said to the preacher : Why do you not relate to the people how Chosroes passed by a garden and asked for a bunch of grapes just ripening. The keeper made answer : That I cannot give, for the sultān has not yet received the share to which he has a right, and it is not lawful for me to wrong him of his due. The persons present admired the talent of the sultān in matching one story with another and adducing an anecdote favourable to his own rights in reply to one which reminded him of his duties." The following anecdote is related by the same historian ; "This sultān met a native of al-Sawād (*No. 485*) and, seeing him weep, he asked him what was the cause of his grief. The man replied : I bought a water-melon for a few pence, the only money I had, but I was met by three Turkish pages who took it from me ; yet that (*melon*) was the only resource I had (*for making a small gain*). The sultān told him to keep silent and, as the season for early melons was just coming in he called on a tent-pitcher and said : 'I have a longing for melons ; go therefore through the camp and, if you find one, bring it here.' The man (*obeyed aul*) brought back a melon. The sultān asked him in whose possession he had found it and, being informed that it was such and such an amīr who had it, he caused that officer to be brought into his presence. 'Where did you get this melon' ? said he. The amīr replied ; 'It was brought to me by my pages'. 'Bring them here immediately' ; said the sultān. The amīr withdrew and, being aware of the sultān's intention with respect to them, he bade them take to flight. When he came back, he declared that he could not find them: on which the sultān turned towards the native of al-Sawād and said; 'Take this slave of mine; I give him to you because he

has not delivered up the persons who took your property; now, by Allāh! if you let him go, I shall strike off your head.' The man laid hold of the amīr and led him out of the sultān's presence. He then sold him his liberty for three hundred pieces of gold and, having come back, he said: 'O Sultān! I have sold your slave for three hundred pieces of gold'. 'Are you satisfied?' said the sultān. 'I am.' 'Well, go away and good luck attend you.' The sultān's prosperity and good fortune never abandoned him<sup>2</sup>; when he entered Işbahān, Baghdād or any other city, accompanied by his followers, the number of whom was immense, a great diminution ensued in the price of provisions and other objects, so that the persons who sought to gain their livelihood furnished provisions to the troops with much profit to themselves." The same al-Hamadhānī relates that, when the sultān was at Ray a female singer was presented to him. Being struck with her beauty and charmed with her voice, he resolved to gratify his passion, but she addressed him in these terms: "Sultān of the universe! I love too well<sup>3</sup> this handsome face of mine to have it tormented hereafter in the fire of hell. A lawful act is easy to be done and one single word suffices to distinguish it from an unlawful one<sup>4</sup>." The sultān felt the truth of what she said and having sent for the *qādī*, he got united to her in marriage. He died, leaving her a widow. His noble deeds were numerous beyond description. It is stated by al-Hamadhānī that the Wazīr Niāẓm al-Mulk gave to the boatmen who ferried the sultān and his troops across the Jayhūn a bill payable by the revenue-collector of Antioch; so vast was the extent of the empire. The sum for ferriage amounted to eleven thousand pieces of gold (*dinārs*). The *khalīf* al-Muqtadī bi-Allah married a daughter of this sultān. The ambassador sent to ask her in marriage was the *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (*No. 5*) the author of the *Muhadhdhab* and the *Tanbih*. Being despatched on this mission, he proceeded to Naysābūr where he found the sultān, delivered his message and succeeded in the

1 It is possible that the word مصاحبا may here signify *quietly*.

2 Literally: Were attached to his fore-lock.

3 Literally: I am jealous of.

4 The word ترو جتک (*I take thee in marriage*) is meant.

negotiation. "In somewhat less than four months," says al-Hamadhānī," Abū Ishāq returned. When at Naysābūr, he discussed (*points of law*) with the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (*No. 353*) and, on his departure, the Imām came out to bid him farewell and even held his stirrup till he mounted. The utmost respect was shewn to Abū Ishāq in Khurāsān; the people gathered up the dust in the footsteps of his mule and preserved it as a relic of great virtue." In the year 480 (A. C. 1087-8), the daughter of the sultān was conducted in state to the khalif, and, on the morning of the day in which the marriage was consummated, the khalif caused the sultān's troops to be brought to a banquet (*simāt*) which he had prepared for them and in which forty thousand *manns*<sup>1</sup> of sugar alone were consumed. The same year, in the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah (February, A. C. 1088), the princess bore the khalif a son to whom he gave the name of Abū 'l-Faḍl Ja'far. The city of Baghdād was splendidly adorned on this occasion; it formed part of the sultān's states, the khalif having there only a nominal authority. This was the second time the sultān visited Baghdād. He entered it for the third time in the beginning of the month of Shawwāl, 485 (Nov., A. C. 1092), and set off immediately on a hunting party, in the direction of the Dujayl<sup>2</sup>. Having then killed an antelope and eaten of its flesh, he was taken ill and had to be bled; but, as enough of blood was not drawn from him, he returned to Baghdād very unwell and none of his officers were admitted into his presence. He entered the city on the 15th of Shawwāl, 485 (18th Nov., A. C. 1092), and died the next day. He was born on the 9th of the first Jumādā, 447 (6th August, A. C. 1055). Some say that his death was caused by a poisoned tooth-pick. His funeral was conducted in the most private manner; no prayer was said over the grave, no sittings of condolence were held, no hair was cut off the tails of horses, though such a thing was customary in the case of persons such as he. One would have thought he had been snatched away bodily from the world. His corpse was borne to Iṣbahān and interred in the great college appropriated to the

1 The *mann* is a weight of about two pounds.

2 This river falls into the Tigris, above Baghdād.

Shāfi'ites and Ḥanafites. We shall here relate a singular circumstance: When he entered Baghdād for the third time, the khalif had two sons, one of whom was (*subsequently*) the imām al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh; the other, who bore the name of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far, was the son of the sulṭān's daughter. The khalif had solemnly designated as his successor the first named of these two, because he was the elder, but the sulṭān insisted that he should revoke the nomination, declare Abu 'l-Faḍl heir to the khalifate, put him in possession of Baghdād and then remove himself to Baṣrah. The khalif felt the greatest repugnance to execute what had been required of him; he used every effort to change the sulṭān's determination and, finding all his remonstrances fruitless, he asked and obtained a delay of ten days in order to make the necessary preparations for his departure. It is related that, during these days, he kept a rigorous fast and, when he did take food, he sat upon ashes and invoked the assistance of the Almighty God against the sulṭān. That period of time had not yet elapsed when the sulṭān fell ill and died, and the khalif was thus delivered from his trouble. In the year 502 (A. C. 1108-9), the imām al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh married Khātūn al-'Ismah, the daughter of Malik Shāh. We have already spoken of this sulṭān's three sons, the princes Barkyārūq (*No. 107*); Sinjar (*No. 260*) and Muḥammad (*No. 666*). Having mentioned (*above*) where Kāshghar is situated, we need not repeat our observations. *Al-Wāqīṣah* is a well-known halting-place on the road to Makkah. It is called also *Wāqīṣat al-Ḥarūn* واقصه الحرون.

#### 714 MANṢŪR AL-TAMĪMĪ THE JURISCONSULT

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Manṣūr Ibn Ismā'il Ibn 'Umar al-Tamīmī (*member of the tribe of Tamīm*) al-Ḍarīr (*the blind*), was a native of Egypt and a jurisconsult of the Shāfi'ite sect. His family belonged to Rās-'Ayn, a well known town in Mesopotamia. He acquired his knowledge of the law from the immediate disciples of al-Shāfi'ī (*No. 532*) and from those who had studied under them. Some

good works were composed by him on the doctrines of his sect, such as the *Wājib* (necessary), the *Musta'mal* (usual practice), the *Musāfir* (traveller) and the *Hidāyah* (direction). He left also some fine poems which became popular. The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5) speaks of him in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā* (classified biography of the jurisconsults) and attributes to him the following piece of verse :

"Foolish people depreciate the study of the law, but it suffers no harm from their contempt. It harms not the mid-day sun that his light is not perceived by the blind."

It was from this passage that Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (No. 46) borrowed the idea which he thus expressed in a well-known *Qaṣidah*.

"To our eyes the stars seem very small; but the fault of littleness belongs not to the stars but to our eyes."

In another piece he (*Manṣūr*) says :

"I can guard against the calumniator, but not against the liar. Against him who invents what he says, my resources are small indeed."

By the same :

"A dog, despicable as he is, would be fitter for a companion than a man who contends for superiority before the time of his obtaining it has come."

It is related that, in a year of excessive drought, he suffered greatly from hunger; so, one night, he went up to the (flat) roof of his house and recited in his loudest voice the following verses :

"Help! O ye generous! you are seas (or tanks of beneficence) and we are the rivulets (which they should supply). Assistance is good in the hour of need, not when provisions are cheap."

These words were heard by his neighbours and, the next morning, he found one hundred charges of wheat deposited at his door. The anecdotes told of him are well-known. He died at Old Cairo, in the month of the first Jumādā, 306 (Oct.-Nov., A.C.

918). The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq (*al-Shīrāzī*) says, in his *Tabuqāt*, that his death took place before the year 320. The *qāḍī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Qudā'i (No. 558) speaks of him in the *Khiṭaṭ* and says: 'he drew his origin from Rās-'Ayn and inhabited Ramlah, whence he removed to Old Cairo. He resided there for some time and died, in the year 306. He was a jurisconsult of high authority, versed in every branch of knowledge and a good poet. The like of him was not to be found in Old Cairo. The *qāḍī* Abū 'Ubayd<sup>1</sup> professed the utmost esteem for him up to the moment of the (*discussion they had on a*) point of law. Abū 'Ubayd held a sitting every evening in which he examined legal questions with some persons learned in that science, but, on Fridays, he remained alone. One of these evenings he gave to Manṣūr, another to Abū Ja'far al-Taḥāwī (No. 24), a third to Muḥammad Ibn al-Rabī' al-Jīzī<sup>2</sup> a fourth to 'Affān Ibn Sulaymān, a fifth to al-Sijistānī, and a sixth to discussions with jurisconsults, and, some times, to the teaching of Traditions. One evening, during his conversation, with Manṣūr, mention was made of (*the maxim according to which*) the pregnant woman, divorced by three (*declarations*)<sup>3</sup> is entitled to alimony<sup>4</sup>. On this, Abū 'Ubayd observed: 'Some persons have pretended that, after a divorce by three (*declarations*), she has no right to alimony, being entitled to it only after the first and the second.' Manṣūr condemned that doctrine and declared that

---

1 Abū 'Ubayd 'Alī al-Husayn Ibn Harbawayh, a native of Baḡḡdād and a jurisconsult of the *Shāfi'ite* sect, acquired his knowledge of the law from some of al-*Shāfi'*'s immediate disciples. He became deeply versed in jurisprudence, the *Qur'ān-readings*, the Traditions and many other sciences. The number of those who studied under him was very great. He went to Egypt, and, in the year 292 (A.C. 904-5) was appointed chief *qāḍī*. This place he filled during eighteen years and six months; he afterwards removed to Baḡḡdād, where he died in the year 319 (A.C. 931). The history of the *Qāḍis* of Egypt by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī contains a long article on Abū 'Ubayd.

2 This person was the son of al-Rabī' al-Jīzī, one of al-*Shāfi'*'s disciples and of whom our author has already spoken (No. 222).

3 The orthodox *Shāfi'ite* doctrine is that no maintenance is due to a woman repudiated by irreversible divorce (that is by three declarations), unless she be pregnant. See Hamilton's *Heclaya*, Vol. I. p. 406.

4 The term *azī* (*alimony, maintenance*) includes food, clothes, and lodging.



whoever held it was no Muslim<sup>1</sup>. He then withdrew and acquainted Abū Ja'far al-Ṭaḥāwī with the conversation, and this doctor repeated it again to Abū 'Ubayd. The latter denied having said so, and al-Manṣūr, being informed of this, declared that he would give him the lie. The company having agreed that they should be present at this scene, met again at the *qāḍī's*. All being assembled, no person uttered a word till Abū 'Ubayd said : ' I do not want any one to come into my presence ! I want neither Manṣūr nor Naṣṣār nor Muntaṣir<sup>2</sup> ! a set of people whose hearts are as blind as their eyes, and who attribute to us things which we never mentioned.' On this, Manṣūr said to him: 'God well knows that you said so and so.' ' You lie !' exclaimed Abū 'Ubayd. 'God,' replied Manṣūr, 'well knows who is the liar !' He then rose up, but none would take him by the hand to lead him out except Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ḥaddād (No. 547) who did so and then helped him to mount (*his mule*). The mutual animosity of the two doctors increased to such a degree that *Dhākā*, the governor of the city, and a number of the soldiers<sup>3</sup>, with other individuals besides, took the part of Manṣūr, whilst another set of people joined in support of the *qāḍī*. Muḥammad Ibn al-Rābi' al-Jizī deposed that he had heard Manṣūr announce a certain (*heterodox*) opinion (*which he mentioned*) and that he gave it on the authority of al-Nazzām (No. 84, note). On this, the *qāḍī* declared that if a second witness made a similar declaration, he would have Manṣūr's head struck off<sup>4</sup>. Manṣūr was thus put in fear of his life and died in the month of the first Jumādā of the above year (A.H. 306). Abū 'Ubayd, being afraid of the soldiers who had taken Manṣūr's part, abstained from going to the funeral, but it was attended by the Amīr-*Dhākā*, Ibn Baṣṭām the land-tax collector, all the grandees,

---

1 Literally : Was not one of the people of the Qiblah.

2 These proper\* names are derived from the same root and signify respectively : aided, assistant, assisted.

3 We learn from the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*, that Manṣūr had served in the police guards, or regular troops (*jund*.) before he lost his sight.

4 According to the Muslim law, a fact is not proved unless two witnesses attest it. In cases of adultery, four are required.

\* The last two are not proper names : Abū 'Ubayd means that he could not admit into his presence Manṣūr, his supporters).—Ed.

and a great crowd of people. Abū 'Ubayd was informed that Maṣṣūr said, on his death-bed :

"I fulfilled my destiny, but silly people, heedless and plunged in lethargy, rejoice. My sleep (*of death*) was a thing decreed, and short shall be the day of those who rejoice in the misfortunes of others."

When Abū 'Ubayd heard these verses, he held down his head for some time and then recited as follows<sup>1</sup> :

"Let him die even but a day before us, we shall be the (*favoured*) people on the day of the resurrection. Yes! we have rejoiced and delighted in (*his*) misfortunes and no blame to those who have rejoiced therein."

## 715 AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH

Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr, surnamed al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (*the executor of God's orders*) and sovereign of Egypt, was the son of al-'Azīz, the son of al-Mu'izz, the son of al-Manṣūr, the son of al-Qā'im, the son of al-Mahdī<sup>2</sup>. We have spoken of his ancestors and some of his descendants; his father also we shall mention<sup>3</sup>. All these princes arrogated to themselves the title of *khalif*. In the month of *Sha'bān*, 383 (Sept-Oct., A.C. 993) al-Ḥākim was solemnly designated by his father as successor to the throne, and he assumed the supreme authority on the day of his father's death. He was prodigal of wealth and fond of shedding blood: a great number of persons holding eminent stations in the administration

1 Abū 'Ubayd's verses are in the same rhyme and measure as those of Maṣṣūr

2 For fuller information respecting al-Ḥākim, see the extract from al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* in the first volume of M. De Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, and the *Vie du khalife Hakem*, in the first volume of the same author's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes*.

3 The name of al-Ḥākim's father was *Niẓār* al-Aziz was only his title or surname.

of the state were put to death by him in an arbitrary manner. The whole tenor of his conduct was most extraordinary, and, every moment, he promulgated new orders to which the people were obliged to conform. Thus, in the year 395 (A.C. 1004-5), he commanded that maledictions, directed against the Companions (*of Muḥammad*), should be inscribed on the walls of the mosques, the *hāzārs* and the streets; he wrote also to those who governed his provinces, ordering them to do the same; then, in the year 397, he caused these inscriptions to be torn down and forbade the practice. Soon after, he gave orders that the persons who uttered curses against the Companions should be flogged and paraded ignominiously through the streets. In the year 395, he caused all the dogs to be killed, so that not one of them was to be seen in the market-places, or in the streets or in the lanes. He forbade the sale of beer, of *mulūkhiyā*<sup>1</sup>, of lupin-pellets made to be eaten with that (*pot-herb*), of the rocket and of fish, without scales. Persons transgressing this ordinance were to be punished with the utmost severity, and some who had been convicted of selling such things were beaten with whips, paraded through the streets and then beheaded. Thus again, in the year 402, he forbade the sale of raisins, either in large or in small quantities, no matter of what kind they were; and merchants were prohibited from importing them into Egypt. A great quantity of this fruit was then collected and burned by his orders; the expense incurred in burning it amounted, it is said, to five hundred *dinārs*. In the same year, he forbade the sale of grapes and dispatched inspectors to al-Jazīrah<sup>2</sup> (*where they remained*) till a great part of the vines in that place had been cut down, thrown on the ground and trod under foot by oxen. He caused all the jars of honey which were in the stores to be collected together; and these, to the number of five thousand, were carried to the border of the Nile, where they were broken and their contents poured into the river. In this year also he gave orders that the Christians and the Jews, with

1 The *mulūkhiyā* is a species of mallows. The botanical name is *corchorus olitorius*.

2 If al-Jazīrah ٱلْجَزِيرَة, the reading of my MSS. be correct, the island of al-Rawḍah must be meant. In the extract from the *Khīṭa'* given by M. de Sacy we read al-Djīzah ٱلْدَجِزَة.

the exception of their doctors<sup>1</sup>, should wear black turbans, that the Christians should place on their necks crosses one cubit in length and five *raṭls* (or ten pounds) in weight; the Jews were enjoined to wear on their necks logs of wood equal in weight to the crosses worn by the Christians. He forbade them to ride with embroidered saddles, and commanded that their stirrups should be of wood. They were forbidden to have a Muslim in their service, to ride on asses hired out by a Muslim and to embark in a vessel having a Muslim crew. The Christians, when they entered into a public bath, were to bear crosses on their necks and the Jews bells, in order that they might be distinguished from the Muslims. He afterwards assigned baths to the Jews and the Christians, distinct from those of the Muslims; on those of the Christians he placed crosses and, on the Jewish baths, logs of wood. This took place in the year 408 (A.C. 1017-8). The same year, he gave orders that the church known by the name of *al-Qumāmāh*<sup>2</sup> should be demolished, as also all the churches in Egypt; the vases belonging to them, with all the *rahā's*<sup>3</sup> and properties settled on them he granted to a Muslim corporation. The result was that a number of Christians embraced Islāmism. The same year, he forbade the kissing of the ground in his presence and annulled the (*usual form of*) prayer made for him in the *khuṭbah* and in the writings addressed to him. Instead of that prayer, they were ordered to employ these words; *Salutation to the Commander of the faithful*. In the year 404 (A.C. 1013-4) he forbade consulting the stars and practising astrology; those who professed that art he ordered to be banished from the country. In consequence of this, all the astrologers appeared before the *qāḍī* Malik Ibn Sa'īd, chief magistrate of Old Cairo, and bound themselves to turn (*from their evil ways*); the sentence of banishment was therefore revoked. The professional musicians were treated in a

1 The orthography of the word here rendered by *doctors* is uncertain. I read حيايره a plural form of حير which word is the diminutive of حير.

2 *Al-Qumāmāh* القمامه means *sweeping, dirt*. The Musulmāns apply this name contemptuously to the church of the Resurrection (*al-Qiyāmāh* القيامة) at Jerusalem. The word *Qumāmāh*, with this signification, is sometimes employed without the article.

3 See No. 142, note.

similar manner. The same year, in the month of *Sha'bān*, he gave orders that no woman should go out into the streets, either by night or by day; he forbade the shoemakers to make boots such as were worn by women, and he removed from the baths the emblems which indicated those reserved for the use of the female sex. The women remained confined to their houses till the accession of al-Ẓāhir, al-Ḥākim's son (*No. 457*): their captivity having lasted seven years and seven months. In the month of *Shā'bān*, 411 (Nov-Dec., 1020), a number of those Christians who had embraced Islāmism returned to their former creed, and al-Ḥākim gave orders that such churches of theirs as had been destroyed should be rebuilt. He restored to them also the properties settled on their churches. Upon the whole, we may say, that these were but a small portion of his strange doings and that a full account of them would lead us too far. It was for al-Ḥākim that the astronomer, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, surnamed Ibn Yūnus (*No. 463*), composed the very extensive work called the *Ḥākimite Tables*. I copied the following anecdote from a document in the handwriting of the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Silafī (*No. 43*): al-Ḥākim was, one day, sitting in state when a person present recited aloud the following of the *Qur'ān*: *No, I swear by thy Lord! they will not (perfectly) believe until they make thee judge of their controversies, and they shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou mayest ordain, but shall acquiesce therein with submission*<sup>1</sup>. Whilst pronouncing these words, the man kept pointing at al-Ḥākim, but he had no sooner finished than a person named Ibn al-Mushajjar, who was a man of holy life, recited aloud these words from the same book: *O men! a parable has been propounded wherefore hearken unto it: those whom ye invoke besides God will never be able to create a fly: although they joined together for that (purpose), and, if the fly snatch any thing away from them, they cannot recover the same*

---

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'an*, sūrah 4, verse 68. The object of the speaker was to have al-Ḥākim put on a level with Muḥammad, and even to induce his hearers to acknowledge the Divine nature of that prince. It is well-known that al-Ḥākim founded a sect the adepts of which acknowledged him to be an incarnation of the Divinity. See M. de Sacy's *Exposé*.

from it. *Weak is the petitioner and (weak) the petitioned ! they have not esteemed God at His just value. Verily God is powerful and mighty*<sup>1</sup>. When he had finished, al-Ḥākim changed countenance, but then ordered him one hundred dinārs and granted nothing to the other. One of Ibn al-Muḥajjar's friends then said to him ; "You know al-Ḥākim's character and are aware of his frequent prevarications : take heed lest he conceive a hatred for you and punish you later. You would then have much to suffer from him. My advice is that you get out of his sight." In consequence of this warning, Ibn al-Muḥajjar prepared for making the pilgrimage, and went off by sea, but the vessel sunk. His friend saw him afterwards in a dream and asked him in what state he was ? To this Ibn al-Muḥajjar replied : "Our captain did not stop short on the voyage ; he anchored with us at the gate of Paradise." Such was the recompense of Ibn al-Muḥajjar's pure intentions and good design. It was al-Ḥākim who erected and completed the great mosque (*jāmi'*) at Cairo, which had been commenced by his father al-'Aziz. He built also the *jāmi'* Rāshidah outside of Old Cairo. It was on Monday, the seventeenth of the first Rabi', 393 (24th Jan., A.C. 1003), that the construction of the edifice was commenced. The person charged with the direction of the work was the ḥāfiẓ Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī Ibn Sa'id (No. 376) and the astronomer who fixed the position of the *miḥrāb* (No. 16, note) was 'Alī Ibn Yūnus. Al-Ḥākim founded a number of other mosques in the Qarāfah and elsewhere. He sent to the *jāmi'*s a quantity of *Qur'āns*, objects in silver, curtains and Samanid mats<sup>2</sup> to an immense amount. He was constantly doing and undoing. \* [In the year 395 (A.C. 1004-5) Abū Rakwā al-Walid Ibn Hishām al-'Uṭhmānī<sup>3</sup>, a native of Spain, revolted against him and

---

1 *Qur'an*, sūrah 22, verse 72.

2 What sort of mats these were I cannot determine.

3 For the history of Abū Rakwah see the *Exposé*, p. cccxvii, and my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *History of the Berbers*, tome I, p. 40. It does not appear for what reason this adventurer bore the surname of al-Uṭhmānī, unless it was his being a collateral relation of the khalif 'Uṭhmān. They both descended from Umayyah, the ancestor of Umayyad khalifs.

\* [ ] From 'In the year' to 'al-Ṣābī' not in the text of Cairo edition.—Ed.

stirred up a rebellion in the neighbourhood of Barkah (*in Cyrenaira*). A great multitude of people embraced his cause, and he defeated a large body of troops which al-Ḥākim had sent against him; but, being at length overwhelmed by numbers, he was taken prisoner, in the year 397 (A.C. 1006-7), after having lost, it is said, about seventy thousand of his partisans on the field of battle. Being carried before al-Ḥākim, he was paraded contemptuously (*through the streets*) and put to death by that sovereign's order. This happened on Sunday, the 27th of the latter Jumādā of that year (19th of March, A.C. 1007). A full account of Abū Rakwā's proceedings is given by Ibn al-Sābi'.] Al-Ḥākim was born at Cairo on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd of the first Rabī' 375 (13th August, A.C. 985). He was fond of solitude and liked to ride out unaccompanied. It therefore happened that, on the eve of Monday, the 27th of *Shawwāl*, 411 (13th February, A.C. 1021), he went into the country outside of old Cairo and passed the whole of the night in rambling about. The next morning he was at the tomb of al-Fuqqā'ī<sup>2</sup>, and from that he proceeded with two of his footmen towards the east of Ḥulwān. One of the footmen returned back, accompanied by nine Suwaydyan Arabs<sup>3</sup>; the other arrived afterwards and stated that he had left his master in the neighbourhood of that tomb and of al-Maṣṣabah<sup>4</sup>. The people (*in the service*) continued, as usual, to go out and await his return, taking with them the horses used when the prince rode in state. On Thursday, the last day of the month just mentioned, they ceased going out and, on Sunday, the 2nd of *Dhū 'l-Qa'dah*, Muẓaffar, the bearer of the imperial parasol, went out with Hattī, the Slavonia\*, Nasīm the guardian of the (door) curtain (*or chamberlain*) Ibn Baṣhtikīn the Turk who was

1 The life of Hilāl Ibn al-Sābi' is given in this work.

2 Al-Maqrizī states, in his *Khīṭaṭ*, Vol. II, p. 456 of the Bulāq edition, that the *masjid*, or chapel of al-Fuqqā'ī was erected by Kāfur al-Ikḥṣāhidī. The person to whom it was dedicated was the son of a brewer (*fuqqā'ī*) who inhabited Old Cairo; he bore the names of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan.

3 The powerful tribe of Suwayd, the source of the translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Berbers*, passed afterwards into north Africa.

4 *Muṣṣabah* signifies a place overgrown with reeds.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: 'Taṣhtikīn.

al-Ḥākim's lance-bearer, and a number of Kitāmyan and Turkish officers. After reaching Dayr al-Quṣayr and the place called Ḥulwān, they went up into the mountain (*Muqaṭṭam*) and discovered, on the very summit, the grey ass, called al-Qamr (*the moon*) which al-Ḥākim was accustomed to ride. It still had on the saddle and bridle which he always made use of, and its fore legs had been hacked by the strokes of a sword. They retraced (*backwards*) the footsteps of the animal and perceived by the tracks, that one man had been walking before it and another after it. They continued following the footsteps till they came to the cistern which lies to the east of Ḥulwān. One of the officers having gone down into it, found there al-Ḥākim's clothes, which consisted in seven *jubbahs* (*long vests*). They were still buttoned and bore marks shewing they had been pierced by daggers<sup>1</sup>. These *jubbahs* they carried to the Castle, at Cairo, and no doubt then remained of his having been assassinated. Some foolish people, who were extravagantly attached to al-Ḥākim, continued to believe that he was still living and would certainly reappear; they would swear *by the absence of al-Ḥākim*! and hold very absurd discourses. Some say that it was his sister who caused him to be murdered; the particulars of their recital are, however, too long for insertion<sup>2</sup>. The orthography of the name *Mushajjar* is certain: *Ḥulwān* is the name of a pretty and most agreeable village, situated about five miles above Old Cairo. It was formerly the residence of 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam the Umayyad, when acting as governor of Egypt, in the name and under the *kh*alifate of his brother, 'Abd al-Malik. He died there, and his son, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, was born in that place.

## 716 AL-'ĀMIR BI-AḤKĀM ALLĀH

Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr the 'Ubaydite, surnamed al-'Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh (*the commander who executes God's decrees*), was

1 When al-Ḥākim was assassinated, the murderers cut off his arms; this circumstance explains how the *jubbahs* could have been taken off the body without being unbuttoned.

2 See M. de Sacy's *Exposé*, page CCCCXV.



the son of al-Musta'li, the son of al-Mustanşir, the son of al-Zāhir, the son of al-Ḥākim (see the preceding article). In the life of his father, see among the Aḥmads, under the letter A (No. 73), will be found the rest of genealogy. Al-'Āmir was proclaimed successor to the throne on the day of his father's death, and al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, the son of Amīr al-Juyūsh (No. 266) and al-Musta'li's wazīr, took in hand the government of the empire. In the life of al-Afḍal we have related some particulars concerning al-'Āmir. When this prince grew up and was capable of judging for himself, he took al-Afḍal's life and conferred the wazīrship on al-Māmūn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abī Shujā' Fātik Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥusayn Mukhtār, surnamed Ibn al-Baṭā'ihī. The new wazīr excluded his sovereign from the exercise of power and acquired so foul a reputation by his tyranny, that al-'Āmir at length arrested him and confiscated all his property. This happened on the eve of Saturday, the 4th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 519 (4th Oct., A.C. 1125). He caused him to be put to death in the month of Rajab, 521 (July-August, A.C. 1127), and had his body exposed on cross outside the walls of Cairo. He executed, at the same time, five of al-Māmūn's brothers, one of whom bore the name of al-Mu'tamin. Al-'Āmir was haughty, inconsiderate and extravagant in his conduct. The anecdotes (*on this subject*) are well-known. Evil minded and tyrannic, he made a show of his vices and indulged openly in sports and amusements. It was under his reign and in the month of Shā'bān, 497 (May, A. C. 1104) that the Franks took the city of 'Akkā (Acre); on Monday, the 11th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 502 (12th July, A.C. 1109), they carried Tripolis of Syria by storm, plundered the houses, made the men prisoners and reduced to slavery the women and children. The wealth and property of the inhabitants, the books belonging to the college (*dār al-'Ilm*) and other treasures of incalculable value fell into their hands. The survivors were put to the torture and despoiled of all they possessed. The Egyptian troops sent to the relief of the city arrived when all was lost. The same year in the month of Ramaḍān (April-May, A.C. 1109) the Franks took 'Iraqah, to which they had laid seige on the 1st of Shā'bān (6th March). In this year also they took Bānyās and obtained possession of Jubayl by capitulation. On

Friday, the 21st of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 511 (15th April, A.C. 1118), they took the castle of Tabnīn and, on Monday, the 22nd of the first Jumādā, 518 (7th July, A.C. 1124), they gained possession of Tyre (Ṣūr). The officer who commanded in that place held his authority under the Atābek Zahīr al Dīn Ṭughtikīn (*No. 119*), who then possessed Damascus and the neighbouring countries. During the three years which followed the conquest of Tyre, the Franks continued to beat money in the name of al-'Āmir, but then they discontinued the practice. On Friday, the 21st of Shawwāl, 503 (13th May, A.C. 1110), they took Bayrūt by assault and, on the 20th of the first Jumādā, 504 (4th December, A.C. 1110), they occupied Sidon (Ṣaydā). In the year 504 during the reign of al-'Āmir, or in 511, according to another account—God knows which is the true date!<sup>1</sup> Bardwīl (*Baldwin*), the Frank undertook an expedition into Egypt for the purpose of taking that country into his possession. On arriving at (*the town of*) al-Farāmā, he burned down the houses, the principal mosque and the others also. Having then set out whilst suffering under an indisposition, he died on the way, before reaching al-'Arīsh. His companions opened his body and threw away the intestines; and, to this very day, passengers cast stones on that spot. His corpse was borne to the Qumāmā<sup>2</sup> and there buried. It is from this Bardwīl that the *sibkhah* (or *salt-marsh*) of Bardwīl, situated in the midst of the sands, on the road to Syria, takes its name. It is there the stones are thrown, and people call the place the *tomb of Bardwīl*, though it contains nothing but his entrails. Bardwīl was sovereign of Jerusalem, Acre, Jaffa and a number of other towns on the sea-coast of Syria, and by him it was that these places were taken from the Muslims. In the same year (*that is, in 505*), the Mahdī Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart (*No. 662*) departed from Egypt, which was then under the rule of al-'Āmir. He went to Maghrib in the dress of a legist and there encountered the adventures of which we have already given the relation. Al-'Āmir was born in Cairo on Tuesday, the 13th of Muḥarram, 490 (31st December, A.C. 1096), and came to the

---

1 The true date is 511.

2 The church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem; see No. 413, note.

throne at the age of five years. When his allotted days were passed, he went forth from Cairo, early in the morning of Tuesday, the 3rd of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 524 (8th Oct., A.C. 1130), and proceeded to Old Cairo, whence he crossed the bridge and entered into the island<sup>1</sup> opposite to that city. Some persons who had plotted his death were lying there concealed with their arms ready; it being agreed among them that they should kill him as he was going up the lane through which he had to pass in order to reach the top of the hill. As he was going by them, they sprang out and fell upon him with their swords. He had then crossed the bridge and had no other escort than a few pages, courtiers, and attendants. They bore him in a boat across the Nile and brought him, still living, into Cairo. The same night he was taken to the Castle and there he died, leaving no posterity. Such was the end of the tenth in lineal descent from the Mahdi 'Ubayd Allāh, the same who, as we have already stated (*No. 333*), made his first appearance at Sijilmāssah. The supreme authority devolved on his cousin al-Ḥāfiz 'Abd al-Majid (*see No. 382*)<sup>2</sup>. Al-'Āmir's conduct was detestable: he oppressed the people, seized on their wealth and shed their blood; he committed with pleasure every excess which should be avoided and regarded forbidden enjoyments as the sweetest. The people were delighted at his death. He was of a middle size, having a remarkably clear complexion and prominent eyes; his handwriting was good, his information and intelligence were very considerable. Al-Māmūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, the wazīr of whom we have just spoken, was the same who, in the year 515 (A. C. 1121-2) built the Grey Mosque (*al-jāmi' al-aqmar*) in Cairo. During his wazīrship he completed the erection of the mosque of the female Elephant (*Jāmi' al-Filah*)\* which al-Afḍal, the son of Amīr al-Juyūsh, had commenced building in the year 498 (A. C. 1104-5), and which is situated outside of Old Cairo, near the Observatory that overlooks Birkat al-Ḥabash (the pond of the Abyssinians).

---

1 This is perhaps the island of Rawḍah. One of the manuscripts has *Jizah* الجيزه which may be the right reading.

2 In the article on al-Ḥāfiz, his name is erroneously written 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Jāmi' al-Nīl.—Ed.

## 717 QUṬB AL-DĪN MAWDŪD

Quṭb al-Dīn (*the axis of the faith*) Mawdūd, surnamed al-A'raj (*the lame*) and lord of Moṣul, was the son of 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī (No. 229) the son of 'Āq Sunqur (No. 100). In the life of his brother Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmud (No. 688) lord of Syria, we have mentioned some particulars concerning him and spoken of his three sons.<sup>1</sup> One of them, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī (No. 496) succeeded him as sultān; the others were 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd (No. 694) and 'Imād al-Dīn Zinkī (No. 230) lord of Sinjār. In the article on Ghāzī we have given an account of Nūr al-Dīn's conduct on the death of his brother Quṭb al-Dīn and mentioned that, after having proceeded to Moṣul, he confirmed Ghāzī in the possession of that city and settled matters with all his nephews. Whilst he was on this expedition, he founded the Nūriyan Mosque (*al-Jāmi' al-Nūrī*) within the city of Moṣul. Every Friday, the public prayer is celebrated in this mosque, which is an edifice much noted in that city. The motive which led to its construction is thus stated by the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (No. 678), in that part of his work, the *al-Barq al-Shāmi*, where he speaks of Nūr al-Dīn's arrival at Moṣul: "There was at Moṣul, in the centre of the city, an extensive ruin respecting which such rumours were current as appalled every heart, and it was generally reported that no one ever undertook to rebuild it without losing his life and failing in the attempt. Mu'in al-Dīn 'Umar al-Malā, a *shaykh* much renowned for the sanctity of his conduct and the austerity of his life, advised Nūr al-Dīn to buy the ruin and build a mosque with the materials. The prince spent large sums on this edifice and converted into a *waqf*<sup>2</sup> for its maintenance a landed estate situated in the vicinity of Moṣul." Quṭb al-Dīn obtained the sultānate of Moṣul and that region on the death of his elder brother al-Ghāzī. His conduct was exemplary and his administration just. It was under his reign that the wazīr Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jawād (No. 677) attained the highest consideration. He was imprisoned, as we have already mentioned,

---

1 This reference is not exact. The author probably intended to indicate the article on Mas'ūd, the son of Mawdūd, No. 674.

2 See No. 21 note on Waqf.

by that prince, who had then for prime minister and privy-counsellor the amīr Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Kūchak, father of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, lord of Arbela (*No.* 522). He had there a truly able minister, a sincere adviser for his welfare and prosperity, and, moreover, an undaunted warrior, a renowned horseman. We have spoken of him also in the life of his son Muẓaffar al-Dīn. Quṭb al-Dīn continued to hold the sultānate and rule with absolute sway till the hour of his death. This event took place in the month of Shawwāl, 565 (June-July, A. C. 1170) or, as some say, on the 22nd of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah of that year (6th Sept.), Usāmah Ibn Munqidh (*No.* 81) states, in a little work of his containing the mention of those provincial sovereigns who were his contemporaries, that Quṭb al-Dīn died towards the end of the latter Rabi' 566; but this date cannot be exact, because Nūr al-Dīn, Quṭb al-Dīn's brother, was at Moṣul that very month; he had been encamped outside the city when messengers came to him from the khalīf, and did not enter it till after his brother's death. Quṭb al-Dīn died at Moṣul, aged somewhat more than forty years. He left a number of sons, most of whom became sovereigns in different provinces. We have already spoken of his father, his grand-father and other members of the family.

## 718 MUWARRIJ AL-SADŪSĪ

Abū Fayd Muwarrij Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Thaur Ibn Ḥarmalah Ibn 'Alqamah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Sadūs Ibn Shaybān Ibn Dhuhīl Ibn Tha'labah Ibn 'Akkābah al-Sadūsī was a grammarian of Baṣrah. He learned Arabic grammar from al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad (*No.* 208), and delivered traditions on the authority of Shu'bah Ibn al-Ḥajjājī, Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā (*No.* 480) and others. He used to say: "I came from the desert, unacquainted with the application of inductive reasoning to Arabic grammar; what I knew of it was merely a natural gift, and it was only at the school of Abū Zayd

---

1 See *No.* 208.

al-Anṣārī (No. 245), in Baṣrah, that I learned the use of induction. Al-Akhfash Sa'id Ibn Mas'adah (No. 246), having gone to see Muḥammad Ibn al-Muhallab<sup>1</sup>, was asked by him whence he came? He answered: "From the residence of the qāḍī Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham<sup>2</sup>." "What is going on there?" said Ibn al-Muhallab. The other replied: "He asked me who, of all the disciples of al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad, was the most trustworthy, the first in rank, and the most deserving of confidence (for his information); to which I answered: "Al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl<sup>3</sup>, Sibawayh (No. 479), and Muwarrij al-Sadūsi." The dominant studies of Muwarrij were philology and poetry. He left a number of works such as the *Kitāb al-Anwā'*<sup>4</sup>, which is a good treatise on the subject, the *Kitāb Ghārib al-Qur'ān* (rare expressions occurring in the *Qur'ān*), the *Kitāb Jamāhīr al-Qabā'il* (a general notice of the Arabic tribes), and the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī* (book of rhetorical figures employed in the *Qur'ān*). He drew up also a succinct account of the genealogy of the Quraysh family; it forms a small volume and bears the title of *Ḥaḍḥq Nisab Quraysh* (the coraishide genealogies cleared from dross). Having accompanied al-Māmūn (the 'Abbāsīd) from 'Irāq to Khurāsān, he settled in the town of Marw, but subsequently removed to Naysābūr. During his residence there he gave lessons which were attended by even the *shaykhs* (or professors) of the place. He composed some poetry, and the following verses are given as his by Hārūn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim<sup>5</sup> in the *Kitāb al-Bārī* :

"So oft have I suffered the pains of separation, that I heed them no longer; I feel no more the misfortunes which wound me by striking my family and friends. Fortune never left with me one whom I dearly prized, without intending to remove that person or to estrange her from me."

1 This person was probably the son of the Muhallab whose life is given in No. 727.

2 The life of Ibn Akṭham will be found in this work.

3 An article on al-Naḍr is given in this work.

4 This work treated probably of the twenty eight mansions of the moon.

5 The life of Ibn al-Munajjim is given in this work.

Ibn al-Munajjim here remarks that these verses were the finest ever composed to express such a thought. A similar idea is found in the following lines, composed by a modern poet :

"So oft have I been torn from my friends, that I dread no longer the pains of separation ; even though neighbours, dear to my heart, should be removed away. I have now closed my mind against despair, and my eyes can yield to sleep even on the departure of a beloved friend."

It was from (*al-Sadūsi's*) piece that Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī (*No. 654*) borrowed the idea of this verse :

"Here am I, my heart no longer afflicted at the loss of friends ! no longer rejoicing under the seductions of fortune ! "

This line is taken from a *qaṣīdah* in which he expresses his grief for the loss of his sight. It contains this passage wherein he alludes to his wife :

"Behold her weeping ! her who had never to complain of privations and whose nearest friends were never driven (*by misfortunes*) into a distant land. But now the hand of time hath wounded her in the object of her affection<sup>1</sup>, striking her with a piercing calamity, and calamities pierce (*the heart*). She suffers from an awful (*mishap*) under the like of which patience would be unbecoming and grief never disgraceful. Why blame her even if shed tears of blood for him who supported her by his toils and by travelling into distant lands. How painful for her to see me covering to the ground, without a spot in the wide-extended earth through which to roam. (*She sees me*) no longer able to direct the camel as it goes panting through the clouds of dust, nor to guide the sleek six-year-old<sup>2</sup> steed which prances when reigned in. I remain imprisoned in a fixed abode and pledged to suffer grief from morn to night. Here, where I dwell on earth, the sky<sup>3</sup> is

1 Literally : In the lion of her forest.

2 I read *وَجَرْدًا* on the authority of two manuscripts.

3 *البحر* is the true reading.

dark and cloudy ; my walking place is narrow, yet it is a vast plain exposed to the sun<sup>1</sup>. I am led about therein, submissive as a camel<sup>2</sup> to the halter ; I who had never been submissive, were it not for the perfidy of fortune. I am as a corpse having no grave in which to lay its side ; alas ! it is not every corpse which obtains a grave. Here am I, my heart no longer afflicted at the loss of friends ! no longer rejoicing under the seductions of fortune ! I was once an admirable spear, but now its point<sup>3</sup> is blunted, and my youth (*once firm*) as wood, is now (*shattered*) and rent asunder. Blessings on the days in which I rode uncontrolled on the steed of love ; one as I was then, would suffer no control in his love for gracefully moving (*maidens*)<sup>4</sup>. My youth, which I enjoyed to the utmost, is now departed ; it has been snatched away, yet the eyes of fortune retain their azure hue and sparkle still. O what nights I joyfully passed with the fair, whose glances were alternately directed towards me and turned away ! nights in which my ardour was many-fold greater than now ; I plaintively allude to them, for they will declare openly (*what I have been*)."

This long and high-sounding *qasidah* was composed in praise of the *imām* al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, the *khalīf* of Baghdād. Al-Marzubānī (*No. 621*) states that he met with the following passage in the handwriting of Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās al-Yazīdī (*No. 614*). "Abū Fayd Muwarrij al-Sadūsī gave a robe as a present to my grand-father and was thanked by him in these terms :

"I shall express my thanks for what Muwarrij, the son of 'Amr, has bestowed, and shall offer him my best praises and my love. Illustrious is Sadūsī !<sup>5</sup> a man for whom his father, (ancestors) passionately fond of (*doing*) honourable deeds, procured a noble reputation ! we went to Abū Fayd, hoping to obtain a draught from the torrent of his bounty and to strike fire from that steel which was never dull and which never refused its sparks. Having quenched

1 Read ضحيان with one of the manuscripts.

2 The right reading is الجنبيه .

3 Read غراره .

4 Read الغيد\* with two manuscripts.

5 Two manuscripts and the edition of Bulāq read اغر .

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : الغى .



our thirst, we parted with gifts and presents from a man who has always been praised by those who arrived to visit him and by those who went away<sup>1</sup>. He clothed me gratuitously, though I asked him not for clothing; and gifts so made are the most agreeable of all. He arrayed me in that garment, ample as it was, and, the evening I put it on, I departed strutting so proudly that I mistook<sup>2</sup> my way. It was a robe of beauty, if made use of for ornament, and a winter-dress, if one feared the severe cold. Trimmings<sup>3</sup> were seen on it of which the fringes<sup>4</sup> (*shone*) like the sword newly polished and just drawn from the scabbard. Whilst I live, I shall thank al-Sadūsī for his generosity and recommend (*in dying*), those I leave behind me<sup>5</sup> to be grateful to al-Sadūsī. "

The anecdotes concerning Muwarrij are very numerous. Ibn al-Nadīm (*No. 84*) states that he found a note in the handwriting of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*No. 316*) in which it was mentioned that Muwarrij al-Sadūsī was one of al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad's (*No. 208*) pupils and that he died in the year 195 (A.C. 810-1) and on the same day as Abū Nuwās (*No. 162*). This indication cannot be admitted unless we adopt the opinion of those who place the death of Abū Nuwās in that year. We have noticed the disagreement which exists on that point; but it is universally allowed that Muwarrij died in the year 195; Ibn Qutaybah (*No. 306*) gives that date in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* and other authors (*repeat it*). In a copy of al-Sadūsī's *Kitāb al-Anwā*, I found the following passage; "Abū 'Alī Ismā'il Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Mubārak al-Yazīdī said: 'We studied this book at Jurjān under al-Muwarrij; then, in the year 202, we went to 'Irāq (*for the purpose of seeing*) al-Māmūn, after which al-Muwarrij proceeded to Baṣrah where he died.'" This indication disagrees with the one just given, and God knows best

1 Literally: Always praised as to the goings out (from his pond) and the goings down (to it).

2 I read جرت .

3 Read. كاج . \*

4 Here the readings of the manuscripts and the printed editions all differ. The true reading seems to be طرازها † that which I adopt.

5 For من بعدی read بعدی .

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: حيك (Knitting).—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: اطرادها packages.—Ed.

which of them is the truest. The word *ḡayḡ*, taken in its primitive signification designates the *flower of the saffron plant* or according to some, the *saffron* itself. *Muwarrij* is the active participle of the verb *arraj* which signifies to *excite people to quarrel*. We have already explained the word *Sadūsī* in the life of Qatādah (No. 516). Some say that *Muwarrij* was a nickname and that the real name (of this grammarian) was *Marḡad*. Al-Jawharī (No. 9, note) says, in his (dictionary, the) *Ṣaḡāḡ*, that the verb *raḡad* signifies "to arrange wares, in placing them one over the other, or side by side;" he then adds: "In the expression: 'When I left such and such a tribe, they were *murḡidīn* and had not yet loaded their baggage,' the word *murḡidīn* means *arranging their effects*." Ibn al-Sikkīt<sup>1</sup> says: "From thence is derived *marḡad*, which is the name of a man and *al-Marḡad*, one of the names by which the lion is designated." Al-Muwarrij himself said: "My name and my surname are of rare occurrence; the Arabs (of the desert) employ the verb *arraj* and *arraj* with the meaning of the verb *harraj* (to excite quarrels). *ḡayḡ* is the flower of the saffron-plant. The verb *ḡad*, with the aorist *ḡad* and the noun of action *ḡayḡ*, signifies to die, when employed in speaking of a man."

## 719 MŪSĀ AL-KĀZIM

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsā al-Kāzim<sup>2</sup>, the son of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the son of Muḡammad al-Bāqir, the son of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, God bless them all! was one of the *twelve imāms*. The *Khaṡib* (No. 33) says, in his History of Bagḡdād: Mūsā al-Kāzim was surnamed *al-'Abd al-Ṣāliḡ* (the holy servant) on account of his piety and his

1 The life of Ya'qūb Ibn al-Sikkīt is given in this work.

2 *Kāzim* is the active participle of a verb which signifies: to restrain one's inclinations, to suppress one's anger. The *Qur'ān* uses it in this sense. It was given to Mūsā as a surname, by the *Shī'ites*, on account of his forbearance and mildness.

efforts (*to please God*). It is related that he entered (*one evening*) into the mosque of God's Apostle (*at Madīnah*) and, just as the night was setting in, he made a prostration which lasted until morning and, during that time, he was heard to repeat, without intermission; "O Thou Who art the object of (*our*) fear! O Thou Whom it becometh to shew mercy! let Thy pardon be kindly granted to me whose sin is so grievous!" Mūsā was highly generous and beneficent: being informed that a man had spoken ill of him, he sent to him a purse containing one thousand dīnārs. He used to tie up in packets sums of three hundred, or four hundred, or two hundred dīnārs and distribute them in the city of Madīnah. That was his place of residence till al-Mahdī had him brought to Baghdād and shut up in a prison. (*Soon after, this khalif*) had a dream in which 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, appeared to him and said: "O Muḥammad!<sup>1</sup> were ye ready, therefore, if ye had been put in authority, to commit evil in the earth, and to violate the ties of blood?"<sup>2</sup> Al-Rabī' (*No. 223*) related in these terms what resulted: "He sent for me at night, and that put me in great dread; I went to him and found him chanting the above-mentioned verse, and no man had a finer voice than he. He said to me: 'Bring me Mūsā, the son of Ja'far'. I did so and he embraced him, seated him by his side and said to him: 'Abu 'l-Ḥasan! I have just seen in a dream the Commander of the faithful, 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and he has recited to me such and such a verse; give me the assurance that you will not revolt against me or against any of my children.' He answered: 'By Allāh! I am incapable of revolting.' 'You say the truth,' replied the khalif; 'give him three thousand pieces of gold and restore him to his family in Madīnah'. I arranged the affair of his (*departure*) that very night, lest some obstacle might turn up, and, before morning, the man was on his journey." Mūsā resided in that city (*Madīnah*) until the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. In the month of Ramaḍān, 179 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 795), Hārūn visited the 'Umrah<sup>3</sup> and, on his departure for

1 The real name of the khalif surnamed al-Mahdī (*the well directed*), was Muḥammad. He was the son of Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh, surnamed al-Manṣūr.

2 *Qur'an*, sūrah 47, verse 24.

3 See No. 668 note. The 'Umrah may be visited in any month of the year.

Baghdād, he took Mūsā with him and had him imprisoned for life. It is related that Hārūn, in his pilgrimage, went to visit the tomb of the Prophet, in the midst of a band of Qurayshids and some eminent members of (*Arabian*) tribes, and took with him Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Wishing to show how much he was superior in glory to those around them, he said (*in addressing the tomb*): "Salutation unto thee, O Prophet of God! unto thee who art my cousin!" On hearing this, Mūsā said (*to the tomb*): "Salutation unto thee, O my dear father!" Hārūn changed countenance at these words and said: "Abu 'l-Ḥasan! such glory as thine is truly to be vaunted of." End of the Kḥaṭīb's relation. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī, the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī (*No. 557*) says, in the part of his work, the *Murūj al-Dḥahab*, which contains the history of Hārūn al-Rashīd: " 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik al-Kḥuẓa'i, the intendant of al-Rashīd's palace and chief of the police guards (*Shurṭah*) related as follows: 'A messenger came to me from al-Rashīd at an hour in which I never before received his visits; he pulled me out of the place where I was and would not even allow me to change my clothes. This put me in great fear. When I arrived at the palace, a servant went in before me and informed al-Rashīd of my presence. (*The khalif*) ordered me to be introduced, and I found him sitting up in his bed. I saluted him, but he kept silent for some time; so, my mind was much troubled and my fears greatly augmented. He at length said: ' 'Abd Allāh! do you know why I sent for you at such an hour?' I answered: 'By Allāh I do not, Commander of the faithful!' 'Know,' said he, 'that I just had a dream in which it seemed to me as if an Abyssinian came to me with a javelin in his hand and said: 'Let Mūsā, the son of Ja'far, be set at liberty this very hour, otherwise I shall slay thee with this javelin!' Do you therefore go and set him free'. I replied: 'Commander of the faithful! shall I then liberate Mūsā, the son of Ja'far, for the third time?' 'Yes' said he, 'go and set Mūsā, the son of Ja'far, at liberty; give him thirty thousand dirhams and say to him (*in my name*): If you would like to remain with us, you will obtain from me whatever you may desire; and if you prefer going to Madīnah, you have permission to do so.' I went to the prison in order to take him out and, when he saw me, he sprung up on his feet, thinking that I had received

orders to treat him in a manner he should not like, but I said to him : 'Fear not ! he (*the khalif*) has ordered you to be set at liberty and told me to give you thirty thousand dirhams and to deliver you this message : if you would like remaining with us, you will obtain whatever you desire ; but, if you prefer going to Madīnah, you have free permission to do so.' I then gave him the money. set him free and said to him : 'I see something in you extraordinary (*what is it ?*).' He replied : 'I shall tell you : whilst I was asleep, behold ! the Apostle of God came to me and said : 'O Mūsā ! thou hast been imprisoned unjustly ; so, recite the words I am going to repeat to thee, for assuredly, thou shalt not pass all this night in prison.' I replied : 'For thee I should give up father and mother ! what must I say ?' 'Repeat these words,' said he : 'O Thou Who hearest every voice ! O Thou Who lettest no opportunity escape ! O Thou Who clothest the bones with flesh and Who wilt raise them up after death ! I invoke Thee by the holy names and by that grand and awful name which is treasured up and closely hidden ! by that name which no created being shall ever know ! O Thou Who art so mild and Whose patience is unequalled ! O Thou Whose favours never cease and cannot be numbered ! set me free !' So you see what has happened." Numerous stories and anecdotes are related of Mūsā. His birth took place at Madīnah, on a Tuesday of the year 129 (A.C. 746-747), before the break of day ; but the *Khaṭīb* places this event in the year 128. He died at Baghdād, on the 25th of the month of Rajab, 183 (1st Sep., A.C. 799), or in 186, according to another account. Some say that his death was caused by poison<sup>1</sup>. According to the *Khaṭīb*, he died in prison and was buried in the *Shūnizi* cemetery<sup>2</sup>, outside the dome<sup>3</sup> ; his tomb is a well-known object of pilgrimage ; over it is erected a large chapel containing an immense quantity of gold and silver lamps, with divers sorts of furniture and carpets. It is on the west side (*of the river*). We have already spoken of his father, his forefathers, and some of his descendants. The person

1 He was put to death secretly by order of al-Rashīd. See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, deuxième édition, tome I, p. 6.

2 See No. 239.

3 This indication is not clear unless it means the dome which covered the tomb of Saī al-Saqāfi

charged to guard him during his imprisonment was al-Sindī Ibn Shāhik (*No. 129 note*), ancestor of the celebrated poet Kushājim (*No. 128, note*).

## 720 KAMĀL AL-DĪN IBN MAN'AH

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā, the son of Abu 'l-Faḍl Yūnus, the son of Man'ah, the son of Mālik, the son of Muḥammad, and surnamed Kamāl al-Dīn (*perfection of religion*), was a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect. He studied the law at Moṣul under his father; then, in the year 571 (A. C. 1175-6), he proceeded to Baghdād and took up his residence in the *Niẓāmiyah* College (*No. 374*) where he had for tutor the *mu'id* (*repetiteur*) al-Sadīd al-Salamāsī\* (*No. 569*). At that time, the *shaykh* Riḍā al-Dīn Abu 'l-Khayr Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī, the son of Ismā'il, the son of Yūsuf, the son of Muḥammad, the son of al-'Abbās, was the professor (*of law*) in the college. Kamāl al-Dīn (*there*) studied the controverted points of jurisprudence and its fundamentals; he applied also to philological disquisitions under the direction of Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Anbārī (*see No. 344*). Previously to that, he had studied philology at Moṣul with distinguished success, under Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'dūn al-Qurṭubī, a *shaykh* whose life we shall give. Having then gone up (*from Baghdād*) to Moṣul, he resumed his studies with great assiduity and, on the death of his father, an event of which the date will be found in our article on that doctor, he replaced him as professor in the mosque which is called the *Zayniyah* after Zayn al-Dīn, lord of Arbela. This edifice I have myself seen; it is laid out in the manner of a college and is now called the *Kamāliyah* college, because Kamāl al-Dīn, he of whom we are now speaking, resided in it for a long time. When the reputation of his merit had spread abroad, jurisconsults hastened in crowds to study under him. He was profoundly versed in every branch of knowledge

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : Salamānī, which appears to be an error.—Ed.

and knew certain sciences which are never found together in the same individual. In the mathematical sciences he was particularly distinguished. I met him at Moṣul in the month of Ramaḍān, 626 (July-August, A. C. 1229), and went frequently to see him, on account of the close and intimate friendship which existed between him and my deceased father; but I had not an opportunity of receiving lessons from him, because I could not make any stay (*in that town*) and was obliged to hurry off to Syria. The doctors of the time declared that he had a solid and perfect knowledge of twenty-four different sciences, one of which was the (*doctrine of the Shāfi'ite*) sect. In this last he was the paragon of the age. A number of Ḥanafites studied under his tuition the doctrines of their own sect, and received from him the most satisfactory solution of the problems contained in the *al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*<sup>1</sup>, a work noted for its difficulties. He had a perfect acquaintance with the two systems of polemical jurisprudence, the (*Shāfi'ite*) which prevails in 'Irāq and the (*Ḥanafite*) which is taught at Bukhārā; he knew also the fundamentals of jurisprudence and those of divinity. When the works of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*No. 574*) were first brought to Moṣul, there was a great number of well-informed men in that city, but none of them, excepting Kamāl al-Dīn, was able to understand the technical language employed by the author. Having met with al-'Amīdī's (*No. 577*) *Irshād*, he solved, in a single night, all the difficulties contained in that work and then caused his pupils to read it (*whilst he explained it*); such at least, is the general report. He knew the philosophical science, logic (*that is, the Organum of Aristotle*), physics, metaphysics and medicine; he was acquainted with all the parts of mathematical

---

1 The *Jāmi' al-Kabīr*, or great collector, contains all the secondary points of law as deduced by the Ḥanafite doctors from the fundamental principles of Muslim Jurisprudence. The author, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Karkhī, native of al-Karkh, one of the suburbs of Baḡhdād, was highly respected for his learning and his piety. Born A.H. 261 (A.C. 874-5), he became so illustrious by his talents and his virtues that he was nominated chief of the Ḥanafite sect in that city. He died in the month of Shabān, A.H. 340 (January, A.C. 952). A fuller account of him is given in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyah* of al-Kafawī, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, supplement, no, 699, fol. 120.

science explained by Euclid, astronomy, conic sections, mean proportional (*Mutawassīṭah*), the Almagest, the different modes of calculation both numerical<sup>1</sup>, and algebraic, arithmetic, the system of double false position, music and mensuration. In all these sciences he was without a rival; others had a superficial knowledge of them, but none knew so well as he the abstruse doctrines and truths which they contain. In a word, one might well apply to him the words of the poet.

"In the sciences he was such that, from his knowledge of one alone, you might conclude he knew them all."

He discovered also a mode of calculating the hours of prayer<sup>2</sup> which no one had ever fallen upon before. His researches in the study of Arabic and its grammatical inflexions were so profound that he was capable of reading (*without a master*) the Book of Sībawayh (*No.* 479), the *'Idāḥ* and the *Takmilah* of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (*No.* 155), and the *Mufaṣṣal* of al-Zamakhsharī (*No.* 684). In the interpretation of the *Qur'ān*, in the science of Traditions, in that which treats of the names of those men (by whom Traditions have been handed down), and in every matter connected with such subjects, he was a most able hand. He knew by heart a mass of historical relations, accounts of the combats which took place between the (ancient) Arabs, pieces of poetry and dialogues. Jews and Christians used to go and read under his tuition the Pentateuch and the Gospel; they even declared that they could find no one so capable as he of explaining these two books. He knew so perfectly each of the above mentioned branches of knowledge that one would have supposed he could not have found time to learn the others. In a word, none of his predecessors were ever known to have been acquainted with so many sciences as he. In the year 625 (A. C. 1228)<sup>3</sup>, the *shaykh* Athīr al-Dīn al-Mufaḍḍal al-Abharī,

1 In Arabic *maṣṭūḥāt*, i. e. *upertae*. It appears, from the great dictionary of technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmāns, published at Calcutta under the direction of Dr. Sprenger, that the science of calculation employed in the solutions of problems form three branches, geometry, algebra and *maṣṭūḥah*, which, of course, must be numerical arithmetic.

2 Two manuscripts read الإوتان instead of الأوتان. If their reading be adopted it must be rendered by *magic squares*.

3 Two manuscript read 626.



the author of the *Ta'liqah fi 'l-Khilāf* (notes on controverted matters), the *Zij* (astronomical tables)<sup>1</sup>, and other well-known works, left Moṣul and came to Arbela where we were then residing. He took up his lodgings in the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (school for traditions), and I studied under his direction some controverted points of jurisprudence. I was with him one day when an eminent legist of Baghdād, who was residing in the *dār al-Ḥadīth*, came in. Some time passed in an animated conversation<sup>2</sup> when mention was made of the *shaykh* Kamāl al-Dīn. On this, Athīr al-Dīn said (to his visitor): "When the *shaykh* Kamāl al-Dīn made the pilgrimage and went to Baghdād, were you there?" The other replied in the affirmative. "How", said Athīr al-Dīn, "Did the Grand Diwān (the imperial court) receive him?" "Not in a manner worthy of his desert," was the reply. "That is much to be wondered at," exclaimed Athīr al-Dīn, "for never did the like of such a *shaykh* enter Baghdād!" These words surprised me so much that I said to him: "Tell me, master! what makes you say so?" He answered: "My son! no one like Abū Hāmid al-Ḡhazzālī (No. 562) had ever before entered Baghdād, and I declare, by Allāh! that even he is not to be compared with the *shaykh* (Kamāl al-Dīn)". Notwithstanding his high reputation as a master of the sciences, Athīr al-Dīn used to sit down before him (Kamāl al-Dīn) with a book in his hand and read it to him (in order to profit by his observations); and yet, on the same day scholars would be studying works composed by himself; that I saw with my own eyes. He thus read the *Almagest* under his direction. The following anecdote was related to me by a jurisconsult: "I asked the *shaykh* Kamāl al-Dīn what rank Athīr al-Dīn might hold as a scientific man, and he answered that he did not know. 'How can that be, Sir!' said I, 'since he has been in your service for many years and still studies under you?' He replied: 'Whenever I made an observation to him, he received it (without making any mark) and merely said: 'Yes, Sir! He never entered into a discussion with me; so, I have not been able to appreciate his talents.''" There is no doubt that

1 Various readings; *al-Zanj*, *al-Dabḥ*.

2 The Arabic words may perhaps be rendered thus: We passed some time in communicating traditions one to another.

Aṭhīr al-Dīn acted in this manner through politeness and respect. He served Kamāl al-Dīn as under-tutor (*mu'īd*) in the *Badriyah* college and used to say: "I should not have left my native place and come to Moṣul, had I not formed the intention of studying under the *shaykh* (Kamāl al-Dīn)." One of my *shaykhs* (or professors) named Taqī al-Dīn 'Uṭmān Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, and generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (see No. 386), spoke in the highest terms of his (Kamāl al-Dīn's) extraordinary merit and declared him to be without a rival in scientific knowledge. One day, he commenced, as usual, to make his eulogy when a person present said to him: "Tell me, Sir! under whom did he study? who was his preceptor?" The other answered: "That man was created by God as an *imām* (model) and a master in all the branches of knowledge; so, let no one ask under whom he studied and who was his preceptor. He is too eminent to render such a question necessary." Whilst I was at Moṣul, a certain jurisconsult related to me that Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ obtained permission from him (Kamāl al-Dīn) to read secretly under his direction a part of the Logic (or *Organum of Aristotle*). He went to him regularly for some time but was unable to understand any thing of it; so at length (Kamāl al-Dīn) said to him; "My opinion is, doctor! that you had better renounce the study of this science." The other asked him for what reason, and received this answer: "The public look upon you as a good and pious man, and consider those who apply to this branch of knowledge as holding pernicious opinions on religious matters; you risk, therefore, losing their esteem, without even acquiring any knowledge of the science." The jurisconsult took his advice and gave up the study. Readers of this biographical notice may perhaps consider me as exalting too much the merits of this *shaykh*, but those of his townsmen who are capable of appreciating his talents know full well that I have not attributed to him<sup>1</sup> a quality (which he did not really possess). God preserve us from exaggerating<sup>2</sup>, and from carelessness in transmitting historical information. Abu al-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī (No. 528) speaks of him in his *Tārīkh Irbil* (History

---

1 Read اعزته I lent him.

2 Read الغلو .

of Arbela): "He was," says he, "a most learned man well versed in every science and particularly distinguished by his acquaintance with those of the Ancients (*the Greeks*), such as geometry and logic. He got over the difficulties of Euclid and of the Almagest under the tuition of the *shaykh* Sharaf al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī the *Qur'ān* reader, the inventor of the lineal astrolabe (*al-astarlab al-khaṭṭī*)<sup>1</sup> which is generally known by the designation of the *staff*<sup>2</sup>". He says, farther on: "Questions were sent to him from Baghdād on difficult points of this science and he answered them all; he treated them as mere trifles and then gave their solution. In jurisprudence and the sciences connected with the law of Islāmism, he stood without a rival. He professed in a number of the colleges at Moṣul, and many of his pupils attained high distinction in different branches of science." Lower down, we read this passage: "He recited to me the following verses composed by himself and in which he made an appeal to the clemency of the lord of Arbela.

'If any land can draw lustre from him who holds it under his sway, the kingdom of the earth will derive lustre from you. May you live till the end of time and have your orders always obeyed, your zeal gratefully acknowledged and your mansuetude renowned for its equity. You have been established to (*watch over and*) guard this extensive country, as Joseph was established over the cities of Pharaoh.' "

I may here observe that the same verses were repeated to me at Aleppo by an acquaintance of mine. In the year 633 (A. C. 1235-1236), whilst I was at Damascus, a man of that city who possessed some skill in the mathematical sciences, met with a number of difficult problems in arithmetic, algebra, geometry and (*the treatise of*) Euclid. Being unable to solve them, he wrote them all down on a scroll of paper and sent them to him (*Kamāl*

1 I have not been able to discover any account of this astronomer, but a long technical description of the lineal astrolabe is to be found in the third part of the work in which Abu al-Ḥasan of Morocco treats of the astronomical instruments employed by the Arabs.

2 Notwithstanding the similitude of the names, I do not think that the *staff* of al-Ṭūsī is the same instrument which is called *Jacob's staff*.

*al-Dīn*), who was then at Moṣul. A month afterwards he received an answer in which all the obscurities were cleared up, all the difficulties explained and many indications given which it would be impossible to recapitulate. The letter concluded by these words : "Have the kindness to excuse the insufficiency of this answer ; for my genius is frozen up and my intelligence extinguished ; my mind has fallen under the sway of forgetfulness and is distracted by the events which time has brought about. The greater part of what I learned from books and of what I knew (*by my own observations*) is now as much forgotten by me as if I had never known it." The person who proposed the questions said to me (*of this passage*) : "Such (*elegant*) language I never heard before ; the like of it was never uttered but by those of the ancients who were perfectly well versed in these sciences, it is not the language of those who live in our time." \*[The following anecdote was related to me by the *shaykh* 'Alam al-Dīn (*the standard of the faith*) Qayṣar (*Caesar*), the son of Abu 'l-Qāsim, the son of 'Abd al-Ḡhanī, the son of Musāfir, and surnamed Ta'āsif<sup>1</sup>. He was a native of Egypt, a jurisconsult of the Ḥanafite sect and a mathematician (*riyādī*). In Egypt and at Damascus he was looked upon as the great master of the age in all the mathematical sciences. Here is what he said : "I felt a great desire to meet with the *shaykh* Kamāl al-Dīn, from having heard that he stood without a rival in these sciences. So, I set out for Moṣul with the intention of going to see him. When I went to present him my respects, I saw that, in his looks and appearance, he resembled those ancient sages whose history I had read and of whose aspect I had formed some idea. After saluting him, I stated that I had come for the purpose of studying under him, and he asked me by what science I wished to begin. 'By (*the theory of*) music,' said I. 'That happens very well,' said he, 'for it is a long time since any one studied it under me and I wished to converse with some person on that science so as to renew acquaintance with it.' I then

---

<sup>1</sup> This word signifies *fatigues*. This Ta'āsif was one of the Ṣalāh al-Dīn's military engineer. Abu 'l-Feda mentions him in his annals, year 642, and al-Maqrizī, in his History of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns, year 649.

\* From : 'The following' to 'teacher' on p. 390, not included in 'Abd al-Ḥamid's Edition.—Ed.

commenced (*the theory of*) music, after which I passed successively to other sciences, and, in about the space of six months, I went over more than forty works under his tuition. I was already acquainted with music, but wished to be enabled to say that I had studied that science under him. The problems which I did not understand he explained to me; I never met with any one capable of filling his place as a teacher." I have entered into long details for the purpose of making known the great extent of his scientific acquirements, and yet I must declare that what I have said is still too much abridged. On the death of his brothers, the *shaykh* 'Imād al-Dīn (No. 575), he replaced him as professor in the ('*Alā'iyyah*) college and, when the *Qāhiriyyah* college was opened, he received his nomination as director of that establishment. In the month of *Dhu al-Ḥijjah*, 620 (Dec.-Jan., A. C. 1223-1224) he became director of the *Badriyyah* college. His assiduity in professing and teaching was remarkable. One day, a number of other professors, all of them wearing the *ṭaylisān*<sup>1</sup> were present at his lesson and a native of Bugia (in north Africa), the grammarian 'Imād al-Dīn Abū 'Alī 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Nūr Ibn Mākḥūkh\*<sup>2</sup> Ibn Yūsuf al-Ṣanhājī al-Liznī, who happened to be there, recited extempore the following verses:

"Kamāl al-Dīn is really perfect (*kamāl*) by his learning and his high desert. Vain are the efforts of those who strive to attain the rank to which he has risen. When profound investigators meet together, their only object is to listen whilst he speaks. Think not that they put on their *ṭaylisāns* to vex him; they wear them merely to veil their faces through modesty and (*thus*) acknowledge (*their inferiority*)."

The same 'Imād al-Dīn composed on him other verses which I here give:

"Moṣul, training her robe in high disdain of all other cities, either inhabited or in ruins, is proud of her Tigris and of her *Kamāl*, both of them remedies for those who are athirst (*for water*

1 The *ṭaylisān* is a light scarf of crape worn over the turban and covering the shoulders. None were entitled to wear it except persons who had taken their degrees.

2 It appears from Ibn Khaldūn's *History of the Berbers*, that Mākḥūkh was the name of an eminent Berber family.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: Mājūj.—Ed.

or for knowledge), and for those whose intelligence is feeble. One is a flowing ocean, though its waters be fresh; the other is also an ocean, but one of knowledge."

The *shaykh* Kamāl al-Dīn, may God be indulgent towards him! was suspected of holding loose opinions in matters of religion, because the study of the intellectual sciences was his ruling passion, and the preoccupation of his mind with these sciences hindered him sometimes from perceiving what was passing around him. To this the same 'Imād al-Dīn made allusion in the following lines:

"I tell you seriously that the gazelle (*the young beauty whom I love and*) who always used to frown (*upon me*) has consented to meet me and become my companion. I gave her wine mixed with (*the honey of*) her lips, (*wine*) light as my verses, and light as the religious convictions of the son of Yūnus."

But we are here digressing from our subject and speaking of matters which we need not have mentioned. He (*Kamāl al-Dīn*) was born at Moṣul on Thursday, the 5th of Ṣafar, 551 (30th of March, A. C. 1156); he died in that city on the 14th of Ṣha'bān, 639 (17th of Feb., A. C. 1242), and was buried in the funeral chapel which bears the name of his family (*the Banī Man'ah*) which is situated outside the Gate of 'Irāq near the mausoleum of Anaz<sup>1</sup>. We have already spoken of his son Ṣharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad (*No. 44*) and of his brother 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad (*No. 575*); we shall also give the life of his father (*Yūnus*) under the letter Y. Whilst I was attending his lectures<sup>2</sup> at Moṣul, the idea came into my mind that, if ever God granted me a male child, I should give it the name of this (*professor*). In the latter part of the year above mentioned, I went to Syria where I remained ten years and then, in 632 (A. C. 1234-5), I proceeded to Egypt where, after many vicissitudes of fortune, I entered into the bonds of matrimony. My eldest son came into the world at Cairo, on Saturday morning, the 11th of Ṣafar, 651 (12th of April, A. C. 1253), and I gave him the name of Mūsā. It struck me as a singular coincidence that he was born in the same month as Kamāl al-Dīn and exactly one

1 Various readings: *Anā*, *Ghassān*, *Ghiyāth*.

2 Literally: whilst I was going and coming in his service.

hundred years after him. The learned *shaykh* and traditionist, Zakī al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz (No. 43, note), to whom I mentioned the circumstance, was as much surprised as I and expressed his astonishment by frequently exclaiming: "By Allāh! it is an extraordinary thing." The *shaykh* Raḍī al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, the professor at the *Niẓāmiyah* college of whom we have spoken towards the beginning of this notice, died at Qazwin on the 23rd of Muḥarram, 590 (18th of Jan. A.C. 1194); he was born there in the month of Ramaḍān, 512 (Dec.-Jan., A.C. 1118-9). Were I not afraid of being too prolix, I should expatiate on the noble qualities and acts of Kamāl al-Dīn. We have already spoken of the word (*Ṣanhājah*) (No. 105)<sup>1</sup>. (*Liznī means belonging to the tribe of Liznah*)<sup>2</sup> a berber people who inhabit the neighbourhood of Bugia, in province of Ifrīqiyyah<sup>3</sup>. 'Alam al-Dīn Ta'āsīf\* died at Damascus on Sunday, the 13th of Rajab, 649 (1st Oct., A.C. 1251) and was interred outside the gate called Bāb *Sharqī*<sup>4</sup>; his body was afterwards removed to the (cemetery outside the gate named) Bāb al-*Ṣaghīr*<sup>5</sup>. His birth took place in the year 574 (A.C. 1178-9), at Aṣfūn, a place situated to the west of the province of Ṣa'id (in upper Egypt)<sup>6</sup>.

## 721 MŪSĀ IBN NUṢAYR<sup>7</sup>

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr, the conqueror of Spain, was a member by enfranchisement of the tribe of *Lakhm*

1 *Ṣanhājah* or *Ṣinhājah* is an Arabic corruption of the Berber name *Zenag*, which word I often heard pronounced during my long residence in North Africa. The tribe of *Zenag* came from the country which is still called after it *Senegal*.

2 No Berber tribe of this name is now to be found in the province of Bugia.

3 The kingdom of Ifrīqiyyah was composed of the provinces of Tunis, Tripoli, Constantina, and Bugia.

4 Bāb *Sharqī* is a vulgar alteration of *al-Bāb al-Sharqī* (the eastern gate).

5 This name, in correct Arabic, should be *al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr* (the little gate).

6 Aṣfūn lies to the north of Esneh. It is built on immense mound of rubbish, at about a mile from the river.

7 Ibn 'Asākir says, in his *Biographical History of Damascus*, (MS. of the Āṭif Library, at Constantinople) that the name of Mūsā's father is a diminutive and must be pronounced *Nuṣayr*.

\* 'Abd al-Hamīd gives: 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Yūsuf.—Ed.

and one of the *Tābi'is*. Some traditions, received from Tamīm al-Dārī (*No. 305, note*), were taught by him in that person's name. He was noted for prudence, generosity, bravery, and piety. No army placed under his orders ever suffered a defeat. His father Nuṣayr, was commander of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān's body-guard and occupied a high place in the esteem of that sovereign. When Mu'āwiyah marched against 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, Nuṣayr abstained from going with him. Mu'āwiyah said to him (*afterwards*): "What prevented you coming with me? you that are under obligations to me which you have not requited?" Nuṣayr answered: "It was not possible for me to acknowledge your kindness by being ungrateful to One Who had a better right to my gratitude than you." "Who is that?" said Mu'āwiyah. "Almighty God", replied Nuṣayr. "How so? may you be bereft of your mother!"<sup>1</sup> Nuṣayr replied: "How could I inform you without being mortified and afflicted?"<sup>2</sup> Mu'āwiyah remained silent for some time, after which he exclaimed. "May God pardon my sins!" and forgive him. When 'Abd Allāh,\* the son of Marwān and the brother of 'Abd al-Malik, was governor of Egypt and North Africa (*Ifriqiyah*), he received from his nephew, the *Khalif* al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, a despatch ordering him to send Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr to Ifriqiyah. This happened in the eighty-ninth year of the Hijrah (which began on the 1st Dec., A.C: 707); but the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (*No. 590*) says in his *Judḥwat al Muqtabis*, that Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr obtained the government of Ifriqiyah and Maghrib in the year 77 (A.C. 696-7). Mūsā proceeded thither with a body of the *Jund* (*No. 357, note*) and, being informed that a number of rebels, were assembled in the extremities of the province, he sent for his son 'Abd Allāh, who brought him back one hundred thousand prisoners<sup>3</sup>. His son Marwān, whom he then sent in another direction, brought him back one

1 Literally : No mother to you ! a very common form of imprecation.

2 He alluded evidently to Mu'āwiyah's conduct towards 'Alī.

3 Literally : Heads of prisoners. This is analogous to the English expression : So many heads of oxen.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : 'Abd al-'Azīz which is obviously the correct reading.—Ed.



hundred thousand prisoners<sup>1</sup>. "The fifth part (*of the captives, that which was reserved for the khalif*) amounted," said al-Layth Ibn Sa'd, "to sixty thousand." "Never," said Abū Shabīb al-Ṣadaḡī, "in Muslim times, was seen such a quantity of prisoners as that made by Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr." He (*Mūsā*) found the greater part of the cities in Ifriqiyah uninhabited; because they had fallen so often into the hands of the Berbers. A great drought having prevailed in the land, he ordered the people to fast, to pray and to forgive each other their offences. He then went out with them into the open country, taking with him all the (*domestic*) animals, after having separated them from their young ones. Then arose outcry, lamentation, and clamour. This continued till the day was half spent, when he offered up the prayer and addressed a *khutbah*<sup>2</sup> to the assembly. In this discourse he omitted the name of al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and, on being asked why he did not pray for the Commander of the faithful, he answered: "In the present case, prayers are for God alone." Rain then fell in such abundance that all were enabled to quench their thirst. From that place, he proceeded against the Berbers and, in this expedition, he slew them in great numbers, took many prisoners and an immense quantity of booty. Having continued his march, he arrived in (*the province of*) Lower Sūs<sup>3</sup> without meeting any resistance. The rest of the Berbers, seeing what had befallen their people, asked for pardon and offered to submit. He received their proposal and, having placed a commander over them, he confided the government of the town and the province of Tangiers to his *mawlā* Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād al-Berberī (*the Berber*) who, it is said, was an (*adoptive*) member of (*the Arabic tribe of*) al-Ṣadīf,

---

1 To complete this account, the author should have added that Mūsā himself took also one hundred thousand prisoners. This extravagant legend is given by historians on the authority of al-Layth Ibn Sa'd (see No. 523), a traditionist by no means worthy of confidence, notwithstanding the favourable character given of him by our author. Indeed, most of the historical traditions for which the authority of al-Layth is adduced by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and other, authors cannot sustain a critical examination, and some of them are glaring falsehoods

2 See No. 78, note.

3 The province of Sūs forms the southern extremity of Morocco.

and left him in the command of nineteen thousand Berbers, well provided with stores and arms. These men had embraced the Muslim religion and were sincerely attached to it. He left with them also a few Arabs who were charged to teach them the *Qur'ān* and instruct them in the duties of Islāmism. He then returned to Ifriqiyah, and there did not remain in that country any Berbers or Romans capable of resisting him. Having laid the foundations of good order, he wrote to Ṭāriq, who was then at Tangiers, ordering him to make an expedition into Spain and to take with him a body of troops consisting of Berbers and a very small number of Arabs. Ṭāriq obeyed and crossed the sea, from Ceuta to Algasiras<sup>1</sup>, a place situated in Spanish territory, and went up to the hill which is called after him the *mountain of Ṭāriq* (*Jabal Ṭāriq, Gibraltar*). He ascended the hill on Monday, the 5th Rajab, A.H. 93 (17th April, A.C. 712), taking with him twelve thousand horsemen, all of them Berbers, with the exception of twelve (*Arabs*). It is related that, whilst Ṭāriq was crossing the Strait in his ship, he had a dream in which he saw the Prophet and the four (*first*) *khalifs* walking upon the water until they passed him by, and the Prophet said to him: "Be of good cheer! victory awaits you; treat the Musulmāns with mildness and be faithful to your engagements." It is Ibn Bashkuwāl (*No. 206*) who mentions this in his History of Spain, under the letter *kh*. The lord of Toledo and chief sovereign of Spain was a king called Ludhriq (Roderic). When Ṭāriq ascended the mountain above-mentioned, he wrote (*in these terms*) to Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr: "I have done what you ordered and God rendered easy for me the entry (*into this country*)." Mūsā, on receiving this letter, regretted having stayed behind, for he knew well that, whatever conquests Ṭāriq might make, the honour would be for that chief and not for himself. He therefore began to assemble troops and having confided to his son 'Abd-Allāh the government of Qayrawān, he set out to overtake him (*Ṭāriq*), but did not come up with him till the conquest had been effected. Ludhriq had marched against (*another*) adversary and left as his lieutenant in the government of the kingdom a man of the name

---

1 Literally: The green island, *al-Jazīrat al-Khaḍrā*.

of Tudmir (*Theodomir*), the same after whom that part of Spain called the *Province of Tudmir* was (*subsequently*) named. This province consisted of Murcia and its dependancies, five places in all.<sup>1</sup> The Franks got possession of Murcia in the year 652 (A.C. 1254<sup>2</sup>). When Ṭāriq descended from the mountain with the troops which accompanied him, Tudmir wrote to Ludhriq, saying: "A people have entered into our land, but whether they are from heaven or from earth I know not." Ludhriq, on receiving this news, abandoned his expedition and returned, bringing with him seventy thousand horsemen and the waggons which contained his treasures and his baggage. He himself was borne on a throne placed between two mules and surmounted by a canopy adorned with pearls, rubies and emeralds. Ṭāriq being informed of his approach, stood up to address his companions and after thanking God and rendering Him due praise, he encouraged the Muslims to engage in a holy war and aspire to the glory of dying for the true faith<sup>3</sup>. He then said: "My men! whither can you fly? The sea is behind you and the enemy before you; nothing can save you but the help of God, your bravery and your steadiness. Be it known to you that you are here as badly off as orphans at a miser's table. The foe is coming against you with his troops, his arms and all his forces; you have nothing to rely on but your swords, no food to eat except what you may snatch from the hands of your enemies. If you remain some days longer in your present state of privation, without succeeding in an attempt, you will lose your energy; self-confidence will then replace the fear which fills the hearts of your adversaries and embolden them against you. Defend yourselves like men who have no assistance to expect; the inevitable result of your present state is that you must contend with this *ṭāghiyah* (*king tyrant*), who now comes against you from his strongly fortified city. But, to triumph over him is for you quite possible, if you are willing to expose yourselves to death. In

1 Those five places were Murcia, Lorca, Mula, Orihuela, and Alicant.

2 This event took place in the year 658 (A.C. 1260) according to al-Maqqari. The Christian historians place the occupation of Murcia in the year 1266.

3 The discourse given here and attributed to Ṭāriq is evidently spurious.\*

\* This remark is uncalled for and unwarranted.—Ed.

announcing this danger to you, I have not the intention of keeping out of it myself; when I engaged you in a business such as this, wherein the lives of men are the cheapest ware, I was resolved to risk my own. Be assured that, if you resist, even for a short time (*the attack which my be*) the rudest, you will afterwards long enjoy the sweetest and the easiest of lives. Let not your minds be turned against me for (*undertaking an expedition*) in which the profits falling to your share will be much greater than mine. You know what this island<sup>1</sup> produces; large-eyed maidens, daughters of the Greeks, graceful in their bearing, covered with pearls, coral and robes interwoven with pure gold; (*maidens*) carefully guarded in the palaces of crowned kings. Al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik has chosen you as being quite as brave as the desert Arabs<sup>2</sup>, and has willed that you should become by marriage brothers and sons to the princes of this island; such is his confidence in your eagerness to charge with the spear and your readiness to contend, sword in hand, with the brave warriors and the horsemen. Let him obtain for his portion, by your concurrence, the recompense granted by God to those who shall exalt His word and manifest His religion in this island. All the booty is for you; none of it shall be reserved for Him or for the other Muslims. May the Almighty aid such heroes as you are, so that you may gain renown in this world and in the next. Know also that I shall be the first in doing that to which I invite you: at the joining of the two armies in battle, I shall myself charge upon the *tāghiyah* of the people, *Ludhriq* and slay him, if God permit. Charge at the same time as I; if I die after killing him, I shall (*at least*) have delivered you from the harm he might do you, and you will have no difficulty in finding a brave and intelligent (*chief*) to be a commander over you. If I perish before reaching *Ludhriq*, follow up what I commenced; charge you also upon him and, by taking his life, effect what is most important for the

---

1 The word *jazīrah* signifies, "island, peninsula." I adopt the first meaning as being more consonant to the idea which the ancient Arabs had of the Spanish peninsula; they considered it as an island detached from the African continent.

2 The fabricator of this speech was not aware that the troops of *Tārik* were Berbers.

conquest of this island ; your adversaries will lose all hopes in losing him." When Tāriq had finished exhorting his companions to fight bravely against the people of *Ludhriq*, and mentioned the ample recompence which awaited them, their hearts were set at ease, their hopes revived and (*they felt already*) the breeze of victory blowing upon them. "We renounce" said they, "all thoughts of doing any thing contrary to what you may decide ; go forth against the enemy ; we shall be with you and march before you." Tāriq then got on horseback ; his companions did the same, and they all advanced towards the spot where *Ludhriq* had halted, and which was situated in a wide plain. When the two armies were in presence, Tāriq and his men dismounted and passed the night in keeping good guard. The next morning, some delay occurred on both sides before the squadrons were placed in proper order. *Ludhriq* was borne on his throne, with a canopy of gold brocade over his head, to shade him from the sun. He advanced, surrounded by a forest of pennons and standards, and before him came his warriors, all in arms. Tāriq and his companions advanced also ; on their bodies were coats of mail, on their heads turbans and helmets, in their hands Arabian bows ; their swords were suspended from their shoulders and their spears placed in the rest. When *Ludhriq* saw them, he exclaimed : 'By God ! these are the very figures we saw in the *House of Wisdom* which is in our city," and his heart was invaded by terror. Let us now mention what this *House of Wisdom* was, and then we shall finish our account of the battle<sup>1</sup>. The Greeks (*Yūnān Ioniens*)<sup>2</sup>, a people renowned for wisdom, inhabited the countries of the East before, the time of Alexander. When the Persians

---

1 The Arabic historians and particularly those who were natives of the East, had very meagre and incorrect ideas respecting the conquest of Spain and the history of that country. During the first two centuries of the Hijrah, all historical information was preserved by oral tradition, and, when the task of writing down these accounts was undertaken, the greater part of them had been forgotten. To repair this loss, Musulmān historians admitted into their works fables and absurd legends such as those which Ibn *Khallikan* is about to give. The most satisfactory account of the conquest is that given by M. Dozy in his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome II, page 31.

2 It is a needless task to point out all the absurdities of this legend.

appeared and took possession of that country, the Greeks, being forced by their encroachments to abandon their states, emigrated to the Spanish island, because it lay at one extremity of the inhabited earth. At that time, Spain had never been spoken of, nor had it ever a king worthy of note, nor a large population. The first who settled there and founded a colony was Andalus, the son of Japhets the son of Nūḥ, and from him the country drew its name. When the earth received a new population after the deluge, the inhabited part of it was, according to these philosophers, in the form of a bird: the East represented the head, the North and the South, the two feet, and the West, the tail. This last region was held in contempt because it corresponded to the vilest part of the bird. The Greeks did not think it right to destroy people by war, because warfare abounded in evil, and because it would have hindered them from cultivating the sciences, which for them, was the most important study of all. These reasons induced them to retire before the Persians and pass into Spain. On their arrival, they began to till the ground, to open canals (*for irrigation*), to erect castles, to plant gardens and vineyards, to build cities, to cover the land with tillage and plantations, and to propagate (*domestic animals*). The country then became so rich and so beautiful that the inhabitants, on observing how magnificent it was, would often say: "If the West form the tail of the bird which is represented by the inhabited portion of the earth, that bird must be a peacock; for its beauty lies in its tail." The inhabitants, being then in the enjoyment of complete welfare, took the city of Toledo for the capital of their empire and for their *House of Wisdom*; having chosen it because it was in the centre of the land. It appeared to them a matter of the highest importance that their city should be well fortified, in order to preserve it from the attacks of those people who might hear of its prosperity. On looking round, they could discover no people inclined to envy their comfort except such as were living in misery and indigence, and those were the Arabs and the Berbers. Fearing lest their island, which they had so well cultivated, might be attacked by them, they decided on having a talisman formed, by means, of which these two races of men might be kept away and they caused astronomical observations to be made for that

purpose. But, as the Berbers were in their neighbourhood, being separated from them only by a strait of the sea, bands of those people used to pass over into Spain. The coarseness of their manners and the singularity of their aspect served to increase the aversion in which the Greeks held them, and prevented that people from forming any connexion with them, either as allies by marriage or as neighbours. This feeling took so strong a root in their minds that hatred for the Berbers seemed to be an inherent disposition of their nature. When the Berbers were aware of this hostile feeling towards them and perceived the dislike in which they were held by the people of Spain, they began to look on them with hatred and jealousy ; so that you will not now find a Spaniard who does not detest the Berbers, nor a Berber who does not hate the Spaniards. The Berbers, however, stand more in need of the Spaniards than these do of them, so many things being to be found in Spain which are not to be had in the country of the Berbers. In an island called Qādis (*Cádiz*), and situated in the western part of the island of Spain, was a Greek king who had an extremely handsome daughter. The renown of her beauty reached the kings of Spain, for there was a great number of them in that country ; every town or every two towns had a separate king, and all these sovereigns treated each other as equals. The Spanish kings asked her in marriage, and her father, fearing that, if he gave her to one, he should offend all the others, was uncertain what to do, and sent for his daughter (*in order to consult her*). Wisdom was then inherent in the character of this people, both of the males and females ; so, for that reason it was said : "Wisdom descended from heaven upon three different members of the human body ; upon the brains of the Greeks, the hands of the Chinese and the tongues of the Arabs." When she appeared before him, he said to her : "Daughter you see me in a great perplexity." "What," said she, "is the cause of it ?" He replied : "All the kings in Spain have asked you from me in marriage and, if I satisfy the wish of one, I shall give offence to all the others." "Leave the matter to me," said she, "and I shall save you from reproaches." "How will you do ?" "I shall myself require one thing, and whoever among them fulfills the condition, him I shall marry ; he that is unable to fulfill it will then have no right to be displeased

with you." "What do you mean to ask for?" "I shall require that my suitor be not only a king but a sage." "There indeed," said he, "you make for yourself an excellent choice." He in consequence wrote to all the royal suitors, informing them that he had referred their demands to his daughter and that she would take no king for her husband unless he was a sage." When those who were not sages read this answer, they (*kept their peace and*) spoke no more of her, but two of these princes wrote, each of them declaring that he was a sage. When the king received their letters, he said to his daughter. "Things are in the same state as before; here are two kings, both of them sages, and, if I choose one, I shall offend the other." She replied: "I shall require of each of them to do a thing, and him I shall marry who accomplishes his task soonest." "What will you ask of them?" "In the island which we inhabit, we require to have mills which turn; so I shall propose to one of the kings that he make them turn by means of fresh water flowing to them from that country (*beyond the strait*); and I shall tell the other to make a talisman that may protect this island against the Berbers." The father approved highly of what she intended to exact, and wrote to the two kings, informing them of what his daughter had said. They both accepted the conditions; each of them chose the task which he preferred and commenced the required work. He of the mills took great blocks<sup>1</sup> of stone and adapted them one to the other, through the salt sea which separates the island of Spain from the main land (*Africa*). The place where he did this is known by the name of the *Straits of Ceuta*. The empty spaces left between the stones he filled up according to the dictates of his judgement and, by (*this pier of*) stones he united the (*African*) continent to the Spanish island. The remains of this construction are still visible in the strait which separates Ceuta from Algeziras. It is generally said by the natives of Spain that these remains are the ruins of a bridge which Alexander (*the Great*) constructed in order that people might be enabled to pass from Ceuta to that island; God knows best which

---

1 The text had خرز which signifies *beads* and others small objects which are ranged in lines; it designates also the vertebres of the spine. This may not, perhaps, be the true reading, but the manuscripts all agree in giving it.



of these accounts is the true one. When the royal sage had finished arranging the stones, he directed towards them a stream of water from an elevated spot in the mountain of the (*African*) continent, and confined it in a channel constructed with great solidity and, in the Spanish island, he erected mills on this canal. The king who undertook to make the talisman was delayed in his work, because he had been obliged to wait till a (*favourable*) observation (*of the stars*) indicated the proper moment to begin. He succeeded, however, in accomplishing his task, and constructed a square edifice of white stones on a sandy ground, near the sea-shore and, that it might be perfectly solid, he took care that the foundations should be dug as deep as the building itself was to be elevated above the surface of the earth. When he had raised it to the requisite height, he took copper and purified iron, mixed them well together and formed with them the image of a Berber having a long beard and his head covered with locks of hair so crispy that they stood on end. Under the arm was represented a cloak, gracefully and solidly modelled, the two ends of which were held in the left hand ; on the feet were sandals. This statue was placed on the summit of the edifice and stood on a narrow base, merely sufficient to receive the feet. This (*base*) rose in the air to the height of more than sixty or seventy cubits ; it diminished gradually towards the top, where its breadth was not more than a cubit. The right arm of the statue grasped in its hand a key and was stretched out towards the sea as if to say : "No thoroughfare !" This talisman had such influence that the sea opposite to it was never seen to be calm and that, whenever a Berber ship navigated therein, the key fell from the hand of the statue. The two kings who had undertaken to construct, one, the mills and, the other, the talisman, endeavoured, each of them, to finish his work before the other, because he who had soonest done would be entitled to marry (*the princess*). He of the mills completed his work but concealed the fact, in order, that the other might not destroy the talisman ; for he wished to possess it, the (*young*) woman and the mills. The morning of the day on which he learned that the talisman was completed, he let the water flow till it reached the island and turned the mills. The maker of the talisman was then on the top of the statue, polishing the face of it ; for it was gilded.

When he learned that the other had finished before him, a weakness came over him and he fell dead from the summit of the edifice. He of the mills then became possessor of the princess, the mills and the talisman<sup>1</sup>. The ancient Greek kings feared for Spain on account of the Berbers; so they all accorded in observing (*the stars*) for the purpose of constructing talisman at propitious moments. These talismans they placed in a marble chest which they deposited in the chamber of a house (*situated*) in the city of Toledo. On this chamber they placed a door and, having locked it, they left injunctions that every king of Spain should, on the death of his predecessor, add a lock to that door, for the better conservation of what was in the chamber. This custom continued till the time arrived wherein the domination of the Greeks was to be subverted and the Arabs and Berbers were to enter into Spain. Twenty-six Greek kings had already reigned from the time 'of their making the talismans in the city of Toledo, when this (*fatal hour*) arrived. The above-mentioned *Ludhriq* was the twenty-seventh of their kings. When he was seated on the throne, he said to his wazirs and his counsellors of state: "A thought has come into my mind touching this chamber which is closed by twenty-six locks; I wish to open it in order to see what it contains; for it has certainly not been made in sport." They answered: "O king! you are right in saying that it was not made in sport nor locked without a reason; but what you had best to do is, to place on it another lock in imitation of the kings, your predecessors. This custom was never neglected by your ancestors and forefathers; so, do not give it up, but follow their example." He replied, "My mind impels me to open it, and it shall be done." To this they said: "If you think it contains a treasure, estimate what you may suppose to be its value and we shall make up that sum out of our own money and give it to you; so, do not open the door lest you bring upon us something the consequence of which we cannot foresee." He persisted in his project and; as he was a man much feared, no one dared to reply to him. The locks, each of which had its key suspended to it, were opened by

---

1 The want of reflection evinced by our author in relating such silly fables is unpardonable.

his orders. When the door was unclosed, nothing was seen in the chamber except a great table of gold and silver, set round with jewels and bearing this inscription: "Table of Solomon, the son of David; God's blessing upon them both!" He discovered also in the chamber of the chest of which we spoke; it had a lock on it to which was suspended a key. On opening it, he found nothing except a piece of parchment, and he observed on the sides of the chest figures of horsemen painted in colours and of a good design. They represented Arabs dressed in their cloaks of camel's hair and wearing turbans from under which their hair hung in ringlets. They were riding on Arabian horses; in their hands they bore Arabian bows; from their shoulders were suspended swords richly mounted, and their spears were in the rest. He ordered the parchment to be unfolded and therein he found written: "This chamber and this chest were locked through prudence, when they are opened, the people whose images are on the chest will enter into the island of Spain, the empire will escape from the hands of the Greeks and their wisdom shall be obliterated." This was the *House of Wisdom* above-mentioned. When Ludhriq heard the contents of the parchment, he repented of what he had done and felt convinced that the empire of the Greeks had drawn to an end. Very soon after, he learned the arrival of an army sent from the East by the king of the Arabs for the purpose of conquering the provinces of Spain. Here ends the account of the *House of Wisdom*. Let us now return to our subject and finish the history of Ludhriq and of the army commanded by Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād. When Ṭāriq saw Ludhriq, he said to his companions: "There is the tyrant that reigns over these people; charge!" They all charged with him and dispersed the warriors who were placed before Ludhriq. Ṭāriq then got up to him, struck him on the head with his sword and slew him upon his throne. When Ludhriq's companions saw the fall of their king, the two armies attacked each other and the Muslims remained victorious. The routing of the Greeks was not confined to that spot alone, for they abandoned town after town and fortress after fortress. When Mūsā was informed of these events, he crossed over to the island with his troops and, having overtaken his *mawlā* Ṭāriq he said to him: "O Ṭāriq, al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik cannot give you a less recompense for your

bravery than the government of Spain; so ask for it and may you well enjoy it!" Ṭāriq replied; "Amīr! I declare by Allāh that I shall not discontinue my march till I arrive at the sea which surrounds (*the world*) and enter into it with my horse." He meant the Northern ocean which lies under the *Bināt Na'sh*<sup>1</sup>. Ṭāriq continued his conquests and Mūsā accompanied him till they reached Galicia (*a province situated*) on the coast of the surrounding sea; then only he turned back. Al-Ḥumaydi says in his *Judḥwat al-Muqtabis*: "Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr was much displeased with Ṭāriq for having made a campaign without permission and cast him into prison. He was even thinking of putting him to death when he received from al-Walīd a letter by which he was ordered to set him at liberty. He obeyed and returned with him to Syria. It was in the ninety-fourth year of the Hijrah that Mūsā left Spain. He took with him the treasures found there and went to inform al-Walīd of the conquest he had effected with the aid of the Almighty. He bore off also the table of Solomon, the son of David, which, according to some historians, had been found in Toledo." The same author says: "It was made of gold and silver, and was encircled by a collar of pearls, a collar of rubies and a collar of emeralds. Its size was so great that, when it was placed on the back of a stout mule, the animal did not go far before its legs gave way." He took with him the crowns of the kings who had formerly reigned over the Greeks; each of those crowns was set with jewels; and he carried off also thirty thousand prisoners. It is related that al-Walīd had some motive for being displeased with Mūsā; so, when the latter arrived at Damascus, he let him remain exposed to the sun during a whole summer's day and kept him there till he fainted away<sup>2</sup>. We have made this article rather long, but one matter led to another and I could not interrupt the recital. I shall only state that I have given the essential, though many things are omitted. Al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik died after the arrival of Mūsā in Syria and was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān. In the year 97 of the Hijrah (A.C. 715-6),

---

1 The constellation of the Greater Bear is called by the Arabs *Bindt na sh* (*the girls of a bier or hearse*).

2 See Dozy's *Histoire des Musulman d' Espagne*, tome I, page 214 et seq.

or, by another account, in the year 99, Sulaymān set out on the pilgrimage, and Mūsā, whom he had taken with him, died on the way, at Wādī 'l-Qurā, or at Marr al-Zahrān<sup>1</sup>, for the statements are at variance. He was born in the nineteenth year of the Hijrah (A.C. 640), under the khalifate of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb<sup>2</sup>.

## 722 AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr (see No. 667), the son of Ayyūb, was surnamed *al-Malik al-Ashraf Muẓaffar al-Dīn* (the most noble prince, the triumphant in religion). The first government he obtained was that of al-Ruhā (Edessa), being sent from Egypt to that city by his father in the year 598 (A.C. 1201-2). Sometime after, he received the Government of Ḥarrān in addition to what he already possessed. He was beloved by the people, fortunate (in all his proceedings) and victorious in his wars. He then encountered on the field of battle and defeated Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, lord of Moṣul (No. 79), who was one of the greatest and most illustrious princes of the age. This took place on Saturday, the 19th of Shawwāl, A.H. 600 (21st of June, A.C. 1204). The battle was fought at a place called *Bayn al-Nahrayn*\* and situated in the province of Moṣul. The history of this event is so well known that we need not enter into any details on the subject<sup>3</sup>. After the death of his brother al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, lord of Khalāt, Mayyāfāriqīn and the neighbouring places, he took possession of his kingdom and united it to his own. †[Al-Malik al-Awḥad died on the 8th of the first Rabi', 609 (8th of August, A.C. 1212), at Malāzgiid, in the province of Khalāt, and was there interred.] He had obtained the

1 The village of Marr al-Zahrān was situated on the border of a glen near Makkah. Wādī 'l-Qurā (the glen of towns) lies half-way between Makkah and Baṣrah.

2 Fuller and more certain information respecting Mūsā will be found in M. Dozy's work, the merit of which I gratefully acknowledge.

3 See, for these events, the annals of Abu 'l-Feda and of Ibn al-Aṭṭār.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid omitted this name.—Ed.

† [ ] 'Abd al-Ḥamid omitted this sentence.—Ed.

sovereignty of Khalāt \* [in the month of the first Jumādā], 604 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 1207). (*Al-Ashraf*), having thus enlarged his dominions, governed the people with such justice and benevolence as they had never experienced from any of his predecessors. By this conduct, he gained all hearts and acquired wide renown. In the year 606 (A.C. 1209-10), he got possession of Naṣībīn in the East<sup>1</sup>, and, \* [on the fourth day of the first Jumādā of] the following year, he occupied the (town of) Sinjār, (the province of) al-Khābūr and the greater part of Mesopotamia. These places he visited from time to time and generally took up his residence at al-Raqqah, because that town was situated on the Euphrates. On the death of his paternal cousin, al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, lord of Aleppo, for the date, see Ghāzī's life (in No. 497), the sovereign of al-Rūm (*Asia Minor*), 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusrū and grandson of Qilij Arslān, resolved on making an expedition to Aleppo. The persons who held the command in that city sent a despatch to al-Malik al-Ashraf, requesting him to come to them and protect the city. He accepted the invitation and, having gone to join them, he remained during three years at al-Yārūqiyah†<sup>2</sup>, in the outskirts of Aleppo. There is no necessity for our entering into a detailed account of the events in which the sovereign of al-Rūm, the prince al-Malik al-Ashraf and his cousin al-Malik al-Afdal, son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and lord of Sumaisāt, were all concerned<sup>3</sup>. In the year 616 (A.C. 1219-20), when the Franks took Damietta, as we have related in the life of al-Malik al-Kāmil (No. 668), a number of the Syrian princes went to Egypt for the purpose of giving their assistance to al-Malik al-Kāmil, but al-Malik al-Ashraf stood aloof, in consequence of a misunderstanding which existed between him and the sovereign of Egypt.

1 The city of Naṣībīn, in Mesopotamia, was sometimes called *Naṣībīn of the east*; probably to distinguish it from a village of the same name which lay in the neighbourhood of Aleppo.

2 The name of al-Yārūqiyah was given to an extensive tract of ground in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, where Yārūq (see No. 760), a Turkoman chief, had fixed his residence.

3 See Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Fedā. I may here be allowed to observe that the latter name should be pronounced *Abu 'l-Fidā*.

\* [ ] Omitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : al-Bārūqiyah.—Ed.

Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā, the prince of whom we have already given a notice (*No. 490*), went then to see him and spared no effort till he succeeded in gaining him over and bringing him to Egypt. A few months after his arrival, the Muslims defeated the Franks, as we have already mentioned in the life of his brother al-Malik al-Kāmil, and recovered the city of Damietta. This victory was generally ascribed to the good fortune which always attended al-Ashraf. He had joined the Egyptians in the month of Muḥarram, 618 (February-March, A.C. 1221). His brother, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Shihāb al-Dīn, whom he had left in Khalāt as his lieutenant, revolted against him; on which, he led his army to that city and, on Monday, the 12th of the latter Jumādā, 621 (1st of July, A.C. 1224), he recovered it from the usurper. On the death of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam (*No. 490*), al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Dāwūd assumed the supreme command at Damascus; but his uncle, al-Malik al-Kāmil, marched against him from Egypt, with the intention of taking that city. His (*other*) uncle, al-Malik al-Ashraf, who was then in the East<sup>1</sup> and whose assistance he had requested, joined him at Damascus, and, having gone, some time after, to have an interview with his brother, al-Malik al-Kāmil, it was agreed upon between them that Damascus should be taken from al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd and given to al-Malik al-Ashraf; the former being allowed to retain al-Karak, al-Shawbak, Nāblus, Banyās\* and the other places in the part of the country whilst the latter was to give up to al-Malik al-Kāmil (*the cities of*) al-Ruhā (*Edessa*), Ḥarrān, Sarūj, al-Raqqah and Rās-'Ayn. In consequence of this arrangement, al-Malik al-Ashraf obtained possession of Damascus towards the beginning of the month of Shā'bān<sup>2</sup> 626, (end of June, A.C. 1229), and established in it his lieutenants. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd departed on Friday, the 12th of Shā'bān and went to the provinces which had been left to him. Al-Malik al-Kāmil made his entry into Damascus on the 16th of that month and then returned to the place where he usually stationed, outside

1 The term East (*al-Sharq*) is employed in this article to designate Mesopotamia.

2 Two manuscripts read *Rajab*, the name of the month which precedes Shā'bān.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives Buysān.--Ed.

the city. On the 18th of Shā'bān, he entered into the citadel with his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf, and, towards the end of the month, he remitted the fortress to him according to agreement. He then set out for the purpose of inspecting the provinces in the East which had been ceded to him and of re-establishing order in these countries. I passed through Harrān at the time he was there. Al-Ashraf proceeded to Damascus and fixed his residence there, in preference to all the other cities in his states. In the month of the latter Jumādā, 626 (May, A.C. 1229), Jalāl al-Dīn Khuwārazm Shāh, who had encamped before Khalāt and blockaded it closely, took it from the lieutenants of al-Malik al-Ashraf who was then residing in Damascus, and had been prevented by reasons of a particular nature from going to deliver the place. Soon after, al-Ashraf entered into Balād al-Rūm (*Asia Minor*), with the consent of 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, brother of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykā'ūs and sultān of that country. The two sovereigns, having contracted a mutual alliance, decided on marching against Khuwārazm Shāh and giving him battle. The fact was that the lord of al-Rūm entertained some fears for the safety of his states as long as he should have so dangerous a neighbour. A numerous army composed of 'Alā al-Dīn's troops and of those which al-Malik al-Ashraf had drawn from Syria and the East, advanced against the common enemy. On Saturday, the 18th of Ramaḍān, 627 (31st July, A.C. 1230), they encountered the army of Khuwārazm Shāh at a place called Banī Jumān\*<sup>1</sup> and situated between Khalāt and Arzangān and fought with him that famous battle in which they routed his army. Al-Malik al-Ashraf recovered Khalāt, which had been completely ruined, and then returned to Syria, whence he proceeded to Egypt. After remaining there some time with his brother al-Kāmil, he marched with that sovereign and under his orders, against the city of 'Āmid, which they took after a short siege. This was in the year 629 (A.C. 1231-2). Al-Kāmil joined this place to the states he already possessed in the East and,

---

<sup>1</sup> The orthography of this name is doubtful: all the manuscripts differ, both those of Ibn Khullikān and those of Ibn al-Athīr. The name, without being pointed, seems to have been written, ياسى حمار but, how this group is to be pronounced, I cannot say.

• 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : ياسى حماره Yāsi Ḥumārah.--Ed.



having installed in it his son al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the same of whom we have spoken in the life of al-Kāmil (*No. 668*), he placed in his service the eunuch Shams al-Dīn Šawāb,\* who had been formerly a slave to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. The two sovereigns then returned, each of them to his kingdom. Subsequently to these events †[and towards the end of the year 631 (Sept.-Oct., A.C. 1234),] was fought †[the celebrated battle of al-Darbandāt (*the Passes*)<sup>1</sup>] in the country of Al-Rūm, and (*the consequence was that*) al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf were obliged to retire with their allies and abandon their project. On their departure, the sovereign of al-Rūm's army invaded, occupied, and devastated the provinces which al-Kāmil possessed in the East. Al-Kāmil then returned to that country with al-Ashraf and the princes who followed their fortune, and recovered it from the officers whom the lord of al-Rūm had left there as his lieutenants. In the year 633 (A.C. 1235-6), al-Ashraf returned to Damascus. I was there at the time and had opportunities of seeing him and al-Kāmil, for they rode out together every day and played at mall in the great Green Hippodrome. This was in the month of Ramaḍān, and their object was to pass away time on account of the (*irksomeness of the*) fast. I remarked that each of them shewed to the other great respect. A coolness then grew up between them, and al-Ashraf refused to acknowledge the authority of al-Kāmil any longer. His resolution being approved of by the other princes, he concerted with the lords of al-Rūm, Aleppo, Ḥamāt, Ḥims, and the eastern countries, and they decided to take up arms against al-Kāmil. The only one who remained faithful to al-Kāmil was his nephew Dāwūd, lord of al-Karak, who proceeded to Egypt and placed himself under the orders of his uncle. The other princes had concluded their alliance, sworn fidelity to each other, and decided on taking the field, when al-Ashraf was attacked by a violent illness which carried him off. He died at Damascus, on Thursday, the 4th of Muḥarram, 635 (27th August, A.C. 1237), and was buried in the citadel. His corpse was subsequently removed to the Mausoleum which he had

<sup>1</sup> These are the defiles through which travellers from Syria must pass before they enter into Asia Minor.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid g res : Šawān.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamid omits [ ].—Ed.

erected for himself at al-Kallāsah, close to the northern side of the great mosque of Damascus. He was born in the year 578 (A.C. 1182-3), at Cairo in Egypt, or; by another account, at the castle of al-Karak. In the life of his brother, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā (No. 490), we have mentioned the dates which Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī assigned to the births of these princes. Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzī, brother of al-Ashraf and lord of Mayyāfāriqīn, died at that place in the month of Rajab, 645 (November, A.C. 1247). Al-Ashraf, the principal events of whose life we have here related in a summary manner, was a generous sultān, noted for mildness, largeness of heart, and every noble quality. He was so profuse of his gifts that nothing was ever to be found in his treasury, though the kingdom he ruled over was very extensive. He was constantly in debt to merchants and other people. One day he reproached his secretary and poet, al-Kamāl<sup>1</sup> Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Ibn al-Nabīh and a native of Egypt, for having only a single pen (*qalam*) in his inkhorn, on which al-Kamāl recited to him extempore the following *dubayt* (*distich*):

"The noble king was right in saying; 'Your pens, O Kamāl! are few in number,' I answered: 'The grants you make require such a quantity of writing that our pens get used, must be mended and soon disappear.'"

As he was one day sitting in the room where he received his familiar society and listening to an instrument of music, he was so much pleased with him who played on it that he said: "Ask from me what thou wilt." The other replied: "I wish to obtain the government of *Khalāt*." Al-Ashraf granted the request and the man set off in order to take the government of the city out of the hands of the amīr who held it, a lieutenant to the sultān. This officer, whose name was Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Ḥammād, and who was generally known by the surname of al-Ḥājib al-Mawṣilī (*the chamberlain of Moṣul*), made a compromise with the musician and paid him a large sum of money (*for his relinquishment*). Many anecdotes of a similar nature are related of al-Ashraf. He was

---

<sup>1</sup> I may observe here that titles such as *al-Kamāl*, *al-Bahā*, etc., are the equivalents of *Kamāl al-Dīn*, *'Imād al-Dīn*, *Bahā al-Dīn*, etc.

favourably inclined towards men of virtue and piety, and held them, in great esteem. He built at Damascus a school for traditions (*dār ḥadīth*) and confided the professorship to the *shaykh* Taqī al-Dīn 'Uthmān Ibn al-Ṣaiāḥ, the same of whom we have already spoken (*No.* 386). There was at a place called al-'Aqabiyah and situated in the outskirts of Damascus a caravanserai (*khān*) called the *Khān* of Ibn al-Zanjārī. Every sort of amusement was to be found in that establishment, and the unbounded lewdness and debauchery which prevailed there surpassed description. Al-Ashraf, being told that such doings should not be tolerated in a Muslim country, ordered the caravansary to be demolished and replaced by a mosque for the building of which he got indebted to a great amount. The people named it the *Mosque of Repentance* (*Jāmi' al-Tawbah*), as if to say that the (*edifice*) had repented and turned to God. I feel inclined to relate here an amusing anecdote concerning the office of preacher (*such as it was filled*) in that mosque. An *imām* called al-Jamāl al-Sibtī<sup>1</sup> was attached to the college of *Sitt al-Shām* (*No.* 386) which is situated outside the city. I knew the man when he had grown old and good; for it is said that, in his youth, he played (*in public*) on a sort of instrument called a *Chighānah* (*castanets*). When he was advanced in age, he amended his life and frequented the society of the learned and the virtuous, so that he at length came to be looked on as a very holy man. A preacher being required for this mosque, a number of persons were named to al-Ashraf, and al-Jamāl, being well recommended, was chosen by him to occupy that post. When al-Jamāl died, his place was filled by al-'Imād al-Wāsiṭī who, though celebrated as a preacher, was suspected of drinking wine. The prince who then reigned at Damascus was (*al-Malik*) al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'il, son of al-'Ādil Ibn Ayyūb, and, to him the following verses were written by al-Jamāl 'Abd al-Raḥīm, surnamed Ibn Zuwaytinah al-Raḥabī :

"Prince! the truth has been clearly explained to me and rendered evident by the mosque of Repentance, which has confided

1 Some of the manuscripts read *al-Bastī* (البستي) in place of *al-Sibtī* (السبتي). Bast is the name of a village in *Āḍḥarbijān*; Sibtī means *native of Sibta*, or Ceuta, a town in north Africa, near the straits of Gibraltar.

to me a mission. It spoke these words: 'Say to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, whom God exalt! O pillar of the faith! O thou whose reign is praised by all! how long must I remain enduring evil, annoyance, and contempt? I have a preacher from al-Wāsiṭ whose piety consists in the love of wine: his predecessor sung to the *Chighānah*; it is as if I had never ceased to be a *khān*. Restore me to my former state and let the harm it does continue.' "

This is a clever piece in its way. Ibn al-Zuwayṭinah was sent to Egypt on a mission by the governor of Emessa, and he then repeated to me these verses and explained to me why he composed them. This occurred in one of the months of the year 647 (A.C. 1249-50). The most distinguished poets of the age celebrated the praises of al-Aṣḥraf and immortalised his glory by inserting these eulogies in their collected poetical works. Amongst them were: *Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Unayn* (No. 658) al-Bahā As'ad al-Sinjāri (No. 89), Rājiḥ al-Ḥillī, of whom mention has been made in the life of al-Malik al-Zāhir (No. 497), Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Nabīh, who died in Naṣībīn of the East, A.H. 619 (A.C. 1222-3)<sup>1</sup>, at the age of about sixty years, as I have been informed at Cairo by his son-in-law, and Muḥadḥḥab al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan<sup>2</sup> Ibn Yumn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Uṭhmān Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ansāri, a celebrated poet, generally known by the surname of Ibn Azdaḥal\*<sup>3</sup> al-Mawṣili. He (*Azdaḥal*) was born at Moṣul in the year 577 (A.C. 1181-2) and died at Mayyāfāriqīn in the month of Ramaḍān, 628 (July, A.C. 1231).

## 723 MŪSĀ IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK

Abū 'Imrān Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām al-Iṣbahānī chief of the land-tax office (*diwān al-Kharāj*), was a *ra'īs*<sup>4</sup> and a

1 The poet Ibn al-Nabīh died in the year 621 (A.C. 1224), (Suyūṭī, in the *Husn ab-Muḥaddarah*).

2 Ibn 'Alī 'l-Iḥṣayn, according to two manuscripts.

3 *Azdaḥal*, according to another reading.

4 The title of *ra'īs* was given to the directors of the government offices.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Azdaḥal.—Ed.

*kātib*<sup>1</sup> of superior merit. He was employed in the (*civil*) service under a number of *khalifs* and mounted gradually to a high rank in that department. During the reign of al-Mutawakkil he directed the office instituted for administrating the province of al-Sawād (*Babylonia*) and held also other (*eminent posts*). As a writer of (*official*) dispatches he shewed great talent and became president of the board of correspondence. We have spoken of him in the life of Abu 'l-'Aynā (*No. 617*), and mentioned the conversation which passed between them relative to the affair of Najāḥ Ibn Salamah. He composed some fine verses in the sentimental style. One of these pieces we give here :

"When we arrived at al-Qādisyah, the muster-place of the caravan, and when I smelt (*a perfume*) from the land of Ḥijāz (*like*) the odour of the zephyr breathing from 'Irāq, I felt assured that I and those I loved would soon be joined again and be united, and I thought with joy on that meeting as I had wept (*in sorrow*) at our separation. All I have now to do is to support the seven (*days*) which remain (*for me to pass*) before we can hold a long discourse and relate what we have suffered."

\*[Some persons, in repeating these verses, substitute *al-Tha'labiyah* for *al-Qādisyah*. Both are halting-places in the province of Ḥijāz and on the road leading to 'Irāq. "*Al-Tha'labiyah* was so named after *Tha'lab* Ibn Dūdān Ibn Asad Ibn *Khuzaymah* Ibn Mudrikah Ibn al-Yās Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān." Such are the words of Ibn al-Kalbi<sup>2</sup> in his *Jamharat al-Nisab*.] Respecting these verses an anecdote is related, so interesting that I cannot avoid giving it here. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (*No. 590*) has inserted it in his *Judḥwat al-Muqtabis*, and other historians of the western nations (*Africa and Spain*) have given it in their works. Here it is : Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Aṣḥkarī, a native of of Egypt, relates as follows :

"I was one of those whom the amīr Tamīm, the son of Abū Tamīm, admitted into his social parties and whom he treated

1 See Introduction,

2 The life of *Hiṣḥām* Ibn al-Kalbi will be given in this work.

\* [ ] This passage is omitted in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's edition.—Ed.

with the utmost familiarity." This Tamīm was the son of al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs (*No. 701*) and the same of whom we have spoken under the letter *T* (*No. 123*). "He sent me to Baghdād and I purchased for him a charming slave-girl, an excellent songstress. When I returned to him, he invited his familiars to a party, and I was one of the number. A curtain was then drawn (*so as to conceal the girl*), and he told her to sing. She (*obeyed and*) sang as follows :

'When the wounds of love were healed, a lightning flash glimmered feebly before his eyes ; it seemed like the fringe of a curtain extended before rugged summits and precipitous sides (*of a mountain*). He went to see how it appeared, but could not ; being prevented by his jailor. (*The only flashes he perceived were from*) the fire (*of passion*) contained within his bosom, and the only rain was that which fell from his eyes.' "

The author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*No. 415*) attributes these verses to the *sharīf* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥasanī. "The girl sang them so well," said al-Ashkari, "that Tamīm and all the company gesticulated with admirations. She then sang the words :

'You will be consoled for your loss in (*meeting*) a bounteous prince whose reign, from the beginning to the end, shall be praised (*by all men*). God hath directed his steps and framed his character<sup>1</sup> for deeds of generosity, (*and that*) from the time he was first arrayed in (*infants'*) clothes.'

The amīr Tamīm and all present here gave signs of the greatest delight. She next sung these lines.

'To God's protection I confide a full moon (*a person with a handsom face*) whom I possess at Baghdād ; it rises at al-Karkh<sup>2</sup> (*and appears*) in a sphere formed by the veils which surround it.' "

---

1 Literally : Has inflected his sides and formed his person.

2 Karkh is a suburb of Baghdād, from which it is separated by the Tigris.

This verse is taken from a long *qaṣidah* the author of which was Muḥammad Ibn Zariq<sup>1</sup>, a *kātib* of Baghdād. The narrator continues : "The delight of the amir Tamīm was now carried to the highest pitch and he said to her : 'Ask what you will'. She replied : 'I desire for the amir good health and (God's) protection.' 'Nay,' said he, 'make a wish for yourself'. 'Amir !' said she, 'do you intend that my wish shall be fulfilled ?' 'I do', said he. 'Then,' replied the girl, 'I wish to sing that air in Baghdād.' (*At these words*) Tamīm changed colour, the expression of his face altered and the minds of all the company were troubled. He stood up, so did we (*and the assembly separated*). One of his servants then came to me and said : 'Go back ! the amir is calling for you !' I returned and, finding him sitting and waiting for me, I saluted and stood up before him. 'Woe betide you !' said he, 'do you see into what a difficulty we are brought?' 'I do, amir !' said I. 'We cannot avoid keeping our promise,' said he, 'and, in this business, I can trust to no one but you. So get ready to take her to Baghdād and, when she has sung there, bring her back'. 'Your orders are heard' said I, 'and shall be obeyed.' I then went out, made my preparations for departure and bade her to do the same. I assigned to her as a servant and travelling companion<sup>2</sup> a young negress belonging to Tamīm. A female camel, bearing a palanquin, was brought by the amir's orders. He made me get up into the palanquin and placed the girl under my direction<sup>3</sup>. We then departed for Makkah with the caravan, and when we had accomplished the duty of pilgrimage, we joined the 'Irāq caravan and set out with it. On arriving at al-Qādisiyah, the negress came to me and said : 'My mistress told me to ask you where we are.' I replied : 'We are about to halt at al-Qādisiyah ;' and she returned to inform her mistress. Immediately after, I heard her raise her voice and sing these verses. From all parts of the caravan

1 Various readings زرق. زريق

2 Literally : To be her counter-poise. The common mode of female travelling in the East is well-known. Two covered seats in wicker-work and more or less ornamented are tied together and suspended one on each side of a stout camel. The woman that sits in one counter-poses her that is in the other, and if there be only one woman, some baggage, or even a large stone, is put into the opposite seat to balance her.

3 Literally : With me.

issued a general cry of : 'Repeat it again, for the love of God !' but she did not utter another word. Some time after, we reached al-Yāsiriyyah, which station lies at about five miles from Baghdād, in the midst of one continuous forest of gardens. The travellers got down to pass the night in that place, with the intention of entering into Baghdād the next morning. When daylight appeared, lo and behold ! the negress came to me quite dismayed. I asked her what was the matter? and she answered that her mistress had disappeared. 'Woe betide thee !' said I, 'where is she gone?' By Allāh ! said the negress, 'I know not.' From that moment I was unable to discover the least trace of the fugitive<sup>1</sup>, I then proceeded to Baghdād and, after doing some business which I had there, I returned to the amir Tamīm and informed him of what had happened<sup>2</sup>. He was much shocked at the news ; his sorrow was extreme and, in his profound affliction, he ceased not to speak of her and to lament her loss." *Al-Qādisiyyah* is a village situated higher up (*the country*) than Kūfah ; near it was fought a celebrated battle, under the khalifat of 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, *Al-Yāsiriyyah* ; we have just mentioned where this place is and need not repeat our observations. Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm, the brother of Zayd Ibn Ibrāhīm<sup>3</sup> related that when he was appointed to the government of al-Širawān, in the place of this Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās al-Šulī, the poet of whom we have spoke, (*No. 10*) passed through that town and went to see him. He was on his way to Khurāsān where (*the 'Abbasid kh*alif) al-Māmūn was staying after having solemnly designated 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (*No. 398*) as his successor in the khalifat. The history of this

---

1 She had no doubt given a rendezvous to her lover, before departing for the court of Tamīm.

2 This does not seem probable. An Arab, in such a case, would never appear again before his master.

3 I can discover no information respecting Zayd Ibn Ibrāhīm, though he appears to be indicated here as a well-known person. His brother Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣ'ab is, on the contrary, an historical personage : in the year 206 (A.C. 821-2) he was appointed governor of Baghdād ; he was still holding that place in the year 217 (A.C. 832), when he marched against the partisans of Bābak al-Khurramī and defeated them. He died in the year 235 (A.C. 849-50). (*Nujūm, Uyūn al-Tawārikh*)



event is well-known. Ibrāhīm (*al-Ṣūlī*) had just composed a poem in which he praised al-Riḍā, extolled the merits of the posterity of 'Alī (*Muḥammad's son-in-law*), and declared that 'Alī's descendants had a better right to the khalifat than any others. "I found the poem so fine", said Ishāq (*Ibn Ibrāhīm*), "that I asked Ibrāhīm Ibn al-'Abbās (*al-Ṣūlī*) to write me out a copy of it. He did so, and I made him a present of one thousand dirhams<sup>1</sup>, mounted him on a (*mule*) and let him proceed to Khurāsān. Time passed on; al-Mutawakkil became khalif and Ibrāhīm (*al-Ṣūlī*) was appointed to the place which had been filled by Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. (*Al-Ṣūlī*), wishing to discover the means employed by Mūsā (*to acquire wealth in defrauding the state*), dismissed me from office and ordered an injunction to be served upon me<sup>2</sup>. I appeared in order to repel the charges, and produced arguments not to be refuted, but he would not hearken to them; he did not even pay attention to the opinions enounced by the *kātibs*, although he had asked their advice. During all that time, he addressed me in the most insulting language. The *kātibs* decided that, on one of the points in question, I should disculpate myself by oath; but I had no sooner sworn than he exclaimed: 'An oath made to the sultān (*or to his officers*) must appear of no value to you who are a Rāfiḍī'. On this I said to him: 'Will you allow me to approach you?' Having received his permission, I went up to him and addressed him thus: 'Your endeavours to bring about the shedding of my blood are really intolerable! I cannot be sure of my life if you write to that man, al-Mutawakkil, what I have just heard you say. I can endure all except the imputation of Rāfiḍism: the Rāfiḍī is he who pretends that 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, surpassed al-'Abbās in excellence, and that his posterity have a better right to the khalifate than the descendants of al-'Abbās.' On this, he said: 'whom do you mean?' and I answered: 'You! I have the proof of what I say in your own handwriting.' I then spoke to him of the poem which he had composed on al-

---

1 About twenty-five or thirty pounds sterling.

2 This sort of document is here called a *muwāmarah* موامرة. It seems to have been a summons to pay certain sums therein specified.

Māmūn and in which he made mention of 'Alī Ibn Mūsā (*al-Riḍā*) and, by Allāh ! as soon as I told him of it, he remained quite confounded<sup>1</sup>. 'Bring me,' said he, 'the album in which I wrote.' 'By Allāh !' said I, 'that I shall by no means do unless you give me the positive assurance that you will not prosecute me for any of my acts, that you will burn this injunction and not examine any of my accounts.' He swore to me by an oath such as I could count on, that he would do what I asked. So the list which he had drawn up<sup>2</sup> was burned, and I handed to him the album. He placed it in his writing-desk<sup>3</sup> the proceedings against me were quashed and I withdrew." Numerous anecdotes are told of Mūsā, the subject of this notice, but I abstain from repeating them, in order to avoid prolixity. He died in the month of *Shawwāl*, 246 (December-January, A.C. 860-1). (*Al-Sirawān*) is a dependency of *al-Māsabadhān* (with a point on the *dhāl*), which is a government in the province of al-Jabal. This town was the residence of al-Mahdī, the son of Abū Ja'far (*ai-Manṣūr*), and the father of Hārūn al-Rashīd ; there also he died. Marwān Ibn Abi Ḥaṣṣah, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*No. 689*) alludes to this circumstance in the following lines :

"The noblest tomb after that of Muḥammad, the Prophet of the true direction, is a tomb at Māsabadhān. I wonder how the hands which, in the morning, filled it with earth, did not lose their fingers (*as a punishment*)."

*Al-Sirawān*, is a name common to four places, one of which is that we speak of. The term *al-Jabal* (الجبـال *the mountain*), or al-Jibāl (الجبـال *the mountains*), serves to designate Persian 'Irāq, a country situated between Arabian 'Irāq and *Khurāsān*. Its principal cities are Iṣbahan, Hamadān, al-Ray, and Zinjān.

---

1 Literally : He fell upon his hand. This is equivalent to the French expression : Les bras lui tomberent.

2 The expression here made use of is العمل المعولي. The word عمل in the language of the administration, designated a list or inventory. Ibn Khaldūn has employed it in this sense and Abu 'l-Faraj Qudāmāh also.

3 The Arabic word signifies literally a small box.

## 724 IBN AL-JAWĀLIQI

Abū Maṣṣūr Mawḥūb Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Khiḍr al-Jawālīqī, a great literary scholar, a learned philologist, and a master of all the branches of literature, was one of the honours of Baghdād, his native place. He learned philology from the *khaṭīb* Abū Zakariyā al-Tabrizī, whose life shall be given in the letter Y, having studied under him with great assiduity till he became highly proficient in that science. He was pious, veracious, gifted with eminent talents and a clear intellect; his handwriting was beautiful and his orthography remarkably correct. A number of instructive works were composed by him and got into wide circulation; such, for instance, as the Commentary on the *Adab al-Kātib* (No. 306) the *Mu'arrab* (or *Arabicised*)<sup>1</sup> which is the most extensive work ever composed on the subject, and the supplement to the *Durrat al-Ḡhawwās* of al-Ḥarirī, the author of the *Maqāmāt* (No. 510). To the treatise he gave the title of *al-Takmilah fī ma Yalḥuno fīhi 'l-āmmah* (the Completion treating of the incorrect expressions made use of by the vulgar). In resolving grammatical difficulties, he gave the preference to certain rules of a very singular character. He was better skilled in philology than in grammar. Pieces in his handwriting were much sought after, and people vied in outbidding each other to obtain them. He served as an *imām* (chaplain) to the *imām* (*khalīf*) al-Muqtaṣī bi-Allāh, and directed the five daily prayers at which that prince attended. He composed for him a short treatise on prosody. We shall here relate a scene which he had, in the presence of al-Muqtaṣī, with Hibat Allāh Ibn Ṣā'id, surnamed Ibn al-Talmīdh, a Christian physician whose life shall be given in this work. The first time he appeared before the *khalīf*, for the purpose of directing the prayer, he said nothing more to him, on entering, than these words: "To the Commander of the faithful salutation and the mercy of God!" On this, Ibn al-Talmīdh, who was then standing before the *khalīf* and who, from his long service and his intimacy with the prince, was entitled to act very familiarly, said to him (*Ibn al-Jawālīqī*); "*Shaykh*, that

1 This work treated, probably, of some foreign words introduced into Arabic.

is not the proper manner of saluting the Commander of the Faithful." The other did not seem to mind him but turned towards the khalif and said : "The salutation I made is founded on the *sunnah* (or sacred traditions) relative to the Prophet ; he then repeated to him a tradition concerning the form of saluting which ought to be employed and finished by saying : "Commander of the Faithful ! if any one swears that no sort of science can enter as it should do<sup>1</sup>, into the heart of a Christian or a Jew, he will not be obliged to make an expiation for the sin of perjury ; God himself having put a seal upon their hearts<sup>2</sup>, and such a seal cannot be broken but by faith." The khalif answered : "You say true and you have done rightly." Ibn al-Talmidh, with all his talent and his copious erudition in philology (*remained silent*), as if a stone had been forced into his mouth<sup>3</sup>. Ibn al-Jawālīqī obtained (*traditional*) information from the lips of all the principal shaykhs of the age, and acquired thus a vast fund of knowledge which (*in his turn*), he communicated to others. A few pieces of verse have been attributed to him and the following, which I met with in a compilation (*of poems*) is given as his, but that is a point which I have not been able to verify :

"All mankind went to quench their thirst at the sweet waters of thy liberality, but I remained behind the crowd, as a thirsty bird hovers around a source and hesitates (*to alight*). I waited till one of the drinkers should forget to go down to the watering-place, but the number of those who arrived increased more and more."

I since found these two verses in a collection of pieces which goes under the name of Ibn al-Khashshāb see (*No. 325*). Abū Muḥammad Ismā'il, who was the cleverest of his sons, related as follows : "I was in the Mosque of the Castle (*Jāmi' 'l-Qaṣr*), after the prayer, and (*sitting*) in the circle of (*students who surrounded*) my father and who were reading (*philological works*)

1 The expression على الوجه seems to be the equivalent of على الوجه للإيق or على الوجه المرضي.

2 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 2, verse 6.

3 Literally : As if he had bridled (*or bitted*) with a stone.

under his direction, when a young boy stood up before him and said : 'Sir ! two verses have been recited to me and as I do not understand them, I come to recite them to you, in order that you may explain to me their meaning.' My father told him to repeat them, and the other spoke as follows :

'When the beloved arrived, (*I felt as if*) I was dwelling in the garden of Paradise, her absence was (*for me*) the fire of Hell, and scorched me with its flames. The sun is in Sagittarius and going down when she visits me not ; he is in the Twins when she comes to me.'

My father, on hearing these two verses, said to the boy : 'That, my son ! is a matter belonging to astronomy and the determination of the planetary movements ; it does not appertain to the art cultivated by literary men.' The lad went away without obtaining the information he sought for, and my father felt quite abashed at being unable to answer a (*scientific*) question when it was proposed to him. He stood up and made internally a vow that he would never hold his class again till he had looked into astronomy and become acquainted with the movements of the sun and the moon. He then turned his mind to that subject and, when he understood it, he resumed his lessons<sup>1</sup>. The idea contained in the verse was this : When the sun is in the last (*degree*) of Sagittarius, the nights have attained their greatest length, for the autumn has then come to its end, and when he is in the last (*degree*) of the Twins, the nights are shortened to their utmost point, and this takes place when the season of spring is just over. Therefore, the poet meant to say : When the beloved did not visit me, the night seemed to me very long, and when she came to see me, the night was very short. God knows best (*if this explanation be right*) ! The following verses were composed by a contemporary poet on Ibn al-Jawālīqī and al-Maghribī, the commentator of the *Manāmāt*<sup>2</sup>. In the *Kharidah*

---

1 Literally : He sat ; that is : He held his sittings.

2 The *Manāmāt* was a work in which 'Alī al-Kuṣhī al-Shadhīlī related the edifying dreams of certain devout ṣūfīs. Who al-Maghribī was cannot be determined with certainty.

(No. 678) they are attributed to Ḥayṣ Bayṣ (No. 241) and, in the abridgment of that work, to our ḥāfiẓ :

"I can pass over all the faults of my native place except two grievous ones which cannot be pardoned. First, al-Jawālīqī is there and gives lectures on literature ; then, al-Maghribī is there and explains dreams. The one is embarrassed<sup>1</sup> by an impediment in his speech and fatigues (*us*) with his detestable pronunciation<sup>2</sup>; the other, though wide-awake, is inattentive and explains (*dreams*) as if he were asleep."

Numerous anecdotes are told of Ibn al-Jawālīqī. He was born in the year 466 (A.C. 1073-4) ; he died at Baghdād on Sunday, the 15th of Muḥarram, 529 (5th Nov. A.C. 1134) and was interred outside the (*city-gate called*) Bāb Ḥarb. The funeral service was said over him previously in the Mosque of the Castle, by al-Zaynabī (No. 283) ; the qāḍī-in-chief. *Jawālīqī* signifies *a maker and seller of sacks (juwālīq)*. Relative adjectives of this form are exceptions to the general rule, being derived from the plural of the noun and not from the singular. Those exceptions, when once heard, are easily remembered. Such is the adjective *Anṣārī*, applied to a man who was one of the *Anṣārs*<sup>3</sup>. The form *jawālīq*, employed as the plural of *juwālīq*, is also an exception to rules, because the long *i* in the plural has nothing to represent it in the singular. This word, in the singular, is *juwālīq*, with an *u*, and in the plural, *jawālīq*, with an *a*, which is in conformity with the general rule. Thus *ḥulāḥīl* grave, *dignified*, has for plural *ḥalāḥīl* ; 'Udāmīl ancient, in speaking of renown, takes *adāmīl* in the plural ; 'Urā'ir عرار chief, takes *arā'ir* ; 'Ulākid علاك strong in speaking of a man, has *'alākid*. Many similar examples might be given. *Juwālīq* is an arabicised word of foreign original ; (*that is evident*) because the letter *j* (ج) and *q* (ق) are never to be found together in the same Arabic word.

---

1 Literally : Is a prisoner of.

2 I read *يمل فضاحه* with two manuscripts.

3 See No. 62.

## 725 AL-MUWAYYAD AL-ṬŪSĪ

The Traditionist Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Muwayyad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, surnamed *Riḍā al-Dīn* (*of approved religion*) belonged to a family which inhabited Ṭūs but, having fixed his residence in Naysābūr he was considered as a native of that city. No person in modern times possessed traditions of which the *isnāds* (see Introduction) mounted up so high as his. He met with a number of eminent doctors and received from them (*traditional information*). He heard the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (*No. 690*) taught by the jurisconsult Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl al-Furāwī (see *No. 596*), and was the last surviving pupil of that master; the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (*No. 543*) he heard taught by Abū Bakr Wajīh Ibn Ṭāhir Ibn Muḥammad al-Shaḥḥānī and by Abu 'l-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Shāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Shādhyaḥkī<sup>1</sup>; he heard also the text of the *Muwaḥḥa* (*No. 525*) such as had been taught orally by Abū Muṣ'ab<sup>2</sup>, with the exception of certain passages<sup>3</sup>; the professor who read it to him was Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh Ibn Sahl Ibn 'Umar al-Bastāmī, generally known by the surname of al-Suddī. The commentary on the noble *Qur'ān*, composed by Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī (*No. 30*) he heard taught by Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, generally known by the surname of 'Abbāsah<sup>4</sup>. He received lessons also from a number of the doctors who taught at Naysābūr, and amongst others, the jurisconsult Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn Muḥammad al-Khuwārī.\* Some (*traditional*) information was also obtained by him from Umm al-Khayr

1 In No. 235 this name is transcribed incorrectly. (There the name is transcribed *Shādhyaḥjī* which is given by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in this notice also).—Ed.

2 Abū Muṣ'ab Aḥmad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Qāsim al-Zuhri (al-Zuhayri?, an eminent jurisconsult of the Mālikite sect and Qāḍī of Madīnah, died in the month of Ramaḍān A.H. 242 (January. A.C. 857).

3 Literally: To the exclusion of what was excepted in it. The precise meaning of this expression I am unable to determine.

4 In all the manuscripts, this name is written *أ.ب.ع.*

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Juwārī.—Ed.

Fāṭimah, the daughter of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muẓaffar Ibn Za'bal<sup>1</sup>. He taught great quantity of traditions, and students came to him from all quarters. I possess an *ijāzah* (see No. 108) which he wrote (and sent to me) from Khurāsān, at the request of my father, who is now deceased. (*It was drawn up*) in the month of the latter Jumādā, 610 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1213). I give a notice of this doctor merely on account of his great reputation and because, in his latter days, he had none to equal him (*in learning*). His birth took place in the year 524 (A.C. 1130); he died at Naysābūr on the eve of the twentieth day of Shawwāl, 617 (17th Dec., A.C. 1220), and was interred the next morning. The preceding article, in its present form, had been drawn up for some years, when I met with an *ijāzah* written by the shaykh al-Muwayyad himself, in which he thus traces up his genealogy: "Written by al-Muwayyad, the son of Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī, the son of al-Ḥasan, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Ṣāliḥ, the native of Ṭūs."

## 726 AL-MUWAYYAD AL-ULŪSĪ

Abū Sa'īd al-Muwayyad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ulūsī was one of the great poets of his time. He composed a quantity of amatory and satirical pieces, eulogised in his verses a number of persons who held high offices in 'Irāq and left a *diwān* (or collection) of poems. Entirely devoted to the Wazīr 'Awn al-Dīn Yahyā Ibn Hubayrah<sup>2</sup>, he extolled his merits in some very fine eulogiums. [Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn al-Najjār (No. 5) gives the following account of him in the History of Baghdād: "This poet, whose name was 'Aṭṭāf, the son of Muḥammad, the

1 The orthography of this name is fixed by the *Qāmūs*.

2 The life of Ibn Hubayrah will be found in this work.

\* There are four possible readings: Ra'bal, Ra'yal, Ra'il or Za'yal. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Ra'yal or Ra'il. The *Qāmūs*, however, gives the first and the fourth as names of persons; according to it Fāṭimah was the daughter of Za'bal, while Ibn Khallikān says that she was his great granddaughter.—Ed.



son of 'Alī, the son of Sa'īd, was generally known by appellation of *al-Muwayyad* (*fortified by Divine grace*). He was born at Ulūs, a village in the neighbourhood of al-Ḥadīthah (No. 313), was brought up at Dujayl and then went to Baghdād and filled the duties of a *chāwūsh*<sup>1</sup> under the reign of the *imām* (*Khalīf*) al-Mustashhid bi-Allāh. He was satirized by the poet Abu al-Faḍl<sup>2</sup> but afterwards began to make verses himself and composed so great a quantity of them that he became generally known as a poet. Eulogium and satire he much indulged in, after taking refuge in the service of the sulṭān Mas'ūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Malik Shāh"—of whom mention has been already made (No. 694)—"Having spoken too much and in a very improper manner of the *imām* al-Muqtafi and the companions of that *khalīf*, he was arrested and put in prison." The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī (No. 678) says of him, in the *Kharīdah*: His importance was exalted, his situation opulent, his poetry in high request and obtaining great success. He acquired properties and estates, enjoyed abundant wealth and lived in the best manner. But then his good fortune stumbled under him and made a fall such as could be recovered from with difficulty. He remained in the prison of the *imām* al-Muqtafi upwards of ten years and did not get out of it till the year 555 (A. C. 1160), on the accession of the *imām* al-Mustanjid to the *khalāfat*. I met with him at that time and observed that his sight had been dimmed by the darkness of the dungeon in which they detained him. He usually wore the military dress. He (*then*) travelled to Moṣul. He is the author of some good poetry in the amatory style, offering charming turns of thought and admirable specimens of versification. He often hit on the rarest of those ideas which are most original. He says, for instance, in describing the pen (*qalam*):

"A (*reed*) well-straightened can enrich and can destroy, in case it makes a promise and in case of threats. A *qalam* suffices to diminish a numerous army, even before the swords are drawn from the scabbards. It received from the thicket in which it grew

1 A door-keeper, a sergeant of police.

2 Perhaps Adu 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn al-Khāzin (see No. 61).

the beneficent quality that place communicated to its streamlets and the dreadfulness it gave to its lions."

I may here observe that I found these verses ascribed to another author, and God knows best by whom they were composed. Never was a finer idea uttered on such a subject as the pen.\* The thought expressed in the third (*and last*) verse is borrowed from the following description of a *ṭanbūr*.<sup>1</sup>

"That *ṭanbūr*, handsome in shape, imitates, by its clear notes, (*the song of*) the nightingale. When its sounds, it utters loud tones, such as it had learned (*from the birds*) when it waved in the form of a branch. Thus it is that he who frequents the learned in his youth becomes, when he grows up, a well-informed doctor."

This is now a very trite idea, having been often employed by poets. It is thus that one of them has said :

"She came with a lute<sup>2</sup> which imitated and aided her (*voice*) ; see what strange things happen to a tree ! For a time, birds of various sorts sing and coo upon its branches ; then, when it is dried up, human beings sing to it. For it, time has never ceased to be noisy<sup>3</sup> birds and strings, two classes of irrational beings, have always kept it in excitation."

The same idea is thus expressed by another poet :

"The lute has enjoyed two kinds of desirable pleasure ; blessings be on the man who cut it from the tree and on him by whom it was planted ! Whilst it was green and flourishing turtledoves cooed upon it and, when dry, a female musician sang to it."

1 The *ṭanbūr* is a sort of lute.

2 The lute is named *al-ūd* in Arabic, and the same word signifies also a piece of wood. This double signification is often played upon by poets.

3 I read *مصطحبا* ('Abd al-Ḥamid reads *مصطحبا* associated).

\* M. de Slane has not translated the following passage :

Some one else has said about the pen and expressed similar ideas :

"Having spots like a snake, a dreadful point, and a slander waist,

(it) disperses crowds of assembled difficulties

The horizons in the east and the west submit to its sway,

Heavens yield to it and obey

It protects the country after weaning as the lion does it while sucking from the breast."

Did I not fear being led away from my subject and falling into prolixity, I should give here many other detached passages in which the same idea is expressed. Bahā al-Dīn Zuhayr, a person of whom we have already spoken (*No. 231*), said, in a *qaṣīdah* containing an eulogy on Aqṣīs, the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil (see *No. 668*):

"The boards of the pulpit thrilled with pleasure at his name; they perhaps recollected the time when they were (*living*) branches".

Let us now give the rest of the article drawn up by 'Imād al-Dīn: "His son Muḥammad was (*remarkably*) intelligent and composed some good poetry. In the year 564 (A.C. 1168-9), he fled (*for protection*) to al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (see *No. 688*) sovereign of Syria, who was then at Ṣarkhad<sup>1</sup>; but he fell sick there and, being sent off to Damascus by that sulṭān, he died on the way, at a village called Raṣḥīdah."—End of the extract.—We give here a specimen of al-Muwayyad's poetry:

"O, how the zephyr breathing from Ḥājir<sup>2</sup> was cool to that bosom (*of mine*) in which the ardent heats (*of love*) were not to be extinguished! O, how beautiful the image (*of my beloved, seen by me in a dream*)! by the brightness of its face it betrayed the presence of my own image (*in that dream*) and then concealed me with its coal-black hair. Its double belt encircled (*a waist like*) a pliant branch, which had been watered by showers, so that its tender (*wood*) was verdant and waved (*with pleasure*). When morning lanced the dart of separation against our union and left no sign of our interview, except a recollection which I shall retain for ever, I stopped at Ḥuzwā<sup>3</sup>, where the marks of the (*beloved's presence, though still existing*), had nearly disappeared, whilst every sign of my body's existence (*in this world*) was completely effaced. There I remained fixed (*as firmly*) as my fingers are fixed to my right hand, but my stopping was not like that of a miser who has lost his ring in the sand. Her disdain (*wore me away and*) did not leave the slightest trace of my body, not

1 Sarkhad was a strong castle in the province of Ḥawrān.

2 This place was situated in *Najd*, the Arabian Arcadia.

3 Ḥuzwā also was situated in *Najd*.

even so much ruins as might be swept away (نيسحي) by the torrent of my tears. She (*made me weep till I lost my sight and*) did not leave me a single eye to see with; yet the person who destroys a thing is bound to replace it. O, how I longed to see her caravan and its weary camels whilst they groaned during their nocturnal march (*and followed each other closely*), like my tears. The crescent of the night was then held forth in the hand of the Pleiades (*and permitted me to see her*); so, I embraced her till her necklace burst asunder and fell to the ground."

This passage is taken from a long *qaṣīdah* in which the author displayed great talent and imitated both in rhyme and measure a poem composed by al-Mutanabbī for Sayf al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān and commencing thus:

("The non-fulfilment of) your promise, my two friends! (*afflicts me*) as much as (*the aspect of*) this (*abandoned*) abode, no part of which is more painful (*to contemplate*) than its ruins; (*you*) both (*promised to*) second me (*in weeping*), and the readiest cure (*for the pains of the heart*) are tears shed in abundance".

In the *qaṣīdah* above mentioned, al-Ulūsī has inserted hemistiches taken from the poems of al-Mutanabbī, and employed them in the manner (*designated by the technical term*) *taḍmīn*<sup>1</sup>. The greater part of his poetry is good. His birth took place at Ulūs, in the year 494 (A.C. 1100-1); he passed there his early youth and died at Moṣul on Thursday, the 24th of Ramaḍān, 557 (6th Sept, A.C. 1162). Among the numerous verses composed by him in prison, we may notice the following:

"My tears were parched up by the burning (*ardor which consumed my heart*), when my friends departed, and I marvelled to find myself left here alone. But you know that wood, placed on the fire, lets its sap fall in drops, (*weeping through sorrow*) for having been separated from its leaves. I pass my nights in prison, and the pleasure I feel in thinking on you (*my friends!*) is equal to the joy which liberty could give me. Let the fortune

1 By the word *taḍmīn* is designated the introduction of a verse or a hemistich of one poet into a piece composed by another. The passage thus quoted undergoes a change of signification which is effected by the words that precede or follow it.

which afflicts me not be shocked at the blackness of my hair ; the flames which torment my heart only serve to consolidate their colour !”.

He left Baghdād in the year 456 (A.C. 1064). The mention I made of the date on which al-Mustanjid was raised to the throne reminds me of a curious fact which I cannot abstain from mentioning : an eminent *shaykh* of 'Irāq informed me that al-Mustanjid had a dream, whilst his father al-Muqtafi was still alive, and in it he saw a figure like an angel come down from heaven and write upon his sleeve the letter *kha* four times. When he awoke, he sent for an interpreter of dreams, related to him what he had seen and obtained this answer : “You will be raised to the *khilāfat* in the year 555”<sup>2</sup>, and that was really the case. He had this dream a good while before his father's death. “*Ulūs*” means *belonging to Ulūs* which is a place situated on the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the Ḥadithah of 'Ānah.” Such is the observation made by 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (*No.* 435), in correcting the mistakes of the *ḥāfiẓ* Ibn al-Sa'mānī (*No.* 370). The latter had said that *Ulūs* was a place on the sea-coast of Syria, near Ṭarsūs. Al-Ulūsi, having gone to Baghdād in his youth and fixed his residence there, might be considered as native of that city. Ibn al-Najjār says that we should pronounce 'Ālūs with a long A (*instead of Ulūs*).

## 727 AL-MUHALLAB IBN ABĪ ŠUFRAH

Abū Sa'īd al-Muhallab was the son of Abu Šufrah Zālim Ibn Sarrāq Ibn Šubḥ Ibn Kindī Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Adī Ibn Wā'il Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn al-'Atik Ibn al-Azd or al-Asd Ibn 'Imrān Ibn 'Amr Muzayqiyā Ibn 'Āmir Mā al-Samā Ibn Ḥārithah Ibn Imra al-Qays

1 The translator thinks he has here indicated clearly the idea which the poet meant to express. The hemistich, rendered literally, signifies: “Burning makes solid the work of the burner (*al-ḥarraḍqi*).”

2 The four *khās* are the initials of the words *khilāfat*, *khams*, *khamstn*, *khamsmi'ah*, which signify: *Khilāfat*, *five*, *fifty*, *five-hundred*.

Ibn Tha'labah Ibn Māzin Ibn al-Azd. His surnames al-Azdī, al-'Atakī, al-Baṣrī indicate that he descended from al-'Atik, member of the tribe of al-Azd, and that he was a native of Baṣrah. His father received the surname of Abū Ṣufrah (*the father of Ṣufrah*) because he had a daughter called Ṣufrah. "His family," says al-Wāqidī (*No. 618*) "inhabited Dabā'". They embraced Islāmism in the life time of God's Apostle (*Muḥammad*) but relapsed after his death and refused to pay the legal alms. (*The khalif*) Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq sent against them 'Ikrimah Ibn Abi Jahl al-Makḥzūmī. This (*general*) attacked them, put them to rout and slew a great number. The remainder shut themselves up in a castle which belonged to them and were there blockaded by the Musalmans. They at length surrendered to Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān and submitted their fate to his decision. He put to death one hundred members of their noblest families, reduced their children into captivity and sent them to Abū Bakr. Among them was Abū Ṣufrah, who was then a mere boy and had not attained the age of puberty. Abū Bakr granted them their liberty and told them to go wherever they pleased; on which they dispersed (*in various directions*) and Abū Ṣufrah was one of those who settled at Baṣrah". Ibn Qutaybah notices this account in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* and says<sup>2</sup>: "That story is false and al-Wāqidī was mistaken when he related it: Abū Ṣufrah was not one of those (*captives*) and was never seen by Abū Bakr. It was 'Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb whom he went to see, and he was then an elderly man, with a grey head and a grey beard; and 'Umar told him to dye them, which he did. How then could he have been a boy when Abū Bakr was reigning? Moreover, al-Muhallab, the youngest of his sons, was born two years before the Prophet's death, and some of the other sons were born more than thirty years before that event." Al-Muhallab was the bravest of men: he defended (*the city of*) Baṣrah against the Khārijites and had many famous encounters with them in al-Ahwāz. Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*) has given an account of most of them in

1 See our author's observations towards the end of the article.

2 This passage is not to be found in Mr. Wustenfeld's edition of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*.

his *Kāmil*, and, if his narration had not been so long and the events so unconnected, I should have given an extract from it here<sup>1</sup>. The defence of Baṣrah by al-Muhallab procured for that city the name of the *Baṣrah of al-Muhallab*. This chief was distinguished for his noble character and his generosity. The following anecdote is told of him : He once went to Makkah for the purpose of conversing with 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr who was then ruling over Ḥijāz, 'Irāq and the neighbouring countries under the title of *khālīf*. 'Abd Allāh took him apart in order to consult with him and (some time after), came in 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṣafwān, the grandson of Umayyah Ibn *Khalaf* Ibn Wahb and a member of the Qurayshide family called the Jumaḥ. On entering he exclaimed : "Commander of the faithful ! who is this man that has been taking up your time all day ?" "Do you not know him ?" said 'Abd Allāh. "No." replied the other. "Well !" said 'Abd Allāh, "he is the lord of the people of 'Irāq." "Can it be al-Muhallab Ibn Abī Ṣufrah ?" "It is he". Al-Muhallab then said : "Commander of the faithful ! who is this man ?" "The lord of the Quraysh" said Ibn al-Zubayr. "Can it be 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṣafwān ?"—"Just so." Ibn Qutaybah says, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, that no reproach was ever made against al-Muhallab except for lying, and that it was he whom people designated by the words : *Rāḥ yakdhib* (he set out for the purpose of lying). Ibn Qutaybah then adds these words : "As for me, I shall say that, of all men, al-Muhallab was he who feared God the most, and that he was too noble, too generous to tell lies ; but he was (always) engaged in war and the Prophet has said : 'War consists in (stratagems and) deceit. He used to address the *Khārijites* in (equivocal) terms, saying one thing and meaning another, so as to keep them in dread, and that was why they called him the liar and said that he went about telling falsehoods. When the Prophet intended to engage in a war, he concealed his real project by giving out another." Al-Mubarrad explains, in his *Kāmil*, some verses in which al-Muhallab was accused of lying and what he writes is to this effect : "The poet employed the word

---

1 A very satisfactory account of the war with the *Khārijites* (dissenters or non-conformists) is given by M. Dozy in his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome I, page 155.

liar, because al-Muhallab was versed in the law and acquainted with the tradition according to which the Prophet said : *Every lie shall be written down as a lie* (by the recording angels), *with the exception of three : a lie told in order to reconcile two men, a lying promise made by a man to his wife, and a lie in which a man, when engaged in war, makes a promise or a threat.*" Al-Muhallab some times forged traditions for the purpose of strengthening the Muslim cause and weakening that of the Khārijites. There was an Azdite tribe called the Nadab, and the people of it used to say, when they saw al-Muhallab coming to them ; *Al-Muhallab has set out for the purpose of lying*. It was of him that one of them said :

"You would be a man perfect in every way, did you only speak the truth."

Al-Mubarrad says, towards the end of his *Kāmil*, in that chapter wherein he relates the war with the Khārijites and gives an account of what passed between al-Muhallab and the Azāraqites<sup>1</sup> ; "In old time stirrups were made of wood and were liable to break when the rider knocked them (*against any thing*) and, in that case, if he tried to strike an adversary with the sword or with the spear, he had nothing to bear upon or to support him. Al-Muhallab therefore gave orders that they should be made of iron, and he was the first who caused iron stirrups to be forged. The anecdotes told of al-Muhallab are very numerous. He passed through many vicissitudes of fortune. The last post he held was the government of Khurāsān, which province he administered in the name of al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (*No. 144*) who, at that time, ruled over the two 'Irāqs and had moreover received from 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān the governments of Khurāsān and Sijistān. Khurāsān he gave to al-Muhallab and Sijistān to 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Abī Bakrah<sup>2</sup>. Al-Muhallab went to Khurāsān

1 See Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome I, page 149.

2 Abū Ḥātim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Abī Bakrah, a member of the tribe of Thaqif, the same to which al-Ḥajjāj belonged, was appointed Governor of Sijistān, A.H. 50 (A.C. 670), and removed from office three years afterwards. He was again nominated to that post by al-Ḥajjāj in the year 78 (A.C. 697-8). He died A.H. 80 (A.C. 699-700), whilst he was on an expedition into the

(Continued on page 434)



and took possession of his government in the seventy-ninth year of the Hijrah (A.C. 698-9). He had then lost one of his eyes, in consequence of a wound he received at Samarqand when Sa'id, the son of (*the khalif*) 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, effected the conquest of that city. This happened under the *khilāfat* of Mu'āwiyah, the son of Abū Sufyān. Al-Muhallab had accompanied Sa'id in that expedition. Another person who then lost his eye was Ṭalḥah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn *Khalaf al-Khuzā'i*, surnamed *the Ṭalḥah of Ṭalḥahs* (*Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥāt*) and renowned for his noble character and his generosity. It was in allusion to this accident that al-Muhallab said :

" Though I lost my eye, I have preserved my life, and that, thanks be to God ! will contribute to make me forget my mishap. When the cause of God is to be defended, our cavalry must endure fatigue ; and when missiles are thrown about, some eyes must be blinded."

According to another account, his eye was knocked out of its socket at the siege of Ṭālaqān. Al-Muhallab held the government of *Khurāsān* till the day of his death. When his last hour drew near, he chose for successor his son Yazīd, whose life we shall give later, and, in his dying injunctions, he told him how he should act and indicated the measures he should employ. He said to him, amongst other things : " My son ! choose your *ḥājib* (*chamberlain, prime-minister*) for his prudence, and your *Kātib* (*secretary*) for the elegance of his style ; a man's *ḥājib* is his face, and a man's *Kātib* his tongue." He died in the month of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, A. H. 83 (Dec.-Jan., A. C. 702-3), at *Zāghūl*, a village situated in the district of Marw al-Rūd, and in the province of *Khurāsān*. Al-Ṭabarī (*No. 544*) states, in his History, that al-Muhallab died in the year 72 ; \* God knows if he be right. We shall discuss this point more fully in the life of his son Yazīd, and, to that article we refer the reader. The fine sayings and elegant allusions which are attributed

---

(Continued from page 433)

enemy's country ; provisions failed ; the greater part of his troops died of hunger, and he expired in that disastrous campaign. He had acted for some time as a *qādī* at Baṣrah, and was the person who introduced the custom of chanting the *Qur'ān* (*Nujūm, Ma'ārif.*)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : 82.—Ed.

to him indicate the nobleness of his sentiments and show his desire to obtain an honourable reputation and merit praise. One of these sayings was: "Life is better than death, and good renown is better than life. Were I to obtain a gift (*which God*) never yet granted to any man, I should wish to become an ear, so that I might hear what people said of me, the day after my death." These words, according to another account, were uttered by his son Yazid; God knows best! Al-Muhallab used to say to his sons: "My dear boys! the fairest raiment you can have is that which other people (*received from you and*) wear. "The poet Abu Tammām al-Ṭā'i (No. 143) alludes to this saying in a letter written to a person from whom he wished to obtain the gift of a cloak and in which he said:

"Thou art he who can well understand what al-Muhallab meant when he gave recommendations about raiment."

A great number of elegies were composed on the death of al-Muhallab. In one of these pieces, the poet Nahār Ibn Tawsi'ah<sup>1</sup> said:

"Alas! that glory is departed which placed wealth within our reach. Generosity and beneficence have disappeared since we lost al-Muhallab. These two (*virtues*) resided constantly at Marw al-Rūd, but now they are not to be found either in the East or in the West."

Al-Muhallab left a great number of sons, all of them generous, noble-minded, beneficent and illustrious. Ibn Qutaybah says, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*: "It is stated that three hundred sons came upon earth from the loins of al-Muhallab." We have already mentioned (No. 223) two of his (*great*) grand-sons, Rūḥ (*Rawḥ*) and Yazid, the sons of Ḥātim Ibn Qabiṣah Ibn al-Muhallab, and we shall give the life of Yazid under the letter Y. One of his most distinguished sons, Abū Fawāris al-Mughīrah, was generally entrusted by him with the command of the troops sent against the *Khārijites* and had with them several famous engagements, accounts of which are contained in books of history. In these expeditions

---

<sup>1</sup> See No. 517. According to the baron de Hammer, Nahār Ibn Tawsi'ah died A.H. 103 (A.C. 721-2)—(*Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, Vol. II, page 500).

he displayed great bravery, intelligence and resolution. He accompanied his father to Khurāsān, acted as his lieutenant at Marw al-Shāhjān and there he died in the year 82 (A.C. 701-2), whilst his father was yet alive. An elegy was composed on his death by Abū Amāmah Ziyād al-A'jam, otherwise called Ziyād Ibn Sulaymān<sup>1</sup>. This popular poem, which rhimes in *h* and begins thus, is attributed by some to the celebrated poet Ibn Jābir, a member of the tribe of 'Abd Qays :

"Say to the caravans and to the warriors setting out for battle, (*say to*) those who depart in the morning and those who, in the evening, hasten to arrive: Generosity and manliness are now shut up in a tomb at Marw, near the high road. On passing by, sacrifice (*to its inmate*) a camel of noble race and many a rapid steed. Sprinkle the blood on the sides of his tomb, for he was a shedder of blood and a slayer of victims. After the hour of noon, draw near unto his tomb and the flag of commandement (*which waves over it*) and invite (*those who pass by*), as hunters do when roasting venison<sup>2</sup>. In pursuing (*the foe*) and in returning (*from battle*) he was a father to his troops, but now, he lies (*engaged as*) a pledge, in a grave among the tombs. On the day his bier was borne away I saw that noble acts were disappearing with the superiority of his merits and praise-worthy deeds. All the land was shaken by his fall, so that our very hearts remained not unscathed. (*They suffer even*) now, for he was the noblest man that ever walked (*on earth*) ; he smiled at the arrows shot (*against him*) by the bowmen. In him every noble quality arrived at perfection, and to that he lent his aid by many a virtuous act. It is grief enough for us to see the dwelling in which he is now lodged, never to quit it till the end of time. The pulpits are empty in which he presided at the prayer ; his saddles have been removed from (*the backs of*) all his spirited mares and high-mettled steeds. Let it be known that, when any man's death is to be lamented, no lamentations could equal al-Mughīrah's merit. Our horses and our lances weep for al-Mughīrah, and the female mourners bewail him with

<sup>1</sup> See No. 274, and replace *Sulaym*, the incorrect reading of Suyūfi's *Shawdhid*, by *Sulaymān*, which is that our MSS. and of the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*.

<sup>2</sup> The true reading of the last words in this verse is doubtful.

cries and lamentations. Al-Mughīrah is dead, after having so often affronted swords and spears. When affairs were embroiled for (*the rest of*) men and led to struggles and conflicts<sup>1</sup>, he alone, that skilful (*chief*), unravelled the cord<sup>2</sup> by his superior intelligence. I see the destitute weeping for al-Mughīrah the beneficent, whose hands bestowed so freely. For them he was a verdant meadow, when they went forth to seek the pasture-ground of beneficence, when the flashes of every lightning-cloud (*but his*) had ceased to gleam. Al-Muhallab, aided by al-Mughīrah, was like him who lowered buckets into a well which was thought to be nearly dry, and having found there water in plenty, filled up the cistern with the aid of camels and machines<sup>3</sup>. If he halted in the midst of a desert, the place where his thirsty camels stationed would overflow, that day, with running water. Warfare will never have an abler man than al-Muhallab: he makes it produce its effects<sup>4</sup> by means of chosen horses, thin in the flanks, rapid in crossing plains and deserts. In the hour of grief, his cavalry rallies around him, and the sides of the horses are white with copious sweat. To this mighty prince, bearer of a diadem, his friends look up with joy, whilst the eyes of the envious are cast down before him. True standard bearer of war! when he marches against the foe, good omens are for him and bad ones (*for his enemies*)". This is one of the finest and most brilliant (*qaṣīdahs*) ever composed. It contains upwards of fifty verses and, were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much, I should insert the whole of it. Abū 'Alī 'l-Qālī (No. 92) speaks of it in the work which he designed as a supplement to his *Amālī* and examines some of the verses: "This poem," says he, "has been attributed to al-Ṣalatān al-'Abdī<sup>5</sup>, the famous poet, but, in reality, it was composed by

1 Literally: And were struggled for by him who wished to open and him who wished to shut.

2 Literally: The cord was twirled by a twister.

3 The text and the meaning of these two verses is uncertain.

4 Literally: He milked its fore-teats.

5 According to Ibn Durayd, in his *Kitāb al-Ishṭiqāq*, this poet, whose name is written الصلتان composed satires on Jarīr (see No. 162). De Hammer states that he attacked the poet al-Farazdaq also and that his names were Kassām Ibn Khabiya. (*Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. II, page 341).

Ziyād al-A'jam". The second verse of it is often quoted in grammatical works, to prove that feminine nouns may be considered as masculine when they do not designate beings possessing female sexual organs<sup>1</sup>. This verse, having been cited so often, is the best known of those which form the poem. The idea expressed in the third and fourth verses was borrowed by another poet and rendered in these terms :

"Bear me, both of you, to the side of his tomb and sacrifice me there, if you have no other victim. Sprinkle my blood upon his grave ; for know this well that I owe all my blood (*my life*) to his beneficence."

These two verses were composed by the *sharīf* Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī 'l-Ḍaw, a descendant of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, and the rector (*naqīb*) of the funeral chapel which is situated near that gate of Baghdād which is called *Bāb al-Tin*. They form part of a *qaṣīdah* in which he lamented the death of the *naqīb* al-Ṭāhir, the father of 'Ubayd Allāh. Such is the statement made by al-'Imād al-Kātib (*No. 678*), in his *Kharidah*. He mentions also that the *sharīf* Abū Muḥammad died at Baghdād in the year 537 (A.C. 1142-3). After reading this passage in the *Kharidah*, I found the same verses in the *Mu'jam al-Shu'arā* (*Dictionary of poets*), a work drawn up by al-Marzubānī (*No. 621*) for Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Khaythamī, surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh, or, by other accounts, Abū 'l-'Abbās, or Abū 'l-Ḥasan. The author had a leaning towards the *Shī'ite* doctrines and wrote satire against al-Buḥturī<sup>2</sup>. Al-Mughīrah, the son of al-Muḥallab, tore a brocade cloak which Ziyād al-A'jam was wearing, and this circumstance induced the latter to compose the following verse :

"I declare that, in tearing the brocade, you have torn to pieces the renown of al-Muḥallab."

When al-Muḥallab heard of this, he tried to propitiate the poet and succeeded in pacifying him. Abū 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Salāmī relates, in his *History of the governors of*

1 The verb *ضمنا* is the masculine of the dual ; to make it agree with the words *generosity and manliness*, which, in Arabic, are of the feminine gender, it should be written *ضمنتا*.

2 The life of the poet al-Buḥturī will be found in this work.

Khurāsān, that a person who heard this *qaṣidah* recited by Ziyād al-A'jam, before al-Muhallab had got any knowledge of it, went to that amīr and, having repeated it to him, obtained from him a gift of one hundred thousand pieces of silver. Ziyād al-A'jam came afterwards and recited to him the same poem, on which al-Muhallab said: "I have already heard it from another person". "That person," said the poet, "*(did not compose it, he)* only heard me recite it." Al-Muhallab gave him also one hundred thousand pieces of silver. This amīr left a numerous family in Khurāsān, and his posterity were designated by the name of *al-Mahālibah* (*the Muhallabs*). Al-Akhnas al-Ṭā'i, a poet cited in the *Ḥamāsah*, speaks of them in a poem composed by him in honour of al-Muhallab. Here are his words:

"In a year of scarcity, as I was far from my native country, I stopped to pass the winter with the family of al-Muhallab. Their benevolence, their kind enquiries, and their generosity towards me were unceasing; so it seemed to me as if they were members of my own family."

The Wazīr Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī, of whom we have already spoken (*No. 170*), was descended from al-Muhallab. At the commencement of this article, some names are mentioned which require to be explained and the orthography of which we must indicate. *Muzayqiyā*, with a long final *a*, was the surname of the 'Amr whose name occurs (*in the genealogy*). He was a Yamanite king and received this appellation because he put on, every day, two robes of cloth interwoven with gold, and tore them to pieces when he took them off, in the evening<sup>1</sup>. He did so because he disdained to put them on again and was unwilling that any other person should wear them. It was he who emigrated from Yaman to Syria for a motive which it would take us too long to explain<sup>2</sup>. The *Anṣār*, that is, the tribes of al-'Aws and al-Khazraj, were his descendants. Abū 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr<sup>3</sup>,

1 The verb *mazaq*, whence the name of *Muzayqiyā* is derived, signifies to tear in pieces.

2 For the history of *Muzayqiyā* see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, etc., tome I, page 83 et seq.

3 His life will be found in the this book.

the author of the *Kitāb al-Isṭil'āb* says, in the little book to which he gave the title *al-Qaṣd wa 'l-Umam*, and which treats of Arabian and Persian genealogies: "The Kurds are descended from 'Amr Muzayqiyā. They settled in the country of the Persians and there propagated their race. Their offspring was very numerous and received the name of Kurds." A certain poet mentions this (*tradition*) in the following verse and he expresses the same opinion as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr:

"I assure you that the Kurds are not the children of the Persians; their ancestor was Kurd, the son of 'Amr, the son of 'Āmir."

'Āmir, the father of 'Amr (*Muzayqiyā*) obtained the surname of *Mā al-Samā* (*the water of heaven*) on account of his beneficence and the great services which he rendered. For this reason, he was compared to rain. Al-Mundhir al-Lakhmī, one of the kings of al-Ḥirah, was the son of a Mā al-Samā. His father's name was Imra' al-Qays, the son of\* 'Amr, the son of 'Adī; his mother, Mā al-Sama, was the daughter of 'Awf, the son of Juṣham, the son of al-Namir, the son of Qāsiṭ. She was called Mā al-Samā on account of her beauty and loveliness. *Dabā*, with a short final *a*, is the name of a place situated between 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn. A band of Azdites, having settled there, was called the *Azd* (of) *Dabā*. After the dispersion of the Azdites in the manner we have related at the commencement of this article<sup>1</sup>, each of their fractions received an additional name, in order to distinguish it from the others. So, people spoke of the Azd of Dabā, the Azd of *Shanu'ah*, the Azd of 'Umān and the Azd of al-Sarāt, though they were all sprung from the same stock. Let no one suppose that the differences indicated by these additional names implied a difference of origin. The poet surnamed al-Najāshī, and whose names were Qays Ibn 'Amr Ibn Mālik Ibn Ḥazn Ibn, al-Ḥārith Ibn Ka'b Ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ḥārithī, has said:

"I was like a man one of whose legs was sound whilst the other was suffering from an accident of fortune. The sound leg

1 This is an oversight of the author: he probably spoke of the dispersion of the Azdites in the rough copy of his work and suppressed that account afterwards, but forgot to strike out the present passage.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid omits: The son of.—Ed.

was (*the tribe of*) Azd Shanū'ah, and the lame one, (*the tribe of*) Azd 'Umān."

When al-Muhallab routed the troops of Qaṭarī Ibn al-Fujā'ah (*No. 519*), he sent for Mālik Ibn Baṣhīr and said to him: "I am going to send you on a mission to al-Ḥajjāj; so, set off, for he is a man like yourself (*in turn of mind*)". He then sent a present after him, but it was returned with this answer: "Presents should not be given till they are deserved." Mālik pursued his journey and entered into al-Ḥajjāj's presence. "What is your name?" said al-Ḥajjāj. The other answered: "Mālik Ibn Baṣhīr<sup>1</sup>." Al-Ḥajjāj: "Possessor and good news! how did you leave al-Muhallab?" Mālik: "He has obtained what he hoped for and is safe from what he feared." Al-Ḥajjāj: "How is he for his troops?" Mālik: "Like a kind father." Al-Ḥajjāj: "And how are they pleased with him?" Mālik: "He has loaded them with kindness and sated them with justice." Al-Ḥajjāj: "How do you behave when you meet the enemy?" Mālik: "We attack with all our might, hoping to prevail over them, and they do the same with us." Al-Ḥajjāj: "What is Qaṭarī Ibn al-Fujā'ah doing?" Mālik: "He employs against us the same stratagems as we do against him." Al-Ḥajjāj: "What prevented you from pursuing him?" Mālik: "We thought it better to take a position in his rear than to pursue him." Al-Ḥajjāj: "Speak to me of al-Muhallab's sons." Mālik: "They stay, as shepherds, in the pasture ground (*nabāt*?), till nothing more is to be feared there, and they protect their flock till they bring it back." Al-Ḥajjāj: "Which of them is the worthiest?" Mālik: "Let their father be asked." Al-Ḥajjāj: "I insist on your answering." Mālik: "They are like a solid ring the two ends of which cannot be distinguished." Al-Ḥajjāj: "Tell me, I adjure you! did you ever take lessons in that style of speaking?" Mālik: "God makes no one acquainted with His secrets." Al-Ḥajjāj then said to those who were sitting with him: "By Allāh! that is the style of pure nature and has nothing artificial." I may here observe that these paragraphs ought to have been placed at the beginning of the article; but I gave them as they came to my mind.

<sup>1</sup> These names signify, in Arabic, *possessor, son of the bearer of good news*.



## 728 MIHYĀR AL-DAYLAMĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mihyār Ibn Mirzawayh, a native of Daylam and secretary for the Persian language, gained high reputation as a poet. He had been a fire-worshipper but afterwards adopted the Muslim faith. It is said that he made his profession of Islāmism to the *sharīf* al-Raḍī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Mūsawī<sup>1</sup>, who was his professor and under whom he made his poetical studies. He had already composed a number of *qaṣīdahs* on the same model and rhythm as those of his master. My professor (*'Izz al-Dīn*) Ibn al-Aḥīr al-Jazarī (No. 435) states, in his Annals, that Mihyār's conversion to the true faith took place in the year 394 (A.C. 1003-4), and that al-Qāsim Ibn Burhān said to him: "Mihyār! by becoming a Musulmān you have (*merely*) passed from one corner of hell to another." "How so?" said Mihyār. Al-Qāsim replied: "Because you were formerly a fire-worshipper and now you revile the Companions of our blessed Prophet in your verses<sup>2</sup>." As a poet he surpassed all his contemporaries by the copiousness of his style. The collection of his poetical works is so ample that it fills four volumes. In his poetry he displayed great delicacy of thought and a remarkable loftiness of mind. The *hāfiẓ* Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb (No. 33) speaks of him in his *History of Baghdād* and commends him highly: "I used to see him," says he, "go regularly, every Friday, to the great mosque called *Jāme' al-Manṣūr*,"—this was in Baghdād,—"and there students read his collected poetical works under his direction; but I had no opportunity of hearing his lessons." Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bākhārī (No. 450) mentions him in the *Dumyat al-Qaṣr* and speaks of him in these terms: "As a poet he well fulfilled the sacred rites which excellence requires; from beneath each of his words was displayed a maiden (*thought*),—and there was not in any of his *qaṣīdahs* a single verse on which critics, in pronouncing judgement, might say: "If it had been so and so! O, that it had been so and so! The human heart was the mould in which his verses were cast, and time, harmful as it is, was incapable of harming

1 The life of Muḥammad al-Raḍī is given in No. 641.

2 Mihyār had probably embraced the *Shī'ite* doctrine with the intention of pleasing his patron, & so was descended from 'Alī.

them." He then gives some pieces composed by him and some verses extracted from his *qasīdahs*. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Bassām<sup>1</sup> speaks of him with high commendation in the *Dhakhirai Rom Treasure*, (a work) treating of the noble qualities by which the people of the (Spanish) peninsula were distinguished; he gives also some specimens of his poetry and metrical compositions. One of Mihyār's best-known *qasīdahs* is that which begins thus:

"May a persisting rain-cloud, whose waters bear the sand even into people's dwellings, refresh and reanimate with its contents the abode which my mistress occupied at Raqmatayn<sup>2</sup>. How can I renew my intercourse with Umm Mālik, now that the places in which we reside are separated by (the country of) Zarūd<sup>3</sup> and its two mountains? My heart, though far from her, sees her with the eye of desire and is happy; but who will enable my eyes to see her in reality? How pure, good God! and yet how troubled is our mutual love! how far is she from me every morning and yet how near<sup>4</sup>! When my eyes are saddened (by her absence), I am consoled by images and likenesses (seen in my dreams and) which augment the love I bear her. I embrace each pliant branch, as if it was her waist, and I sip from the mouth of the wine-cup, as if it was her lips. (I cannot forget) the day in which that charming gazelle appeared to me; she was standing on a sand-hill and looked dismayed, like a doe which had lost its fawn in the desert, and was alarmed to the heart's core through dread of being bereaved (for ever. In that state,) its eyes acquire more beauty and the inflections of its neck more grace. The resemblance was so great that my sight, O Umm Mālik, doubted not of your being that gazelle. If you were not like her in the cheeks and in the forehead, you resembled her in (the graceful turn of) your neck; nay more! its eyes were yours. O women! you who condemn the fondness shown for the abode

1 See No. 439, note, and *Journal Asiatique* for Feb.-March, 1861.

2 *Al-Raqmatayn* was the name of a place situated on the border of a glen in the Arabian desert, on the road leading to Baṣrah. (*Marāṣid*). In the text of this verse we must read ملث يحيل.

3 *Zarūd* is the name of a place on the road leading to Makkah. (*Marāṣid*.)

4 The poet says she was near him because he saw her in his dreams.

of a person dearly beloved, (*for a spot which is so*) difficult to reach by the random efforts even of our wishes, leave the lover to (*his attachment for the land of*) Najd, the sole occupation of his heart. Were even Najd a valley, that heart would never go beyond it. Suppose you hinder him from seeing the beloved with his eyes, can you hinder his heart from longing to possess her? O for the night I passed at Dhāt-al-Aṭḥal (*the tamarisk grove*), when her image came (*to visit me in a dream*) and rendered that night so short! O, how dear that remembrance! O how dear! Fear (*of discovery*), treading in the foot-steps of love, approached<sup>1</sup> me in all its terrors; may God not diminish the length of their road! They had nearly gone astray, in the darkness of the night, but they were directed (*towards us*) by the brilliant lustre of the beloved's teeth."

A well-known piece of his is the following:

"The heavy rain-cloud, driven forward by the south wind, appeared in the morning and watered thee copiously, abode of Umāmah; and my heart remained at the sand-hill, in the reserved grounds of the tribe. Turn, (*my friend!*) towards those grounds and say to my heart: "Fare-well!" Then pursue your journey and relate a wondrous tale; say that a heart went away and left the body standing up. Say to neighbours who dwell at al-Ghaḍā: "How sweet would be the life one leads at al-Ghaḍā, were it to endure! A year has passed without the lover's having forgotten you; yet a lover's passion ceases, once he has passed a year. Loaden the zephyr with the sweet perfumes you exhale, before it receives its load from the shih and the ḥumāmāh\*<sup>2</sup>, and send your images to visit me in my dreams, if you mean to permit my eye-lids to taste of sleep."

These verses are taken from a long *qaṣīdah* which contains many fine passages; but I shall confine myself to this extract for

1 Read تخطت. The text of this piece is corrupt and the translation often conjectural.

2 The shih is the plant called by botanists *artemisia odoratissima* or *absinthium*. The ḥumāmāh (*panicum*) is a sort of grass. Both those plants are common in the dry soils of Arabia and north Africa.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: ḥuzāmā (Lavender).—Ed.

the sake of brevity. One of his pieces remarkable for the delicacy of its ideas is the *qaṣīdah* in which are found the following verses :

"I passed a sleepless night ; does she who enjoys repose at Sal'a<sup>1</sup> possess a heart capable of pitying those who sleep not ? I implore you, by our mutual affection, you whom I love as my son ! for you are dearer to me than the son of my father<sup>2</sup> ; shed tears through affliction ; for my eyes, when I ask them to pour forth (*istabraztuhā*) tears, refuse to obey. Though weeping be difficult for one who is unscathed (*by sorrow*), yet I have never asked you to do what was not difficult ".

The same poet is the author of this fine passage on contentedness :

"You blame the miser who is sparing of his wealth ; why not be more parsimonious than he by sparing your self-respect ? Disgrace not your hand by asking ; life itself is of too little value to be asked for. I wrap myself up in the skirts of my contentedness, and pass the night thus covered and enveloped. Notwithstanding my poverty, I appear before my enemies in such attire as denotes a man of wealth and thus make them think that I am rich. When a man passes his nights in sighing, and all his hopes prove vain, let him count only on himself".

One of his *qaṣīdahs* contains an original thought which is thus expressed :

"When your foes see you, their souls fly from them with affright. One would think their souls were aware of your presence sooner than their eyes. When you meet a hostile squardon and wish to disperse it, you have only to declare aloud your name and surname".

The *dīwān* (or *collected works*) of this poet is so well known that we need not lengthen our article by the insertion of other fine passages. There is, however, in one of his *qaṣīdahs*, a verse which pleases me so much that I shall give it here :

1 *Sal'a* was the name of a place near Madīnah. (*Marāṣīd*).

2 *The son of my father*, that is : *myself*.

"The travellers who have just set out, and from whom you are now separated, have left behind them hearts which shall ever refuse to admit of consolation for their loss."

Mihyār died on Sunday, the 5th of the latter Jumādā, A.H. 428 (26th March, A.C. 1037), in the same year as the celebrated physician, the *ra'is* Ibn Sinā (*Avicenna*,—see No. 184). I read, however, in a book of annals that his death took place in the year 426; but the first date is the true one. Al-Bākhārzi speaks of his son, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, in the *Dumyat al-Qaṣr*, and states him to be the author of the *qaṣīdah* which rhymes in ḥ (ح) and in which is found this verse:

"O zephyr which breathest from Kāzimah!¹ seldom didst thou excite weeping or affliction."

But this poem, which is of considerable length, is well known to have been composed by Mihyār himself. I know not what made al-Bākhārzi fall into this mistake. *مهيار* and *مرزويه* must be pronounced *Mihyār* and *Marzawayh*. They are both Persian names and their signification is unknown to me.

---

¹ *Kāzimah*, a well-known place on the road leading from Baṣrah to Makkah.

## APPENDIX

\*[This state of affairs continued till the year A.H. 688 (A.C. 1300). Then with a change in the circumstances there came a change and the two amirs Najm al-Dīn Khidr and Badr al-Dīn Salāmash mentioned above were arrested and imprisoned in the Qal'at al-Jabal. As regards the Şālihiyan, Prince al-Malik al-Manşūr mentioned above, was heir-apparent of his father and of clear judgment; he died during his father's life-time in the month of Sha'bān, A.H. 687 (A.C. 1288). Then his father appointed his son al-Malik al-Ashraf, mentioned above, his heir-apparent. He entrusted the reigns of government to him in the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 687 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1288). He is one of the potentates noted for their aspirations, prosperity and prudence. Al-Malik al-Manşūr Qalāwūn died on one Saturday† of the month of Dhu 'l Qa'dah, A.H. 689 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 1290). He had set out to 'Akkā with an intention of waging war, but he fell ill and passed away and the army returned to its station.

His son al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf, succeeded him and inherited all strongholds and towns. None was seen more prosperous, more powerful or more noble in soul or more faithful to those who attached themselves with him, among potentates than him.

In the days of al-Malik al-Manşūr, Syrian Tripoli was conquered on Tuesday 9 latter Rabi' A.H. 688 (3 May, A.C. 1289), He had stormed it himself with his armies, and took it by force. He subjected its inhabitants to slaying, capturing and pillaging. He captured all that lay in its vicinity, the fort of Jubayl, al-Bishrūn

---

\* [ ] This apocryphal passage, is taken from the Egyptian edition. The editor 'Abd al-Ḥamīd has rightly observed that the authorship cannot be ascribed to Ibn Khalikān who died in A.H. 681 (A.C. 1282), while it contains information upto A.H. 690 (A.C. 1291).

The author may be unknown but the information of contemporary events as furnished in this passage is useful: it is included here as an Appendix.

† Saturday fell on 7, 14, 21 and 28 of this month, corresponding to 11, 18, 25 November and 2 December, 1290 A.C.—Ed.

and other places. The above mentioned al-Malik al-Ashraf after being in absolute power for a long time, set out for 'Akkā personally and collected his forces storming it in a day. His emergence from Egypt was the same day and all people of his regular army, volunteers and others assembled near 'Akkā. Allāh made its capture easy on Friday 17 first Jumādā, A.H. 690 (18 May, A.C. 1291); in a similar hour it was seized from the Muslims and in the same month, with the difference that it was the first. It was seized from the Muslims in the days of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb in latter Jumādā, A.H. 658 (A.C. 1260).

Al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn captured all its inhabitants and put all of them to sword. The Franks had done the same to Muslims in the days of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

Observe many coincidences in these events. It was seized from one Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and (his name-sake) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn recaptured it. Muslims were slain there and then infidels were slain. It was seized in the second hour of Friday 17, latter Jumādā, then Muslims recaptured it in the second hour of Friday 17, first Jumādā Glory be to Him, ordaining the affairs.

With the fall of 'Akkā the spirit of the Franks failed and those who were at Beirut and 'Illit fled away. They are two great forts and imagination cannot encompass them. The Muslims captured them with Allāh's grace and might, without fighting.

They captured Beirut and Ḥayfā and so no place remained in the hands of the Franks on the coast—no fort, no town, no village and no island but the Muslims captured all.]

## INDEX

## A

- Abiward, 1.  
 al-Abiwardi, 1, 4, 5, 53.  
 al-Ablah, 19, 21, 22, 33, 182.  
 Abrahām, 195, 345.  
 Abrez Gate, 252.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ṭūsi, ('Abhāsah), 424.  
 Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān, 262.  
 Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, 41, 42, 348, 360.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, 343, 385.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Ashkari, 414.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Naysābūri, 246, 265.  
 Abū 'Alī Dāwūd (Qāḍī), 276.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Sinjī, 266.  
 Abū 'Alī 'l-Faraj, 11n.  
 Abū 'Amr al-Dīn, 340.  
 Abū 'Aṭā Marzūq al-Şindi, 351, 352.  
 Abu 'l-'Atāhiyāh, 301.  
 Abu 'l-'Aynā, 414.  
 Abū Baḥr 'Abd al-Şamad, 65.  
 Abū Bakr, 45, 92, 114.  
 Abū Bakr (Şiddiq), 161n, 218, 219, 326.  
 Abū Bakr al-Adfu'is, 344.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ājūri, 317.  
 Abū Bakr al-Andalusī, 43, 70.  
 Abū Bakr al-Dānī, 54, 59, 61, 68.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ḡhundadī (al-'Udhri), 156.  
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī, 190.  
 Abū Bakr al-Qurtubī, 349.  
 Abū Bakr al-Şhāsī, 190n.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ṭūsi, 101.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Abī Dāwūd, 275.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Muḥammad al-Malik, 284.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad, 51, 89, 91, 92, 150.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī, 163.  
 Abu 'l-Barakāt, 39, 383.  
 Abū Burdah Ibn Mūsā, 294.  
 Abū Duwād al-Iyādī, 210.  
 Abū Daūd, 248.  
 Abū Faḍl Muḥammad, 135.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl, 137, 242.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mikālī, 143.  
 Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Mikālī, 143.  
 Abu 'l-Farj al-Işbahāni, 312.  
 Abu 'l-Faḥ, 23.  
 Abu 'l-Faḥ al-Bustī, 223.  
 Abu 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad, 94, 95, 97, 99.  
 Abu 'l-Feda, 105, 108, 123, 125, 126, 139, 167, 231, 240, 254, 259, 305, 329, 334, 389, 406, 407.  
 Abu 'l-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 424.  
 Abu 'l-Ḡhanā'im Ibn Dārist, 166.  
 Abū Ḡhassān, 156.  
 Abū Ḥafṣah, 239, 240, 244, 245.  
 Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kirmānī, 128.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥakam Ibn Abu 'l-Abyaḍ al-Nasib, 160.



- Abū Ḥanīfah, 106, 215, 229, 230, 231, 269, 315.  
 Abū al-Ḥasan, 94, 159, 316, 380, 381, 388.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, 335.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Al-Ḥasan, 168.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Musayyabī, 326.  
 Abū Ḥāshim, 65.  
 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzi, 317.  
 Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistāni, 291, 299.  
 Abu 'l-Hayjā al-Hadbāni, 328.  
 Abu 'l-Hayjā Ibn 'Imrān, 323.  
 Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, 141, 147, 148.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥazm al-Makkī, 348.  
 Abu 'l-Hind al-Dārī (Rāzi), 350.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Marwazi, 318.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Sābi, 170, 315.  
 Abū Ishāq Shīrāzi, 263, 357, 358, 360, 361.  
 Abū Ja'fār, 26, 126, 131, 302.  
 Abu 'l-Jūthah (Huwayyah), 329.  
 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī-l-Ḥaḍiri, 15, 36, 192.  
 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī, 248.  
 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Quraysh, 331.  
 Abu 'l-Mahāsin, 91, 92, 93, 120.  
 Abu 'l-Mahārīsh, 334.  
 Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥasan, 168.  
 Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alī Surdur, 179.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad, 339.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jabbār, 59, 424.  
 Abū Moḥammad al-Ḥusayn, 94, 96.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Naṣīh, 39.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Mubārak, Baghdādī, 30.  
 Abū Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id, 367.  
 Abū Muḥammad Ismā'il, 421.  
 Abū Muḥammad Sa'id Ibn al-Dabbān, 347.  
 Abū Mulaykah, 242.  
 Abū Musim, 88, 274.  
 Abu 'l-Moustahill, 272.  
 Abu 'l-Muṭarrif, 54.  
 Abu 'l-Muẓaffer Yūsuf, 112.  
 Abū Na'amah, 299.  
 Abū Naṣr, 200, 201.  
 Abū Naṣr al-Ḥalbi, 330.  
 Abū Naṣr al-Qushayrī, 248.  
 Abū Nuwās, 294, 301, 378.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim, 15, 16, 72.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Azharī, 275.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsin Maḥmūd, 232.  
 Abu al-Qaṭṭān, 262.  
 Abū Rakwā al-Walīd, 367, 368.  
 Abu 'l-Riḍā (al-Qā'id) al-Fāriqi, 170.  
 Abu 'l-Riḍā Ibn Ṣadaqah, 185.  
 Abū Sa'id, 12, 72, 62.  
 Abū Sa'id al-'Adwī, 275.  
 Abū Sa'id Mas'ūd, 231.  
 Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Manṣūr Ibn Ishāq, 205.

- Abū Salamah Shahrab, 349.  
 Abū 'l-Ṣalt, 331.  
 Abū 'l-Ṣarī' Ibn Abī Ghālib al-Khazraji, 270, 274.  
 Abū Ṣhabīb al-Ṣadafī, 394.  
 Abū Ṣhammir, 73.  
 Abū Ṣhujā', 176.  
 Abū Ṣhujā' Muḥammad Ibn Ḥegribek, 104, 107.  
 Abū 'l-Simt Ibn Abū 'l-Junūd, 244.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Hāshim, 15.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad (Qāḍi), 281.  
 Abū Ṭālib, 34, 333.  
 Abū Ṭālib al-Qāḍi al-Iṣba'hāni, 222.  
 Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad, 346.  
 Abū Ṭālib Mikāyil, 98.  
 Abū Tammām, 5, 61, 131, 161.  
 Abū Yaḥyā (Ibn Ma'an), 74.  
 Abū 'Ubayd 38, 362, 363.  
 Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sullām, 291.  
 Abū 'Ubayd Ibn Harbawayh, 361.  
 Abū 'Ubaydah, 291, 292, 293, 294, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302.  
 Abū 'Umar al-Kindī, 160.  
 Abū 'Umar al-Māzinī, 127, 1291, 308.  
 Abū 'l-Wafā al-Buzanji, 213, 214.  
 Abū 'l-Walid al-Waqshī, 55.  
 Abū Ya'qūb Tāshfīn, 56, 57.  
 Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Habbāriyah, 172.  
 Abū 'l-Yumn Sābiq, 13.  
 Abū Yazid, 46, 47.  
 Abū Zakariyā, 2, 420.  
 Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, 294, 375.  
 Abyssinia, 92.  
 Acad Ibn Kazaynad, 272.  
 Acre Jaffa, 371.  
*Adab al-Kātib*, 420.  
 Adam 108, 271, 316, 345.  
 Aden, 42.  
 Ādharbājān, 41, 146, 259, 30, 254, 4327, 412.  
 al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, 370.  
 Afrika 58, 74, 193n, 289, 368, 390, 392, 401, 412, 414.  
 Afshēen (Ifshīn), 161, 162.  
 Afşūn, 392.  
 Aghmāt, 60, 61, 64, 65, 68, 83.  
 Mr. Ahlwradt, 294.  
 Aḥmad, 97.  
 Aḥmad al-Aḥwal, 135.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Ali Duwād, 128, 131.  
 Aḥmad Ibn 'Ali al-Thawri, 275.  
 Aḥmad Ibn 'Ammān Ibn Shādhi, 127.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Asad, 206.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, 245, 317.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Kayghaligh Abu 'l-'Abbās 29, 97.  
 Abū 'l-Farj Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad, 141.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Ra'ūf al-Shafī', 275.  
 Aḥmad Ibn al-Rifā'i, 31.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Sayyār, 316.

- al-Aḥṣā, 37.  
 al-Ahwāz, 156, 164, 175, 243.  
 Akbara, 155 n.  
 al-Akfānī, 210.  
 al-Akhfash Sa'id, 375.  
 Alexander, 137, 328.  
 Alexandria, 46, 77, 114, 217, 281, 328, 401.  
 Aleppo, 15, 16, 78, 104, 111, 112, 115, 124, 165, 166, 192, 221, 233, 235, 238, 239, 249, 255, 256, 257, 330, 332, 335, 339, 349, 388, 407, 410.  
 Alli Kirmās, 259 n.  
 Algeria, 290.  
 Algiers, 89.  
 Algeiras, 57, 395, 401.  
 Almagest, 386.  
 Almeria, 69, 70, 71, 75, 81.  
 al-Almerciā, 199.  
 Alp Arslān, 9, 33, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 179, 182, 183, 353.  
 Alphonso, 55, 56, 57.  
 Alptikīn (Abū Ishāq), 223.  
 al-Ameen, 274.  
 Amin al-Millah, 223.  
 al-Ānir bi Ahkām Allāh, 369, 370, 371, 372.  
 Amro, 'I-Qays 240.  
 Anas, 195.  
 Anas al-Ḥuffāz, 195.  
 Anas Ibn Mālik, 195 n., 350.  
 Anaz Ana Ghassān Ghīyās, 391.  
 al-Anbār, 249, 304, 323, 326.  
 al-Anbārī Abu 'I-Ḥasan Ibn 'Umar, 157, 158, 159, 162.  
*Anmūdḥaj* 215.  
*Annal*, 126, 146, 161 n. 254, 264.  
 al- Anṭākī, 344.  
 Antiach, 126, 146, 357.  
 Anūjūr (Abu 'I Qāsim), 94.  
 Anūshirwān, 73.  
 Apostle (Madinah), 175.  
 Āq Sanqūar, 234, 253, 254.  
 Aqsīs, 115.  
 Arabia, 29, 91, 185, 186.  
 Arabian 'Irāq, 419.  
*Arabian Nights*, 67.  
*Arba' Maqālāt*, 210n.  
 Arbela, 35, 37, 39, 41, 121, 185, 187, 233, 256, 257, 259, 261, 328, 347, 374, 383, 286, 388.  
 Arḍ al-Mizzah, 45.  
 Arḍ al-Sawād, 119.  
 Ardashīr Ibn Bābak, 210, 211, 212.  
 Aristotle, 137, 198, 199, 384, 387.  
 Ārmenia, 112, 302, 329.  
 Arrājān, 137, 138.  
 Arrān, 259.  
 Arsalān, 106.  
 Arsalān al-Basāsīrī, 332.  
 Arsalan Shāh (Sultān), 261.  
 Arwā, 74, 75.  
 Arzangān, 409.  
 Asad al-Dīn Shīrku, 110, 235, 249, 259.  
 Al-As'ad Ibn Billīḥ, (Abu 'I-Qāsim), 72, 75.  
 As'ad al-Mīhanī, 190n.

- As'ad Ibn Khuzaymah, 351.  
*Asās al-Balāghah*, 214.  
 al-Ashraf, Ibn Fakhr al-Mulk,  
 164, 407, 408, 411, 412, 413.  
 Asia Minor (Rūm), 106, 120,  
 207, 234, 257, 327, 332,  
 333, 354, 409.  
 al-Aşma'i, 293, 294, 298, 300,  
 303.  
 al-Aṭābikī, 233.  
 Atābik Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Ṭuḡhtikīn,  
 371.  
 Aṭhīr al-Dīn al-Mufaḍḍal al-  
 Abharī, 385, 386, 387.  
 Aṭsīs, 112.  
 Āwāna, 55.  
 al-Awzā'i, 350.  
 Awzalagh, 203.  
 Aybik, 234.  
 Ayyūb, 112.  
 Azāreka, 272.  
 Al-Aẓhari, 37.  
 al-Azraqi's *description of Mak-*  
*kah*, 122.  
 Aaron (Hārūn Prophet), 235.  
 'Abbād, 55, 59, 60, 65, 136,  
 147.  
 al-'Abbās, 196, 325, 418.  
 al-'Abbās al-Murri, 160.  
 al-'Abbās Ibn 'Amr al-Ghanavi,  
 322, 325.  
 Al-'Abbās Ibn-al-Ḥasan, 91.  
 al-'Abbāsah, 267.  
 'Abd Allāh al-Kasry, 272.  
 'Abdullah Ibn Muhammad  
 Adham, 56.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bulukkīn, 58.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥamdān, 324.  
 'Abd Allah Ibn Malik al-  
Khuzu, 381.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Marwān (Abd  
 al-'Azīz), 393, 395.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maslamah, 245.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mubārak, 316.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Shikhkhīr,  
 264.  
 'Abd Allāh (Ibn Ṭāhir), 5,  
 161n.  
 Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Alī 'Āmir,  
 69, 70.  
 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān, 369.  
 'Abd al-Ḥamid 1, n. 5, n.  
 75, 80, 91, 92, 102, 104,  
 122, 125, 132, 136, 141,  
 142, 144, 148, 154, 155,  
 156, 161n. 170n. 176n. 177n.  
 186n. 188n., 190n, 193n, 204,  
 209, 215, 223, 234, 237, 239,  
 244, 245, 259, 264, 267, 276,  
 289, 295, 296, 301, 322, 326,  
 329, 334, 341, 350, 351, 352,  
 353, 354, 368, 372, 377, 378,  
 383, 389, 390, 392, 393, 406,  
 407, 408, 409, 410, 413, 414,  
 424.  
 Abd al-Ḥaqq Ibn Ibrāhīm,  
 83.  
 'Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī,  
 94.  
 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn 'Abd al-  
 Raḥmān, 307.  
 'Abd al-Karīm, 248.  
 'Abd al-Laṭīf, 78, 147, 330.  
 'Abd al-Majīd (Ḥāfiẓ), 372.

- 'Abd al-Malik, 64, 274, 297, 326, 369, 393.  
 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadāni, 177.  
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, 261.  
 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwayni, 178, 179.  
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Umayr, 325.  
 Abd al-Muhsin al-Sūrī, 129.  
 'Abd al-Mūmin Harglri, 89.  
 'Abd al-Mūmin al-Wansharisi, 86, 87.  
 'Abd al-Mūmin Ibn 'Ali 'l-Qaysi, 76, 79, 80, 89.  
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 196.  
 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 194.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 90, 128, 149, 150, 244, 262.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, 244.  
 'Abd al-Paḥmān Ibn 'Isā al-Jabrud, 149.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zayd, 306.  
 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Hamām, 315.  
 'Adī Ibn Zayd al-Ibādī, 211.  
 'Adnān, 272.  
 'Aḍud al-Dawbal Ibn Buwayh, 99, 104, 156, 157, 158, 159, 323.  
 'Aḍud al-Dīn. 195.  
 'Aḍud al-Dīn Abu 'l Faraj, 26, 27.  
 'Affān Ibn Sulaymān.  
 'Alam al-Dīn (Shaykh), 389.  
 'Ajūz, 91.  
 'Akkah, 18, 370.  
 'Alā al-Dawlah, 99, 104.  
 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, 409.  
 'Alam al-Dīn Ta'āṣif, 392.  
 'Ali (Abū 'Alī), 274.  
 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb, 11, 34, 35, 76, 79, 89, 240, 285, 380, 393, 418.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Aṭṭham, 291.  
 'Alī Ibn Baliq al-Raḍi-Bi-Allāh, 149.  
 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah, 129.  
 'Ali Ibn Hebat Allāh, (Abu 'l-Ḥasan), 190.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Ja'd, 315.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Jahm, 132, 277.  
 'Ali (Ibn Manṣūr), 189.  
 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad, 283.  
 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Ḡharnāt (Abu 'l-Hasan), 79.  
 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā, 286, 355, 417, 418, 419.  
 'Alī Ibn Rabn (Abu al-Ṭabṛī 'l-Ḥasan), 204.  
 'Ali Ibn Sulaymān, 144.  
 'Ali Ibn Tirād, 10, 11.  
 'Alī Ibn Yahyā, 78.  
 'Alī Ibn Yoūnus (Abu 'l-Ḥasan), 366, 367.  
 'Alī al-Bākhharzi (Abu'l Ḥasan), 79, 183.  
 'Alī al-Kūshī al-Shādhili, 422.  
 'Ali al-Madīni, 294.  
 'Ali Zaynabī (Naqīb al-Nuqabā), 10.

- 'Āliqīn, 115.  
 'Alqamah, 243.  
 'Amīd, 118, 119, 136, 165, 167, 409.  
 'Amīd al-Dawlah Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad, 167, 171, 173, 174.  
 'Anīd al-Dawlah Ibn Jāhir, 175.  
 'Amīd al-Mulk Muḥammad, 33, 181, 182, 183.  
 'Abū Naṣr Muḥammad (Ibn Maṣṣūr) 'Amīd al-Mulk al-Kundri, 178, 179, 250.  
 al-'Amīdī's *Irshād*, 384.  
 al-'Amīdiyāt, 136.  
 'Ammān, 91.  
 'Amr Ibn al-Itnābah, 299.  
 'Amr Ibn al-Hayth, 325.  
 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah, 128.  
 'Ānah, 123, 323.  
 al-'Aqabiyah, 412.  
 al-'Aqīq, 32, 347.  
 al-'Aqr, 260, 261.  
 'Arafāt, 186, 187.  
 al-'Arīsh, 47, 371.  
 'Askar Mukram, 265.  
 'Aṭā Ibn Abi Rabāh, 315, 318.  
 'Awn al-Dīn, 190, 195.  
 'Aylān (Ghaylān), 269.  
 al-'Aẓīmī (Abū 'Abd-Allah), 325.  
 Al-'Azīz, 367.  
 'Azīz al-Dawlah Rihān, 221.  
 'Azīz al-Dīn, 189, 232.  
 al-'Azīz al-Iṣbahānī, 233.  
 al-'Azīz Ibn al-Manṣūr, 78.  
 al-'Azīz Nizār, 96, 282.
- B
- Bālbak, 161.  
 Bābak al-Khurrāmī, 417.  
 Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), 354.  
 Bāb al-'Aṭṭārīn, 341.  
 Bāb Ḥarb, 304.  
 Bāb al-Maydān, 349.  
 Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, 202, 249, 330; 393.  
 Bāb al-Sharqi, 392.  
 Bāb al-Ṭāq, 275.  
 Bāb al-Teen, 165.  
 Bādīs, 290.  
 Badr al-Jamālī, 285.  
 Badrān, 331.  
 Badriyah, 387, 390.  
 Badr Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ikhshīdī, 154.  
 Bāf, 276.  
 al-Bāfi (Abu Muḥammad), 276.  
 al-Baghawī, 275.  
 Baghdād, 8, 10, 11, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33, 38, 46, 64, 90, 94, 101, 102, 107, 108, 126, 127, 136, 137, 141, 147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 166, 167, 176, 178, 186, 189, 190, 191, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 205, 206, 210, 212, 213, 216, 226, 232, 233, 234, 238, 240, 244, 245, 246, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 265, 275, 276, 282, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 291, 304, 308, 315, 317,

- 318, 319, 320, 325, 332, 334,  
 346, 347, 349 352, 354, 357,  
 358, 359, 361, 375, 580, 381,  
 382, 383, 384, 386, 388, 415,  
 416, 417, 420, 423.  
 al-Bahā Asad al-Sinjārī, 413.  
 Bahā al-Dawlah, (Abu Naṣr),  
 2.  
 Bahā al-Dīn, 163.  
 Bahā al-Dawlah, 99, 323.  
 Bahā al-Dawlāh Abū Naṣr, 162,  
 382.  
 Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, 29,  
 249, 260.  
 Bahā al-Dīn Rabīb, 260.  
 Bahar al-Dīn Zuhayr Ibn Mu-  
 ḥammad, 71.  
 Bahasnā, 234.  
 al-Bāhilī, 293.  
 al-Bahīrah, 87.  
 Bāhluvan Ibn Ildukuz, 261.  
 Bahrām Kuṣh, 205.  
 Baḥrayn, 29, 35, 37, 38, 325.  
 Bāi Tūz, (Abū Nur), 223.  
 Bajarwān, 302.  
 Bājjah, 65, 75.  
 Bajjanah, 69.  
 Bajjāyah, 75.  
 Bajkam al-Turkī, 152.  
 Bākari (Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī), 179,  
 192, 328.  
 al-Bākharzī, 192.  
 Bakr Ibn Muṣ'ab, 351.  
 al-Bakrī, 280, 281.  
 Ba'abak, 119, 123, 124, 234, 235,  
 239.  
 Balāsāghūn, 203.  
 al-Balīkh, 302.  
 Bālis, 234.  
 Balkh, 100, 106, 161, 224, 225,  
 314, 317.  
 Balqā, 119.  
 Bānyās, 370.  
 Bāniyaz, 235.  
 Bani Jimmān, 409.  
 Bānyās (Baysān), 408.  
 Baqī' 176, 188.  
 Baqiyah Ibn al-Walid, 315,  
 316.  
 Baqyār, 186, 187.  
 Barakah, 368.  
 Barakah Ibn Muqallad, 331.  
 al-Baraki (al-Barqī), 276, 280,  
 Barbar, 288.  
 Bardwil (Bardwin), 371.  
 al-Bāri' (Abū 'Abdullah), 11,  
 13.  
 Bārin, 256.  
 Barkyārūq, 107, 108, 109, 359.  
 Barmak, 147.  
 Barqah, 95, 281.  
 al-Barq al-Shāmī, 191, 193, 196,  
 373.  
 al-Barqa'īdi, 329.  
 al-Barrād Ibn Qays, 295.  
 al-Basā'i'rī, 334.  
 al-Basāsiri, (Abu 'l-Ḥārith Aṣ-  
 tāla), 283.  
 Bashshār Ibn Burd, 267.  
 Başrah, 34, 127, 132, 156, 190,  
 264, 291, 292, 293, 298, 301,  
 306, 315, 318, 350, 351, 352,  
 359, 374, 375, 378, 406.  
 al-Bast, 37.

- al-Bastāmi, (Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allāh), 424.  
 al-Baṭā'ih, 31.  
 Baṭalyaws, 57.  
 Battan (Bittan), 210.  
 Battāni, 210.  
 Bāward, 5.  
*Bayan al-'Amal fi-'l Hajj*, 345.  
*Bayān al-Kabā'ir Wa'l--Saghāir*, 344.  
 al-Bayhaqī, 263.  
 Bayn al-Nahrayn, 406.  
 Bayrūt, 371.  
 Bayt al-Maqdis, 354.  
 Bayyān al-Mughrib, 284.  
 al-Bayyāsī (Abul-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf), 68, 69.  
 Bellido, 75.  
 Berber, 76, 89.  
*Bibliothèque Imperiale*, 121.  
*Bibliothèque*, 94, 187, 193, 194, 213, 214, 215, 384.  
 Bighrājūq, 225.  
 Bihliwan (Bahliwan), 261.  
 Bijāyah (Bugiya) 78, 79.  
 Biktimūr (Mamluk), 258, 259.  
 Billitah, 75.  
 Bilāl, 45.  
 Bilbays, 123.  
 al-Bimāristāni, (Abū 'Abd Al-lāh), 128.  
*Biographical History of Mak-kāh*, 121.  
 Birkat al-Ḥabaṣh, 372.  
 Birkah Qarūn, 160.  
 Biṣṭaim Ibn Qays al-Shaybānī, 314.  
 Black Sea, 90.  
 Broch, Mr., 215.  
 Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, 122, 186, 187, 194.  
 Bughyah, 72, 78, 79, 89.  
 Buqia, 78, 89, 390, 392.  
*Bughyat al-Multmis*, 342.  
 al-Buḥturi, 130.  
 Bukhārā, 98, 100, 103, 206, 223, 246, 384.  
 al-Bukhārī, Imam, 246, 247, 248, 316, 317.  
 Būlāq, 368.  
 Bulukkin Ibn Ziri, 280, 281, 284.  
 al-Bundāri, 102.  
 al-Buqāyah, 238.  
 Burhān al-Dīn, 40.  
 Bust, 223, 225, 262, 309.  
 al-Bustī, 224.  
 Buzjan (Abū Ḥātim) al-Bustī, 213, 262, 318.
- C
- Cahtān, 272.  
 Cairo, 44, 46, 77, 112, 117, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 160, 267, 269, 281, 282, 283, 331, 340, 341, 346, 361, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 391, 411, 413.  
 Calcutta, 222, 385.  
 Caspian, 90, 354.  
 Castell, 186.  
 Castile, 55.



Caussin de pereceval's *Essai*,  
295, 300, 302, 315.  
Ceuta, 57, 58, 395.  
Chalef elahmar's *Qassaide*, 294.  
Chosroes, 355, 356.  
Constantinople, 101, 149, 354,  
392.  
Copts, 73.  
Cordova, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 59.  
67, 72, 199, 340, 341, 342.  
Coufa, 272.  
Cyrenica, 368.

## D

al-*Ḍaḥḥak* Ibn Muzāḥim, 116,  
315.  
*Dallat al-Nashīd*, 214.  
Damietta, 115, 116, 117, 124,  
125, 407, 408.  
Damascus, 6, 18, 28, 30, 38, 39,  
40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 91,  
92, 93, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119,  
120, 121, 123, 124, 154, 159,  
180, 190, 191, 197, 200, 201,  
202, 234, 235, 237, 239, 249,  
250, 253, 255, 257, 317, 330,  
332, 350, 371, 388, 389, 392,  
405, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412.  
al-*Dāmghāni* (Abū Ja'far Ibn  
'Alī), 216.  
al-*Dāniyah* (Denia), 340.  
Darband, 328.  
al-Darbandāt, 410.  
Dargāh *Khātūn*, 109.  
al-Dārikī, 318.  
al-Dashkarah, 126.

David, 404, 405.  
*Dawal al-Islamiyah*, 25.  
al-Dawā'ī, 21.  
Dāwūd, 100, 102, 104, 106, 410.  
Dawūd al-Ṭa'ī, 287.  
Dāwūd Ibn Mikāyil (Aḡud al-  
Dawlāh, 104.  
Dayār al-Qusayr, 369.  
al-Daylamī (Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan  
Ibn Buwayh), 135.  
*al-Daylamīyāt*, 42.  
Ḍayzan Ibn Mu'āwīyah, 211.  
Dead sea, 91.  
De. Haymmer, 294.  
*De l'Histoire des Druzes*, 134.  
De Sacy's *Chrestomathic*, 114,  
134, 141, 297.  
De Slane, 101, 350.  
Denia, 70.  
De Sacy's *Authologic graminatic*  
ale, 215.  
*Ḍhakā*, 362.  
D. Herbelot, 90, 180.  
*Ḍhakhirah*, 49, 52, 74.  
*Ḍhayl*, 102, 173, 176, N. 193.  
*Ḍhu-l-Kifayatayn*, (Abu l-Fath  
'Alī) 145, 147.  
*Ḍhu 'l-Oarnayn*, 271.  
*Ḍiū* Markh, 242.  
Di'bil, 42, 127.  
Dinār, 138.  
Dināwar, 327.  
Diophantus, 213.  
al-Diḡān al-'Azīz, 108, 195, 226.  
Diḡān al-Tamāthul, 215.  
Diyār Bakr, 167, 327, 354.  
Diyār Muḡr, 332.

Diyār Rabi'ah, 171, 332.  
 D'ohsson's Tale, 122, 238.  
 D. Ohsson, 229, 230.  
 Dozzy, 69, 341, 398, 405, 406.  
 Dr. Greehill, 206.  
 Dr. Sprenger, 385.  
 Dubays Ibn Šadaqah, 254.  
 Dujayl, 358.  
*Dumyat al-Qaṣr*, 192, 328, 329, 330.  
 Duqqāq, 234, 253.  
*Durrat al-Ḡhawwās*, 420.  
*al-Duwal al-Islāmiyah*, 132, 149.  
 al-Ḍabbī, (Abul 'Abbās) 144.  
 Ḍiyā al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Bah-rām, 185.  
 Ḍiyā al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh, 112.

## E

Edessa, 118, 235, 257, 406.  
 Edfow, 344.  
 Egypt, 18, 39, 41, 42, 46, 47, 77, 78, 90, 92, 97, 101, 110, 112, 114, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 126, 138, 147, 149, 154, 191, 192, 193, 194, 200, 235, 239, 245, 255, 257, 266, 267, 268, 279, 280, 281, 284, 285, 288, 326, 339, 341, 344, 346, 359, 361, 363, 364, 365, 369, 371, 389, 391, 392, 393, 405, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 413, 414.  
 Eithhorn's *Monumentenba anti Arabs*, 302.  
 Elias (Prophet), 302.  
 Emessa, 123, 124, 234, 235, 238, 255, 413.  
*Epistle*, 248.  
 Esneh, 392.  
 Euphrates, 95, 103, 105, 210, 257, 323, 326, 407.  
 Europe, 73.

## F

al-Faḍl Ibn al-Rabi', 291, 292, 294, 297, 298, 312, 313.  
 al-Faḍl Ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh, 372.  
 al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān, 127.  
 al-Faḍl *Shāhanshāh*, 285.  
*Fā'iq*, 214.  
 Fakhr al-Dawlah Muwyyad ad-Dīn, (Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Jubir), 165.  
 Fakhr al-Dawlah, 13, 49, 67, 166, 167, 168, 174.  
 Fakhr al-Dīn, 24, 25, 163.  
 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Raḍi, 112.  
 Fakhr al-Mulk Abū Ḡhalib Ibn *Khalaf*, 162, 164, 165.  
 al-Fakhr Ishāq, 17.  
 Fakhr al-'Ulā, 67.  
 Fannākhusrū, (Sultān al-Dawlah Abū Shujā') 162, 164.  
 Fārāb, 202, 203.  
 al-Fārābī, (Abū Naṣr) 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203.  
 al-Farāmā, 371.  
 Farber, 105.

Farghānah, 90, 92, 206.  
 Al-Farghānī, 96.  
 al-Fāriqī, Shaykh Muḥammad  
 202.  
 al-Faṭḥ Ibn 'Alī Aṣbahānī,  
 Imām, 194.  
*al-Faṭḥ al-Oṃssi fil faith al-*  
*Qudsi*, 193.  
 Fārs, 138, 148, 149, 203, 302.  
 Fātik al-Majnūn, 99.  
 Fāṭimah, 96, 109, 289.  
 Ferdinand, 55.  
 Fez, 279.  
*Fi Istikhrāj al-Awṭār*, 213.  
*Firdaws al-Ḥikmah*, 204.  
 Fonds st. Germain, 102.  
 Fleischerd (Professor), 344.  
 Frankish, 93.  
 Franks, 55, 56, 58, 115, 116,  
 117, 235, 370, 377, 407,  
 408.  
 Freytag 352.  
 Freytag, *Maardani*, 73, 36, 114,  
 240.  
 Fūrhan, 97.  
 al-Fuqqai, 368.  
 Fuṣṭāṭ (Marāṣid), 267.  
*Fuṣūs al-Akhlāḥ*, 214.

## G

Galiccia, 405.  
 German, 102.  
 al-Ghaḍanfar Ibn al-Ḥasan, 324.  
 Ghadir Khum, 285.  
*Gharīb al-Hudūd*, 295.

*Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, 295.  
*Ghars al-Ni'mah*, 305.  
 al-Ghawr, 34, 126.  
 al-Ghazālī, (Abū Ḥāmid) 76,  
 108, 386,  
 Ghāzī, 255.  
 Ghazrah, 41, 98, 100, 223, 224,  
 225, 230, 231, 318.  
 Ghazzāliyah, 249.  
 Ghiyāth al-Dīn, 107.  
 Ghundād, 156.  
 Ghuzz, 323.  
 Gibraltar, 413.  
 Gog and Magog, (Yājūj Mājūj),  
 328.  
 Granada, 58, 79.  
 Greek, 19, 196.  
 Grurdkūh (In Zabulistan), 108.

## H

Ḥabīb, 61.  
 Ḥaḍan, 307,  
 al-Ḥaḍar, 210, 211.  
 al-Ḥadba, 347.  
 Hadbania, 327.  
 al-Hakkāriyah, 260.  
 Hamadān, 233, 249, 253, 254,  
 261, 419.  
 al-Hamadāni, 108, 138, 177,  
 343, 355, 357, 358.  
 Hamadhān, 353.  
 Hamilton's *Hedaya*, 361.  
 Harghah, 76, 89.  
 al-Harrāsi, 76.  
 al-Harth, 35.

- Hārūn al-Rashīd, 42, 90, 132, 240, 263, 264, 274, 291, 294, 298, 312, 313, 380, 381, 382.  
*Ḥaḍḥq Nisab Qurayshī*, 375.  
*Ḥadiqah*, 331.  
 al-Ḥadiṭha, 334.  
 al-Ḥaḍrami, (Abū Ḥāmid), 275.  
 al-Ḥawfazān Ibn *Sharik* al-Shayban, 314.  
 Ḥajar 37.  
 al-Ḥājib al-Mawṣile, 411.  
 Ḥājib Ibn Sulayman, 262.  
 Ḥājji *Khalifah*, 79, 106, 138, 176, 199, 344, 345.  
 al-Ḥajūn, 194, 195.  
 Ḥākin, 272.  
 al-Ḥākim, 288, 326, 353, 366, 367, 368, 369.  
*Ḥamāsah*, 68, 298, 313, 314.  
 Ḥamāt, 44, 234, 235, 255, 335, 410.  
 Ḥammād 'Ajrad, 351.  
 Ḥammād Ibn Rāhwayh, 351, 352.  
 Ḥammād Ibn Zibriqān, 351.  
 Ḥamzah, (Abu Ya'lā) 335.  
 Ḥanzalah Ibn *Sharq*, 214.  
 al-Ḥarāmāy, 92.  
 Ḥarāmī Ibn 'Umrāh, 315.  
 al-Ḥarīr (Qādsīyah), 299, 300.  
 al-Ḥarīrī, 257, 420.  
 Ḥarīṭhah Ibn Ḥajjāj, 210.  
 Ḥarrah, 118, 274.  
 Ḥarrān, 209, 210, 258, 259, 260, 332, 333, 338, 406, 408, 409.  
 Ḥarrān Muzaḥḥar al-Dīn, 257.  
 al-Ḥasan, 207.  
 al-Ḥasan (Ibn Abī Tālib), 76, 239, 331.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Abī Tālib, (Abū 'Abd Allāh), 154.  
 al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 218, 301, 350.  
 al-Ḥashīsh, 128.  
 al-Ḥaṣṣān Ibn *Thābit*, 244.  
 Ḥāwī, 204.  
 Ḥawrān, 243.  
 Ḥaydar, 162.  
 Ḥayṣ Bayṣ, 188, 232, 423.  
 al-Ḥāzīmī, 286.  
 Ḥijāz, 32, 34, 41, 90, 92, 119, 245, 247, 280, 318, 414.  
 Ḥijr, 194.  
 al-Ḥillah, 40, 107, 254.  
 al-Ḥimā, 41, 42.  
 Ḥimyar, 288.  
 al-Ḥīrah, 347.  
 Ḥiṣn al-Akrad, 238.  
 Ḥiṣn Kayfā, 118.  
 Ḥiṣn Maslamah, 325.  
 al-Ḥiṣnayn, 38.  
 Ḥulwān, 167, 368, 369.  
 al-Ḥumādī (Abū 'Abd Allāh), 277, 411.  
 al-Ḥumaydī, 405.  
 Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq, 210.  
 Ḥuṣām al-Dawlah al-Muqallad, 322, 323.  
 Ḥuṣām al-Dīn Arsalān, 259.  
 Husam al-Dīn 'Alī Ibn Ḥammad, 411.  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī, 239, 381.  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ḥamdān, 91.  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muṭayr, 313.  
 al-Ḥussayn Ibn 'Ubayd, 95.  
 al-Ḥuṭayyāh, 242, 243.

- Hārūn Ibn Munajjim, 192.  
 Hāshim, 250.  
 al-Hāshimiyah, 305, 306.  
 Hatti, 368.  
 Hayāṭilah, 354.  
 Herbelot's (Ṭukhāristān) *Bibliothèque orientale*, 161n.  
 Hibat Allāh, 268.  
 Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Talmīdh, 420, 421.  
*Hidāyah ida Bulūgh al-Nehāyah*, 343.  
*Hijā al-Maṣāḥif*, 345.  
 Hijrah, 264, 314, 392.  
 Hilāl Ibn al-Sābī, 333.  
 Hiraql (Heraclius), 92.  
 Hirāt (Herāt), 213, 225, 274, 320, 350.  
 Hishām al-Muwayyad, 203, 341.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 160, 342.  
 Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, 18, 49.  
 Hishām Ibn Kalbī, 160, 243, 302.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, 291.  
*Histoire des Arabs*, 210.  
*Histoire des Musulmans d., Espagne*, 69.  
*History of Arbela*, 108, 112.  
*History of Atābeks*, (by al-Iṣbahānī), 187.  
*History of Baghdād*, 129, 162, 193, 379.  
*History of Berbers*, 75, 367, 368, 390.  
*History of Damascus*, 97, 154.  
*History of the Moḥammedan Dynasties in Spain*, 68.  
*History of the Physicians*, 203.  
*History of Qayrawān*, 77.  
*History of Spain*, 395.  
 Hit, 326.  
 Huesca, 69.
- I
- Ibn al-'Abbās ('Abd Allāh), 341.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 394.  
 Ibn Abī Bakr al-Andalusī, 58.  
 Ibn Abī Dūwād (Qāḍī), 133.  
 Ibn Abī 'l Sāj, 90, 91.  
 Ibn Abī 'l-Saqr (Abu al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Alī), 6, 8.  
 Ibn Abī 'l-Thiāb, 141, 154.  
 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, 203, 224.  
 Ibn Abī Yahyā, 317.  
 Ibn 'Adīl Jurjānī (Abū Aḥmad), 'Adīl, 262.  
 Ibn 'Āishah al-Taymī, 349.  
 Ibn al-Afānī Abū Muḥammad Hibat Allah), 210.  
 Ibn Akhi 'l-'Azīz, 189.  
 Ibn al-'Allāf (Abu 'l-Karam), 174.  
 Ibn al-'Amīd, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 162.  
 Ibn 'Ammān, 127, 128.  
 Ibn al-Anbārī (Abu 'l-Barakāt), 383.  
 Ibn 'Asākir (Ḥāfiẓ), 97, 154, 159, 249, 392.

- Ibn al-Ash'ath (Abū Dāwūd), 317.  
 Ibn al-Athīr, 112, 179, 188, 214, 227, 231, 233, 323, 406, 407, 409.  
 Ibn Azdahal (ArJakhal), 413.  
 Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, 233.  
 Ibn Badīān, 332.  
 Ibn al-Baladi, 25, 27.  
 Ibn Baqiyah (the Wazir), 155, 156, 157, 158.  
 Ibn Bashkuwāl, 54, 55, 199, 395.  
 Ibn Bāshit:kin, 368.  
 Ibn Bassām, 49, 52, 74.  
 Ibn al-Basti, 26, 27.  
 Ibn al-Bayyī' al-Naysabūri (Ḥakīm), 247.  
 Ibn al-Bawāb, 153.  
 Ibn al-Dahhān al-Faraḍī, 38, 39, 349.  
 Ibn al-Dubaythī, 45.  
 Ibn Duqmāq, 230.  
 Ibn Durayd, 40, 143.  
 Ibn al-Faḍl (Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, 424.  
 Ibn al-Furāt (Abu 'l-'Abbas Aḥmad), 5.  
 Ibn al-Furāt (Abu al-Faḍl Ja'far), 138, 281, 358, 359.  
 Ibn Ḡhalbūn, 34.  
 'Abd al-Mūmn (Ibn Ḡhalbūn Abu 'l-Ṭayyib), 341, 346.  
 Ibn al-Habbā'iyah (Abu Yalā Muḥammad), 8, 9, 13, 14, 172, 173.  
 Ibn al-Ḥaddād Qaysi, 70, 71.  
 Ibn al-Ḥaddād (Abū Bakr), 362.  
 Ibn Ḥajar, 245, 350, 361.  
 Ibn Ḥajjāj, 8.  
 Ibn Ḥamadānī, 102, 138, 156, 176.  
 Ibn Ḥammād, 284.  
 Ibn Ḥārūn al-Munajjim, 150.  
 Ibn Ḥayyūs, 333.  
 Ibn Ḥazm-al-Zāhiri, 49, 51.  
 Ibn Hibat Allāh, 285.  
 Ibn Hishām, 211.  
 Ibn al-Huzayn (Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Razzāq), 141.  
 Ibn Ishāq, 9.  
 Ibn Jābir, 329.  
 Ibn Jahwar (Abu 'l-Ḥazm), 342, 346.  
 Ibn al-Jawālīq, 138.  
 Ibn al-Jawālīqī, 420, 421, 422, 423.  
 Ibn al-Jawzi, 21, 33, 34, 150, 252, 411.  
 Ibn al-Jawzi (Abu 'l-Farj), 101.  
 Ibn al-Jazzār, 284.  
 Ibn Juljul, 203, 205.  
 Ibn Jurayj, 262.  
 Ibn Kākūyah (Abū Ja'fer), 99.  
 Ibn al-Kalbi, 243, 288, 302, 414.  
 Ibn Khākūyah, 327.  
 Ibn Khaldūn, 75, 76, 78, 79, 87, 89, 120, 167, 284, 289, 297, 308, 323, 327, 331, 367, 368, 390, 419.

- Ibn Khallikān, 10, 11, 12, 26, 45, 54, 55, 58, 59, 61, 78, 81, 91, 94, 101, 120, 124, 136, 141, 158, 186, 200, 210, 219, 228, 259, 264, 281, 284, 342, 398, 409.  
 Ibn al-Khammārah, 173.  
 Ibn Khāqān, 60.  
 Ibn Kharūf al-Maghribi, 29.  
 Ibn al-Khashshāb, (Abū Muḥammad) 341.  
 Ibn al-Khashshāb, 421.  
 Ibn al-Khayyāt. (Abū 'Abd Allāh), 15.  
 Ibn al-Kizani, 318.  
 Ibn Mājāh al-Qazwīnī, 248.  
 Ibn Makḥūl, 349.  
 Ibn Māmūyah, 142.  
 Ibn Marwān, 64.  
 Ibn Ma'sūd, 317.  
 Ibn Miskawah, (Abū 'Alī Aḥmad), 177.  
 Ibn al-Mu'allim, 30, 31, 33, 35, 35, 182.  
 Ibn al-Munajjim, 127, 130, 375, 376.  
 Ibn Munajjim ('Abd Allāh), 307.  
 Ibn Munīr, 15.  
 Ibn Muqbul, 274.  
 Ibn Muqlah, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad), 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154.  
 Ibn Mūsā, (Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, 207, 333.  
 Ibn al-Mushajjar, 366, 367, 369.  
 Ibn al-Mustawfī, (Abū 'l-Barakāt) 108, 112, 347, 348, 387.  
 Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 60, 240, 241, 311, 378.  
 Ibn al-Nadīm al-Mawṣili, 294, 378.  
 Ibn Nadīm, (Abū 'l-Farj) 213.  
 Ibn al-Naḥḥas, 331.  
 Ibn al-Najjar, 30.  
 Ibn Naṣr, 336.  
 Ibn Nubātah (Abū Nazr Abd al-Azīz), 138, 140, 141, 163.  
 Ibn Qānī', 160.  
 Ibn Qānī' (Abū 'l-Ḥusayn), 264.  
 Ibn al-Qaysarani, 14, 18.  
 Ibn al-Qiftī, (al-Qaḍi al-Akram) 78, 200.  
 Ibn Qutaybah, 291, 378.  
 Ibn Rā'iq, 150, 151, 152, 154.  
 Ibn Ra'īs al-Ruwasā, 196.  
 Ibn al-Ramqaram, 329.  
 Ibn al-Raḥīq, 284.  
 Ibn Rashīq, 284, 290.  
 Ibn al-Razzaq, 189.  
 Ibn al-Rūmī, 154.  
 Ibn al-Ṣabbagh, (Abū Naṣr) 171.  
 Ibn al-Sābi, 143, 305, 333, 368.  
 Ibn Sa'd, 394.  
 Ibn Sa'īd, 79, 200, 202.  
 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, 247.  
 Ibn Salamah (Saliimah), 318.  
 Ibn Ṣalīḥ al-Ḥasanī, (Abū 'Abd Allāh), 415.  
 Ibn al-Sammāk, 287.

- Ibn al-Sallamah, 59, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69.  
 Ibn al-Sam'āni, 2, 5, 14, 15, 30, 173, 176, 193, 249.  
 Ibn Shaddād Ṣanhājyan, 284.  
 Ibn Shambūdh, 151.  
 Ibn Sharaf, 284.  
 Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī, 327, 330.  
 Ibn al-Shihāh, 267.  
 Ibn al-Šikkīt, 379.  
 Ibn Sinān, (Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṭhābit), 151.  
 Ibn Sinān al-Khafāji, 330, 335.  
 Ibn Surayj, (Abu 'l-'Abbas) 263, 318.  
 Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī, 4, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 182, 196, 375.  
 Ibn Ṭabāṭbā, ('Abd Allāh), 282.  
 Ibn al-Ṭahir, 81, 90.  
 Ibn al-Ṭīqīqa; 25.  
 Ibn Ṭīrad al-Zaynabi, 166.  
 Ibn Ṭūlūn, (Ahmad) 90, 160.  
 Ibn Tūmart, 78, 80, 82, 83, 85, 88.  
 Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, 96.  
 Ibn 'Unayn, 43, 44, 45.  
 Ibn 'Unayn, (Sharaf al-Dīn) 40, 197.  
 Ibn Wakī', 345.  
 Ibn Yaḥya, 213.  
 Ibn Ya'qub, 247.  
 Ibn Yūnus, 391.  
 Ibn al-Zanjārī, 412.  
 Ibn al-Zayyāt (the Wazīr), 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135.  
 Ibn Zubayr, 263.  
 Ibn al-Zuwaytinah, 413.  
 Ibrāhīm, (Abū 'Abd Allāh) 275.  
 Ibrahīm, 334.  
 Ibrahīm al-Ṣābi 131, 143, 417, 418.  
 Ibrāham Ibn al-alt, 210.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn Kayghālīgh, 97.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, 316.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn Ya'qūb al-Jūzānī, 317.  
 Iḍḥa, 343.  
 Idrīs, 76.  
 al-Idrīsī, 127.  
 Ifriqiyah, 45, 46, 77, 78, 89, 279, 280, 288, 289, 290, 331, 344, 392, 393, 394, 395.  
 Ifshīn, 161.  
 al-Ifshīn, 93.  
 al-Ikhshīd, 90, 95, 97.  
 Ikhtilāf fi al-Dhabīh, 344.  
 Ikhtisār Ahkām al-Qur'ān 343.  
 Ikhwān (Wakī'), 345.  
 Ikmāl, 349.  
 Imām al-Dīn Muḥammad, 391.  
 Imām al-Ḥaramayn, 229, 231.  
 Imra al-Qays, 292.  
 India, 41, 220, 223, 226, 227, 230.  
 Indian Ocean, 354.  
 Iran, 67.  
 Isaac, 345.  
 Iṣbahān, 5, 14, 99, 142, 189, 196, 222, 233, 249, 254, 327, 419.  
 al-Iṣbahīd, 93.



- Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm. 97. 417, 418.  
 Ishāq Ibn Kundaj. 90.  
 Ishāq Ibn Kāhwayh, 245.  
 Ismā'il. (Abū 'Abd Allāh) 265.  
 Ismā'il. 345.  
 Isma'il al-Qā'im, 47.  
 Isma'il Ibn Aḥmad, 326.  
 Isma'il Ibn Subuktikin, 224. 225.  
 Iṣṭākhar, 240.  
 al-Iṣṭākḥri, (Abū Sa'id), 318.  
 Itaf, 47, 48.  
 Iḍāḥ, 385.  
 'Imād al-Dīn, 392.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Iṣbahani, 8, 9n, 10, 13, 14, 19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 39, 102, 110, 111, 172, 175, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 202, 232, 234. 257, 330, 390.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Baṭīsh, 264.  
 'Imād al-Dīn (Kātib), 102.  
 'Imād al-Dīn al-Mawli, 263.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn 'Abī Ūmar. 390, 391.  
 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn al-Maṣḥṭub, 116.  
 al-'Imād al-Wāstī, 412.  
 'Imād al-Zinkī, 111, 115, 254. 255, 256, 257, 260, 373.  
 al-'Imādiyyh, 191.  
 'Iraq. 1, 13, 28, 34, 40, 41, 42, 76, 101, 119, 148, 172, 182, 192, 193, 213, 232, 245, 247, 253, 259, 262, 273, 277. 288, 303, 309, 317, 323, 375, 378, 384, 391, 414, 416, 419.  
 'Irāqah, 370.  
 'Isa Ibn Maryam, 321.  
 'Izz al-Dawlah Baḳhtiar Ibn Mūizz al-Dawlah Buwayh, 155, 156, 157.  
 'Izz al-Dīn. Amir, al-Mujallah, 122.  
 'Izz al-Dīn, 256, 257, 258, 260, 373.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Farrūkh Shāh, 257.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāns, 407.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Abu al-Ḥasan Abi al-Aṭḥir (Shaykh), 237.

## J

- al-Jabal, 419.  
 Jabalah, 97.  
 Jabal al-Sūs, 76.  
 Jabal al-Tāriq (Gibraltar), 395.  
 al-Jadh, 34.  
 Jadhīmah, 64.  
 Ja'far, 243, 311, 380.  
 Ja'far Ibn al-Falāḥ, 96.  
 Ja'far Ibn al-Furāt, 96.  
 Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān, 301.  
 Ja'fr. 83, 89.  
 Jāhīr (Juhayr). al-Samnāni, 174.  
 al-Jahis, 291.  
 Jāḥiḡ, 136.  
 Jahm Ibn Ṣaṭwān, 161.  
 Jalāl al-Dīn, 188.  
 Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh, 118, 409.

Jalulā, 280.  
*al-Jallis wa'l-Anis*, 278.  
 al-Jamāl 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 412.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn 185, 187, 373.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Isbahānī, 38.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Taj-al-Muluk  
 Buri, 234.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jawad, (Abu  
 Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī  
 al-Isbahānī), 184, 339.  
 al-Jamāl al-Sibtī, (al-Bastī), 412.  
*al-Jam'abayn al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, 277.  
*Jamharah*, 40.  
*Jamharat al-Nisab*, 160, 243,  
 302, 414.  
 Jāmi, 204.  
*al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*, 384.  
 al-Jāmi' al-Nūrī, 235.  
 Jāmi' al-Qaṣr (mosque of castle)  
 421, 423.  
 Jāmi' al-Rāshidī, 367.  
 Jāmi' al-Tawbah, 412.  
 Jami' al-Uṣul, 188.  
 Jamīl (Poet) ; 180.  
 Japhets, 399.  
 Jarir, 64.  
 al-Jawād, 187.  
 Jawhar, 95, 96, 281, 282.  
 al-Jawhari, 138, 379.  
 Jayḥun, 98, 103, 104, 105, 222,  
 353, 354, 355, 357.  
 al-Jazarī, 91.  
 al-Jazīrah, (Mesopotamia) 354,  
 364.  
 al-Jazirat al-Khadhrā, 395.  
 Jazirat Ibn 'Umar, 327.  
 Jiarbek, 104.

Jirun, 180.  
 Jerusalem, 94, 120, 193, 349,  
 365, 371.  
 Jesus, 63, 93.  
 Jisr Banu Munqidh, 334, 335.  
 Jizah, 281.  
 al-Jizah (al-Jazīrah), 364, 372.  
 Jordan, 119, 125, 126.  
 Joseph, 63, 285.  
 Jubayli, 370.  
 Jubul, 126.  
*Judhwar al-Muqtabis*, 393, 405,  
 414.  
 Juff (Jaff), 90.  
 al-Juḥfah, 286.  
 al-Junayd Ibn Muḥammad  
 (Shaykh), 265.  
 Jurjān, 93.  
 Jurjānyah, 222.  
 Juzja'n, (Jurjān,) 160, 378.  
 Jush Bek Alabek, 253.

## K

Ka'bah, 187, 188, 195.  
 al-Kabbi, 213.  
 Kābul, 349, 350, 352.  
 al-Kafawi, 384.  
 Kafri Ṭab, 256, 335.  
 Kafr Zammār, 259.  
 Kāfur al-Ikhshidī, 95, 279, 368.  
*Kallūh wa Dimnah*, 13.  
 al-Kallāsah, 411.  
 al-Kamāl Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, 411.  
 Kamāl-al-Dīn, 21, 384, 390.  
 Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Nibsh,  
 413.

- Kamal, al-Dīn Abu'l Faḍl  
     Ibn al-Sharṭuzūrī, 190, 191.  
 Kamāl al-Dīn, Abu'l Faṭḥ  
     Musa Ibn Yunus, 213, 383,  
     386, 387, 388, 391, 392.  
 Kamāliyah, 383.  
 Kāmil al-Tawārīkh, (Ibn al-  
     Aṭḥir) 238, 244.  
 Kāmil (al-Mubarrad). 299,  
     311.  
 al-Karkh, 30, 123, 125, 142,  
     384, 408, 410, 411, 415.  
 Karkh, 216, 288, 384.  
 Karkhī, (Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Ubayd  
     Allāh), 384.  
 Kāshgher, 203, 354, 359.  
 Kashghāf, 214, 217, 221, 222.  
 Kayfa, 125.  
 al-Khābur, 171, 185, 211, 257,  
     333, 349, 406.  
 al-Khādīm Jamāl al-Dīn Iqbāl,  
     254.  
 Khafajah Ibn 'Amr, 323.  
 Khaffan, 240.  
 al-Khafāji, 339, 340.  
 Khalaf al-Aḥmar, 294.  
 Khalaf al-Ḥasan, 49.  
 Khalāṭ, 112, 118, 258, 259, 406,  
     407, 408, 409, 411.  
 Khālīd, Barmaki, 312.  
 Khālīd, Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-  
     Qaysari, 272.  
 Khālīd al-Qaṣḥarī, 253, 274.  
 al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad, 374, 375,  
     378.  
 Khāniqān, 288.  
 Khāqān, 92.  
 Kharīdah, 8, 9N., 10, 13, 14,  
     19, 28, 30, 39, 68, 173, 175,  
     202, 330, 331, 422.  
 Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa Jarīdat  
     al-'Aṣr, 192, 193.  
 Kharkh of Juddān, 288.  
 Khashabi, 267.  
 al-Khāssāh, 97.  
 al-Khaṭīb 129, 162, 193, 245,  
     249, 308, 350, 379, 381.  
 al-Khatt, 310.  
 Khaṭṭāb, 307, 308, 381.  
 Khātūn al-'Iṣmah, 359.  
 al-Khawwāshīn, 237.  
 Khaydhar Ibn Kāuris, 161,  
     162.  
 al-Khiḍr, 302.  
 Khiṭāf, 124, 361.  
 al-Khuwarizmi, 220.  
 Khazazars, 354.  
 Khum, 286.  
 Khumārawayh, 90, 91.  
 Khurāsān, 5, 41, 98, 99, 100, 103,  
     113, 130, 135, 136, 146, 160,  
     179, 183, 205, 213, 223, 224,  
     225, 226, 231, 245, 265, 267,  
     307, 315, 317, 318, 320, 326,  
     353, 357, 375, 417, 418, 419.  
 al-Kharizmi, 144.  
 al-Khushanāmi, (Abn 'Alī Naṣr  
     Aliyah), 265.  
 Khuwārizm, 99, 100, 103, 184,  
     215, 219, 220, 222, 225, 276.  
 Khuwārizm Shāh, 182.  
 Khuzistān, 265.  
 al-Kia, 76.  
 Kindah, 69.

- al-Kindī, 199, 202.  
 Kinnānah, 261.  
 Kirmān, 14, 99, 184. 205, 319.  
 321, 353.  
 al-Kisa'i, 38.  
 Kisra (Chosroes), 92.  
 Kitāb 'Ādiyāt al-'Arab, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Aqdād, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Aghānī, 132, 312, 313,  
 414.  
 Kitāb Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Aḡāb, 252.  
 Kitāb al-Anwā, 375, 378.  
 Kitāb al-Aqārīb, 295.  
 Kitāb al-'Aqqals (Kitāb al-'Iffat),  
 296.  
 Kitāb al-Asmā al-Khayl, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Aḡāb, 204.  
 Kitāb al-Aws wa al-Khazraj, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Ayādl 'l-'Azd, 295.  
 Kitāb al-'A'yān, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Ayyām al-Kabīr, 297.  
 Kitāb al-Ayyām al-Ṣaghīr, 297.  
 Kitāb Ayyām Banī Māzin wa  
 Akhbārihim, 297.  
 Kitāb al-Bakrah, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Bānī, 127, 192.  
 Kitāb al-Bārī' 130, 307, 375.  
 Kitāb al-Barāhīn, 213.  
 Kitāb al-Buldān, 222.  
 Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir wa 'l-Dhakā'ir,  
 148.  
 Kitāb al-Bayān bi Ahlihī, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Bāzī, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Bulh, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Buyat al-'Arab, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Ḍifān, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Dībāj, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Dilvī, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Faḍā'il al-'Arsh, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Farq, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Fars, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Fa'ala wa al-Af'ala, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Fihrist, 213.  
 Kitāb al-Futūḥ Irmīniyah, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Futūḥ al-Ahwāz, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Ghārāt, 296.  
 Kitāb Ghrib al-Qur'ān, 375.  
 Kitāb al-Ḥajābah wa 'l-Ḥijāb, 28.  
 Kitāb al-Ḥammām, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Ḥasan (Ibn 'Alī), 297.  
 Kitāb al-Ḥayāt, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Ḥudr, al-Khayl, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Ḥudūd, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Ḥumīs Min Quraysh,  
 296.  
 Kitāb al-Imrīnā' wa 'l-Muwānasah,  
 148.  
 Kitāb al-Ibānah (Imulali), 344.  
 Kitāb al-Ibl, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Ihlām, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Ijāz, 343.  
 Kitāb al-Ikhtilāf fi 'Adood al-  
 Ash'ār, 344.  
 Kitāb al-Insān, 295.  
 Kitāb al-Inshā, 191.  
 Kitāb al-Jufr, 79.  
 Kitāb al-Jamāhīr al-Qaba'il, 375.  
 Kitāb al-Jam'a wa al-Tathnīyah,  
 297.  
 Kitāb al-Jamī wa 'l-Ṣiffīn, 296.  
 Kitāb al-Jawāhīr wa 'l-La'ālī,  
 138.  
 Kitāb al-Kubā, 295.

- Kitāb al-Khabar al-Barrad*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Khawārij al-Baḥrayn wa'l Yamāmah*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Khayl*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Khuf*, 296.  
*Kitāb Khulq al-Insān*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Khurāsān*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Lijan*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Lughāt*, 296.  
*Kitāb Luṣūṣ al-'Arab*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Mu'āni*, 293, 375.  
*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, 291, 349, 378.  
*Kitāb al-Mahrib*, 79, 82, 87.  
*Kitāb al-Majāz, al-Qur'ān*, 293, 295.  
*Kitāb Makkah, Wa'l-Haram*, 296.  
*Kitāb Man Shukira Min al-Ummat wa Humida*, 297.  
*Kitāb al-Manṣūrī*, 204, 205.  
*Kitāb al-Maqāi'sāt*, 147.  
*Kitāb Maqṭal 'Uthmān*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Maqātil al-Ashrāf*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Maqātil al-Fursān*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Marj Rāhiṣ*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Mathālib*, 296, 298.  
*Kitāb ma Talḥano Fīhi 'l-'Āmmah*, 297.  
*Kitāb al-Ma'āliḥir Ghaṭfān*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Māthūr*, 343.  
*Kitāb al-Mawālī*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Mu'ātabāt*, 296.  
*Kitāb Muḥammad wa Ibrāhīm*, 297.  
*Kitāb al-Mulāwamāt*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Munāfrāt*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Munqa' in ilal Allāh*, 342.  
*Kitāb al-Muntaḥil*, 143.  
*Kitāb al-Nawākib*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Nawāshir*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Nisab*, 76.  
*Kitāb al-Qirrat al-Ka'bah*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Quḍāt al-Baṣrah*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Rahl*, 295.  
*Kitāb al-Risālah*, 344.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣadiq wa 'l Ṣadaqah*, 148.  
*Kitāb al-Sāri*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Sawād wa Faṭḥihl*, 297.  
*Kitāb al-Shi'r wa al-Shu'arā*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Shawārid*, 296.  
*Kitāb al-Taj*, 144, 295.  
*Kitāb 'Ulamā al-Amṣār*, 247.  
*Kitāb Umarai Miṣr*, 160.  
*Kitāb al-Waqf*, 344.  
*Kitāb al-Wazirayn, (Abu Hayyan)*, 141.  
*Kitāb al-Wuzara*, 143.  
*Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, 144.  
*Kitāb al-Zāhi fī 'l Lunna al-Dāllat ala Musta' matal al-Irab*, 343.  
*Kitāb al-Zārī*, 29.  
*Kitāman*, 369.  
*al-Kiya al-Harrasī*, 190.  
*Kosegarten's Tabri staninsis Annasis*, 219, 300.  
*Kūfah*, 5, 40, 45, 94, 153, 160, 208, 209, 240, 270, 287, 305, 326, 350, 352, 355, 417.  
*Kumayt Ibn Zayd*, 272, 273.  
*Kūmiyah*, 80.  
*Kūnash*, 160.

*Kundur*, 184.  
*Kurd*, 121.  
*Kurkānj*, 222.  
*Kushūf Wūjse al Qara'at wa 'Ilaliha*, 343.  
*Kushājim*, 383.

## L

*Lak̄hm*, 47, 66.  
*Lebanon*, 16.  
*Life of al-Ḥākim*, 134.  
*Life of Ibn Ammār*, 113.  
*Limlūmah*, 58,  
*Lorca*, 68, 396.  
*Lubna*, 71.  
*Ludhriq* (Roderic), 395, 396,  
 397, 398, 403, 404.  
*Lulū*, 90.  
*Lumaḥ al-Mulaḥ*, 52.  
*Luqmān Ibn Āad*, 271.  
*al-Lurqī*, (Abu 'l-Ḥasan) 55.  
*al-Lurqī*, (Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ja'far) 55.

## M

*Ma'an Ibn Zā'idah*, 69, 70, 91,  
 240, 241, 302, 303, 304, 306,  
 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312,  
 313, 314.  
*Ma'āni al-Qur'ān*, 295.  
*al-Ma'arrāh*, 256.  
*al-Madhār*, 127.  
*Madhlawayh*, 330.  
*Madinah*, 92, 120, 176, 186, 188,  
 240, 284, 285, 286, 293, 301,  
 317, 326, 350, 380, 381, 382.  
*Maghrib* (Africa Spain), 75, 80,  
 89, 138, 193, 289, 290, 354,  
 371.

*al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā*, 79.  
*al-Maghribi*, 422, 423.  
*al-Mahdī*, 38, 75, 76, 78, 81,  
 86, 240, 284, 311, 313, 342,  
 380, 419.  
*Mahdi* ('Ubayd Allah), 372.  
*al-Mahdiyyah*, 46, 47, 77, 78, 79,  
 260, 279, 282, 331.  
*Mahler*, 125.  
*Mahmūd* (Sulṭan), 99, 100,  
 104, 109, 226, 227, 228, 229,  
 231, 233, 253.  
*Maḥmūd Ibn Muḥammad*, 233.  
*Mahmūd Ibn Naṣr al-Kalābl*,  
 104.  
*Maḥmūd Ibn Subuktikīn*, 98,  
 144, 205, 223, 224, 225.  
*Mā Ittafaq lafzu wa Ifraq*  
*Mosammahu*, 138.  
*Majd al-Dīn*, 21.  
*Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Sa'ādat al-*  
*Mubārak*, 188, 328.  
*Majorka*, 68.  
*Majnūn*, 180.  
*Makḥūl*, *al-Shāmi*, 349, 350,  
 351, 352.  
*al-Mokin's Hist. Sarucen*, 304.  
*al-Makisīn*, 346, 349.  
*Makkah*, 4, 51, 76, 77, 91, 92, 119,  
 120, 121, 122, 132, 139, 161,  
 168, 175, 179, 186, 187, 194,  
 195, 215, 217, 222, 271, 284,  
 285, 286, 326, 341, 345, 350,  
 354, 359, 406, 416.  
*Makki Ibn Abī Ṭālib*, 340, 342,  
 343.  
*Makki al-Ḍarir*, 346.

- Malazgird, 406.  
 Mālik Ibn Anas, 195, 289, 343.  
 Malik Ibn Sa'īd, 365.  
 Malik Ibn Wuhayab, 81, 82.  
 al-Malik al-'Ādil 41, 42, 43,  
     110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115,  
     116, 119, 121, 123, 124, 125,  
     190, 233, 255, 354, 407, 410.  
 al-Malik al-Afḍal, 111, 407.  
 al-Malik al-Ashraf, 6, 45, 112,  
     118, 119, 120, 124, 261, 406,  
     407, 408, 409, 410.  
 al-Malik al-Awḥad (Najm al-  
     Dīn), 112, 406.  
 al-Malik al-'Azīz 111, 126.  
 al-Malik al-Fā'iz Sābiq al-Dīn  
     Ibrāhīm, 116, 117.  
 al-Malik al-Jawād, 121, 123.  
 al-Malik al-Kāmil, 112, 115,  
     116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121,  
     122, 407, 408, 409, 410.  
 al-Malik al-Ma'sūd, 112, 115,  
     118, 119, 121, 122.  
 al-Malik al-Mughīth, 125.  
 al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam, 112,  
     116, 118, 125, 126.  
 al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Isā, 408,  
     411.  
 al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam (Tūrān  
     shah), 125, 126.  
 al-Malik al-Mujāhid Asad al-  
     Dīn, 123.  
 al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, 44, 258,  
     408.  
 al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf,  
     112, 123.  
 al-Malik al-Nāṣir 45, 118, 120,  
     123, 124, 408.  
 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, 123, 124, 125,  
     239, 257, 410, 412, 413.  
 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Abu'l Fath  
     Mahmūd, 118, 119.  
 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 'Imād al-  
     Dīn Ismā'il, 119, 123, 124,  
     125, 191, 238, 255, 256.  
 al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn  
     Bībars, 126.  
 al-Malik al-Zāhir, 111, 125,  
     407, 413.  
 al-Ma'la, 122.  
 Malik Shah, 9, 16, 100, 105,  
     169, 171, 265, 333, 334, 352,  
     353, 355, 359.  
 Malik Shah Ibn Arsalān, 167,  
     184.  
 Mallālah, 79.  
 Ma'mar, 262.  
 Ma'mar al-Muḥannā, 302.  
 Manbij, 234, 235, 263.  
 Mamlūk, 354.  
 al-Mamūn, 59, 101, 105, 207,  
     208, 209, 245, 333, 375, 378,  
     417, 419.  
 al-Manūn Yahyah (Ibn Ismā'il),  
     199.  
 al-Mamūn al-Baṭ'āiḥī, 370, 372.  
 Manamāt, 422.  
 Maṣṣūr (Abū Muḍar), 214,  
     220.  
 Maṣṣūr al-Tamīmi, 359, 360,  
     361, 362.  
 al-Maṣṣūr, 46, 48, 69, 206, 301.

303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 315,  
316, 362, 363, 380.

al-Manşūr Isnā'il, 45, 280.

al-Manūr Ibn Abi 'Āmir, 341.

al-Manşūrah, 117, 124, 125,  
290.

al-Manşuriyah (Sabirah), 280,  
290.

Manzil, 213.

al-Maqām, 239.

*Maqāmat al-Ḥarīrī*, 420.

Al-Maqḍisi, 2.

Ma'qil Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā al-  
Qurashī, 351.

Maqqarī, 69, 331.

al-Maqqarī, 340, 396.

al-Maqrizi, 389.

al-Maqrizi's *Khīṭat*, 122, 124,  
363, 368.

al-Maqṣabah, 368.

Marāghah, 254, 327.

al-Marāghī, (Abu'l-Najīb), 3, 4.

Mar'āsh, 234.

*Marāsid*, 119, 155, 160, 267,  
323, 326.

*Ma'rifat Muṭāli' al-Burūj*, 210.

Marr al-Zahrān, 406.

Marthad, 379.

Māriyāh, 73

Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, 286, 287,  
288.

Marw, 102, 106, 248, 265, 314,  
315, 316, 320, 375.

Marw al-Rūd, 183, 184.

Marwān, 310, 311, 313.

Marwān, al-Aṣghar, 244.

Marwān, Ibn Abi Ḥaṣṣah, 239,  
240, 241, 303, 304, 306, 309,  
311, 312, 419.

Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam, 239,  
240, 242, 274.

Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, 272.

Mary, 63

al-Marzubāni, 377.

al-Masabdhān, 419.

Masjid, Bani 'l-Najjār, 45.

al-Masjid al-Khārij, 342.

Maslamah Ibn 'Abd al-Malik  
273, 325.

Masmūdah, 83, 89.

Mas'ūd, 99, 100, 109, 233, 253,  
254, 373.

Mas'ūd Ibn Malik *Shah* Sal-  
juqi, 252.

al-Mas'ūdi, (Abul Ḥasan 'Ali)  
381.

Ma'sūdi, 90.

Maṭar Ibn *Sharik*, 314.

*Mathālib, al-Wazīrayn*, 147, 148.

Mattā Ibn Yūnus, 198, 202.

Māwārā al-Nahr, 103.

Mathews, 229, 230.

Mawdūd Ibn Alkutikīn, 253,  
255.

Mauritaniah, 289, 290.

al-Māwardi, 101.

al-Maydāni, 274.

Maymūn Ibn Ḥārūn, 127.

Mayyāfāriqīn, 38, 112, 165,  
167, 170, 406, 411, 413.

Mazyar Ibn Qarūn, 161n.,  
205n.



- M. Caussin, 210, 211, 240.  
 M. De. Gayangos, 79.  
 M. de Sacy, 78, 135, 136, 145,  
 147, 180, 186, 203, 243, 244,  
 363, 366, 369, 371, 382.  
 M. De Slane, 259, 320.  
 Memoirs of Geographical  
 Society, 210.  
 Meninski, 186.  
 Merinides, 84.  
 Mesopotamia, 41, 90, 92, 117,  
 118, 120, 146, 193, 211, 257,  
 328, 349, 359, 407, 408.  
 Messiah, 93.  
 M. Hamake, 219.  
 al-Mihyār Ibn Marzawayh, 163.  
 Milyānah, 89.  
 Mikāl, 143.  
 Mina, 277, 281, 321.  
 Minārat al-Qur'ān, 355.  
 Minhāj, 215.  
 Miqabār, *al-Ittisalat*, 210.  
 Miqrāḍ, *al-'Araḍ*, 40.  
 Mir'āt, 126, 270.  
 Mir Khond, 9n., 102, 108.  
 Miṣhkāt *al-Maṣābiḥ*, 229, 230.  
 Miṣr, 281, 282.  
 al-Miṣṣiṣi, (Abu'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr  
 Allah), 249.  
 Modern Egvpt, 201.  
 Almohades 84, 87.  
 Almoravides, 84, 87.  
 Morocco, 56, 57, 58, 60, 68, 80,  
 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89,  
 388, 394.  
 Moses (Mūsa Prophet) 285,  
 302.  
 Mosul, 90, 108, 116, 146, 154,  
 165, 166, 171, 184, 185, 186,  
 187, 191, 192, 233, 234, 235,  
 253, 254, 256, 257, 258, 260,  
 261, 267, 322, 323, 326, 327,  
 332, 333, 334, 339, 346, 347,  
 348, 349, 373, 374, 383, 384,  
 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391,  
 406, 413.  
 Mount Lebanān, 238.  
 Muādh Ibn Muslim al-Harra,  
 270, 271, 272, 273, 274.  
 Mu'adh Ibn Zayd, 272.  
 al-Mu'āfa (Ibn 'Imrān), 349.  
 Al-Mu'ofa Ibn Zakariā al-Nah-  
 rawani, 275, 349.  
 Mu'allaqah, 315, 337.  
 Mu'arraḥ, 420.  
 al-Mu'arri (Abu 'l-'Ala), 2, 13,  
 252, 268.  
 Mu'āwiyah, 1, 2, 4, 5.  
 Mu'awiyah, (Ibn Abū Sufyan),  
 71, 244, 299, 393.  
 al-Mubarrad, 244, 294, 299.  
 Muḍar, 273.  
 Muḍhayyal, 176.  
 Mudkhil, 213.  
 al-Muḍyya, 334.  
 Muṣaṣṣal, 215, 385.  
 Mughīrah (Mughayrah, 291).  
 al-Muṣṣad wa 'l-Murakkab, 214.  
 al-Muṣṣad wa 'l-Muwallaf, 215.  
 Mughīth al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-  
 Saljuqi, 232.  
 Mughīth, 126.  
 Mughīth al-Khalq fi Ikhtiar il-  
 Ahqaq, 229.

- Muḥadḍḥab*, 263, 357.  
 Muḥḍḥab al-Dīn Ibn 'Umar, 266, 413.  
*Muḥājāt bi 'l-Masa'il al-Naḥwi-yah*, 214.  
 Muḥammad (The Prophet), 41, 45, 76, 161, 219, 244, 281, 285, 318, 326, 333, 419.  
 Muḥammad, 61, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 97, 107, 108, 109, 117, 129, 131, 230, 231, 238, 289, 366, 380.  
 Muḥammad Aḥmad, 207.  
 Muḥammad al-Badaq al-Nadīm, 312.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās, 377.  
 Muḥammad (Abū 'Abd Allah) Ibn 'Abd Allah, 75.  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, (Abū Ja'far), 126.  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Abū Maṣṣūr), 190.  
 Muḥammad (Ibn 'Abd al-Malik) Hamadani, 93, 107, 108, 127, 128, 171, 333, 335.  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, 127, 133.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Abū Bakr, 122.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad, 69, 70.  
 Muḥammad (Abū Bakar) Ibn Ammār Al-Andalusi, 70.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Aswad, 81.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ayyūb Al-Anṣārī, 75.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn, 287.  
 Muḥammad al-Iḥṣhīd, 92, 93.  
 Muḥammad (Ibn 'Imrān), 129.  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Isa, 252.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il, 49.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Jābir al-Bat-iāni, 209.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari, 278, 288.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ka'b al-Karazi, 270.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Khālid, 248.  
 Muḥammad (Abū Yaḥya) Ibn Ma'an, 69.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Malik *Shah*, 108, 184.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr, al-Kunduri (al-kindi), 103.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Māsarjisi, 245, 246.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Muḥallab, 375.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Muālim, 246.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Muslim al-Zuhri, 315, 334.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā, 120.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr al-Qaysarāni, 186.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim al-Nuṣhiyāni, 301, 302.  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Rabī', 361, 362.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Sahl, 272.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id al-Maṣlūb, 317.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Ṭughj, 154.  
 Muḥammad (Ibn Tūmart), 76, 78, 79, 80, 89, 93, 371.

- Muḥammad Ibn Yahya, 222,  
 246, 247, 248.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Zāriq, 416.  
 Muḥammad Shah, 233.  
 al-Muḥammadiyah, 290.  
 Muḥib al-Dīn, 26.  
 Mu'īn al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd Allāh,  
 234.  
 Mu'īn al-Dīn 'Umar, 273.  
 al-Mu'izz, 95, 96, 279, 280,  
 281, 282, 283, 284, 289,  
 290.  
 al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, 278,  
 280.  
 Mu'izz al-Dawlah Abn Thūmal  
 (Ibn Šāliḥ), 166.  
 al-Mu'izziyah, 282.  
 Mujaḥid, (Abul Jaysh) Ibn  
 'Abd Allāh, 70.  
 Mujahid al-Dīn Qāyimāz al-  
 Zayni, 256, 257.  
 Mujaḥid Ibn Jubayr, 315, 316.  
 Mujaḥidiyah, 249.  
 al-Mujjalli Ibn 'Uqayb (Ukayth),  
 334.  
*Mu'jam al-Ḥudūd*, 215.  
*Mūjaz*, 343.  
 Mujir al-Dīn Aybik (Urtuḡli)  
 234, 239.  
 Mukhlīš al-Dawlah, 334, 335,  
 336, 340.  
 Mukrami, 321.  
*Mukhtalif*, 5, 154.  
 Mulūkḥniyā, 364.  
 Mundhir Ibn Yahya, 69.  
 Mūnis al-Kḥādim, 46.  
 M. Munk's MeLanges, 202.  
 Munqidh, 338.  
*Muntakhib al-Ḥijjah*, 343.  
*Muntaqi fi l-Akḥbār*, 345.  
 Muntaṣir, 362.  
*Muqaddamāt al-Adab*, 215.  
 al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab,  
 325, 326, 329.  
 al-Muqtaḍi, 284, 357.  
 al-Muqtadir, 46, 91, 92, 148,  
 199.  
 Muqallad Ibn Naṣr al-Shayzari,  
 188, 323, 334, 335, 338, 339.  
 Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān, 314,  
 315, 316, 317, 318.  
 Muqaṭṭam, 18, 269.  
 Muqtaḍi. li Amr Allāh, 166.  
 al-Muqtaḍir (Khalīf), 169.  
 al-Muqtafī bi. Amr Allāh, 11,  
 91, 92, 109, 203, 234, 254,  
 265, 420.  
 Murcia, 396.  
 al-Murtaḍā, 35.  
 al-Murtaḍā Ibn 'Asākir, 330.  
*Murūj al-Dḥahab*, 381.  
 Murzuban, 90.  
 Mūsā, 195, 207, 209, 380, 381,  
 391, 404, 405, 406.  
 Mūsā al-Kāzim, 379, 380, 381,  
 382.  
 Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 413,  
 417, 418.  
 Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-  
 Hilāl, 298.  
 Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr, 89, 392, 393,  
 394, 395, 405.  
 Abn Mus'ab al-Zuhri, 424.  
*Mushkil Ghariḥ*, al-*Qur'ān*, 345.

- Muṣḥkil al-Ma'āniwan Tafsīr*, 345.  
*Muṣṭarik*, 212.  
 Muslim Ibn Ḥajjāj al-Qushayri (Imām), 245, 246, 247, 248.  
 Muslim Ibn Quraysh, 333, 334.  
 al-Musta'li, 376.  
 Mustaqṣi, 215.  
 al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh, 25, 26, 191, 196.  
 al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, 101, 283, 284, 285, 286, 289.  
 al-Mustarshid (Khalīf), 253, 254.  
 al-Mustaẓhir, bi-Allāh, 2, 107, 174, 232, 319, 359.  
 al-Mutaḍid, 50, 51, 325.  
 al-Muṭ'aim, 127.  
*Mu'taliḥ*, 5.  
 Mu'tamid al-Dawlah, 323, 326.  
 Al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 74.  
 al-Mu'tamin, 370.  
 al-Mutanabbī, 17, 88, 94, 97, 136, 137, 138, 145, 196, 324.  
 Muṭarrif Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Shikhkhīr, 263, 264.  
 Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin, 261, 262, 263, 264.  
 al-Muṭarrizi, 37.  
*Mutaṣṣibih*, *Asma al-Ruwāṭ*, 214.  
 al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh 42, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 90, 127, 128, 129, 132, 161, 205, 212.  
 Al-Mu'tasim, al-Tujībī 69, 75.  
 al-Mu'taṣim Ibn 'Abbād, 81.  
 Al-Mu'taṣim Ibn Sumādih, 69, 75, 81.  
 al-Mutawakkhil, 90, 133, 134, 205, 414, 418.  
 al-Mutawallī (Abū Sa'd), 190n., al-Muṭī' lit Allāh (Khalīf), 157.  
 al-Muttaqī bi-Allāh, 92, 154.  
 al-Muṭṭarif al-Kinānī, 342.  
 Muwaffāq, al-Dīn Muẓaffar al-Aylani, 266, 268.  
 Muwaffāq Al-Dīn al-Irbili, 35, 37.  
 Muwarrīj al-Saūdi, 374, 375, 377, 378, 379,  
*al-Muwaffā*, 424.  
 Muwayyad al-Dawlah, 145.  
 Muwayyad al-Dīn, 165.  
 al-Muwayyad Hishām, 69.  
 al-Muwayyad al-'ūsī, 424.  
 Muẓaffar, 30, 267, 268, 269, 368.  
 Muẓaffar, al-Dīn, 185, 233, 256, 257, 259, 261.  
 al-Muẓaffar Ibn Abi 'Āmir, 341.  
 al-Muẓaffar Ibn Yāqūt, 149.  
 M. Wustenfeld's *Gesch.*, 204.

## N

- al-Nābighah, 244, 245, 271.  
 Nāblūs, 132, 234, 330, 408.  
 Nadirah, 211, 212.  
 al-Nadr Ibn Shumayl, 375.  
*Nahj al-Balāghah*, 35.  
 Nahrawān, 276.

- Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥya, 222, 246, 247, 248.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Zāriq, 416.  
 Muḥammad Shah, 233.  
 al-Muḥammadiyah, 290.  
 Muḥib al-Dīn, 26.  
 Mu'in al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 234.  
 Mu'in al-Dīn 'Umar, 273.  
 al-Mu'izz, 95, 96, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 289, 290.  
 al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh, 278, 280.  
 Mu'izz al-Dawlah Abū Thūmal (Ibn Ṣāliḥ), 166.  
 al-Mu'izziyah, 282.  
 Mujāhid, (Abul Jaysh) Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 70.  
 Mujāhid al-Dīn Qāyimāz al-Zaynī, 256, 257.  
 Mujāhid Ibn Jubayr, 315, 316.  
 Mujāhidīyah, 249.  
 al-Mujjallī Ibn 'Uqayb (Ukayth), 334.  
*Mu'jam al-Ḥudūd*, 215.  
*Mūjaz*, 343.  
 Muḥir al-Dīn Aybik (Urtuḡl) 234, 239.  
 Mukhlīṣ al-Dawlah, 334, 335, 336, 340.  
 Mukram, 321.  
*Mukhtalif*, 5, 154.  
 Mulūkhniyā, 364.  
 Mundhir Ibn Yaḥya, 69.  
 Mūnis al-Khādīm, 46.  
 M. Munk's MeLanges, 202.  
 Munqidh, 338.  
*Muntakhib al-Ḥijjah*, 343.  
*Muntaqī fi l-Akḥbār*, 345.  
 Muntaṣir, 362.  
*Muqaddamāt al-Adab*, 215.  
 al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab, 325, 326, 329.  
 al-Muqtaḍī, 284, 357.  
 al-Muqtadir, 46, 91, 92, 148, 199.  
 Muqallad Ibn Naṣr al-Shayzari, 188, 323, 334, 335, 338, 339.  
 Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318.  
 Muqattam, 18, 269.  
 Muqtaḍī li Amr Allāh, 166.  
 al-Muqtaḍir (Khalīf), 169.  
 al-Muqtaḍī bi Amr Allāh, 11, 91, 92, 109, 203, 234, 254, 265, 420.  
 Murciā, 396.  
 al-Murtaḍā, 35.  
 al-Murtaḍā Ibn 'Asākir, 330.  
*Murūj al-Dḥahab*, 381.  
 Murzuban, 90.  
 Mūsā, 195, 207, 209, 380, 381, 391, 404, 405, 406.  
 Mūsā al-Kāzim, 379, 380, 381, 382.  
 Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 413, 417, 418.  
 Mūsā Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hilālī, 298.  
 Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr, 89, 392, 393, 394, 395, 405.  
 Abū Mus'ab al-Zuhri, 424.  
*Mushkil Gharrīb, al-Qur'ān*, 345.

*Mushkil al-Ma'āniwan Tafsir*, 345.

*Mushtarik*, 212.

Muslim Ibn Ḥajjāj al-Qushayri (Imām), 245, 246, 247, 248.

Muslim Ibn Quraysh, 333, 334.

al-Musta'li, 376.

Mustaqṣi, 215.

al-Mustanjid bi Allāh, 25, 26, 191, 196.

al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, 101, 283, 284, 285, 286, 289.

al-Mustashhid (Khalif), 253, 254.

al-Mustazhir, bi-Allāh, 2, 107, 174, 232, 319, 359.

al-Mutaḍid, 50, 51, 325.

al-Mu'taim, 127.

*Mu'talif*, 5.

Mu'tamid al-Dawlah, 323, 326.

Al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 74.

al-Mu'tamin, 370.

al-Mutanabbī, 17, 88, 94, 97, 136, 137, 138, 145, 196, 324.

Muṭarrif Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Slikhkhīr, 263, 264.

Muṭarrif Ibn Māzin, 261, 262, 263, 264.

al-Muṭarrizi, 37.

*Mutashābih*, *Asma al-Ruwāt*, 214.

al-Mu'tasim bi-Allāh 42, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 90, 127, 128, 129, 132, 161, 205, 212.

Al-Mu'tasim, al-Tujibi 69, 75.

al-Mu'tasim Ibn 'Abbād, 81.

Al-Mu'tasim Ibn Sumādh, 69, 75, 81.

al-Mutawakkhil, 90, 133, 134, 205, 414, 418.

al-Mutawallī (Abū Su'd), 190n.,

al-Muṭī' lit Allāh (Khalif), 157.

al-Muttaqī bi-Allāh, 92, 154.

al-Muṭṭarif al-Kināni, 342.

Muwaṭṭiq, al-Dīn Muẓaffar al-Aylani, 266, 268.

Muwaṭṭaq Al-Dīn al-Irbili, 35, 37.

Muwaṭṭij al-Saūdi, 374, 375, 377, 378, 379,

*al-Muwaṭṭā*, 424.

Muwayyad al-Dawlah, 145.

Muwayyad al-Dīn, 165.

al-Muwayyad Hishām, 69.

al-Muwayyad al-Ḥūsī, 424.

Muẓaffar, 30, 267, 268, 269, 368.

Muẓaffar, al-Dīn, 185, 233, 256, 257, 259, 261.

al-Muẓaffar Ibn Abi 'Āmir, 341.

al-Muẓaffar Ibn Yāqūt, 149.

M. Wustenfeld's *Gesch*, 204.

## N

al-Nābighah, 244, 245, 271.

Nāblūs, 132, 234, 330, 408.

Nadīrah, 211, 212.

al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl, 375.

*Nahj al-Balāghah*, 35.

Nahrawān, 276.

- Nahr Ja'far, 35.  
 Najāḥ Ibn Salamah, 414.  
 al-Najāḥī, 93.  
 Najd, 307, 309.  
 Najm al-Dīn Abū Shukr, 190, 191.  
 Najml al-Mubtadi, 247.  
 Naqjawan, 261.  
 Nasā, 5.  
 al-Nasā'i, 262, 316, 317.  
 al-Nasā'iḥ al-Kibār, 214.  
 al-Nasā'iḥ al-Ṣiḡḡār, 214.  
 al-Nāshī, 157.  
 Naṣībīn, 171, 185, 257, 323, 327, 331, 332, 407, 413.  
 Nasīm, 368.  
 Nāṣir al-Dawlah Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad, 155.  
 Nāṣir al-Dawlah Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Maṣṣūr, 167.  
 Nāṣir al-Dawlah al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥamadān, 154, 157, 324.  
 Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-'Atā, 319.  
 Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Quṭbi Shāh Asmi, 258, 259.  
 Nāṣir al-Dīn Wa al-Dawlah, 224.  
 Nāṣir Ibn Ismā'il, 101.  
 al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah, 23, 231, 375.  
 Naṣr, 161. n.  
 Naṣrabād, 247.  
 Naṣr al-Dawlah Aḥmad Ibn Marwān al-Kūrḍī, 165, 166, 167.  
 Naṣr al-Dīn, 319.  
 Naṣr Ibn Malik al-Khuza, 244.  
 Naṣr Ibn Sayyār, 160.  
 Nassār, 362.  
 Nassau hees, 222.  
 Natā'ij al-Fitnah, 13.  
 al-Nawawī (Imām), 317.  
 Naysābūr, 184, 213, 231, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 265, 357, 375, 424.  
 Naẓm al-Sulūk fi Wazil Muluk, 63.  
 al-Nazzām, 362.  
 Negrose (Zeng), 73.  
 Nihāyat al-Maṭalib, 178.  
 al-Nil, 352.  
 Nile, 96, 118, 282, 364, 372.  
 Nizām, 105.  
 Nizām al-Ḥaḍratayn al-Riḍa, 10.  
 Nizām al-Dīn (Ibn Marwān), 166.  
 Nizam al-Dīn, 166, 167, 174.  
 Nizām al-Mulk, 8, 9, 10, 167, 171, 172, 174, 179, 183, 184, 318, 353, 355, 357.  
 Nizāmiyah (college), 189, 190, 248, 383, 392.  
 Nizār al-'Aziz, 363.  
 Nah, 14, 271.  
 North Africa 79, 89.  
 Noliceset Eytaitis, 144.  
 Nūḥ Ibn Maṣṣūr, 223.  
 Nūḥ Ibn Naṣr, (Abu Muḥammad), 206.  
 Nūḥ Ibn Oays, 351.  
 Nujūm, 160, 216, 349, 350.  
 al-Nukhaylah, 341.  
 al-Nu'mān Ibn al-Mundhir, 47.

al-Nu'mān al-Ghassanī, 244.

Nu'mān, 21.

Nu'mān al-Arak, 4.

*Nuqaṭ al-'Arūs*, 49.

al-Nuqayb, 91.

Nūr al-Wawlah Ibn Ṣadaqah, 327.

Nūr al-Dīn Abu'l Qāsim Ibn Atābik Zinkī, 190, 191, 193 234, 235, 237, 238, 255, 258.

Nūr al-Dīn Arsalan Shāh, 260, 349, 406.

Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, 249, 373, 374.

Nūriyān Mosque, 373.

Nūshjan, 302.

*Nuṣrat al-Fiṭrah Wa 'Usrat al-Fiṭrah*, 193.

al-Nuwayri, 78, 87, 160, 288.

## Q

Obayd Allah, 91.

Oridbuela, 396.

## P

Paris, 163 n., 202 n.

Persian 'Iraq, 419.

Pharaoh, 388.

Plini, 93.

Pbiades, 87.

Prolegomena, 75.

Ptolemy, 137.

Ptolemy's *Quadri Partitum*, 210.

## Q

Qadard, 353.

Qadas, 238.

(Qaḍi) Ṣā'id al-Qurṭubi, 200.

(Qaḍi) Abū Bakr Arrajānī, 220.

Qaḍi Abū Yoūsuf, 242.

al-Qaḍi'l Fāḍil, 110, 192, 193, 194, 221, 236.

al-Qaḍi'l Ṣā'id Ibn Sana al-Mulk, 268.

Qaḍi Ibn Sabr, 275.

al-Qadir bi-Allāh, 55, 223, 225, 231, 223.

Qāḍis (codiz), 400.

al-Qadisi, (Abū 'Abd Allah Aḥmad), 164.

al-Qadisiaya, (marāṣid), 355, 414, 416, 417.

al-Qaffāl al-Marwazī, 229, 230, 231.

al-Qāhir bi-Allāh 92, 148.

Qāhiriya, 389.

al-Qā'im al-'Ubaydī, 45, 46.

al-Qā'im bi Amr Allah, (Imām) 101, 102, 103, 166, 283, 284, 289, 332, 334.

Qairo, (old). 95, 96,

*Qalā'id al-'Iqyan*, 59.

Qal'at Ja'bar 185, 234.

Qal'at Rahah, 48.

al-Qāmr, 369.

*Qāmūs*, 315.

Qarāfah, 367.

al-Qarqisiyah, 211.



- Qārūm (Qanūn), 201.  
*Qaṣīdahs*, 137, 138.  
 al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām, 302.  
 al-Qaṣr, 108.  
 Qaṣr al-Ḥaḍr, 210.  
 Qatāḍah, 379.  
 Qaṭayī, 90.  
 Qaṭari Ibn al-Fuja'ah, 29.  
 Qayrawān, 280, 284, 290, 340, 341, 395.  
 Qayṣar (Caesar), 92, 93, 389.  
 Qays, 195, 261, 349.  
 Qays 'Aylani, 269.  
 Qays Kubbah, 269.  
 Qays Ibn 'Ārim al-Minqari, 314.  
 Qayssariyah, 18, 390.  
 Qazwīn, 327, 392.  
 Qiblah, 229, 230, 362.  
 Qinnisrīn, 90.  
 Qirwāsh, 166, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 331, 332.  
 Qisṭās, 215.  
 Quatremere, 283.  
 Qubbat al-Tāj, 107.  
 al-Qubbar, 177.  
 al-Qud'āī (Abū 'Abd Allāh) 361.  
 al-Qumāmah, 365, 371.  
 al-Qummi (Abd 'Alī), 136.  
*Qur'ān*, 55, 57, 60, 76, 83, 85, 130, 136, 151, 153, 176, 177, 214, 217, 221, 226, 228, 230, 231, 235, 236, 237, 238, 246, 247, 249, 257, 263, 266, 270, 271, 28, 293, 294, 302, 313, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 366, 367, 379, 380, 385, 388, 424.  
 Quraysh, 250, 332.  
 Quraysh Ibn Badrān, 166.  
 al-Qurṭubī, (Abu Bakr Yaḥyā) 383.  
 al-Qurṭubī, Abu 'l-Qasim Sa'id Ibn Aḥmad, 199.  
 Qūs, 195.  
 al-Qushayrī, (Abu'l-Qāsim), 179.  
 Quṭbal-Dīn al-Naysābūrī, 248, 249, 250.  
 Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ghāzi Ibn Albi, 259.  
 Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd, 187, 254, 255, 373, 374.  
 Quṭb al-Dīn Al-Marwazi, 265.  
 Qutlūmish (Sulṭān), 333.  
 Quzul, 261.

## R

- al-Rabadhah, 175.  
 al-Rabī', 263, 380.  
*Rabī al-Abrār*, 214.  
 Rabi'a Ibn Ja'far, 243.  
 al-Raḍī, 59, 92, 97, 121, 149, 150, 151, 152, 252, 326.  
 Raḍī al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, 392.  
 Rāfiḍī, 418.  
 al-Rahabah, 171, 185, 235, 333.  
 al-Rā'i, 29.  
 Rājiḥ al-Ḥillā, 413.  
 Rāmāh, 72.  
 Ramlah, 92, 94, 97, 244, 361.  
 al-Raqqah, 118, 209, 256, 257, 263, 302, 325, 407, 408.

Rās 'Ayn, 325, 359, 361, 408.  
 al-Rashīd, 253, 254, 330.  
 al-Rashīd 'Ubayd, 54.  
 Rasmussen's *Additamenla*, 730, 240.  
*Rauḍah*, 372.  
*al-Rawḍah*, 124, 364.  
 Ray, 100, 102, 106, 138, 143, 146, 203, 205, 317, 327, 357, 419.  
 Rayyān, 349.  
 al-Rāzi, 198, 202, 205, 206, 384.  
 Rāzi Fakhr al-Dīn, 44.  
 al-Rāzi (Abū Bakr Ibn Zakariya) 203, 204, 205, 223.  
*Riḡāh bi Tajwīd al-Qur'ān*, 343.  
 Riḡā al-Dīn al-Quzwīnī, 383.  
 al-Ridād, 219.  
*al-Risālat al-Naṣīḥah*, 215.  
*al-Riyāz*, 345.  
 Rosenmüller's *Analecta Araba*, 315.  
 Rudhrāwar, 175, 178.  
 al-Rudhrāwarī, 174, 177, 178.  
 al-Rūhā (Edesa), 406, 408.  
 Rukn al-Dīn Ṭuḡhrulbek, 98.  
 Rukn al-Dawlah, 135, 141, 142, 145, 146.  
 al-Rūm, 407, 409, 410.  
 al-Rundah, 59.  
 al-Ruṣāfah, 138.  
*Ru'ūs al-Masā'il*, 215.

## S

Sadīd, al-Dawlah, 335.  
 al-Sadīd al-Salamāsi, 383.  
 al-Saffāh, 305.  
 Sa'id, 120, 244, 298, 392.  
 al-Sa'id, 46, 157, 269.  
 Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, 350.  
 Sa'id Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, 291.  
 Sa'id Ibn al-Āṣī, 350.  
 Sa'id Ibn al-Muṣayyib, 350.  
 Salāmiyah, 46.  
 Salīm Ibn Ahwar al-Māzīnī, 161.  
 Saljāq, 108, 109, 178, 186, 193, 194, 232, 261, 327.  
 Salm al-Khāsir, 312.  
 Samarqand, 103, 220, 262.  
*al-Sam' al-Ṭabl'i*, 199N.  
 al-Sam'ānī, 148, 178, 179, 220, 265.  
 al-Samawal Ibn 'Ādiyāh, 240.  
 al-Sanābik, 194.  
 Satarem, 49n.  
 al-Saqāṭi, 382.  
 Sāqī al-Furāt, 323, 326.  
 Sardāniah, 280, 281.  
 Sarī al-Saqāṭi, 287.  
 Sāpūr ḡhul Aktāf, 211.  
 Sarra-Man-Raā, (Samarrah) 90, 204.  
 Saruj, 257, 333, 408.  
 al-Satirun, 210, 211.  
 al-Sawād, 356, 414.  
 Sawād of Irāqī, 119.  
*Sawā'ir al-Amthāl*, 215.  
*Sawākin*, 221.  
 Sayf al-Dawlah, 17, 107, 200, 201, 202, 323, 325.

Sābūr Ibn Ardāshīr, 170, 212.

- Sayf al-Dawlah, Ibn Naşîr al-Dawlah, 223.  
 Sayf al-Dîn Ghâzî, 185, 234, 256, 373.  
 Sayf al-Islâm Tuğhtikin, 41. 44.  
 Sayhûn, 103.  
 Sayl 'ala 'l-Dhayl, 193.  
 Sclavonia, (Tashtikin), 368.  
*Scriptorum Arabum*, 69.  
 Seville, 47, 48, 49, 52, 58, 331.  
Shabbah, 349.  
 al-Sha'bi, 350.  
Shâdil, 349, 350.  
Shâfi'i, 118, 179, 203, 215, 229, 261, 261, 262, 263, 264, 315, 317, 359, 361.  
Shâfi 'l-'Ayyimin Kalâm al-Shâfi'i, 215.  
Shahrâb, 350.  
 al-Shahhânî, (Abû Bakr Wajih Ibn Tahir) 424,  
Shahrûzûr, 261, 288.  
 al-Shâhid Fi' 'Ilm al-Farâid, 214.  
Shams al-Dîn Bihliwân, 259, 261.  
Shams al-Dawlah, 125.  
 al-Shaqâ'iq al-Nu'mân, 215.  
 al-Sharât, 91.  
Sharf al-Dawlah, 323, 332.  
Sharif al-Dîn, Anûshîr, 253.  
Sharf al-Dîn Abû Ja'far Aḥmad Tamîmî, 25.  
Sharaf al-Dîn Abû 'l-Qâsib 'Alî Ibn Tirad al-Zamânî, 109.  
Sharf al-Dîn Aḥmad, 391.  
Sharaf al-Dîn, 'Isâ, 41.  
Sharf al-Dîn, Ibn Abî 'Uşrûm, 235.  
Sharf al-Dîn 'Unayn, 330.  
Sharf al-Dîn Muḥammad, 413.  
Sharḥ al-Tamâm wa l-waqf, 345.  
 al-Sha'ri, 219.  
 al-Sharîf al-'Abîd, 76.  
Sharîf Abû Ja'far Mas'ûd al-Bayâḍî, 250, 252.  
Sharîf Ḥasan Ibn Qatâdah, 129.  
Sharîf al-Murtadâ, 165.  
 al-Sharqiyah (East Mesopotamia) 112, 119.  
 al-Sharrâ, 114.  
 al-Shâsh, 203.  
 al-Shawbak, 408.  
 al-Shawbik, 125.  
Shaybân, 302, 306, 307.  
Shayzar, 335.  
Shibil al-Dawlah (Abû 'l-Hayjâ), 318, 319, 320, 321.  
Shifyah, 326.  
Shihâb al-Dawlah Qutulmish, 104, 167.  
Shihâb al-Dîn Ghâzî, 411.  
 al-Shirâzî (Shaykh) Abn Ishâq, 175, 276.  
Shirâzî (Shazarî), 188.  
Shirwân, 302.  
Shu'bah Ibn al-Ḥajjâj, 316, 374.  
Shuḍûr Shuḍhûr al-'Uqûd, 101.  
Shûnîzî, 30, 265, 382.  
Shurâḥîl, 241, 242.  
Shus, 260.

- Sili, 323.  
 Sibawayh, 375, 385.  
 Sibtah (centa), 279, 412.  
 Sibṭ al-Tawḥīdī, 152.  
 Sicily, 123n., 284.  
 Sidon, 371.  
 Sijilmāssah, 279, 372.  
 Sijistān, 226, 262, 274, 299, 304, 308.  
 al-Sijistānī, 361.  
 al-Silafi, 217, 218, 219, 366.  
 Sinān, 235, 237.  
 Sind, 227, 350, 352.  
 al-Sindi Ibn Shā'ikh, 383.  
 Sinj 'Abbād, 265, 266.  
 Sinjār, 102, 106, 117, 123, 171, 208, 209, 233, 254, 255, 258, 261, 323, 334, 359, 373.  
 Sinjar, Ibn Malik Shāh, 265.  
*Sirat al-Mulūk al-Maghrib*, 79.  
*Sirat al-Rasūl*, 211.  
*al-Sirr al-Maktūm*, 192.  
 al-Sirawān, 417, 419.  
 Sitt al-Shām, 412.  
*al-Siyāsat al-Madaniyah*, 200.  
 Sirjiāh, 141n.  
 Solomon, 404, 405.  
 Spain, 47, 48, 49, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 66, 68, 69, 70, 74, 75, 79, 81, 84, 193N. 203, 220, 279, 340, 341, 367, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405, 414.  
 Subuktikīn, 223, 224, 232.  
 Su'dā, 220.  
 Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah, 316.  
 Sulaymān, (Ibn 'Alī), 10.  
 Sulaymān (Brother of Idrees), 76, 104.  
 Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 405, 406.  
 Sulaymān, Ibn Fahd, 329.  
 Sulaymān Ibn Ḥasan (Abū Daud), 203.  
 Sulaymān Ibn Qutulmish, 106.  
 Sumaysāt, 407.  
 al-Sumadihiyah, 69.  
 Sūs, 394.  
 al-Sūs, 79.  
 Sūshah, 47.  
 Susmān, 226.  
 Suwayd, 368.  
 al-Suyūṭī, 297.  
 Syria, 18, 28, 33, 41, 47, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 104, 110, 112, 114, 115, 118, 120, 126, 146, 182, 192, 193, 234, 235, 239, 245, 249, 255, 256, 257, 258, 267, 273, 280, 309, 317, 328, 335, 349, 350, 354, 355, 371, 373, 384, 391, 405, 409, 410, al-Ṣābi (Abu'l-Ḥasan), 143.  
 al-Sāhi, (Abū Ishāq), 157.  
 Sabrah, 280n., 290.  
 Ṣād, 247n.  
 Sadaqah Asadi, 13, 14, 107.  
 al-Sa'dī, 262.  
*al-Ṣādiḥ, wa 'l-Bāghim*, 13.  
 Sādiq or Siddiq, (Shaykh) Ibn Badr, 121, 122.  
 al-Ṣaffar (Abu'l Walid), 342.  
 Ṣaḥī al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ibn Shukr, 267.

- Şafıyyah, 34n.  
 Şahāḥ al-Ḥāzimi, 138.  
 Sāhib Ibn 'Abbād, 136, 137, 142, 144, 159, 162, 314.  
 Şāḥiḥ Bukhārī, 424.  
 al-Şāḥiḥ, (*Muslim*), 245, 246, 424.  
 Salāḥ al-Dīn, (Sultān), 28, 33, 38, 41, 42.  
 Sulṭān, 110, 111, 112, 115, 118, 182, 191, 192, 193, 196, 234, 235, 237, 239, 249, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 267, 389.  
 al-Şāliḥ Ṭalā'i' Ibn Ruzziq, 339.  
 Şāliḥ Ibn Manşūr, 205, 403.  
 Şamīm al-'Arabıyyah, 215.  
 Şan'ā, 262, 263.  
 Şanhājāb, 288.  
 Şanhājıyān, 331.  
 Şārim al-Dīn Qā'imāz al-Mas'ūdī, 122.  
 Şawān, 410.  
 Şawān, *al-Ḥukam fī Ṭabaqat al-Ḥukāmah*, 199.  
 Şifīn, war of 71.  
 Şilat, 55.  
 al-Şūlī (Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā), 209.  
 Şurr-Durr, 33, 168, 173, 174, 252.
- T
- Ta'asīf (Abū 'l-Qasim), 389.  
 Tabnīn, 371.  
 Tabriz, 102.  
 Tabşiralı, 343.  
 Tabūk, 91.  
 Taḏhib, 350.  
 Taḥḏıhib al-Asmā, 317.  
 Tāj al-Dawlah, 334.  
 'Iāj al-Dīn al-Kindi, 39.  
 Tajārīb al-Umam, 177.  
 Tāju 'l-Mulk Abu 'l-Ḡhanā'im, 9, 12.  
 Takmilah, 385.  
 al-Takmilah, 420.  
 Talavesa, 55.  
 Tal Bani Sayyar, 325.  
 Ta'liqah fī 'l-Khilāf, 386.  
 Tall A'Far, 327.  
 Tall Rāhiṭ, 41, 42.  
 Tall Tawbah, 332.  
 Tamīm, 282, 288, 416, 417, 414, 415.  
 Tamīm al-Dārmī, 393.  
 Tangiers, 394, 395.  
 Tanzih al-Malāikah al-Ḍḥunūb, 344.  
 Taqī al-Dīn (*Shaykh*), 247, 412.  
 Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Şalāḥ, 387.  
 Tatarā, 278.  
 Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā, 205n, 218.  
 Tāsīs al-Taqdīs, 113.  
 Tasmiyat al-Aḥzāb, 345.  
 Tawānāh, 259.  
 Tawfiq Ibn Muḥammad, 14.  
 al-Tha'ālībī, 136, 143, 145, 153, 192, 346.  
 Tha'lab Ibn Dūdān, 414.  
 Tha'labah, 165.  
 al-Tha'labi (Abū Ishāq), 424.

- al-Ṭha'labiyah, 414.  
 al-Ṭharthār, 211.  
Ṭhawr, 161n.  
 al-Ṭhawrī, 299.  
Ṭheodora, 101.  
 Tiberias, 91.  
 Tigris, 26, 155, 186, 210, 211,  
 323, 358, 390, 415.  
 Tihāmāh, 292, 307, 309.  
 Tikīn, 91, 92, 97.  
 Tikrī, 191, 210.  
 Tin-Mall, 83, 85, 89.  
 al-Tirmidhī, 245, 248.  
 Toledo, 55, 56, 199, 399, 403,  
 405.  
 Transoxiana, 41, 98, 100, 103,  
 225, 320.  
*Travel in Arabia*, 122.  
 Tripoli, 78, 97, 238, 370, 392.  
 Tubba', 92.  
 Tudmīr, 396.  
 Tujibī, 75, 90, 91.  
 Tumarat, 89.  
 Tumin, 48.  
 Tunis, 331, 344, 392.  
 al-Tūr (Tabor), 126.  
 Tūri, 97.  
 Turkamān, 167.  
 Turkān Khātūn, 91n.  
 Tutush, 106, 234, 355.  
 Tūzar, 281n.  
 Tyre, 371.  
*Ṭabāqāt*, 127, 200, 202.  
*Ṭabāqāt al-Fuqahā*, 262, 276,  
 360.  
*Ṭabāqāt al-Ḥanafīyah*, 384n.  
*Ṭabāqāt al-Qurrā*, 342, 344.  
*Ṭabāqāt al-Shāfi'in*, 249, 362.  
*Ṭabāqāt al-Shū'āra*, 240, 311.  
 al-Ṭabari, 205, 212, 318.  
 al-Ṭabarī (Abu 'l-Ṭayyab), 275,  
 276.  
 Ṭabaristān, 93.  
 al-Ṭahāwī, 293, 361, 362.  
 Ṭahyā (Ḥayyā), 245.  
 al-Ṭā'i, 157.  
 al-Ṭā'i' bi Allāh, 323.  
 Ṭā'if, 4.  
 Ṭalḥah, 34.  
 al-Tara'fī (Abu 'Abd Allāh),  
 342n.  
*Ṭarīqāh*, 222.  
 Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād, 394, 395, 396,  
 397, 398, 404, 405.  
 Ṭal-irimmāh, 272, 273.  
 Ṭughj Ibn Juff, 95, 106.  
 al-Ṭughhrā'i (Abū Ismā'il), 253.  
 Ṭughhrulbek, 100, 101, 102, 103,  
 104, 178, 182, 231, 233, 332.  
 Ṭughtikīn, 234.  
 al-Ṭulayṭib, 55.  
 Ṭuraythīth, 184, 250.  
 al-Ṭurtūshī, 76.  
 Ṭūs, 9, 26, 100, 224, 355, 424.  
 Ṭushānah, 48.  
 al-Ṭūsī (Shaykh Sharf al-Din),  
 388.

## U

- Ughustās, 93.  
 Umayyah, 311, 350, 367.  
 Umayyah Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz,  
 331.

- Umm 'Awf, 352.  
 Umm Khayr, 424.  
 Umm Mawdūd, 19.  
 Urtugh Ibn Aksab, 167,  
 Urtuq, 119.  
 Usāmah Ibn Munqidh, 172, 252,  
 374.  
 Usāmah Ibn Murshid, 335.  
 Ushmūm, 117, 124.  
 Ushmunayn, 46.  
 Ushrushnah, 93 n.  
 Uṭrār, 203.  
 'Ubayd Allāh, (Abu l-Qasim), 60,  
 289.  
 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Ma'mar,  
 298.  
 'Ubayd Ibn al-Ḥusayn, 297.  
 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Tughi, 94.  
 'Uddat al-Dawlah, 324.  
 al-'Ughayb, 33.  
 'Ukāz, 195.  
 'Umān, 310, n.  
 'Umar, 89, 243, 326.  
 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, 274, 369.  
 'Umar Ibn al-Ghallās, 313.  
 'Umar Ibn Khattāb, 196, 242,  
 301, 326, 406, 417.  
 'Umar Ibn abi Rabiyyāh, 301.  
 'Umar Ibn Shabbāh al-Numay-  
 ri, 291.  
 'Umārat al-Yamāni, 339.  
 'Umrah, 122.  
 'Umayd, 135.  
 'Uqayl, 332.  
 'Uḥmān Ibn, Sād (Abu Sa'id),  
 344.  
 'Uḥman Ibn 'Affān, 239, 240,  
 350, 367.  
 'Uḥmān Ibn Abi Shaybah,  
 270.  
 'Unayn, 47, 112.  
 'Urwah Ibn 'Utbah al-Tabrizi,  
 295.  
 al-'Utaqi, 96.  
 al-Utbi, 144, 223, 228.  
 'Uyūn al-Siyar, 93, 138, 156.  
 'Uyūn al-Tawārikh, 160.  
 al-'Uzayb, 355.

## V

- Valencia, 70.  
 Vullers (Professor), 102.

## W

- Wādial-Qura (Marr al-Zahrem,  
 406.  
 Waki' Ibn Jarrāh, 317.  
 Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 393,  
 394, 397, 404, 405.  
 Walid Ibn Yazid, 161. n.  
 al-Wansharesi, 80, 85, 86, 87,  
 89.  
 al-Wāqidi, 317, 349.  
 al-Wāqisala 355, 359.  
 Wāqisat al-Ḥarūn, 359.  
 al-Waqshi, (Abu 'l-Walid), 55,  
 Warshān (Warshan), 344.  
 Washqah, 75.  
 Wāsiṭ, 162, 165, 168, 190, 272,  
 303, 352, 413.

Wāṭhilah Ibn al-Aṣḥqa (Wāilah  
Ibn al-Asqā), 350.  
Wāṭhimah Ibn Musā, 61.  
al-Wāṭhiq, 132, 133.  
Woepeke, 163 n.  
Wujūb al-Qara'āt, 343.

## Y

Yabrīn, 33, 182, 273.  
al-Yāf'i, 126.  
Yafisānī, 234.  
Yaḥsubī (Abu Mohammad  
Abdullah), 55.  
Yaḥya al-Muta'li, 48.  
Yaḥyā al-Naysabūri, 245.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Abu Ḥaṣṣah Abū  
Jamīl, 245.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Akhtam, 375.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Jarraḥ, 117.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid Barmakī,  
241, 242, 312.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in 261, 317.  
Yaḥya Ibn Maṣṣūr, 115.  
Yaḥyā Ibn S'aid, 275.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Tamīm, 77, 78.  
Yaḥyā Ibn Zayd, 160.  
Yaltikin, 97.  
Yamāmah, 310, 325.  
Yaman, 41, 42, 92, 112, 119,  
120, 121, 261, 262, 283, 304,  
313.  
Yamīn al-Dawlah, 223.  
al-Yamīni, 228.  
Yāqūt al-Ḥamavī, 212, 222,  
288.  
Yārūq, 407.

al-Yaruqiyah, 407.  
al-Yās, 269.  
Yāsi Hamārah (Bani Jumān),  
409.  
al-Yasiriyah, 417.  
Yatimah, 136, 143, 145, 153,  
192.  
Yawm Aghmās, 299.  
Yawm Aghhwāth, 299.  
Yaum al-Tamjz, 86.  
Yawm Armath, 299.  
Yazīd Ibn 'Abd-al-Malik, 274.  
Yazīd Ibn Hubayrah al-Fazāri,  
303.  
Yazīd Ibn Zā'idah, 309.  
(Abū Muhammad Yaḥya) al-  
Yazīdī, 38.  
Yūhannā Ibn Kharylan (Jaba-  
lād), 198, 199.  
Yūnus Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 342.  
Younus Ibn Shams al-Dīn Maw-  
dūd, 121.  
Yūsuf al-Khuwārizmī, 105.  
Yūsuf Ibn Tā'shfin, 57, 58, 60,  
74, 81.  
Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi,  
160.

## Z

al-Zabbi, 262.  
Zabid, 119, 120.  
Zābulistan, 106.  
al-Zāhirah, 341.  
al-Zātra, 53, 54.  
Za'im al-Ru'asā, (Abu 'l-Qāsim)  
167, 174.



- Zakariyā Ibn Yahya al-Sāji,  
     317.  
 Zaki al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm,  
     392.  
 Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundhri (Shaykh  
     264, 268.  
 Zakhkhā, 333.  
 al-Zallāqah, 57.  
 Zama<sup>kh</sup>shar, 219, 222.  
 al-Zama<sup>kh</sup>shari, (Jār Allāh)  
     214, 215, 216, 217, 218,  
     219, 220, 221, 222, 320,  
     385.  
 Zamzam, 183, 195.  
 Zarqā Al-Yamāmah, 180.  
 al-Zarwah, 186.  
 Zawrā, 251.  
 al-Zavriyat al-*Gharbiyah*, 249.  
 Zayd, 157, 159, 160, 272.  
 Zayd Manāt, 299.  
 Zaynab, 10, 219.  
 al-Zaynabi, 423.  
 Zayn al-Dawlah, 331.  
 Zayn al-Dīn, 37, 185, 187, 233,  
     383.  
 Zayn al-Dīn 'Ali K<sup>ng</sup>hak, 374  
 Zayniāh, 383.  
 Zenay (Seneqal), 288.  
 Ziad Ibn Mu'āwiyah, 243.  
 Zij, 386.  
*al-Zij al-Sabi*, 209, 210.  
*Zinat al-Dahr*, 92.  
 Zinjān, 419.  
 Zinki Ibn 'Āq Sunqur (atabek)  
     184, 185.  
*Zubad al-Tawārikh*, 106.  
*Zubadat al-Nusrar wa Nak-*  
*hat al-Ussal*, 194 N.  
 Zubaydah, 172, 274.  
 al-Zubayr, 34.  
 Zuhayr, 70.  
 Zuhayr Ibn Abi Sulmah, 315.  
 al-Zuhri, 350.  
 Zunj, 90.  
 al-Zuqāqayn, 341.  
 al-Zūzani, 198, 199, 200, 202,  
     337.  
 al-Ẓāfir Muḥammad, 48.  
 al-Ẓāhir, 366.  
 Ẓāhir al-Dīn Ṭuḡhtikīn, 234.  
 al-Ẓāhir al-Jazari (al-Ṭāhir),  
     329, 330, 331.



**Ibn Khallikan's**

**WAFAYAT AL-A'YAN**

**WA ANBĀ' ABNA' AL-ZAMĀN**

**(A Biographical Dictionary)**

**Vol. 6**

**Eng. Translation  
M. de Slane**

**Edited by  
Dr. S. Moinul Haq**

## **BASIC CONCEPTS OF THE QUR'AN**

By MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

Translated by DR. SYED ABDUL LATIF

Being a Resume of the views advanced by him in his Commentary of the *Surat-ul-Fatiha*, the opening chapter of the Qur'an

The volume sets out on a brief canvas the ideology of the Qur'an as estimated by the late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and should serve as an illuminating Introduction to the Study of the Qur'an.

ISBN 81-7151-217-8 23x36/16 pp. 16+118 1996

Book Code No. B00075

Rs 60/-

## **AN ORIENTAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY**

T. W. BEALE

Thorold's Oriental Biographical Dictionary, revised and enlarged by H. G. Keene, is still the most comprehensive work of its kind. It provides detailed biographical information on the main figures in the history of the East from the fifth century A.D. to the nineteenth century.

The Dictionary is an outstanding work of scholarship and has been widely acclaimed by Orientalists, poets and historians all over the world. It is indispensable for scholars and students of the history of Muslim India, consisting as it does material gathered from Persian, Arabic, Urdu and European sources. The history of the Maratha and Rajput States and Kingdoms is also covered in full detail. Students of Muslim India's art, music and literature will find much of great interest and use in the volume.

More than 4500 entries are listed according to the English variant of each individual's name together with their Persian form in the parenthesis.

ISBN 81-7151-214-3 20x26/8 pp. 8+432 1996

Book Code No. O00018

Rs. 300/-

# **KITAB BHAVAN**

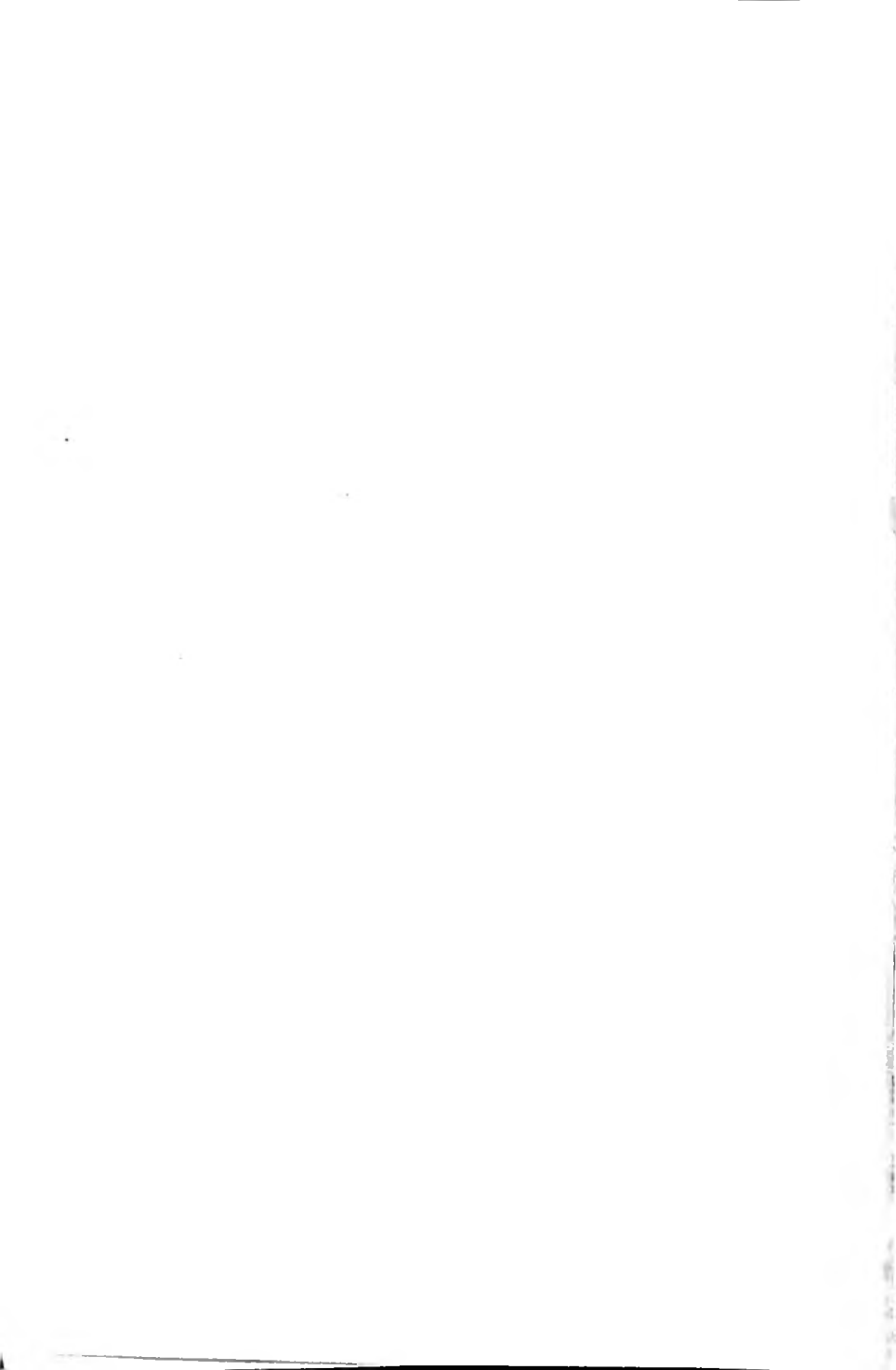
1784, Kalan Mahal, Darya Ganj

New Delhi-110002 (India)

Phones : 3274686, 3277392-93

Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN

Fax : 91-11-3263383



Ibn Khallikan's  
**Wafayat al-A'yan**

wa  
**Anbā' Abna' al-Zamān**  
(A Biographical Dictionary)

(M. de Slane's English Translation)

VOLUME VI

*Edited by:*

S. MOINUL HAQ

M.A., Ph.D.

**KITAB BHAVAN**

New Delhi - 110002 (India)

**KITAB BHAVAN**

Exporters & Importers  
1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj  
New Delhi-110002, [India]

*Phones : 3274686, 3277392, 3277393*

*Fax : 91-11-3263383*

*Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN*

ISBN 81-7151-170-8 Set  
ISBN 81-7151-176-7 (Vol. VI)

First Published in India      1996

*Published by:*

Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan  
1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj  
New Delhi-110002

*Printed in India at:*

Johar Offset Printers  
Maujpur, Ghonda  
Delhi-110053

## NOTE ON transliteration

ا = a	د = d
ب = b	ت = t
ع = t	ز = z
ث = <u>th</u>	ع = ' (silent)
ج = j	غ = <u>gh</u>
ح = h	ف = f
خ = <u>kh</u>	ق = q
د = d	ك = k
ذ = <u>dh</u>	ل = l
ر = r	م = m
ز = z	ن = n
س = s	و = u; w; aw
ش = <u>sh</u>	ه = h
ص = s	ي = i; y; ay

Long vowels : ā, ī, ū

Short vowels: a, i, u





# CONTENTS

No.		PAGE
729	Nāfi', the <i>Mawlā</i> of Ibn 'Umar	1
730	Nāfi', the <i>Qur'ān-Reader</i>	2
731	Al-Muṭarrizī, the <i>Philologist</i>	4
732	Al-'Aziz al-'Ubaydi	6
733	Naṣr al-Klubzāruzzī	11
734	Naṣr al-Numayrī	18
735	Ibn Qalāqis	20
736	Ḍiyā al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr	24
737	Al-Naḍr Ibn <u>Shumayl</u>	34
738	The Imām Abū Ḥanīfah	41
739	The Qāḍīs of the Nu'mān family	52
740	Al-Sayyidah Nafisah	63
741	Ibn al-Shajari	64
742	Al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābi	69
*743	Ibn al-Qaṭṭān the <i>Poet</i>	73
744	Al-Qāḍī al-Sa'īd Ibn Sanā al-Mulk	81
745	Hibat Allāh al-Būṣīrī	86
746	Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Talmīdh	88
747	Hārūn Ibn 'Alī 'l-Munajjim	98
748	Hishām Ibn 'Urwah	100
749	Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī	102
750	Hishām al-Ḍarīr, the <i>Grammarian</i>	106
751	Al-Farazdaq, the <i>Poet</i>	107
752	Hilāl al-Ṣābī	126
753	Al-Haytham Ibn 'Adī	132
754	Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā	143
755	Wathīmah Ibn Mūsā	148
756	Al-Buḥturi, the <i>Poet</i>	159
757	Al-Walid Ibn Ṭarīf	173

# CONTENTS

No.		PAGE
758	Wahb Ibn Munabbih	177
759	The Qāḍi Abu 'l-Bakhtari	179
760	Yārūq al-Turkumānī	185
761	Yāqūt al-Mawṣili, <i>the Penman</i>	187
762	Yāqūt al-Rūmī, <i>the Poet</i>	190
763	Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī	196
764	Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in	213
765	Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā	218
766	Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham	223
767	Yaḥyā Ibn Mu'ādh	246
*768	Yaḥyā Ibn Mandah	249
*769	Ibn Sa'dūn al-Qurṭubī	252
770	Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar	254
771	Al-Farrā, the grammarian	258
772	Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī	266
773	Al-Tibrizī	275
774	Ibn Mu'ṭī al-Zawāwī	283
775	Yaḥyā Ibn al-Munajjim	283
776	Abū Bakar Ibn Baqī	288
777	Mu'in al-Dīn al-Ḥaṣkafī	292
778	Yaḥyā Ibn Tamīm al-Ṣanhājī	297
779	Yaḥyā the Barmakid	306
	INDEX	319

\* Serial numbers misprinted in the text.

## IBN KHALLIKAN'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

### 729 NĀFI', THE MAWLĀ OF IBN 'UMAR

Abū 'Abd Allāh Nāfi', the *mawlā* (or freedman) of Ibn 'Umar (No. 243, note.) was a native of Daylam. He (was taken prisoner and) came into the possession of Ibn 'Umar in one of the latter's campaigns. As a *Tābi'i* he held the first rank, and, as a traditionist, he had for teachers his patron (Ibn 'Umar), and Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī (No. 396, note). Traditions were delivered on his authority (by his disciples) al-Zuhri (No. 590, note), Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (No. 539, note), and Mālik Ibn Anas (No. 524). He had a high reputation as an exact traditionist and ranked among those trustworthy narrators whose accounts were eagerly listened to, carefully collected and taken as rules of conduct. The greater part of the Traditions delivered by Ibn 'Umar repose on the authority of Nāfi's statements. Mālik said: "When I heard Nāfi' deliver a Tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, I had not the least wish of hearing the same Tradition from any one else." A saying current among the learned in the science of Traditions is: *A relation made by al-Shāfi'i on the authority of Mālik, and by him on the authority of Nāfi', and by him on the authority of Ibn 'Umar* (such a series) is really the golden chain; so exalted is the merit of each of these narrators. The *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (No. 5) relates the following anecdote in that chapter of his *Muḥaddithah* which treats of marriage feasts and scrambling for sweetmeats; he gives it in the words of Nāfi', himself: "I was walking with 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar, and he heard the sound of a

---

1 His father's name is not well ascertained; it was either *Hurmuz* or *Kāwūs*. (Al-Nawawī, in his *Tahdhīb*).

shepherd's pipe. On this, he stopped his ears with his fingers and went off the high road. Every now and then, he would say to me : Do you hear it still, Nafi' ? and when I at length answered that I did not, he removed his fingers from his ears and returned to the high-road. He then said to me : 'It was thus I saw the Prophet act (*on a similar occasion*)'." This tradition presents a difficulty which gave rise to a discussion among the doctors of the law; it is this : "Why did Ibn 'Umar stop his ears so as not to hear the sound of the pipe and yet, instead of ordering his client Nafi' to do the same, he authorised him to listen, in as much, as he asked him, every moment, if the sound had ceased or not ?" The solution given of this difficulty was that Nafi', being at that time a mere boy, and not responsible (*for a breach of the law*), it was not necessary to forbid him to listen. This answer gave rise to another question namely : "It is perfectly certain that a declaration made by a boy is not receivable (*in law*) ; why then did Ibn 'Umar put his trust in Nafi''s declaration touching the cessation of the sound?" this tradition, as handed down to us, serves, to strengthen the argument of those who assert that traditional information delivered by a boy is receivable. This matter formed the subject of a famous controversy, an account of which would be misplaced here. Numerous anecdotes are told concerning Nafi'. He died in the year 117 (A.C 735-6); or, according to some, in the year 120.

### 730 NĀFI', THE QUR'ĀN-READER

Abū Ruwaym Nāfi', the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abi Nu'aym and a *mawlā* of Ja'wanah Ibn Sha'ūb al-Shijā'i, was a native of Madinah and one of the seven principal *Qur'ān-readers*. He was the *imām*<sup>1</sup> of the people of Madinah ; they conformed to his manner of reading and adopted the readings he preferred. He belonged to the third class (*or generation*) after the Companions

1 The word *imām* designates the person who presides at the public prayer ; but, in the present case, it appears to signify *oracle*, a person whose opinions were of the highest authority. See the *Annals* of Abu 'l-Fidā, Vol. II, page 58.

of *Muḥammad* and filled the office of *muḥtasib* (No. 150, note). His humour was facetious<sup>1</sup> and his complexion dark, extremely dark. Ibn Abī Uways stated as follows: "Mālik (No. 525) told me that he read (the *Qur'ān*) under Nāfi' 's tuition. Al-Aṣma'i (No. 354) relates that Nāfi' said to him; "I drew my origin from (a family of) Iṣbahān". It is thus that al-Aṣma'i's statement is reporduced by Abū Nu'aym (No. 32) in the *History of Iṣbahān*. He (Nāfi') had read (the *Qur'ān*) under the direction of Abū Maymūnah a *mawlā* of Umm Salamah, one of the Prophet's wives. He had two pupils who transmitted to posterity his method of *Qur'ān-reading*; one of them was Warṣh (No. 710, note) and the other Qunbul\* (No. 305). We have already mentioned them both under the letter 'ayn.<sup>2</sup> Nāfi' died at Madīnah in the year 169 (A.C. 785-6). This event has been placed under the year 159 and other dates, but the first mentioned is the true one. There are doubts about his surname whether it was Abu 'l-Ḥasan, or Abū 'Abd Allāh, or 'Abd al-Raḥmān, or Abū Nu'aym. The word *جونه* (*ja'wanah*) served originally to designate a little, short man; it was afterwards employed as a proper name for men, whether they were short or not. The *Ja'wanah* here spoken of was a confederate ally of Ḥamzah, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, or, by another account, of al-'Abbās, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. A third statement represents him as a confederate of the Hāshimīd family. The word *شعوب* (*sha'ūb*) was employed primitively to express the idea of death, *شجعي* (*shija'i*) signifies *belonging to the tribe of 'Shija'*, which is a branch of the Banū Āmir Ibn Layth. Al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) has neglected mentioning this patronymic (in his *Anṣāb*).

1 The true reading is *فيه دعاية*; see Abu 'l-Fidā's *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 58, and *Ṭabāqāt al-Qurrā*, MS. of the *Bibliothèque imperiale*, ancien fonds, No. 642, fol. 25 verso. We read there *وكان صاحب دعاية و طيب اخلاق* "He (Nāfi') was full of gaiety and good humour".

2 The author is here mistaken: the article to which he alludes (No. 305) contains a short passage on Qunbul, but does not make any mention of Warṣh.

\* Qunbul transmitted on the authority of Nāfi' and not Ibn Kathīr. Qālūn transmitted from Nāfi'. The Egyptian edition gives the correct name.—Ed.

## 731 AL-MUṬARRIZĪ, THE PHILOLOGER

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Nāṣir Ibn Abi 'l-Mukārim 'Abd al-Sayyid Ibn 'Alī al-Muṭarrizī was a native of Khuwārizm, a legist of the sect (or school) of Abū Ḥanīfah (No. 738) a grammarian and a philologist. He possessed a perfect knowledge of grammar, philology, poetry and all the branches of literature. He studied in his native town under his father and Abu 'l-Muwayyad al-Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Makkī, (a native of *Makkah* and) the (ablest) preacher in Khuwārizm. He had, besides, other preceptors. Traditions were taught to him by a number of masters, one of whom was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Sa'd al-Tājir (the merchant). He gained a perfect acquaintance with that science, became a head-man among the Mu'tazilites<sup>1</sup> and preached openly the doctrines of that sect. In the secondary points of Muslim law, he followed the system of Abū Ḥanīfah. He expressed his thoughts with elegance and displayed great talent as a jurisconsult. We owe to him a number of instructive works such as the *Commentary on the Stations (Maqāmāt)* of al-Ḥarīrī, a treatise which, notwithstanding its concision, affords all the information that can be desired. In his *Kitāb al-Mughrib* (the furnisher of curious information) he treats of the strange and uncommon terms employed in the language of the jurisconsults. This work is for the Ḥanafites what the work of al-Azhārī (No. 613) is for the Shāfi'ites. In it the author shewed that he was not unequal to his task, having assembled there every information that could be wished for. \**[His Mu'rib (exact indicator) was intended as a commentary on the Mughrib: it is a large work, but rarely to be found. He drew up also a philological treatise entitled the Iqtinā' (sufficiency), and made an abridgment of the same work. His other productions were an abridgment of the Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq<sup>2</sup>, the Miṣbāḥ*

1 The Mu'tazilites endeavoured to conciliate faith with reason, religion with philosophy.

2 The *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq* (corrector of discourse) is a philological work composed by Ibn al-Sikkīt, a celebrated grammarian whose life will be found among the *Ya'qūbs*.

\*[ ] From "His" to "etc" on p. 5 is omitted by 'Abd al-Ḥamid—Ed.

(*flambeau*) treating of grammar, the well-known *Muqaddimah* (introduction) to the study of grammar, etc.] Students derived great profit from his oral instruction and from his works. In the year 601 (A.C. 1204-5) he entered Baghdād, as a Makkah pilgrim and, as he held the opinions of the Mu'tazilites, he had frequent controversies with the doctors of that city. He gave there lessons in philology and acquired a great reputation, extended fame and wide renown. He composed some poetry, such as the following verses, in which assonances are introduced with great art<sup>1</sup> :

"(He is) a fire-box of beneficence, the abundant sparks of which never fail, and a laurel of the hills possessing noble qualities which are never blighted. Precious is the pearl of his glory, copious the flow of his gifts."

In another piece he says :

I should blush to acquire fame were I only to be considered as a frequenter of damsels and an amateur of songs."

He said also :

"Fortune was blind to my just rights, and that was really as bad as if al-Zarqā simulated blindness.<sup>2</sup> If you refuse to acknowledge my merit, its voice is sufficiently loud to advertise those who have ears to hear."

He composed a great deal of poetry and in it he made frequent use of assonances. His birth took place in *Khuwārizm*, in the month of Rajab, 538 (Jan.-Feb., A.C. 1144); so he was really, as has been remarked, the successor of al-Zarqā *khshari*, who died in that year and in the same place (*No.* 684). Al-Muṭarrizī died on Tuesday, the 21st of the first Jumādā, 610 (8th Oct., A.C. 1213), in *Khuwārizm*. More than three hundred elegies, some in Arabic and some in Persian, were composed on his death. Muṭarrizī means a person who embroiders stuffs and ornaments them with

---

1 Those assonances disappear, of course, in the translation.

2 This must refer to Zarqā al-Yamāmah (*the blue-eyed maid of al-Yamāmah*), who was celebrated for her piercing sight and of whom many fables are related. See, the *Essai*, etc., of M. 'Caussin de Perceval, tom. I, p. 100.



stripes. I do not know whether this surname was given to him because he himself was an embroiderer or because one of his ancestors had practised that art. His professor, al-Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad, the preacher above-mentioned, died in Khuwārizm on the 11th of Ṣafar, 568 (2nd October, A.C. 1172).

### 732 AL-'AZİZ AL-'UBAYDĪ

Abu 'l-Manṣūr Nizār al-'Ubaydī (*the Fāṭimid*), entitled al-'Aziz bi-Allāh (*august by the grace of God*), was the son of al-Mu'izz, son of al-Manṣūr, son of al-Qā'im, son of al-Mahdī, and sovereign of Egypt and Maghrib. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 700*), his ancestors, his son and his grandchildren. He was publicly declared successor to the throne on Thursday, the 4th of the latter Rabi', 365 (11th Dec., A.C. 975), and he assumed the supreme authority on the death of his father, which event took place on Friday, the 11th of the same month. A different date has been given, as we have remarked in the article on al-Mu'izz. When al-Mu'izz breathed his last, his death was kept secret, till his son, al-'Aziz, was proclaimed khalif. The new sovereign was generous, brave and inclined to forgiveness, even with the power of punishing. His conduct towards Iftikīn al-Turki (*No. 507*), the mamlūk of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, is well-known: when he got him into his power, he pardoned him and, though the war he had to wage against him cost a heavy sum, he abstained from chastising him. As we have already given a short account of Iftikīn's proceedings in the life of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, we need not repeat it here. The anecdote (*as we have said*), is well-known and proves the mildness and clemency of al-'Aziz. The amīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbiḥi (*No. 687*) states, in his History, that al-'Aziz was he who founded the *jāmi'* (*great mosque*) situated near the gate of Cairo called Bāb al-Futūḥ. The foundations were dug and the building was commenced in the month of Ramaḍān, 380 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 990). Farther on, he says: "The Qaṣr al-Baḥr (*the palace on the river-side*), an edifice the like of which had never been raised either in the East or in the West, was built

at Cairo in his reign, as also the Qaṣr al-Dḥahab (*the golden palace*), the great mosque in (*the cemetery of*) al-Qarāfah and the castles (*or palaces*) at 'Ayn Shams<sup>1</sup>. He had reddish hair, his eyes were large and dark blue, his shoulders broad. Kind in disposition and condescending, he disliked to shed blood. Being a good judge of horses and falcons, he was passionately fond of the chase and particularly of lion-hunting; he was, besides, a *connaissanceur* in jewellery and furniture; to this we may add that he was a man of talent, and skilled in literature." Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ṭha'ālībī (*No.* 356) mentions him in the *Yutimah* and gives a piece of verse which he composed on a day of public festivity in which he had put all his family into mourning on account of the death of one of his children. Here is the passage:

"We, the descendants of al-Muṣṭafā (*the chosen one, Muḥammad*), undergo afflictions which none among us can survive except those who are able to master their grief. Strange that we, of all mankind, must suffer from misfortune! the first of our family had his trials and so also has the last! The people here before us are all rejoicing at their festival; but festivals, for us, are days of mourning."

Here the same author introduces a long paragraph after which he adds these words: "I heard the *shaykh* Abū 'l-Ṭayyib relate as follows: The 'Marwānīd' (*Umayyad*) who reigned in Spain received from Nizār, the sovereign of Egypt, an insulting and satirical letter to which he replied in these terms: '*You satirize us because you have heard of us; had we ever heard of you, we should make you a reply.*' Nizār felt the severity of this retort and abstained from answering." Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Rawḥī says, in his work entitled *Ṭuhfat al-Zurafā fi Tūrikh al-Khulafā* (*gift for the ingenious, being a history of the Khalifs*)<sup>2</sup>, that this correspondence passed between al-'Azīz and al-Ḥākim al-Mustanṣir, the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir and Marwānīd sovereign of Spain. According to him, al-Mustanṣir was the author of the insulting

1 The ruins of 'Ayn Shams (*Heliopolis*) lie at half a day's journey N.E. of Cairo.

2 This work is not noticed by Ḥājji Khaliḥah.

letter and al-'Azīz replied to it in the terms above mentioned ; God knows best ! In our article on al-Mahdī, Nizār's grandfather (No. 332) we have spoken of the genealogy which this family gave for theirs and of the attacks directed against it. The great majority of those who are versed in that branch of study do not consider this genealogy to be true, and we have related, in the life of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (No. 317) the conversation which passed, on the subject, between that *sharīf* and al-Mu'izz, the father of al-'Azīz. The belief in its falsity spread among the public and was generally adopted. Al-'Azīz, in the commencement of his reign, went up into the pulpit, one Friday (to pronounce the usual *Khuṭbah* or invocation), and found in it a leaf of paper on which were inscribed these lines :

"We have heard a doubtful genealogy proclaimed from the pulpit of the mosque ; if what you say be true, name your ancestors up to the fifth degree. If you wish to prove your assertion, give us, for your genealogy, one which may be as certain as that of al-Ṭā'i' : If not, leave your pedigree in the shade and enter with us into the great family which includes all mankind. The most ambitious vainly desire to have a genealogy like that of the sons of Hāshim (the 'Abbāsids)."

The author of these verses said; *give us, for your genealogy etc.*, because the occurrence took place in the reign of al-Ṭā'i' li-Allāh, the *Khalīf* of Baghdād. Another day, al-'Azīz mounted into the pulpit and found there a piece of paper on which was written :

"We have borne with oppression and with tyranny, but not with infidelity nor folly. If you have the gift of knowing what is hidden, tell us the name of him who wrote this note."

He who composed these lines was led to do so because they (the *Fāṭimid sovereigns*) pretended to possess the knowledge of every thing hidden from man ; the anecdotes told of them, on this subject, are well-known. Abu 'l-Raqa'maq Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Anṭākī (No. 53) composed, in praise of al-'Azīz, a *qaṣīdah* of which the eulogistic part is remarkably well turned. The kingdom of this sovereign surpassed in extent that of his father ; (his *generals*) conquered for him Emessa, Ḥamāt, Aleppo,

Shayzar and, in the month of Muḥarram, 382 (March-April, A.C. 992), the *khuṭbah* was pronounced for him, at Moṣul, by Abū Duwād Muḥammad Ibn al-Musayyab al-'Uqaylī, the brother of al-Muqallad Ibn al-Musayyab (No. 708) and the sovereign of that city and its territory. The name of al-'Aziz was there inscribed on the coinage and the standards; the *khuṭbah* was said for him (*even*) in Yamen. He continued to enjoy his greatness till the year 386; having then set out for Syria, he was taken ill at Bilbays, in one of the last ten days of the month of Rajab (August, A.C. 996). His indisposition sometimes augmented and sometimes diminished; on Sunday, the 25th of Ramaḍān, he got on horseback, at Bilbays, and rode to the bath, from which he proceeded to the lodgings occupied by the *ustād* Abu'l-Futūḥ Barjawān (No. 109), the same who was the keeper of his treasury at al-Qaṣr (*the citadel of Cairo*). He stopped there and, on the next morning, Monday, he felt his sufferings increase, and their violence continued till Tuesday morning. His disorder was the stone accompanied with pains in the bowels. He then sent for the *qādī*, Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān<sup>1</sup> and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Ammār the Kitānian, surnamed Amin al-Dawlah (*the warden of the empire*). This officer was the first native of Maghrib who bore an honorary title<sup>2</sup>. He was the *shaykh* and commander of the Kitānian troops. Al-'Aziz, having recommended to the care of these officers the interests of his son al-Ḥākim (No. 715), sent for the latter and conversed with him on the same subject. Though his illness continued to increase, he remained in the bath and, on quitting it, he expired. This took

1 Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān was born at Qayrawān, A.H. 346 (A.C. 956), and was taken to Cairo by his father, who accompanied al-Mu'izz to Egypt. Al-'Aziz appointed him chief *qādī* of all Egypt, of Makkah and Mad nah and of the military colonies (*jund*) in Syria. He chose him also to preside at the public prayer, and nominated him director of the mint and intendant of weights and measures. Ibn al Nu'man filled those offices during fourteen years and died on the fourth of Ṣfar A.H. 389 (January, A.C. 999). many members of his family occupied high judicial situations. (*Hist. of the 'Adīs of Cairo*, MS. of the Bibl. imp. No. 691. This manuscript was written for the use of the author and bears his corrections).

2 This is an error: Bulukīn the Zīride received from al-Mu'izz, the father of al-'Aziz, the title of Sayf al-Dawlah (*sword of the empire*).

place on Tuesday, the 28th of Ramaḍān, 386 (14th Oct., A.C. 996), in the interval between the two after-noon prayers. Such is the account given by al-Musabbiḥī. According to the author of the history of Qayrawān, the physician prescribed to al-'Aziz a portion, to be taken on entering into the bath, but it was wrongly made up and the prince died on drinking it. His death was not kept secret, even for single hour, and his son, al-Ḥākim, was immediately established in his place. On the morning of Wednesday when the inhabitants of Cairo heard of this event, they went forth from the city to meet the new sovereign. He made his entry with standards and banners waving before him, whilst the umbrella (*of state*) was borne over his head by Raydān al-Ṣaqlabī, the same who is mentioned in our article on Barjawān. Al-Ḥākim entered the Qaṣr a little before sunset, preceded by a litter in which was borne the body of his father and out of which the two feet of the corpse protruded. When the litter was taken into the Qaṣr, the body was washed by the *qādī* Ibn al-Nu'mān and then buried in a chamber of the Qaṣr, near the tomb of al-Mu'izz, the father of the deceased. The interment took place towards nightfall. On Thursday morning, the last of the month, perfect order reigned every where and proclamations were made throughout the country to the effect that no new charges or obligations should be imposed upon the people, that their lives and fortunes were under the protection of God and that whoever attempted to deprive them of either, might be lawfully slain and his property given up to pillage. The birth of al-'Aziz took place on Thursday, the 14th of Muḥarram, 344 (11th May, A.C. 995), at al-Mahdiyyah in the province of Ifriqiyah. Al-Farghānī (*No.* 76, *note.*) states, in his lesser historical work, that al-'Aziz bi-Aliāh was born on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of Muḥarram of that year. Al-Mukhtār al-Musabbiḥī relates as follows: "In a conversation which I had with al-Ḥākim, we happened to speak of the death of al-'Aziz, on which he said to me: 'O Mukhtār! my father sent for me before he breathed his last, and I found him with nothing on his body but rags and bandages.' I kissed him, and he pressed me to his bosom, exclaiming: 'How I grieve for thee, beloved of my heart!', and tears flowed from his eyes. He then said: 'Go, my master! and play, for I am very well.' I

obeyed and began to amuse myself with such sports as are usual with boys, and soon after, God took him to himself. Barjawān then hastened to me and, seeing me on the top of a sycamore tree, he exclaimed: 'Come down, my boy! may God protect you and us all!' When I descended, he placed on my head the turban adorned with jewels, kissed the ground before me and said: 'Hail to Commander of the faithful, with the mercy of God and His blessings!' He then led me out in that attire and shewed me to the people, who all kissed the ground before me and saluted me with the title of khalif! The history of al-'Aziz offers abundance of matter, but we aim at concision.

### 733 NAṢR AL-KHUBZĀRUZZI

Abu'l-Qāsim Naṣr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Māmūn, generally known by the surname of Khubzāruzzī (*the rice-bread baker*), was a native of Baṣrah. This distinguished poet had never received any education and could neither read nor write. He baked rice-bread in a shop situated at the Mirbad of Baṣrah, and he used to recite (*there*) verses of his own composition, all of them amatory. People crowded about him for the pleasure of hearing his poems and admiring the talent of one whose state was so humble. The poet Abu'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far, surnamed Ibn Lankak al-Baṣrī<sup>1</sup>, was then in the highest reputation, and yet he often visited Naṣr's shop for the purpose of hearing him, and took such an interest in him that he made a collection (*dīwān*) of his poetical works. Naṣr had already been to Baghdād and resided there a long time. The Khatīb (No. 33) speaks of him in his historical work and informs us that people went to read (*and study*) this *dīwān* under the author's tuition and several pieces of verse were learned from him and given as his by al-Mu'āfā Ibn Zakariyā al-Jarīrī (No. 699),

---

1 Al-Tha'ālibī, in his *Yatīmah*, gives some passages from Ibn Lankak's poems and praises the author highly for his talent. He informs us that Ibn Lankak was considered as the most accomplished literary scholar of Baṣrah.

Aḥmad Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥātim al-Nūshari and a number of others whose names he mentions. Al-Tha'ālibī (No. 356) speaks of him in the *Yatimah* and cites a number of pieces composed by him, such as the following :

"My two friends ! did you ever see or hear of any one more generous than a sovereign who went to visit his slave ! (*Yet 'twas thus my beloved*) came, without having promised, and said to me : I esteem you too much to let your heart remain in suspense, awaiting the fulfilment of a promise. Then, between me and her, the star of union revolved in the sphere of happy omen and felicity ; now, it presided over the kissing of the narcissus of the eye<sup>1</sup>, and then, over the biting of the apple of the cheek."

By the same :

"Has not the love I bear you caused me sufficient pain without your beginning to sport (*with my feelings*) and to laugh ? Your mockery is more galling to me than what I have already suffered ! I should not care being sent to hell, were it not for the taunts (طعن) of Mālik (*the angel who guards it*)."

By the same :

"Many were those who, though absent, kept their promises towards us : but there were some who, though present, disdained (*to fulfil their engagements*). They turned away and then turned towards (us) ; they shewed an inclination for us, and then repelled us ; they first acted as friends and then as foes. But blame them not for transgressing (*against us*) ; did they not transgress, they would have no reason to ask pardon".

Here is another of his pieces :

"A friend begins by visiting another, either to drink wine (*with him*) or to bear the lute touched (عرف) by a female musician. Then he visits his friend, either to confide to him his sorrows or to complain of the rigours of fortune".

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I. Introduction.

\* Abd al-Hamid gives : ط slap, throwing, etc.—Ed.

In another piece he says :

"How much have I suffered from thy saying this and that ; from thy wavering promises and long delays. A week passes over and a month, whilst I expect thee, morning and evening. If I miss obtaining kind treatment from you, I shall act with exemplary patience. Love increases by regular gradation, but thus also does it disappear. Take care ! think not thyself safe from the visissitudes of fortune ; she attacks the powerful and leaves them abased. Methinks I see the beauty of thy face receive from (*approaching*) wrinkles the order to depart<sup>1</sup>, and that, in thy fickleness, thou exchangest light for darkness ; a very bad exchange ! (*People, then, on seeing thy figure, would never*) think it had once been as slender as a wand and (*that thy swelling forms had been like*) rounded sand-hills. When that happens, he whom thou hast not favoured will rejoice in thy misfortune, but he who obtained thy favours will still be for thee a friend."

By the same :

"I looked at the moon and the face of my beloved ; and, to my sight, they seemed two moons. Such was my embarrassment that I could not distinguish the human moon from the moon of night. Were it not for the two cheeks which I kissed and the blackness of the hair which charmed me, I should have taken the moon for the beloved and the beloved for the moon. But one sometimes disappears and the other remains always (*with us*) and what disappears cannot be compared to what remains."

Aḥmad Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Nūsharī states that al-Khubzāruzzī recited to him the following lines, as being of his own composition :

"The beloved passed the night with me as a boon companion ; ebriety had tinged her cheeks and, when the morning appeared, languor<sup>2</sup> began to tinge her eyes. My eyes then lent their sleep

1 For obvious reasons I give the signification of *wrinkles* to the word "لحيد". The expression *al-raḥilah!* *al-raḥilah!* means : get ready to start !

2 I read, with one of the MSS. النمار. For the signification of this word see De Sacy's *Īḥariri*, p. 537. l. 20.



to hers and obtained, in return, the pleasure of gazing on her charms. Thanks be to fortune: how well it favours me (*in my plans*) against her!"

The Khaṭīb states, in his history of Baghdād, that Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Akfānī of Baṣrah made the following relation: "I went out, one holy day vacation, with my uncle Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Akfānī the poet, and we had with us Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Lankak, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mufajja' and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sabbāk.\* I, though a boy, accompanied them. They walked on til they came to the place where Naṣr al-Khubzārūzī was and found him making bread for a set (*of people who were waiting*), We sat down in his (*shop*), wished him a happy holy day and asked him how he was getting on. He had just lighted some dry palm-leaves under the oven and had put on so much fuel that (*my companions*) were inconvenienced by the smoke. As we found the smoke to augment, we all rose up (*to depart*), on which Naṣr said to Ibn Lankak: 'When shall I see you again? Abu 'l-Ḥusayn!' The other replied: 'When my clothes are soiled.'" He had put on that day new clothes, as white and as clean as could possibly be, because he wished to appear well dressed during the festival. We then went to the street of the Banī Samurāh and, when we reached the house of Aḥmad Ibn al-Muthannā, Ibn Lankak sat down there and said: 'My friends! the station we made at Naṣr's cannot fail offering him a subject on which he will have something to say; I wish to anticipate him; bring me an inkhorn.' He then wrote these lines:

"I have in my heart so great a love for Naṣr that I surpass therein all my companions. When we went to him, he fumigated us, in guise of incense, with dry leaves which tinged our clothes with smoke. I rose in haste, thinking he meant, by that, to drive us away; and he said: 'When shall I see you again? Abu 'l-Ḥusayn!' to which I answered: 'When my clothes are soiled.'

These lines he sent to Naṣr, who immediately dictated an answer to them. We read his reply, which was expressed in these terms:

---

\* Abd al-Ḥamid gives: al-Simāk.—Ed.

"On Abu 'l-Husayn I bestowed my sincerest love, and he mocked me with sweet words. When he came, his clothes were as (*white as*) the hair of old age, but (*with me,*) they became dark like the hair of a youth. I thought that, when he sat down with me, he was going to a wedding, and I therefore generously perfumed his garments, saying: 'When shall I see you again? Abu 'l-Husayn! He replied: 'when my clothes are soiled'. If the dislike of dirtiness<sup>1</sup> be meritorious, why did the Legatee receive the surname of *dustyface*<sup>2</sup>?'".

The Khālidites, Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id (No. 456), relate, in the work called *al-Hadāyā wa 'l-Tuḥaf* (*offerings and gifts*), that al-Kl<sub>ubzāruzzī</sub> sent to Ibn Yazdād, the governor of Baṣrah, a signet-stone and, with it, the following note:

"Were many times the double of what I sent you laid at your feet, it would make as little appearance as the presents offered by Balqis (*the queen of Sabā*) to Solomon. But I do it only to try you: if you are pleased with it, we shall know evidently that you are pleased with me."

Mentioning one thing brings on another: I found in the same work an amusing anecdote which I am induced to insert here. There was at Iṣbahān a man remarkable for his wealth, his munificence and the nobleness of his character. His name was Sīmāk Ibn al-Nu'mān. A female musician of that city, whose name was Umm 'Amr and who was distinguished for her talent and her merit, inspired him with a violent passion; and his infatuation for her became so great that he bestowed on her a number of farms and sent her a mule loaded with the deeds by which he transferred to her these estates. This gave rise to much talk among the public and excited great astonishment. There was then in Iṣbahān a

1 The true reading is التبرج.

2 According to the Shi'ites, Muḥammad appointed 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib to be his successor; whence they gave to the latter the surname of *al-Waṣī* (*the legatee*). Abū Turāb (*the father of dust, dusty face*) was the nickname by which Muḥammad designated 'Alī on account of his piety and frequent prostrations.

man of heavy apprehension and remarkable for dulness, who was in love with another female musician. When he heard of what had passed, he imagined, through his ignorance and his feeble intelligence, that Simāk had merely given to Umm 'Amr a quantity of (*parchment*) skins with nothing written on them and that presents of such a kind were always well received and had a great effect on the person to whom they were sent. He therefore purchased enough of skins to load two mules, so that his gift might be doubly as great as Simāk's, and sent them to her beloved. When she received them and learned what it meant, she was filled with anger against her admirer and wrote him a severe letter in which she declared that she would never speak to him again. In this missive she inserted the following lines which she had got a poet to compose for her :

"The person who revolts against you will never submit to you again. I declare that your wish to gain my affection shall always be vain. You have brought disgrace on the whole class of lovers by the vileness of your act. Tell me ! who would be capable of sending skins to his mistress except you ? I suppose that, in doing so, you meant to imitate Simāk. But he sent to Umm 'Amr farms with their title-deeds, and you sent me things which stunk as if you had made use of them to wipe your mouth. Why should I consent to have you near me ? blockhead that you are ! I have no wish to see you except I were to cut up those skins (*into straps and wear them out*) upon your shoulders."

I transcribe here another anecdote which I found in the same work : Al-Labbādī the poet set out from one of the towns of Āḍharbā'ijān for another. He was mounted on an excellent colt belonging to himself. A great sterility had prevailed in the country during that year. On the road, he met with a young man, riding on an ass. Let us give the remainder of the story in al-Labbādī's own words : "I found that he had received a good education and could recite poems ; he was, besides, light-hearted, prompt at repartee and skilled in argument. We travelled together the rest of the day and, in the evening, we arrived at a *khān* (*caravansarā'i*) situated on the road. I asked from the master of it if he could give us anything to eat. and he declared that he had nothing

remaining in his establishment. I talked with him for some time and cajoled him so well that he at length brought me two cakes of bread, one of which I reserved for myself, and the other I gave to my fellow-traveller. The uneasiness I felt for my colt, lest it should pass the night without feeding, was greater than what I felt for myself; so I asked the master of the *khān* if he had any barley. He replied that he had not a single grain. I told him to go and look for some and that I should pay him for his trouble. He went out and, after remaining a long time absent, he returned and informed me that he had discovered two *makkūk's* (*quarts*) of it, but that the owner had sworn, under the penalty of divorcing his wife, that he would not let them go for less than a hundred dirhams (*fifty shillings*). On this I said: "Since there is an oath made to divorce, discussion is useless; here are fifty dirhams; go and bring me one *makkūk*." He did so, and I gave to my colt, after which, I resumed my conversation with the young man, whose ass was standing (*in the court*) with nothing to eat. My companion remained some time with downcast eyes and then said: "Listen, may God favour you! to some verses which have just come to my mind." "Let us have them," said I, and he recited as follows:

"My verses, Sir! are much inferior to yours, for my poetic talent does not come up even to your skill in prose. In what I have recited, I merely displayed before you what was, in reality, a single drop compared to your ocean. You conversed with me familiarly, raised my spirits and treated me kindly; you paid attention to my state before thinking of your own. I now wish to ask a favour which, if you grant it, will render me your encomiast and your grateful servant for ever: I have partaken of your hospitality; let my ass share in that of your colt."

I laughed and excused myself for having neglected the animal: so, I purchased for it the other *makkūk*, at the price of fifty dirhams." But, after all, we have digressed from our subject. The anecdotes and stories related of Naṣr are very numerous. He died, A.H. 317 (A.C. 929-30), but this date is suspicious, for the *Kḥaṭīb* states, in his History, that Aḥmad Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Nūḡharī, the same of whom we have already spoken, learned from him

(some pieces of verse) in the year 325. The word *aruzzi*, forming the latter part of the surname *Khūbzaruzzi*, varies in its pronunciation, because it comes from a root which has six different forms, namely : *uruzz* (rice) *aruzz*, *urz*, *uruz*, *ruzz* and *runz*. Naṣr received the surname because he practised the trade of a rice-bread baker, as we have already stated towards the commencement of this notice. *Lankak* is a Persian word and the diminutive of the adjective *lank* (lame). The Persians form their diminutives by adding the letter *k* to the end of the word. *Mirbad* is the name of a well-known public place in Baṣrah. The word itself signified any place where camels and other animals are shut up, but it became a proper name, applied to the place in Baṣrah.

#### 734 NAṢR AL-NUMAYRĪ

Abu 'l-Murhaf Naṣr, a celebrated blind poet, was the son of Maṣnūr Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Jawshan\* Ibn Maṣnūr† Ibn Ḥumayd Ibn Ithāl Ibn Wazar‡ Ibn 'Aṭṭāf Ibn Biṣhr Ibn Jandal Ibn 'Ubayd al-Rā'i Ibn Ḥuṣayn Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Jandal Ibn Qaṭan Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Numayr Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'sa'ah Ibn Mu'āwiyah Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawāzin Ibn Maṣnūr Ibn 'Ikrimah Ibn Khaṣafah Ibn Qays 'Aylān Ibn Muḍar Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān. When a boy, he went (from *al-Raqqah*) to Baghdād and there he continued to reside up to the day of his death. He learned the *Qur'ān* by heart, studied the system of jurisprudence drawn up by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*) and heard traditions delivered by the *qāḍi* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī. Abu 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn al-Mubārak al-Anmāfi<sup>1</sup>, Abu 'l-Faḍl

<sup>1</sup> The *ḥafīẓ* Abū 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Anmāfi was a native of Baḥdād. He died in the month of Muḥarram 538 (July-August. A.C. 1143).

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives Jawshan.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd omits this name.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Ward.—Ed.

Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir<sup>1</sup> and other masters. His literary studies were made under Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jawālīqī (No. 724). He (*composed and*) recited poems in which he eulogized the *khalīfs*, the *wazīrs* and the *grandees*; he taught traditions and led a life of devotion and self-mortification. His poetry, of which there exists a collection, has all a good tendency. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (No. 678) cites some of his verses in the *Kharidah* and assigns to him the genealogy which we have given above. "It was from his lips," said he, "that I learned it". The 'Ubayd al-Rā'ī<sup>2</sup> who is mentioned in that list was the celebrated poet whose *diwān* we possess and who waged such a war of satires against Jarīr (No. 127). Abū Murhaf (*Naṣr*) lost his sight from the small-pox, at the age of fourteen years. 'Imād al-Dīn cites the following extract from one of his poems :

"Think you that, after our union, now dissolved, we shall ever meet again, and that I shall no longer have to apprehend the fearful vicissitudes of Fortune? (*Think you*) that after our mutual estrangement, (*the aspect of*) our camping-spots and pasture grounds in Najd will again assuage (*my grief*)? I well remember the time, now past and gone, when we were all closely united at Ayman al-Ālamīn! I have been unable to suppress the flow of my tears; tears obey not the (*lover's*) will when he suffers from passionate desire. My heart impels me towards (*the beloved*) *Khansā*, but, between us, a vast extent (*of desert*) intervenes. Of things which I dread, that which my heart fears the most is the sight of the lightning when it flashes over the land of Najd<sup>3</sup>. Long separation from my friends has loaded me with a burden which I am unable to support."

His poetry is remarkable for delicacy of thought and elegance of style. When at Baghdād he remained exclusively attached to 'Awn al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn Hubayrah, a wazīr whose life we shall

1 The *ḥafīẓ* Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Salamī, an inhabitant of Baghdād and one of the greatest traditionists of 'Irāq, died in the month of *Shahbān*, 550 (Oct., A.C. 1155).

2 For this poet see de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, pp. 134, 452.

3 This perhaps means; because it draws my attention towards that country and awakens painful recollections.

give, and composed poems in his praise. He was born at al-Ruqqah, on Tuesday evening, the 13th of the latter Jumādā, 501 (29th Jan., A.C. 1108); he died at Baghdād on Tuesday, the 28th of the latter Rabī', 588 (13th May, A.C. 1192) and was interred (*outside*) the gate called Bāb Ḥarb. *Numayrī* is a patronymic referring to the Numayr Ibn 'Āmir whose name is mentioned towards the beginning of this article. The other names are sufficiently known (*to dispense us from indicating their orthography*).

### 735 IBN QALĀQIS

Abu 'l-Futūḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Makhlūf Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī Ibn Qalāqis al-Lakhmi al-Azhari al-Iskandarānī (*an Arab of the tribe of Lakhm, a descendant of al-Azhar and a native of Alexandria*), bore the title of al-Qāḍī 'l-A'azz (*the worshipful qāḍī*) and was noted as a poet. In that art, he displayed great ability, talent and genius. He has so little beard that his face was quite bare and, for that reason, verses were composed against him, which I abstain from mentioning on account of their indelicacy. He was a constant companion of the *ghaykh* Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī (*No. 43*) and profited greatly by his intercourse with that eminent *ḥāfiẓ*. The collection of his poetical works contains some pieces in which he makes brilliant eulogiums of his friend, Abū Ṭāhir who, on his side, spoke of him frequently in the highest terms and emulated with him in the career of mutual praise. Ibn Qalāqis went to pay his court to al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Raḥīm (*No. 349*), taking with him a *qaṣīdah* in which the name of that wazīr was introduced so as to form the rhyme of one of the verses. The piece is of the highest beauty and begins thus<sup>1</sup> :

<sup>1</sup> These verses are so intricate in their construction, so full of verbal quibbles and obscure allusions, that it is hardly possible to make them perfectly intelligible in another language.

"What harm would it do that gazelle (*nymph, maiden*) were she not to leave (*us*), and were (*she to hear*) one wounded (*lover*) condole with another? (*What harm*) to one whose society is a paradise, were she not to see him whom she rejected suffering from (*torments like those of*) hell? As long as I courted her, (*that slender waist, like to*) a pliant branch in a garden enfeebled my body (*by the passion it inspired me*), so that I became (*a mere breath, like*) the zephyr (*of that garden*). She, with the beauty-spot (*raqīm*) on her cheek, slumbers, neglectful of (*her*) sleepless (*lover*); but sleep was always most suitable for those who had *Raqīm*<sup>1</sup>. Why should a gazelle (*maiden*) not remain (*şaram*) (*with us*)? Have I not heard (*grammarians say*), as (*an example of*) relation: 'The gazelle of the desert (*şarīm*)<sup>2</sup>. How often did a censor continue (*her reproaches*) as long as night endured; a being (*bahīmah*) with whom I passed in conviviality many a gloomy (*bahīm*) night! I allowed her to anger me uncontrolled, for a man should be mild when angered by his fellow-creature. I said to her, when she passed all bounds and whilst my heart was in grievous torture; 'Excuse a heart which, through an effect of love, wanders, like a poet, in every valley<sup>3</sup>. How often (*did I long for*) that wine of which her mouth was the cup and of which the smell could not suffice me but the taste! I tried to absorb it from her lips and said: 'This is really the liquor of Paradise<sup>4</sup>' She opened her mouth, in smiling, and disclosed (*teeth like*) the white flowers of the hill, or like pearls ranged on a necklace; or (*as if*) she had received with approbation the (*poem now*) received by al-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Raḥīm."

Ibn Qalāqis frequently removed from one country to another and, alluding to his fondness for travelling, he used to say:

---

1 According to some commentators, the *Raqīm* of the *Qur'ān* is the name given to the dog of the Seven Sleepers. See *Qur'ān*, sūrah 18, verse 8.

2 It is very possible that the translator has missed the meaning of this verse.

3 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 26, verse 225.

4 Literally: Zamzam and al-Ḥaḍīm; that is, the sacred well and the enclosure of the Temple, at Makkah.



"Men are numerous (اكثر لکن), but I am destined to keep company with sailors only and with camel-drivers."

Towards the close of his life, he went to the city of Aden, in Yaman and sung the praises of Abu 'l-Faraj Yāsir, the son of Abu 'l-Nadā Bilāl Ibn Jarir al-Muḥammadi and wazīr to Muḥammad and Abu 'l-Sa'ūd, the sons of 'Imrān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Dā'i\* Sabā Ibn Abi 'l-Sa'ūd Ibn Zuray' Ibn al-'Abbās al-Yāmīṭ, sovereigns of that county<sup>1</sup>. He was generously treated by Yāsir and, having obtained from him gifts sufficiently ample to make him a rich man, he took ship and departed. The vessel was wrecked on the island of al-Nāmūs, near Dahlak, and every thing he had with him went to the bottom. This occurred on Friday, the 5th of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, 563 (11th August, A.C. 1168). He returned to his patron in a state of nudity and recited to him the poem which begins thus:

"When we departed, generosity called us back, and we returned to thy residence; returning (*from evil ways*) is highly meritorious."

This is an excellent *qaṣīdah*, as that single verse is sufficient to prove. He then recited to him another poem in which he spoke of his shipwreck; it begins by these lines:

"Travel, if you wish to acquire real worth, it is by travelling that the crescent becomes a full-moon. Water, whilst it runs, acquires good qualities; when it settles, it becomes corrupt. It is by removing (*from their place*) that precious pearls pass from the sea to the necks (*of the fair*). You who relate the history of Yāsir, without knowing by experience his real merit! read, if you know how, in the nobleness of his visage, the (*open*) volume of expectations (*fulfilled*). Kiss the fingers of his right hand and say: 'Hail to thee who art an ocean (*of generosity*)!' But I mistake, God pardon me! in comparing him to the ocean; he enriched me and it reduced me to indigence. I have found that the one always flows, and that the other (*flows and*) ebbs."

<sup>1</sup> That is or Aden and its territory.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Rā'i.—Ed.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: al-Nāml.—Ed.

It is a long *qaṣīdah* and displays all the excellence of the author's talent. The idea in the second verse is borrowed from an expression employed by Badī' al-Zamān, the author of the *Maqāmāt*, who inserted it in the beginning of an epistle of which we have spoken in his life (*No. 51*) and in which he says: "When water has long remained at rest, its noxious qualities appear." The idea of the third verse is borrowed from a piece composed by Ṣurr Durr (*No. 449*), in which the author says:

"Let your stirrups rattle across the deserts, and leave to maidens the shelter of their curtains. Those who always remain at home are like the inhabitants of the tomb. Did not pearls quit their dwelling-place, they had never mounted from the sea to the necks (*of the fair*)."

The following verses, composed by him on a black slave-girl, offer a very original idea:

"I know a negress who is really (*worth*) a white; near her, the (*white*) camphor is jealous of the (*black*) musk. She is like the pupil of the eye: people think it black, but it is all (*pure*) light."

The good (*pieces composed by*) Ibn Qalāqīs are very numerous. He was born in the frontier city of Alexandria, on Wednesday, the 4th of the latter Rabi', 532 (20th Dec., A.C. 1137), and died at 'Aydhab on the 3rd of Ṣhawwāl, 567 (29th May, A.C. 1172). In the month of Ṣha'bān, 563 (May-June, A.C. 1168), he arrived in Sicily and, two years later, he visited Yaman. When in Sicily, he got acquainted with a chief (*qā'id*) named Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Ḥajar<sup>1</sup> by whom he was generously treated and for whom he composed a very good work entitled: *Al-Zahr al-Bāsim fī awṣāf Abī 'l-Qāsim* (*the smiling flower, treating of the qualities of Abu 'l-Qāsim*). When he left Sicily, with the intention of returning to Egypt, the winter season had set in and the winds drove his ship back to that island. He then wrote to Abu 'l-Qāsim a letter in which he said:

"The winter weather hindered me from arriving at my native place with the ambassador. The winds, which drove me back,

<sup>1</sup> This shows that, in Sicily, under William II, the third Norman king, some Muslim chiefs still held a high position.

came just as I should have wished, although I did not desire them. The ass sometimes stumbles, but that is often through the will of him who hired it out."

There was then in Sicily an ambassador sent there by the sovereign of Egypt. When he took ship to return, Ibn Qalāqis accompanied him, and they were driven back by a storm to the place they sailed from. Ibn Qalāqis then composed the verses here mentioned. The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn mentions, in the *Kharidah*, under the article entitled Ibn Qalāqis, the treatise of which we have spoken above, and gives there some good extracts from that poet's works. *Qalāqis* is the plural of *qulqās* (*colocasias*), a word of which the meaning is well known. '*Aydhāb* is a small town situated on the (western) shore of the sea of Jiddah (the Red sea). The vessels of Egypt sail from thence for Hijāz (with the travellers who arrive at '*Aydhāb*) by the road of Qūs. The passage across the sea generally takes a (day and a) night. From Jiddah (or *Juddah*) to Makkah there is one day's journey. At Jiddah is still to be seen the tomb of Eve, our first mother, which is an object of pilgrimage. Yāsir was put to death by Shams-al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh (No. 432) when that prince invaded Yaman<sup>1</sup>.

### 736 ḌIYĀ AL-DĪN IBN AL-ATHĪR

Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn Abī 'l-Karam Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī and the title of Ḍiyā al-Dīn (*the light of religion*), was born at Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar<sup>2</sup> and passed there his early youth. In the month of Rajab, 579 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1183) he accompanied his father to

<sup>1</sup> In the year 569 (A.C. 1173-4), when Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh took the city of Aden, the wazīr Yāsir was the governor of the place. The historians who speak of this event make no mention of the two princes in whose name he governed.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 432, 526.

Moşul and there he made his studies. Having then mastered the sciences (*connected with law and religion*), learned by heart the *Qur'ān*, picked up a great quantity of traditions concerning the Prophet and acquired a fair knowledge of grammar, philology and rhetoric; he learned also such a number of poems that he said, towards the beginning of his work entitled *Al-Waṣṣi 'l-Marqūm* (*the flowered silken tissue*): "I learned by heart an immense quantity of ancient and modern poetry, but, afterwards, I limited my studies to the poems of the two members of the tribe of Ṭay, Ḥabīb Ibn Aws," he means Abū Tammām (*No. 143*),—"and Abū 'Ubādah al-Buḥturi,<sup>1</sup> as also to those composed by Abū 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (*No. 49*). I committed to memory all the poetical works of these three authors and often studied them through during a number of years, till I obtained the faculty of expressing correctly my ideas and succeeded in acquiring such habits of application as became for me a (*second*) nature." My sole motive in giving this passage is to shew how essential it is for a scribe who is engaged to draw up epistles (*official dispatches*) that he should closely apply to the decomposing of poetry (*into prose*) and make that practice the main basis of his art. Diyā al-Dīn, having thus obtained possession of all the qualifications (*requisite for a secretary of state*), proceeded to the court of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*Saladin*), in the month of the first Rabī', 587 (April, A.C. 1191) and, in the month of the latter Jumādā of the same year (June-July,) he was attached to the service of that sultān by al-Qāḍi 'l-Fāḍil (*No. 349*). He continued with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn till the month of *Shawwāl* of that year (Oct.-Nov.), when al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī (*No. 461*), the son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, asked permission from his father to take him (*Ḍiyā al-Dīn*) into his service. The sultān gave the latter his choice of remaining where he was or of passing into the service of the prince, and told him at the same time, that the pension (*ma'lūm*) already granted to him should be (*in each case regularly*) continued. Diyā al-Dīn decided on going with al-Afḍal, who was then a young man, and was appointed by that prince to the post of wazīr. Under such a patron, his circumstances became greatly improved. Al-Malik al-Afḍal,

<sup>1</sup> His life will be found in this work.

having obtained for himself the kingdom of Damascus, on the death of his father, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, chose Ḍiyā al-Dīn for his grand-wazir. All public affairs were then referred to the latter's direction and, in every circumstance, the highest confidence was placed in his ability. When Damascus was taken from al-Aḡḡal, that prince removed to Ṣarkḡhad, as we have already stated in his life, and as Ḍiyā al-Dīn had been on bad terms with the inhabitants of the former place, they now resolved on putting him to death; but the chamberlain, Maḡḡsin Ibn 'Ajam, got him out of danger by locking him up in a trunk and carrying him secretly out of the city. Ḍiyā al-Dīn then went to join his master and afterwards accompanied him to Egypt, whither that prince had been called in order to act as the *nā ib* (*lieutenant*) of his nephew, al-Malik al-Manṣūr. We have spoken of these events in our article on al-Aḡḡal, and that dispenses us from repeating our account of them here. Al-Malik al-'Āḡḡil having proceeded to Egypt (*No. 461*), took that country from his nephew al-Aḡḡal, who received in exchange the government of al-Ṣarḡqiyah (*'Irāḡ and Mesopotamia*) and set out for that province. Ḍiyā al-Dīn did not follow in the train of attendants, because he was afraid of being assassinated by a band of fellows who were waiting for him. He afterwards succeeded in leaving the city under a disguise, and he has given an account of his evasion in a long letter the text of which may be found in the work (*dīwān*) which contains his epistolary correspondence. He stayed away for some time from his master al-Malik al-'Āḡḡil and did not return to his service till that prince had established his authority in Sumaysāt. He then remained with him till the month of *Ḍḡu* 'l-Qa'dah 607 (April-May, A. C. 1211), when he passed into the service of al-Malik al-Zāḡir ḡḡāzī (*No. 497*), sovereign of Aleppo and al-Aḡḡal's brother. Soon after, he left his new master, in a moment of anger, and returned to Moṣul, but, being unable to make his way there, he proceeded to Arbela, where he was equally unsuccessful. From that he went to Sinjār and then, again, to Moṣul. Having decided on fixing his residence there, he got employed by the governor of that city as a writer of dispatches. This prince, whose name was Na r al-Dīn Maḡmūd, and who was the son of al-Malik al-Qāḡir 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, the son of Nūr al-Dīn

Arsilān Shāh (No. 79), had then for *atābek* (guardian) the amīr Abu 'l-Faḍā'il al-Nūrī. This took place in the year 618 (A. C. 1221). I went more than ten times from Arbela to Moṣul, where Ḍiyā al-Dīn was residing, and tried to get introduced to him; because I knew that he had been the intimate friend of my father and I wished to study something under his tuition. I did not, however, succeed in my project. I subsequently left al-Sharqiyah and went to Syria, where I resided about ten years, and then proceeded to Egypt. Ḍiyā al-Dīn was still living at that time. I afterwards received at Cairo the news of his death. He composed a number of works which prove the eminence of his talent. That which bears the title of *Al-Mathal al-Sā'ir fī adab al-Kātib wa'l Shā'ir* (the Current Proverb, treating of the literary information requisite for prose-writers and poets) forms two volumes and attests the great abilities of the author. In it, he enters into full details and omits which a writer of epistles should know. When he finished it, he read it in public, and allowed it to be written down under his dictation. A copy of it having reached Baghdād, the jurisconsult 'Izz al-Dīn, who was also a man of letters, undertook to criticise it, to refute the author and to point out his errors. The names of this doctor were Abū Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd al-Madā'inī. He collected his strictures into a volume to which he gave the title of *Al-Falak al-Dā'ir 'ala 'l-Mathal al-Sā'ir* (the Revolving Sphere, directed against the Current Proverb). When the work was finished, he sent it to his brother, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abu 'l Ma'ālī Aḥmad, called also al-Qāsim, and received from him a written answer containing these lines:

"Sir! you have made on the Current Proverb (a book called) the Revolving sphere. It is really a revolving sphere which will render your name as well known as a current proverb."

Izz al-Dīn (the author of that refutation) was born at al-Madā'in on Saturday, the 1st of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 586 (30th December, A. C. 1190) and died at Baghdād in the year 655 (A. C. 1257). His brother, Muwaffaq al-Dīn, died at Baghdād in 656 (A. C. 1258), very soon after the taking of that city by the Tartars. Both of

them were jurisconsults, men of letters and of talent. They left some good poetry. Muwaffaq al-Dīn was born in the latter Jumādā (May-June,) or, according to another statement, in the first Rabī' (Feb.-March), A. H. 590 (A. C. 1194), at al-Mada'in. (*Ḍiyā al-Dīn, the subject of this notice*), is the author of the book entitled *Al-Waṣṣḥi 'l-Marqūm fī ḥall al-Manzūm* (*the flowered silken tissue, treating of* (the advantage resulting from) *the decomposing of poetry* (into prose). This treatise, though concise, is very fine and instructive. He composed also the *Kitāb al-Ma'āni 'l-Mukhlṭara'ah* (*the book of original ideas*), in which he treats of the art of prose composition. This is also an excellent work. Another production of his is a selection of poems from the works of Abū Tammām, Abū 'Ubadah al-Buḥturi, Dīk al-Jinn (*No.* 359) and Abū 'l-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī. It forms one large volume and may be learned by heart with great advantage (*to the student*). Abū 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawfī (*No.* 528) says, in his (*biographical*) History of Arbela : "I found the following verses inscribed, in the hand-writing of Ḍiyā al Dīn, at the end of the book which contains his selection (*of poetry*).

"Employ this treasure really precious ; for it is a selection made by a man of prudence and of judgment, to whom all elegancies of style were obedient and who took, at an early age, the right road to poetry."

He left also a *dīwān* of epistles, filling a number of volumes, and out of which a choice of letters has been made, forming one volume. An epistle, which he addressed to his sovereign, after having made a journey in the rainy season and during an intense cold, announces to him that the writer had left his service and contains the following passage ; "The rain-cloud pitched its tent over the (*land*) and let its skirts fall down upon it ; making every halting-place detestable and changing every hill into a pond. It trenched the soil with furrows, and converted every (*valley-*) side into the bank of a river. Methought it wished to rival in copiousness with the bountiful hand of our sovereign and to excel it in the persistance of the torrents which it poured forth. But your humble servant prays God to pardon him for making a

comparaison so totally devoid of appropriateness ; he well knows the difference between that (*cloud*) which fills the valleys with its waters and that (*hand*) which over whelms the assembly with its beneficence. The plant producing flowers which the (*ardent heats of*) summer may cause to disappear, or fruit which is consumed by autumn, must not be compared to a prince (*whose hand*) produces riches sufficient to second (*تغوث*) his generous intentions and enables the flocks to graze during spring and summer in a fertile pasture-ground. Then (*your servant*) pursued his journey, suffering from the land and its mud, from the sky and its rain. It (*the sky*) was (*like thy hand*) liberal to excess ; it continued its donations unremittingly till it fatigued (*those who received them*) ; it was so prodigal that its bounty became irksome ; and your humble servant now dreads the glittering of swords much less than the flashes of the lightning. During the fall of these showers, he continued battling (*against them*), and suffered affliction from the intensity of their chillness. Receive my salutation ! ” When my friend Ḥusām al-Dīn Isā\* 'l-Ḥājirī (*No. 493*) heard the passage in which the writer speaks of suffering affliction from the intensity of cold, he greatly admired the thought and expressed it again in the following terms :

“How painfully cool the water of her lips ! I shall complain of its poignancy (*even*) to those who blame me (*for loving her*).”

The person who casts his eyes on this verse may probably desire to know rest of the poem, and, as the piece is short, I think there will be no harm in giving it. Here it is :

“Between the sands of al-Jaz'a and the river of al-'Aqīq dwells a person whose (*charms*) her lover can never forget. He gathered the plunder of the bee (*honey*) off the lips of (*that maiden*) whose motions are so graceful and whose teeth so bright. If her forehead were not a paradise, it would not have produced those charming curls'. How painfully cool the water of her lips'. I shall complain of its poignancy (*even*) to those who censure me. Strange that in (*our mutual*) love, she who is my friend should act

1 The translator has purposely avoided giving the literal meaning of this verse. In all the piece he has substituted the feminine pronoun for the masculine.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid adds: Ibn Sanjār Ibn Bahrām known as al-Ḥājirī.—Ed.



towards me like an enemy ! Let my life be the ransom of that gazelle whose slender waist works the same effect as the pliant lance.<sup>1</sup>"

In our article on al-Nafīs al-Qutrusī (No. 65) we have inserted a piece rhyming in *k* and containing a verse which offers a similar thought. It is this :

"O mouth of the beloved ! thou didst consume my heart when I tasted of thy coolness."

But the idea itself originated with Ibn al-Ta'āwidi (No. 654), who said, in the well-known *qasidah* which rhymes in *n*.

"A (*liquor*) cool and chill from her lips, lights up the ardour (*of love*), and her languishing eyes kindle desire."

One of ʿIyā al-Dīn's dispatches, written in the name of his sovereign to the *Grand Dīwān* (*al-Dīwān al-'Azīz, the court of the khalīf of Baghdād*), contains the following passage : "His (*the khalīf's*) dynasty smiles sweetly, though it derives its name from *al-'Abbās* (*the frowner*). 'It is the best dynasty which was ever produced unto (*the eye of*) time, and thus also its subjects are the best people ever produced unto mortals. For its livery was chosen the colour of youth<sup>2</sup>, which augured that the dynasty would never fall into decrepitude and that it would always continue to enjoy the purest gifts of Fortune, the never-fading love (*of the people*) and their unceasing affection. The thought here expressed for the first time has for its author the humble servant of the dynasty, one always devoted to its colours ; never, till now, was it traced on paper by a pen, and never yet did it revolve with other original ideas in the human mind." I must, however, declare that ʿIyā al-Dīn was wrong in attributing to himself the discovery of this idea, for Ibn al-Ta'āwidi had already expressed it in a poem rhyming in *s* and containing the praises of the *imām* (*khalīf*) al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad. He recited it to that prince on the 1st of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, 575 (29th March, A. C. 1180),

---

1 The effect which the poet means is *wounding the heart*.

2 *Black* is the colour of youth, because, at that age, the hair is dark.

the day of his instalment on the throne of the khalifate. It begins thus :

“(The wine) was carried round the company by a cup-bearer graceful and slender) as the pliant branch of the Arāk tree.”

That part of it where the poet brings on the transition offers the passage to which we allude and which we give here :

“Alas ! the day has brightened up my night (i.e. *hoariness has rendered white my black hair*) ; never again shall I enjoy the gloomy night of youth ! A time came which changed the tint of my hair and interposed between me and joyful sports. The young girls, on seeing my white hair, turn away and say : ‘Black is best of raiments ; why should it not have the preference, since it is the livery of the sons of al-‘Abbās ? ’ ”

Ḍiyā al-Dīn certainly added to the idea, but it was Ibn al-Ta‘āwidi who opened the gate and cleared the way ; so the other had no difficulty in following the road. A letter in which Ḍiyā al-Dīn announces the defeat of the infidels (*the crusaders?*) contains the following description of those who were stripped (*by the victors*) : “They were stripped and, in exchange for their garments, they obtained a raiment of blood. They appeared in the form of naked men, yet their attire was that of people who are dressed. How quickly was sewn for them scarlet clothing ; and yet it made no folds upon them and had no need of buttons !<sup>1</sup>. They received not this dress till I-lāmism had put on the livery of victory always to endure. (*Their dress*) was woven by the cutting blades of lances, not by the skill of the artisan ; and those who were to wear it had only to wait till the swords entered into the heads and the necks, and till the spear, straight as the letter *alif*, encountered the coats of mail<sup>2</sup>.” The idea expressed in the beginning of the passage just mentioned is borrowed from this verse of al-Buḥturi :

---

1 The true reading is ولم يزرر.

2 Literally : till the stroke of the spear joined the letter *alif* to the *lām*. The group *lām-alif* (*s*) is well known to Arabic student. But here the *alif* means a spear as straight as an *alif*, and the word *lām* means : coats of mail.

"They were stripped but the blood, shining on their bodies with a scarlet hue, made them appear as if they were clothed."

Ḍiyā al-Dīn has given a description of Egypt in a long epistle which contains a passage on the swelling of the Nile. The idea which he there enounces and the terms in which he expresses it are quite novel, having never occurred to any other person. Here is what he says: "Sweet in its waters, like the gatherings of the bee; red in its face, so I knew it had slain sterility." I have since discovered that this highly beautiful thought was borrowed from an Arab (*of the desert*) who composed a piece of verse which I here give:

"Pity a heart ever appalled by the lightnings of the cloud, as that cloud passes towards the mountain or over the valley. When its uncovered face appeared red through the murky night, (*I knew full well*) that it had murdered sleep."

Ḍiyā al-Dīn was quite right in taking this idea for himself; having employed it very skilfully in the passage before us. The same thought is found in a verse composed by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz (*No.* 316) on a maiden who had sore eyes:

People said: Her eyes complain (*of what they suffer*), and I replied: That ailment comes from having slain so many (*lovers*); their redness is the blood of her victims, and blood on the edge of a weapon is an excellent witness (*against one who is accused*)."

The epistles of Ḍiyā al-Dīn abound, in beauties. He used to contend with al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil in this species of composition: when the latter drew up an epistle, he endited another on the same subject. They kept up a correspondence, one with the other, and had frequent conferences (*on literary matters*). He had no great talent for poetry, and, as a proof, I may cite the following verse:

"Three things give joy: a cup, a bowl and a goblet. When the wine-skin is pierced for them, it is pierced for (*the dispelling of*) care."

He often recited the following verses of 'Umārat al-Yamanī:

"This heart (*of mine*) was sufficiently enamoured to obey the call of those (*friends*) who were setting out for a distant land, and

not call (*on me to detain it*). It was certainly a false idea of mine to suppose that, after their departure, it would still remain within my ribs."

His productions abound in beauties, but we have spoken long enough on the subject. Ibn al-Mustawfī mentions him, with high commendation, in the History of Arbela. "He arrived at Arbela," says this author, "in the month of the first Rabi', 611 (July-August, A.C. 1214). He was born in al-Jazīrah (*upper Mesopotamia*) in the month of Shā'bān, 558 (July-August, A.C. 1163) and he died in one of the two months of Jumādā, 637 (Dec.-Jan., A.C. 1239-40) at Baghdād, whither he had been sent on a mission by the sovereign of Moṣul. The funeral service was said over him the next morning, in the mosque of the citadel (*Jāmi' al-Qaṣr*) and he was buried near the mausoleum of Mūsā Ibn Ja'far (*No. 719*), which monument is situated in the Quraysh cemetery, on the west bank (*of the Tigris*)." Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Najjār (*No. 5, note*) states, in his History of Baghdād, that Ḍiyā al-Dīn's death took place on Monday, the 29th of the latter Rabi' (28th November), of the above mentioned year (1239); and this writer must have known the fact better than any other person, because he cultivated specially this branch of knowledge (*biography*) and because he (*Ḍiyā al-Dīn*) died among them (*the inhabitants of Baghdād*). We have already spoken of his two brothers Majd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt al-Mubārak (*No. 526*), and 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (*No. 435*). All three were men of talent, merit and eminence, and each of them composed some instructive works. Ḍiyā al-Dīn had a son of great abilities, who wrote very well both in prose and in verse, and composed a number of works, such as compilations, etc. I met with one of these treatises; the author had drawn it up for al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf (*No. 722*), the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil Ibn Ayyūb, and, in it, he displayed the highest talent. It contained a great quantity of pieces in prose and verse, composed by himself, and a number of his father's epistles. He was born at Moṣul in the month of Ramaḍān, 585 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1189), and he died there on Monday morning, the 8th of the first Jumādā, 622 (18th May, A.C. 1225). His name was Muḥammad and his title al-Sharaf (i.e. *Sharaf al-Dīn, nobleness of religion*).

## 737 AL-NAḌR IBN SHUMAYL

Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Naḍr, the son of Shumayl, the son of Kharashah, the son of Yazīd, the son of Kulthūm, the son of 'Abdah, the son of Zuhayr al-Sakb, the poet, the son of 'Urwah, the son of Ḥalimah, the son of Ḥujr, the son of Khuzā'i, the son of Māzin, the son of Mālik. the son of 'Amr, the son of Tamīm, was surnamed al-Tamīmī al-Māzinī. This grammarian, who was a native of Baṣrah, possessed extensive information in various branches of knowledge. He was veracious and trustworthy (*as a traditionist*), a perfect master of Arabic jurisprudence and poetry, well acquainted with (*the accounts handed down concerning*) the battle-days of the (*ancient*) Arabs, and a relator of traditions (*respecting Muḥammad*). He was one of al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad's pupils (*No. 208*). Abū 'Uhaydah (*No. 704*) mentions him in the *Kitāb mathālib ahl al-Baṣrah* (*treatise on the ignoble acts of the people of Baṣrah*) and relates as follows: "Al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl, when at Baṣrah, fell into straitened circumstances and left the place, with the intention of going to Khurāsān. The people of Baṣrah, to the number of about three thousand persons, escorted him out of the city; and not a man of them but was either a traditionist, or a grammarian, or a philologist, or a prosodian, or a historian. When he reached the Mirbad (*No. 734*) he sat down and said: 'People of Baṣrah! it is painful for me to quit you and, by Allāh! if I could have found there every day a handful of potherbs, I would not have left you'. Not one of the assembly offered to provide him with the pittance he required. Having arrived in Khurāsān, he settled at Marw and acquired great wealth." In our article on 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Mālikī (*No. 375*) will be found a similar discourse, pronounced by that *qāḍī* on leaving Baghdād. Al-Naḍr heard traditions from (*the lips of*) Hishām Ibn 'Urwah<sup>2</sup>, Ismā'il Ibn Abī Khālid<sup>3</sup>, Ḥumayd al-Ṭawil\*

1 The Arabic word is *Kiljah*. It designates a weight of nearly four pounds.

2 The life of Hishām is given in this work.

3 Ismā'il Ibn Abī Khālid Hurmz, one of the *Ṭablīs*, or disciples of Muḥammad's Companions, was a traditionist of the highest authority. He died A.H. 145 (A.C. 762-3).

\* M. de Slane gives Ḥamīd.—Ed.

(No. 80, note), 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awn<sup>1</sup>, Hishām Ibn Ḥassān<sup>2</sup> and other Ṭābi'is (disciples of Muḥammad's Companions). Traditions were given on his authority by Yahyā Ibn Ma'in<sup>3</sup>, 'Alī Ibn al-Madini<sup>4</sup>, and other Imāms who had an opportunity of meeting him. He visited Naysābūr more than once, resided there for some time and taught (traditions) to the inhabitants. Some curious stories and anecdotes are related of what passed between him and al-Māmūn, the son of Hārūn al-Rashid, to whose social parties, at Marw, he was frequently admitted. Al-Hariri (No. 510) has inserted one of them in his *Durra al-Ghawwās*, where he says: "Some people employ the expression: (*such a thing is*) a plug (*sadād*) to keep out poverty, but they make a mistake, because the correct pronunciation is *sidād*. It is stated in the histories of (celebrated) grammarians, that al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl gained eighty thousand dirhams (*two thousand pounds sterling*) by teaching the right pronunciation of the word." He then gives the anecdote and commences by an *isnād*<sup>5</sup> which reaches up to Muḥammad Ibn Fāḍih\* al-Ahwāzī who related as follows: "Al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl said to me: I used to attend al-Māmūn's evening parties and, one evening, I went there in a patched cloak. He (*remarked this and*) said: 'What is the meaning of such slovenliness? how dare you appear before the Commander of the faithful in so shabby a dress? I answered: 'Commander of the faithful! I am a feeble old man, and the heat in Marw is very great; so I wear this dress to keep myself cool! 'Not so!' replied the *khalif*, you are really a sloven.' We then got up a conversation<sup>6</sup> in which he brought on the subject of women

1 The traditionist 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awn al-Baṣrī al-Muzanī died A.H. 151 (A.C. 768).

2 Hishām Ibn Ḥassān al-Azdi al-Baṣrī; this traditionist died A.H. 146 (A.C. 763-4).

3 The life of Ibn Ma'in will be found in this work.

4 In No. 103, mention has been made of this celebrated doctor. It is said that he was partisan of the doctrines professed by the Ṣhi'ites.

5 See vol. I, Introductions.

6 The text may also signify: We then began to repeat traditions.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: Nāṣīb.—Ed.

and said : Hushaym<sup>1</sup> informed me that Mujalid\*<sup>2</sup> had mentioned to him that al-Sha'bi (No. 296) had told him that he heard Ibn 'Abbās (No. 43, note) relate as follows : The Apostle of God said : *When a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, that is a stopper (sidād) to keep out poverty.* In relating this tradition, the khalif gave to the word *sidād* the pronunciation of *sadād*. On this I said : 'Commander of the faithful !' Hushaym would have spoken truly, had he said : It was related to me by 'Awf Ibn Abi Jamilah<sup>3</sup>, on the authority of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib, that the Apostle of God had spoken thus : *When a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, she is a stopper (sidād) to keep out poverty.* Al-Māmūn was then reclining on a sofa, but, on hearing my words, he sat up and asked me why I said *sidād*. I replied : 'Because *sadād*, in this tradition, is a fault.' 'Do you mean to say,' said he, 'that I have made the fault ?' I answered : 'I do not ; but Hushaym made it, for he was a very incorrect speaker (*lahāna*), and the Commander of the faithful followed what he said.' He then asked me what was the difference between the two words, and I answered : *Sadād* means *the good direction and the right road*, in speaking of religion, but *sidād* means *whatever suffices to support life*, and everything which serves as a *stoppage* to another. 'Do the 'Arabs (of the desert) know this distinction ?' said he. 'They do,' said I ; 'here, for instance, is a verse by al-'Arjī (No. 115, note) :

"They allowed me to perish and what a man have they left to perish ! (one who could have served them well) in a day of terror or in the defence (*sidād*) of a breach."

"On this al-Māmūn exclaimed : 'God's curse on fellows who have no education !' He then remained with down-cast eyes, till

1 See No. 84, note.

2 Mujālid Ibn Sa'īd al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī learned traditions from some of the *Tābi'is*. He taught them to other traditionists, but his authority is considered by all the doctors as feeble. He died A.H. 134 (A.C. 751-2). al-Nawawī's *Tahdhīb*.

3 'Awf Ibn Abi Jamilah, surnamed al-A'rābī (*the Arab of the desert*), bore a fair reputation as a traditionist. He died A.H. 146 (A.C. 763-4), or 147.

\* M. de Slane gives : *Khalid*, but gives correct name in the note.—Ed.

at length he said : 'What property (*māl*) do you possess ?' I replied : 'I have, at Marw, a little piece of land, and its feeble drainings (*produce*) I drink (*alaṣubbuḥā*) and suck up'. 'Shall I add', said he, 'to what you have'. I answered : 'Of that I stand greatly in need.' He then took a piece of paper and wrote on it I knew not what. Where he had done, he said : 'When you make use of the verb *atrabā* (to cover with earth or with wealth), how do you say ?' I replied : '*Otribhu* (cover him with earth)'. 'Then' said he, 'how do you designate 'he person so covered ?' I answered : 'He is *mutrab*.' 'And', continued he, 'if you made use of (*the verb derived from*) *ṭin* (clay) how would you say in the imperative ?' To this I answered : '*ṭinhu* (lute or cement him).' 'And', said he, 'the person thus cemented, how would you designate him ?' I should employ (*the participle*) *maṭṭin*. On this, he said : 'Better and better ! page ! earth him and cement him.' He then recited the evening prayer at the head of the assembly and, when he had finished, he said to his attendant : 'Take (*this letter*) and conduct him to al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl (*No. 504*). When al-Faḍl read the paper, he said to me : "Tell me, Naḍr ! why has the Commander of the faithful ordered you fifty thousand dirhams ?' I informed him of what had passed and disguised nothing. 'Then', said he, 'you reproved the Commander of the faithful for making a fault of pronunciation. 'Not so', said I, 'the fault was made by Hushaym, who was noted for his incorrect pronunciation, and the Commander of the faithful repeated his saying exactly, so as is always practised with the sayings of legists and relators of historical facts.' Al-Faḍl then ordered me thirty thousand dirhams, so that I gained eighty thousand by teaching the right pronunciation of a single syllable." The verse given as an example in the preceding recital was composed by 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Amr and the grand-son of (*the khalif*) 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān. He was celebrated as a poet and had received the surname of al-'Arjī. Here is the piece to which it belongs :

"They have allowed to me to perish, and what a man have they left to perish ! (*one who could have served them well*) in a day of terror or in the defense of a breach ! (*one so*) firm in desperate conflicts when the lance of death was levelled at his throat ! I am dragged every day through assembled multitudes ; O God ! what



oppression and violence I undergo ! (*Now I am*) as if I had never been the noblest pearl of their assemblies and as if I did not belong to the family of 'Amr. Perhaps the sovereign Lord, who hearkens to the prayers of his petitioners, may deliver me from bondage ; then people shall know my gratitude ; those who loved me I shall requite with honours, and those who hated me shall feel my indignation."

The reason of his composing these verses was, that when Muḥammad Ibn Hishām Ibn Ismā'il al-Makhzūmī, (*the khalif*) Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik's maternal uncle was governor of Makkah, he cast al-'Arjī into prison ; (*meaning thus*) to avenge the honour of his mother al-Jidā,\* who belonged to the family of al-Ḥārith Ibn Ka'b and on whom the poet had composed some amatory verses. It was not through love that al-'Arjī had done so, but merely to bring her son to shame. He remained in prison nine years and died there, after having been beaten with whips by al-Makhzūmī's order and paraded ignominiously through the market-places. He composed these verses when in prison. But we have digressed from our subject, so, let us return to it, and complete our account of al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl. Another anecdote concerning him is related by al-Ḥariri, in the *Durrat al-Ghawwās*, towards the beginning of the work ; he says : "Some people, when speaking to a sick man, make use of the expression : *May God remove* (*masah*, مسح) *your ailment* ! It is related that al-Naḍr Ibn Shumayl, being unwell, received visits of condolence from a number of people, and one of them, surnamed Abū Ṣālih, addressed him in the above-mentioned terms. Al-Naḍr replied : 'Do not say *masah* with a *sīn* (س) but say *maṣṣah* with a *ṣād* (ص) which word signifies *to remove, to disperse*. Have you not heard this verse of al-A'ṣhā (No. 115, note.):

'As often as the wine frothed in the (*cup*), the froth went off and disappeared (*maṣṣah*) ?'

"The man answered : 'Sīn may be sometimes employed instead of *ṣād*, as takes place in the words *sirāt* (*road*) and *saqar* (*hell*).' To this al-Naḍr replied : Then your name is Abū Ṣālih<sup>1</sup>.

1 صالح means holy and صالح - one who discharges his excrements.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : al-Jayda.—Ed.

Another anecdote of similar cast is related of a literary man who maintained, in the presence of the wazīr Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt (No. 462) that it was allowable to substitute the *ṣīn* for the *ṣād* in every case. On this, the wazīr said to him: 'In reading this verse (*Qur'ān*) *Ṣūrah* 13, verse 23): *The gardens of eternal abode, into which they shall enter, with those of their ancestors, wives and offspring who were virtuous (ṣalāh)*; do you pronounce this word with a *ṣād* or *ṣīn*? The man blushed with confusion and uttered not a word". End of al-Ḥarīrī's remarks. I may here state that the ablest philologists allow the substitution of *ṣād* for *ṣīn* in every word wherein the *ṣīn* is followed, as an observation made by the translator, by one of these four letters *ṭa* (ط) *kha* (خ) *ghayn* (غ) and *qāf* (ق). You may therefore say *ṣirāt* for *sirāt* *sakḥkhara lakum* for *sakḥkhara lakum*, *maṣḥhabah* for *maṣḥhabah*, *ṣayqal* for *sayqal*. Take these as examples of a general rule. In the philological works which I have consulted I never met with any observation to the contrary, except in the *Ṣaḥāḥ* of al-Jawharī (No. 9, note), under the root مدغ where the author says; "Quṭrub Muḥammad, Ibn al-Mustanīr (No. 609) mentions that the family of Bal-'Anbar (*Ibn al-'Anbar*), a branch of the tribe of Tamīm, change the *ṣīn* into *ṣād* when it is followed by any one of these four letters: *ṭa* (ط) *qāf* (ق) *ghayn* (غ) *kha* (خ), no matter if one, or two, or three letters intervene. They say *ṣirāt* for *sirāt*, *baṣṭah* for *baṣṭah*, *ṣayqal* for *sayqal*, *ṣaraqt* for *saraqt*, *maṣḥhabah* for *maṣḥhabah*, *miṣdagha* for *misdagha*, *sakḥkhara lakum* for *sakḥkhara lakum*, and *sakḥab* for *sakḥab*." End of al-Jawharī's remarks on this subject.<sup>1</sup> Numerous anecdotes might be related of al-Naḍr, but concision is to be preferred. He left a great number of works one of which was on the subject of *species*? (*al-Ajnās*) and similar to the *Gharīb*;<sup>2</sup> he entitled it *kitāb al-Ṣifāt* (*book of descriptions*). According to 'Alī Ibn al-

1 The examples given here are most of them taken from the *Qur'an*, the correct reading of which is a matter of the highest importance with the Musulmāns. The *ṣīn* or *ṣād* is our *s*; the *ṣād*, or *ṣod* is an emphatic *ṣ* with a dull sound and gives to the following vowel a shade of that pronunciation which is special to the vowel *o*.

2 This is probably the philological work compiled by Abū 'Amr al-Ḥaybānī (No. 83) and entitled *Gharīb al-Musannaf*.

kūfil, the first volume treated of the human frame, beneficence, generosity and the qualities of women; the second volume treated of tents, dwellings, mountains and valleys; the third was wholly devoted to camels; the fourth to sheep, birds, the sun and moon, rivers, the various kinds of milk, truffles (*of the desert*), wells, cisterns, well-ropes, buckets and descriptions of wine; the fifth contained (*passages of poems respecting*) corn-fields, the vine, grapes, the names of potherbs and of trees, winds, clouds and rain. His other works were the *Kitāb al-Ṣilāḥ* (on weapons), the *Kitāb khilq al-Faras* (on the frame of the horse), the *Kitāb al-Anwā* (on the lunar mansions), the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī* (on rhetorical figures?), the *Kitāb Ghārīb al-Ḥadīth* (on unusual words occurring in the Traditions), the *Kitāb al-Masādir* (on verbal nouns?), the *Kitāb al-Mudkḥil*, meant as an introduction to (*the study of*) al-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad's (No. 208) *Kitāb al-'Ayn*. Al-Naḍr died on the last day of *Dhu'l-Ḥijjah*, 204 (16th June, A.C. 820);—some say, on the first day of that month, and some place his death in the year 203. He died at Marw, a town of *Khurasān*, which was also his birth-place. He was brought up at Baṣrah and received, for that reason, the surname of al-Baṣrī. *Naḍr*, *Shumayl*, *Kharashamah*, *Kulthūm*, *Abādah* and *al-Sakb*, are to be pronounced as here indicated. (*The poet Zuhayr*) received the surname of al-Sakb for having composed the following verse.

Through the tent glittered a lightning-flash wide-spreading  
(*uskūb*).

*Palimah* has for vowels an *a* and an *i*. Ibn al-Jawzī says in his *Kitāb al-Alqāb* (book of surnames), in the article *Sakb*: "That person's real name was Zuhayr, the son of 'Urwah, the son of Julhumah." God knows best which of us is in the right! *Julhumah*, as here written, designated originally the side of the valley called *Julhumah* or *Jalhamah*,\* and then became a proper name for men. *Hujr* takes a *u* for its vowel. *Khuzā'i* (as a proper name) is similar to the ethnic adjective (which signifies belonging to the tribe of *Khuzā'ah*). The remainder of the names (in the genealogy) are so well known that it is needless to fix their orthography.

1 According to the author of the *Nujūm*, a person named 'Alī Ibn Ghannām al-Kūfī died in the year 228 (A.C. 842-43).

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: *Jalbah*.—Ed.

## 738 THE IMĀM ABŪ ḤANĪFAH.

The *imām* and jurisconsult, Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān, the son of Thābit, the son of Zūṭā, the son of Māh, was a native of Kūfah and a client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Taym Allāh Ibn Ḥa'labah. He belonged to the same family as Ḥamzah al-Zayyāt (No. 199) and was a dealer in silk thread. His grandfather, Zūṭā was a native of Kābul, or, as some say, an inhabitant of Bābil; but, according to other accounts, he was a native of al-Anbār, or al-Nasā, or of Tirmidh. It was he who was enslaved (*by the Muslim conquerors*), and afterwards obtained his liberty. His son, Thābit, was born a Musulmān. Ismā'il, the son of Ḥammād and the grandson of Abū Ḥanīfah, made the following statement: "I am Ismā'il, the son of Ḥammād, the son of al-Nu'mān, the son of Thābit, the son of al-Nu'mān, the son of al-Marzubān who belonged to a noble family of Persia. God never laid upon us the yoke of slavery. My grandfather was born in the year 80 (A. C. 699-700). 'Alī (*the son-in-law of Muḥammad*), to whom Thābit went when a boy, invoked upon him and his posterity the benediction of God; and we hope that, on 'Alī's account, the Almighty will continue to grant us that favour! Al-Nu'mān, the son of al-Marzubān and the father of Thābit, was he who, on the day of the autumnal equinox (*Mihrijān*), presented the almond cake to 'Alī, who said: 'May our Mihrijān be every day like this!'" So it is related by the Kḥaṭīb (No. 33) in his *History (of Baghdād)*, but God only knows (*if the statement be true*). Abū Ḥanīfah was born so far back that he might have met with four of the Prophet's Companions,—namely: Anas Ibn Mālik (No. 539, note) 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi Awfā<sup>2</sup>, who resided at Kūfah, Sahl Ibn Sa'd

1 This anecdote appears to have been preserved on account of the strange manner in which 'Alī pronounced the Persian word *Mihrijān*. It is reproduced in the *Nazm al-Jumān*, a work written by Ibn Dukmāk and containing a long and most interesting notice on Abū Ḥanīfah, with a chronological account of the doctors who professed his system of Jurisprudence. See MS. of the Bib. Imp., ancient fonds. no. 741, fol. 22.

2 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abi Awfā 'Alqamah al-Aslamī, one of the Musulmāns who emigrated to Madīnah, at the time of the persecution, took a share in

(Continued on page 42.)

al-Sā'idī<sup>1</sup> at Madīnah, and Abu 'l-Ṭufayl 'Āmir Ibn Wāṭih<sup>2</sup>, at Makkah, but he never saw them nor obtained from any of them Traditions respecting the Prophet. His disciples, however, say that he met with a number of the Companions and delivered traditional information on their authority; but, for doctors learned in the science of Traditions, this statement does not appear well supported. The *Khaṭīb* says, in his History of Baghdād, that Abū Ḥanifah saw Anas Ibn Mālik, that he took lessons in Jurisprudence from Ḥammād Ibn Abī Sulaymān<sup>3</sup>, and that he heard Traditions delivered by 'Aṭā Ibn Abī Rabāḥ (No. 394), Abū Ishāq al-Sabī'ī (No. 477), Muḥārib Ibn Dithār<sup>4</sup>, al-Haytham Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ṣarrāf, Muḥammad Ibn al-Munkadīr (No. 352, note) Nāfi' (No. 729) the *mawla* of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar, Hishām Ibn 'Urwah<sup>5</sup> and Sammāk Ibn Ḥarb<sup>6</sup>. He says also that Traditions were taught on his authority by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (No. 300), Waki' Ibn al-Jarrāḥ (No. 149, note) the *qāḍī* Abū Yūsuf (No. 797), Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (No. 541) and other doctors. He was a learned man and a practiser (of good works), remarkable for self-denial, piety, devotion and the fear of God; humble in spirit and constant in his acts of submission to the Almighty. (The *khalīf*) Al-Manṣūr had him brought from Kūfah to Baghdād

(Continued from page 41)

the war against the Bani 'l-Nadīr and the Bani Qurayzah. On the death of Muḥammad, he removed from that city to Kūfah, where he died, A.H. 86 (A.C. 705). Some Traditions have been handed down on his authority. (*Nujūm*; al-Nawawī's *Tahdhīb al-Asmā*).

1 Saḥl Ibn Sa'd al-Sa'idī, a native of Madīnah, was about fifteen years of age when Muḥammad died. He himself died at Madīnah, A.H. 84 (A.C. 703).

2 Abū Ṭufayl 'Āmir Ibn Wāṭih al-Layḥī died A.H. 100 (A.C. 718-9). (*Nujūm*).

3 Abū Ismā'il Ḥammād Ibn Abī Sulaymān Muslim, a client of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and a native of Kūfah, possessed a good knowledge of Jurisprudence. He died A.H. 120 (A.C. 738). (*Huffāz*).

4 Abu 'l-Mu'tarrāf Muḥārib Ibn Dithār al-Sadūsī, a *Tabi'ī* and a native of Kūfah, died A.H. 121 (A.C. 739).

5 The life of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah will be found in this work.

6 Sammāk Ibn Ḥarb al-Dihli (الذهلي) died A.H. 123 (A.C. 740-1), (*Nujūm*).

in order to appoint him as *qādī*, but Abū Ḥanīfah refused to act. Al-Manṣūr then swore that he should act ; the other swore that he would not ; the *khalif* repeated his oath, and so did Abū Ḥanīfah. Oh this, the chamberlain. al-Rabī' Ibn Yūnus (*No.* 223) said (*to the latter*) : "Do you not perceive that the Commander of the faithful has made an oath !" Abū Ḥanīfah replied : "The Commander of the faithful has ampler means than I for expiating an oath not fulfilled!" As he persisted in refusing, the *khalif* sent him to prison. According to a popular relation, he (*the khalif?*)\* passed a number of days as a counter of bricks in order to expiate his oath ; but this story does not repose on good authority. Here is al-Rabī's statement : "I saw al-Manṣūr enter into a discussion with Abū Ḥanīfah relatively to the affair of the *qāḍiship* ; and he (*Abū Ḥanīfah*) addressed him in these terms : 'keep the dread of the Lord before your eyes and choose no man for the service of those confided to your care except one who fears God. By Allāh ! I am not assured of (*your*) good will ; how then can I be assured against (*your*) anger ? If I happen to judge of this matter differently from you, you may perhaps threaten to have me drowned in the Euphrates, unless I accept the office of judge ; (*even in that case*) I should prefer being drowned. You have (*a multitude of*) dependants who require to be respected on your account ; and, for such a task, I am not fitted.' The *khalif* answered and said : 'You lie ! you are fitted for it !' Abū Ḥanīfah replied : 'You have now decided in my favour and against yourself ; is it lawful for you to nominate a liar as a *qādī* over those whom God has confided to your care ?' " The *Khaṭīb* gives other accounts of this affair and says : "When al-Manṣūr had finished the building of his city (*Baghdād*), he took up his residence there, and (*his son*) al-Mahdī fixed his abode (*in the quarter*) on the east side (*of the river*). (*Al-Mahdī*) having built the mosque at al-Ruṣāfah sent for Abū Ḥanīfah and asked him to act as a *qādī* in that place. The other refused, and al-Mahdī said to him : 'If you do not accept, I shall have you flogged till you consent.' Abū Ḥanīfah accepted and set in judgment for two days, but no one went to him. On

1 See No. 24, note.

\* 'He' stands for Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, and not for the *Khalifah*.—Ed.

the third day, a coppersmith appeared before him with another man and said : 'This man owes me two dirhams and four dāniqs (*one shilling and a penny*) for a brass drinking-cup (*and he will not pay me*).' Abū Ḥanīfah said to the other : 'Fear God and reflect on what the coppersmith has said.' (*The defendant*) replied : 'He has no claim upon me'. The plaintiff being asked what he had to say, answered : 'Let the man swear to the truth of his declaration.' Abū Ḥanīfah then bade the defendant repeat these words : *By God! by Him Who is the only God!* When he saw the man on the point of pronouncing them and taking the oath, he interrupted him, passed his hand into his sleeve, opened his purse and, taking out two dirhams of full weight, he said to the coppersmith. 'Take these two pieces as the price of your cup. The man examined the money and consented to accept it. Two days later, Abū Ḥanīfah was taken ill and, six days after, he died." Yazīd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah al-Fazārī<sup>1</sup>, when amīr over the two Irāqs, wished to appoint Abū Ḥanīfah to the place of *qāḍī* at Kūfah, whilst Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyad sovereigns, was still reigning and, on his refusal, he inflicted on him one hundred and ten strokes of a whip; ten every day. Finding, however, that Abū Ḥanīfah persisted in his resolution, he set him at liberty. When Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal spoke of this occurrence, he would shed tears and invoke God's mercy on Abū Ḥanīfah. This took place subsequently to the beating which he (*Ibn Ḥanbal*) had received for refusing to declare that the *Qur'ān* was created. Ismā'il Ibn Ḥammād (*No. 195*), the grandson of Abū Ḥanīfah, related as follows : "I passed (*one day*), through the Kunāsah with my father and, seeing him begin to shed tears, I said to him : 'My dear father! what makes you weep?' He replied: 'My dear son! in this place Ibn Hubayrah inflicted on my father ten strokes of a whip every day, for ten days, in order to force him to accept the office of *qāḍī*; but he would not.' " The Kunāsah is an open place at Kūfah. Abū Ḥanīfah was a handsome man, an agreeable companion, strictly honourable and full of kindness for his brethren. He was of a middle size, or, by another account, rather tall, and his complexion inclined to tawny. No man spoke more elegantly

1 The life of Ibn Hubayrah will be found in this work.

then he, nor with a sweeter tone of voice. The Khaṭīb states, in his History of Bagh Jād, that Abū Ḥanīfah dreamt that he was digging open the tomb of the Prophet, and sent to consult Ibn Sirīn (No. 539), who returned this answer: "The person who had this dream will lay open a science never before discovered." Al-Shāfi'i (No. 532) relates as follows: "Mālik (No. 524), being asked if he ever saw Abū Ḥanīfah, replied: 'I did. He was a man of such talent that, if he spoke of this pillar and undertook to demonstrate that it was of gold, he would do so, and adduce good proofs.' " Ḥarmalah Ibn Yaḥyā (No. 147) relates that al-Shāfi'i said: "There are five men on whom people must rely for the nourishment of their minds: he who wishes to become learned in Jurisprudence must have recourse to Abū Ḥanīfah";—Abū Ḥanīfah was then considered as one of the highest authorities in Jurisprudence;—"he who desires to become skilled in poetry must apply to Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā<sup>1</sup>: he who would like to become well acquainted with the history of the Muslim conquests must obtain his information from Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq (No. 580); he who wishes to become deeply learned in grammar, must have recourse to al-Kisā'i (No. 408), and he who seeks to be acquainted with the interpretation of the *Qur'ān* must apply to Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān (No. 706)" This anecdote is related by the Khaṭīb, in his History. "In my opinion," says Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥanzah (No. 199) is the only man for the *Qur'ān-readings* and Abū Ḥanīfah the only man for Jurisprudence; and I find that every one agrees with me on this point." Ja'far Ibn Rabi'ah said: "I attended (the lessons of) Abū Ḥanīfah during five years, and I never met a man who would remain silent as long as he; but, when he was questioned concerning (a point of) Jurisprudence, he would launch out into a flux of words, copious as a torrent; and, when he discoursed, I remarked that he spoke (sometimes) in an under tone and (sometimes) in a loud one. In the art of drawing conclusions from analogies (*qiyās*) he was a master of the highest rank." 'Alī

1 Zuhayr Ibn Abī Sulmā was the author of one of the *Mu'allaqahs*. For his history, see Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tome II, p. 527.

2 The life of Ibn Ma'in will be found in this work.



Ibn' Āṣim<sup>1</sup> relates as follows: "I went to visit Abū Ḥanifah and found with him a barber<sup>2</sup> who was about to shorten his hair. He said to the man: 'Cut away those parts only which are turning white.' The other replied: Do not insist (*on that*).' 'Why not?' said Abū Ḥanifah. 'Because', said the barber, 'that will increase their whiteness'. 'Well', said Abū Ḥanifah, cut away those parts which are black; that may *perhaps* increase their blackness'. When I related this conversation to Sharik (*No.* 270), he laughed and said: 'If ever Abū Ḥanifah gave up his system of *qiyās*, he did so with this barber.'<sup>3</sup> The following relation was made by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rajā: "Abū Ḥanifah had for a neighbour, in Kūfah, a shoemaker who worked the whole day and came home, at night-fall, with a piece of meat which he boiled, or a fish which he fried. He would then set to drinking and, when the liquor got into his head, he would begin to sing. The words which he sang were always those:

'They allowed me to perish, and what a man have they left to perish! (*one who could have served them well*) in a day of terror or in the defence of a breach!'

He would remain drinking and repeating this verse till overcome by sleep. Abū Ḥanifah, being accustomed to pass his nights in prayer, heard constantly the din of that man's singing. Having perceived, after some time, that the noise had discontinued, he inquired for the man and was informed that he had been taken up by the guard and put into prison. The next morning, when he had finished the prayer of day-break, he got on his mule, went to the amīr's (*the chief of the police?*) and asked admittance. The amīr gave orders to introduce him without letting him dismount till he could set his foot on the carpet (*which covered the hall*). He then seated him in the place of honour, shewed him every mark of attention and asked him what he required. Abū Ḥanifah answered: 'I have for my neighbour a shoemaker and, some nights

1 The ḥāfiẓ 'Alī Ibn 'Āṣim Ibn Ṣuhayb died A.H. 201 (A.C. 816-7). (*Nujum*).

2 Literally: with a cupper (or barber-surgeon).

3 Because he employed the word *perhaps* and did not draw an absolute conclusion.

ago, he was taken up by the guard. Will the amīr have the kindness to order that he be set at liberty?' 'I will let him out', replied the amīr, 'not only him but all the persons arrested from that night till this day!'. He then gave orders for their immediate liberation. Abū Ḥanīfah rode off, and the shoemaker followed him on foot. On dismounting, he went over to him and said: 'Well, my good fellow! did I allow you to perish?'. The other answered: 'Oh the contrary; you, preserved me and fulfilled the duty of a good neighbour; may God reward you.' He then abandoned his evil ways and never returned to them again". Ibn al-Mubārak related this anecdote: "I met with Abū Ḥanīfah on the road to Makkah. He had caused the flesh of a fat young camel to be roasted for his companions and, as they wished to eat it with vinegar and could find no dish into which they might pour it out, they were very much embarrassed. I then saw him make a shallow hole in the sand, spread over it the (*sufrah or leathern hide in which the provisions are packed up*) and pour the vinegar into the concavity. Being thus enabled to eat their roast-meat with vinegar they said to him: 'All you do is well done'. He replied: 'Address your thanks to God, for it was on your account that He, out of His bounty, sent me this inspiration.' " The same Ibn Mu'ārik related that he once said to Sufyān al-Thawrī (No. 248) "Abū 'Abd Allāh! I never saw a man less given to backbiting than Abū Ḥanīfah; never did I hear him speak ill of the absent." Sufyān replied: "By Allāh! he is too wise to allow that his good qualities should be overcome by another quality which would destroy them". Abu Yūsuf<sup>3</sup> related as follows: "Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr sent for Abū Ḥanīfah, on which the chamberlain al-Rabī', who bore great ill-will towards the latter, said: 'Commander of the faithful! this Abū Ḥanīfah maintains an opinion contrary to that which was held by Ibn 'Abbās, your ancestor, who said that when

1 This anecdote is incorrectly given; the author of the *Naẓm al-Jumān* relates it in a much more satisfactory manner. According to him, the magistrate asked the prisoner's name, and, on Abū Ḥanīfah's saying that he did not know, he declared that he should set at liberty all those who had been arrested on the night which Abū Ḥanīfah mentioned.

2 This was an allusion to the words of the song.

3 Probably the Ḥanafite doctor whose life is given in No. 797.

a man takes an oath and puts restrictions to it, one or two days after, his restrictions are valid. Now Abū Ḥanīfah teaches that restrictions are not valid unless enounced simultaneously with the oath. On hearing this, Abū Ḥanīfah said : 'Commander of the faithful ! al-Rabī now asserts that the oath of fidelity towards you, which was taken by your troops, may not be binding.' 'How so !' (said the *khālif*). 'Because,' answered Abū Ḥanīfah, when they went back to their dwellings, they might have made such restrictions as rendered the oath null'. Al-Manṣūr laughed and said to al-Rabī : 'I advise you to avoid hereafter attacking Abū Ḥanīfah'. When the latter retired, al-Rabī said to him : 'You meant to bring about the shedding of my blood.' No,' replied Abū Ḥanīfah, 'but you meant to bring about the shedding of mine, and I saved not only myself but you ! Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī bore great ill-will to Abū Ḥanīfah, a fact of which the latter was well aware ; one day, on seeing him enter into al-Manṣūr's presence-chamber, where there was a numerous assembly, he said to himself : "I shall have his life taken this very day. He then turned towards him and said : 'Tell me, Abū Ḥanīfah ! if a man be ordered by the Cammander of the faithful to behead another man without knowing anything about his conduct, is it lawful for him to obey ?'" Abū Ḥanīfah answered : "Tell me Abu 'l-'Abbās ! does Commander of the faithful order what is right or what is wrong ?" The other replied : "He orders what is right." "Well", said Abū-Ḥanīfah, "let right be done and no questions asked." He then said to those who were near him : "That man thought to have me cast into bonds, but I shackled him". Yazīd Ibn al-Kumayt relates the following anecdote : "Abū Ḥanīfah stood in great awe of the Lord, and, one night, the mu'adhhdhin, 'Alī, Ibn al-Ḥasan, recited to us the chapter of the *Earthquake* (*Qur'ān, sūrah* 99), after finishing the '*ashā* prayer', and Abū Ḥanīfah was behind him. When the congregation withdrew, I looked and saw Abū Ḥanīfah seated on the floor, in profound meditation and uttering deep sighs. So I said : 'I shall go away, for he minds me not.' On departing, I left the lamp burning, and in it was very little oil. The next morning after daybreak, I returned back and found him standing, with his

---

1 See No. 257, note.

hand clutched on his beard and saying: 'O Thou who givest a reward even for an atom's weight of good-works! O Thou who punishest, even for an atom's weight of evil-deeds! protect Thy servant, al-Nu'mān, from the fire (*of Hell*) and deliver him from the evil which conducts thereto! Permit him to enter into the greatness of Thy mercy!' I then pronounced the call to prayer, whilst the lamp was still burning and he standing. When I went in, he asked me if I came to take away the lamp. I answered: 'I have just made the call to morning prayer.' On this, he told me not to speak of what I had seen and made a prayer of two *rak'ahs*<sup>1</sup>. He then remained seated, till the public prayer began, and he joined in it, that morning without having made any ablution since the preceding evening<sup>2</sup>." Asad Ibn 'Amr<sup>3</sup> states that, according to accounts handed down respecting Abū Ḥanīfah, he always said the morning prayer without making any other ablution than that of the prayer on the previous evening; "and this", said he, "continued during forty years". He spent the night in reciting the whole of the *Qur'ān*, whilst making a single *rak'ah*, and his sobbings were so loud that the neighbours would pray God to have pity on him. It has been handed down that, in the place where he died, he had recited the entire *Qur'ān* seven thousand times. Ismā'il, the son of Ḥammād and the grandson of Abū Ḥanīfah, relates that he heard his father say: "When my father died, we asked al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Umārah to take charge of washing the corpse, which he did. When he had finished, he exclaimed: 'May God have mercy on you and pardon your sins! you never, for thirty years back, took a morning's meal, and never, for forty years back, did you pillow your head on your right hand during the night! you have (*outdone and*) fatigued those who strive to follow your example, and brought down disgrace upon the *Qur'ān*-readers.'" The anecdotes told of Abū Ḥanīfah's merit and of his decisions are very numerous; the *Khaṭīb* has inserted many of them in his History (*of Baghdād*) but, to those, he has subjoined others which it would have been fitter

1 See No. 270.

2 Ablution is necessary before morning prayer, if the person slept, even for a moment, during the night.

3 The jurisconsult Asad Ibn 'Amr al-Bajall died A.H. 190 (A.C. 805-6). (*Nujum*).

for him to omit and not to notice : for no doubt can be entertained respecting the sincere religious convictions, the piety and the discretion of an *imām* such as he. Never was anything reproached to him but his insufficient acquaintance with Arabic grammar. As an example of his faults in that line, they tell us that the grammarian and *Qur'ān-reader*, Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā (No. 480) asked him, one day if the slaying of a man with a heavy object necessitated retaliation or not, and received an answer in the negative, conformably to Abū Ḥanīfah's own system of Jurisprudence and in opposition to the system established by al-Shāfi'i. Abū 'Amr then said to him : "What say you if a man slay another with a stone shot from a ballista ?" and he replied : "Not even if he slew him with (a stroke of) *Abā* Qubays!" which is the name of the mountain overhanging Makkah. To palliate this fault of his<sup>1</sup>, it was said that he spoke so conformably to the doctrine of those who teach that the six words of the language which are (usually) declined by a change of letters<sup>2</sup> and which are *abūh* (his father), *akhūh* (his brother), *hamūh* (his brother-in-law), *fūh* (his mouth), *hanūha* (her matrix) and (*dhū* in the expression) *dhū māl* (possessing wealth, should take the alif (a) in the nominative, the genitive, and the accusative cases. In proof of their opinion they cited this verse (of an ancient poet) :

"Her father and the father of her father<sup>3</sup> attained to the highest point of excellence."

This is one of the provincialisms peculiar to the inhabitants of Kūfah and, as Abū Ḥanīfah belonged to that city, he conformed to its dialect. This digression has led us from our subject, but discourse is liable to deviations and one matter brings on another. Abū Ḥanīfah was born A.H. 80 (A.C. 699-700; other accounts give the years 70 and 61, but the first date is the surest. He died in the month of Rajab (August), or of *Shā'bān*, according to another statement, and in the year 150 (A.C. 767). Some say 151 or 153 and on the 14th of the month of Rajab, but

1 He should have said *Abī* (in the genitive case).

2 Example : Nom. *Abū*, Gen. and Dat. *Abi* Ac. *Abā*.

3 *Abā abāhā* is used here for *Abā abihā*.

the date given first is right. He died in the prison at Baghdād, having been confined there in order that he might consent to fill the place of *qāḍī*, and that he would not do. This is the more authentic account, for some say that he did not die in confinement. According to another relation his death took place on the day of al-Shāfi'i's birth. He was buried in the *Khayzurān* cemetery, and his tomb, which is a well-known monument, is much frequented by pious visitors. *Zūfā* is a Nabaṭean name. *Kābul* is a place of great note, in India. It has produced a number of remarkable men, some of them distinguished for learning, and all of them bearing the surname of *al-Kābull*. As for Bābil and *al-Anbār*, these names are so well-known that it is needless to mark their pronunciation. *Sharaf al-Muik* Abū Sa'd Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr al-Khuwārazmī who was secretary of state under the reign of the Saljūq sultān, Malik Shāh, erected a chapel and dome over the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfah and, close to it, he built a large college for the instruction of students in Ḥanafite law. When the work was finished, he rode out to inspect it with a numerous retinue of men high in office. Whilst he was there, the *sharif* Abū Ja'far Maṣ'ūd, the same who was generally known by the surname of al-Bayāḍī (*No. 692*) went up to him and recited to him extempore these lines :

"Saw you not how science remained disconnected, till it was embodied by him who is now hidden in this tomb. Thus also was this spot of earth : it remained sterile, till the generosity of his excellence Abū Sa'd gave it new life."

For this impromptu the poet received an ample reward. Abū Sa'd built also a college at Marw and a number of *ribāṭs* (*No. 72, note*) and caravānsērās in the deserts. He was noted for the great number of his charitable foundations. Towards the close of his life, he left the service of the state and confined himself to his house, but was then frequently applied to for advice on public affairs. He died in the month of Muḥarram, 494 (Nov-Dec., A.C. 1100) at Iṣbahān. Abū Ḥanīfah's mausoleum and the dome over it were erected by Abū Sa'd in the year 459 (A.C. 1066-7). I stated (*No. 665*), in the life of Alp Arslān, the father of the sultān

\* *Afḡhānistān* was not a separate country in those days.

Malik Shāh, that it was he (*Alp Arslān*) who erected the mausoleum over the grave of Abū Ḥanīfah, and so I found it recorded in a historical work; but I do not now recollect from what book I took my information. I discovered afterwards that the person who built the chapel and the dome was Abu Sa'd; but it is probable that he only presided over its erection as being Alp-Arslān's representative, a very usual thing with sovereigns and their lieutenants. It was for this reason that the construction of the monument was attributed to Alp Arslān during that sovereign's life-time. This is indicated by the date of the construction, which falls within the reign of that sovereign and by the fact that Abū Sa'd was then acting as his secretary of state. Abū Sa'd remained in office after accession of Malik Shāh. Those observations I make for the purpose of reconciling the two statements.

### 739 THE QĀDĪS OF THE NU'MĀN FAMILY

Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān Ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥayyūn was a doctor highly distinguished for his talents. The amīr al-Mukhtār al-Musabbihī mentions him in his historical work and says: "He was a man noted for learning, for skill in Jurisprudence, for piety and for talents not to be surpassed. He composed a number of works, one of which was the *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Uṣūl al-Madhāhib* (treatise on the differences which exist between the fundamental principles of the various systems of Jurisprudence). He at first followed the doctrine of Mālik, but then passed over to the sect of the Imāmiyahs (the *Fāṭimids*), and drew up a work entitled *Kitāb ibtidā al-Da'wah li'l 'Ubaydiyyīn* (on the origin of the mission got up in favour of the *Fāṭimids*). He composed also two treatises on Jurisprudence, the one bearing the title of *Kitāb al-Akhhār* (book of information), and the other *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* (the vindicator). Ibn Zūlāq (No. 159) has an article, in his history of the *qādīs* of Egypt, on Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of Nu'mān we are here speaking of, and there we read a passage to this effect: "His

father, the *qādī* al-Nu'mān Ibn Muḥammad, was a man of the highest abilities, deeply versed in the *Qur'ān*, fully acquainted with the meaning of the expressions contained in that book, skilled in the systems of Jurisprudence, well informed respecting the conflicting opinions entertained by the legists, learned in Arabic philology, in poetry of the higher class, in the history of the battle days of the people (*the ancient Arabs*), and distinguished for intelligence and equity. He composed for that family (*the Fāṭimids*) some volumes containing thousands of leaves; they were drawn up with great talent and in a style remarkable for the beauty of its cadences and rhymes. He composed also a good work on the meritorious and disgraceful acts (*committed by the Arabian tribes*), and wrote a number of refutations addressed to those who contested his opinions. One of these treatises was directed against Abū Ḥanīfah (*the imām*), another against Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī and another against Ibn Surayj (*No. 20*). In his work entitled *Ikhṭilāf al-Fuqahā* (*differences of opinion between the doctors*), he takes the defence of the *People of the House (the Fāṭimids)*. To a poem of his, treating of Jurisprudence, he gave the title of *al-Muntakhab* (*choice selection*). He was attached to the service of al-Mu'izz Abū Tamīm Ma'add Ibn al-Manṣūr,"—(a sovereign whom we have already noticed)—"and, when that prince set out from Ifrīqiyah for Egypt, he accompanied him. He did not long survive (*the journey*), his death having taken place in Old Cairo, on the first of Rajab, 363 (28th March, A.C. 974)." Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Farḡhānī states, in his History of the *qā'id* Jawhar (Vol. I, p. 340) that he died on the eve of Friday, the last day of the second Jumāda, in the year just mentioned, and that the funeral prayer was said over him by al-Mu'izz. Ibn Zūlāq speaks of him after mentioning the death of al-Mu'izz, when he gives the names of that sovereign's children and of the *qādīs* who acted by his appointment. He there says: "And his *qādī*, the one who came with him from Maghrib, was Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān, the son of Muḥammad the missionary<sup>1</sup>. On arriving at Old Cairo, he (*al-Mu'izz*) found that Jawhar had established there provisionally as *qādī* a native of Baghdād named Abū Ṭāhir al-Dhuhli,

<sup>1</sup> See No. 542, note.



and this appointment he confirmed." Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, Abū Ḥanīfah's father, lived to an advanced age. When four years old, he could recite many curious pieces which he had learned by heart. He died in the month of Rajab, 351 (August, A.C. 962), aged one hundred and four years, and was buried near the Bāb Salām, one of the gates of Qayrawān. The funeral service was said over him by his son.

Abū Ḥanīfah left a number of sons who distinguished themselves by their talents and rose to high places under government. (*One of them,*) Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī was appointed by al-Mu'izz to act as the associate of Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad in the post of *qāḍī* and chief magistrate. This Abū Ṭāhir was the son of Aḥmad, the son of 'Abd Allāh, the son of Naṣr, the son of Bujayr, the son of Ṣāliḥ, the son of Usāmah al-Dhuhlī. The two continued to act with joint authority till the death of al-Mu'izz and the accession of al-'Azīz Nizār, that prince's son. The new sovereign confided to the *qāḍī* Abū 'l-Ḥasan the administration of the two (*principal*) mosques and the direction of the mint, but the magisterial authority was shared by them both till the *qāḍī* Abū Ṭāhir had a derangement of humours which paralyzed one of his sides and rendered him incapable of moving from one place to another without being carried. On the 1st of Ṣafar, 366 (29th Sept. A.C. 976), al-'Azīz proceeded on horseback to the island which lies between Old Cairo and Jīzah. Abū Ṭāhir, accompanied by his assessors, was borne the gate of the Ṣan'ā' and, being presented to the prince, requested him to take into consideration the state of weakness to which he was reduced and allow him to employ, as his substitute, his own son Abū 'l-'Alā. It is related that al-'Azīz said, on seeing him so much emaciated: "Nothing remains to be done with that man but to make *qadīd* of him.<sup>2</sup>" Two days later,

1 The naval arsenal (*dār al-ṣan'a*) situated in the island of Rūḍah was called the Ṣan'ā, by abbreviation. See Maqrīzī's *kḥiṭāṭ*, or topographical description of Cairo, edition of Pūlāq, Vol. II, p. 178.

2 *Qadīd* is the name given to long stripes of flesh salted and dried in the sun. Al-'Azīz's words are equivalent to the expression: he is only fit to make cat's-meat of. The prince did not like Abū Ṭāhir and paid no attention to his request.

the prince nominated to the exclusive possession of the *qāḍīship* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of al-Nu'mān. Abu 'l-Ḥasan then rode to the great mosque of Cairo and caused his diploma to be read there to the public ; and from thence he proceeded to *the Jāmi' al-Atīq (the ancient mosque)* at old Cairo and presided at the same ceremony. The person who read the diploma was his brother, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān. By this document he was empowered to act as (*supreme*) *qāḍī* over all the provinces of Egypt, Syria, Makkah, Madinah, Maghrib and the other countries belonging to al-'Aziz ; it authorized him, besides, to act as (*chief*) preacher, (*chief*) imām, inspector of the gold and silver coinage and controller of weights and measures. He then returned to his house, accompanied by a crowd of people, no one thinking it proper to stay away. The *qāḍī* Abū Ṭāhir, being always unwell, was obliged to keep to his room, and there he taught Traditions to the numerous scholars who went to visit him. This continued till the end of the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, 367 (9th July, A.C. 978), when he died. He had then attained the age of eighty-eight years, and had held the post of *qāḍī* for sixteen years, and seventeen days. He was authorized, during that period, to revise the judgments (*pronounced in the courts of law*), but he could never fill this duty in a satisfactory manner. He had acted for some time as a magistrate in that suburb of Baghdād which lies on the east bank (*of the Tigris*) ; but he subsequently removed to Egypt. The *qāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī then chose for deputy his own brother, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, and placed under his jurisdiction (*the towns of*) Damietta, Tinnīs, al-Faramā and (*the country of*) al-Jifār. Abū 'Abd Allāh proceeded to those places and, having installed deputies in them, he returned back. Soon after, in the year 367, al-'Aziz set out for Syria, and Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who accompanied him left his brother Abū 'Abd Allāh to act as judge in his place. Abu 'l-Ḥasan was well versed in a number of sciences ; besides his knowledge of the duties incumbent on a *qāḍī* and of the grave and dignified manner in which they should be filled, he was well acquainted with Jurisprudence, Arabic philology, polite literature, poetry and the stories of the battle-days (*of the ancient Arabs*). He was also a good poet and held a high rank in the art of verse. One of his pieces is given by

al-Tha'ālībī (No. 356) in the *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, and runs as follows :

"I have such a friend that poverty never attains me, once his eyes fall upon my wants. He gives (*me*) wealth, satisfies (*my wishes*) and obliges me neither to kiss his hand nor his foot. He took charge of my interests when I neglected them, and minded my affairs when I heeded them not."

Al-Tha'ālībī gives also as his, the following piece in which the same idea is expressed :

"I have a friend, full of courtesy ; friendship like his is a title of honour. He shews me more regard than need be shown, and feels obliged to do more than is necessary. If his good qualities were appreciated at their full value, gold, compared with them, would be worthless."

The following verses are also given as his by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bākhārī (No. 450), in the *Dumayt al-Qaṣr*, and are also to be found in the biographical article which Ibn Zulfāq has devoted to him (*al-Nu'mān*) in the History of the *qāḍīs* of Egypt ; they are perfectly well turned :

"At 'Arafāt<sup>1</sup> I made the acquaintance of a maid whose beauty stole from me (*the merit of*) my good works. When I put on the pilgrim's dress, she forbade sleep to visit my eyes, and, with her glances, she laid waste my reserved park (*my heart*). When she hurried along (*from 'Arafāt*) with the other pilgrims tears hurried in emulation from my eyelids. She placed a burning coal on my heart when she walked towards the spot where they cast the pebbles. This soul of mine did not obtain its wish ; so I feared, when at al-Khayf, that the hour of my death was at hand".

Abu 'l-Ḥasan continued to fulfil the duties of a *qāḍī* and to remain in high favour with al-'Aziz, till he caught a fever whilst

---

<sup>1</sup> This piece is full of verbal quibbles and clever allusions to the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and the places near Makkah where these ceremonies are accomplished.

presiding, in the mosque, over the court of justice. He rose up immediately and returned to his house, where he expired after an illness of fourteen days. His death took place on Monday, the 6th of Rajab, 374 (3rd Dec., A. C. 984). The next morning, he was borne on a bier into the presence of al-'Aziz who was then (*with the army*) encamped in the plain of al-Jubb, near the place which is now known by the name of al-Birkah (*the pond*)<sup>1</sup>. The bier was then deposited in the mosque called *Masjid al-Bir wa 'l-Jummayzah* (*the mosque of the well and the sycamore fig-tree*). Al-'Aziz left the camp and went to say the funeral prayer over the corpse, which was then carried back and buried in the house of the deceased, situated in the *Ḥamrā*. Three places in old Cairo had received this name because the Europeans used to lodge there<sup>2</sup>. Al-'Aziz then dispatched to Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan's brother, a message worded in these terms: "The place of *qāḍī* is yours; we shall never allow it to pass out of your family". Abu 'l-Ḥasan had remained in office during nine years, five months and four days. He was born in Maghrib, in the month of the first Rabi', 329 (Dec.-Jan., A. C. 940-1). Old Cairo remained for eighteen days without a *qāḍī* to arrange its affairs, and that because Abū 'Abd Allāh was unwell. When his malady abated, he rode in a palanquin to the camp of al-'Aziz. This was on Thursday, the 22nd of Rajab. The next day, Friday, he went from that to the Jāmi' al-Atiq after having received from al-'Aziz his appointment to the *qāḍīship*, with a pelisse of honour and the sword (*of office*) suspended from his shoulder. Being much enfeebled by sickness, he was unable to get down from the palanquin and enter into the mosque; so he proceeded to his own house, and his son, accompanied by a band of his kinsmen, went to the mosque and read the diploma as soon as the Friday prayer was ended. The document was similar to that which had been drawn up for Abu 'l-Ḥasan and granted to the new *qāḍī* the same powers as his brother had received before. In the month of *Dhu*

1 See M. De Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, t. I. p. 187, of the second edition.

2 The adjective *ḥamrā* (*rubra*) served to designate such persons as had a clear complexion.

'l-Qa'dah 374 (March-April, A.C. 985), Muḥammad appointed his son Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Aziz to act as his deputy in Alexandria. This was done by the order of al-'Aziz, who then arrayed Abu 'l-Qāsim in a robe of honour. On Friday, the 1st of the first Jumādā, 375 (19th September, A.C. 985), the *qādī* Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān married his son Abu 'l-Qāsim to the daughter of the *qāid* Jawhar. The marriage-act was signed at the levee of Al-'Aziz, and none were present except the officers of the court. The dowry settled (*by the bridegroom*) on the bride was three thousand pieces of gold and the *kitāb*<sup>1</sup> (*consisted of*) a single robe of one uniform colour. When al-Mu'izz, the father of al-'Aziz, was in Maghrib, he ordered the *qādī* Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān to have an astrolabe made in silver and to place a trust-worthy person beside the workman (*lest he should embezzle some of the metal*). He chose his son, Muḥammad, for that purpose and, when the astrolabe was finished, he carried it to al-Mu'izz. "Whom did you place beside the workman?" said the prince. "My son Muḥammad," was the reply. "He shall be *qādī* of Egypt!" exclaimed al-Mu'izz, and so it happened. The fact was that al-Mu'izz having always entertained hopes of getting that country into his possession, was induced to utter these words, and his good fortune, seconded by destiny, effected for him what he wished. The *qādī* Muḥammad related the following anecdote: "When I was a boy, in Maghrib, al-Mu'izz would say to his son al-'Aziz, every time he saw me: There is your (*future*) *qādī*." Muḥammad was well acquainted with the (*leading*) maxims of Jurisprudence and a great number of sciences; he was an accomplished scholar and could recite, with much elegance, narrations, poems and stories respecting the battle-days (*of the Arabs*). He composed also some poetry, and one of his pieces is as follows:

"Thou who resemblest the moon of heaven, when she is seven (*days old*), and five (*more*) and two! Thou whose grace is the

1 The word *kitāb* means a book or a written document. It is evidently employed here as a law-term, but, as such, it is not to be found in the works on orthodox Jurisprudence. It may perhaps belong to the system of law professed by the *Shī'ites* and signify the *jihāz* (*in French, trousseau*) given to the bride.

perfection of beauty ! Thou hast preoccupied my heart and kept sleep from my eyes. Can I hope to obtain from you any favour, or must I return back with the boots of Ḥunayn<sup>1</sup> ? My enemies deride me for loving thee and say : 'There you are still with empty hands !' Be kind to me or take my life, thou hast the power to do one or the other."

The following piece was sent to him in a letter by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ja'farī, a native of Samarqand :

"All other *qādis* have found their equals in renown, but Abū 'Abd Allāh is without a rival. He is unequalled in noble qualities admirable in honourable deeds, great and illustrious. In renown, splendid ; in resolution, firm ; (*brilliant*) like the flashing of the polished sword. In judging causes, he has right reason for a sworn companion ; when he bestows, the abundant rain cloud is merely his precursor. Were we to examine the sentences pronounced by him, we should be let to declare that he was assisted by (*the angel*) Gabriel. When he mounts into the pulpit, he is really a Quss<sup>2</sup> ; when he is present at assemblies, he is truly a *Khalil*<sup>3</sup>."

1 This proverb means : much disappointed. It has been explained in three or four different manners, one of them as follows : A desert Arab, mounted on his camel, entered into a town, went to the Bāzār and bargained for a pair of boots. Not being able to conclude with the maker, whose name was Ḥunayn, he flew into a passion, gave him foul names and then, having made his other purchases, he got upon his camel, left the town and took the road leading to his tent. The boot-maker was so highly offended at the Arab's insulting language that he resolved on being revenged. Taking up the boots, he ran to the road by which the Arab had to pass and threw one of them on the ground. A mile or two farther on, he threw down the other and hid himself. The Arab saw the first boot as he was riding along and said : "There is one of the boots of Ḥunayn ; if the other was with it, I should dismount and pick it up." About half an hour after, he perceived the other boot and regretted not having picked up the first ; so he got off his camel, not wishing to fatigue it too much, and having fettered it with a cord, picked up the boot which was lying there and ran back to take up the other. As soon as i.e. disappeared, Ḥunayn went off with the camel and the baggage. When the Arab returned, his camel was missing ; so he went home on foot. Being asked what he had brought back, he replied "The boots of Ḥunayn."

2 See No. 62, note.

3 The person here ment was probably al-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad, See No. 208.

To this the *qāḍī* Muḥammad returned, in writing, the following answer :

"We have read in your poem charming things, such as a most refined genius only could produce. Its lines are as a delightful garden, diffusing around the penetrating odour of musk. When they are recited, their fragrance perfumes not only our dwellings but the very street. We long to see you, and you long to visit us. Send us, every day, verses like those ; for you are capable of every generous deed."

The following passages are extracted from Ibn Zūlāq's History of the *qāḍīs* of Egypt : We never saw any *qāḍī* in Old Cairo, acquire so much influence as Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān, and, as far as we have learned, the like was never seen in 'Irāq. He well deserved that great authority on account of his learning, his integrity, his self command, the equity of his judgments and the awe (*which he inspired*). In the month of Muḥarram, 383 (Feb.-March, A.C. 993), he authorised his son, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Aziz, to act as his deputy in Old and New Cairo and to fulfil the duties of a judge, uninterruptedly, every day. Before that, he himself gave audiences on Mondays and Thursdays only. Abu 'l-Qāsim commenced immediately to hear causes, to judge and to enregister acts. He (*Muḥammad*) had at first confided this place to his nephew, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, but, on the 10th of the first Jumādā. 377 (7th Sept., A.C. 987), he replaced him by his own son, Abu 'l-Qāsim, whom he authorised to act on Mondays and Thursdays only. The *qāḍī* Muḥammad had risen so highly in the favour of al-'Aziz that, in the year 385, on the festival of the Sacrifice (5th Jan., A.C. 996), he was allowed by that sovereign to go up with him into the pulpit. When al-'Aziz died, it was the *qāḍī* Muḥammad who washed the corpse (*previously to interment*). Al-Ḥākim (No. 715), the son and successor of al-'Aziz, confirmed Muḥammad in his place, raised him to higher honours and augmented his authority. From the moment that the *qāḍī* acquired such favour at court and such influence in the state, he was frequently unwell and, being a constant sufferer from gout and colic, he was often laid up. The *ustād* Barjawān (No. 109), high in rank though he was, went very often

to visit him. The illness of the *qāḍī* continued to increase and, on the eve of Tuesday, the 4th of Ṣafar 389 (25th January, A.C. 999), he expired, immediately after the last evening prayer. Al-Ḥākīm rode to the house of the deceased, at Cairo and, having there repeated the funeral prayer over the corpse, he presided at the interment, after which, he returned to his palace. The *qāḍī* Muḥammad was born in Maghrib on Sunday, the 3rd of Ṣafar, 340 (11th July, A.C. 951). His palace was given by al-Ḥākīm to one of the courtiers. On Wednesday, the 9th of Ramaḍān (August, A.C. 999),\* the body was removed to the *qāḍī's* private house in Old Cairo and, on the eve of Friday, the 10th, it was borne to the Qarāfah cemetery and deposited in the tomb which contained the bodies of his father and brother. After the death of Abu 'Abd Allāh Muḥammād, Cairo remained more than a month without a *qāḍī*. Al-Ḥākīm then appointed to that office Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, and the same whom his uncle Muḥammad had authorised to act as his substitute and whom he afterwards replaced by his own son Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz. Al-Ḥusayn's nomination took place on the 6th of the first Rabi' 389 (25th February, A.C. 999). He remained in office till Thursday, the 16th of Ramaḍān, 394 (7th July, A.C. 1004), when his place was given to his cousin, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz, the son of the above-mentioned Muḥammad. Some time after, al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, was beheaded by al-Ḥākīm's order, and that for reasons too long to relate<sup>1</sup>. This occurred on Sunday, the 6th of Muḥarram, 395 (23rd October, A.C. 1004). He was

1 A sum of twenty thousand pieces of gold came into the possession of al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān who, being a *qāḍī*, acted as guardian and depositary of all property left by persons who died. The son of the deceased claimed it from him and received part of the sum by instalments. On asking for the rest, he was told by the *Qāḍī* that he was paid up and that no more remained. Al-Ḥākīm, to whom the heir addressed a complaint, had the *Qāḍī* brought before him and the account-book (*diwān*) of the tribunal examined. This inquest proved that a large sum remained due. The *qāḍī* acknowledged his guilt, indemnified the heir and begged for pardon. Al-Ḥākīm deprived him of his place and sent him to prison, where he was beheaded, about a year afterwards, in A.H. 397 (A.C. 1006). *History of the Qāḍīs of Cairo*; MS. of the *Bibl. Imp.*, ancien fonds, No. 690).

\* 24 August.—Ed.



executed in the cell where he was confined, and his body was consumed by fire. Abu 'l-Qāsim then became *qādī* with undivided authority, and was chosen, besides by al-Ḥākim, to preside at the court of grievances<sup>1</sup>. He thus united in his attributions the functions of the two officers, a thing which never before happened to any member of his family. Al-Ḥākim then treated him with such favour that, on the day of the breaking of the Fast (*the 1st of the month of Shawwāl*), he permitted him to go up with him into the pulpit, immediately after the general-in-chief of the army. The same honour was accorded to him on the festival of the Sacrifice (*the 10th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*). In judging causes, he displayed great firmness of character and treated with extreme severity such of the grandees as dared to resist him. He even arrested many of them and did not allow them to leave the court till they had fulfilled their engagements. He continued to fill all the magisterial duties which al-Ḥākim had confided to him : but, on Friday, the 16th of Rajab, 398 (27th March, A.C. 1008), he was removed from office by that prince and replaced by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mālik Ibn Sa'id Ibn Mālik al-Fāriqī. It was thus that the office of *qādī* passed out of the family of al-Nu'mān. Some time after, al-Ḥākim ordered (*some of*) his Turkish soldiers to kill, not only Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Aziz, but the general Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the son of Jawhar and Abū 'Ali Ismā'il, the brother of the *qādī* Faḍl Ibn Sālih. They were all sabred, at the same moment, and that for reasons too long to relate. This happened on Friday, the 22nd of the latter Jumādā, 401 (31st January, A.C. 1011); the mercy of God be upon them ! Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Aziz was born on Monday, the 1st of the first Rabi', 354 (7th March, A.C. 965). Abū Maṣṣūr Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Farḡhānī al-Miṣrī states, in his historical work, that he (*the qādī Abū Ṭāhir*) was well noted for reciting from memory a great number of pieces and for the agreeableness of his society : with his elders, he behaved like an elderly man, with the middle-aged men, like one who had reached that period of life, and, with young men, he acted as a youth. His death took place on the eve of the 30th of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, 367 (9th July, A.C. 978).

<sup>1</sup> See No. 141, note.

## 740 AL-SAYYIDAH NAFISAH

Al-Sayyidah<sup>1</sup> Nafisah was the daughter of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, the son of Zayd, the son of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. She arrived in Old Cairo with her husband Ishāq, the son of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. According to another account, she went there with her father, al-Ḥasan, whose tomb, it is said, may be seen in Old Cairo, but is not generally known. He had been governor of Madīnah in the name of (*the khalif*) Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and had held that post during five years when he incurred this sovereign's displeasure and was dismissed from office. All his property was confiscated and he himself shut up in the prison at Baghdād and detained there till the death of al-Manṣūr. Al-Mahdī having then come to the throne, gave him his liberty and restored to him all that had been taken from him. Al-Ḥasan afterwards remained with him and when that prince set out to make the pilgrimage, he followed in his train, but died on reaching al-Ḥājir, A.H. 168 (A.C. 784-5), at the age of eighty-five years. Al-Ḥājir is at five miles from Madīnah. "According to another statement he died at Baghdād and was interred in the cemetery of al-Khayzurān; but the fact is that he died at al-Ḥājir". So says the *Khaṭīb* in his History of Baghdād, but God knows best the truth. Nafisah was a woman noted for her piety and the holiness of her life. It is related that the imām al-Shāfi'ī, when he arrived in Old Cairo, for the date, see his life (*No.* 532), went to visit her and learned some Traditions from her. The people of Cairo had the highest esteem for her, and the veneration in which she was held subsists up to the present day. When al-Shāfi'ī died, his corpse was brought into her house, and she there said over it the funeral prayer. The spot on which that house stood is now occupied by Nafisah's mausoleum. She continued to dwell there during the remainder of her life. Her death took place in the month of Ramadān, 208 (Jan.-Feb., A.C. 824). When she expired, her husband, al-Mu'tamin Ishāq, the son of 'Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, resolved on transporting the body to Madīnah but, at the request of the

1 The word *Sayyidah* signifies *mistress* and is sometimes employed, as here, to distinguish certain females remarkable for the holiness of their lives. It is now pronounced *Sidah*, *Sittā* or *sitt*, and bears the meaning of *madam*.

inhabitants of Cairo, he consented to leave it with them. The place where she was buried now bears her name; lies between Old and New Cairo, in the neighbourhood of the other mausoleums. This place was then called the *Darb al-Sabā'* (*Lion street*), but the street fell into ruin and nothing now remains there except her funeral chapel and her tomb. This tomb has a great reputation, experience having shewn that prayers said near it are fulfilled.

#### 741 \*IBN AL-SHAJARI

The *sharīf* Abu 'l Sa'ādāt Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamzah, a descendant of al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib) was a native of Baghdād and bore the surname of Ibn al-Shajari. He held the highest rank as a grammarian and a philologist, was well acquainted with the poetry of the Arabs, the accounts of their battle-days and the occurrences which happened in these conflicts. Perfect in accomplishments, and full of literary information, he composed some works on (*Arabic*) philology, one of which, entitled *Kitāb al-Amālī* (*Book of Dictations*), is much more extensive and useful than the others. He dictated its contents in eighty-four sittings. This treatise contains a mass of information and a great variety of philological observations. He concluded it by the addition of another *sitting* in which he treated of nothing else but some verses of al-Mutanabbi's (*No.* 49), indicated the different manners in which they were explained by the commentators and added such observations as occurred to himself. It is a very instructive work. When he finished dictating it, he received the visit of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Ibn al-Khashshāb (*No.* 325) who expressed to him the wish of hearing the work dictated and, by his refusal, he incurred the enmity of that author, who then attacked a great number of the opinions enounced in the work and declared them to be erroneous. Ibn al-Shajari, having met with this refutation, wrote a reply to it and pointed out the mistakes into which his adversary had fallen. This treatise, forming one volume, appeared

\* In M. de Slane's edition 11 notices under letter *a* precede notice under *y*. In Egyptian edition the order is reverse.—Ed.

under the title of *al-Intisār* (*the vindication*) and, though very short, contained much useful information. He dictated it to the persons who attended his lectures. Another work of his entitled the *Hamāsah* and drawn up on the model of the *Hamāsah* composed by Abū Tammām al-Tā'i (No. 143) is really original and very good; he displayed in it great talent. A number of grammatical works were composed by him and also a treatise on synonyms. He published a commentary on the *Lum'a* of Ibn Jinnī (No. 387) and another on the *al-Taṣrīf al-Mulūki* (*of the same author*).<sup>1</sup> He spoke with great elegance, in a sweet expressive and simple style. He read over some Traditions under the direction of the great masters of that day, such as Abū 'l-Hasan al-Mubārak Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Sayrafī, Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id Ibn Binḥān\* the *kātib* and others. The ḥāfiz Ibn al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) mentions him in the *Dhayl* (*supplement*) and says: "I studied Traditions under him at the house of the wazīr Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn ʿIṣrād al-Zaynabī<sup>2</sup>, and I wrote down some pieces of poetry under his dictation (*when he taught*) at the College. I afterwards went and read over, under his tuition, a portion of the *Amāli* (*dictations*) composed by the grammarian Abu 'l-'Abbās Tha'lab (No. 42)". The grammarian Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī (No. 344) says, in his *Manāqib al-Uḍabā* (*the merits of literary men*): The learned doctor Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamakhsharī (No. 684), having gone to Baghdād, in one of his (*frequent*) journeys, with the intention of making the pilgrimage, went to visit our master Ibn al-Shajarī, and I accompanied him. When they met, *Ibn al-Shajarī* addressed him in this verse of al-Mutanabbī's:

"Before we met him, we thought the accouts given of him were exaggerated; but, when we met, expericnce shewed us that we had underrated them."

1 This title appears to signify the *imperial treatise on grammatical inflections*.

2 The *sharif* Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn ʿIṣrād al-Zaynabī, wazīr to the 'Abbasid Khalīfs al-Mustarshid and al-Muqtafi, was noted for his talents and his generosity. Having been removed from office, he passed the remainder of his days in poverty and died in the reign of the last mentioned Khalīf. (*al-Fakhri*).

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: *Shihāb*.—Ed.

He then recited him following lines :

"In questioning the (*returning*) car vans, I obtained the fairest accounts of Ja'far Ibn Falāh ; and, by Allāh ! when we met, I found that my ears had not heard any thing to equal what I witnessed with my eyes."

I have already mentioned these verses in the life of Ja'far Ibn Falāh ; (*No. 134*) and stated that they were composed by Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī (*No. 642*), but they have been attributed to other poets. 'To this compliment, al-Zamak~~h~~sharī made the following reply : 'It is related of the Prophet that, on receiving the visit of Zayd al-Khayl<sup>1</sup>, he said to him : 'O Zayd ! before the promulgation of Islāmism, I never heard a favourable account given of a man without perceiving, after the introduction of Islāmism, that he was inferior to his reputation. Thou art the only exception.' We then withdrew," said Ibn al-Anbārī, "and were much struck by the *sharīf's* quoting verses to express his feelings and by al-Zamak~~h~~sharī's quoting a tradition, one who did not belong to the Arabic race". This anecdote is not given in Ibn al-Anbārī's words, but it contains their substance. I did not take it from the book itself, but became acquainted with it long ago and kept it in my recollection. I mention this lest such persons as may read the book should suppose that I am careless in my quotations, when they perceive the difference between the two manners in which the anecdote is related. Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt (*Ibn al-Shajari*) was the *naqīb* (or *syndic*) of those 'Alides who resided in (*the suburb of*) al-Karkh. He acted there as the lieutenant of his father ('*Alī*) al-Ṭāhir. He composed some good poetry, such as the *qaṣīdah* in which he eulogizes the wazīr Nizām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Muẓaffar Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Jahīr<sup>2</sup>, and which begins thus :

"Here is (*the source of*) al-Sudayrah and the pond full to overflowing. (*Here you formerly met the beloved*) so follow my

1 For an account of this celebrated chieftain, see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

2 Nizām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Muẓaffar Ibn Jahīr acted as wazīr to the Khalīf al-Muqtadī li-amr Allāh. Two other wazīrs bore the surname of Ibn Jahīr ; see No. 674.

advice and suppress the feelings of your heart Tell me, lotus-tree of the valley ! Thou whose fragrance widely diffused would suffice to guide towards thee the nocturnal traveller, if he lost his way. The happy days which a fond lover once passed under thy shade, will they return to him again before his death? How unjust was that fawn (*maiden*) in refusing even a glance (*of her eye*) to one who was borne down by love, and in treating his prayers with disdain. Remote is the place where I might meet her ; she is far away. and yet she is near, for she dwells within my bosom. (*She is like*) a slender twig which bends before the zephyr and bears on its top a moon (*visage*) surrounded with impending darkness (*her hair*). When the glances of other eyes partook in the contemplation of her charms, these eyes of (*mine, who am*) a benighted traveller, obtained not, from that source, a single refreshing draught. We passed near (*the valley of*) al-Aqiq and, at the sight of those meadows and pasture grounds in which the gazelles were roaming, our passion was renewed. We wept. on reaching those shady groves ; yet, how often have flowing tears betrayed the secret of the lover ! Years of drought have laid bare the remains of her abode, and the (*projecting*) ruins, now abandoned, appear like camels drawing water from the wells. Look there, my two companions ! may your lives be long, and may showers protracted and lasting like the flow of the evening rain-cloud refresh your dwellings ! Are those handsome statues which appear before our eyes? or are they a flock of does ? or else maidens *amplis natibus praeditae*? Are those the eyes of gazelles which look on us through the veils? Are they human cheeks and noses which we see? When they turned towards us, they left not a member of our body unscathed ; even the ravenous beasts had compassion on it. How can this heart (*of mine*) hope for delivery from the bondage of love and from misery, if she who wounds it ever soothes and flatters? Were a draught of water from (*the spring of*) Dārij (*near which my beloved resided.*) to moisten the soil (*of my heart*) the germs of affliction would make on it no impression".

Here the poet introduces the eulogy (*of his patron*). This part I abstain from inserting, lest I should be led too far, and, besides, my object, in admitting the extract which precedes. was to give the reader an idea of Ibn al-Shajari's poetical style.

Here is another piece by the same author ;

"Can love remain concealed when our tears bear witness to its existence? Can the lover who gainsays the reports of jealous spies persist in denying (*the truth*)? How long will you continue to wear out your eyes with weeping, you who know that Labid fixed a term to the shedding of tears? Though my (*stature, formerly as strait as a*) wand is now bent by old age, I still possess fortitude and energy sufficient to bear up under afflictions.

This passage contains an allusion to a thought expressed in the following lines by Labid Ibn Rabi'ah al-'Amiri ;

"My two daughters wished their father to live for ever ; is he then of another race than Rabi'ah and Muḍar? Arise (*my girls*) and proclaim all you know (*of my merits*), but do not tear your faces nor cut off your hair. Say he was a man who never abandoned his friend, who never broke a promise and who never deceived. Continue thus for a year, then the salutation of peace be upon you! The person who weeps a whole year is justified (*in not continuing*)".

It was to these verses that Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'i alluded when he said :

"My friends departed and I wept for their loss during a year; then I ceased, according to the precept of Labid".

A certain degree of jealousy, such as usually, reigns between men of talent, existed between Abu 'l-Sa'ādāt (*Ibn al-Shajari*) and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmed Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥakīnā\* al-Harimī<sup>2</sup>, a native of Baghdād and a celebrated poet. This is the same person whose name is mentioned in our life of al-Hariri, the author of the *Maqāmāt* (No. 510). When he (*Ibn Ḥakīnā*) read the poems of his rival, he addressed to him the following lines :

1 This Labid is the author of the *Mu'allaqah* ; see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai, etc.*, tome II, page 487. His life, by the author of the *Kitāb al-Aḥḥānī*, has been given by M. de Sacy in the same volume which contains the Arabic text of *Kalilah and Dimnah*.

2 See No 746, note

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : Jakīnā.—Ed.

"I declare, sir! in the name of Him Who should prevent you from composing verses which stupefy the understanding! that you have nothing in common with your ancestor (*Muḥammad*) except your incapacity for poetry."

The anecdotes related of Ibn al-Shajari are very numerous, but we prefer being concise. He was born in the month of Ramaḍān, 450 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1058), and died on Thursday, the 26th of Ramaḍān, 542 (18th February, A.C. 1148). The next morning, he was buried in his house situated in al-Karkh (*the suburb*) of Baghdād. *Shajari* is an adjective derived from *Shajarah* which is the name of a village in the dependencies of Madīnah. The word *Shajarah* is also employed as the name of a man; the Arabs of the desert gave it this application and their example was followed by others. A great number of persons, some of them men of learning, bore the surname of al-Shajari. I do not know whether our poet derived his from the name of the village or from that of one of his ancestors who might have borne the name of al-*Shajarah*. We have spoken of al-Karkh in the life of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (No. 702).

#### 742 AL-BADĪ' AL-AṢṬURLĀBĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh, the son of al-Ḥusayn, the son of Yūsuf, or of Aḥmad, according to another statement, and surnamed al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī (*the admirable the maker of astrolabes*), was a celebrated poet and an accomplished scholar. As a maker of astronomical instruments, he was considered to be the ablest man of the age. In that art, he possessed consummate skill, and by it he gained a large fortune, under the Khalifate of al-Mustashid. When he died, he left no one capable of replacing him in his profession. Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'l-Hazirī (No. 242) speaks of him in the *Zinat al-Dahr*, and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī (No. 678) mentions him in the *Kharidah*. Both authors praise him highly and (*the latter*) gives some pieces of verse composed by him, one of which is the following:



"I offer presents to (*my patron at*) his noble levee, but what I offer I received from his beneficence. The clouds, in shedding their rains upon the sea, place it under no obligation : from it they received their waters."

None of his verses has obtained such currency as these two, but they have been attributed to another author. The following piece is given as his :

' When (*his cheeks*) acquired the redness of blood<sup>1</sup> and put on the sable hue of the 'idhār<sup>2</sup>, darkness settled upon them and *my heap was still measuring*<sup>3</sup>".

In the *Zinat al-Dahr*, these two lines are given as his, but I read elsewhere that they were composed by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Hakinā<sup>4</sup>, the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Ibn al-Shajari (No. 741). The expression *my heap was still measuring* is particular to the inhabitants of Baghdād and signifies, with them, *to struggle without being able to escape*. The word *kārah* (*heap*) is employed by them in speaking of flour and is equivalent to the word *jumlah* (*mass, heap*), made use of in Egypt. Here is another piece of his composition :

"Dixerunt: Amavisti (*ephebum*) levi gena praeditum, sed fama est illum barbatum (*nikrish*) fieri.\* I replied: The young peacock is never so handsome as when he is fully fledged."

*Nikrish* is a foreign (*a Persian*) word, formed of *nik rish*, which signify a *handsome beard*. It is an established practice with the Persians to invert the order of words with are in annexation<sup>5</sup>. He was extremely licentious, and admitted into his poetry such indelicate ideas as led him to employ the most obscene terms. It is for this reason that I insert here so few of his verses, though

1 Literally : of death.

2 See the Introduction to the first volume.

3 This proverbial expression is explained, a few lines farther on.

4 Here and elsewhere all the manuscripts and the editions read *Ḥakinā*. 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives : Jakināt. This appears to be right reading and is that given in the *Kharidah*.—Ed.

5 They place the adjective before the substantive, which is contrary to the Arabic system.

\* English version : The people reproached me saying : you were to love a beardless person, but yours has grown beard.

they are very numerous and were collected by himself into a *diwān*. He took also the poems of Ibn Ḥajjāj (*No. 186*) and arranged them under one hundred and forty-one heads, according to their different subjects. This collection, to which he joined an appendix, received from him the title of *Durrat al-Tāj fī sh'ir Ibn Ḥajjāj* (*the pearl of the diadem, treating of the poems of Ibn Ḥajjāj*). He was full of grace in every thing he did. He died of a hemiplegy in the year 534 (A.C. 1139-40), and was interred in the cemetery called *the Wardiyah the rose-garden*, which lies on the eastern side of (*the river at*) Baghdād. *Aṣṭurlābi* is derived from *aṣṭurlāb*, the name of a well-known instrument (*the astrolabe*). Kūshyār Ibn Labbān Ibn Bāshahrī of Jilān\*<sup>1</sup>, the author of the *Kitāb al-Zij* (*a set of astronomical tables*) says, in his treatise on the use of the astrolabe, that *astrolāb* is a Greek word and signifies *the balance of the sun*. I heard a learned doctor say that *lāb* is the name of the sun in the language of the Greeks, so that the word *aṣṭurlāb* is composed of (*the Arabic word*) *aṣṭur* (*lines*), joined to *lāb*, and signifies *the lines of the sun*; indicating thus the lines traced upon the instrument. It is said that the inventor was Ptolemy, the author of the *Almegisti*, who was led to that discovery in the following manner: as he was taking a ride with an armillary sphere in his hands, he let it fall, and the animal on which he was riding trod upon it and broke (*or flattened*) it, so that it received the shape of an astrolabe. The great masters in the mathematical sciences thought till then, that the image (*or representation*) of the sphere could only be traced on a mass of a globular form, but Ptolemy then perceived that it could be reproduced upon a surface forming

1 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kūshyār Ibn Labbān Ibn Bāshahrī, a native of Jilān in Persia, composed astronomical and astrological works, of which the most important were evidently the tables in which he gave the mean positions of the planets, conformably to the era of the Persians, that of Yazdigird. According to Hājī Khalifah, in his Bibliographical Dictionary, article *زيج كوشيار*, the observations on which these tables were founded were made by Kūshyār in the year 459 (A.C. 1066-7), but, under title of *مدخل في علم النجوم* he states that this latter work was drawn up in the year 357 (A.C. 968) M. Reinaud, in his introduction to the French translation of Abu 'l-Feda's Geography, says that Kūshyār lived in the latter half of the eleventh century (from A.H. 442 to 494).

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Jalabī.—Ed.

the half of a circumference, and that such an instrument would furnish the same results as were given by the armillary sphere. No one ever preceded him in this discovery; yet (*neither he*) nor any of the ancients supposed that it was possible to represent the image of the sphere upon a line (*a flat rule*). So they continued to employ the armillary sphere and the astrolabe till the *shaykh* Sharaf al-Dīn al-Tūsī,—the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yūnus<sup>1</sup> and who was that person's preceptor in mathematics,—conceived the idea of a line (*or rule*) which would furnish all the results that the armillary sphere and the astrolabe could give. He called it *the staff* and wrote an elegant treatise on the subject. In some points, he committed mistakes which were rectified by the above mentioned Kamāl al-Dīn. Al-Tūsī was the first who produced this instrument; none of the ancients having ever known it. The result was that the form (*or configuration of the sphere*), which had been at first represented by means of a globe, that is, a solid having length, breadth and thickness, and which had then been delineated on a surface, which has only length and breadth, without thickness, was now marked on a line (*a rule*) having length only and neither breadth nor thickness. There remains only to reduce this representation to a point; but it is impossible to conceive how that can be done, since a point is neither a solid, nor a surface, nor a line, but only the extremity (*or limit*) of a line, in the same manner as the line is the extremity of the surface, and the surface of the solid. The point being indivisible, it is impossible to conceive how any thing can be delineated upon it. These observations are foreign to our subject, but they furnish some information which it is better to know than not.<sup>2</sup> Besides, we were led into them by the turn which our discourse had taken.

1 In the life of Ibn Yūnus (No. 663), the name of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Tūsī does not occur, neither is the title of Kamāl al-Dīn given to Ibn Yūnus. These indications, written, probably, by the author, on the margin of his own copy, are not to be found in our manuscripts. It is hardly necessary to observe that Sharaf al-Dīn al-Tūsī must not be confounded with the celebrated astronomer, Na'ir al-Dīn al-Tūsī who died in the latter half of the seventh century of the Hijrah.

2 Our author, like all muslimāns of that epoch, knew nothing of Greek and not much of astronomy. Here, he evidently speaks of matters which he did not well understand.

643 IBN AL-QAṬṬĀN, *THE POET*

Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn Ya'qūb Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Sālim, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān (*the son of the cotton-spinner*), was a poet of great celebrity and a native of Baghdād. We have already spoken of him and given some of his verses in our articles on Ḥayṣ Bayṣ (?) (*No.* 244) and Ibn al-Sawādī (*No.* 485). He learned Traditions from a number of masters and taught them to some disciples. He was excessively licentious and dissolute, full of humour and pleasantry, pertinacious in flattering and in satirizing the proud and haughty. The witty sayings attributed to this poet and the anecdotes related of him are very numerous and amusing. His poetry has been collected into a *diwān*. Abū Ša'd al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 371) mentions him in the *Kitāb al-Dhayl* and adds: "As a poet, he merited praise, his verses being fine and delicately turned; but, with him, satire predominated so much that he was dreaded for the virulence of his tongue and feared as a detractor (*ṭhallāb*)." Farther on, he says: "I wrote down two Traditions under his dictation, and no more; I also committed to paper some pieces of verse composed by him and which he recited to me." The *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī (*No.* 43) speaks, in these terms, of Abū 'Abd Ailāh al-Faḍl, the father of Ibn al-Qaṭṭān: "He belonged to a family of traditionists. I asked him the date of his birth and he told me that he was born on the eve of Friday, the 14th of Rajab, 418 (20th August, A.C. 1027)." According to Abū Ghālib Shujā' Ibn Fāris al-Dhuhli, he died on Wednesday, the 23rd of the latter Rabi' 498 (12th January, A.C. 1105), and was buried in the cemetery called *al-Karkhl*. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī (*No.* 678) speaks of him (*Ibn al-Qaṭṭān*) in the *Kharidah*. "His wit," says this writer, and the graces of his style were universally acknowledged. There exists a *diwān* of his poetry, the greater part of which is good. In his verses, he bantered a number of eminent men and exposed their faults. No one escaped from his attacks, neither the *khalif*, at Baghdād, nor any other person. A learned doctor spoke to me of him in these terms: I was a boy and too young to learn any thing from his lips, but I saw him sitting in a place apart from others.

He was then a druggist at Baghdād, and I heard people say : 'That is Ibn al-Faḍl, the satirist.' He learned Traditions from his own father and some other teachers, amongst whom were Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bāqilānī, Abū 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Jirūn al-Amin, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Uṭhmān al-Bighālī al-Karkhī. He had frequent skirmishes with Ḥayṣ Bayṣ, one of which is thus related : Ḥayṣ Bayṣ went out, one night, from the palace of the wazīr Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan (read *al-Qāsim*) 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād al-Zaynabī (*No 741, note*) and a young dog barked at him. As he had a sword suspended from his shoulder, he struck it with the point<sup>1</sup> of the blade and killed it. Ibn al-Faḍl (*Ibn al-Qaṣṣān*) being told of this, drew up a piece of verse in which he inserted two lines composed by an 'Arab of the desert, who, being informed that his son had been slain by his (*the 'Arab's*) brother, went to take vengeance of the murderer, but then threw away his sword and uttered the verses of which we speak." They are to be found in the first section of the *Ḥamāsah*<sup>2</sup>. "Ibn al-Faḍl inscribed his poem on a piece of paper which he then tied to the neck of a bitch having a number of puppies, and charged a man to drive her and young ones up to the wazīr's door. She appeared there like a suppliant ; the paper was taken off her neck and presented to the wazīr, who found in it these lines :

"People of Baghdād ! Know that Ḥayṣ Bayṣ has done a deed which now covers him with shame, throughout the town. It was he, the coward, who, to shew off his bravery, assailed a young whelp which had neither strength to attack nor force to resist. He has no money, so he cannot pay the price of blood ; he is not equal in value to his victim, so he cannot suffice to undergo the law of retaliation. Therefore (I,) *curly hair*, recited these lines, after referring the vengeance of *little-gray's* blood to Him Who is the sole, the eternal. Then, to give my heart relief and consolation, I said : *One of my hands struck me without intending it ; each of them could supply the place of the other : one is truly my brother when I call him by his name ; the other is my son.*"

1 Literally : which the heel.

2 See Freytag's *Ḥamāsah*, page 100.

The idea expressed in the third verse (*beginning with : He has no money*) is borrowed from this verse of another poet :

"They are a people who esteem themselves so vilely, that, when one of their party commits a crime, they think that, by the law of retaliation (*not one of them but*) all must suffer the penalty of death."

This is one of the verses given in the *Ḥamāsah*<sup>1</sup> it will be found in the quire which begins by the words *بشار*<sup>2</sup>, and to that work we refer the reader. The insertion (*of the two verses*) is cleverly done ; I never heard any thing so good, notwithstanding the great number of pieces into which poets have introduced verses composed by others. The only exception I shall make concerns a piece which was recited to me by the *shaykh* Muḥadḍhab al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad, better known by the surname of Ibn al-Khaymī ; the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī (*No.* 233). He informed me that, when he was at Damascus, the sultān ordered the beard of a person in his service to be shaved off before the eye of the public. A part of it was already retrenched when some one interceded for the man and obtained for him the permission to retain the rest. He (*Ibn al-Khaymī*) composed on this subject the following piece, in which he designated the person indirectly, without mentioning his name :

"I went to visit a son of Adam who, as I was informed, had all his beard shaved off, after receiving a bastinado. Finding that only the half had been removed I congratulated him on his being allowed to retain the rest. He rose up, half-choked with weeping and recited to me two verses which had not been composed in (*a spirit of*) lying and falsity : *When a band of fellows come to shave off your beard, throw away your clothes so that they may not impede your flight. When (friends) come to you, saying : 'You have still the half ;' answer : 'The best of the halves is that which is gone !'*"

The two last verses are given in that section of the *Ḥamāsah* which contains the satires on women<sup>3</sup> but (*Ibn al-Khaymī*)

1 See *Ḥamāsah*, page 121.

2 Here, the author, by a singular inadvertance, refers to a page or a quire of his own manuscript.

3 See *Ḥamāsah*, page 817.

altered the first of them ; in its original form it ran thus :

"Marry not an old woman, though they bring her to you ; but throw off your clothes so that they may not impede your flight."

(*One year*), in the month of Ramaḍān, the poet Ḥayṣ Bayṣ and Ibn al-Faḍl were at a grand supper given by the wazīr. Ibn al-Faḍl took up a roasted *qaṭāh*<sup>1</sup> and offered it to his companion, who immediately turned towards the wazīr and exclaimed: "My lord ! this man has insulted me." "How so?" said the wazīr. "Because he has made an allusion to the (*well-known*) verse :

'(*The tribe of*) Tamīm follows the path of vileness, and therein is better directed than the *qaṭā* (*towards its nest*). If they trod in the path of honour, they would surely go astray.' "

We have already observed (*No. 241*), that Ḥayṣ Bayṣ belonged to the tribe of Tamīm. This verse is taken from a picce composed by al-Ṭirimmaḥ Ibn Ḥakīm, the poet<sup>2</sup>; and is followed by these lines :

"Night is dispelled by day, but the ignominy of Tamīm will never be dispelled. If they saw a flea riding on a louse and galloping down to charge their line of battle, they would turn their backs (*and run away*)."

Ibn al-Faḍl entered, one day, into the palace of the wazīr al-Zaynabī and, finding Ḥayṣ Bayṣ with him, he said : "I have just composed two verses which could not possibly be augmented by a third, so completely do they indicate the idea I meant to express." "Let us hear them," said the wazīr. The poet recited as follows :

"An image came (*in a dream*) to visit (*me*) which was as sparing (*of visits*) as she who sent it (*was sparing of her favours*); neither did it embrace me nor kiss me, so as to alleviate my pain. Its visits are only to aid me in abstaining from sleep, for it drives it away and then departs."

1 A species of grouse.

2 This poet lived in the first century of Islāmism.

The wazīr turned towards Ḥayṣ Bayṣ and said : "What think you of that pretention ?" and received this answer : "Let the author repeat them, and the wazīr shall hear the third verse." Ibn al-Faḍl recited the verses again by the wazīr's order ; Ḥayṣ Bayṣ remained silent for a moment and then came out with this line :

"(*The beloved*) knew not that I employed sleep as a snare to catch (*a sight of*) her image, when I found that all other snares (*remained without effect and*) fatigued my waking hours."

The wazīr acknowledged that Ḥayṣ Bayṣ had well fulfilled his promise. I was told that a modern [poet ?] whom I cannot now designate, being unable to discover who he was, took this very idea and versified it remarkably well ; he expressed it thus :

"You who (*by your beauty*) render jealous the sun and the moon ! (*tell me*) who will console the enslaved lover whom you treated so cruelly, whilst you said that (*not you, but*) fate alone was to be blamed. I declare by the vitality of my love, that, if I sleep, it is not because I have forgotten you, but for the purpose of catching (*a glimpse of*) your image (*in my dreams*). Regret not the visits which your image made me whilst I slumbered ; it was really as coy (*and as disdainful*) as yourself."

I have since discovered that the author of this piece was Abu 'l-'Alā Ibn Abi 'l-Nadā al-Ma'rūf. When he (*Ibn al-Faḍl*) directed against the *qāḍī* 'l-Quḍāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Zaynabī that satirical poem of which we have spoken in the life of Ibn al-Sawādī (*No. 485*) and which we should give here, were it not so long, the *qāḍī* ordered one of his servants to bring the poet before him, and, when he was led in, he boxed his ears and sent him to prison. The poet remained in confinement so long that he wrote to Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Šāhib, the Khalif's major-domo, a letter containing the following verses :

"Majd al-Dīn ! I ask for shelter under your protection and complain to you of such ill treatment as I am unable to support. Some people have brought against me an absurd accusation and transmitted it to the worshipful *qāḍī*. A brutal prosecutor dragged me by the sleeve and by the collar before the seat of



justice. Every stroke of the (*qāḍī's*) slipper made me bend my head, till my heart was ready to faint away. Even before the accuser had produced his proofs, I received such slaps on the face as prevented me from knowing where I was. Suppose that false accusation to be true, and tell me, master ! if the prisoner should remain in confinement after having paid the full penalty of his fault ?"

When he got out of prison, he composed these lines :

"He who struck me on the face thought he dishonoured me and did me harm ; but his prison has not altered my sentiments, neither have his buffets injured<sup>1</sup> my ears."

Some verses rhyming in *m* and directed against Ḥayṣ Bayṣ have been already given in his life with the answer to them. When al-Zaynabī, he of whom we have spoken, was raised to the wazīrate, Ibn al-Faḍl went to see him and entered into the hall of audience, which was crowded with men of high rank who had come to congratulate the wazīr on his nomination. Having gone up to him, he wished him every happiness and, to show his joy and delight, he began to dance about. The wazīr, on seeing this, said to one of his confidants : "God confound that old fellow ! his dancing reminds me of the common proverb : *Skip for the ape when the time of his (prosperity) is arrived.* "The poet himself put this idea into verse and transmitted to one of the grandees a written copy of the piece<sup>2</sup>.\* He composed also a *qasidah* rhyming

1 Literally : softened.

2 Here Ibn Khallikān inserts the piece. It contains eleven verses, some of which offer expressions and allusions belonging, apparently, to the corrupt popular dialect of Baḥḍād. The third of these verses is incorrectly given in the manuscripts and the two printed editions, so that its meaning is not evident. The other verses, taken separately, are sufficiently intelligible, but when they are all taken together, the general thought which should pervade the piece cannot be perceived. I therefore do not attempt translating them.

\* [The translation of the portion omitted by de Slane is given here :

"O Kamāl al-Dīn ! he who is a dignified person,

A chief who will redeem me of sins which can fill a whole world.

Take my words which is an information soon to be known.

in r, in which he defamed, one way or other, a great number of the grandees. In this poem he said :

"Tikrit is out of our reach and, in our ignorance, we go to take Tirmidh from Sinjar!"

The same poem contained the well-known verse :

"Genealogies traced up to al-'Abbās are now so frail (*and so ill-supported*) that they may be compared to pot-herbs."

A literary man of my friends recited to me the following verses as having been composed by Ibn al-Faḍl :

"His generosity put an end to the war between me and Fortune ; for one verse of eulogium, he bestowed on me gifts enough to fill my house."

He went, one day, to the house of the wazīr Ibn Hubayrah,<sup>2</sup> and found with him the syndic of the *sharifs*, who was generally looked on as a great miser. This was in Ramaḍān, (*the month of fasting*), and the weather was very hot. The wazīr said to him : "Where have you been ?" He replied : "In the kitchen of his

---

(Continued from page 78)

Whenever I said that 'My people belonged to Baḡhdād, they pretended to belong to Emessa'.

There is nothing except the curtain which is lifted, and the door is plastered.

The covers over their head are the hawks.

The windows, belvederes and horses dance.

I am a monkey and wag my tail before a dog.

I dance before every one whom time applauds.

Trial, from which there is relief, is of no avail to *Ḍhu 'l-Nūn*.

When I hear the call, it brings me relief."

Some one else has recited the following :

"When you notice a mean person attaining high position by luck,

Listen to him, obey and respect him because of his position.

We have heard that one day Kistrā (the emperor of Persia) said to his interpreter :

When time makes a beast rule, then dance to the tune of monkey in his time."—Ed.]

1 The allusion to these cities I cannot understand.

2 The life of Ibn Hubayrah will be found in this work.

worship the *sharif*." "Wretch that you are !" exclaimed the wazir, "what were you doing in a kitchen, now that we are in the month of Ramaḍān ?" He answered : "By the life of your Lordship ! I was *breaking the heat*." The wazir smiled, all the persons present laughed out and the syndic remained quite confounded. The expression to *break the heat in such a place* is particular to the people of that city (*Baghḍād*) and signifies to *choose* a cool place for taking one's afternoon nap. Another day, he went to the dwelling of a great man and, being refused admittance, was much offended. He then saw servants bring out meat and give it to their master's hounds, on which he observed that his lordship wished not to incur to common imprecation *God's curse on the tree which shelters not its own people*. Another day, as he was sitting down to dinner with his wife, he told her to uncover her head. When she did so, he repeated these words of the *Qur'ān* : Say, *God is one*. She asked him what was the matter and received this answer ; "When a woman uncovers her head, the angels do not remain present and, when that verse of the *Qur'ān* is pronounced, the demons take to flight. Now, I do not like being at table with a crowd (*zaḥmah*) about me". The anecdotes told of him are very numerous. He was born in the year 477 (A.C. 1084-5), but al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 371) says as follows : "I asked him the date of his birth and he replied that he was born on the morning of Friday, the 7th of *Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah*, 478 (26th march, A.C. 1086)." He died at Baghḍād, on Saturday, the 28th of Ramaḍān, 558 (30th August, A.C. 1163) and was buried in the cemetery called\* al-Karkhī. According to al-Sam'ānī, he died on the festival day of the breaking of the Fast, (the 1st *Shawwāl*/2nd September). Did I not prefer being concise, I should relate a great number of the laughable anecdotes which are told of him, for, in the chapter (*of jokes and pleasantry*), he held a noted place. One of the verses above mentioned and which rhyme in *d*, contains the word *بوا* (*bawā*), which signifies *the equivalent*. Thus, they say : "The blood of this man shall be equivalent of (*i.e.* *shall answer for*) the blood of that man." The word *جده* (*Ja'dah*), which (*signifies curly-haired and which*) occurs in the same piece,

\* Ma'ruf should be substituted for called.—Ed,

is the proper name of a bitch ; so I was informed, but I have found nothing of the kind in philological works. Persons versed in philology say only this of it : *Ābū Ja'dah* (the father of *Ja'dah*) is a name given to the wolf : *Ja'dah* serves to designate the sheep. The wolf was so called because he likes sheep so much."

#### 744 AL-QĀDĪ AL-SA'ĪD IBN SANĀ AL-MULK

Al-Qādi al-Sa'īd (the fortunate *qādi*) Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh, the son of al-Qādi al-Rashīd (the well directed *qādi*) Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far, the son of al-Mu'tamid Sanā al-Mulk (the lustre of the empire) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of Hibat Allāh, the son of Muḥammad al-Sa'dī, was a celebrated Egyptian poet and the author of that *diwān* which contains such elegant pieces of verse and such exquisite morsels of poetry. He was one of those men high in office who obtained general notice by their merit and their talent. He learned Traditions from the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Tāhir al-Silafī (No. 43). To the eminent rank and the ease which he enjoyed were joined the abundant favours of fortune and an ample share of wordly prosperity. The *book of Animals*, composed by al-Jāhīẓ (No. 481) was abridged by him and published under the quaint title of *Rūh al-Ḥaywān* (the spirit of animals). He left also a *diwān* filled with poems of that species which goes under the name of *al-muwashshahāt* (roundelays), and entitled *Dār al-Ṭirāz* (the house or store of embroidery), and another consisting of extracts from the epistolary correspondence which passed between him and al-Qādi 'l-Faḍl (No. 349) and containing elegant ideas of all sorts. Some of the great poets of that age formed a society at Old Cairo and held sittings during which they conversed and discoursed in a manner which was highly pleasing to hear. Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn 'Unayn (No. 658) having then visited Cairo, was received by them with great honour and invited to their parties. As they all agreed in leading a pleasant life, they exclaimed, on learning his arrival : "Here is the poet of Syria !" and, on that occasion, they held

assemblies during which their discourses were taken down in writing. Were I not apprehensive of being led away too far, I should give some of them here. A *qasīdah*, composed by him (*al-Qāḍi al-Sa'īd*) in honour of al-Qāḍi 'I-Fāḍil, contains two elegant verses which I give here :

"Were the jeweller to see the pearls of her mouth, he would take them for gems of the rarest kind. If any one say that her figure is like a willo-wand, tell him to take care lest her figure should overhear your words (*and chastise you*)."

Here is another piece of his :

"No branch can represent the slighthness of thy figure ; no gazelle (*is so graceful as thee*). Let others unite in their form every charm ; their beauty is surpassed by thine. O thou whose smiling lips always display to us a row of beads, each of them a real pearl ! my censurer asked me if I had no ears (*for good advice*) and I asked him if he had no eyes (*to see thee*)."

The following amorous ditty was composed by him on a blind girl :

"My sun (*is in her face* ;) it was never hidden but by her hair and has never suffered an eclipse but in its eyes. The sword (*of her glances*) is sheathed, but she wounds without it by means of her eyelids. In looking on her, I see a (*blind*) mole in (*the body of*) a gazelle, and the eyes of (*the blind*) Jacob in (*the head of the handsome*) Joseph."

The verses which follow were composed by him on a lad who had been whipped and then sent to prison :

"I should give my life to redeem him who was scourged, not for being in fault but for the purpose of making that slender branch open its rose-buds<sup>1</sup>. They put him into prison only to save his beauty from the stroke of the evil eye, and they said to him : 'You resemble Joseph in beauty ; resemble him again by entering into prison'".

---

<sup>1</sup> That seems to mean : making his body red.

The next verses are taken from another of his pieces ;

"I ceased to love her, not through lassitude, but for a motive which forced me to say: I leave you. She wished a third to be associated in our intimacy, but in my heart is still that article of belief which forbids me (*the sin of*) association!"

By the same :

"O thou whose neck is bared of every ornament except its beauty! on thy account I bared my heart (*of every sentiment*) except affliction (*for thy cruelty*). On the thread of my eyelids are strung the pearls of my tears ; wilt thou have for thy neck a collar which will cost thee nothing ? Fear me not ! for I am as feeble and as languid as the zephyr ; and the zephyr need not be feared by the willow-branch (*of thy figure*)."

The idea expressed in this last verse is borrowed from the following line composed by Ibn Qalāqis and already given in his biographical notice ( No. 735) :

"As long as I courted her, (*she*) that pliant branch in a garden, enfeebled my body, so that I am become the zephyr".

As a specimen of his style in prose we may cite a passage of a letter written by him, it is said, to al-Qāḍi 'I-Fāḍil, relatively to the Nile which, in that year, had not attained its usual height and did not produce an inundation. Here is the passage: "As for the water (*of the Nile*), the places where it might draw from are gone dry ; its fingers are cut off (*the digits of the nilometer are useless*) ; the pillar (*in that edifice*) must make its ablution with dust, if it intend to offer up a prayer for rain, and the scale is so feeble (*and thirsty*) that it thinks it has got the dropsy". This is one of the finest turns of expression which were ever employed to indicate the Nile's inability (*to overflow its banks*). There was in Old Cairo a poet called Abū Makārim Hibat Allāh Ibn Wazīr Ibn Muqallad, the *kātib*. Al-Qāḍi 'I-Sa'id, being informed that a satire had been composed on him by this person, had him brought

1 In Muslim theology, *association* signifies admitting the doctrine of polytheism or that of the trinity.

into his presence and, after inflicting on him a corporal chastisement, addressed him in abusive language. A well-known poet, named Nashū al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Mufarraǵ and surnamed Ibn al-Munajjim al-Ma'arri\* (*whose family belonged to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, but*) who was born and who died in Egypt, was induced by this circumstance to indite the following lines and send them to the *qāḍī* :

"Say to al-Sa'id, whose prosperity may God maintain ! Why did you treat so unjustly our worthy friend, Ibn Wazir ? You avenged yourself sufficiently by striking him on the face ; why then did you insult him after ? In doing so, you returned insult for insult, but you paid him moreover, with blows for interest ; yet the law does not allow usury. If you say that your insults did him no hurt ; then, by Allāh ! your blows did not hurt him either".

Al-Qāḍī 'l-Sa'id composed a *qaṣīdah* in praise of Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh (*No. 124*) the brother of the sultān Ṣalāh al-Dīn (*Saladin*) and began it thus :

"I am indifferent for none except for my turbaned friend<sup>1</sup> : I have renounced nothing except a blameworthy life".

When this piece appeared, a number of the Cairo poets leagued against him and having declared that such a manner of opening a poem was detestable, they attacked him in satires. On this occasion, Ibn al-Dharawī (*or al-Darawī*)†, the same person of whom we have spoken in the life of Sayf al-Dawlah al-Mubārak Ibn Munqidh (*No. 527*), wrote to him the following lines :

"Relate to al-Sa'id these words of one who admires his productions so full of charms : 'How admirable is your clever and perspicuous poem ! yet our poets cannot taste its novelties. They blame the idea of being indifferent for a friend : yet, if al-Ṭā'i

1 I suppose that, by these words, the poet designated his mistress.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : al-Ma'arri (the western) belonging to western part of Africa.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : The latter.—Ed

(No. 143) saw such a tissue of verses as yours, he would become (your ardent) partisan' ”.

Numerous anecdotes are told of this *qāḍī*. He died at Cairo, on one of the first ten days of the month of Ramaḍān 608 (between the 6th and the 16th of February, A.C. 1212). The *Kātib* ('*Imād al-Dīn* (see No. 678) speaks of him in the *Kharīdah* and says: "On the 18th of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, in the year 70.—"that is, in the year 570,"—(10th June, A.C. 1175), I was with al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil in his tent at Marj al-Dalhamiyah,<sup>1</sup> when he showed me a *qaṣīdah* which al-Sa'id had sent to him from Cairo, and he informed me that the author had not yet attained his twentieth year. I was much struck with the elegance of its versification". He ('*Imād al-Dīn*) then gives the poem; it begins thus:

"Separation (*from thee*) has condemned my heart to be the constant companion of sorrow; thy departure has effected a firm accord between my eyes and tears".

If we admit the above mentioned indication, al-Qāḍī 'l-Sa'id was born towards the year 550 (A.C. 1115-6). 'Imād al-Dīn then says, after inserting the *qaṣīdah*. "He"—meaning al-Sa'id—"came to Syria in the month of Ramaḍān, 571, being then in the service of al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil; and I found him to be a marvel for intelligence. He has reached the goal in the career of prose and of verse; the exquisite (*genius*) of the Arabic language has delivered to him a standard with its right hand, and he obtained from the affability of al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil a most favourable reception. The clay of his intelligence has been moulded by nature on (*the wheel of*) sagacity, and I have every hope that his rank in the (literary) art will be exalted highly; that, if his days be prolonged, he will obtain knowledge enough to satisfy his utmost wishes, and that, when his merit will be disengaged from (*the admixture of*) puerility, reflection will, with him, be watered by the fountain of knowledge, so that it may render abundant fruits and produce for him collars such as all

1 The sultān Salāḥ al-Dīn invaded Syria, A.H. 570, took Damascus and other cities and blockaded Aleppo. The Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil accompanied him. The place called Marj al-Dalhamiyah was probably in the neighbourhood of Aleppo.



would wish to possess". I may here add that Ja'far, the father of al-Qāḍi 'l-Sa'id, died towards the middle of Ramaḍān, 580 (December, A.C. 1184). I have since found in the handwriting of a friend who took interest in these matters that his death occurred on Tuesday, the 5th of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 592 (30th Oct., A.C. 1196), and that he was born towards the middle of Shawwāl, 525 (Sept., A.C. 1131). The poet and *kātib* Abu 'l-Makārim Hibat Allāh Ibn Wazir Ibn Muqallad, he whose name occurs in this article, is spoken of by 'Imād al-Dīn, who says, in his *Kharīdah*: "I went to Old Cairo in the year 576\* (A.C. 1180-1) and having enquired after him, was told that he was dead."

#### 745 HIBAT ALLĀH AL-BŪṢĪRĪ

Abu 'l-Qāsim, surnamed also Abu 'l-Karam Hibat Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Thābit Ibn Hāshim Ibn Ghālīb Ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī al-Khazraji, came of a family which inhabited al-Munastir, but was born in Egypt and there he resided. *Al-Būṣīrī* is the appellation by which he is generally known.<sup>1</sup> This *kātib* was well versed in (*Arabic*) literature; he knew also by heart a number of pieces which had been transmitted down from the ancients and taught some Traditions known only to himself. He thus formed an intermediate link in the chain by which the doctors who came after him were connected with those of ancient times, and, in the latter part

1 The author of the *Burīdah*, a celebrated poem in praise of Muḥammad, bore also the surname of *al-Būṣīrī*. His name and surname were Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd Ibn Ḥammād al-Ṣanhājī al-Dulast al-Būṣīrī. He was a native of Egypt, born, A.H. 608 (A.C. 1211), in one of the dependancies of al-Bahnasā. According to Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, in the 5th volume of the *al-Minhal al-Ṣāfi*, ms. of the *Bib. Imp. ancien fonds*, no. 751, fol. 128 *et seq.*, he died, A.H. 696 or 697, or, according to Ḥajjīl Khālifah, in the year 694 (1294-5). He descended from the Barbar tribe of Ṣanhājah and belonged probably, to the Ḥammād family which reigned over a part of North Africa from A.H. 308 (A.C. 1008) to A.H. 547 (A.H. 1152-3). The *Minhal al-Ṣāfi* gives some account of this poet.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives 596 (A.C. 1199-1200).—Ed.

of his life, he held (*as a traditionist*) a rank in which he had no equal. The system of *Qur'ān* reading followed by the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silaṭī (No. 43) and Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥātim al-Asadī was taught to him by Abū Ṣādiq Muṣṣid Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qāsim al-Madīnī (*a native of Madinah and*) *imām* of the Jā'mi' al-'Atīq (*the ancient mosque* in Old Cairo. Al-Buṣīrī was the last person who ever taught Traditions received orally from the above mentioned Abū Ṣādiq, from Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Umar, the *Qur'ān* reader of Moṣul and from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Barakāt Ibn Hilāl al-Sa'idī, the grammarian. He delivered also some Traditions on the authority of Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Sulṭān Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Musallam al-Maqdisī, and was the last survivor of all those who taught Traditions which they had learned from the lips of that doctor. People came from (*distant*) countries to hear him, and obtained from him a great quantity of information. His grandfather, Mas'ūd, had removed from al-Munastīr to Būṣīr, where he took up his residence, but, when his great abilities became known to the Egyptian government, he was called down to Old Cairo and appointed to draw up the official papers in the Correspondence office. His son 'Alī, the father of Abu 'l-Qāsim who is the subject of this article, was born in Old Cairo, in which city the family resided and had got into notice. Abu 'l-Qāsim bore the surname of Sayyid al-Ahl (*the chief of the family*), but he is better known as Hibat Allāh. He was born in Old Cairo, A.H. 506 (A.C. 1112-3), or, according to another statement, on Thursday, the 5th of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, 500 (28th June, A.C. 1107). He died in that city on the eve of the 2nd of *Ṣafar*, 598 (1st Nov., A.C. 1201) and was buried at the foot of Mount Muqatta'm. Yāqut al-Ḥamawī says, in his dictionary of places bearing similar names, that he died in the month of *Shawwāl*. *Khazraji* means *descended from al-Khazraj*, the brother of *al-Aws*. These two were the sons of Hārithah Ibn Thālabah Ibn 'Amr Muzayqiyā Ibn 'Amir Mā al-Samā. The remainder of this genealogical list is well known. Their mother's name was Qaylah قَيْلَة. It was among the descendants of these two that the Prophet found at Madinah his *Anṣār* (or first assistants). *Al-Munastīr*, a town in Ifriqiyah (*the*

1 The life of Yāqūt is given in this work

kingdom of Tunis) was founded by Harthamuh Ibn A'yan al-Hāshimī<sup>1</sup>, in the year 180 (A.C. 796-7). He had been appointed governor of that province by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and he arrived there on Thursday, the 3rd of the latter Rabi' 179 (26th June, A.C. 795). In the life of the amīr Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs (No. 123), reference is made to the present article. *Būšīr* (بوشير), called also *Būšīr Qūridus*, which last name is written either with a *k* (ك) or a *q* (ق), is a town in the province of al-Bahnasā, which is one of the countries included in the Ṣa'id (Upper Egypt). In the life of the *kātib* 'Abd al-Ḥamid (No. 380), we have spoken of another *Būšīr* situated in the province of al-Fayyūm. There is also a village near al-Jizah which is called *Būšīr al-Sidr*, and another in the canton of al-Samannūdiyah. We have thus four places of the same name and all of them situated in Egypt. *Al-Munastīr* lies between al-Mahdiyyah and Sūsah. It is a place of devotion to which pious men retire when they abandon the world for the service of God. It contains a number of castles resembling convents, all of which are surrounded by one wall<sup>2</sup>. These indications are taken from the work of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī.

#### 746 HIBAT ALLĀH IBN AL-TALMIDH

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh Ibn Abī Ḡhanā'im\* Ṣā'id Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Talimidh and the title of Amin al-Dawlah (*the trusty servant of the empire*), a Christian physician and was a native of Baghdād. The *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (No. 678) designates him, in the *Khariḍuh*, as the sulṭān of doctors, and praises him in the highest terms.

1 See Ibn Khaldūn's History of the Berbers, vol. 1, page 394 of the translation.

2 It is, or was, a Muslim ribāṭ, on a very extensive scale.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid inserts 'bn al-Talimidh al-Ṭabīb between Ḡhanā'im and Ṣā'id. --Ed.

science of medicine, he was for the whole world the point to which they had recourse ; he was the Hippocrates of the age, the Galen of the epoch ; his talents carried the medical science to the acme of perfection, none of the ancient doctors having reached the height to which he attained. His life was long and his days prosperous. When I saw him, he was an old man of a pleasing aspect, and the sweetness (*of character*) indicated by his looks was, on trial, found to be real. His mind was quick, his body graceful, his sentiments exalted, his thoughts aspiring, his sagacity felicitous and his judgement solid. He was the *elder* of the Christians, their priest, their head and their chief. His verses shine by their charming style, by the sweetness of the fruits gathered from them and by the admirable abundance (*of their thoughts*). Here is one of his pieces containing an enigmatical description of a balance :

'Tell me what is the thing which hears various names and gives a just measure for things on earth and for the heavens. It decides with equity and never uses deception. Though blind, it sets the spectator in the right ; it is dumb, but not from an accident or a malady, it announces by a sign its decisions, and answers, by rising and falling, the appeal of him who is in doubt. When suspended in air, it returns a clear reply' "

One of the *various names* to which the author alludes is *the balance of the sun*, by which is meant *the astrolabe* and other astronomical instruments, and which is also indicated by the words *giving a just measure for the heavens* ; the other names are the *balance of discourse*, that is to say, *grammar*, the *balance of poetry*, which means *prosody* and the *balance of ideas*, or *logic*. These are the things that are designated by the names of *balance*, *measure*, *cubit* and other terms besides. 'Imād al-Dīn then gives a number of passages taken from this author's poems, and some of them we shall notice. The article in which he speaks of the Christian physician Mu'tamid al-Mulk Abu 'l-Faraj Yahyā Ibn al-Talmidh<sup>1</sup>, contains these words: "When Abu 'l-Faraj died, he

1 This doctor practised in Baġhdād, with great reputation, towards the close of the fifth century of the Hijrah. This century ended A.H. 1106.

was replaced by his sister's son," the person of whom we are treating,—“who, for that reason, became known by the surname of his predecessor.” He (*Imād al-Dīn*) says, in the work entitled *Annūdhaj al-A'yān min shu'arā al-Zamān, etc., List of those eminent contemporary poets whom I have known or heard of*) “*Ibn al-Talmīdh* was versed in many sciences; he possessed a solid judgement and a powerful intellect. For a long time, he was in the service of the *khalīfs* and the kings; his conversation was more brilliant than molten gold or strings of pearls. I met with him at different times, towards the close of his life, and marvelled greatly that he, with his excellent judgement and extraordinary intelligence, should let himself be deprived of (*the blessings of*) Islāmism; but God, in His bounty, directeth whom He pleaseth and, through His resolve, He leadeth astray whom He pleaseth. In his epistolary compositions, his style was copious and exalted; by his verses, he placed himself among the great masters in poetry and took the place of honour”. He then gives some passages from his poems. *Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'l-Ḥazīrī*\* (*No. 242*) mentions him in the *Zinat al-Dahr* and gives some of his pieces, such as the following :

“O thou who hast launched against me, from the bow of departure, the arrow of separation (*whose wounds are so*) difficult to cure ! pardon the absence of him who is far from thee ; that absence is a fault which bears in itself its punishment.”

*Imād al-Dīn* cites the last of these verses in the *khurīdah*, as being the production of *Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥakīnā*<sup>1</sup>, and joins to it another which I here give :

“If he suffered no other punishment than thy departure from him, that alone would be sufficient.”

*Al-Ḥazīrī* attributes to him the following lines :

“I complained because thy image did not visit (*my slumbers*), and yet I was prevented from sleeping by my love (*for thee*). It at length paid me a visit of kindness and complained of my

<sup>1</sup> This is the same poet whose name is written *Jakīnā*, *No. 76n. and No. 510*. I am inclined to think that *Ḥakīnā* is the right name. See *No. 742. note.* *Abd al-Ḥamid* prefers *Jakīnā*.—Ed.

\* *Abd al-Ḥamid* gives *al-Kḥazīrī*.—Ed.

(not sleeping to receive it). Thus was fulfilled the proverb. *Dreams go by contraries.*"

'Imād al-Dīn says, in his *Kh̲arīdah*, amongst other things : Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Muḥallib told me that Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Talmīdh recited to him the following lines, declaring them to be of his own composing :

"The happy days of my youth were a (*prolonged*) intoxication ; but I then recovered and commenced to act as a virtuous man. I stopped to await (*the hour of*) death, like the traveller who, knowing the place (*to which he is going*), stops to pass the night at a distance from the (*regular*) halting-place."

The second of these verses is given by Ibn al-Munajjim<sup>1</sup> in the *Kitāb al-Bārī'*, where it is attributed to Muslim Ibn al-Walid (No. 10n.). Ibn al-Talmīdh must have therefore borrowed and inserted it among his own. Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥakīmā having fallen ill, was treated by Ibn al-Talmīdh ; on recovering he gave him some money and composed these lines :

Being, unwell, I went to be treated by him ; for maladies must be cured. He tended me and consoled me, till I was able to thank him as every man would do when delivered from his cares ; and I said : 'Since this doctor has treated me kindly and cured me, let theriac<sup>2</sup> be administered to him'."

He composed on the same person another piece expressing the same idea and which I give here :

"He was kind to his patient and saved him from death ; yet (*the sick man* : ) was so ill that they were on the point of swathing his legs together, (*for burial*)<sup>3</sup>. The person who keeps death away from another, inherits to share in that man's wealth."

He, one time, requested the same doctor to cross the Tigris for the purpose of treating him, and, in this written application, he said :

<sup>1</sup> His life will be found in No. 747.

<sup>2</sup> Various readings : ازرياج, زرياج, ذرياج. These words appear to be alterations of ترياق.

<sup>3</sup> This translation is merely conjectural.

"Imra al-Qays, when enamoured with her who rode in the palanquine was cured by an 'abrah (*by shedding a flood of tears*).<sup>1</sup> An 'abrah (*or crossing of the river*) would do me also good."

Ibn Ḥakīmā lost his sight towards the close of his life. He had then a quarrel with Ibn al-Talmīdh and, when (*the latter*) wished to make up with him, he addressed to him this line :

"If you wish to pacify Bashshār, the son of Burd (*No. 110*), throw upon him his father (*i.e. a cloak, burd*)."

On this, Ibn al-Talmīdh sent him what he asked for and regained his friendship. Many stories are related of what passed between them. Ibn Ḥakīmā mentioned the name of Bashshār Ibn Burd in the verse because Bashshār had not the use of his sight and he, being blind also, compared himself to that poet. The expression *throw upon him such a one* is in general use with the people of Baghdād : when a man wishes to make up with his adversary and the latter refuses, they say : "Throw such a one upon him ;" that is let such a one visit the adversary and intercede with him. In the verse is a *tawriyah* one thing being said and another meant. Here follows a well-known piece of which he (*Ibn al-Talmīdh*) is said to be the author, but I have found it attributed to al-Nāṣiḥ Ibn al-Dahhān, a grammarian, of Moṣul :

"Away with<sup>2</sup> reasoning ! (*see you not how*) the passion of love leads to judgments (*so wild that they*) cannot be brought into the road of common sense. Thus, people say of love, which is eternal, that it is a (*transitory*) accident, yet our bodies are annihilated under its influence."

The two following verses are by the same author, but 'Imād al-Dīn, in his *Khariḍah*, attributes them to Abū 'Alī 'l-Muhandis, a native of Egypt :

"My heart shares its love between a troop of beauties, to each of whom I am fondly attached. It is thus a centre of

1 Imra 'l-Qays says, in the fourth verse of of his *Mu'allaqah* : "a flood of tears is my cure."

2 I read تمس with the edition of Būlāq.

which they are the circumference, and each of my desires is a radius."

By the same :

"His liberality is a physician which cures our indispositions by a kind treatment. He is like mummy for a broken bone, and theriac for the bite of a serpent."

I have since found these two verses in the *diwān* of the poet Ibn Ḥajjāj (*No.* 186). The following lines were composed by him on his son Sa'id :

"My love for Sa'id is an enduring substance, his love for me a transitory accident. The six dimensions of my substance are occupied by him ; but he, though enclosed therein, is inclined to leave me for another."

Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Aflah, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*No.* 451), was cured of a disease under Ibn al-Talmidh's treatment : and, as the latter forbade him to take any other food than that which was prescribed to him, he addressed to him the following lines, complaining of hunger :

"I am hungry ; deliver me from starvation. A piece of bread, even a small morsel, would be my deliverance. Say not to me : 'Just now ! take patience ! I cannot have patience, even for an hour. Today, my empty stomach will hearken to no remonstrance against bread.' "

Ibn al-Talmidh, having read these verses, answered them by the following :

"It is thus that guests (*when furnished*) like me complain to each other of hunger ; yet I will not give you what is hurtful, remonstrate as you may ! Try and humour your appetite with panada ; that is better than a piece of bread. Answer, I beg of you, to what I prescribe by the words : *I hear and obey.*"

When Ibn Aflah received these lines, he wrote back the following answer :



"I shall endeavour to follow your prescription, but I cannot say with perfect *sincerity* : *I hear and obey*. By Allāh ! I have struggled against hunger, but am unable to repel it. Preserve me from its consequences by delivering me from the headache, which it gives."

Ibn al-Talmīdh replied by these lines :

"In poetry my talent is feeble and my abilities limited, whilst you have a genius naturally disposed for it and are skilled in that art. As long as you cannot bear with the pains of hunger, so long you will not be delivered from your headache. Therefore, let your *Bismillāh* (or *grace before meal*) be preceded by the taking of (*food*) an hour later.<sup>1</sup>"

Ibn al-Talmīdh and the celebrated physician Awḥad al-Zamān (*the pearl of the age*) Abul 'l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh Ibn Malkān<sup>2</sup>, the author of the philosophical treatise entitled *al-Mu'tabir* (*the worthy of notice*), looked on each other with feeling of jealousy and rivalry such as usually prevail between men who are eminent in the same profession. The anecdotes concerning the conferences and disputes are well known. Awḥad Al-Zamān was a Jew, but became a Muslim in his latter days. To cure himself of an elephantiasis, he let himself be bitten by vipers which he had kept, for some time without food ; and, after receiving a great number of bites, he was cured, but lost his sight. The history of this affair is well-known. Ibn al-Talmīdh composed on his rival the following epigram :

"Our friend, the Jew, is so filled (*fīhi*) with folly that it is manifested by his mouth (*fīhi*) every time he speaks. He talks at random (*yatīh*) ; not a dog but ranks higher than he ! one would think he had not yet got out of the Wilderness (Tih)."

1 The absurdity of this recommendation and the impossibility of fulfilling it imply that the patient should not take anything. I do not see any other way of explaining the passage.

2 Awḥad al-Zamān was the *khalīf* al-Mustanjid's physician. He composed a number of medical treatises. For a notice on this doctor see Westenfeld's *Arabische Aerzte*, No. 177.

Ibn al-Talmīdh was very modest, and Awḥad al-Zamān very presumptuous. This induced al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī (No. 742) to compose the following lines :

"The doctor Abu 'l-Ḥasan and his imitator, Abu 'l Barakāt, stand at opposite extremes : one, by his modesty, has reached the Pleiades, and the other, by his presumption, is in the lowest abyss."

Ibn al-Talmīdh composed some good works on medicine, one of which, the *Aqrābādīn* (*Antidotarium*) is a very useful treatise and serves as a practical guide to the physicians of our days. Another of his works, that which he composed on the *Kulliyāt*<sup>1</sup> of Ibn Sīnā (*Avicenna*) bears the title of *Kunnās wa Ḥawāṣṣ* (*compilation and glosses*)\*. The master under whom he made his medical studies was Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'id Ibn Hibat Allāh<sup>2</sup>, the author of some well-known medical works, such as the *Talkhīṣ* (*compendium*), the *Mughnī* (*sufficient*), in one volume, and the *Iqnā'* (*satisfactory*), in four volumes. Some persons found fault with these (*two last*) titles and said that they should have exchanged places, because *mughnī* signifies *what enables* to dispense with any thing and would have been an appropriate title for the larger work, whilst the term *iqnā'*, signifying *what furnishes a sufficiency*, was more suitable for a compendium. All the medical and literary works (composed by Ibn al-Talmīdh) are very good. His conduct was most regular and his gravity so remarkable that, it is said, in the frequent visits made by him to the palace of the *khalīfs*, he was never heard to utter a jest, except on one occasion. That was in the presence of the *khalīf* al-Muqtafī (*li-amr Allāh*). Here is what passed : A pension which had been assigned to him on the glass-bottle manufactory at Baghdād was stopped without the *khalīf's* knowledge, and, one day that he was with that prince, and intended to withdraw, he had great difficulty in getting up, by

1 *Kulliyāt* signifies *generalities* and, when employed as the title of a medical work, means *general principles of therapeutics*. Avicenna and Averroes composed each of them a *Kulliyāt*. In the old Latin translations, this word is rendered or rather transcribed by *colliget*.

2 The text reads *Hibat Allāh Ibn Sa'id* which is a fault. See Arabic Aerie, no. 143 and Ḥājjī Khalīfah's bibliographical Dictionary, tom. V, p. 653.

\* Two books and marginal notes on the *Kulliyāt* in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.

reason of his advanced age. On this, the khalif said: "Doctor! you are getting old": To which he replied: "It is true, my lord! my bottles are broken." This expression is employed by the people of Baghdād to indicate that a man is old. When the khalif heard these words from the doctor's lips, he said: "During all the time he has been in our service I never heard him utter a pleasantry." Enquiries being then made into the affair, led to the discovery that his pension on the bottle manufactory had been suppressed. The khalif, being informed of the circumstance, gave orders that the pension should be restored to him and granted him another besides. It had been suppressed by the Wazir 'Awn al-Dīn Ibn Hubayrah. The anecdotes related of this doctor are very numerous. He died at Baghdād in the month of Ṣafar, 560 (Dec.-Jan., A. C. 1164-5), aged nearly one hundred years. In the historical work of Ibn Zulāq\* al-Fāriqī it is stated that Ibn al-Talmīdh died on Christmas day and that he was acquainted with more sciences than any other man. All those who inhabited Baghdād, either on one side (*of the river*) or on the other, went with his corpse to the church and attended the funeral; not one of them stayed away. This article contains only one name the orthography of which requires to be marked; it is Malkān, that which was borne by the grandfather of Awhād al-Zamān. In the life of Ibn al-Jawālīqī (*No. 724*) we have related a scene which passed between him and Ibn al-Talmīdh in the presence of the khalif al-Muqtafi. My article on Amin al-Dawlah Ibn al-Talmīdh was finished when I met with a book in the handwriting of my professor, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Yūsuf, and drawn up by him in the form of an autobiography<sup>1</sup>. Towards the commencement of this work, he describes Ibn al-Talmīdh as being possessed of great learning and skill in medicine. He then says<sup>2</sup>: "One of his (*remarkable cures*) was this: A woman was carried to him in such a state that her

1 See de Sacy's *Relation de l'Egypte*, par 'Abd al-Latif, page 458.

2 Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'ah gives some long extracts from 'Abd al-Latif's autobiography, but has purposely omitted what concerned Ibn al-Talmīdh. See de Sacy's 'Abd al-Latif, p. 461. I may here observe that Ibn Khalikān was about twenty-one years of age when his professor 'Abd al-Laṭīf died.

\* Al-Azraq in 'Abd al-Ḥamid—Ed.

family did not know whether she was living or dead. Though it was then in the depth of winter, he had her stripped and submitted to a prolonged affusion of cold water. He then ordered her to be carried into a warm room, which had been fumigated with aloes-wood and other perfumes. They covered her with a quantity of furred cloaks and, some time after, she sneezed and began to move; then she sat up and was able to go home on foot with her people. Another time, they brought to him a man who sweated blood in the summer season. He asked his pupils, who were about fifty in number, if they knew what that malady was, but none of them could tell. He ordered the patient to eat barley bread with roasted love-apples. The sick man did so for three days and recovered. The pupils asked their master what the malady was and he replied: 'The man's blood had got thin and the pores of his body were much opened; now, the virtue of this regimen is, to thicken the blood and to close the pores.' To give an idea of his disinterestedness, we may mention that the rear of his house was contiguous to the Nizāmiyah college and, when any of the law students was taken ill, he had him brought to his house and took care of him, till he was cured and able to return." Before this, our professor, Muwaffaq al-Dīn ('*Abd al-Latīf*') says: "I profited greatly under the tuition of this Amin al-Dawlah's son. He lived nearly eighty years. His great experience and his profound acquaintance with the secrets of the human constitution were such that he could discern every malady as clearly as if he saw it through a pane of glass; and he had never the least hesitation in deciding on its nature and mode of treatment. He usually prescribed simple remedies or such as were but slightly compounded; and he thought no one worthy of practising medicine but himself. He used to say: 'A prudent man should wear such clothes as may not draw upon him the envy of the lower order or the contempt of the higher.' So he wore white clothes of a fine quality." He ('*Abd al-Latīf*') then adds: "This (*doctor*) was strangled in the court of his house, in the first third of the night<sup>1</sup>; he became a Muslim before his death. I have often regretted his loss".

<sup>1</sup> Here the text appears to be corrupt. [Probably he was misled by دهليز meaning portico for which he writes court].—Ed.

## 747 HĀRŪN IBN 'ALĪ 'I-MUNAJJIM

Abū 'Abd Allāh Hārūn, the son of 'Alī, the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim (*the astrologer*), was an accomplished scholar and a native of Baghdād. We have already spoken of his son 'Alī (*No. 444*). Hārūn was a ḥāfiẓ knowing by heart and able to repeat a great quantity of poems. His conversation was agreeable and his social talents highly pleasing. The *Kitāb al-Bārī* (the *book of surpassing excellence*), a work composed by him on the *muwallad* (or *Muslim*)<sup>1</sup> poets, contains one hundred and sixty-one articles. It begins with a notice on Baḥshār Ibn Burd al-'Uqaylī (*No. 110*), ends with an account of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣāliḥ<sup>2</sup> and offers the finest passages composed by these poets. The author says, towards the beginning of the work; "In writing this book on the history of the *muwallad* poets, I inserted such pieces of their poetry as I myself had chosen, and, in making that selection, I proceeded with the utmost care and after the best of my knowledge. The learned say that a man's intelligence is indicated by what he chooseth, and that the faculty of choosing well proceedeth from the abundance of the understanding. Some of them also have said: A man's poetry is a part of his discourse, the opinion he professes is a part of his understanding, and his faculty of choosing is a part of his (*acquired*) knowledge." In this strain, he goes on to a considerable length and then informs us that this work was abridged from another which he had compiled on the same subject and which he reduced to its present dimensions by making suppressions. It is really a very useful work because it does away with the necessity of procuring the (*diwān* or *collected works*) of all the poets which it mentions. The fact is that the author, in making his abridgment, retained the cream of their verses and rejected the froth. In the life of the *kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn (*No. 678*), we have indicated this work as the main stem of

1 See No. 91, note.

2 In the year 190 of the Hijrah (A.C. 811-2), Muḥammad, the son of 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣāliḥ the 'Abbasid, was named governor of Mesopotamia and Syria by the *khalīf* al-Amin. (*Nujūm*).

several branches, namely the *Khariḍah*, the treatise of al-Ḥazirī (No. 242), that of al-Bākhārī (No. 450) and that of al-Tha'ālibī (No. 365). It was the model after which they all composed theirs. Another of Ibn al-Munajjim's works is the *Kitāb al-Nisā* (*book of women*). It contains the anecdotes related of them and the elegant passages in prose and verse of which women were the subject. I am unable to give here any of his own verses, having never met with any of them. In the *Kitāb al-Bārī*, he inserted an article on his father Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā, with extracts from his poems and, immediately after, he gives notice on his brother Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī with a series of extracts. These we need not insert here, as they will be found in our article on Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī. Abu 'Aḥd Allāh Hārūn Ibn al-Munajjim died in the year 288 (A.C. 901), at an early age. His great grandfather, Abū Maṣṣūr, was astrologer to the *khalīf* Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and, in religion, a fire-worshipper. His son Yaḥyā was attached to the service of *Uḥu'*l-Riyāsatayn al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl (No. 504), and his astrological indications always regulated the actions of that wazīr. After al-Faḍl's catastrophe, an event of which we have already spoken (No. 504), Yaḥyā became al-Māmūn's astrologer and boon companion. The pressing instances of that *khalīf*, who had chosen him for his favourite and friend, induced him to turn Muslim, and his profession of the Muḥammadan faith, made to al-Māmūn, rendered him the *mawla*<sup>1</sup> of that prince. The Munajjim family produced a number of men who rose to eminence by their abilities, their literary acquirements and their talent for poetry. All of them were admitted into the intimacy of the (*reigning*) *khalīfs* and became their boon companions. Al-Tha'ālibī has devoted a whole section of his *Yatimah* to the members of this family and notices a great number of them. The above mentioned Yaḥyā died at Aleppo when al-Māmūn was going on his expedition to Ṭarsūs. He was buried in the Quraysh cemetery of that city, and his tomb, with his name inscribed on it, is there still to be seen.

---

<sup>1</sup> See vol. III, Introduction.

## 748 HISHĀM IBN 'URWAH

Abu 'l-Mundhir Hishām al-Asadī was the son of 'Urwah, the son of al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwām. We have already spoken of his father (No. 391). Hishām was one of the most distinguished Tābi'is of Madinah, and transmitted down a great quantity of Traditions. He ranked among the most eminent of the learned (*in the Law*) and was considered as one of the principal Tābi'is. He belonged to the fourth generation of those who inhabited Madinah. Traditions were taught to him orally by his uncle 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr (*the antikhālif*) and by Ibn 'Umar (No. 243n.). He saw Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī (No. 394n.), Anas Ibn Mālik (No. 539n.), and Sahl Ibn Sa'd<sup>1</sup>. According to another statement, he saw Ibn 'Umar but did not hear any Traditions from him. Traditions were taught on his authority by Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id al-Anṣārī (No. 524n.), Sufyān al-Thawrī (No. 248), Mālik Ibn Anas (No. 524), Ayyūb al-Sikḥṭiyānī<sup>2</sup>, Ibn Jurayj (No. 350), 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Umar<sup>3</sup>, al-Layth Ibn Sa'd (No. 523), Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynā' (No. 255), Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān (No. 586n.), Waki' (No. 149n.) and others. He went to Kūfah, in the reign of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and delivered Traditions to the people of that city. His birth took place A.H. 61 (A.C. 680-1). Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Dhuhli<sup>4</sup> states that (*the khalif*) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, al-Zuhri (No. 537), Qatādah (No. 516) and al-A'mash (No. 253) were born on or about the day in which al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, was slain. This occurred on the (*festival*) day of 'Āshūrah, A.H. 61 (10th Oct., A.C. 680). He went to visit al-Manṣūr, at Baghdād, and died there in the year 146 (A.C. 763-4), or in 145 or 147, according to other statements. The funeral service was said over

1 Sahl Ibn Sa'd al-Sa'idī, one of Muḥammad's Companions and a native of Madinah, delivered upwards of one hundred and eighty Traditions relating to his master. He died at Madinah, A.H. 88 (A.C. 707). Nawawī's *Tahdhib al-Asmā*. The note No. 738 ought to be suppressed.

2 Abū Bakr Ayyūb Ibn Kisīn al-Sikḥṭiyānī a native of Baṣrah and a Traditionist of good authority, died A.H. 114 (A.C. 732-3), aged seventy-three years.—(*Dhahabī's Tabaqāt al-Huffāz*.)

3 'Ubayd Allāh, the son of the *khalif* 'Umar, was slain A.H. 37 (A.C. 657), at the battle of Ṣiffin. (*Tahdhib, Huffāz*.)

4 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī al-Dhuhli died A.H. 293 (A.C. 905-6). (*Nujūm*.)

him by al-Manṣūr, and he was buried in the Khayzūrān cemetery, on the eastern side (*of the Tigris*). Some say, however, that he was interred on the western side, without the wall (*of the city*), near the gate of Quṭrubbul, beyond the ditch, and higher up than the cemetery of the Ḥarb gate. His tomb (*they say*) is still to be seen there and is well-known. It is covered with a flat stone on which is inscribed: *This is the tomb of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah*. The persons who state that he was buried on the eastern side say that the tomb on the western is that of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah al-Marwazī, a disciple of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (*No. 300*). God knows best! He left posterity at Madīnah and Baṣrah. The Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) relates as follows, in his History of Baghdād. "Al-Manṣūr said to him one day: 'Abu 'l-Mundhir! do you remember when I and my brothers, the legitimate heirs to the khalīfate, went to visit you, and we found you drinking ptisan through a hollow reed? When we left you, our father said to us: 'Appreciate well the merit of this old man; he will never cease to be of your party, come what may!' Hishām replied: 'Commander of the faithful! I do not remember that.' When he withdrew, some one said to him: '(How simple you are) to acknowledge that you do not remember a thing which the khalīf mentioned to you and which would ensure you his favour!' He answered: 'I did not recollect it, and my veraciousness cannot but obtain recompense from God.'" It is related that he went to visit al-Manṣūr and said to him: "Commander of the faithful! deliver me from my debts." Al-Manṣūr asked him how much he owed and, being told one hundred thousand (*dirhams*)<sup>1</sup> he exclaimed: "How could you, with all your learning in the law and all your merit, contract a debt of one hundred thousand (*dirhams*) without having the means of paying it?" He replied: "Commander of the faithful! some of my boys were grown up and, being afraid of incurring the disagreeable necessity of answering for their conduct, I constructed for them separate dwellings and made marriage feasts to get rid of them: being assured that God and the Commander of the faithful would come to my assistance." The khalīf continued to repeat the words: "*One hundred thousand!*"<sup>2</sup>

1 About two thousand pounds sterling.

2 Al-Manṣūr was notorious for his avarice.



as if he found the sum enormous, and at length said: "I shall give you ten thousand." "Commander of the faithful!" said Hishām, "give me whatever sum you can bestow with good will; I heard my father relate that our blessed Prophet said: 'When a gift is bestowed and leaves the mind satisfied, the donor and the receiver obtain equally the blessing of God'". The khalif replied: "I shall then bestow what will leave my mind satisfied." Hishām sprung forward to kiss his hand, but the other prevented him and said: "Son of 'Urwah! we esteem you so highly that we will not let you kiss it, and we esteem it, so highly that we do not allow it to be kissed by others." The anecdotes related of Hishām Ibn 'Urwah are very numerous.

#### 749 HISHĀM IBN AL-KALBĪ

The genealogist Abu 'l-Mundhir Hishām Ibn Abi 'l-Naḍr Muḥammad, Ibn al-Sā'ib Ibn Bishr Ibn 'Amr al-Kalbī was a native of Kūfah. We have already spoken of his father (No. 608) and related what passed between him and the poet al-Farasaḍ. Traditional information, learned from his father, was handed down by his son al-'Abbās and some others, amongst whom were Khalifah Ibn Khayyāt (No. 207), Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd *Kātib al-Wāqidi* (No. 619), Muḥammad Ibn Abi Sarī al-Baghdādī<sup>1</sup> and Abu 'l-Ash'ath Aḥmad Ibn al-Miqdām<sup>2</sup>. In the science of genealogy he was the most learned of men, and his *Jamharat al-Nisab* (or *collection of genealogies*) is one of the best works ever composed on the subject. As a *ḥāfiẓ* (No. 31), he bore a high reputation. The Khaṭīb (No. 33) says, in his History of Baghdād, that Hishām went to that city and taught Traditions there. He states also

1 Muḥammad Ibn Abi Sarī al-Mutawakkil al-Asqalānī (a native of Ascalon) and designated by Ibn Khallikān as a native of Baḡhdād, was considered by the ablest critics in the History of the Traditions as a sure authority. He died A.H. 228 (A.H. 842-3), at Ascalon. (*Huffāẓ*, *Nujūm*.)

2 Aḥmad Ibn al-Miqdām, belonged to the tribe, of 'Ijl. This Traditionist died A.H. 253 (A.C. 867).(*Nujūm*.)

that he said: "I have learned by heart more than any man ever did, and forgotten more than any other man. Being reproached by my uncle for not knowing the *Qur'ān* by heart, I went into a room and swore not to leave the place till I had committed that book to memory, and I accomplished the task in three days. I looked at myself, one day, in a mirror, and grasped my beard with the intention of cutting it off from below my clenched hand, and I cut it off from above it!". A great number of treatises were composed by him, such as the *Ḥilf* (or pact) made by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib with the tribe of *Khuzā'ah*, the *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl* (confederation made between the *Faḍls*)<sup>2</sup>, the *Ḥilf* (or confederation) formed between (the tribes of) Tamim and Kalb, the *Kitāb al-Munāfarāt* (contestations between rivals who vaunt the glory of their respective families), the *Kitāb Buyūtāt Quraysh* (on the illustrious families of the tribe of Quraysh), the *Kitāb Faḍā'il Qays 'Aylān* (on the eminent merit of the families descended from Qays 'Aylān) the *Kitāb al-Maw'ūdāt* (on the girls buried alive)<sup>3</sup> on the illustrious houses (*Buyūtāt*) of the tribe of Rabī'ah, the *Kitāb al-Kunā* (on by-names), a work on the noble deeds of Quṣayyī and his descendants in the times of Ignorance and of Islāmism; the *Kitāb alqāb Quraysh* (the usual surnames among the Qurayshites), the *Kitāb alqāb al-Yaman* (the usual surnames among the Yamanites), the *Kitāb al-Maḥālib* (book of upbraidings), the *Kitāb al-Nawāfil* (on gifts), the *Kitāb liddai'āi Ziyād Mu'āwiyah* (on Ziyād's claim of relationship to Mu'āwiyah)<sup>4</sup>, the History of Ziyād Ibn Abih, the *Kitāb ṣanā'ia*

1 *Ḥishām* meant to indicate by this that his sight was weakened by excessive study. It was customary with men of learning not to let their beards grow longer than the breadth of the hand.

2 The confederation of the *Faḍls* was formed at Makkah, A.C. 595. for the purpose of protecting strangers who came to that city. This association maintained its influence till the middle of the first century of the Hijrah. Muḥammad entered into it at the age of twenty-five years. (Essai, etc., de M.C. de Perceval, tom. I, p. 330 et suiv.)

3 Female infanticide was common with the Arabs till abolished by Muḥammad. He alludes to the practice in the *Qur'ān*. sūrah lxxxi, verse 8.

4 Ziyād, a bastard son of Abū Sufyān, was legitimated by his half-brother, the Khalīf Mu'āwiyah, in the forty-fourth year of the Hijrah. Till that time, he was generally called Ziyād Ibn Abih, i.e., Ziyād, the son of his (unknown) father.

*Quraysh* (the generous deeds of the Qurayshites), the *Kitāb al-Mushājarāt* (book of contestations), the *Kitāb al-Mu'atabūt* (the book of reproaches), the *Kitāb mulūk al-Ṭawā'if* (on the provincial kings)<sup>1</sup>, the *Kitāb mulūk Kindah* (on the kings of the tribe of Kindah), the *Kitāb Iftirāq walad Nizār*, (the dispersion of the posterity of Nizār), the *Kitāb tafriq Azd* (the dispersion of the sons of Azd), the *Kitāb Ṭasm wa Jadis* (on the ancient tribes of Ṭasm and Jadis). His works are upwards of one hundred and fifty in number. The best and the most instructive is that which is generally known by the title of *al-Jamharah* (the collection) of genealogical information; the like of it was never composed on the subject. He drew up a genealogical work entitled *al-Manzil* (the station), which was more extensive than the *Jamharah*. His *Mūjaz* (abridgment)<sup>2</sup> treats also of genealogies. The *Farid* (precious pearl) on the same subject, was composed by him for al-Māmūn, and the *Mulūkī* (or imperial) another genealogical work, was drawn up by him for Ja'far Ibn Yahyā the Barmakide. The quantity of his narrations concerning the battle-days and the history of the (Arabian) people is very considerable. Here is one of these pieces: The sons of Umayyah assembled at the house of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān, and reproached him for the preference he gave to 'Amr Ibn 'Aṣī and for acknowledging (as his brother) Ziyād Ibn Abih. Mu'āwiyah replied to them and then pushed 'Amr on to speak. In this discourse 'Amr said<sup>3</sup>: "I am he who pronounced these lines at the battle of Ṣiffin:

1 This term usually designates the successor of Alexander the Great and the Arsacides. After the fall of the Umayyid dynasty in Spain, the governors of the cities and provinces became independent and were also designated as the *kings of peoples or provincial kings*.

2 According to another reading: *al-Mu'akhkhār* (the final) المُوخَّر in place of المُوْجَز.

3 We possess very few specimens of discourses in prose, pronounced in the first century of the Hijrah. This piece is remarkable for that reason, and is highly characteristic of its author. The grammarians and philologists of later times must have prized it as literary curiosity, for it offers a fair sample of the quaint, pretentious and rhythmical style which was so common during and before the time of Muhammad. The Arabs could then express their ideas very well in verse, but were singularly awkward and affected in their prose compositions. As a prose-writer Muhammad excelled them all.

"When other looked askance, I blinked not ; then I partially closed my eyes, but not in winking (*at the sight of danger*). You saw me return (*to the charge*) and continue to dash forward. I support (*equally well*) good and evil, and am inexorable, like the serpent at the foot of the tree."

"By Allāh ! I am neither languid nor feeble. I am the deaf snake from whose bite none can recover, and whose sting renders a man sleepless. I am one who shatters when he strikes; who cooks well whatever he heats. Let him who pleases consult (*me*) ; let him who wishes ask (*my*) advice (*he will find it good*). O ! if they saw what I witnessed on the battle-day of al-Hārīr<sup>1</sup>: if they faced what I faced, they would have found the outlet too narrow (*for their escape*). 'The road would have appalled them when ('Ali) the father of al-Ḥasan dashed down upon us, having on his right and on his left men of action and of prudence, noble companions ; there, by Allāh ! the eyes were staring, the mischief (*of war*) was exalted, and se subdixerunt colei usque ad renes.\* There were drawn the lots which rendered mothers childless and made them forget what they were bearing (*in the womb*); the pupils of the eye were turned red, the horizon was clouded with dust, the (*ocean of*) sweat came up to the mouth, blood flowed in torrents, the dust flew aloft, the brave stood firm, the cowards drew back, the voices were extinguished, the lips were foaming, and numerous were the struggles hand to neck. War was thus set on its legs ; the time of departure (*from life*) ; arrived : the combatants struck each other with the scabbards of their swords, after using all their arrows and splintering their lances. On that day, nothing was heard but the shouts of the men and the neighing of the horses. Swords fell upon heads as the bat of washerman falls on the trestle. That lasted<sup>2</sup> for a day, till night came on with its darkness, and till

1 The Persian army was defeated at al-Qādisiyah after a battle which lasted three days. One of those conflicts was called *the night of growling* (*laylat al-Ḥarīr*).

2 The true pronunciation of the word نَدَاب is uncertain, the diacritical points varying in the manuscripts and the printed editions. The meaning here given to it is quite conjectural.

\* English : Testicles drew together to kidneys (*out of fear*).—Ed.

morning was enlightened by the dawn. Then nothing remained of the conflict but groans and cries; for the enemy had learned that I was the first of you all in bravery, the ablest in efforts and the steadiest in defending the standard. To me, when compared with you, may well be applied these words of the poet :

'I shut my eyes on certain acts, and if I choose to mention them, I should leave no room for peacemaking. If the tree of my (*honour*) be of gold, should I not respect it more than to place it in competition with common weeds?' "

We still possess much of the Traditional information which came down from him. He died in the year 204 (A.C. 819-820), or, by another account, in 206. The first is most probably the correct date.

#### 750 HISHĀM AL-ḌARIR, THE GRAMMARIAN

Abū 'Abd Allāh Hishām\*al-Ḍarir (*the blind*) grammarian, was a native of Kūfah and a disciple of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah al-Kisā'i (No. 408), from whom he received a great quantity of grammatical information. One of his treatises on this subject is even attributed to al-Kisā'i. He composed many grammatical works, such as the *Kitāb al-Hudūd* (*on definitions*), which is a short treatise, the *Mukhtaṣar* (*or abridgment*) and the *Kitāb al-Qiyās* (*on analogies*). Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣ'ab<sup>1</sup> had, one day, with (*the khalif*) al-Māmūn, a conversation in which committed a fault of grammar. Perceiving that the *khalif* started at him, he knew what that meant and, on retiring he went to study grammar under the tuition of Hishām. According to Abū Mālik al-Kindī, this grammarian died in the year 209 (A.C. 824-5).

<sup>1</sup> Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣ'ab, a nephew of the celebrated Ṭābir Ibn al-Ḥusayn, governor of *Khurāsān*, was governor of *Baghdad* under al-Māmūn and other *Khalifs*. He died A.H. 235 (A.C. 849-50). (*Nujūm*.)

\* In 'Abd al-Ḥamid : Son of Mu'āwiyah. — Ed.

## 751 AL-FARAZDAQ, THE POET

Abū Firās Hammām, or Humaym, in the diminutive form, according to Ibn Qutaybah, (*No. 306*), in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*, was the son of Ghālib surnamed Abu 'l-Akḥṭal, the son of Ṣa'sa'ah, the son of Nājiyah, the son of 'Iqāl, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Sufyān, the son of Mujāshi', the son of Dārim, whose true name was Byhr, the son of Mālik, surnamed 'Awf (*host*) for his generosity, the son of Ḥanzalah the son of Mālik\*, the son of Zayd Manāt, the son of Tamīm, the son of Murr. This celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamīm was generally known by the appellation of al-Farazdaq and by his fellowship with Jarīr (*No. 127*). His father, Ghālib, was one of the most eminent chiefs of the tribe. His mother, Laylā, was the daughter of Ḥābis and the sister of al-Aqra' Ibn Ḥābis<sup>1</sup>. He (*Ghālib*) was famous for noble acts and renowned for praise-worthy deeds. Here is an example of his generosity: The inhabitants of Kūfah were afflicted by a famine whilst he was there, and most of them retired into the country (*among the nomadic tribes*). Ghālib was the chief of one tribe and Suḥaym Ibn Waṭṭīl al-Riyāḥī was at the head of another (*the Banū Riyāḥ*). The refugees (*of Kūfah*) assembled at a place called *Ṣaw'ar* situated in the outskirts of (*the desert of*) al-Samāwah, in the territory of (*the*) Kalb (*tribe*) and at a day's journey from Kūfah. The first syllable of *Ṣaw'ar* is to be pronounced with an *a* and the second begins with an *ā*. Ghālib slew a female camel for his people and prepared a repast with the flesh. To the persons of consequence belonging to the tribe of Tamīm he presented large dishes filled with *ṭharīd* (*bread steeped in broth*), but Suḥaym, to whom he sent one dish, upset it and beat him who brought it, saying: "Do I stand in need of a repast from Ghālib? as often as he slays a female camel, I shall slay another." A contest of rivalry then ensued, and Suḥaym slew a female camel for his

1 Al-Aqra' Ibn Ḥābis, a brave cavalier of the tribe of Tamīm, was one of Muḥammad's Companions, and one of the chiefs who revolted against Abū Bakr, on Muḥammad's death. He afterwards made his submission and commanded the van of the army with which Khalīd Ibn al-Walīd attacked the Persian empire. (Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, etc., tome III; Ibn Durayd's *Ishṭīlqāq*.)

\* Omitted in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

people. The next morning, Ghālib killed two, and Suḥaym killed also two for his people. The next day, each of them killed three. On the fourth day, Ghālib slew one hundred, and Suḥaym, not having so many at hand, slew none and concealed in his mind (*the jealousy which he felt*). When the famine was over, the people of Kūfah returned to the city and Banū Riyāḥ said to Suḥaym: "You have brought down upon us everlasting disgrace! Why did you not kill as many as he? For every camel you slew, we should have given you two." He excused himself by saying that his camels were absent, and (*soon after*) he killed three hundred and said to the people: "Here is for you; eat!" This passed in the khalīfate of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and he (*All*) being consulted on the lawfulness of eating that flesh, made answer: "To eat it is contrary to law, because the animals were not killed for eating but through another motive; namely, vain glory and ostentation." So the flesh was cast into the place (*kunāsah*) where the sweepings and dirt of Kūfah were deposited, and it remained there till eaten by dogs, eagles and vultures. The history of this occurrence is well-known, as it gave rise to a number of poems. One of them was composed by Jarīr, in the form of a satire on Farazdaq and contains a verse often quoted by grammarians in their treatises, to exemplify a rule, and which we here give:

"Sons of Dawṭarā! you count as your best title to glory the slaying of old camels, since you cannot (*boast of slaying warriors*) equipped in helm and mail!"

This idea was borrowed by al-Mahel\*<sup>2</sup>, a member of the tribe called the Banī Qaṭan Ibn Nahshal, and expressed by him in the following terms:

1 The grammarians, notice this verse because it offers an example of the particle *law-lā* followed immediately by a noun in the accusative. They get over the difficulty by saying that a verb is to be understood. See de Sacy's edition of the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Mālik, page 178, and Ibn 'Aqīl's Commentary on the *Alfiyah*, page 230 of the Bulāq edition. The word *ḍawṭara* signifies a heavy, good for nothing man.

2 The orthography of this name is doubtful.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: al-Mujallā.—Ed.

"I was rejoiced that (*the tribe of*) Mujāshi' could put forward no other claim to honour than the slaying of old camels at Ṣaw'ār."

The Ghālib here spoken of was blind of an eye. The Ṣuḥaym above-mentioned was the son of Wathīl Ibn 'Amr Ibn Juwayn Ibn Wuhayb Ibn Ḥimayr, and the author of this (*well-known*) verse :

"I am the son of Jalā, the climber of mountains ; when I take off my turban (*and veil*), you shall know me<sup>1</sup>."

This verse is part of a poem<sup>2</sup>. The poetical works (*of Ṣuḥaym*) have been collected and form a small (*dīwān*) ; *Wathīl* (*as a common noun*) means *a weak rope*, or, according to some, *the fibres of the date tree*<sup>3</sup>. Al-Farazdaq had so great a respect for the tomb of his father that, when any person invoked its protection, he would go to his assistance and help him to obtain what he wanted. As an instance of this, we shall here give an anecdote inserted by al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*) in his *Kāmil* : Tamīm Ibn Zayd al-Qaynī, having been appointed to the government of Sind by al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf al-Ṭhaqafi (*No. 144*), entered into Baṣrah (*for the purpose of levying troops*), and took off with him as many of the inhabitants as he pleased. An old woman then went to al-Farazdaq and said : "I have invoked the protection of your father's tomb ; here are some of the pebbles (*which cover it*)." He asked her what she wanted and she replied : "Tamīm, the son of Zayd, has carried off my son, the sole delight of my eyes, the only one who procures me subsistence." "What is his name?" said he. She answered : "His name is *Khunaysh*\*." He immediately wrote to Tamīm the following lines and sent them off by a person who was going (*to join him*) :

1. This verse is cited by al-Jawharī, in the *Ṣalāḥ* and by Ibn Hishām in the *Mughnī 'l-Labīb*. The celebrated general, al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf, applied it to himself in his harangue to the people of Kūfah. See Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome I, page 201.

2 The rest of this poem is given by al-Suyūṭī in his *Sharḥ Shawḥid il-Mughnī*, MS of the Bibl, Imp, no. 1238, fol. 105.

3 According to al-Suyūṭī, this name is of the diminutive form and should be pronounced *Wuthayl*.

\* '*Khunays*' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.



"Tamim, son of Zayd ! let not this request be neglected and let not its answer be delayed. Restore me Khunaysh ; I shall consider it as a great favour ; such is the interest I take in a (*poor*) mother who can no longer enjoy her food. She came to me, O Tamim ! and invoked the tomb of Ghālib, that grave over which the winds sweep the dust. All people know that you are truly generous and, when the fire of war is lighted, brave as a lion."

When Tamim received this letter, he had doubts whether the name was Khunaysh or Hubaysh, and gave orders to see if it was inscribed on the roll of the army. Six names were found ; some of them Khunaysh and the others Hubaysh ; so, he sent all those men to the poet. Al-Farazdaq and Nuṣayb<sup>1</sup>, a well known poet, were one day in the presence-chamber of Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyid khalif, who said to the former : "Recite me something ;" expecting to hear an eulogium on himself. Al-Farazdaq pronounced the following lines in praise of his own father :

"How often (*was seen*) a band of travellers on whom the wind, (*fatigued*) with bearing along the (*heavy*) clouds, seemed to be wreaking its vengeance. In their nocturnal journey, they struggled against the blast which enveloped them, (*and tried to get*) at the water-skins attached to the saddles on which their baggage was tied<sup>2</sup>. When they saw the light of a fire, they would exclaim : "May it be the one (*we hope for*) ! and already, the (*hospitable*) fire of Ghālib was close at hand."

Sulaymān turned away from him, as if displeased, and Nuṣayb then said : "Commander of the faithful ! permit me to recite to you a piece in the same rhyme as that which you have heard and, perhaps, not inferior to it in merit." "Let us have it," said the khalif, and the poet recited as follows :

"I said to the caravan which I met coming from the watering-place, (*situated*) behind Dhāt Awshāl : 'May the Lord provide for you<sup>3</sup> ! Stop and give me news of Sulaymān ; for he (*always*) seeks

1 See note on Nuṣayb that follows.

2 This translation of two very obscure verses is merely conjectural.

3 This meaning of the second hemistich is very doubtful.

inhabitants of Waddān on whom he may bestow his gifts<sup>1</sup>; They turned, (towards me) and praised him as he had deserved; had they even remained silent, their (well-filled) saddle-bags had sufficed for his eulogium."

Sulaymān then said to al-Farazdaq: "What think you of that?" The other replied: "He is the best poet of his race," and, on rising up, repeated this line:

"The best poetry comes from men of noble race; the worst proceeds from slaves."

Nuṣayb was a black slave, belonging to a man who was an inhabitant of Wādī 'l-Qurā<sup>2</sup>. He bound himself by a written contract (to purchase his liberty)<sup>3</sup>, and (the Umayyad prince) 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwān, in whose honour he composed some verses, bought (of the former master) the right of patronage. Nuṣayb was surnamed Abu'l-Ḥajnā, or, according to some, Abu 'l-Miḥjan<sup>4</sup>. Al-Farazdaq composed a great number of pieces in which he

1 The observation in the preceding note applies equally to this hemistich.

2 A fertile and well-inhabited valley, on the road leading from Madīnah to Syria.

3 For the nature of the bond called *kltāb*, see d'Ohsson's *Tableau general de l'Empire ottoman*, tome VI, page 35.

4 The poet Nuṣayb Ibn Riyāḥ, generally known by the surname of Abū Miḥjan (*the man with the crook*), was a black slave. He was present at the battle of al-Qādisiyyah and, according to the author of the *Nujūm*, was enfranchised by the *ḫalīf* 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān. He went to see that prince and, being asked by him what he wanted replied: "I am a slave." 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered appraisers to estimate his value. They answered: "He is a black slave, hardly worth one hundred *dīnārs* (forty pounds sterling)." "Yes," said Abū Miḥjan, speaking of himself, "but he is a shepherd and well understands the management of a flock." On this, they said: "Two hundred *dīnārs*." "Yes" said the other, "but he can shape arrows and fledge them." Three hundred *dīnārs*. "Yes, but he shoots well and hits the mark." "Four hundred *dīnārs*," "Yes, but he is a reciter of poems." "Five hundred *dīnārs*." He then addressed the *ḫalīf* in these terms: "May God favour the Commander of the faithful! where is my handsel"? The prince gave him one thousand *dīnārs*, purchased his mother and all the family, and granted them their liberty. According to the *Nujūm*, in which this anecdote is given, Abū Miḥjan died A.H. 108 (A.C. 726-7). Some account of his is given in the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1841.

extolled his father. Ša'sa'ah Ibn Nājiyah, the grandfather of al-Farazdaq was a powerful chief in the time of paganism.<sup>1</sup> He purchased (*and brought up*) thirty female children whom their parents intended to bury alive<sup>1</sup>, and one of them was a daughter of Qays Ibn 'Āsim al-Minqari (No. 74, note). Al-Farazdaq expressed in the following lines the pride he felt in having such an ancestor :

"My grandfather was he who hinderd fathers from burying their daughters; he saved the life of the child, so that it was not buried."

Ša'āh was the first of our poet's forefathers who embraced Islāmism, and the author of the *Istī'āb*<sup>2</sup> ranks him among the Companions of the Prophet. Such of the (*literary*) men as were acquainted with poetry differed in opinion respecting the relative merits of al-Farazdaq and Jarir, but the majority considred Jarir as the better poet. It is well-known that these two composed satires on each other and lived in mutual enmity. The pieces (*in which they attacked each other*) have been collected into a volume, which bears the title of al-naqā'id (*detractory pieces*), and is a well-known work. Jarir composed on his rival a poem the rhymes of which were formed by the syllable *ra* and which contained this verse :

"When you were a guest at any one's house, you departed with ignominy and left behind disgrace."

It happened, some time after, that al-Farazdaq stopped at the house of a woman who inhabited Madinah, and he had there an adventure too long to relate. The sum of it was that she received him as guest and treated him with kindness; on which he asked her to yield her person up to him, but she refused. 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, who was then *wāll* (*chief magistrate*) of Madinah, was informed of what had passed and gave orders that al-Farazdaq

1 Respecting this barbarous custom, see Sale's note on the eighth verse of the eighty-first *sūrah* of the *Qur'ān*.

2 The *Istī'āb*, a work treating of the Companions of Muḥammad, was composed by Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, a doctor whose life will be given in this work.

should be turned out of the city. He was sent away, mounted on a female camel, and a spectator said : "The devil take Ibn al-Marāghah !<sup>1</sup> one would think he had witnessed what is now passing, when he said : *when you were a guest at any one's house, etc.*" A certain *qāḍī*, having one day heard a deposition made by al-Farazdaq, said to him : "We accept your testimony," and then told the parties concerned to furnish additional evidence. Al-Farazdaq, being told, after leaving the court, that the *qāḍī* had rejected his testimony, said (*only this*) : "What should prevent him from doing so have I not (*done like him and*) compromised a thousand respectable women ?" Here is one of the pieces which he composed during his residence at Madinah :

"These two females lowered me down from a height of eighty fathoms. I descended like a falcon stopping down its dark head. When my legs took solid footing on the ground, these (*girls*) said : 'Is he alive, so that he may give hopes (*of being seen again*), or is he killed so that we must fear (the consequence) ? I said : 'Draw up the cords lest we be discovered,' and I went away more promptly than the last shades of night. I feared two door-keepers who had been set to watch us and I dreaded a black (*thing*) of teak-wood (*a door*), with creaking nails<sup>2</sup>".

When Jarir heard these verses, he composed a long *qasidah* in which he said :

"The mother of al-Farazdaq brought into the world a reprobate, a short-winged buzzard. When night spreads her shades around, he forms his two ropes into a ladder, by which he may mount to the chambers of his female neighbours. Adulterer ! you were lowered down from a height of eighty fathoms, but you could never attain to any height in glory and in honour. People of Madinah ! that man is impurity itself : be on your guard and shut all entrances by which may pass (*a wretch so*) foul, so versed

1 Literally : God's curse on Ibn al-Marāghah ! This was a nickname given to Jarir. For its origin, see vol. I, page 297. Maledictions of this kind were often employed by the Arabs to express approbation.

2 Ibn Khallikān has cited the last words of this verse incorrectly ; the right reading is : *تلوح مسابيح* "the broad-headed nails of which shine brightly".

in all lewdness. The expulsion of al-Farazdaq from your town was the purifying of the quarter which lies between the Muṣallā and Wāqim<sup>1</sup>".

When al-Farazdaq heard the contents of this poem, he answered it by another, which was also of considerable length and which contained this passage :

"It would be wrong in me to revile persons resembling my high-minded ancestors, so generous, so noble ! But it would be right for me to return insult for insult, if I was attacked by the descendants of 'Abd Shams or of Hāshim, the two branches of 'Abd Manāf. Such people are my equals in worth ; let me then have one like them (*If I must attack*). I disdain satirizing Kulayb (*Jarir's ancestor*) in opposing to him (*my ancestor*) Dārim".

The inhabitants of Madinah, having heard the first of these (*three*) pieces, met together and went to Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam the Umayyad, who then governed the city in the name of his relative, Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān. "It is not fit," said they, "that a poem such as this should be recited in a place where the widows of the Prophet are residing. Besides, the author has incurred the penalty of corporal correction." Marwān replied that he would not inflict that punishment, but would write to a person who would do so. He then ordered al-Farazdaq to quit the city within three days. In allusion to this circumstance, the poet said :

"He threatened me and fixed a term of three days ; the same term assigned to the Ṭhamūd, when threatened with destruction<sup>2</sup>".

Marwān then wrote to one of his officers, commanding him to chastise al-Farazdaq and cast him into prison. (*He gave this letter to the poet*), making him believe that it contained an order for a present. He afterwards regretted what he had done, and dispatched after the poet a messenger, to whom he (*merely*) said :

1 Wāqim was the name of a castle at Madinah. For Muṣallā, see No. 262n.

2 Qur'd n, sūrah xi, verse 68.

"I have just pronounced a piece of verse ; have it is ; go and repeat it to al-Farazdaq :

'Say to al-Farazdaq, and folly is like its name!<sup>1</sup> 'If you obey not the order I have given you, go to Najd (*ijlis*). Leave Madīnah ; it is a place to be feared. Go to Makkah or to Bayt al-maqdis (*Jerusalem*). If you have committed a grave fault, take now consummate prudence for your guide' "

The word *ijlis* means *go to al-Jalsā*, that is, to *Najd*. This country was called *al-Jalsā* on account of its elevation ; for the root *jālūs* signifies to *set up (after reclining)*. When al-Farazdaq heard these verses, he understood what Marwān meant, and threw away the letter. He then said :

"O Marwān<sup>2</sup> ! my camel was stopped, in expectation of a gift which was not totally dispaired of ; and you gave me a sealed letter ; but I feared it would procure me the gift of death. Throw away the letter, Farazdaq ! best it should be dangerous, like the letter of al-Mutalammis"

As we have now mentioned *the letter of al-Mutalammis*, we shall relate what is told of it, as the reader of this work may perhaps be desirous of knowing what it was. Jarīr Ibn 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zayd Ibn Dawfan\* Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Wahb Ibn Julay Ibn Aḥmas Ibn Dubay'ah Ibn Rābi'ah Ibn Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn Adnān received the surname of al-Mutalammis for having said, in a *qasidah* :

"This (*happened*) at the time (*we were dwelling in the valley*) of al-'Ird, the flies of which, that is, the wasps, lived in abundance, as also the blue fly, so pertinacious (*mutalammis*)<sup>3</sup>".

1 This proverbial expression is not noticed by al-Maydānī. It appears to signify: 'It is as bad to be stupid. as to be called so,' and was probably used in speaking to persons whom it was necessary to put on their guard.

2 The right reading is يا مروان with the apocopated vocative. See *Ḥamāsah*, page 189.

3 This verse is given incorrectly in the editions. the manuscripts and the *Ishṭiqāq* of Ibn Durayd. p. 192. The *Ḥamāsah*, p. 323, gives it as it should be and explains its meaning and grammatical construction.

\* 'Dawqal' in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

Al-Mutalammis and ʿĪrafah Ibn al-ʿAbd al-Bakri, his sister's son, composed, both of them, satires on ʿAmr Ibn al-Hind al-Lakhmī, the king of Ḥīrah<sup>1</sup>. These poems were communicated to ʿAmr, but he did not manifest any dissatisfaction on hearing them. The two poets, having afterwards praised him in their verses, he handed to each of them a letter, addressed to his lieutenant at Ḥīrah<sup>2</sup>, and gave them to understand that these papers contained an order to bestow on them a handsome present. The truth was that, in them, he enjoined his lieutenant to put the bearers to death. When they arrived near Ḥīrah, al-Mutalammis said to ʿĪrafah : "Both of us have satirized the king and, if he had the intention of bestowing on us a gift, he would have done so, without writing in our favour to Ḥīrah. Come ! let us show the letters to some one who can read ; if they be dangerous for us, we can take to flight before any one knows that we are here." ʿĪrafah replied : "I cannot permit myself to open the king's letter." "By Allāh !" exclaimed al-Mutalammis, "I shall open the one which he gave me ; I must know what it contains, for I do not wish to resemble the man who bore in his hand the instrument which served to kill him." He then looked about and, seeing a young boy come out of the town, he said to him : "Tell me, my boy ! can you read ?" "I can," said the lad. "Well," said al-Mutalammis, "read me this letter." The boy cast his eyes over it and said : "Let the mother of al-Mutalammis be rendered childless." On hearing this, al-Mutalammis said to ʿĪrafah : "Open your letter and see if it contains the same order as mine." ʿĪrafah replied : "ʿAmr may be bold enough to have you put to death, but he dare not do so to me, lest he should give a mortal offence to my tribe." Al-Mutalammis threw his letter into the river of Ḥīrah and fled to Syria. ʿĪrafah entered into the city and was put to death. The history of this is well-known. The *letter of al-Mutalammis* is an expression employed proverbially

1 For an account of this adventure by al-Mutalammis himself, see Reiske's edition of ʿĪrafah's *Muʿallaqah*, Prologus, p. XLIX et seq.

2 This is evidently a mistake ; the king of Ḥīrah could not have had a regular lieutenant in his own capital. The true reading is *al-Ḥajar*, حجر, which place was the capital of Bahrayn. The recital made by al-Mutalammis gives the latter reading.

in speaking of persons who read letters in which their death is ordered. It is to this al-Ḥarīrī alludes, in his tenth Maqāmah<sup>1</sup>, where he says: "And I unsealed it as one would do who wished to escape from (*a danger*) such as (*that contained in*) the letter of al-Mutalammis. The poet al-Ablah, of whom we have already spoken (*No. 653*) said in one of his *qasīdahs* :

"The passionate lover reads expressions of disdain on the page of her cheek ; (*a page as clear*) as the letter of al-Mutalammis."

Let us resume our notice on al-Farazdaq. He then set out and fled for refuge to Sa'īd Ibn al-Āṣ<sup>2</sup>, whom he found in company with al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (*the sons of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*), and 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far<sup>3</sup>. When he told them what had happened, each of them ordered him a present of one hundred dinārs and a good travelling camel. He then proceeded to Baṣrah. Marwān, being told (*by his friends*) that he had acted wrong in exposing himself to be attacked by the ablest poet of (*the tribe of*) Muḍar, sent after him a messenger with one hundred dinārs and a camel ; so much he dreaded being satirized by the poet. It is related that al-Farazdaq, in one of his journies, halted in (*the midst of*) a desert and lighted a fire. A wolf, seeing the flame, drew near, and he gave it some of his provisions to eat whilst he recited these lines :

"In the middle of the night, I called near me, by lighting a fire, a dark-grey, swift-trotting (*wolf*), which had never been a companion (*to any one*). When he arrived, I said : 'Approach ! take this ! you and I shall have equal parts in the provisions.' I passed the night in cutting the meat and sharing it between us ; now, lighted by the fire, and then surrounded by smoke. When he

1 Page 103 of de Sacy's edition.

2 Sa'īd Ibn al-Āṣ, a member of the Umayyad family, governed Kūfah under the *khalīfate* of 'Uthmān. In A. H. 29 (A. C. 649-50), he re-established the authority of the Arabs in Āḡlaba'ijān ; in 49 (A. C. 669) he was appointed governor of Madinah by Mu'āwiyah and died A. H. 59 (A. C. 678-9). *Nujūm*.

3 'Abd Allāh, the son of Ja'far and the nephew of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, was born in Abyssinia during the first Muslim emigration. He was a devoted partisan of his uncle. His death occurred A. H. 80 (A. C. 699-700). *Nujūm*.



shewed his teeth, as if in laughter, the hilt of my sword was firm in my grasp, and I said : 'Sup, O wolf ! and, if you engage to use no treachery towards me, we shall be inseparable companions. But you are (*as bad as*) a man ; you and treachery are brothers, nourished with the same milk. Had you aroused any other but me in demanding hospitality, he would have shot you with an arrow or pierced you with the point of his spear.' "

He one day recited to the Umayyad (*khalif*), Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, a poem rhyming in *m* and containing the following passage :

"Three (*girls*) and two make five ; the sixth was (*of a colour which*) inclined to black<sup>1</sup>. They passed the night lying at my sides, and I passed it in breaking open the seals. It seemed as if... were in it and as if they were sitting on burning coals<sup>2</sup>."

When he pronounced these lines, Sulaymān said to him ; "I am an (*imām khalif*) and yet you acknowledge in my presence that you committed fornication ; you must therefore undergo the corporal punishment fixed by law." "Commander of the faithful !" said al-Farazdaq, "how can I have incurred such a chastisement ?" Sulaymān answered : "The Almighty has said (*Qur'ān*, sūr. xxiv, vers. 2) : *He and she who commit fornication scourge each of them with one hundred stripes.*" Al-Farazdaq replied : "The book of God averts that punishment from me, by virtue of these words : *And the poets ; none follow them but the misguided. Seest thou not how they roam through every valley (of the imagination), and that they say things which they do not perform.* I said also what I did not perform." Sulaymān said to him, in smiling ; "Go away, you reprobate !" Al-Farazdaq did a noble act for which we may hope that he gained admission into Paradise and which we shall relate here. Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik went on a pilgrimage to Makkah during the lifetime of his father (*the Khalif*). He made the circuits (*around the Ka'bah*) and endeavoured to

1 I suppose the right reading to be *مخام* .

2 The breaking open of seals and the pronoun *it* (in the third line), without an antecedent, indicate evidently obscene ideas. The translator is unable to explain the word *مغالق* .

approach the (*black*) stone, so that he might kiss it, but was unable to do so, on account of the crowd. A platform was set up for him, and whilst he was sitting on it, with a number of the (*principal*) Arabs of Syria, and looking at the people, Zayn al-Ābidin (*No.* 397), the son of Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib approached. He was the handsomest of men and no one smelled so sweetly. Having made the circuits around the (*holy*) house, he advanced towards the stone and the people made way for him, so that he was able to kiss it. One of the Syrians asked who that person was to whom so much respect was shown, and Ḥishām, fearing that the Syrians might take a fancy to him<sup>1</sup>, answered that he did not know. Al-Farazdaq who was present, said; "I know him." The Syrian said to him; "Who is he? Abā Firās!" and the poet replied in these terms:

"This is he whose footsteps are well-known to al-Baṭḥā<sup>2</sup>; he is known to this temple, to the sacred territory and to that which is profane. This is the son of the best of the servants of God; this is the pious, the pure, the unsullied, the learned. When the Qurayshids look at him they say: 'Virtues such as his are what the virtuous should strive to imitate.' He has reached a pinnacle of glory to which the Arabs of Islāmic times and men of foreign race have been unable to attain. The corner of al-Ḥaṭīm<sup>3</sup> recognises the touch of his hand, and strives to detain it, when he goes to kiss (*the black stone*). The rod which he wields owes its sweet odour to (*the contact of*) a hand belonging to a man of comely aspect and exalted rank. His eyes are cast down, through modesty, and those of other men are cast down in his presence; none dare to speak to him unless they see him smile. The light of true guidance shines forth from his forehead like the radiance of the sun dispersing the dark clouds. The source from which he springs is derived

---

1 It was to the Arabs established in Syria that the Umayyad were indebted for their elevation and the maintenance of their power. Ḥishām was apprehensive that they might fix their affection on this 'Alide prince.

2 Al-Baṭḥā is the name of the valley in which Makkah is built.

3 The corner of the Ka'bah near which is inserted the black stone, is called the Ḥaṭīm.

from the Apostle of God; pure are the elements of which he is composed; pure his nature and his disposition. That is the son of Fāṭimah, in case you know him not; with his grandfather terminated the series of the prophets of God. Long since, God ennobled and exalted him; this was traced on the tablet of his (*life*) by the pen (*of fate*). Your asking who he is can be for him no disparagement: The Arabs know him whom you know not, and so do the foreigners. Each of his hands (*furnishes*) a shower (*of gifts*) which all enjoy; the flow of their (*beneficence*) is constantly invoked and never ceases. From him, so mild in disposition, no bursts of passion are to be feared; he possesses the double beauty of body and of mind. He alleviates the distressed and takes their burden on himself; so sweet is his temper that the word *yes*, is sweet for him to say. His, the promises which are never broken; his, the generous inspirations, the large (*and hospitable*) court and the resolution which appals (*the foe*). He extends his beneficence to all mankind, and delivers them from gloom,<sup>1</sup> from poverty and from want. He belongs to a family which religion obliges us to love and towards which hatred, if shewn, is an act of infidelity. Their neighbourhood is an asylum and a protection. If pious men were counted, they would hold the first rank; if it were asked who are the best on earth, the answer would be: 'They'. The most bountiful of men cannot keep pace with them in the career of beneficence; generous though he be, he cannot come up with them. They are (*fertilising*) rains when drought afflicts the land; they are lions, lions of al-Shawrā, when the ardour of war has arisen. Straitened circumstances cannot diminish the abundance of their gifts, their conduct is the same, whether they be rich or poor. When the name of God is pronounced at the beginning or at the close of an invocation, their names are mentioned before those of others. Their generous nature and their hands overflowing with beneficence will not permit blame to settle near them: (*Shall we ask*) what are the noble qualities which have not adorned their necks, from the commencement of their existence? or must we not rather affirm (*that they*

<sup>1</sup> The true reading is doubtful, but the meaning is clear. I read "الغيايد" (*darkness*). [ الغيايد (absence) in 'Abd al-Hamid.]—Ed.

*possess them all*)<sup>1</sup>. They who know God know the exalted rank of that man ; from his family religion was received by every nation".

Hishām was so much displeased on hearing this *qaṣṣdah* that he had al-Farazdaq taken to prison. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn sent twelve thousand dirhams to the poet, who refused to accept them, saying that he had praised him, not for the hopes of obtaining a gift but with the intention of pleasing Almighty God. To this Zayn al-‘Ābidīn answered : "We others, *the people of the house*<sup>2</sup>, never take back what we bestow." Al-Farazdaq then accepted the present. Muḥammad Ibn Habib, a person of whom we have already spoken<sup>3</sup>, relates as follows : "Al-Walid, the son of ‘Abd al-Malik, got into the pulpit (*to pronounce*) the *khutbah*, and he heard the sound of a *nāqūs*<sup>4</sup>. "What is that" ? said he. "The monastery," was the reply. He immediately ordered it to be levelled to the ground and did part of the work with his own hands. The people followed his example and destroyed the building. Al-Aḥzam, the king of the Greeks<sup>5</sup>, then wrote a letter

1 Literally : or to that, yes ; i.e. : or to that (*question must we not say*) yes ?

2 The term *people of the house* served to designate descendants of Muḥammad, the posterity of his daughter Fāṭimah, and of ‘Alī.

3 The author refers perhaps to a passage in the life of Jarīr the poet (*No. 127*) Abū Ja‘fr Muḥammad Ibn Habib, a *mawla* of the Hāshim family, died at Sāmarrāh, A. H. 245 (A. C. 859-60). He was a learned genealogist, well-versed in the history of the ancient Arabs and their battle-days, an exact, veracious and traditionist Traditionist. (*Nujūm*). For further information see M. Flügel's *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*, p. 67.

4 In Muḥammadan countries, the use of bells was forbidden in Christian churches. To call the people to prayer they strike with a mallet on a short board which is suspended by cords. This is the *naqūs*.

5 The Arabic word *أحزم* (*aḥzam*) signifies *circumspect* and *corpulent*. I suspect we must read *أخرم* (*akhram*), an adjective which means *slit-nosed*, and that the person meant was Justinian II. This prince was deposed and his nose was amputated, A.C. 695 ; but, a few years afterwards he was restored the throne, and reigned till A.C. 711, when he was put to death. Al-Walid reigned from A.C. 705 to 714.

in which he said : 'This monastery was authorised by your predecessors ; and, if they were right in doing so, you are now in the wrong ; if you are in the right, they were wrong. Al-Walid said : 'Can any one answer that ? Al-Farazdaq replied : "Write to him these words : 'And (remember) David and Solomon, when they pronounced judgment concerning a field, in which the sheep of certain people had fed by night having no shepherd ; we were witnesses of their judgment, and we gave the understanding of the cause to Solomon<sup>1</sup>, and to all we gave wisdom and knowledge' ".

The anecdotes told of al-Farazdaq are very numerous, but concision is to be preferred here. He died at Baṣrah, in the year 110 (A. C. 728-9), forty days before the death of Jarīr ; some say, eighty. Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (*No.* 345) says, in his *Shudhūr al-uqūd*<sup>2</sup>, that they both died in the year 111. Al-Sukkārī<sup>3</sup>\* states that al-Farazdaq saw 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and that he died in the year 110. Other accounts say, 112 or 114. Ibn Qutaybah mentions, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā* that al-Farazdaq being suffering from a *vomica*, was taken to Baṣrah in that state. The doctor who was called in prescribed to him a draught of naphtha, on which the patient exclaimed : "Do you mean to make me drink naphtha before I am gone to hell ? I am still in the world". When he died, he was nearly one hundred year of Age. Al-Mubarrad (*No.* 610) relates as follows, in his *Kāmil* : Al-Ḥasan

1 *Qūr'ān*, sūrah xxi, verse 78. On this verse Sale has a note, borrowed from the Musulmān commentators, and informing us that David ordered the owner of the land to take the sheep in compensation for his loss ; but Solomon, who was then only seven years of age, was of opinion that it would be more just for the owner to take the produce of the sheep, namely their milk, lambs and wool, till the shepherd put the field in as good condition as before the trespass.

2 This title signifies *Fragments of golden collars*. The work itself was historical compilation.

3 Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkārī, a learned philologist, genealogist and historian, studied at the schools of Kūfah and Baṣrah, and composed some works, one of which was a collection of ancient Arabic poetry. He died A. H. 275 (A. C. 888-9), aged sixty-three years. For fuller information see professor Flügel's work entitled *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 89.

\* 'al-Askarī' in 'Aūd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

al-Baṣrī (No. 148), and al-Farazdaq met together at a funeral, and al-Farazdaq said to al-Ḥasan: 'Abū-Sa'id! Do you know what the people are saying? They declare that the best and the worst of men have met at this funeral'. 'Nay', said al-Ḥasan, 'I am not the best of men, neither are you the worst. But, tell me what good work you can adduce in your favour (*before the tribunal of God*), when this day arrives (*for yourself*). Al-Farazdaq answered: '(I shall adduce) the testimony I have borne, for the last sixty years, that there is only one God.' A female belonging to the tribe of Ṭamīm declared that al-Farazdaq was seen in a dream and, being asked how the Lord had treated him, he answered: 'He pardoned me'. Being then asked for what reason, he replied: 'For a word which I said in a conversation with al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī'". The words **هَمَام** and **عَقَال**, must be pronounced *Ḥamām* and *'Iqāl*. Muḥammad Ibn Sufyān was one of the three individuals who bore the name of *Muḥammad* in anti-Islāmic times. Ibn Qutaybah mentions them in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, and al-Suhaylī (No. 346) says, in his *al-Rawḍ al-Unuf*: "Amongst the Arabs, no one is known to have borne this name except three persons. Their fathers, having heard that a Muḥammad was soon to appear, who would be sent on a (*divine*) mission to Ḥijāz, gave this name to their sons, hoping that one of them might be that person. According to Ibn Fūrak (No. 584), in his *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl* (*book of chapters*), their names were, (1) Muḥammad Ibn Sufyān Ibn Mujāshī', the grandfather of al-Farazdaq, (2) Muḥammad Ibn Uḥayḥah the grandson of al-Julāḥ, the same who was a (*uterine*) brother of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Apostle of God, (3) Muḥammad Ibn Ḥumrān Ibn Rabi'ah. The fathers of these three went to a certain king who was acquainted with the primitive scriptures, and he informed them of the coming of God's apostle and mentioned his name. Each of them had left his wife at home in a state of pregnancy, and then vowed that, if his child was a male, he would name it *Muḥammad* and so they did. **مُجَاشِع** must be pronounced *Mujāshī'* ; **دَارِم** is pronounced *Dārim* with an *i* in the second syllable), the other names in al-Farazdaq's genealogy are too well known to require observation. **الزردق** pronounced *al-Farazdaq* was a nick-name given to the poet. Ibn Qutaybah explains it in two different manners, stating, in his *Adab al-Kātib*,

that it signifies a lump of dough, and that its form, as a noun of unity, is *Farazdaqah*. "The poet," says he, "received this name on account of his ugly face<sup>1</sup>." He then states, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*, that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature, which made him be compared to the crust (*farazdaqah*)<sup>2</sup> with which women polish their teeth. The first explanation is the best, because the poet caught the small-pox and, when recovered, his face remained deformed and wrinkled. It is related that a person said to him : "Abū Firās ! vultus tuus est sicut congeries pudendorum muliebrium (احراج) *aḥrāḥ*. To this he answered : "Inspice ! forsan in illa videbis pudendum matris tuae"<sup>3</sup>. The word *aḥrāḥ*, with two ḥ, is the plural of *ḥirḥ*, a word employed to designate the female sexual organ. In the singular, the second ḥ is suppressed, but reappears ; in the plural ; for it is a general rule that words irregular in the singular become regular in the plural. Nawār, the cousin and wife of al-Farazdaq, was the daughter of A'yan Ibn Ḍubay'ah Ibn 'Iqāl, of the family of Mujāshī'. It was her grandfather, Ḍubay'ah who hamstrung the camel on which 'Āyishah, the mother of the faithful<sup>3</sup>, was mounted, at the battle of the Camel. A Quaryshite having asked Nawār to marry him, she sent to al-Farazdaq and requested him to act as her legal guardian, because he was the son of her uncle. He replied : "In Syriā, you have nearer relations than me, and I cannot but apprehend that one of them may arrive and blame me for interfering. You must therefore declare before witnesses that you leave what concerns you to my decision." She consented and (*when the formality was executed*), al-Farazdaq went out with the witnesses and said to them : "She has taken you to witness that she leaves what concerns her to my decision ; now I take you to witness, that I have decided on marrying her myself, and that I assign to her a dowry of one hundred she-camels of a bay colour with black eyes".

1 Ibn Quraybah should have added, to complete his explanation, that the poet's face was wrinkled and spotted like a burnt cake of bread.

2 Here the text is faulty ; I read. اقتية التي تشربها.

3 The title of *Mother of the faithful* was given to all the widows of Muḥammad.

\* English version : Do you see your mother's vagina.—Ed.

Al-Nawār was much incensed at this proceeding and, wishing to obtain justice, she went to 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, who was at that time sovereign of Hijāz and 'Irāq. Al-Farazdaq set out also. Al-Nawār took up her abode with al-Khawlah, the daughter of Manzūr Ibn Rabbān al-Fazārī and the wife of 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr. Being kindly received by her, she implored her intervention (with Ibn al-Zubayr). Al-Farazdaq stopped at the house of Ḥamzah, the son of Ibn al-Zubayr and of al-Khawlah, and, having recited some verses in his praise, he obtained from him the promise to intercede. Al-Khawlah then spoke in favour of al-Nawār and Ḥamzah in favour of al-Farazdaq. The influence of al-Khawlah prevailed, and Ibn al-Zubayr ordered the poet to proceed to Baṣrah with al-Nawār, and to avoid every familiarity with her till the governor of that place had decided between them. It was on this occasion that al-Farazdaq composed these lines (*on Ibn al-Zubayr*):

"The intervention of your son was of no avail, but that of Manzūr Ibn Rabbān's daughter succeeded. An intercessor who goes to you clothed is not like one who goes to you naked."

Some time after, they were reconciled together, but a considerable period elapsed before they had any children. Al-Nawār then had a number of sons, whose names were Labaṭah; Sabaṭah\* Khabatah, Rakaḍah, and Zama'ah†, but they all died childless. The daughters only left posterity. Ibn Khalawayh (*No. 188*) says that among the sons of al-Farazdaq were Kalaṭah and Khalaṭah,† God knows best! Al-Farazdaq afterwards divorced al-Nawār for motives the indication of which would lead us too far. He then repented of what he had done and composed on the subject a number of pieces, one which was the following:

My regret was like that of al-Kusa'i<sup>2</sup>, when Nawār was divorced and left me. She was my paradise and I abandoned it;

1 Ibn Durayd explains the meaning of these strange names in his *Isṭiṣṣāq*, page 147.

2 See de Sacy's *Chrestomatie arabe*, tome II, page 239. The best account of Farazdaq is that given by M. C. de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique* for June, 1834.

\* 'Habaṭah' in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

† 'Jalaṭah' in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.



'twas thus that a maleficent demon expelled Adam from his paradise."

The stories and anecdotes told of what he did under these circumstances are too numerous to be related here, and this is not a fit place for them. A male child of al-Farazdaq's died, and the father said over it the funeral service; he then turned to the people who were present, and pronounced this verse:

"Between us and those who lie here there is but little difference: we remain here after them for a short time, and then we depart (*to join them*)."

He died a few days after.

## 752 HILĀL AL-ŠĀBĪ

The *Kātib* (scribe) Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hilāl Ibn al-Muḥssan Ibn Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Zahrūn Ibn Ḥabbūn\*<sup>1</sup> al-Šabī al-Ḥarranī (*the Sabeian and native of Ḥarrān*), was the grandson of Abū Ishāq al-Šabī, the author of the celebrated *collection* of epistles<sup>2</sup> and the same of whom we have already spoken (*No. 14*). He studied under the grammarian Abū Ali 'l-Farīsī (*No. 155*), 'Alī Ibn Isā al-Rummānī (*No. 410*), Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Jarrāh al-Kharrāz<sup>3</sup> and other masters. The *Khaṭīb* (*No. 33*) mentions him in the history of Baghdād and

1 The orthography of this name is fixed by the author of the *Tārīḥ al-'Aynī*. See Chwolsohn's *Ssabier*, vol. I, p. 583.

2 A single volume of this great collection of epistles and dispatches is preserved in the Leyden library, and the list of its contents has been given by M. Dozy in the catalogue of that establishment, vol. I, p. 144 *et. seq.* The documents are on various subjects and were really sent to their address. Some of them were drawn up by Abū Ishāq himself and the rest by other men of rank and talent. They were once highly admired as specimens of elegant style. but, for an European reader, their principal interest must consist in the historical indications which they sometimes offer.

3 The orthography of this name varies in the manuscripts.

\* 'Ḥayyūn' in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

says: "We wrote down (*pieces*) under his dictation; he was veracious (*as a transmitter of literary information*). Al-Muḥassan. Hilāl's father, was a Šāben in religion, as his own father, Ibrāhim, was before him; but Hilāl became a Muslim towards the close of his life<sup>1</sup>. Whilst he was an infidel, he took lessons from learned (*Musulmāns*), so ardent was he in the pursuit of literary knowledge<sup>2</sup>." I met with a work of his, consisting of amusing stories and curious anecdotes. It was entitled by him *Kitab al-Amāthil wa 'l-A'yān wa musdi\* 'l-'Awātif wa 'l-Iḥsān* (*book of eminent and distinguished men, procurer of favours and of kindness*). It forms one volume, and I do not know whether he composed anything else or not. His son, Ghars al-Ni'mah Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn Hilāl<sup>3</sup>, was possessed of every merit and composed some useful works, such as the famous (*compilation entitled the*) great history and a book to which he gave the title of *Al-Ḥafawāt al-uādīrah min al-Mu'aqqalīn al-Malḥūzīn wa 'l-Saqatāt al-bādīrah min al-Mughaffilīn al-Malḥūzīn* (*strange blunders committed by persons respectable for their intelligence and mistakes into which people favoured by fortune have been led by their carelessness*). In this volume he assembled a great quantity of stories relative to the subject of which he treated. Here is one of the anecdotes which I extracted from it: "Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās, who was uncle to (*the Abbasids khalifs*) al-Šaffāḥ and Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, sent to the former who had then commenced his reign, a deputation of *shaykhs* (*chiefs*) belonging to the Arabic (*tribes*) established in Syria. He thought that their (*singular*) cast of mind and their declarations of fidelity would afford him some amusement. 'They swear,' said he, 'that of all the Prophet's parents they know none, excepting the Umayyads, who had a right to inherit of him, till you obtained the

1 The unusual expression باخره is replaced, in the edition of Būlāq, by باخر عمره, which is much clearer.

2 It is difficult to determine where this extract finishes.

3 See No. 125n, and No. 295.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : *muntadī*.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : *Mu'ḥaffilīn*.—Ed.

supreme authority!'. Here is another anecdote which I extracted from the same book; though not very delicate it is amusing, and in compilations (*such as mine*), a little pungency is necessary, as the gay should always be mixed with the serious. "Abū Sa'īd Māhik Ibn Bindār, a fire-worshipper and a native of Ray was one of the most eminent *Kātib*s among the Daylamites a people of whose (*singular*) reserve (*and modesty, strange*) stories got into currency. When he acted as secretary to 'Alī Ibn Sāmān, one of the Daylamite chiefs, the wazīr Abū Muḥammad al-Muāhallabī (*No. 170*) resolved to send him out on a mission and, seeing him rise from his place with the intention of withdrawing, he said to him: 'Abū Sa'īd! do not leave the palace till I make you acquainted with an affair with I wish you to arrange for me.' Māhik replied: 'I hear and shall obey.' He then stood up and left the presence chamber. On this, the wazīr said: 'The man is surely possessed, or else he has worked so much with me that his heart is oppressed and he requires to withdraw. Let them tell the door-keeper to prevent him from going out.' " Māhik had been a long time seated and was wanting to go to the privy, and that was the reason of his retiring. (*On leaving the room*), he found all the privies locked; the wazīr having ordered that to be done, 'because,' said he, 'there was always a bad smell in the palace of Abū Ja'far al-Saymarī, where there was a privy for the use of the public.' Māhik discovered at length one closet which was not locked, but which was reserved for the wazīr. He lifted up the curtain which hung at the entrance and was about to go in when the *farrāsh*<sup>2</sup> came up and pushed him away. 'Is not this a privy?' said Māhik. The other answered that it was. 'Well' said the *Kātib*, 'I want to do something there, and why do you hinder me?' The *farrāsh* replied: 'This is a reserved closet into which none enter except the wazīr.' 'The others are locked,' exclaimed Māhik, 'how then shall I do? I was going out, but the door-keeper prevented me; so I risk doing all in my clothes.' The *farrāsh* said: 'Get an authorisation to enter into

1 Their mentioning the Umayyads, whose authority al-Saffāh had just overturned and whom he detested, was a sufficient proof of their simplicity.

2 The duty of the *farrāsh* was to take care of the furniture, and to pitch the wazīr's tents when he was on an expedition.

one of them ; ' it shall then be opened to you, and you may do your business. Though the case was pressing, he wrote to the wazīr a petition in which he said : 'Māhik, the humble servant of our lord the wazīr, wants to do what all men must, and which is a thing not fit to mention.' Now the *farrāsh* says : 'You shall not go in,' and the door-keeper says : 'You shall not go out ;' and your servant is thus placed in a dilemma ; the thing, moreover, is becoming very pressing. If our lord the wazīr be disposed to oblige his servant, 'he will authorise him to do his need in the reserved closet, provided that such be the will of God. Salutation !' A chamberlain to whom he remitted this paper, presented it to the wazīr who, not knowing what the writer wanted, asked what was the matter. Being informed of the circumstance, he laughed heartily and wrote on the back of the petition : 'Let Abū Sa'id, whom God exalt ! do his need<sup>1</sup> where he pleaseth, if such be the will of God.' The chamberlain carried out the paper to Māhik who handed it to the *farrāsh*, saying : Here is what you asked for, a *Tawqī'* (decision) emanating from our lord the wazīr.' The *farrāsh* replied : 'Al! *Tawqī'*s must be perused by Abū 'l-Alā Ibn Abrūnā, the *Kātib* charged with the administration of the palace ; as for me, I can neither read nor write.' On this Māhik exclaimed : 'Bring some one of the palace who can do so ; for the matter is very pressing'<sup>2</sup>. Another *farrāsh* who was present burst into laughter, took him by the hand and led him to a closet, where he might do what he wanted." I extracted also the following anecdote from the same work ; "(The poet) Arṭāh Ibn Suhayyah"<sup>3</sup> lived partly in the time of paganism and partly in that of Islāmism. He entered into the presence of (the Umayyad *Khalīf*) 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān who, seeing that he was a very old man, asked

1 The wazīr here employs the plainest and coarsest word ; as if he meant to scandalise the modesty of his decorous petitioner.

2 Here Māhik forgets himself and speaks in the crudest terms.

3 This poet belonged to the tribe of Muzraḥ. According to the author of the *Masālik al-Absār*, MS. of the *Bibl. Imp.* No. 1371, fol. 95 verso, he lived to the age of one hundred and thirty years. Suhayyah was the name of his mother. Mr. de Hammer mentions him in the *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, vol. II, p. 519. Some verses of Arṭāh's are given in the *Ḥamāsah*.

\* 'Sumayyah' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

him to repeat some of the verses in which he alluded to the length of his life. Arṭāh recited these lines :

'I saw that time consumed (*the life of*) man, even as the earth consumes bits of iron cast away. When death comes to a son of Adam, she requires his soul and nothing more. Know that she will attack again, till she fulfils her vow by (*seizing*) Abu 'l-Walid.'

(*The khalif*) shuddered on hearing these words, thinking that they applied to himself, for his surname was Abu 'l-Walid. Arṭāh perceived the fault into which his inadvertence had led him and said : 'Commander of the faithful ! I am surnamed Abu 'l-Walid.' The persons present declared that he had said the truth, and thus relieved, in some degree, the apprehensions of 'Abd al-Mālik." Here is another anecdote which I derived from the same source : "Abu al-'Alā Sa'id Ibn Maḥlad (*No 617, note*) who was secretary (*kātib*) to (*the regent*) al-Muwaffaq, read to his master a letter, but did not understand it. Al-Muwaffaq then read it and comprehended its meaning. This induced 'Isā Ibn al-Qāshhī to compose the following lines :

'I see that Fortune refuses her favours to him who courts her and grants them to him who neglects her. How many have sought the means of gaining (*her good will*), but their efforts procured them only useless fatigue. One of her strange freaks is, to show us an amir who is a better scholar than his secretary.' "

The Muwaffaq just mentioned bore the names of Abū Aḥmād Ṭalḥah : he was the son of (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil and the father of the 'Abbāsid *khalif*, al-Mu'taḍid. The same work furnished me with the following anecdote : "An Arab of the desert was at the station (*of Arafāt*) with (*the khalif*) 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (*whilst the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were going on*). A person behind us,' said he, called out to 'Umar, in these terms : 'O successor (*khalif*), of the Apostle of God !' and then : 'O Commander of the faithful.' A voice from behind me then exclaimed : 'That fellow calls him (*'Umar*) by the name of a person who is dead ; by Allāh ! the Commander of the faithful is dead'. I turned round and recognised the speaker ; he was a member of the tribe

of Lihb, a people descended from Naḍr Ibn Azd, and who, in taking omens, were the most skilful in the world." "To this al-Kuṭhāyyir, the lover of al-'Azzā (No. 521) alludes in the following verse :

'I asked a man (*of the tribe*) of Lihb to take an augury; for that talent is now entirely devolved to Lihb".

(*The Arab continued his recital and said*) : "When we stopped (*at Minā*) to throw the stones, a pebble struck 'Umar on the side and made him bleed." On this, some one said : "By Allāh the Commander of the faithful is marked for sacrifice! ! by Allāh ! he never again will visit this station !" I turned round and discovered that it was this very Lihbide who had spoken. 'Umar was murdered before a year passed away' ". This anecdote is given also in the *Kāmil (of al-Mubarrad)*. The expression *the person who is dead* referred to (*the khalif*) Abū Bakr al-Ṣaddīq, who was called the successor of the Apostle of God. 'Umar, having obtained the supreme authority, on the death of Abū Bakr, was at first designated by the title of *the successor of the successor of the Apostle of God*, and he therefore said to the Companions : "This is a title which will be lengthened (*indefinitely*), if every one who comes to the supreme power is called the successor of his predecessor, and so on. up to the Apostle of God. You are the faithful, and I am your Commander". They then called him the Commander of the faithful (*Amīr al-Mūminīn*). He was the first who bore this title. The word successor (*khalif*) was the title usually given to Abū Bakr, and, for that reason, the man (*at the pilgrimage*) said : "He has called him by the name of a dead man". 'Umar Ibn Shabbah (No. 466) relates, in his History of Baṣrah, on the authority of al-Sha'bi (No. 296) that the first person who offered up a prayer from the pulpit for 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was Abū Mūsā 'l-Ash'arī<sup>2</sup>, (*who did so*) at Baṣrah. He was also the first who (*in writing to 'Umar*) inscribed on the letter : *To the servant of God ('Abd Allāh), the Commander of the*

1 The camels intended to be sacrificed were slightly wounded on the back on the shoulder, so that they might be known.

2 Abū Mūsā 'l-Ash'arī died A. H. 50 (A. C. 670-1) For a short notice on this general see my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, vol. I, p. 449.

*faithful*. This made 'Umar say: "I am truly a servant of God and the Commander of the faithful". According to 'Awwānah, the first who designated him by this title was 'Adī, the son of Hātim al-Ṭā'i, and the first who saluted him by it was al-Mughīrah Ibn Shu'bah<sup>1</sup>. According to another statement, 'Umar was one day (*holding a public*) sitting when he said: "By Allāh! I do not know what we must say! Abū Bakr was the successor of the Apostle of God and I am the successor of the successor of God's Apostle. Is there any title that can answer."? Those who were present said: "Commander (*Amīr*) will do." "Nay", said he, "you are all Commanders". On this al-Mughīrah said: "We are the faithful and you are our Commander." "Then", said 'Umar, "I am the Commander of the faithful."<sup>2</sup> These observations have led us away from our subject, Hilāl was born in the month of *Shawwāl*, 359 (Aug.-Sept., A. C. 970), and died on the eve of Thursday, the 17th of *Rumādān*, 448 (28th November, A. C. 1056).

### 753 AL-HAYTHAM IBN 'ADĪ

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Haytham Ibn 'Abī Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zayd Ibn Usayyid Ibn Jābir Ibn 'Adī Ibn Khālīd Ibn Khuthaym\* Ibn Abī Hārithah Ibn Juday Ibn Tadūl† Ibn Buḥtur Ibn Atūd Ibn 'Unayn Ibn Salāmān Ibn Thu'al Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ghawth Ibn Julhumah, was surnamed al-Ṭā'i after his ancestor Julhumah, who was denominated al-Ṭai after his ancestor Julhumah, who bore also the name of Ṭay. His other surnames were al-Thu'ali‡ (*descended from Thu'al*), al-Buḥturī (*descended from Buḥtur*) and al-Kūfī (*native of Kūfah*). He was a

1 See No. 507 n, where the name of this chief is incorrectly transcribed: for *Mughayrah* read *Mughīrah*.

2 Ibn Khāldūn gives another account of this in his *Prolegomena*, vol. I, page 462 of the French translation.

\* 'Khaytham' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† 'Thadūl' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

‡ 'al-Tha'alibi' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd which appears to be wrong.—Ed.

relator of poems (*composed by the Arabs of the desert*) and of historical anecdotes (*concerning them*). The specimens, which he handed down, of the language spoken by these Arabs, of their scientific knowledge, of their poetry and of their idioms, are very numerous. His father had settled at Wāsiṭ and was a virtuous man. Al-Haytham (*Ibn 'Adī*), having undertaken to investigate the origin of (*noted*) people, discovered and published many things to their disadvantage which, till then, had been carefully concealed, and, by this, he incurred their reprobation. It is related that he mentioned something (*disgraceful*) of al-'Abbās, the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*and the ancestor of the 'Abbāsīd khalīfs*); and the consequence was that he was imprisoned for some years. It is stated, however, that he had been falsely accused and that words were attributed to him which he never uttered; some time before, he had got married and, as the family of his wife did not like him, they purposely altered what he had said (*of al-'Abbās*) and then declared him to be the author of (*the calumny which they had invented*). We may here observe that) he held the opinions of the Khārījites. A number of works were composed by him<sup>1</sup>, such as the *Kitāb al-Maṭhālīb* (*book of vituperative pieces*), the *Kitāb al-Mu'annimarīn* (*on those who lived to an advanced age*), the *Buyūtāt Quraysh* (*on the principal families of the Quraysh tribe*), the *Buyūtāt al-'Arab* (*on the principal families of the Arabs*), the *Kitāb hubūṭ Ādam* etc. (*on the fall of Adam, the dispersion of the Arabs and the places, where they settled*), a work on the settlements made by the Arabs in Khurāsān and Sawād<sup>2</sup>, a treatise on the genealogy of the tribe of Ṭay, the *Madiḥ ahl al-Shām* (*eulogies composed on the*

1 In the Arabic text the term employed is *kutub muṣannafah*. In the Introduction to the first volume of this translation, and in a note of No. 509, I offered conjectural explanations of this term. I am not inclined to think that it means works in which the diverse matters are classed and arranged under separate heads, each chapter being appropriated to a particular subject. Al-Jawharī says, in his dictionary, that the verb *ṣannaf* signifies *to dispose a thing in classes*.

2 The term *sawād* signifies darkness, verdure, a crowd, and was employed to designate the territory in which Baṣrah and Kūfah were situated. It thus included the ancient Chaldaea and Babylonia. See No. 485.



*Arabs established in Syria*), a history of the Persians ('*Ajam*) and the Umayyads, a work treating of the enfranchised slaves who married into Arabian families' the *Kitāb al-Wuḥūd* (on the deputations sent by the Arabic tribes to Muḥammad), the *Kitāb Khīṭaṭ al-Kūfah* (description of the territorial allotments made to the first settlers in Kūfah), the *Kitāb Wulāt al-Kufah* (on the governors of Kūfah), the greater history of the *Sharifs*, the lesser history of the *Sharifs*, a classified list (*ṭabaqāt*) of Jurisconsults and Traditionists, the *Kunā al-Ashrāf* (on the surnames borne by the *Sharifs*), the *Khawāṭim al-Khulafā* (on the signet-rings used by the *khalifs*), a work on the *qāḍīs* of Kūfah and Baṣrah, the *Mawāsim* (periodical meeting-places), a work on the *khalifs*\*, the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (curious anecdotes), a book of annals, a history al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Ali, and observations on his death, a history of the Persians (*Fāros*), a work treating of the officers who commanded the police guards in the service of the Amirs of 'Irāq. He left also some other treatises. As he had the honour of being admitted into the society<sup>1</sup> of (the *Khalifs*) al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, al-Hādī and al-Rashīd, he transmitted down a number of their sayings : "Al-Mahdī" said he, "addressed me (one evening) in these terms : 'Attention, Haytham ! numerous anecdotes are told of the Arabs who dwell in the desert ; some speak of their avarice and meanness, others of their generosity and beneficence, and these accounts all disagree. What do you know on the subject ?' I replied : 'You have fallen on the knowing one ! I once left my family, with the intention of visiting some of my kindred, and took with me a female camel on which I rode. And behold ! she went off and ran away<sup>2</sup>. I followed her till the evening set in, and then I caught her. On looking round, I saw a Beduin tent and went to it. The mistress of it called to me and said : 'Who are you ?' I answered : 'A guest,' She replied : 'What has a guest to do with us ? The desert is surely wide enough.'<sup>3</sup> She then stood up to take some wheat and, having ground it, she kneaded the

<sup>1</sup> Literally : to the sittings.

<sup>2</sup> In this narration al-Haytham imitates the idiom spoken by the nomadic Arabs.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to mean : you may easily find another halting-places.

\* al-Khawārij in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

flour, made it into bread and sat down to eat. Very soon after, her husband arrived with milk and saluted (*us*). He then said: 'Who is this man?' She answered: 'A guest;' and he said to me: 'God grant you a long life!' Speaking then to her, he said; 'Tell me, such a one! did you give your guest anything to eat?' She answered: 'Yes.' He entered into the tent, filled a wooden bowl with milk, brought it out to me and said: 'Drink.' It was the sweetest draught I ever drank. 'I do not see you eating?' said he; 'did she give you anything?' I answered: 'No, by Allāh!' He went in to her, full of anger, and said: 'Woe be to you! you eat and left your guest (*without food*)!' 'What could I do for him?' said she; 'ought I to give him my own supper to eat'. He had then a discussion with her and ended by giving her a violent stroke on the head, after which, he took a leather provision bag, went to my camel and cut its throat. 'God forgive you!' I exclaimed: 'What are you doing?' He replied: 'By Allāh! my guest must not pass the night hungry.' He then gathered some sticks, lighted a fire and began to cook bits of meat arranged on skewers. He then ate with me, and threw (*some morsels*)<sup>1</sup> over to her saying: 'Eat, and may God never give you food!! At day-break, he left me and went away; so, I remained sitting and troubled in mind. When the day was advanced, he returned with a female camel whose beauty the eye would never tire in admiring, and said: 'Take this in place of yours.' He then gave me provisions out of the flesh which remained and of the store which he had in his dwelling. I set out and the night brought me to another tent. I saluted, and the mistress of the tent answered my salutation and said: 'what man are you?' I answered: 'A guest.' 'Welcome!' said she, 'God grant you long life and preserve you!' I dismounted; she took wheat, ground it, kneaded the flour and made it into a cake on which she poured cream and milk. She then placed it before me, saying: 'Eat, and excuse (*this modest repast*). Soon after, a surly-looking Beduin Arab came in and saluted. She rendered the salutation. 'What man are you?' said he. I answered:

---

<sup>1</sup> The civilised Arabs, those who inhabited towns, handed the meat to their guests; those of the desert threw it to them. See a remarkable instance in Imra al-Qays's *Mu'alluqah*, 10th verse.

'A guest !' He replied : 'What has a guest to do here? He then went in to his family and asked for his supper. She answered : 'I gave it to the guest ' 'How dare you give my supper to a guest?' said he. Many words passed between them, till, at length, he raised his stick and struck her on the head so as to wound her. I began to laugh, on which he came out of the tent and asked me why I did so. I replied : 'All right ! (*do not mind*)'. He insisted on knowing and I related to him what had passed between the woman and the man with whom I had stopped the night before. He drew near me and said : 'This woman here is the sister of that man and the woman who lives with him is my sister ! I passed the night wondering (*at these things*) and then went away." Here is an anecdote somewhat similar : "A man, in former times, was eating (*his dinner outside the door of his house*) and had before him a roast fowl. A beggar went up to him, but was sent away disappointed. Now this man was rich. He afterwards divorced his wife, lost his fortune, and the wife got another husband. The second husband was one day at dinner, with a roast fowl before him, when a beggar came up. He said to his wife : 'Give him the fowl.' She did so and, on looking at the stranger, she recognised in him her former husband. She went to her second husband and told him the circumstance, on which he said : 'And I, by Allāh ! was that very beggar whom he sent away disappointed. So his prosperity was turned over to me, by reason of his ingratitude towards God.'" The following anecdote was related by al-Huytham : "'Amr al-Zubaydī the son of Ma'dī Karīb<sup>1</sup>, had a sword called *al-Ṣamsāmah* ; and it came into the possession of (*the khalif*) Mū'ā al-Hādī, the son of al-Mahdī. 'Amr had given it to Sa'īd Ibn al-Āṣ the Umayyad, from whom it passed to his descendants, on the death of al-Mahdī (*who afterwards got it*), it was purchased by al-Hādī, who paid a large sum for it to the heirs. Al-Hādī was the most liberal of the 'Abbāsīd princes and the most beneficent. He drew the sword from the scabbard, laid it before him and gave orders to admit the poets. When they entered, he had a measure

1 For the history of this 'Amr, see the third volume of M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*.

brought in, containing a *badrah*,<sup>1</sup> and told them to extemporize verses on that sword. Bin Yamin (*Bengamin*) al-Baṣrī<sup>2</sup>, immediately hastened to recite lines :

"Of all men, Mūsā al-Amin is he who possesses the Ṣamṣāmah of the Zubaydite, the sword of 'Amr which, as we have heard, is the best, that a scabbard ever sheathed. Dark in colour, it encloses within its sides, a hemlock (*dhubāḥ*) chillness, and, with it, death cares not what she does. The thunderbolt lighted a fire over it and the smiths mingled position with its metal. When bared, it outshines the sun, so that he is scarcely visible. He that draws it for striking need not mind whether his left hand wield it or his right. It dazzles the sight and, like a firebrand (*whirled round*), the eye cannot fix on it. The lustre and the temper which pervade its sides are of the purest water. It is an excellent glaive to strike with (*yu'sā*) for him who, in the tumult of battle, fights to maintain his honour ; it is an excellent companion."

Al-Hādī exclaimed (*on hearing these verses*) : "By Allāh ! you have hit on my very thoughts," and, excited by joy, he ordered the sword and the measure of money to be given to the author. Bin Yamin, on withdrawing, said to the other poets : "Your hopes have been frustrated on my account ; so, here ! take the measure ; the sword is enough for me." Al-Hādī then repurchased it for a large sum. Al-Mas'ūdī states, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, that he bought it from the poet for fifty thousand (*dirhams*)<sup>3</sup>. The same author gives only a part of these verses. The word *dhubāḥ* is the name of a poisonous plant which is often mentioned in poems. *Yu'sa* (*percutitur*) derives from the verb which is pronounced 'aṣiya in the preterit and ya'si in the aorist ; it must not be confounded with the verb *aṣā*, *ya'sā*, which means *to commit a sin*. Al-Mas'ūdī has inserted the following relation in that chapter of the *Murūj al-Dhahāb* which treats of the reign of Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-

1 A *badrah* was ten thousand dirhams ; about two hundred pounds sterling. Some say that any sum, from one thousand dirhams to ten thousand formed a *badrah*.

2 I can find no information respecting this poet who, to judge from his name, was a Jew and a native of Baṣrah.

3 About one thousand pounds sterling.

Mālik : "Al-Haytham Ibn 'Adī states that 'Umar<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hānī related to him as follows: 'I went forth with 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī, the uncle of (the 'Abbāsīd *khalifs*) al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr. When we came to the tomb of (the Umayyad *khalif*) Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, we dug out the body. It was in good preservation and nothing was missing but the cartilage of the nose. 'Abd Allāh gave it eighty strokes of a whip and then had it burnt. We then went to the territory of Dābiq (near Aleppo) and opened the grave of Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. There we found nothing more than the back-bone, the skull and the ribs. These we burned, and did the same with the other bodies of the Umayyads who were interred at Qinnisrīn. We then went to Damascus and opened the grave of al-Walīd Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, but found in it no remains, either great or small. We dug open the grave of 'Abd al-Malik and found only some bones of the skull. Having then opened the grave of Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiyāh, we found in it only one bone and remarked, in the place where the body had been deposited, a dark line of a matter like ashes which extended from one end of the cavity to the other. We then visited successively the other Umayyad tombs situated in different countries and burned whatever remains we found in them." The motive which induced 'Abd Allāh to treat thus the bodies of the Umayyads was this : Zayd, the son of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (No. 397) and the grandson of al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the same Zayd of whom we have spoken in the life of the Wazīr Ibn Baqīyah (No. 672), took up arms against Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and aspired to the *khalifate*. A number of *sharifs* and *Qur'ān*-readers followed his standard. He was attacked by Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafī, a chief whose life we shall give, and his partisans were put to rout. He remained (on the field of battle) with a few friends and, whilst fighting with the utmost bravery, he recited the following lines, as applicable to his own case :

"It's vile to live and hard to die ; a bitter draught each of them is for me. But, since I must submit to one or to the other, I shall honourably march towards my death".

---

1 The edition of Būlāq reads *Mu'ammār*.

The night separated the two armies and Zayd returned (to his tent) covered with wounds. An arrow had stuck him on the forehead, and a barber-surgeon, who was brought from a (neighbouring) town to extract the iron point, drew it out without knowing who the wounded man was ; for this he concealed from him. Zayd expired immediately after and was buried by his partisans in the bed of a running stream. They covered his grave with earth and weeds, and let the water (resume its course and) flow over it. The barber was present at the interment and, wishing to gain the favour of Yūsuf, he went, the next morning, and informed him of the place where the grave was. Yūsuf had the body taken out, and sent the head to Hishām who, in return, wrote to him the order to strip the body naked and fasten it to a cross. This was done. A poet in the service of the Umayyads composed a verse on this occasion and, in it he said, addressing the descendants of Abū Ṭālib :

“We have crucified that Zayd of yours on the trunk of a date-tree ; and I never yet saw a man who was well-guided attached to the trunk of a tree”.

The lower part of this cross was then encased in masonry<sup>1</sup>. At a later period, Hishām wrote to Yūsuf, ordering him to burn the body and scatter the ashes to the winds. This took place in the year 121 (A. C. 739) or 122. According to Abū Bakr Ibn ‘Ayyāsh (No. 237) and a number of the persons who related historical anecdotes, Zayd's naked body remained on the cross for five years, and no one, during that period, ever saw the privy parts of it ; God, in His favour to Zayd, having veiled them from sight. It was in the *Kunāsah*<sup>2</sup> of Kūfah that the body was crucified. When Yaḥyā, the son of Zayd, made his appearance in *Khurāsān*, this event was well-known<sup>3</sup>; al-Walid Ibn Yazid, who was then reigning, wrote to the governor of Kūfah the order to burn the body of

1 The text has : and he built a column underneath the wood, or beam.

2 The word *kunāsah* signifies a place where the dirt and sweepings of a town are deposited.

3 See Price's *Retrospect of Mahommedan history*. vol. I, pages 570-572.

Zayd with the wood to which it was attached. This he did and then scattered the ashes to the wind, on the back of the Euphrates, God best knows which is the true account. It was to avenge his cousins that 'Abd Allāh treated the Umayyads in the same manner as they had treated the descendants of 'Alī. The following anecdote was related by al-Haytham : 'I was appointed to collect the cattle-tax due by the Banū Fazārah, and a man of that tribe came to me and said : 'Shall I shew you something extraordinary?' I answered : 'Yes', and he led me to a high mountain in which there was an opening. He bid me enter, but I replied that the guide should always go first. He went in, I followed and a number of people came after us. The (*passage in the*) mountain sometimes got narrow and sometimes widened, till we at length saw a light. We went up to it, and behold a crevice stretched across the ground and javelins were sticking in the sides of the cavern<sup>1</sup>. We drew them out and found them to be the arrows made use of by (*an extinct giant race, that of*) 'Ād. On the rock was engraved an inscription, the letters of which were of two fingers' length, or perhaps more. The writing was Arabic, and the inscription ran thus :

"Small we ever return<sup>2</sup> to the dwellings at the foot of Dīu 'l-Liwā, the Liwā of the sands, and thus be assured that our hearts spoke us true. That country was ours and we loved it ; for men are men, and a home is always a home".

It is related that Abū Nuwās Ibn Hānī, the poet of whom we have spoken (*No. 162*), went to one of the (*literary*) sittings which al-Haytham had begun to hold. The latter, not recognizing him, did not invite him to approach nor offer him a nearer place. So, the other rose up in a passion (*and went away*). Al-Haytham asked who he was and, having heard his name, he exclaimed : "God preserve me ! this is a calamity which I did not mean to draw upon myself. Rise up and let us go after him, that we may offer him our excuses". On reaching the poet's door, he knocked and mentioned who he was. Being told by the other to enter, he

---

1 Literally : In the mountain.

2 Literally : Shall there ever be a return.

went in and found him sitting (*on the floor*), and straining *nabidh*<sup>1</sup> The house itself was arranged in a manner befitting a (*debauchee*) like him. Al-Haytham then said : "The granting of pardon belongs to God and afterwards to you. By Allāh ! I did not recognize you ; but the fault was yours, because you neglected mentioning your name. You thus prevented us from showing you fitting respect and treating you with due regard". Seeing that Abū Nuwās appeared to accept his excuses, he added : "I beg of you to spare me (*and suppress*) whatever verses you may have just composed on me". The poet replied : "There is no means of recalling the past, but you have the assurance (*that*) for the future (*I shall not attack you*) ! On this al-Haytham said : "Tell me what is the past, and my life shall be the ransom of yours"! He answered : "It is a verse which I uttered during the state (*of irritation*) in which you may perceive me still to be". Al-Haytham requested him to repeat it and, on his refusal, he insisted so much that he obtained his wish. The poet recited as follows :

"Haytham, the son of 'Adī : you are not of the Arabian stock and it is only indirectly<sup>2</sup> that you belong to the tribe of Tay. When you make (*of your father*) 'Adī a descendant of Thū'al, place the *d* of his name before the 'ayn, in tracing up his genealogy<sup>3</sup>".

Al-Haytham rose up and left him, but some time after, the remaining verses of the piece came to his knowledge. Here they are :

"Haytham, the son of 'Adī, is so changeable in mind that every day, he sets his foot in the stirrup. He is always saddling and unsaddling (*his camel*) for a journey to visit a (*rich*) enfranchised slave or an Arab. He has a tongue excited (*to elequence*) by his natural genius<sup>4</sup> ; one would think he had always travelled (*like an Arab of the desert*) upon a camel's pillion. I should like to see him set up on the bridge and mounted on a steed (*a cross*)

1 See No. 129n.

2 The Arabic words are على شغب, which I render by conjecture.

3 The word *da'i* signifies : counterfeit, bastard.

4 Here, and in some other passages of the same piece, I translate by conjecture.



nearly as worthless as himself. O that I saw him covering that steed with a raiment of blood, to replace the filaments and leaves (*which covered it before*). God help thee! (*simpleton!*) you need not be so proud of your parentage; (*to support your pretensions*) you borrowed a genealogy from books."

On this, al-Haytham returned to Abū Nuwās and said: "Good God! did you not give me the assurance and the promise that you would not satirize me?" The other answered (*in these words of the Qur'ān*, sūrah xxvi, verse 226). "They (*the poets*) say that which they do not". The anecdotes concerning al-Haytham are very numerous, but we have already given sufficient details. He was born before the year 130 (A.C. 747), and he died on the 1st of Muḥarram, 206 (6th June, A.C. 821), or 207, according to another statement. Ibn Qutaybah's *Ma'ārif* places his death in the year 209. He left posterity at Baghdād. Al-Sam'ānī (*No.* 370) says, in his (*Ansāb*), under the word *al-Buḥturī*, that he died A.H. 209 at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, aged Ninety-three years. Another author adds that he died at the house of al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl (*No.* 169). We have already mentioned, in the life of Būrān (*No.* 117), that her marriage with al-Māmūn took place at Fam al-Ṣilḥ, in that year. From this it appears that al-Haytham was one of the company which he had with him. We have already spoken of Ṭay (*No.* 143) and (*shall speak*) of *Buḥturī*. *Ṭhu'ali* means *descended from Ṭhu'al* the son of 'Amr, the son of al-Ghawṭh the son of Ṭay. The rest of the genealogy will be found in our article on al-Buḥturī, under the letter *W*. A number of families descended from Ṭay bore the surname of *Ṭhu'all*; such were the Buḥturī, the Salāmān and others. To the tribe of *Ṭhu'al* belonged 'Amr Ibn al-Masiḥ\* al-*Ṭhu'ali* (*the chief*) who accompanied one of the deputations sent by the Arab tribes to the Prophet. He became a Muslim at Madinah, being then one hundred and fifty years of age. He was the best archer of all the Arabs. It is to him that the poet Imra al-Qays Hunduj al-Kindi, the son of Hujr, alludes in this verse:

"Sometimes an archer of the tribe of *Ṭhu'al*, thrusting out his hands from his hiding place!."

1 See my *Diwan d' Amrollkai*, page 56.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives 'al-Musabbih' and remarks in a footnote that *al-Masih* is a distorted reading.—Ed.

This is one of the arguments adduced by Ibn Qutaybah, in his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā*, to prove that Imra al-Qays lived about forty years before the Prophet ; for such is the conclusion announced by that author.

#### 754 WĀṢIL IBN 'AṬĀ

Abū Ḥudhayfah Wāṣil Ibn 'Atā, the Mu'tazilite, known also by the name of al-Ḡhazzāl, was a *mawlā* to the tribe of Ḍubbah or, by another statement, to the tribe of Makhzūm. He was one of those great masters of the Arabic language<sup>1</sup> who discoursed on scholastic theology (*kalām*) and other sciences. He lisped in pronouncing the letter *r* (*ra'*) and thus made of it a *gh* (*ghayn*). Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*) mentions him in the *Kāmil* and speaks of him in these terms : "Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā was really a wonderful man. He had a horrid lisp in pronouncing the letter *r* and, for that reason he never, in speaking, made use of words wherein it occurred. No one perceived the (*difficulty he had to surmount*), such was his mastery over the language and the fluency of his pronunciation." Alluding to this, a Mu'tazilite poet named Abu 'l-Ṭurāq al-Ḍabbī, said in praise of the talent with which Wāṣil made speeches without employing the *r*, a letter which presents itself very frequently in discourse and which was (*for him*) as if it did not exist :

"Skilled (*'alīm*) in replacing one letter by another, and surpassing every preacher, whose vain (*doctrines*) were (*thus*) overcome by the truth."<sup>2</sup> And another poet said, on the same subject :

"When speaking of wheat (*burr*) he employs (*the word*) *gamḥ*, and, in his enmity to the *r*, he manages adroitly to express in other letters the words) *shi'ar* (*poetry*). He never says *maṣār*

1 Literally : He was one of the eloquent *imāms*.

2 The meaning of the last hemistich may perhaps have escaped the translator.

(rain), even in the haste of speech, but comes out with (*the word*) *ghaylī* ; so greatly he fears the rain (*maṭar*)”.

It is related that he said, in speaking of Bashshār Ibn Burd (No. 110): “Is there no one who will kill that blind fellow sur-named Abū Mu‘ādh ? By Allāh ! if treachery were not a characteristic of the *Shi‘ites*, I should send a person to cut open his belly whilst he is on his couch. Then he would (*no longer*) be a Sadūsīde or an ‘Uqaylīde.” He said *this blind fellow (a’mā)* to avoid saying *Bashshār* and *Ḍarīr*, instead of *Mughiriyah* or *Mān-ṣūriyah* (*the names of Shi‘ite sects*), he employed the word *Ghālīyah* (i. e. *extravagants, the name of another Shi‘ite sect*); being unwilling to say *arsalt* (*which means I should send*), he chose the word *ba‘athī*, and instead of *marqad* (*sleeping-place*) or of *farāsh* (*bed*), he made use of the word *muhja’* (*couch*) ; to avoid saying *yabqar* (*split open*), he employed the term *yab‘aj* (*burst*) ; he brought in the ‘Uqaylīdes and the Sadūsīdes because Bashshār was a *mawlā* to the first mentioned of these tribes and had dwelt for some time with the second. Al-Sam‘ānī (No. 370) states, in his *Ansāb*, under the title *Mu‘tazilī*, that Wāṣil Ibn ‘Aṭā used to go and sit with<sup>1</sup> al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (No. 148), but disputes having arisen (*concerning the dogmas of the faith*), the *Khārijites* taught that who ever committed a great sin was an infidel (*and deserved to be put to death*) ; whilst the general opinion of the Muslims was that such a man was a true believer, though guilty of a heinous sin. On this Wāṣil Ibn ‘Aṭā left both parties, declaring that a wicked man of the Muslim community was neither a believer nor an infidel, but held a middle station between the two. This made al-Ḥasan expel him from his school<sup>2</sup>. Wāṣil, having seceded (*mu‘tazal*) from him, got for a pupil<sup>3</sup> ‘Amr Ibn ‘Ubayd (No. 478) These two and their followers received the nickname of *Mu‘tazilītes* (*seceder*). This is the passage to which I referred in my article on ‘Amr Ibn ‘Ubayd, in case the reader wished to know the signification and origin of the term *Mu‘tazilīte*. In my notice of

1 The expression جلس إلى “to go and sit near” a person, signifies, probably, to attend his lessons.

2 Literally ; from the place where he held his sitting (*majlis*).

3 Literally : a by-sitter.

Qatādah Ibn Di'amha al-Sadūsi (No. 516), I mentioned that it was he who gave them this name. Wāṣil's skill in avoiding the letter *r* became proverbial, and poets have often alluded to it in their verses. It is thus that Abū Muḥammad al-Khāzin<sup>1</sup> said, in a high-sounding *qaṣīdah* composed in praise of the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād (No. 93) :

Truly, on the day of gifts (*'aṭā*), he avoids saying the word *no*, and that with as much care as Ibn 'Aṭā avoids the letter *r*.

Another poet said of a person whom he loved and who lisped :

"Lisp (*to me*) that *r* again ; (*it sounds too sweetly*) that, if Wāṣil was present and heard it, he would never again suppress the *r*."

By another :

"Do you treat my love as you treat the letter *r*, which you (*avoid and*) never utter ; you have rejected me as if you were Wāṣil."

How admirably said ! how beautiful the expression : *you have rejected me as if you were Wāṣil*<sup>2</sup> ! Another poet has said :

"Treat me not like the *alif of union* (*ḥamzah wāṣil*)<sup>3</sup> ; I should then (*like it*), be rejected ! treat me not as Wāṣil did the *r*."

The celebrated Spanish poet, Abū 'Umar Yūsuf Ibn Hārūn al-Kindī al-Ramādī<sup>4</sup>, who died A.H. 403 (A.C. 1013), is the author

1 Abū Muḥammad 'Abū Allāh Ibn Aḥmad, surnamed al-Khāzin (*the treasurer, or librarian*), was one of the most distinguished poets of Iṣbahān. The Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād treated him with great favour, chose him for his librarian and admitted him into his parties of pleasure. After some time, Abū Muḥammad left him in a moment of anger and continued, during a few years, to lead a straggling life in 'Irāq, in Syria and in Hijāz. He afterwards rejoined the Ṣāhib at Jurjān. Al-Tha'ālibī, who furnishes these indications, gives, in his *Yatimah* several pieces of verse composed by al-Khāzin ; but does not indicate the year of his death, which probably occurred before the beginning of the fifth century of the hijrah (A. C. 1010).

2 Our author admires this hemistich because it bears another meaning, namely : as if you meant to take me into favour.

3 The letter called the *alif of union* is elided in the pronunciation.

4 No. 821 contains an article on the poet al-Ramādī. He entered into a conspiracy against the wazīr Abū 'Āmir al-Manḡūr, who was then all-powerful in Cordova. For his adventures, see M. Dozy's *Historie des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome III, p. 172 et seq.

of the following lines, in which however, he makes no allusion to Wāṣil :

"Neither the *r* nor I can hope to obtain your favour ; being rejected (*by you,*) the same misfortune unites us before and (*in that*) we are equal. When I was alone, I wrote it on the palm of my hand and remained sighing, both I and it!"

This is a subject so vast that we cannot go on with it any farther ; and the examples which we have given are quite sufficient. A great number of verses have been composed by poets on the defect of pronunciation by which the letter *s* is converted into *th* (or *ts*). Here, for instance, is a piece attributed to Abū Nuwās (No. 162) ; though it is not to be found in his collected poetical works. It may probably have been transmitted down orally by 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahānī<sup>2</sup> who knew by heart and taught to others a great number of poems. The verses are remarkable for their elegance and sweetness :

"I asked that tender fawn (*maiden*) what was her name, and she answered : 'Mirdās.\* When the night came on, she handed me a cup of wine and said : '(*Fear not !*) the people are asleep. See how beautiful the garlands which crown us ! the jasmine and the myrtle contribute to adorn them.' On hearing her lisp, I also became a lisper and said 'Where is the pitcher and the wine-cup.'<sup>3</sup> "

If I undertook to give here every piece of this kind, I should be led very far. There are, however, but few which allude to the lisp of the letter *r*, and therefore shall insert the following :

1 I do not know what the poet means by this verse which I may, perhaps, have misunderstood.

2 Abu 'l-Faraj 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah of Iṣbahān, composed a work on eminent Persians and published editions of the poetical works left by Abū Tammām, Abū Nuwās and al-Buḥārī. Ḥāji Khalīfah places his death in the year 356 (A.C. 966-7). This was also the year in which took place the death of Abu 'l-Faraj 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn of Iṣbahān, the author of the *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, (No. 415). Professor Flügel considers them to be one and the same person.

3 In the text of this piece, every *s* of the dialogue is replaced by *th*.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives : 'Abāth.—Ed.

"I swear by the whiteness of my beloved's teeth! by the beauty-spot like point on the *kha* (خ) which is seen on her cheek when the ringlet is turned aside! that her Mawṣilian lisp has fascinated me. The love it inspires has cast me into a swollen sea (*of passion*). The cheeks of that fair one who speaks with a foreign accent are shaded by scorpions (*ringlets*) empowered to sting me alone. When she speaks, the deafest of the deaf hearken to the tuneful lisping of her words. She says to me, when I kiss her shining mouth, for it is she whom I love and who grants me all I wish for,—(*she says*) when the cup of ebriety is emptied and the tint of the wine displays its fairest colours on her cheeks: 'Go on gently! for the inebriating liquor which you sip from the vine of my lips will only add intoxication to intoxication!.'"

This poet has well expressed the thought. In the last verse are a great number of *rs* which have been replaced by *ghs*. Al-Khubzārūzī, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*No. 733*), composed the following piece on a girl who lisped the *r*, but he does not indicate this lisp except in the last word of the verse.

"At al-Karkh is a fawn who speaks with a lisp and lisping is a quality which I require (*in a mistress*). How like is her waist to that of the wasp! it is even as thin as the scorpion (*ringlet pendent*) on her cheek. Her lips enclose a theriac which heals the sting, when its violence burns my heart. If I say when embracing her: 'May my life be the ransom of thine! Dic mihi; ubi est (*mentula*)?' she replies 'I do not know.'"<sup>2</sup>

One word has brought on another and diverted us from our subject, namely, the history of Wāṣil Ibn 'Āṭā. His neck was so long that people reproached him for it as fault and Bashshār Ibn Burd composed on it the following verses.

"Why should I be plagued with a *ghazzāl* (*a cottonspinner*) whose neck is like that of an ostrich in the desert, whether he stays or goes away? That cameleopard's neck of yours, what do you

1 The last verse, if correctly written, should run thus:

ترفق فشرف الخمر بن كرم ربيقتي 'يز يدك عند الشرب \* مكر أعلى سكر

2 She said *mā'ad ḡhī* instead of *mā adri*.

\* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd شكر أعلى شكر .

mean with it ? I mind it not. You call those men infidels who declared a certain man (*i.e. you*) to be so!."

Those two persons had a great dislike for each other and proofs of their mutual jealousy are very numerous ; we have already mentioned what Wāṣil said of Bashshār. Al-Mubarrad informs us, in his *Kāmil*, that Wāṣil was not a spinner (*ghazzāl*), but that he received this surname because he frequented the cotton-spinners for the purpose of discovering poor and virtuous females to whom he might distribute alms. He then adds : "Wāṣil had a very long neck, and it is related that 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd said, before making his acquaintance. No good can come of that man as long as he has such a neck." Wāṣil composed a number of works, such as a treatise on the different sects of the Murjiyans<sup>2</sup>, another on the repenting of one's sins, another entitled the *Intermediate station*, another containing pious discourses in which the letter *r* was not to be found, another on the *Ma'ani* or rhetorical figures of the *Qur'ān*, another consisting of discourses on the unity of God and on justice (*free-will*) a recital of what passed between him and 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd, a guide to the knowledge of the truth (*as Sabīl ilā ma'rifat al-Ḥaqq*, a treatise on the *Da'wah* or doctrines) professed by him), a classified list (*ṭabāqāt*) of the learned and the ignorant, etc. The anecdotes related of him are very numerous. He was born in Madīnah, A.H. 80 (A.C 699-700), and he died in the year 131 (A.C. 748-9)<sup>3</sup>.

### 755 WATHĪMAH IBN MŪSĀ

Abū Yazid Wathīmah, the son of Mūsā, the son of al-Furāt, bore the surnames of al-Washshā, al-Fārisī al-Fasawī (*the silk-mercer, native of the town of Fasā in Persia*). Having proceeded

1 This is an allusion to the doctrine professed by Wāṣil and already indicated by our author.

2 See Sale's preliminary discourse to his translation of the *Qur'ān*, section VIII.

3 The edition of Bulāq and one of my Manuscripts offer the date 181 as that of Wāṣil's death. It does not appear to be acceptable ; that given in the other manuscripts and in the *Nujūm* is probably the true one, and, as such, is adopted here.

from his native place to Baṣrah, he went from that to Egypt, whence he travelled as a merchant to Spain. He dealt in silk brocades. In a work composed by him on the history of the great apostasy (*riddah*), he mentions the (*Arabian*) tribes which apostatized on the death of the Prophet, and gives an account of the expeditions sent against them by (*the Khalif*) Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq. He relates also the manner in which the war was carried on, and gives an account of what passed between these insurgents and the Musulmāns. He mentions in it also the tribes which returned to the true faith, the attacks directed against those who refused to pay the (*zakat or tithe on cattle*), and relates all that took place between Khālīd Ibn al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī and Mālik Ibn Nuwayrah al-Yarbū'i, on whose death some well-known elegies were composed by his brother Mutammim. In this work he relates the manner in which Mālik was killed, and gives the text of the poems composed by Mutammim and others on that event. It is a good work and contains much useful information. We have already mentioned, in the life of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Wāqīdī (*No. 618*), that he also composed a good work on the apostasy. I do not know if Wathīmah wrote any other work than the one I have spoken of; but he acquired a great reputation. Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn al-Faraḍī (*No. 326*) speaks of him in his (*biographical*) history of Spain; the ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī (*No. 590*) mentions him in the *Judhwat al-Muqtabis*, Abū Sa'īd Ibn Yūnus (*No. 334*) in his History of Egypt, and Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (*No. 370*), in his *Ansāb*, under the word *Washīshā*. He there says: "He dealt in *washī*, which is a stuff made of silk." A number of persons have borne this surname, one of whom was the Wathīmah here mentioned. Wathīmah returned from Spain to Egypt, and died in Old Cairo on Monday, the 10th of the first Jumādā, 237 (9th November, A. C. 851). Abū Sa'īd Ibn Yūnus says, in his History, that Wathīmah left a son whose name was Abū Rifā'ah 'Umārah Ibn Wathīmah, and who taught Traditions on the authority of Abū Ṣāliḥ, al-Layḥ Ibn Sa'd's secretary<sup>1</sup>, on that of his own

<sup>1</sup> Our author (*No. 523*) declares al-Layḥ Ibn Sa'd to have been an exact and trustworthy Traditionist; but I must say that many of the historical tradi-



father and on that of other Traditionists. A history in the form of annals was composed by him. He was born in Old Cairo, and he died on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd of the latter Jumādā, 28 (4th June, A. C. 902). *Wathimah* means a heap of harbs or of provisions; it signifies also a rock and is employed as a proper name for men. It means also the stone made use of to strike fire. The Arabs say, in one of their oaths: "By him who brought forth the '*adhq*' from the *jarimah* and fire from the *wathimah*!" '*Adhq*' (عذق) means a date-tree, and *jarimaha* date-kernel. We have spoken of the word *Fusawl* in the life of Abū 'Alī al-Fārsī (No. 155), and that of Arslan al-Basāsiri (No. 78), so we need not repeat our observations here. Having mentioned the names of Mālik and of his brother Mutammim, I feel obliged to give here a sketch of their history, which is very interesting. Mālik Ibn Nuwayrah was one of those princely-minded, and eminent men who acted as *radifs* (lieutenants) to kings<sup>1</sup>. *Radifs* were of two sorts: one rode behind the prince and on the same camel, when they went out to hunt, or to any place of amusement. The office of the second was much more eminent; when the prince held a court of justice, and happened to quit his seat, the *radif* took his place and judged between the contending parties. This Mālik is the same whose name occurs in the proverbial expression; *A pasture-ground, but not like that of al-Sa'dān; a source, but not like that of Šaddā, and a hero, but not like Mālik. He was a gallant cavalier, a poet, a chief devotedly obeyed by his tribe; full of audacity and bravery, so remarkable for his thick head of hair that he was designated by the epithet of Jafūl (hairy-head).* When the Arabian tribes sent deputations to the Prophet, he was one of those who went and, having embraced the Muslim religion, he was nominated by the Prophet collector of the alms-tax (*sadaqah*) payable by his tribe. When the Arabs apostatized, after the death of the Prophet, by their refusing to pay the tax, Mālik did as the others. On the appointment of Abū Bakr to the *khalifate*, *Khālid*

---

(Continued from page 149)

tions given on his authority by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, in his history of the conquest of Egypt, are evidently false.

1 These kings were probably the phylarchs of 'Irāq and of Syria.

Ibn al-Walid marched against the rebels and halted at the place where Mālik was<sup>1</sup>. This chief had already gathered in the tax imposed on his tribe, the Banū Yarbū', and appropriated it to his own use. Khālid spoke to him on the subject and received this answer: "I fulfil the duty of prayer but shall not pay the tax." "Do you not know," said Khālid "that prayer and the payment of this tax go together? one will not be accepted without the other." Mālik answered: "Was it your master who said that?" Khālid replied: "Do you not consider him to be your master also? by Allāh! I have a great mind to strike off your head." Then, after long altercation, Khālid said: I shall take your life." "Is that also the order which your master gave you?" said Mālik. "Do you say that after what you have already said?" exclaimed Khālid; "by Allāh! I shall take your life!" 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar (No. 243n.), and Abū Qatādah the Anṣār<sup>2</sup> were present at this scene and remonstrated with Khālid but he would not hearken to them. Mālik then said: "O Khālid! send us to Abū Bakr and let him judge between us; you have already done so for others who were more culpable than we." Khālid answered: May God never forgive me my sins, if I do not kill you!" He then ordered Ḍirār Ibn al-Azwar al-Asadī to strike off his head. On this, Mālik turned towards his wife, Umm Mutamim, and said to Khālid: "There is the person who costs me my life." She was, indeed, extremely beautiful. Khālid replied: "Not at all! It is God who slays you for abandoning Islāmism." Mālik declared that he was a Muslim. "Ḍirār!" said Khālid, "strike off his head". This was done and the head was put in the place of one of the three stones which supported the flesh-pot. Mālik, as we have said, surpassed most men by the abundance of his hair, which was so thick, that the meat was cooked in the pot before the fire had reached the skull. Ibn al-Kalbī (No. 749). states, in his *Jamharah*, that Mālik was put

---

1 The history of Mālik is given in a much more satisfactory manner by M. Caussin de Perceval in his *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

2 Al-Hārith Ibn Rabi' surnamed Abū Qatādah and one of the bravest horsemen in the service of Muḥammad, was a native of Madīnah. He died, A. H. 54 (A. C. 673-4) (*Nujūm*).

to death on the day of al-Biṭāh<sup>1</sup>. His brother Mutamim escaped and composed elegies on his death. Khālid seized on the wife of Mālik, or by another account he purchased her out of the booty, and married her. It is said that he allowed her to wait till she had thrice her periodical infirmity, and then obtained her consent to marry him. He invited Ibn 'Umar and Abū Qatādah to the wedding, but they refused, and the former said to him: "I shall write to Abū Bakr and relate to him what has passed." Khālid was inflexible and married her. This induced Abū Nuḥayr<sup>2</sup> al-Sa'di to compose the following lines:

"Say to the tribe whom the horsemen trampled under foot: How long this night appears after the death of Mālik! He was treated with iniquity on account of his wife, and Khālid, who committed the crime, was in love with her long before. He executed his purpose without endeavouring to rein in his passion and control it. He thus became a married man, and Mālik, who perished as all things must, was reduced to nothing. Who now remains after him to protect the widows and the orphans? Who is there... now to aid the poor and the destitute? The Tamimides<sup>3</sup>, from the highest to the lowest<sup>4</sup>, have received a fatal stroke in the person of their cavalier, him on whom they fixed their hopes, him with the slender shoulders<sup>5</sup>.

When intelligence of this event reached Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the latter said to the former: "Khālid has committed adultery; order him to be lapidated." Abū Bakr replied: "I cannot allow him to be lapidated; he only interpreted wrong (his orders)." "But," said 'Umar, "he has killed a Muslim." "I cannot put him to death for that," said the other: "he only interpreted wrong (his orders)." "Then deprive him of his commandment," said 'Umar. "No," replied Abū Bakr, "I shall never sheath a sword

1 See M. Caussin's *Essai*, etc., tome III p. 366.

2 I follow the reading offered by the manuscript 702 and the autograph of the Annals of Abū 'l-Feda.

3 Mālik's tribe, the Yarbū', was a branch of the great tribe of Tamim.

4 Literally: their fat and their lean.

5 The two last words vary in the printed editions and the manuscripts. I read شرح الحوارى.

\* 'Zuhayr' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

which God drew against the wicked." Such is the relation given of this affair in the book composed by Wathimah and in that of al-Waqidi. and let them be answerable for its turth. Mutamim Ibn Nuwayrah, the brother of Mālik, bore the surname of Abū Nahshal, and was celebrated as a poet. He seldom stirred out of his house (*or tent*), and troubled himself little about his own affairs, becuase he relied on his brother. He was deformed in body and had lost an eye. When he was informed of Mālik's death, he went to the Mosque of the Prophet (*at Madinah*) and, having taken his place behind Abū Bakr, he said (*with him*) the morning prayer. When the *khalif*, who was in the *mihrab* turned round (*to the congregation*), Mutammim stood up and, leaning on the extremity of his bow, recited these lines :

"He was truly admirable when the winds howled about the tents, he who was slain by you, Ibn al-Azwar! You invited him in God's name and you betrayed him; had he invited you, under the safeguard of his honour, he would not have betrayed."

(*On pronouncing these last words*), he pointed to Abū Bakr who exclaimed : "By Allāh ! I never invited him nor ever betrayed him." The poet continued thus :

"Admirable he was, either sheathed in mail or unarmed ! How excellent a retreat was his dwelling for the benighted traveller who perceived the light of his fire ! Under his dress he concealed no turpitude ; he was, in disposition, mild, and in conduct, chaste."

He then wept and, ceasing to lean upon his bow, he sat down and lamented so bitterly that tears flowed from his blind eye. 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb went up to him and said : " I wish you had composed such an elegy as that on the death of my brother Zayd." Mutammim answered : "O Abū Ḥafs ! if I thought that my brother had gone to the place where yours is now, I should not lament his death." On this, 'Umar said : "Never, since I lost Zayd, did any man give me sweeter consolation than Mutammim." Zayd, the son of al-Khaṭṭāb, fell a martyr in the battle of al-Yamāmah<sup>1</sup>. 'Umar used to say : "I

<sup>1</sup> See M. Caussin's *Essai*, tome III, p. 371.

enjoy the breath of the zephyr because it blows from the spot where Zayd reposes." It is stated that 'Umar said to Mutammim : " If I could make verses on the death of my brother, they should be like what you made on the death of yours " It is stated that Mutammim had composed an elegy on Zayd, but did not well succeed; so, 'Umar said to him : Why was your elegy on the death of Zayd so different from that which you composed on Mālik ?" The poet answered : "By Allāh ! I was moved to lament Mālik for motives which did not lead me to lament Zayd." 'Umar said to him one day : You are really a man of judgment ; how was your brother, compared with you" ? He replied : My brother would mount a *ṭhafāl* (*slow-paced*) camel, in a thundering (*aziz*) and cloudy (*ṣurrād*) night leading by the bridle a restive horse (*jarūr*) and carrying in his hand a heavy spear. On his shoulders was a small cloak (*falūt*) and, on each side of him, a provision bag (*mazādah*), and he would ride on till morning with a smile on his face." The word *aziz* (أزیز) signifies the sound of thunder ; *ṣurrād* (صُرَاد) means a thin cloud in which there is no water ; *ṭhafāl* (ثَفَال) is a slow-paced camel, so heavy that it can hardly walk ; *jarūr* (جُرُور) is a horse which disobeys the rein ; a *falūt* (فَلُوت) cloak is one which scarcely holds on the person who wears it ; *mazadah* (مَزَاد) is the water-bag, as is well-known. Another day, 'Umar said to him : "Tell me something concerning your brother ;" and he answered thus : "Commander of the faithful ! I was once taken prisoner by a tribe of Arabs, and my brother, being informed of what had happened, came to them. When they saw him appear, every one stood up, and every woman of the tribe peeped out through the openings of the tents. He had not time to get off his camel when they lead me up to him, cord and all, (literally : with my *rummah*), and it was he who untied me." There, said 'Umar, "was true nobility ! " A *rummah* is a worn out cord ; from it is derived the expression : to give a man a thing with its *rummah*. It originated in a man's giving to another a camel with a halter on its neck, and was then employed to denote the gift of a thing with all belonging to it. Mutammim said, another day, to 'Umar : "A tribe of Arabs attacked the tribe of my brother whilst he was absent. When the alarm reached him, he sallied forth and

followed their foot-steps. He had with him a camel which he rode or drove before him alternately, and he overtook them after travelling three (*nights*). At the moment they thought themselves out of danger, he appeared unexpectedly. When they saw him, they fled away, abandoning their prisoners and booty. My brother overtook them, and they all surrendered, so that he had only to tie their hands behind their backs and lead them to his own country." On this, 'Umar said; "We heard of his beneficence and his bravery, but we knew nothing of what you have just related." One of the elegies composed by him on Mālik is of singular beauty; it rhymes in *k* and is to be found in that section of the *Ḥamāsah*<sup>1</sup> which contains the elegiac poems. Here it is:

"My companion blamed me for weeping over every tomb and shedding floods of tears. 'Why weep you over every tomb you see? Is it for (*the recollection*) of that tomb which lies between al-Liwā and al-Dakādik?' I answered: 'Sighs beget sighs; so, let me weep! for all these are (*for me*) as the tomb of Mālik.' "

In a *qaṣidah* of considerable length and beauty, the rhyme of which is formed by the letter *ayn*, the same poet says:

"For a long time we were like the two boon companions of Jadhīmah; so that it was said of us 'They will never be separated!' We led a life of happiness, but before us, death attained the families of Chosroes and of Tubba. When separated, the long time which I passed with Mālik seemed to me as short as a single night."

As the reader of this book may desire some information respecting Jadhīmah and his two boon companions, I shall speak of them here. *Jadhīmah*, for so his name must be pronounced, belonged to the family of al-Azd, and bore the surname of Abū Mālik. He was the son of Mālik, the son of Fahm, the son of Daws, the son of al-Azd. Ḥirah and the neighbouring country acknowledged his authority. People called him *the speckled* (*al-Abrash*) or *the spotted with white* (*al-Waḍḍāh*) because he was

<sup>1</sup> See Freytags *Ḥamāsah*, page 370.

a leper. The Arabs abstained from giving him the surname of the *leper*, through fear of offending him, and therefore designated him by one or the other of the former terms. He was one of the provincial kings, and lived about thirty years after Jesus<sup>1</sup>. So great was his pride that he would have no other boon companions than the two stars called *al-Farqadān*<sup>2</sup>. His sister had a son named 'Amr, the son of 'Adī the *Lakhmide*, who was the son of Naṣr, the son of Rabi'ah, the son of al-Ḥārith, the son of Mālīk, the son of 'Adī, surnamed 'Amam, because he was the first who wore a turban (*imāmah*), the son of Numārah, the son of *Lakhm*. The rest of the genealogy is well known<sup>3</sup>. The name of Jadhīmah's sister was Riqāsh. Her son, for whom Jadhīmah had a great affection, was spirited away by the genii, and his uncle searched for him a long time without finding him. There were two brothers of the tribe of al-Qayn, one of whom was named Mālīk and the other 'Aqīl. Their father's name was Fāriḥ\* the son of Mālīk, the son of Ka'b, the son of al-Qayn, whose true name was al-Nu'mān, the son of Jasr, the son of Shay Allāh. These two found 'Amr in the desert, with his hair dishevelled, his nails grown to a great length and his appearance miserable. They knew him and brought him to his uncle, after arranging his hair and attiring him decently. Jadhīmah was so overjoyed at seeing him that he told them to ask whatever reward they pleased, and they said: "Let us be your boon companions as long as you and we live." He answered: That I grant to you." These were the two boon companions whose reputation became proverbial. It is said that they were Jadhīmah's constant guests during forty years and that they never, in all that period, repeated to him a story which

1 According to M. Caussin de Perceval, this prince lived in the third century of our era (*Essai*, tome II, p. 16).

2 The Farqadān are the stars B and Y of Ursa minor. We read in the *Essai* of M. Caussin de Perceval: "Il avoit chait choisi pourses convives deux etoiles appelees *El-Farqadani*; et, chaque fois qu'il prenait la coupe, on en remplissait en meme temps deux autres, dont il faisait des libation a ces etoiles." (*Tome II*, p. 18).

3 It is given by M. Caussin in his *Essai*.

\* 'Fārij' in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

they had already told him. It is to them that Abū Khiraṣh the Hudhaylite<sup>1</sup> alludes in these verses, taken from an elegy composed by him on his brother 'Urwah :

"(*The calumniator*) says : 'I see that he disports himself since the death of 'Urwah ; and that, as you must know, is highly detrimental (*to himself*) ; (I answered) : 'Think not that I have ceased to remember the days I passed with him ; know, Umaymah ; that I support (*my sorrow*) with becoming patience. Hast thou heard that, before our time, two sincere boon companions were separated, Mālik and 'Aqīl ?'

This summary account of their history is rather long, and yet I aimed at being concise. Abū 'Alī a'-Qālī (*No.* 92) says, in the treatise which he designed as supplement to his *Amālī*, that Mutammim went up to 'Umar, who admired him greatly, and that 'Umar said : "Tell me, Mutammim ! what hinders you from marrying ? God may perhaps raise children from that alliance, for you belong to a family which is on the point of becoming extinct." The poet, in consequence, married a woman of Madinah, but he was not happy with her, nor she with him, so he divorced her and then said :

"I say to Hind, when displeased with her discernment<sup>2</sup> : Does your conduct proceed from the coquetry of love, or do you hate me ? Do you wish for a separation ? and certainly, to separate from any (*whom I love*) is now, for me, but slightly painful, since Mālik has departed (*from the world*)."

'Umar said to him : "You will never cease thinking of Mālik !" and, soon after, he received his mortal wound. Mutammim, who was then in Madinah, composed an elegy on his death. In a word, it has never been handed down that an Arab or any other person ever wept for the loss of a friend as much as Mutammim did for that of his brother. Al-Wāqidi relates, in his *Kitāb al-Riddah*, that 'Umar Ibn al-Khattāb said to Mutammim : "To what degree did you carry your grief for Mālik ?" and that the poet

1 The Hudhaylite poet Khuwaylid Ibn Murrah, surnamed Abū Khiraṣh, died in the khilafat of 'Umar. Some verses of his are given in the Ḥamāsah.

2 Literally : with her intelligence.



answered: "I wept during a year, without ever enjoying a moment's sleep from evening to morning; and I never saw a fire (*of hospitality*) lighted during the night without thinking to myself that I ought to go out to it, so that I might recall to my recollection the fires lighted by my brother. Mālik ordered a fire to be always kept burning till morning lest travellers might pass the night in his neighbourhood (*without discovering his tent*), and so that, when they saw the fire, they might draw near to it. Certainly, in his eagerness to have guests he felt more joy than other people do when one of their friends returns to them from a distant land." On hearing this, 'Umar observed that such conduct was highly honourable. The same author relates that Mutammim, being asked what effect grief and the shedding of tears had produced on him, answered in these terms. "This eye," pointing to his blind one, "was already gone, and I wept with the good one so abundantly that the lost eye came to its assistance and shed tears." "Such sorrow," said 'Umar, "is really excessive; no one should grieve like that for the death of a relative." The poets make frequent allusions to Mālik and his brother Mutammim. Ibn Ḥayyūs, (*No. 647*) said, in one of his *qaṣīdahs*:

"It was a manifest calamity, like the death of Mālik; and it would be disgraceful for me not to be a Mutammim."

Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Isā al-Dānī, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Labbānah (*No. 660*), said in a *qaṣīdah* containing a lament on the fall of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, the sovereign of Seville, who was arrested (*and cast into prison*) by Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifin, as we have related in our article on al-Mu'tamid (*No. 660*).

"On quitting your kingdom, you resemble Mālik, and I, in my affliction, resembled Mutammim."

Another poet, probably the Ibn Munīr of whom I have spoken under the letter A (*No. 63*), composed a piece containing an allusion of the same kind as that which we are mentioning. I have since verified the name of the author and found it to be Najm al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Yūsuf Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn

Muḥammad, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Mujāwir of Damascus. Here is the verse :

“O, my dear Mālik ! thou hast left in my heart a *nuwayrah* (a little fire) and, through love for thee, the pupil of my eye is become a Mutammim.”

Aḥu 'l-Ḡhanā'im Ibn al-Mu'allim, the poet of whom we have spoken (*No.* 655), said also, in a piece of verse containing the description of a (*deserted*) dwelling and praying the rains of heaven to water it :

“The rains watered it before my arrival, and I came to complete their work. Had a Mālik been there, I might have been called a Mutammim (*a completer*).”

Al-Qāḍi al-Sa'id Ibn Sanā al-Mulk (*No.* 744) made also a similar allusion in the following verse : I wept with both my eyes, as if I tried to complete the task which Mutammim had left unfinished.

To expose this subject fully would require a long dissertation, and we have already passed all bounds in this digression. Pronounce *Mutammim*. The word *سدا* (*ṣadā*), in the expression : a source but not like *Ṣadā*, is pronounced in three different manners : *Ṣuddā*, with a double *d* and a short final *a*, *Ṣaddā*, with the vowel *a* after *ṣ* and a long final *a* ; so that, being pronounced with an *u*, it takes a short final, and, with an *a*, a long one. The third form is *Ṣadāa*, with a single *d* followed by two *hamzahs*, one coming immediately after the other. This is the name of a famous well the water of which is sweet and limpid.

### 756 AL-BUḤTURĪ THE POET

Abū 'Ubādah al-Walīd Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Yalḥyā Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn Shimlāl Ibn Jābir Ibn Salamah Ibn Mushīr Ibn al-Ḥārith Ibn Khuthaym\* Ibn Abī Ḥārithah Ibn Juday Ibn Tadūlt† Ibn

\* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd : *Juḡham*.—Ed.

† In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd : *Badūl*.—Ed.

Buḥṭur Ibn 'Atūd Ibn 'Unayn Ibn Salāmān Ibn Thu'al Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Ghawṭh Ibn Julhumiah Ṭay Ibn Adud Ibn Zayd Ibn Kahlān Ibn Sabā Ibn Yaḥjub Ibn Ya'rab Ibn Qaḥṭān, was a member of the tribe of Ṭay and bore the surname of al-Buḥṭuri. This celebrated poet was born at Manbij, or, by another account at Zardafnah, a village near that place; there he passed his youth and made his studies. He then went to 'Irāq where he recited poems in praise of several khalifs, beginning by al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allah; he eulogized also in his verses a number of grantees and *ra'ises* (*persons high placed in the civil administration*). He remained at Baghdād a long time, and then returned to Syria. In many of his poems he speaks of Aleppo and the open country which surrounds it; for he had taken a great fancy to that city. Some of his poems were transmitted down orally by Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*). Muḥammad Ibn Khalaf Ibn al-Marzubān<sup>1</sup>, the *qāḍī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maḥāmili<sup>2</sup>, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥakīmī<sup>3</sup>, and Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (*No. 622*). Ṣālih Ibn al-Asbagh al-Tanūkhī<sup>4</sup>, a native of Manbij, related as follows: "I saw al-Buḥṭuri here, at our town, before he went to 'Irāq. He would enter by that door of the mosque and pass by us (*to the other*)", here he pointed to the two sides of the edifice, "and, in going and coming, he would recite verses in praise of dealers in onions and love-apples; yet he afterwards became what we see. The 'Ulwah, whose charms al-Buḥṭuri celebrates in a great number of

1 This is the Muḥammad Ibn Khalaf (*not Khalif*) of which our author has already spoken (*No. 163*). He was a native of al-Muḥawwal, a village situated to the west of Baḥḥād. As a transmitter of oral tradition, he was looked upon as a good authority. According to the author of the *Nujūm*, he was distinguished for his learning and composed some fine works one of which was entitled *Tafḍīl al-Kilāb etc.* (*the pre-eminence of dogs over many of those who wear clothes fully established*). He died A. H. 309 (A. C. 921-2). The manuscripts of Ibn Khalikān's work read سبع (*seven*) in place of تسع (*nine*), a very common mistake. The true date is given in the *Nujūm*.

2 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ismā'il al-Maḥāmili acted as *qāḍī* at Kūfah during two years, and held the highest rank at Baghdād as a Traditionist and a professor. He died A. H. 303 (A. C. 915-16), at the age of sixty-eight years. (*Dhahabī's Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*).

3 Abū 'Abd 'Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥakīmī died A. H. 336 (A. C. 947-8). (*Nujūm*).

his pieces, was the daughter of a woman called Zariā\* and a native of Aleppo. Abū Bakr a'-Ṣūlī says, in his History of Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'ī (*No. 143*) that al-Buḥturī related as follows: "The first time I gained distinction as a poet was (*on a certain day*), when I went to see Abū Tammām, who was then at Hims (*or Hums Emessa*), and presented to him a poem of my composition. He used to hold sittings, and not a poet but went to visit him and submit their productions to his judgment. On hearing mine, he turned towards me, without noticing the other persons who were present, and, when they retired, he said: 'You are the best poet of all who recited verses to me. In what circumstances are you?' I complained of poverty, on which he wrote to the inhabitants of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān a letter in which he bore testimony to my talent and recommended me to their generosity. Go' said he and recite verses in their praise.' I went to them and they in consideration of his letter, treated me with great honour and made me a pension of four thousand dirhams<sup>1</sup>. This was the first money I ever earned," Abū 'Uḇādah (*al-Buḥturī*) related, in the following terms, his first interview with Abū Tammām: "I went to visit Abū Sa'id Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf<sup>2</sup> and spoke his praises in a *qaṣīdah*, which began thus:

"Was a captivated lover ever delivered from his passion, so that I also may hope for deliverance? Was it by breaking his engagements (*that he got free*), or by hearkening to the advice of a compassionate friend?"

When I finished, he expressed, his satisfaction and said to me: 'God bless you, my boy!' A man who was in the saloon then said: 'God exalt you (*amīr*)! these verses are by me, but that

1 About ninety pounds sterling.

2 The amīr Abū Sa'id Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf was the first of the Muslim generals who gained a victory over the troops of the famous Bābak al-Khurramī. Being sent to Ardabil in the year 220 (A. C. 835), by the Khalīf al-Mu'taṣim, the orders to repair all the forts which Bābak had destroyed and to establish fortified posts along the road by which provisions were to be conveyed to the Muslim army, he accomplished his task and routed the insurgents in a sanguinary battle. (Ibn al-Aṭḥīr's *Kāmil*; *Nujūm*.)

\* Zariqah in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd—Ed.

young man has got them by heart and recited them to you before I had time to do so.' Abū Sa'id looked at me with an altered countenance and said: "My boy! you have in your family and relatives a sufficient title to my favour; so, do not have recourse to such means as these." I replied: 'God exalt you! the verses are mine.' On this, the stranger exclaimed: 'Good God, my boy! do not say such a thing.' He then began to repeat some verses of my *qaṣidah*. On this, Abū Sa'id turned to me and said: "We shall furnish you with whatever you desire but do not again have recourse to proceedings such as these. I was astounded and left the saloon, not knowing what to say and meaning to ask who that man might be. I had not gone far when Abū Sa'id called me back and said: 'We are merely jesting with you, so take things patiently. Do you know that man?' I replied that I did not. 'It is your cousin,' said he; it is Ḥabīb Ibn Aws al-Ṭā'i Abū Tammām! go up to him.' I went over and embraced him. He turned towards me, praised me highly, and spoke favourably of my verses. 'I was only jesting with you,' said he. From that moment I got attached to him and admired greatly his promptitude in learning passages by heart." Al-Ṣūlī relates also in the same work: Abū Tammām made to the mother of al-Buḥturī a proposal of marriage, to which she consented, saying: "Convoke the people to the ceremony." On this, he answered: "The grandeur of God is such that His name ought not to be mentioned (*in an affair which is to pass*) between us two. Let us give each other the hand and act with mutual indulgence<sup>1</sup>." Al-Buḥturī, being asked whether he or Abū Tammām was the better poet, replied: "His best pieces surpass the best of mine, and my worst are better than the worst of his." It has been said of al-Buḥturī's poems that they were chains of gold. He held (*in reality*) the highest rank (*as a poet*). It is related that Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (*No. 46*), being asked which was the best poet of these three: Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī (*No. 49*), replied that two of them were moralists and that al-Buḥturī was the poet. I must

---

1 This appears to mean that Abū Tammām desired the alliance without going through the legal forms.

declare that Ibn al-Rūmī (No. 438) was not equitable towards him when he said:

"The boy, al-Buḥturī, steals from the son of Aws (*Abū Tammām*) the praises of the great and of the fair. In each of his verses, the thought is well expressed, but that thought belongs to Ḥabīb, the son of Aws."

Al-Buḥturī related that he recited a poem of his composition to Abū Tammām, and that the latter recited to him (*in return*) this verse of Aws Ibn Ḥajar<sup>1</sup>:

"When our force is diminished by the death of one of our lions, another appears amongst us, ready to show his teeth<sup>2</sup>."

"There, exclaimed Abū Tammām, 'I have announced to myself that my death is near!' I replied: 'God forbid!' 'Nay,' said he, 'my life will not be long; and another poet like you is now growing up in the tribe of Tay (*who will replace you also*). Know you not the anecdote told of Khalīd Ibn Ṣafwān al-Minqarī?<sup>3</sup> he heard Shabīb Ibn Shabbah (No. 295n), who was of the same family as he; make a discourse and he said to him: My son! the talent displayed by you in speaking announces to me that my death is near: we belong to a family in which, when an orator is produced, his predecessor soon dies.'" Al-Buḥturī here observed that Abū Tammām died a year after. He related also the following anecdote: "I recited to Abū Tammām a poem which I had composed in honour of one of the Ḥumayd family and by which I gained a large sum of money. When I finished, he exclaimed: 'Very good! you shall be the prince of poets

1 See No. 260 n.

2 This is merely an attempt to express the idea announced in the Arabic verse, which, if literally translated, would run thus: when we lose the sharpness (*of our teeth*) in (*losing*) one of our chieftains, the tooth of another chief flourishes up among us.

3 Khalīd, the son of Ṣafwān, and chief of the tribe of Tamim, spoke his language with great elegance. His father was also remarkable for his talent as a fine speaker. An amusing anecdote is related by Ibn Badrūn (*Dozy's edition*, p. 216) of what passed between him and Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, the first 'Abbasid Khalīf. Ibn Quṭaybah mentions him in the *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*.

when I am no more.' These words gave me more pleasure than all the wealth which I had collected." Maymūn Ibn Hārūn related as follows: "I met with the historian Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Jābir Ibn Dawūd al-Balādhūri<sup>1</sup> and he appeared absorbed<sup>2</sup> in thought. I asked him what had occurred, and he said: 'I was one of those persons whom (the *khalif*) al-Musta'in admitted into his intimate society.' Some poets having come to celebrate his praise, he said: 'I will receive eulogiums from no man, unless he produce a verse like that which al-Buḥturi composed on (the *khalif*) al-Mutawakkil' and which runs thus:

'If a passionate lover could be forced to do what is beyond his power, the pulpit would certainly hasten forward to salute you.'

'I returned home and, the next time I went to see him, I told him that I had composed some verses which were better than those of al-Buhturi.' 'Let us hear them,' said he; and I recited as follows.

'If the mantle of the Chosen one (*Muḥammad*) possessed the faculty of thought, it would think that you were its former master; and, when you received it and put it on, it would have said: 'These are his shoulders and his arms!'"

He told me to return to my dwelling and execute the order which I should receive from him. He then sent me seven thousand dinārs<sup>3</sup>, with this message: 'Treasure them up for what may befall you after my death, for, as long as I live, you shall receive from me a pension sufficient for your support.' Al-Mutanabbī expressed, in the following terms, the thought announced by al-Buḥturi:

"If the tree towards which you look had the use of reason, it would stretch its branches towards you, in saluation."

1 See No, 183, note. The Arabic text of al-Balādhūri's celebrated work on the conquests affected by the first Muslims has been published at Leyden by M. Goeje.

2 The meaning of the words "حالته متمازكة", is doubtful.

3 Somewhat more than three thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

Abū Tammām expressed the same idea before them both, when he said :

"If a piece of ground could advance forward to receive the bones of Nu'mā, the soil which is parched up would have moved towards her!"

Al-Buḥturi's verse is taken from a long *qaṣīdah*<sup>2</sup>, in which author has attained the height of excellence. He praises in it (*the khalif*) Abu 'l-Faḍl Ja'far al-Mutawakkil 'alā-Allāh and describes his going forth to preside at the public prayer on the day of the Breaking of the fast. It begins thus :

"I conceal within my bosom the love I bear you, and I (*sometimes*) disclose it ; grieving under your cruelty, I am blamed and then excused."

The verses with which the one above mentioned is connected are the following :

"You fasted in righteousness ; you are the most meritorious of fasters ; and you now break the fast in conformity to the prescriptions of God. Let your eyes be rejoiced by the day of the Fast-breaking ; it is the most brilliant in the year, the most renowned. On it, you showed off the grandeur of the empire in (*sending forth*) the loud-sounding phalanx which guards the faith and which maintains it. On hearing it approach, we thought that the mountains were in march ; it advanced, that morning, in such numbers as surpassed the most numerous army. The horses veighed, the riders shouted, the swords glanced and the spears glittered. The earth, submissive, trembled under their weight ; the sky was obscured and the horizon shrouded in dust. The sun, in rising, lighted up the day, but his brightness was soon extinguished in a turbid cloud of dust. (*So it remained*) till your face, appearing in all its splendour, dispelled the darkness and cleared away the dust. The spectators are fascinated by your presence ; towards you are directed every finger and every eye.

1 The word *لاَعظَمَ* (*lla'zām*) here rendered by : "To receive the bones," signifies "to exalt" if pronounced *ll'zām*. I know not which is the right reading.

2 This *qaṣīdah* is not very long ; it contains only thirty-seven verses.



They feel that your aspect, which they now enjoy, is one of God's blessings for which none should be ungrateful. By your looks you reminded them of the Prophet and, when you appear exalted above your escort, they cry out : "God is the only god ! God is almighty !" (*This continued*) till you reached the *muṣallā*,<sup>1</sup> arrayed (*as you were*) in the robe of true direction, visible to every eye. You advanced as one who is humble and submissive to the will of God, without ostentation and without pride. If a passionate lover could be forced to do what is beyond his power, the pulpit would certainly hasten forward to salute you. Eloquence came to assist you with such wisdom as announced and displayed the evidence of truth. Clothed in the Prophet's mantle, you gave warnings and good tidings (*to the congregation*)."

This extract is sufficient for our purpose. The poem itself is really a piece of lawful magic and is composed with a facility not to be imitated. What an admirable flow (*of language*) ! how light the bridle (*with which he directs his steeds*) ! how beautifully he has moulded his ideas ! how elegant his thoughts ! in the poem there is nothing superfluous ; every part of it is exquisite ! The collection of his poetical works exists<sup>2</sup> and his verses are currently known ; it is therefore needless to insert here many specimens of his poetry. I shall, however, relate some anecdotes concerning him which may be considered as interesting. He had a young slave-girl<sup>3</sup> called *Nasīm* (*zephyr*) and sold her to *kātib* Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb, the brother of the Sulaymān Ibn Wahb whom I have already given an account of (*No.* 259). He then regretted deeply what he had done, longed to get her back and composed

1 See *No.* 263.

2 The copy of al-Buḥārī's *Diwān* belonging to the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds, no. 1392 was written A. H. 610 (A. C. 1213) and is in excellent preservation. It contains 432 leaves, or 864 pages. The poems are arranged in alphabetical order, according to the letters which form the rhymes. Most of these pieces are eulogiums addressed to *khalīfs*, *wazīrs*, *amīrs* and other great men ; the rest consists in satires ; addresses to friends and *ghazals* or amatory pieces. The text of this manuscript has not been collated and offers, in consequence, some false readings.

3 The Arabic word is *ghulam* غلام .

verses in her praise, declaring that he had been deceived and that the sale was effected against his will. Here is one of these pieces :

"O Nasīm ! are the promises of Fortune ever true when she encourages the hopes of a passionate lover ? Why do I miss thee in my dreams ? Why hast thou ceased to console the lover who is scorned by his mistress ? You abstain from coming to visit me through fear of those (*who are about you*) ; but what can hinder your image from visiting my nocturnal slumbers ? Today, love has passed all bounds in (*the treatment of*) its victims, and I, as you well know, am a lover. Let al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb enjoy (*his triumph*) ; he meets with his beloved and I am separated from mine."

He composed many pieces on the same person. There was at Aleppo a man called Ṭāhir Ibn Muhammad al-Hāshimī, who, on the death of his father, inherited a fortune of about one hundred thousand dinārs<sup>1</sup>. This sum he spent in deeds of charity, bestowing gifts on poets and (*needy*) visitors. Al-Buḥturī went from 'Irāq to see him and, on arriving at Aleppo he heard that the man was overwhelmed with debts and obliged to stay in his house. This intelligence grieved him excessively and he sent to Ṭāhir, by one of his *mawlās*, a poem which he had composed in his praise. When Ṭāhir received and read the piece, he shed tears, called in his servant and said : "Sell this house of mine." The other exclaimed : "If you sell your house, you will be reduced to beggary<sup>2</sup>." "Sell it you must !" replied the other. The sale produced three hundred dinārs, one hundred of which Ṭāhir tied up in the corner of a handkerchief and sent to al-Buḥturī with a letter containing these lines :

"If there was a gift adequate to the esteem in which I hold your merit, I would heap upon you silver, pearls and rubies, rare though they were. But the elegant scholar, the man of intelligence, will condescend to pardon a friend who, possessing but little, offers an insufficient gift."

---

1 About fifty thousand pounds sterling.

2 Literally : you will remain (*standing*) over the heads of the people. That is : you will go up to those who are sitting at their meals and stand before them in expectation of receiving from them a morsel of bread.

When al-Buhturī received this letter, he sent back the money and wrote to the donor the following verses :

"Blessings on you ! you are worthy of being beneficent ! In the race of generosity, you precede and your rival can only follow<sup>1</sup>. A small gift may appear great and a great one small ; that depends on the feeling of him who counts on your generosity. But I return this mark of your bounty, because, if taken from you, it would be money ill acquired, and as such, is unlawful. If you repay verses with verses, the obligation is fulfilled and the dinārs are superfluous."

When the sum was brought back, Tāhir opened the knot of the handkerchief and put in fifty dinārs more, declaring, at the same time, by a solemn oath, that he would not allow al-Buhturī to return them. When the latter received this gift, he recited these lines :

"I give you thanks ; your humble servant feels a real pleasure in being grateful. God increases the store of him who is thankful. In every age there is but one model of perfection, and, in this age, you are certainly the one."

Al-Buhturī often recited with admiration the following lines, composed by a poet whose name I have forgotten :

"Turtle-dove of (*the groves of*) al-Arāk ! for whom do you will ? for whom do you lament ? By your complaints, you have excited (*to sorrow*) those hearts of ours and, by your weeping, drawn tears from those eyes. Come ! let us, in our affliction get up a scene of sorrow, and sigh for the absence of our brethren who have journeyed to a distant land. We shall assist you, and you shall aid us ; those that are in sorrow can console the sorrowful."

I have since discovered that the author of these verses was an Arab called Nabhān al-Faq'asī. Al-Buhturī was passing through Moṣul, or according to another statement, through Rās-'Ayn, when he was taken seriously ill. The physician who attended and treated

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally : the concurrent latter, and you before.

him, prescribed, one day a *muzawwarah*<sup>1</sup>. The poet having no one with him except a servant boy, told him to prepare it. One of the chief men (*ra'ls*) of the town used to visit him during his illness and being then present, said: "That boy cannot prepare such a thing well; but I have a cook;" here he enumerated all the good qualities of this cook and extolled his talents to the highest. Al-Buḥturi's boy abstained from preparing the *muzawwarah*, fully relying on the promise of the *ra'ls*. The poet remained sitting, in expectation of receiving it, but the *ra'ls* had so many affairs to occupy his mind, that he quite forgot to have it made. Al-Buḥturi, seeing that it was not forthcoming and that the time had passed in which he should have received it, wrote these lines to the *ra'ls*.

"I find that your promise respecting the *muzawwarah* is a deception (*zawr*) though you positively declared that you would direct a person to prepare it. May God not cure him who hopes to be cured by it! and may his fortune<sup>2</sup> not be exalted who puts to it his hand! Forbid your messenger to bring it to me, as I have forbidden mine to receive it."

The anecdotes and honourable acts related of him are very numerous; so we need not expatiate on them further. His poems were not arranged in order till Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī collected them and classed them alphabetically (*by their rhymes*); 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah<sup>3</sup> collected them also and arranged them according to their subjects, as he did for the poems of Abū Tammām. Al-Buḥturi drew up a *Ḥamāsah* in imitation of that which was compiled by Abū Tammām. There exists also a work of his on the ideas which usually occur in poetry (*Ma'ānī al-Shi'r*). He was born in the year 206 (A.C. 821-22), other accounts say, 205, 202, 201 and 200, he died in the year 284 (A.C. 897-98); others says, in 285 or 283, but the first date is the true one. Ibn al-Jawzī (*No.* 345)

1 The word *muzawwar* or *muzawwarah* occurs in the *Canon* of Avicenna. From the comparison of three passages in which it is found, I am led to think that it means *sorrel-soup*. It was certainly a culinary preparation in which bread was sopped and which, it appears, had an acid taste. In north Africa this word designates *semoule*, or granulated flour, of the finest sort.

2 Literally: the hand.

3 See *No.* 753 note.

says in his *A'mār al-A'yān* (*lives of eminent men*), that al-Buḥtūrī died at the age of eighty years. His death took place at Manbij; some say, but inexactly, at Aleppo. The *Khaṭīb* (No. 33) mentions, in his History of Baghdād, that al-Buḥtūrī received the surnames of Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Abū 'Ubādah, but, being advised, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, to adopt the latter exclusively, as being the more remarkable, he did so. Literary scholars often ask to whom Abu 'l-Alā al-Ma'arri (No. 46) alludes in this verse:

"Al-Walid said that the *nab'a-tree*<sup>1</sup> produces no fruit; and the flock of gazelles missed obtaining fruit from the *nab'a-tree*."

These persons say: Who is this Walid and in what (*piece of verse*) did he say that the *nab'a-tree* produces no fruit? This question has been addressed to me by many. The al-Walid mentioned in the verse was the al-Buḥtūrī of whom we are now speaking; he said, in a long *qaṣidah* of his composition:

"She reproached me with my struggles against poverty; but that was foolish in her: the *nab'a-tree* is bare and has no fruit upon its branches."

This is the verse to which Abu 'l-Alā made allusion. I mention this as a piece of information which may be useful. 'Ubayd Allāh and Abū 'Ubādah, the sons of Yaḥyā, the son of al-Walid al-Buḥtūrī, were persons in whose praise al-Mutanabbī composed a number of *qaṣidahs*. They were al-Buḥtūrī's grandsons and eminent *ra'ises* at that time. *Buḥtūrī* means *descended from Buḥtur*, who, as may be seen in the genealogical list given at the head of this article, was one of our poet's ancestors. *Zardafnah* is a village in the dependencies of Manbij. *Manbij* is a town of Syria, situated between Aleppo and the Euphrates. It was built (*anew*) by Chosroes when he effected the conquest of Syria<sup>2</sup>. He called it *Manbeh*, which name the Arabs changed into *Manbij*. As it was the birth-place of al-Buḥtūrī, it is frequently mentioned in his poems. We find it, for instance, in the following passage, terminating long *qaṣidah* and in which he addresses Abū Ja'far

1 The *nab'* was of no good but for making bows and arrows.

2 Chosroes II conquered Syria (A. C. 611). It was in this expedition that he took Hieropolis. (*Manbij*)

Muḥammad Ibn Ḥumayd Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Ṭūsī, the person in whose honour he composed it:

"I shall never forget the tranquil moments I passed with you; enjoying, at your house, the temperate shade of a happy life. I dwelt there in comfort and, reposing under the shelter of its trees (*afyāihi*), I thought myself at Manbij."

Al-Buḥtūrī's usual residence was in 'Irāq, as he was employed in the service of al-Mutawakkil and of al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān<sup>1</sup>. There he lived highly respected. When these two lost their lives in the manner which all know<sup>2</sup> he returned to Manbij. Being obliged, in the interest of his states, to have frequent interviews with the governor of the place, he used to address him by the title of *amir*, because he stood in need of his good-will. As he did this against his inclination, he inserted the following lines in one of his poems:

"Ja'far (*al-Mutawakkil*) and al-Faṭḥ are gone, partly soiled with dust (*murammal*) and partly stained with gore (*muḍarraj*). Can I ever hope again for aids (*anṣāran*) against Fortune, now that they, my Aws and Khazraj<sup>3</sup>, have their dwelling (*ṭhawā*) in the grave? They were my masters by whose kindness I drained off (*ḥalabtu*) to the last drops, the favours poured upon me by their copiously flowing (*muthajjij*) rains (*their beneficence*)<sup>4</sup>. They were taken off designedly and for an evil purpose; and I am left here, obliged to give the title of *amir* to the governor of Manbij!"

---

1 It is hardly necessary to warn the reader that this Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān, one of al-Mutawakkil's wazirs, must not be confounded with Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān of Seville, the author of the *Qalā'id al-'Iqiyān* and other well known works. The first was murdered in the palace of al-Ja'farī, near Sarra-man ra'ā (A. H. 247), and the other at Morocco, A. H. 529.

2 They were murdered by some of the Turkish guards at the instigation of Muḥammad al-Munṭaḥḥir, the son of al-Mūtawakkil.

3 The tribes of al-Aws and Khazraj took Muḥammad under their protection at Madinah and were therefore called his *Anṣārs* (*helpers*).

4 The text of this piece is inexactly given in the manuscripts and the printed editions. The corrections, furnished by al-Buḥtūrī's *Dīwān*, are indicated in the translation.

Al-Mas'ūdī says, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab* : "Hārūn al-Rashīd passed near Manbij with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Šālih, who was the most elegant speaker of all the surviving descendants of al-'Abbās. Seeing a well-built castle (*country-seat*) and a garden full of trees covered with fruit, he asked to whom that property belonged. 'Abd al-Malik replied : 'To you, Commander of the faithful ! and then to me.' 'On what scale,' said al-Rashīd, 'is the castle built ?' The other made answer : 'It is inferior to that of the dwellings (*in which members*) of our family (*reside*), and it surpasses that of dwellings inhabited by other men.' 'Describe to me your town,' said al-Rashīd. 'Its water is sweet' replied 'Abd al-Malik, its air cool, its plains are solid (*underfoot*), its maladies rare. 'How are its nights ?' said al-Rashīd. 'The whole night' answered 'Abd al-Malik, is as (*pleasant as*) the morning's dawn.'" End of al-Mas'ūdī's relation. This 'Abd al-Malik bore the surname of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān ; he was the son of Šālih, the son of 'Alī, the son of 'Abd Allāh the son of al-Abbās the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The town of Manbij, which he held as appanage was his place of residence. He died at al-Raqqah in the year 199<sup>1</sup>. He expressed his thoughts with great precision and elegance ; but I must abstain from entering into this subject, lest I should be led too far. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī<sup>2</sup> says, in his *Muṣhtarik* under the word al-Suqyā (*the irrigated grounds*), that five places bear this name. He concludes the article with these words : The fifth is a village with gardens, near the gates of Manbij ; it is settled in perpetuity (*waqf*)<sup>3</sup> on the

1 In the note No. 129, it is stated, on other authorities, that 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Šālih died in A. H. 193. The date given here by Ibn Kḥallikān is certainly wrong, for the *Nujūm* informs (No. 240) that, previously to the month of Rajab, A. H. 196 he was already dead.

2 The life of this Yāqūt will be found in this work.

3 A property settled on a religious establishment is called a *waqf*. It may be stipulated by the donor that his descendants are to receive the whole or part of the revenues which it produces. On the death of the last descendant, the property is fully acquired to that establishment and must remain with it in perpetuity.

descendants of al-Buḥturī the poet." Abū Firās<sup>1</sup> al-Ḥamdānī mentions it in his poems.

### 757 AL-WALID IBN ṬARIF

Al-Walid Ibn Ṭarif Ibn al-Ṣalt Ibn Tāriq Ibn Sihān\* Ibn 'Amr Ibn Mālik al-Shaybānī al-Shāri; such is the genealogy given by Abū Sa'd al-Samānī (*No.* 370) in two passages of his *Ansāb*: one under the title of al-Arqam and the other under that of al-Ṣihānī, a name in which the *s* is followed by an *i*. Al-Walid was one of those men who acquired a great reputation for courage, audacity and bravery. He was chief of the Khārijites<sup>2</sup> and usually stationed in Naṣībīn, al-Khābūr and that neighbourhood. He revolted under the khalifate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, committed acts of violence and gathered about him a great multitude (*of rebels*)<sup>3</sup>. Abū Khālīd Yazīd Ibn Mazyad Ibn Zāyidah al-Shaybānī, a chief whose life we shall give, was sent against him by al-Rashīd, at the head of a numerous army, and tried, at first, to circumvent and wheedle his adversary. The Barmakids not liking Yazīd, incensed al-Rashīd against him: "He spares the rebel," said they, "in consideration of the relationship which exists between them<sup>4</sup>. Though

1 This name is incorrectly transcribed Farās (*No.* 146), where the life of the poet is given.

2 The term *Khariji* designated those who revolted against the established authority for religious motives.

3 Abu 'l-Fidā does not speak of Khālīd in his *Annals*, but Ibn al-Aṭhīr gives us an account of him in the *Kāmil*, under the year 178 of the hijrah. This chief revolted at Naṣībīn, penetrated into Armenia, besieged the city of Khulāt till he obtained from the inhabitants a gift of thirty thousand pieces of gold. He then invaded Adharbā'ijān, Hulwān, the Sawād of 'Irāq, the countries on the west bank of the Tigris and Mesopotamia; devastating these provinces and ransoming the cities. The khalif Hārūn al-Rashīd sent against him Yazīd Ibn Mazyad, and that chief vanquished and slew the rebel in the following year.

4 Al-Walid and Khālīd were relatives; they belonged to the tribe of Shaybān and drew their descent from the same ancestor, Wā'il.

\* 'Sibijān Ibn 'Umar' in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.



al-Walid has very few troops, Yazid does nothing but amuse him with fair promises till he sees how things may turn out." This induced al-Rashid to write an angry letter to Yazid, in which he said: "Had I dispatched on this business one of my salves, he would have done things better than you. You are trying to deceive (*me*) and spare your own relatives, but the Commander of the faithful swears that, if you defer giving battle to al-Walid, he will send a person with orders to bring to him your head." In consequence of this letter, Yazid attacked al-Walid, defeated and slew him. This took place on the eve of Thursday in the month of Ramaḍān 179 (Nov.-Dec., A.C. 795). The battle was so remarkable that it is mentioned in the books of annals. Al-Walid had a sister named al-Fāri'ah, or, as some say, Fātimah. She possessed a talent for poetry and, as al-Khansā made elegies on the death of her brother Ṣakhr<sup>1</sup>, she followed the same path and composed, on the death of hers, an excellent *qasidah*. It is very scarce and not to be found complete in any of the literary anthologies<sup>2</sup>; Abū 'Alī al-Qālī (*No.* 92) himself gives only four verses of it in his *Amāll*. I happened to discover a complete copy of the poem and, as it is not only rare but good, I shall insert it here:

"At Tall Nuhākā are the remains of a tomb (*which appears*) like a hill overtopping all other hills. In it are enclosed hereditary glory, chieftanship, courage and sound judgement. Trees of al-Khābūr! why are you covered with leaves? you appear not to grieve for the death of the son of Ṭarīf; of that hero who cared for no other provision but that of piety; who required no wealth but by means of lances and of swords. The only treasures he valued were (*steeds*) sleek and vigorous accustomed to charge upon the ranks (*of the foe*). You (*who regret him not*) you cannot have witnessed that (*battle*), nor stood firm before the enemy when he attacked, and that not feebly. You must never have put on a coat of mail, with the intention of entering into an abyss of terror, into the crowd of warriors with brilliant arms. You must never have charged in a day of battle, when war, pregnant (*with dangers*), was

1 See *No.* 156 and M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

2 In Ibn al-Aṭṭār's *Kāmil* it is given with some omissions, transpositions and new readings.

goaded on by the points of the yellow-shafted spears<sup>1</sup>. He and generosity were inseparable companions ; whilst he lived, generosity was pleased with him ; now, that he is dead, she finds no companion that can please her. (*Walid exclaimed*) you are lost for us (*irreparably*) ? as the days of our youth are lost ; O ! that we could redeem you (*from death*) by the sacrifice of thousands of our youths ! till Walid's life was extinguished, he never ceased to be a curb for his foes and a refuge for the feeble. Alert, my people ! death and ruin are at hand, and the earth is inclined to tremble for his loss. Alert, my people ! calamity, and destruction are near ; here comes adversity, the obstinate foe of the generous. Behold ! the moon is ready to fall from its place among the stars, and the sun has resolved to eclipse his light. Behold the lion who was in all things lion ; they now bear him to a cavity hollowed in the earth and covered over. May God punish that spot of ground which hides from our sight a hero who was never sated in doing act of kindness. He perished by the hands of Yazid Ibn Mazyad ; but what of that how often did he engage his bands against hostile troops ! May the benediction of God rest upon him for ever ! I see that death lets fall her strokes on all that is noble."

She composed a great number of other elegies on his death, and, in one of them, she says :

"I think of al-Walid and his glorious deeds, now that I see the land deprived of his presence. I am gone to look for him in heaven, in that place to which aspired his noble pride, now levelled to the dust<sup>2</sup>. His people lost him by their fault ; let them now search for as good a protector as him whom they lost ! O ! if the swords which struck him with their edge, had known what they did, they would have recoiled off him, when wielded to strike, through respect and through dread of his bravery."

Al-Walid used to recite the following lines every time he was engaged in battle ;

<sup>1</sup> I read ينكر نها with the Būlāq edition.

<sup>2</sup> Literally : "As was desired by his nose now cut off." The word *nose* signifies figuratively honourable *pride*.

"I am Walid Ibn Ṭarīf al-Shāri ! the lion-chief whose ardour none can withstand ! It was your tyranny which drew me forth from my abode."

It is related that when the army of al-Walid was routed Yazid himself pursued his adversary to a great distance and succeeded in killing him and cutting off his head. When al-Walid's sister was informed of his death, she put on the armour in which she used to fight, and charged upon the troops of Yazid. When he saw her, he cried out : "Let her alone !" and then, sallying forth, he struck her horse with his lance and said to her : Go away, and God's curse<sup>1</sup> be upon you ! you will bring disgrace upon the tribe<sup>2</sup>." On hearing these words, she felt ashamed and went away. Ṭarīf is to be pronounced as here written (*not Ṭurayf*). Tell Nuhākā, the place where this celebrated battle was fought, is, I believe, in the territory of Naṣibin. Al-Khābūr is the well-known river which has its source at Rās-Ayn and falls into the Euphrates, near Qarqisiyā. On its banks are a great number of villages which resemble large towns, the country around them being perfectly cultivated and the markets abundantly stocked with the produce of the soil. The name is so well-known that I need not indicate its orthography. Shāri (*a seller*) has for its plural Shurāt and serves to designate the Khārijites. This name was applied to them because they had the custom of saying : "We have sold our souls through obedience to God ;" that is to say "We have given them to purchase paradise, in abandon ing the cause of the imāms (*khālifs* who transgress the law." The true name of al-Khansā was Tumaḍir. Her father, 'Amr Ibn al-Sharid, belonged to the tribe of Sulaym. The word khans signifies *to have a flat nose and prominent nostrils* : she received this nickname because that was her case. The history of her brother Ṣakhr and the elegies which she composed on his death are well-known. We have said a word of him in the life of Abū Aḥmad al-Askarī (*No. 156*). Opinions are at variance respecting the place where his tomb is situated. Some say that

1 Literally : "And the vehemence of God be upon you ! "

2 She, who was a relation of Yazid's, might have been taken prisoner and ill treated.

he was buried near 'Asīb, a well-known mountain in the country of the Greeks<sup>1</sup>, and that the tomb which is to be seen there and is considered as the tomb of Imra al-Qays Ibn Ḥujr al-Kindī, the celebrated poet, is in reality that of Ṣakhr. According to another statement, both were buried there. The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimi (No. 599) says, in his Dictionary of homonyms, that 'Asīb is a mountain in the land of Ḥijāz, and that Ṣakhr, the brother of al-Khansā, was buried near it. From these indications it would appear that there are two mountains which bear this name; one of them, which is the best known, lies in the country of the Greeks and the other in Ḥijāz. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī<sup>2</sup> should have noticed 'Asīb in his geographical Dictionary, but I do not find it mentioned in that work.

## 758 WAHB IBN MUNABBIH

Abū 'Abd Allāh, Wahb Ibn Munabbih\* [Ibn Kāmil Ibn Sayj]<sup>3</sup>, Ibn Dhī Kibār] al-Yamanī (*a native of Yaman*) was the great transmitter of narrations and legends. He possessed information concerning the origin of things, the formation of the world, the history of the prophets and of (*ancient*) kings.<sup>4</sup> According to Ibn Qutaybah (No. 306) he declared that, of all God's books, he had read seventy-two. The same author says: "I saw a treatise of his entitled: *An account of the crowned kings belonging to the race of Ḥimyar, with their history, the anecdotes related of them, the indication of their tombs and specimens of their poetry.*

1 The mountain named 'Asīb is situated in the neighbourhood of Angora. See my *Diwan d' Amro al-Kaiş*, page 28.

2 The life of this geographer will be found in this work.

3 See Wustenfel's edition of Nawawī's biographical dictionary, page 609.

4 A great part of the information which the Musulmān historians give us respecting the ante-Islāmic history of Persia, Greece, Yaman, Egypt and other countries, comes from Wahb Ibn Munabbih. He was an audacious liar, as Muslim critics of a later period at length discovered.

\* From Ibn to 'Kibār' not in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

It forms one volume and is an instructive work. He had several brothers ; one of them, who was older than himself and named Hammām Ibn Munabbih, related some traditions which he had learned from Abū Hurayrah (*No. 244n.*).<sup>1</sup> 'Wahb was counted as one of the *Abnā*. We shall here explain what is meant by this denomination ; Abū Murrah Sayf Ibn Dhī-Yazan the Ḥimyarite, held the sovereignty of Yaman. When the Abyssinians took possession of his empire, he went to implore the assistance of Chosroes Anūshīrwān, against the invaders. The history of his proceedings on this occasion are well known and a full account of them would lead us too far! The result was that Chosroes sent off with him seven thousand five hundred Persian horsemen under the command of Wahraz. So says Ibn Qutaybah, but, according to Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq (*No. 586*), the king sent with him only eight hundred horsemen, of whom two hundred were drowned in the sea, and six hundred escaped. Abu al-Qāsim al-Suhayli (*No. 346*) declares that the first statement is more likely to be true, because it is difficult to suppose that six hundred horsemen could have resisted all the Abyssinians. When these troops arrived in Yaman, they fought a battle with the Abyssinians, gained a victory over them and expelled them from the country. Sayf Ibn Dhī-Yazan and Wahraz took upon themselves the supreme command and held it for four years. Sayf, having admitted some of the Abyssinians into his service, went out to one of his hunting-grounds and took those people with him. When they found him alone, they threw their javelins at him and killed him, after which, they fled to the tops of the mountains ; but the companions of Sayf pursued them there and slew them all. From that moment, the monarchy of Yaman was dissolved ; the people of that country not placing themselves under the command of another sovereign, but the inhabitants of each district choosing a member of the tribe of Ḥimyar for their king. The government of these provincial kings subsisted till God gave the Muslim religion to the world. According to another recital, the country remained in the hands of the Persians and was governed by the lieutenants of Chosroes till

---

<sup>1</sup> See M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, vol. I, p. 146 et seq.

the mission of God's Prophet. At that time, there were in Yaman two young men who acted as generals for Barwiz (*Perviz*); one of them was a Daylamite and bore the name of Firūz; the other was called Dāduwayh.\* They became Muslims and were the same persons who penetrated with Qays Ibn al-Makshūh<sup>1</sup>, into the house of al-Aswad al-Ansī, who had set up for a prophet in Yaman, and slew him. The history of this event is so well known that we need not relate it<sup>2</sup>. Our object in mentioning all this is to indicate the origin of the word *Abnā* (sons). This title was given to the sons and grandsons of such Persian soldiers as settled in Yaman, got married and had children. Ṭāwūs, the learned doctor of whom we have already spoken (*No.* 278) was one of the *Abnā*. I indicated that fact in his biographical notice, but did not explain the word as I have done here. The history of Wahb is sufficiently known; so, we need not mention any thing more concerning him<sup>3</sup>. He died at Ṣan'ā in Yaman, in the month of Muḥarram, 110 (*April-May, A. C. 728*); or, by other accounts, in 114 or 116. He had then attained the age of ninety years. We have spoken of Ṣan'ā in the life of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ānī (*No.* 373). Some foreign names are mentioned above, but, as they are well known, we abstain from indicating their orthography and thus avoid lengthening the present article.

## 759 THE QĀḌĪ ABU 'L-BAKHTARĪ

Abu 'l-Bakhtarī Wahb Ibn Wahb Ibn Kathīr Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zama'ah Ibn al-Aswad Ibn al-Muṭṭalib Ibn Asad Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza Ibn Quṣayyi Ibn Kilāb, a member of the tribe

1 Some copies read *Maksūh*. Ṭabarī and other historians replace this name by 'Abd Yağhūth.

2 The full history of al-Ansī will be found in Kosegarten's edition of the *Annals of Tabārī* and in M. Caussin's *Essai*.

3 Wahb a Jew converted to Islāmism, was highly esteemed in his days as a transmitter of historical information and even as a relator of Traditions. Part of the latter information he delivered on the authority of some of the *Ṭabī'is*, or disciples of Muḥammad's Companions; and in that, he is considered as trustworthy.

\* Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Zādhuwayh.—Ed.

of Quraysh, a descendent of Asad and a native of Madinah, taught Traditions on the authority of 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Umar al-'Umari, Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, (No. 748). Ja'far al-Sādiq Ibn Muḥammad (No. 128) and others; Traditions were delivered on his authority by Rajā Ibn Sahl al-Ṣāghānī, Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Sa'id Ibn al-Musayyab and others. He was considered as one whose Traditions ought to be rejected and was notorious as a fabricator of such pieces. Having removed from Madinah to Baghdād, under the khalifate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, he was appointed by that sovereign to the qādīship of 'Askar al-Mahdī, (a place situated) to the east of Baghdād. We have already spoken of this town in our article on al-Wāqidi (No. 618). Some time after, the khalif removed him from that post and nominated him to the qādīship of Madinah, in the place of Bakkār Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī (No. 228). He gave him, at the same time, the direction of military affairs in that (province). Al-Bakhtari, being afterwards deprived of these offices by the khalif, proceeded to Baghdād and there he continued to reside till his death. The Khaṭīb (No. 33) says, in that article of the history of Baghdād which contains the life of the Ḥanafite qādi Abū Yūsaf Yā'qūb Ibn Ibrāhīm.<sup>1</sup> "This doctor was chief qādi at Baghdād. On his death, al-Rashīd gave his place to Abu 'l-Bakhtari Wahb Ibn Wahb the Qurayshide, who was a jurisconsult, a historian and a genealogist; generous, noble-minded and bountiful; fond of praise and rewarding amply those who eulogized him. Whether he gave little or much, he always requested the receiver to forgive his parcimony. He rejoiced so loudly when an applicant came to solicit his benevolence, that any person who did not know who he was would say: 'There is a man who has obtained a great favour which he asked for.' Ja'far al-Ṣādiq married Ibn al-Bakhtari's mother at Madinah and some of his Traditions with their *isnāds*<sup>2</sup>, were handed down by his step-son. Her name was 'Abadah, her father 'Alī, descended from 'Abd Manāf by the following line: Yazīd, Rakānah, 'Abd Yazīd, Hāshim al-Muṭṭalib, 'Abd Manāf. Her mother was the daughter of 'Aqīl, the son of Abū Ṭālib. The Khaṭīb, in his History of Baghdād,

1 The life of Abū Yūsuf the Ḥanafite will be found in this work.

2 See Introduction to vol. I.

praises Abu 'l-Bakhtārī in the highest terms and relates that a poet went to him one day and recited these lines :

"When Wahb opens his lips to smile, you would take (*the brightness of his teeth*) for the lightnings of a cloud which rejoices in pouring out its waters over many lands. Words of blame uttered by those who are hostile to great men cannot injure Wahb ; the star is not hurtled when barked at by a dog. Many men inherit treasures from their fathers, and the treasures of the Sons of Fihir (*the Qurayshids*) consists in that concretion of beneficence (*whose name is*) Wahb."

"Abu 'l-Bakhtārī", says the historian "gave way to an excess of joy and laughed outright. He then called forward one of his 'awns,<sup>1</sup> and whispered something in his ear. The man brought to him a purse containing five hundred dinārs<sup>2</sup>, and he *Abu 'l-Bakhtārī* gave it to the poet". Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isbahānī (*No. 415*) relates as follows, in the article of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* which contains the life of Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī (*No. 513*) : "Aḥmad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Ammār spoke to me and said : 'We were one day at the house of Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No. 610*), and found with him a young boy who was the grandson of the *qadī* Abu 'l-Bakhtārī Wahb Ibn Wahb. His face was smooth and handsome. With him was another boy who resembled him in beauty and who was the grandson of Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī. Al-Mubarrad said to the grandson of Abu 'l-Bakhtārī : 'I know a charming anecdote of your grandfather ; how he performed an act of generosity, the like of which no man ever did before.' He (*the boy*) asked to hear it and al-Mubarrad spoke as follows : 'A literary man received an invitation to some place (*or other*), and there they gave him to drink a different sort of *nabīdh*<sup>3</sup> from that which was served to the rest of the company. This made him compose the following verses :

1 The 'awn (*aid, helper*) is a sort of constable and messenger attached to the tribunal of a *qādī*.

2 Somewhat more than two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

3 See *No. 129*.



"Two sorts of *nabīdh* were in the same room ; one for the rich men, and one for their guest ! Had you done the same with your eatables, you would have followed the rule you have observed with respect to your intoxication liquor. But, if you wished to reach the goal towards which all generous men aspire, you would have imitated the conduct of Abu al-Bakhtari : He sought for his brethren throughout the land and enabled the poor man to do without the help of the rich."

When these verses came to the knowledge of Abu 'l-Bakhtari, he sent to the author three hundred dinārs. 'I told him,' said Ibn 'Ammār, 'that (*Abū Dulaf*), the grandfather of the other boy, did something of the same kind and even finer.' (*Al-Muburrad*) asked to hear what it was, and I related as follows : 'He was informed that a man, formerly rich, had fallen into poverty and that his wife told him to go and enlist in the army (*jund*) ; on which he said :

"Let me alone ; you require of me a thing exorbitant : to bear arms and to hear people in armour cry : Halt ! Do you take me for one of those men of death who, night and day, seek their own destruction? When death approaches others, it appals me; how then could I rush towards it, head foremost<sup>1</sup>? Do you think that to go forward and fight when an adversary in single combat is in my nature, or that my bosom contains the heart of Abū Dulaf?"

Abū Dulaf (*having heard of this*,) sent for the man and said : 'How much pay (*rizq*) did your wife count on your receiving ?' He answered : 'One hundred dinārs<sup>2</sup>'. 'And how long, said Abū Dulaf, 'do you expect to live ?' The man answered : 'Twenty years.' 'Then' said Abū Dulaf, 'I owe you the amount of what you (*both*) hoped for, and shall pay it out of my pocket, not out of the sultān's treasury'. He then gave orders that the sum should be paid immediately. 'I saw,' said the narrator, that the face of Abū Dulaf's grandson brightened up and remarked that Abū 'l-Bakhtari's grandson was put quite out of countenance.' End of the recital furnished by the author of the (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*). We have given these

---

1 Literally ; in thrusting forward the shoulder.

2 About fifty pounds sterling.

verses in the life of Abū Dulaf (*No. 913*) and mentioned the name of him who made them, with the manner in which they were brought about. They differ, in some degree, from those which are inserted here. The first piece of verse (*cited in the foregoing extract and*) referring to Abu 'l-Bakhtari, was composed by Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Atiyah, a celebrated poet (*No. 186n.*). He drew his surname of al-'Aṭawī from the name of his grandfather, who was a native of Baṣrah and a mawlā of the family of Layth Ibn Bakr Ibn 'Abd Manāt Ibn Kinānah. He (*al-'Aṭawī* was a Muṭazelite and left a *diwān* of poetry. The Khaṭīb, in his History of Baghdād, attributes to Abu 'l-Bakhtari the following saying : "I prefer being with people better informed than myself to being with people who are not so well informed as I am. For, if I know more than they do, I can learn nothing from them ; whereas, with the others, I can gain information." The Khaṭīb relates also in the same work, that Hārūn al-Rashīd, on arriving at Madinah, declared that it would be a profanation if he were to go up into the Prophet's pulpit whilst he had still on him his travelling jacket (*qabā*) and sword-belt. Abu 'l-Bakhtari, on hearing these words, said to him : "Ja'far, the son of Muḥammad" meaning Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, "related to me that he heard his father speak in these terms ; 'Gabriel, on whom be the blessing of God ! descended ( *from heaven*) to the Prophet, and he had upon him a *qabā* and a belt furnished with its sword.' " This induced al-M'uāfā al-Tamīmī to compose the following lines :

"Evil and woe betide Abu 'l-Bakhtari when all men shall appear together at the resurrection ! for he has said and published a falsehood respecting Ja'far. By Allāh ! he never had one hour's conversation with Ja'far, either in town or in country, never whilst he lived, was he seen to pass between the (*Prophet's*) tomb and the pulpit<sup>1</sup>. May God chastise the son of Wahb for publishing a scandalous falsehood : he pretends that, when the Muṣṭafā Aḥmad (*the chosen one, Muḥammad*) received the visits of Gabriel, that

---

1 This was perhaps the passage leading to that part of the mosque where Ja'far al-Ṣādiq usually stationed.

angel, holy and pure, appeared to him in boots, and in a black *qabā*, with a sword girt around his loins !”

Ja'far Ṭayālīsī relates that Yahyā Ibn Ma'in<sup>1</sup> stopped one day behind the circle of students who were taking lessons from Abu 'l-Bakhtarī. The professor was then repeating to them the Tradition which came from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. On hearing it, Ibn Ma'in exclaimed : “Enemy of God ! you there tell a lie of the Prophet !” “On that,” said Ibn Ma'in, “the police-guards arrested me<sup>2</sup>, but I said to them ; ‘This man pretends that the messenger of the Lord of all creatures came down to the Prophet with a *qabā* on his shoulders.’” They replied to me : ‘By Allāh ! that man is a lying story-teller, and they let me go’ Ibn Qutayba says, in his *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, that Abu 'l-Bakhtarī's authority as a Traditionist was feeble. The Khaṭīb says, in his History, that Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (No. 194) related what here follows : “Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (No. 191) was asked if he knew by whom was published the Tradition which runs thus : *No speed (can be made) except with cloven hoofs, or with solid hoofs or with wings ?* and he replied : ‘No one can have related such a thing except that liar ; meaning Abu 'l-Bakhtarī.’ This qāḍī composed a number of works, such as the *Kitāb al-Rāyāt* (on standards), the history of Ṭasm and Jadis, the *Kitāb šifat al-Nabī* (a description of the Prophet's person and character the *Faḍā'il al-Anšār* (the meritorious qualities and doings of Anšārs), the *Kitāb al-Faḍā'il al-Kabīr* (the larger work on meritorious qualities), and a genealogy of the descendants of Ismā'il containing also a quantity of Traditions and narratives. The anecdotes told of him and of his merits are very numerous. He died at Baghdād, A. H. 200 (A. C. 815-6) under the khalifate of al-Māmūn. Ibn Qutaybah mentions him twice in the *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* ; the first time, in special article wherein is given an account of what he was ; the second time, in the paragraph headed : *The names which occur thrice successively*, where he gives as examples : “Abu al-Bakhtarī Wahb, the son of Wahb, the son of Wahb, and among the Persian kings: Bahrām, the son of Bahrām, the son of Bahrām,

1 The article on Ibn Ma'in is given in this work.

2 The true reading is *ناخذنى الشرط*.

• *Kitāb al-Rawāyat*, (a book of Narrations) in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

and, among the descendants of Abū Ṭālib, Ḥasan, the son of Ḥasan, the son of Ḥasan, and, among the Ghassānids, al-Ḥārith the younger, son of al-Ḥārith the lame, son of al-Ḥārith the elder. These are all the cases which Ibn Qutaybah mentions, the others appeared in later times ; thus Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī (*No. 562*) was named Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad<sup>1</sup>. Bakhtari is derived from the verb *bakhtara*, which signifies *to strut proudly*. This surname is often confounded with that of *Buhturi*. *Zam'a*, in its primitive signification means the excrescence which grows behind the cloven feet of animals. It was afterwards employed as a proper name. We have already spoken of *al-Asadi*. This article was finished when I met with an anecdote which I must add to it : Abu 'l-Bakhtari related as follows : "I used to go into the presence of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and I found him, one day, with his son al-Qāsim, surnamed al-Mu'tamin, standing before him. I kept my eyes fixed on the boy, from the time I went in till I was going out. One of the khalif's boon companions then said : 'Abu 'l-Bakhtari must, I think, like lambs' heads. The khalif understood his meaning and, when I went again to see him, he addressed me thus : 'I see that you cannot take your eyes off my son al-Qāsim ; do you wish that he should be given up to you completely ? ' I replied : 'God protect the Commander of the faithful ! why cast up to me a thing (*a vice*) which is not in me ? ' I looked on him fixedly because Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, on whom be God's blessing ! related, on the authority of his forefathers, up to the Prophet of God, that the Prophet said : 'Three things fortify the sight : looking at verdure, at running water and at a handsome face.' I copied this from the handwriting of the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Din Ibn al-'Adīm (*No. 104, note*) ; it was his rough draught of the History (of Aleppo).

## 760. YĀRŪQ AL-TURKUMĀNĪ.

Yārūq Ibn Arslān al-Turkumānī was a chief who had great influence over his people. It was after him that the horde of

<sup>1</sup> Examples of this last case became very numerous.

Turkumāns called the Yārūqiyah was thus named. He was of a colossal stature, a formidable aspect, and resided outside of Aleppo, in the country to the south of the city. He, his family and followers built for themselves, on a lofty hill bordering the river Quwayq, a great number of houses and large edifices which are known by the appellation of al-Yārūqiyah and bear the appearance of a village. He and his people resided there. It is yet inhabited by a numerous population and is frequently visited by the people of Aleppo in the spring season, for the purpose of amusing themselves in its green fields and looking down on the Quwayq. It is a place of amusement and diversion. Yārūq died in the month of Muḥarram, 564 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1168); so says Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Ṣhaddād, in the life of the Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The word ياروق is to be pronounced *Yārūq*. *Quwayq* is the name of a little river which passes near Aleppo; its waters flow abundantly in winter and spring, but cease to run in summer. Poets have often mentioned it in their verses, Abū 'Ubādah al-Buḥturī (No. 743) particularly, who has repeatedly spoken of it in his *qaṣīdahs*. He says, for instance, in one of his pieces:

"O ye lightnings! disclose (*to my sight*) the Quwayq and the two outskirts of Aleppo! flash over the castle of Baṭyās! Show me the land of roses tinged with yellow, the land where the myrtle is gathered (*majnā*). When I went to that country, it assembled around me (*its delights*) and greatly tranquilized my heart".

*Baṭyās* is the name of a village which lay outside of Aleppo, but is now so completely ruined that not a trace of it remains. Ṣāliḥ Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib<sup>1</sup> built there a castle which he inhabited and his sons (*after him*). It was situated between al-Nayrab and al-Ṣālihiyah, villages lying near each other and to the east of Aleppo. The castle was built on a hill which commands al-Nayrab, but nothing now remains of it except some mouldering ruins. So I find it written in the handwriting of a well-informed native of Aleppo.

---

<sup>1</sup> This was the father of 'Abd al-Malik, the 'Abbāsīd prince of whom we have spoken in No. 129 note.

761 YĀQŪT AL-MAWṢILĪ, *THE PENMAN*

The *kātib* (*secretary or writer*) Abū 'l-Durr (*the father of pearls*) Yāqūt (*hyacinth*) al-Mawṣilī (*an inhabitant of Moṣul*), was the son of a Musalmān ('*Abd Allāh*). He obtained the title of Amin al-Din (*trustworthy in religion*) and was surnamed al-Malikī (*the Malakiyan*) after (*his patron*) the Sulṭān Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Malik Shāh II, the son of Saljūq, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Malik Shāh I. Having settled at Moṣul, he studied with great assiduity under Abū Muḥammad Sa'id Ibn al-Mubārak, an Egyptian grammarian who is more generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Dahhān (*No. 247*). He read over, under the tuition of this master, all the works composed by him, as also al-Mutanabbai's *Diwān*, al-Ḥariri's *Maqāmāt* and some other treatises. He wrote a great deal and specimens of his penmanship, which was extremely beautiful, spread abroad into (*distant*) countries. In the latter part of his life he remained without a rival in the art of calligraphy. The style of (*writing employed by*) Ibn al-Bawwāb (*No. 432*) in the transcription (*of books*), excellent and renowned as it is, does not come up to his. He had a passion for transcribing the Ṣaḥāh of al-Jawharī (*No. 9, note*) and wrote a great number of them, each copy forming one volume. Some of them, which I have seen, are now sold for one hundred dīnārs<sup>1</sup> a piece. Numbers of students received from him lessons in writing and profited greatly under his direction. During his lifetime, he enjoyed a high reputation, and people came to study under him from all quarters. Al-Najīb Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (*of the town of Wāsiṭ*) sent him a *qaṣidah* which he had composed in his praise; he had never seen him, but only heard of his (*eminent talent*). In this poem, which is a good one of its kind, the author extols, in the highest terms, the beauty of Yāqūt's handwriting. Here is the piece:

"Where are the gazelles (*maidens*) of 'Ālij and al-Muṣallā (?) those fawns that dwelt near the stream of al-Mu'allā? Do the branches of the willow (*slender-waisted girls*) still flourish on the sandhills? Do full moons (*handsome faces*) still shine in that

<sup>1</sup> Between forty and fifty pounds.

horizon ? Have those gazelles still got faces so beautiful that their aspect would alleviate (*a lover's*) sadness ? Compared with these nymphs, what is the tender narcissus which, after sustaining the attacks of the zephyr, erects against its stem ? Compared with those cheeks, what is the tint of the rose when the cloud sheds upon it copiously its waters and its dew ? Do those knolls offer (*to our sight*) star-like oranges borne on branches which are bent down and brought near (*the hand*) ? How could you think that any water could match that of the Tigris ? They who judged so uttered a falsehood ! It is by no means true ; God forbid ! Does any city on earth resemble the Abode of Welfare<sup>1</sup> ? To find the like of Baghḍād would be a miracle. It shows us, each day, faces different from those of yesterday and seemingly pregnant (*with mischief*) ; (*it shows us*) maidens of whom a sage would become enamoured, were he to see their mincing and coquetish gait. They bind their hair with Nāṣiriyan ribbons<sup>2</sup> and thus reduce you to bondage<sup>3</sup>. They pay no regard to your saying : 'Were it not (*that I fear*)'...; they only know (*how to say*) these words : '*(we must have)* the entire (*heart*) or else (*none at all*).' That is a pasture-ground for the hearts (*of lovers*) ; on the retreat of spring it is always watered by successive showers. That is a city where a man acquires new ideas and gains the summits of learning, of gravity and of gaiety. (*Baghḍād*), to be perfect, requires only the possession of a hyacinth (*yāqūt*) ; O that she had it already to adorn her ! Who will come to her aid, so that the perfume of Amin al-Dīn's presence may float around her ? That alone would suffice for her pre-eminence. Had she a reason to hope for Yāqūt's visit, even speechless things would (*find a tongue and*) exclaim : 'A hearty welcome !' Relators of anecdotes may tell her of the perfume (*which his talent spreads around*), but she would feel much more pleasure at his sight. (*He is*) an ocean of generosity ; the noblest of men follow in his

1 *The abode of welfare (Dār al-Salām)* was the poetical name of Baghḍād.

2 This fashionable ribbon was perhaps named *Nāṣiriyan* in honour of the Sultan Saladin, whose official title was *Al-Malik al-Nāṣir (the victorious king)*.

3 Literally : and thus undo your knotting and untying. The expression, "to knot and untie," signifies "to possess sovereign authority, to have the power of nominating and deposing governors".

steps; for the generous man, when noble deeds are done, has always followers. He unites in himself every scattered portion of knowledge; were he not living, the mother of all talent would be childless. He possesses a reed (*pen*) whose attacks inspire terror to the lions (*powerful chiefs*), and to which squadrons of horse submit with humility. When its mouth (*nib*) opens to let flow black (*ink*) upon white (*paper*), the white and the yellow (*the swords and spears*) are astounded. (*He is*) vigilant in guarding the kingdom, yet he neither aims an arrow nor bares a blade. Eloquence is sent (*by him*) on messages when sheets of paper can fulfil the duties of ambassadors. The arrogant then recoil, filled with terror at what he dictates and prescribes. Sometimes you see him mix with his hand the lots (*of the game*) of science, phrase by phrase; (*so as to form a picture*) like meadows enamelled with flowers, or like strings of pearls; (*producing thus a piece*) elegant in penmanship, brilliant in expression and in the thoughts which they convey. O you who aspire to proficiency! prepare (*for your work*) like Amin al-Din; take your time, and fatigue your mind but gently. You, my lord! the (*sworn*) brother of generosity and the nurturer of glory! you, the son of high renown! you who bear off the prize! you are the full moon of which the penman, the son of a crescent<sup>1</sup>, was the father. He that retreats (*before obstacles*) is good for nothing. Though he was the first (*in point of time*), you are more worthy of preference, for you out-ran him and he came in the second. Amin al-Din! you in whom God shews how! He can unite, as in one sheaf, liberality and every merit! I am one of those who bear eulogiums to your tribe (*your dwelling*) so that it (*my poem*) may ever continue to roam about and be recited<sup>2</sup>. When your eulogium is indited by a *qāḍī* (*by a competent judge*), an 'adl (*competent witness*)<sup>3</sup> can bear

1 *The son of a crescent*, in Arabic: *Ibn Hilāl*. This was the patronymic appellation of the famous penman Ibn al-Bawwāb. (See No. 432)).

2 I read with one of my manuscripts, and the edition of Bulāq يظل تبهو يتلى. The other reading يظل لا يتسل means: "has remained inconsolable," and is evidently not to be accepted.

3 The 'adl is an officer in the *qāḍī's* court: he writes out his judgements, signs them as a witness and draws up deeds. He must be a man of approved integrity and veracity.



testimony (*to its truth*). Accept this virgini (*piece*) from a father who never troubled his mind about seeking a husband for his daughter. I desire neither reward nor recompense; but I really see that you are worthy of praise. The impulse of friendship bears this (*poem*) towards you, and it goes, wishing to obtain a kind reception from your good opinion. Since it is difficult for me to reach you, let my heart answer for my sincerity; (*that you can appreciate*), for you are a man of an excellent judgement. Continue to enjoy good health as long as the squadrons of darkness hover round the horizon! as long as the morning unsheathes the blade of its light!"

Amin al-Din (Yāqūt) died at Moṣul in the year 618 (A.C. 1221-2), at an advanced age. When he grew old, his penmanship changed (*for the worse*).

## 762 YĀQŪT AL-RŪMĪ THE POET

Abu 'l-Durr Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd Allāh<sup>1</sup> al-Rūmī (*the Greek*), surnamed Muhaḍḍhab al-Dīn (*pure in religion*), was the *mawlā* of a merchant named Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jilī. This celebrated poet, having studied the science (*of law*) and acquired extensive literary information, directed his genius to the composition of verses and attained proficiency in that art. When his talent raised him to distinction, he assumed the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān. His place of residence at Baghdād was the Nizāmiyah College. In the *Ḍhayl* (or supplement to *al-Sam'ānī's* historical continuation), the author, Ibn al-Dubayṭī (No. 635) mentions him among the 'Abd al-Raḥmāns, and says: "He passed his early youth in Baghdād, where he learned by heart the sacred text of the *Qur'ān*, got some acquaintance with general literature and learned to write a good hand. He used to recite verses of his own composition, most of which consisted in blandishments addressed to his mistress and in the expression of his passion. All these pieces are on love-

---

1 The meaning of these names is explained at the beginning of the preceding article.

matters and are full of tenderness ; many people know them by heart." He (*Ibn al-Dubayhī*) then gives some passages of his poetry and mentions that one of them was recited to him by the author himself. It begins thus :

"O my two friends ! I swear that the night never got dark without inspiring the lover with desire or with folly."

The rest of the piece may be found in the *Majmū'ah al-Ṣaghīr* (the lesser compilation)<sup>1</sup>. Al-Rūmī's verses have got into general circulation and are sung to music. They are full of grace and tenderness. Here is one of his poems :

"If your tears cease to flow after the departure of those whom you love, all (the passion) that you affect to feel is false and counterfeit. How can you admit consolation or forget their images (seen in your dreams), now that their dwellings and native soil are deprived of their presence ? May God never afflict (us) with the departure of a tribe by whose removal full moons (handsome faces) and pliant branches (slender waists) disappeared from our eyes ! They set out and my heart followed in the track of their caravan ; all my provision of firmness was exhausted when they went away. Since they are gone, the earth never discloses its smiles (its flowers) ; the willow and the lotus-tree agitate their branches no more. On the morning of our separation care and sadness caused my tears to flow and lighted up a fire in my heart. All the waters of Noah's flood were (poured forth) from my eyes and the flames which the Friend of God encountered<sup>2</sup> raged within my bosom. If solid rocks could feel such sorrow as I endure for my beloved (the mountains of) Uḥūd and Lubnān (Lebanan) would shrink<sup>3</sup> before it ; Yadhbul would melt away under such pain as mine ; Ruḍwā would be shattered to pieces, and Thahlān would sink under the weight<sup>4</sup>. O thou whose splendid beauty holds me captive ! the sovereignty of thy

1 This work is not known.

2 According to the *Qur'ān, sūrah 21*, Abraham, the Friend of God (*Khalīl Allāh*) was cast by Nimrod into a fiery furnace and miraculously saved.

3 The true reading is evidently لجان.

4 Those are mountains of Arabia.

charms has shewed me no kindness. Be, however, as thou wilt ! no one shall ever replace thee in my affection. Thou art for me a limpid fountain, and my heart is parched with thirst."

Here is another of his poems :

"Who will bear to Baghdād the news of what I suffer for that maid and of the love I feel for her ? Who will bear my salutation to the Abode of Welfare! ? Breath of the zephyr ! carry the salutation of an ill-starred wretch to her who has harassed me and who heeds not the promises she made me. Describe to her a part only of the love with which she inspired me ; perhaps she may have pity on one who is borne down by passion and delirium. Declare in the public place of al-Zawrā (*Baghdād*) that I have there a fawn (*a maiden*) whose absence has driven sleep from my eyelids and whose beauty is marvellous ; when she departed, my firmness of mind departed also and, when she turned away, she turned me over to death. When she repelled me, sleep was repelled from my eyes, and, when she shunned me, the wine which I drank was mingled with tears. My life and death are in her hands ; she is for me paradise or hell ; she is the only fountain where I can calm my longing and allay my thirst. Her absence is my death ; her presence is, for me, life, happiness and the obtainment of my wishes. From her cheeks proceed the fires which consume me ; her slender waist is the cause of my emaciation, and her languishing eyes make me languish in sickness. You who blame me cannot but excuse me : the grace of her movements indicates sufficiently that I was forced to love her and adore her."

I heard many jurisconsults in Syria and 'Irāq recite a piece of his which they knew by heart and which began thus :

"O thou who excitest troubles in my bosom ! since thy departure, my body is emaciated through the love I bear thee and will never be restored to health until thou givest consent to my wishes by saying : 'Yes' O thou who, as often as censors have blamed my love, hast offered them my justification in (*letting them see*) thy flowing ringlets ! Tell me if my tyrant is authorized by

---

1 The Abode of Welfare (*Dār al-Salām*) was one of the names by which Baghdād was designated.

the *Wajiz* to slay me? It is said so in the *Tahdhīb* or the *Shāmil*? Does the *Muḥadḍhab*<sup>1</sup> say that a lover whose eyes are moist and whose tears flow in torrents deserves to be tormented? Have your seductive eyes told you it was lawful to take away our lives with glances whose magic is like that of Bābil<sup>2</sup>? ”

The piece contains more verses than these, but I have here given all that I am able to me recollect. A literary man recited to me, at Aleppo, some verses of Yāqūt al-Rūmī's, one of which was as follows :

“Art thou not sweeter in qualities than (*all other*) maids? why then dost thou dwell in heart which is a hell<sup>3</sup>? ”

He mentioned also that some of the Baghdād critics objected to this verse. I reflected on the matter and then said to him : “Fault was found with it perhaps in this particular that her being sweeter in qualities than the other maidens did not necessarily imply that she should not be in hell ; for she, being sweeter in qualities than they were, was not (*to be counted as*) one of them ; and what is denied is merely that the maidens should be in hell.” To this he replied : “You are in the right ! that is the very point in which they found fault with him<sup>4</sup>.” In the year 625 (A.C. 1227-8), I met at Arbela a man of eminent merit who related to me as follows : “I was in Baghdād, at the Nizāmiyah college, in the year 620, and, one day, I found this Abu 'l-Durr (*Yāqūt*) sitting at the door of that institution. I sat down beside him, and engaged in a conversation on literary matters. Whilst we were thus occupied, an elderly man, weak in body and in a very sorry plight, came up, leaning on a staff, and sat down near us. Abu-'l-Durr asked me if I knew who he was and, on my answering that I did not, he said : ‘That is the *mamlūk* (*white slave*) on whom his master, (*the poet*) Ḥayṣ Bayṣ (*No. 241*) composed these lines :

1 These are well-known treatises on law.

2 The inhabitants of Bābil were well-skilled in magic, as they had for teachers the fallen angels, Hārūt and Mārūt (*Qurān, sūrah 2, verse 96*).

3 The poet's idea is : my heart is filled with the flames of love and yet I bear you in it.

4 It is difficult to understand the objection and the author's explanation of it.

"Put on what cap<sup>1</sup>, what gown, what vest you please ; you cannot add to the love which I bear you. Less love than that which you are worthy of possesses already the totality of my heart ; if you wish to augment that (*love*) give (*me*) another heart (*the one I have is insufficient to contain it*)."

"I turned to look at the man, observing his appearance and reflecting on the state to which he was reduced. I searched for these two verses in the *diwān* of Ḥayṣ Bayṣ's poems, but was unable to find them. God best knows (*if they be his*) ! " Abu 'l-Durr left a *diwān* of poems which, as I am told, forms a small volume. I have never seen it, but have met with numerous verses taken from it. His verses are currently known in 'Irāq, in the province of the East (*Mesopotamia*) and in Syria ; so, what we have given may suffice. In the life of al-Khidr Ibn 'Aqil al-Irbālī (*No. 205*) we have inserted three verses of al-Rūmī's. Since the above was written, two copies of his *diwān* came into my possession, this was at Damascus, in the year 667 (A.C. 1268-9); the book is a small one, containing only ten quires (*two hundred pages*)—I read in a historical work of those later times, that Abu 'l-Durr (*Yāqūt*) was found dead in his lodgings at Baghdād, on the 12th of the first Jumādā, 622 (22nd May, A.C. 1225), but the people said that he had been dead for some days. Ibn al-Najjār (*No. 5, note*) mentions, in his History of Baghdād that Abu 'l-Durr was found dead in his room on Wednesday, the 15th of the first Jumādā of that year. He had left the Nizāmiyah and gone to reside in a house situated in the Darb Dinār al-Ṣaghīr (*Lesser Dinār-street*). It is not known at what age he expired but I am inclined to think that he was advanced in years<sup>2</sup>. *Rūmī* means *belonging to the country of the Rūm (Greeks)*, which is a vast and celebrated region, filled with cities. This is a fit place for introducing a piece of curious information which is often needed and frequently asked for: The people of *Rūm (The Greeks and the Romans)* are designated also as the *Banu 'l-Aṣfar (sons of the tawny one)*, and poets often employ this expression

1 For the meaning of the word شربش see Mr. Dozy's *Dictionnaire des noms des vêtements des Arabes*.

2 طامع is evidently the equivalent of طامع.

in their verses. 'Aqil Ibn Zayd al-'Abādi (*No. 85, note*) says, in one of his *qaṣīdahs*.

"The noble sons of al-Aṣfar, kings of al-Rūm, have left no remembrance of their deeds."

I frequently sought for the origin of this denomination, but could find no one capable of allaying the thirst I had (*for that piece of information*); till I at length met, by chance, with an old book entitled *al-Laṣīf (the miscellany)*,<sup>1</sup> but, on which the name of the person who dictated its contents (*i.e. the author*) was not inscribed. I copy here a passage of it in which the narrator says: "Al-'Abbās informed me that he heard his father make the following statement: In the first period (*of the empire*), the king of the Rūm died<sup>2</sup>, leaving a wife. Rival chiefs aspired to the empire and great mischief was done between them. It was then agreed upon to take for their king the first person who would appear to them, and they held an assembly for that object. Now, a man had set out from Yaman for al-Rūm, taking with him an Abyssinian slave. He (*the slave*) ran away and appeared before them. 'See,' said they, 'into what we have fallen'! They married him to that woman, and she bore a son whom they named *al-Aṣfar (the Tawny)*. The master (*of the slave*) remonstrated with them and the boy (*the slave*) said: 'He has spoken the truth! I am his slave.' They tried to appease him (*the master*) and made him gifts till he was satisfied. The Rūm were therefore called *the Sons of the Tawny*, on account of the yellowness of the child, who was the son of an Abyssinian and a white woman." God knows best<sup>3</sup>!

1 This work is no longer known.

2 Or, according to other readings, *was torn to pieces, was burned*.

3 The learned among the Musulmāns and some of our European orientlists have offered various solutions of this problem but none of their explanations is satisfactory. I am inclined to believe that the denomination *Banu 'l-Aṣfar* signified *the sons of the emperor*, and that it was given to the Greeks of the Eastern empire because their sovereign bore, amongst his other titles, that of *Flavius*, which had been transmitted by Vespasian to his successors. An interpreter, confounding *Flavius* with *flavus*, may have told the Musulmāns that this name signified *yellow (aṣfar)*.

## 763 YĀQŪT AL-ḤAMAWĪ.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd Allāh, a Greek (*of Asia*) by origin and by birth, received the surname of al-Ḥamawī because he was enfranchised at Ḥamāt, and obtained that of al-Baghdādī because he made a residence in the city of Baghdād. He bore the honorary title of *Shihāb al-Dīn* (*flambeau of religion*). When a child, he was carried off a captive from his native place and sold at Baghdād, to a merchant named 'Askar Ibn Abī Naṣr Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī. His master sent him to school, with the intention of deriving profit from him later, in making him keep the accounts of his commercial transactions. This 'Askar could not write correctly and knew nothing except commerce. He inhabited Baghdād, got married there and had a number of children. When Yāqūt was grown up and had acquired some knowledge of grammar and literature, he was employed by his patron as a travelling clerk and, in that capacity, he went back and forward from Syria to Kīsh<sup>1</sup>\*, 'Umān and the neighbouring countries. His master was then under the necessity of enfranchising him and turning him away, in consequence of a disagreement which took place between them. This happened in the year 596 (A. C. 1199-1200). Yāqūt then commenced copying books for a salary and, by their perusal, he acquired considerable information. At a later period, he received some (*money*) from his patron, who had taken pity on him, and was sent off by him on a voyage to Kīsh. Finding, on his return, that his benefactor was dead, he realized part of what was in his hands and gave to the widow and orphans wherewithal to satisfy them. The remainder served him as a trading capital with which he travelled to different countries, and part of it he employed in the book-trade. The lecture of some *khārijite* books impressed on his mind a considerable portion of the doctrines (*professed by these sectarians*) and he conceived a strong prejudice against 'Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib. In the year 613 (A.C. 1216-7) he went to Damascus, and as he was sitting in one of the *bāzārs*, he got into a discussion with a partisan of 'Alī. In the course of the

---

1 The island of Kis is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, opposite to Ormus.

\* M. de Slane gives : Kīs.—Ed.

dispute, he was led to speak of 'Alī in a manner not to be borne and was assaulted so violently by the people that he was likely to be killed. Having got out of their hands, he fled from Damascus, but not before the governor of that city had received intelligence of what took place and given orders to arrest him. Search was made for him, but without success. He reached Aleppo where he stopped, full of apprehension and waiting to see how things would end. On the first third, or by another account, on the second third of the latter Jumādā, 613 (Sept. Oct., A. C. 1216), he left that city and went to Moṣul, whence he proceeded to Arbela and from that to Khurāsān. He avoided entering Baghdād, knowing that the person with whom he had the discussion was a native of that place and fearing to lose his life if his adversary mentioned and what he had said. On arriving in Khurāsān, he stopped there for the purpose of trading to the towns in that country, and fixed his residence at Marw (*Meru*). From that he proceeded to Nasā and then entered into the province of Khawārazm where he encountered the invading army of the Tartars. This was in the year 616 (A.C. 1219-20). Having barely escaped with his life, he fled as naked as when he shall be raised from the dust of the grave on the day of the resurrection and arrived at Moṣul, after suffering on the way such hardships and fatigue as would even tire a narrator before he could describe them all. Deprived of every resource, in want of even the vilest food and the coarsest clothing he remained for some time at Moṣul, and then went to Sinjār. From that he removed to Aleppo and, having taken lodgings in the *caravansarai* outside the city, he continued to reside there till his death. The date of this event we shall give farther on. I copied the following notes from the work compiled by the Abu 'l-Barakā Ibn al-Mustawfī (*No.* 528) and treating of the history of Arbela: Yaqūt arrived in that city, A.H. 617, in the month of Rajab, (Sept., A.C. 1220). He had been residing in Khawārazm but left it after the battle which took place between the Tartars and Muḥammad Ibn Tukush Khawārazm Shāh, the sovereign of that country. As he had previously been occupied in making historical researches, he composed a work in four large volumes and entitled: *Irshād al-Alibbā ilā ma'rifat al-Udabā* (*Guide of the intelligent to an acquaintance with the learned*). In the beginning



of the work he says : "I have given in this work all the information I could obtain respecting the grammarians, the philologists, the genealogists, the eminent *Qur'ān*-readers, the relators of historical facts, the annalists, the booksellers of note, the writers of renown, the authors of such epistles as have been collected into volumes, the persons distinguished for the beauty of their *mansūb*<sup>1</sup> handwriting, and all those who composed or compiled works on literature. In this task, I aimed at concision, though unable to remain within the limits of brevity, and I spared no pains in determining the dates of the deaths and fixing the days and the hours of the births. I mention the works composed by them, the more interesting of the anecdotes concerning them; their origin, their genealogy and some of their poetry. (*I compiled this work*) during my travels in various countries and my intercourse with the inhabitants. The *ishāds*<sup>2</sup> I have suppressed except those which contain but a few names and which are easy to be learned; and, moreover, I did all in my power to have the exactness of these traditions certified by oral declaration and by the licences given to teach them. As it was my object to produce a small but useful work, I have indicated in it the sources whence I derived my information and the places where I found it: the books, for instance, composed by such of the learned as were considered sure authorities in these matters and on whose declarations all relied for the genuineness of these traditions." He (*Ibn al-Mustawfī*) then states that Yāqūt composed a work on the history of the poets both ancient and modern. Other works were written by Yāqūt, such as the *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (*gazetteer of alphabetical lists of places*<sup>3</sup>), the *Mu'jam al-Shu'arā* (*biographical dictionary of poets*) the *Mu'jam al-Udabā* (*biographical dictionary of literary men*), the *Muṣhtarik waq'an wa 'l-Mukhtaliṣ ṣaq'an* (*a dictionary of geographical synonyms*) which is a useful book, the *Kitāb al-Mabdā wa 'l-Ma'al* (*the Commencement and the End*), treating of history, the

1 See No. 454, note.

2 See Introduction to Vol. I.

3 This and the *Muṣhtarik* are the only works of Yāqūt which I have met with. The *Mu'jam al-Buldān* forms the five or six volumes and contains much curious information. I understand that Mr. Wustenfeld has prepared an edition of it which is now (1865) in the press.

*Kitāb al-Duwal* (book of Empires), the collected sayings of *Abū 'Alī 'l-Fārisī* (No. 155), an *'Unwān* (title or preface) to the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (No. 415), the *Muqtaḍib fi 'l-Nisab* (selection of genealogies) containing those of the Arabian tribes, an account of *al-Mutanabbī* (No. 49) and a treatise entitled *Kitāb man lahu himmah etc\**. (book for him whose high aspirations are directed towards the acquisition of knowledge)<sup>1</sup>. *Al-Qāḍī 'l-Akram* (the honourable *qāḍī*) *Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Shaybānī al-Qifṭī* (No. 510, note), who was Wazīr to the sovereign of Aleppo, states, in the *Anbā 'l-Ruwāt fi Abnā 'l-Nuḥāt*, that *Yāqūt*, on arriving at *Moṣul*, whither he had fled on escaping from the Tartars, wrote to him a letter in which he describes his situation and relates what passed between him and these invaders. It begins by the invocation of the divine name and the praises of God, after which, it continues in these terms: "Your mamlūk (humble servant) *Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī*, wrote this letter from *Moṣul* in the year 617 (A.C. 1220-1), on his arrival from *Khuwarazm* whence he was driven by the Tartars whom God exterminate! (He sent it) to the presence of his sovereign lord<sup>2</sup>, the Wazīr *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāḍī 'l-Akram Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid al-Shaybānī al-Taymī* (member of the tribe of *Shaybān* and descended from) *Taym Allāh*, who was the son of *Shaybān*, the son of *Tha'labah*, the son of *'Ukābah*. May God cast his shelter around him and exalt his rank in the scale of domination<sup>3</sup>. (To him), who is, at the

1 The loss of these compilations is much to be regretted.

2 Literally: the master of his thralldom.

3 This long letter contains very little information and was evidently composed with the intention of displaying the great command of language possessed by the author. Its style, though laboured and excessively affected, is by no means remarkable for elegance, though the Wazīr *Ibn al-Qifṭī* and *Ibn Khallikān* have inserted it in their respective works. Nothing can be conceived more verbose and more jejune than this pompous epistle. It is almost needless to say that the copyists did not always understand it and have committed numerous faults in its transcription. Some of these errors I have rectified, but a few passages remain of which the text cannot be amended though the meaning be tolerably clear.

\* According to *'Abd al-Ḥamīd*: this is not the title of a book. The sentence means: He, i.e. *Yāqūt*, had high aspirations to acquire knowledge.—Ed.

present day, the wazir of the sovereign of Aleppo and al-'Awāṣim<sup>1</sup> (is addressed) this account of what has passed in Khuwārazm and of what has happened to the writer. (It offers) a slight indication of the manner in which he began and ended (his career) on taking leave of your (excellence). He shrank from the idea of submitting it to your appreciation such was his respect and veneration for your dignity and such his repugnance to offer you a document so unworthy of your exalted merit. But now, that a number of practitioners in the art of prose and verse have been informed of these (events) and have hastened, as I well know, to set them down in writing and to hurry in active competition towards the task of transmitting the knowledge of them (to future ages); now, that the generosity of him who holds me enslaved has, no doubt, unsealed, these (epistles) and assigned to their (authors) a high rank in his favour, I feel encouraged to present this (notice), to my (honoured) master and to a judgment which will shew how exalted it is by perusing it and treating its imperfections with indulgence. For (I am not a professed writer); every person who fingers dirhams should not be taken for a money-changer, neither is the man who acquires a pearl to be considered as a jeweller. Here follows my statement :

“In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement! may God render durable, for the advantage of science and of those who cultivate it, for the prosperity of Islamism and its sons, the gift which He has conferred, bestowed and granted to enjoy, namely, the ample (and beneficent) shade of the lord wazir, whose partisans may God exalt whose glory and power may He redouble! whose ensigns and standards may He maintain victorious! whose pen may He long allow to run (on the surface of paper), so that it may direct towards all lands the flow of his donation! May He prolong his life and exalt his glory to the heavens, whilst He surrounds him with favours of which the freshness shall never fade and of which the number and the multitude shall never be restrained by limits. May his vigour and his sword never be broken! may the

---

1 *Al-'Awāṣim* (the fortresses) was the name given to that part of ancient Cilicia which borders on the north of Syria.

love which all bear him and the number of those who love him be never diminished ! God prolong his rule for the advantage of the world and of our religion ! so that he may repair their disorder, drive away their affliction, elevate their beacon and, by his salutary influence, enable them to leave a lasting impression. May his light shine forth, his blossoms open, his flowers brighten and his lustre be augmented ! May God extend the shade of his (*the Wazlr's patronage*) over the sciences and those who profess them ; over literature and those who cultivate it ; over the meritorious acts and those who practise them ; so that, by his well established bounty, he may exalt these (*fair*) structures, adorn their diadems with the finest jewels of his glory, embellish their duration with the mature (*honours*) of his exalted dignity, give them great importance for mankind by the loftiness of his views, and establish in the highest degree of merit their utility and their rank. By the efficiency of his orders he has exalted the influence of the Muslim states ; he presides as a guardian over the foundations which support the dogmas of the faith, he exalts those who defend them and abases those who attack them. By the excellence of his government he strengthens the arms<sup>1</sup> (*of the true doctrine*) and, by his well-directed efforts, he has smoothed for it the way to the attainment of its purposes. Thus, by the excellence of his administration, hath he become a brilliant star on the forehead of the age, and a model to be imitated by every man whom nature has formed for (*the exercise of*) justice and benevolence. Therefore shall he enjoy a fitting recompense as long as the two companions (*light and darkness*) shall subsist, as long as days and nights shall be renewed, as long as there shall be a sun to shine in the east, and a soul to rejoice at the prospect of conversing with his Excellence<sup>2</sup> !.

After (*these preliminaries*), the humble slave (*who writes this*) exposes to (*your*) high and seigniorial dignity to (*your*) right honourable and exalted station, which God favour with happiness long to endure, brilliant with lustre, satisfying all our wishes and

1 The Arabic word signifies : the part of the arm on which the bracelet is worn.

2 Literally : his illustrious presence.

embellished with every mark of excellence<sup>1</sup>, a state of things the relation of which is rendered unnecessary by your lordship's quick intelligence, and for the elucidation and description of which, the clear judgment you are gifted with might dispense me from employing (*indā*) the pen. But, let it be sufficient for him (*the wazīr*) to recollect in what terms our blessed Prophet described the true believers: 'Certainly', said he, 'my people are fond of talking<sup>2</sup>'. This (*letter*) is (*merely*) a disclosure of the writer's sincere devotion (*to you*) as client, of the pride he feels in being an humble servant to (*your*) seigniorial presence and in being considered as such; for your quick genius suffices to prevent him from manifesting, out of what is laid up in his mind, sentiments which might have the appearance of adulation. Indeed, the proofs of your humble servant's zeal in the religious duty of clientship are evident to all the world, and the mark impressed on him by the stamp indicating the sincerity of his love for your honourable name is still apparent on the pages of time. So also is his faith in the sacred laws (*of gratitude*) imposed by that bounty (*of yours*) which, covering all the land, has rendered clearly visible, by its splendour, the edifice of noble deeds (*which you erected*). Your servant's repeating, in your praise, the recitals whose authenticity has been verified by personal experience, is well justified<sup>3</sup>. He summoned the people of all lands to assert with zeal in their faith in the supremacy of your (*generosity, proofs of*) which he has (*often*) received in his hand. Your friend, sincerely devoted to the belief in your superiority and especially distinguished by the intention of collecting all the scattered (*recollections*), all the (*accounts*) wide-spread (*of your bounty*), was accustomed to toil in the sweat of his brow; so that, at length, he rendered you a *ka'bah* of generosity towards which it was not necessary to prescribe the obligation of pilgrimage for those who were able to undertake the journey, neither was that duty incumbent on those who

---

1 Literally: with a white forehead and white pasterns. These were considered by the bedwin Arabs as marks of a good horse.

2 Literally: my people are speakers.

3 Literally: his recital of the traditions of glory, the *isnāds* of which are near (*easy to be verified*), is established by his personal observation.

possessed means, to the exclusion of the indigent and the way-worn traveller. All of them obtain (*from you*) a meed sufficient to fortify them, a portion adequate to their wants and on which they counted. The grandees have drawn from your source an abundant supply of noble deeds; the learned have found examples of merit in those persons who are attached to your service; the poor have received your letters of protection against the vicissitudes of time and the frowns of fortune; therefore have they prescribed as a sacred rite towards you, the saluting and the glorifying of your noble and illustrious character; the touching with their lips and the kissing of your generous hand. God is a witness that your humble servant, in his journeyings and sojournings, in private and in public, in conduct and in reputation, had always for his distinctive mark the custom of perfuming the assemblies of the worthy and the meetings of the learned with (*the account of*) the services which your Excellence has rendered and which were obtained from your generosity. He made it his pride (*to speak of them*) before all people, and thus prepare an embroidery for the discourse he was about to utter:

"When I, through cupidity, gave lustre to other men by my poems, I gave my verses lustre by the mention of your name."

*They upbraid thee that they have embraced Islāmism. Answer: Upbraid me not with your having embraced Islāmism; rather God upbraideth you, that He hath directed you to the faith. Avow the fact if you can speak sincerely*<sup>1</sup>. May God never debar us (*the wazīr's*) trusty friends, from the ample stock of His common favours, nor preclude us all, who are all his servants, from the constant flow of His gifts! O God! Lord of the expanded earth, of the exalted heavens, of the swollen seas and of the winds compelled to work (*Thy will*)<sup>2</sup>! hearken to my invocation and listen to my prayer! Help us up to that height in His favour which we desire to reach and which we hope to attain, through the merits of Muḥammad the Prophet and of his Companions and of his kindred!

1 *Qur'ān, Sūrah 49, verse 17.* The application of this verse is by no means clear.

2 The epithets here employed are taken from the *Qur'ān*.

When your humble servant left your noble presence and departed from the abode of unsullied glory and exalted merit, he intended to conciliate frowning Fortune and draw milk from the udder of this age, wicked and unruly as it is. For he was seduced by the idea that changing place—brings grace,—that passing into a foreign land—brings wealth to hand,—that dwelling with one's friends—disgrace and pain upon us sends,—and that the lover of home who stirs not apace,—is distanced in the race<sup>1</sup>.

"After stopping for a time in hesitation, I felt assured that death was preferable to poverty. So, I bade farewell to my family, whilst my heart was filled (*with grief*) and left my native land in the pursuit of wealth. My wife wept on our separation, and I said to her: 'Bear it with patience! death is surely better than a life of misery. I shall gain a fortune or die in a town where few tears will be shed over my grave.'"

Mounted on the steed<sup>2</sup> of hope, your servant rode off to a distant land, and placed his foot in the stirrup of peregrination with every company (*that offered*); he crossed the valleys and the hills till he nearly reached the Sudd<sup>3</sup>; but perfidious Fortune did not befriend him, neither did the times, now ran mad, treat him with kindness:

"Ask the nights and days to acknowledge their fault, they will not conceal that news".

I was like a mote in the eye of fortune or a bone in her throat; so, to get rid of me, she deluded me in promising to fulfil my wishes and finished by casting me into the snares of death:

"He stopped not long in any land before he set out for another; his person was with (*his fellow-travellers*) but his mind was far distant. One day, he was at Huzwā; another, at al-'Aqīq; another, at al-'Udhayb, and another, at al-Khulaysā. Now he

---

1 These are rhyming proverbs.

2 Literally: the camel's hump.

3 The sudd or barrier of Gog and Magog was supposed to exist on the west side of the Caspian sea.

went towards Najd and Āwinah (*near*) the valleys of al-Ḥuzūn, and then to the castle of Taymā'."

But, alas! after all these lessons of adversity, how far was I from the accomplishment of my wishes and the attainment of my desire! The frowns of ill-luck drew smiles from cruel time, and I ceased not to blame Fortune and reproach her with her errors, till, instead of getting wealth, I was satisfied in reaching home<sup>2</sup>. And during all that, your humble servant tried to pass away those days and to get over them; deluding himself with the hopes of sustenance, covering his head with the veil of endurance and self-denial, arrayed in abstinence and in scanty fare, but not resigned to the wearing of such clothing; *your brother was forced and had not strength to resist*<sup>3</sup>. He remained there, consoling himself in the society of his fellow merchants whose humours he could support and from whom he had no affronts to fear; he treated them with politeness and was happy to receive from them a pittance. Otherwise, no advantage could be expected from them and no harm could be feared:

"If I must absolutely have a family and a home, let it be in a place where I can have nothing to fear from those whom I meet, and they, nothing to fear from me."

My mind had once formed the thought of assuming high airs, of riding on a spirited horse, of seeing my ambitious desires come forth from the egg, fledged and winged, and of striking fire (*drawing profit*) from every steel, whether lavish or sparing of its sparks; (*but now*):

"Instructed by experience, I care not if people shun me and if I never receive nor make a visit. Never, whilst I live, shall I ask if the army has marched or if the general has departed'.

---

1 All those places are mentioned in the poems composed by the Bedwin Arabs and were situated in Arabia.

2 Literally: instead of booty I was content to return. A well-known proverb.

3 For the explanation of this proverb, see Freytag's *Ma'ādat*, Vol. I, p. 266.



The place where I stopped was called Marw al-Shāhjan, which (*latter*) word according to the explanation given by them means *the soul of the sultān*. I found there some works treating of the sciences and of literature, volumes composed by men of intelligence, and whilst I studied them, I forgot family and country, and thought no longer of sincere friends nor of my home. Amongst them I discovered some stray volumes which I had long sought for, and some works which I had ardently desired. To them I applied with the avidity of a glutton and, having assigned to them a place from which they could easily depart, I began to browse in these gardens, to admire the beauty of their form and of their contents, to let my eyes rove freely over these pasture grounds, to enjoy these detailed accounts, these compendiums, and to think that I should remain in that quarter till I became a neighbour of (*those who repose under*) the earth :

“When adversity attacks me with troops having sadness and expatriation in the van, I lay for them an ambuscade of which the two chiefs are a lamp and a book ; and I pass the night in relating of Fortune's character, things so wonderful that their truth would excite doubt. I dispel my cares by quiet, as the cares of others are dispelled by wine.”

(*So things continued*) till the catastrophe arrived by which Khurāsān was overwhelmed with ruin, with evil all-destroying and with desolation. Now, I declare on my life and by Allāh ! that it was a country beautiful in all its parts, charming in all its regions ; a fertile garden enjoying an air pure and languishing (*mild*), and in which the trees inclined their branches with delight at the singing of the birds. In it the rivulets shed tears whilst each flower smiled at the other ; the breath of the zephyr was sweet and the temperature of the climate healthy. Never shall I forget those delightful arbours and those trees sinking under (*the weight of*) their foliage. The southern gales bore thither its wine-skins filled with the liquor of the clouds ; the meadows drank the wine of the dew, and on the flowers were formed drops like pearls fallen from the string. When the thirst of its groves was quenched with that liquor, their odour was the intoxicating breath of the zephyr ; they drew near to each other, even closer than friend to

friend, and embraced even more tenderly than lovers. In the intervals were seen anemonies whose colours were mixed with that of the love-sick wooer<sup>1</sup> and which resembled the lips of two maidens who draw near, one to the other, for the purpose of giving and receiving an affectionate kiss. Their aspect sometimes deceived the most intelligent (*naḥrlr*), so that he took them for burning coals (*jumr*) on which drops of water were poured successively in order to extinguish them (*i'tilāf*)<sup>2</sup>. There you saw the ox-eye flourish so brilliantly that the eye of the spectator is cheered at the sight, whilst its blossoms glittered like little cymbals of gold or like dinārs of that metal. Among them appeared the (*white flowers of the*) anthemis, shining like the teeth of the beloved when she bites the cheek of the lover. How rich (*that land*) in prospects which delight the eyes and of which the colours are charming (*rā'iq*). It is, in a word, and without exaggeration, a copy of Paradise; there was to be found all the heart could wish for, all that could enchant the sight. Encircled with its noble endowments, if offered, throughout all its tracts, a profusion of rich products to the world. How numerous were its holy men pre-eminent for virtue (*rāqat kḥiyaruhu*)! how many its doctors whose conduct had for motive the conservation of Islāmism! The monuments of its science are inscribed on the rolls of time; the merits of its authors have redounded to the advantage of religion and of the world, and their productions have been carried into every country. Not a man of solid science and sound judgment, but emerged like the sun, from that part of the East; not a man of extraordinary merit but took that country for his setting-place or longed to go and join its inhabitants. Every quality truly honourable and not factitious was to be found among them and, in (*the garden of*) their sayings, I was enabled to cull the roots of every generous impulse. Their children were men, their youths heroes, and their old men saints; the testimonies of their merit are clear; the proofs of their glory are manifest; yet, strange to say! the sulṭān who reigned over these provinces abandoned them

1 The text is corrupt but the meaning appears to be that which is given here. I read *shabaha* with one of the manuscript.

2 That means: the colour of these flowers was red with dark spots.

with unconcern and said to himself: 'Take the open country<sup>1</sup>, or else you will encounter perdition'. So, he hastened off as a young ostrich runs away and, when he began to look about, where nothing was to be seen, he thought that he perceived a man or many men (*in pursuit of him*)<sup>2</sup>. *How many gardens, springs of water, fields of corn, honourable stations and advantages which they enjoyed, did they leave behind!* But Almighty God *did not give the same unto another people*<sup>3</sup> because He averted those saints from the station of the wicked. But He put them to the proof, and found them grateful; He afflicted them, and found them patient; so He caused them to join the company of the holy martyrs and raised them to the lofty stations of the virtuous elect. *Yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye like a thing which is worse for you; but God knoweth and ye know not*<sup>4</sup>. The people of infidelity and impiety roamed through those abodes; that erring and contumacious race dominated over the inhabitants; so that those palaces were effaced of the earth as lines of wiring are effaced from paper, and those abodes become a dwelling for the owl and the raven; in those places, the screech-owls answer each other's cry, and in those halls, the winds moan responsive to the simoom. Old friends who enter there are filled with sadness; Iblis himself would bewail the great catastrophe:

"(*It is now*) as if no charming companion, handsome as a statue, had ever been there; as if princely chiefs, lions in bravery (*had never resided there*). Yet, in generosity, they were Ḥātims and sons of Māmāh<sup>5</sup>; if prudence were taken into count; they were

1 Literally: to the air.

2 For an account of Kuwwārazm-Shāh's flight before the troops of Jengeez-Khan, see Abu'l-Fedā's *Annals*. A.H. 617.

3 *Qur'an*, *sūrah* 44, verses 24, 25. These verses apply to the Egyptians who went forth in pursuit of the Children of Israel. God gave their possessions to another people; so says the *Qur'an*; but our author remarks that God did not leave those of the Khūrāsānis to the invaders, because He would not treat the Musulmāns like the people of Pharaoh.

4 *Qur'an*, *sūrah* 2, verse 213.

5 The generosity of Ḥātīm al-Tā'i is well-known; Ka'b Ibn Māmāh, one of the principal chiefs of the tribe of Iyād, was also noted for his liberality. See Freytag's *Ma'tdant*, t. I, p. 325, and Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai* t. II, pp. 1, 13.

Ahnafs<sup>1</sup> and Sa'ds<sup>2</sup>. But time, in its vicissitudes, hath hurled them to destruction, so that fate is now a moral lesson fitted to make our hearts bleed and those of our posterity."

We belong to God and to God we shall return! It was an event sufficient to break the back, to destroy life, to fracture the arm, to weaken the strength, to redouble sadness, to turn grey the hair of children, to dishearten the brave, to blacken the heart and to stupify the intelligence. Then did your humble servant turn back and retrace his steps. Filled with grief, he sought a friendly retreat where his mind might repose in security (*he fled*), his heart beating, his tears flowing, his reason lost and his intelligence absent. It was with difficulty that he accomplished his purpose and arrived at Mosul, where he stopped, after encountering dangers, undergoing sufferings supporting misfortunes with resignation, diminishing his baggage and, more than once, running the risk of his life. For he passed through drawn swords, troops flying in disorder, ranks broken, blood spilt with impunity. Every time he got on a camel's saddle or crossed a desert, he had these words in his mouth<sup>3</sup>. 'In this journey we have met with misfortune, but, praise be to God Who has left to us the power of praising Him, and Who has conferred on us favours which surpass enumeration! In a word, if the term of my life had not been appointed for a later period, it would have been difficult for my friends to have said: 'The unfortunate man has escaped or is arrived'! and they would have struck their hands like people whose hopes have been disappointed; and he would have been joined to the millions of millions, or even more, who perished by the hands of the infidels. Then he would have left his dearest treasure to her who derives subsistence from his life:

"Fortune does not appreciate my worth; she knows not that I have strength of mind and can make light of the events brought about by time. Adversity passes the night in shewing how she

1 See (No. 277) and Freytag's *Maydani* t. I, p. 396.

2 Sa'd Ibn Hudhaym هذيم died some years before the introduction of Islāmism. He was so celebrated for his wisdom that the Bedwin Arabs used to take him for judge in their contestations. (D'Horbelot, *Ribloth orientale*.)

3 Literally: this was his distinctive mark.

can transgress against me, and I pass it in letting her see what patience is."

Your humble servant now declares that he has no means of tranquilizing his mind, no promise by which to flatter his heart or his eyes, except in beguiling them with the hope that his afflictions shall disappear, once he stands in your noble presence.

"Enjoy good health, continue (*to do so*) and pass your days in pleasure ; for your existence will console (*us all*) for what is past and gone. You are the soul of glory, mankind is its body ; you are a pearl, and we (*possessing it*) regret not the shell".

Your humble servant is now residing at Moṣul and endeavouring to repair the harm done to him by this grave and disquieting event. He passes his time in the exercise of his profession, but Fortune is ready to say to him, in plain and intelligible language : 'By Allāh ! You have fallen into your old mistake !' For now, one object occupies his thoughts and, on my life and by Allāh ! that is nothing more than procuring a provision of books which he may transcribe and of (*written*) leaves which may serve him as companions ; — in that occupation, his toil is great and his profit small ; — then (*he thinks of*) travelling and resolves that, after accomplishing his task and attaining in some degree the object on which he has set his mind *qarūnah*, he will invoke Divine assistance and journey forth<sup>1</sup>. In the hope of accomplishing his wish ; namely, to appear in your presence, regale his sight, even for a single moment, with the aspect of your greatness, and then, casting away the staff of travel in your specious hall, repose under the shelter of your wing till he attain the hour which is to give him (*everlasting*) repose. He will take his place among your Excellency's servants, for such he always professed himself to be, even when far from your presence ; and if your Excellency take him by the hand, Fortune becoming indulgent, may exalt him after having cast him down. For, with his diminished strength, he is unable to accomplish his projects and incapable of entering the lists and encountering new hazards<sup>2</sup>. Besides the earth has now enclosed

---

1 Literally : ride on the direction of the road.

2 Literally : times ; i. e. vicissitudes of fortune.

his brethern in its bosom and the succession of days and nights has removed (*most of*) his contemporaries out of sight; grayness has settled on his beard; his means are insufficient for (*the satisfying of*) his wants; the falcon of hoary age has swooped at and seized on the raven (*the black hair*) of his youth; the daylight of prudence has invaded and repelled the night of ignorance; the services he rendered to his friends have been rapaid with evil<sup>1</sup>, and the brilliant garment of youth he has exchanged for the tattered cloak of hoary age:

"My youth departed and was ended before I enjoyed it since it left me I can only expect death. Old age precludes me from attaining what I seek for."

Your humble servant composed the following elegy in verse on the loss of his youth, but how little does it avail (*ghanā*) a man to weep for those who are deposited in the earth amongst mould-ering bones:

"Since my hair has turned gray, Fortune knows me no more, and the marks by which she is distinguished can no longer be recognised by me<sup>2</sup>. When my soul thinks of it (*my youth*), it yearns for it with longing desire and my eyes pour forth tears; till a time comes to embellish what has passed away and recollection supplies me with abundant sighs. Why not? since nought (*lammā*) remains in the bottom of my drinking-cup but a mere mouthful, filled with grounds. The contents of every goblet are clear at first, but in the bottom are found only a few drugs (*muzjā-hum-āt*) and some sediment'.

Your humble servant hopes that the above example of senile garrulity will obtain from you a glance of benevolence; for assuredly, the judgment of our lord and master, the Wazir, of him who is the asylum of the human race, from east to west, procures,

---

1 The word *ghana* which is not rendered in the translation, may perhaps signify: which is a case particular to him alone.

2 Or else: her favours are denials. The two words are also technical terms of Arabic grammar and, in that case, they signify: her definite (*nouns*, i.e. gifts) are, for me, indefinite; which may mean: I obtain them not.

when he applies, it, according to his glorious custom, an increase of rank and honour (*for him who is the object of it. Receive my salutation*”).

I have lengthened greatly this article, by the insertion of Yaqūt's epistle, but it was impossible to give it by extracts. My friend (*sāhib*) al-Kamāl Ibn al-Shi'ār al-Mawṣilī<sup>1</sup> writes as follows, in his work entitled '*Uqūd al-Jumān (clusters of pearls)*': "Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Najjār (*No. 5, note*) and the author of a history of Baghdād, spoke to me in these terms: 'The above mentioned Yāqūt recited to me the following three lines and told me that he had composed them on a young Turkish slave who, having inflamed eyes, wore a black veil to protect them :

"That Turkish youth whose face might be taken for a full moon shining in all its refulgence, shades his eyes with the border of a veil (*lit. of a protector*) to prevent their brightness from fascinating his admirers. But, by Allāh! since these eyes have wounded hearts through coats of mail, what is there to protect the protector! "

Yaqūt was born in the country of the Greeks (*Asia Minor*), in the year 574 (A.C. 1178-9) or 575". So says the author just cited. He died on the 21st of the month of Ramaḍān, 626 (13th August, A.C. 1229), in a Khān situated outside the city of Aleppo, as we have already mentioned towards the beginning of this article. He left his books as a *waqf*<sup>2</sup> to the mausoleum (*mash-had*) of al-Zaydī (?),\* which, establishment is situated in Dinār street (*Darb dīnār*), Baghdād. He delivered them to 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Athīr (*No. 435*), the author of the great historical work, and this *shaykh* carried them to their destination. When Yāqūt rose to distinction and got into reputation he changed his name into Ya'qūb. In the beginning

1 Abu'l Barakāt al-Mubārak Ibn Hamdān Ibn al-Shi'ār الشعار surnamed Kamāl al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī (*belonging to Moṣul*) composed a voluminous work on the poets of the seventh century of the Hijrah. He died A. H. 654 (A. C. 1256-7). (Hājji Khālifah *Ghirbāl al-Zumān*).

2 See (*No. 21, note*) and (*No. 756, note*).

\* 'Abd al-Hamid gives : al-Masjid (the mosque) al-Zaydi.—Ed.

of the month of Dhu 'l-Qa'dah, 626 (in the latter part of September, A.C. 1229), I arrived at Aleppo for the purpose of pursuing my studies. This was subsequent to Yāqūt's death; and I found every one speaking in his praise, extolling his merit and his great literary requirements. It was not therefore in my destiny to meet with him.

#### 764 YAḤYĀ IBN MA'ĪN.

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn Ibn 'Awn Ibn Ziyād Ibn Biṣṭām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murri, a native of Baghdād and a celebrated *ḥāfiẓ*, was a doctor of the highest authority, deeply learned and noted for the exactitude of his (*traditional*) information. He came, it is said, from a village situated near al-Anbār and called Naqiya.\* His father was secretary to 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik<sup>1</sup>, or according to another statement, he was chief of the *kharāj* (or *land-tax*) offices at Ray. He left, on his death, a sum of one million and fifty thousand dirhams<sup>2</sup> to his son Yaḥyā. All this sum was spent by the latter in (*collecting*) Traditions, so that, at length, he had not a shoe to put on. Being asked how many Traditions he had written down, he answered: "I wrote down with my own hand six hundred thousand Traditions." Aḥmad Ibn 'Uqbah, the person who related this anecdote, said: "And I believe that the relators of Traditions had also written out for him six hundred thousand as much more." (*When Ibn Ma'īn died*) he left one hundred and thirty cases filled with books and four water-jar stands filled with them also. He was the great

---

1 "In the year 192 (A. C. 807-8) 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik marched with a body of ten thousand men against the *Khurramiyah* (*the partisans of Bābak*) who were stirring up troubles in *Adl'arbā'ijūn*. After killing and taking prisoners (*many of the insurgents*), he returned victorious."—(*Nujūm*.)

2 Upwards of twenty thousand pounds sterling.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: Naqayāya.—Ed.



master in the art of *improbation and justification*<sup>1</sup>. The most eminent doctors learned Traditions from him and taught them on his authority. Amongst them were Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī (No. 543), Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī (No. 690), Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (No. 254) and other *ḥafīzes*. A close fellowship and intimacy subsisted between him and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (No. 19), and they studied together all the sciences connected with the Traditions. This is a fact so well known that we need not expatiate on the subject. He (*Ibn Ḥanbal*) and Abū Khaythamah<sup>2</sup> related Traditions on his (*Ibn Ma'in's*) authority, and were his contemporaries. 'Alī Ibn al-Madīnī<sup>3</sup> said: "In Baṣrah, the science (*of the law and the Traditions*) passed down to Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Kaṭhīr<sup>4</sup> and Qatādah (No. 516); in Kūfah, it reached Abū Ishāq (No. 477) and al-A'mash (No. 253); the science of Ḥijāz passed to Ibn Shihāb (No. 537) and 'Amr Ibn Dīnār (No. 249, note). All these six were at Baṣrah, and what they knew was transmitted to Sa'id Ibn Abī 'Arūbah<sup>5</sup>, Shu'bah (No. 207, note), Ma'mar<sup>6</sup>, Ḥammād Ibn Salamah (No. 112, note), and Abū

1 The science called *Tajrīḥ wa ta'dīl* (*improbation and justification*) had for object to determine the degree of credibility to which every witness in a court of law and every reporter of Traditions were entitled. For that purpose, it was necessary to study the life of the individual. The requisite points in a Traditionist were good conduct, piety, veracity, exactness and a retentive memory.

2 Abū Khaythamah, Zuhayr Ibn Ḥarb al-Nasā'i, an eminent Traditionist, was distinguished for learning and piety. Nasā' was his native place, but he travelled to many countries and afterwards settled at Baḥdād. He died in the month of Shabān, 234 (March, A.C. 849).—(*Nujūm*; *Ḥuffāz*.)

3 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh, surnamed Ibn al-Madīnī, was a Traditionist of the highest authority. He died at Madīnah, in the month of Dhū al-Qadah, 234 (May-June, A.C. 849).—(*Nujūm*; *Ḥuffāz*.)

4 Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Kaṭhīr al-Yamānī, named also Ṣāliḥ Ibn al-Mutawakkil, was a Traditionist of considerable reputation. He died A.H. 128 (A.C. 745-6), according to the author of the *Nujūm*; in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, his death is placed a year later.

5 Abū 'l-Naṣr Sa'id Ibn Abī 'Arūbah a Traditionist of Baṣrah died A. H. 156 (A.C. 772-3), or 157.—(*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*; *Ḥuffāz*.)

6 Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid al-Ḥarrānī al-Baṣrī, a Traditionist of good authority, died A. H. 152 (A. C. 769), or 153.—(*Ḥuffāz*.)

'Awānah<sup>1</sup>. At Kūfah the heads of the science were Sufyān al-Thawri (No. 248) and Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (No. 249); in Hijāz its head was Mālik Ibn Anas (No. 524); in Syria, its head was al-Awzā'i (No. 336). The knowledge possessed by these passed to Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq (No. 586) Huṣḥaym (No. 84, note) Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'id (No. 586, note) Ibn Abī Zā'idah, Waki' (No. 149, note), Ibn al-Mubārak (No. 300), who was the most learned of them all, Ibn Mahdi<sup>2</sup> and Yaḥyā Ibn Ādam<sup>3</sup>. The united knowledge of them all passed to Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in." Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal declared that every Tradition which was not known to Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in was not a (true) Tradition. He said also: "There is in this place a man whom God created for the purpose of exposing the falsehood of lying Traditionists;" and the person whom he meant was Ibn Ma'in. "Never," said Ibn al-Rūmi<sup>4</sup>, did I hear any one except Ibn Ma'in speak equitably of the *shaykhs* (the Traditionists); others fall upon them in their discourse, but Yaḥyā (Ibn Ma'in) would say: 'I never saw a man make a mistake without my casting a veil over his fault or trying to excuse him; and I never reproached a man, to his face, with anything that might displease him; I preferred pointing out to him, in a private conference, the mistake into which he had fallen and, if he did not take my observations well, I left him there'." He used also to say: "I wrote down (*quantities of Traditions*) under the dictation of liars, and made use of the paper for heating my oven; I thus obtained (*at least one advantage*), bread well baked." He sometimes recited these lines:

"Wealth gained by lawful or unlawful means will all disappear, leaving nothing behind but the iniquities it wrought. The devout

1 The *ḥafiz* Abū 'Awānah al-Waḍḍāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh, was a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Yaṣṣḥkur. He died at Baṣrah in the month of the 1st Rabī' 176 (June-July, A. C. 792).—(*Nujūm*; *Ḥuffāz*).

2 Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mahdi, an inhabitant of Baṣrah and a *ḥafiz* of the highest authority, died in that city, A. H. 198 (A.C. 813-4), at the age of sixty-three years.—(*Nujūm*; *Ḥuffāz*).

3 The *ḥafiz* Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Ādam ۞ was a Traditionist of the highest authority. He died A. H. 203 (A.C. 818-19).—(*Ḥuffāz*).

4 The Ibn al-Rūmi here mentioned speaks of Ibn Ma'in as if he had conversed with him and could appreciate his merit. He cannot therefore be the poet of that name (see No. 438), who was only twelve years of age when Ibn Ma'in died.

man does not really fear God unless he gains honestly what he eats and drinks. (*His heart*) concealed within him should be pure, as also the work of his hands, and his words should be employed only in virtuous discourse<sup>1</sup>. Thus hath the Prophet spoken in the name of the Lord, so, the blessing of the Lord and His salutation be on the Prophet”.

Al-Dāraquṭnī (*No. 409*) mentions Yaḥyā Ibn Ma‘īn as one of those who delivered Traditions received by him orally from al-Shāfi‘ī (*No. 532*). In our article on the latter, we have spoken of Ibn Ma‘īn’s conduct towards him and of what passed, on that occasion, between Ibn Ma‘īn and the *Imām Aḥmad (Ibn Ḥanbal)*. Ibn Ma‘īn heard also Traditions delivered by ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak, Sufyān Ibn ‘Uyaynah and others of the same class. When he made the pilgrimage which he frequently did, he used to go to Makkah, in passing through Madinah. The last time he went, he visited Madinah on going and, on his return, he stayed there three days. Having then set out with his fellow-travellers, he stopped with them at the first halting-place in order to pass the night, and he had a dream in which he heard a voice call out to him, saying! “O Abū Zakariyā! dost thou then dislike my neighbourhood<sup>2</sup>?” When the morning came, he said to his companions! “Continue your journey; as for me, I return to Madinah”. They did so, and he went back to that city where he passed three days and then died. His corpse was borne to the grave on the bier which had been made use of at the Prophet’s burial. The *Khaṭīb (No. 33)* says, in his History of Baghdād, that Ibn Ma‘īn’s death took place on the 23rd of *Dhu ‘l-Qa’dah*, 233,\* but he is certainly mistaken, as I shall here prove: Ibn Ma‘īn went to Makkah and made the pilgrimage, after which, he returned to Madinah and there died. But how is it possible that a man who has made the pilgrimage could die, the same year in the month of *Dhu ‘l-Qa’dah*<sup>3</sup>? Had the *Khaṭīb* said that he died

1 This hemistich may also be rendered thus: his discourse should consist in Traditions only.

2 Muḥammad’s tomb is at Madinah.

3 The pilgrimage takes place in *Dhu ‘l-Hijjah*, the month which immediately follows *Dhu ‘l-Qa’dah*.

\* 29 June, A.C. 848.—Ed.

Dhu 'l-Hijjah, the thing had been possible. Some persons suppose that the mistake was committed by the transcriber of the work, but I found, in two copies of it, that the passage is the same as we have just given. It is therefore difficult to admit that the error proceeded from the copyist. Further on, the same author says that he died before accomplishing the pilgrimage. In that case, the date which he gives might pass for correct; but I since met with a historical work entitled: *Kitāb al-Irshād fī ma'rifat 'Ulamā il-Bilād* (the directory, containing information respecting the learned men of all countries), and compiled by the ḥāfiẓ Abū Ya'la 'l-Khalil Ibn 'Abd Allāh, Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Khalil al-Khalilī<sup>1</sup> and, in it I read that Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'in died on the 22nd of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, in the year above mentioned (28th July, A.C. 848). From this it appears that he did make the pilgrimage. The Khaṭīb states also that he was born in the later part of the year 158 and then adds: "He died at the age of seventy-seven years, wanting ten days". This cannot be, as will be found of the calculations be made. In another historical work I read that he lived to the age of seventy-five years. God knows best! The funeral prayer was said over the body by the governor of Madinah and was afterwards repeated several times. Ibn Ma'in was buried in the Baqī' cemetery. When they were carrying him to the grave, a man preceded them, crying out: "This is he who expelled falsehoods from the Traditions left by the Prophet of God." A Traditionist composed on his death an elegy in which he said:

"He is departed, that learned man who corrected the faults of every Traditionist, cleared up the contradictions in the *isnāds*, and dissipated the doubts and ambiguities which perplexed the learned of all countries".

The word معين must be pronounced *Ma'in*. *Biṣṭānī* has an *i* after the *b*; remarks on the other letters are needless; I read in a

---

<sup>1</sup> Abū Ya'la 'l-Khalilī's work treated of the persons who transmitted Traditions. He composed another work bearing also the titles of *Irshād* and containing a history of Qazwīn, his native place. As a ḥāfiẓ, he held a high reputation. He died in the latter half of the fifth century of the Hijrah (A. C. 1059-1106).—(Ḥājī Khalīfah; *Huffāz*.)

historical work that Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn was the grandson of Ghiyāth, the son of Ziyād, the son of 'Awn, the son of Bisṭām, who was a *mawlā* of al-Junayd Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghaṭafānī al-Murri, the same who governed Khurāsān in the name of the Umayyad Khalīf Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. The genealogy given at the beginning of this article is that which is generally accepted as the more correct. *Murri* means *belonging to the tribe of Murrah*, who was a descendant of Ghaṭafān, being the son of 'Awf Ibn Sa'd Ibn Dhubyān Ibn Baghīḍ Ibn Rayth Ibn Ghaṭafān. It is a large and famous tribe. A great number of Arabian tribes bear this name. Al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) says, in his *Ansāb*: "نَبَا" may be pronounced *Naqiyā* or *Naqayā*. It is the name of a village near al-Anbār. From it came Yaḥyā Ibn Ma'īn al-Naqayā'i". The Khaṭīb says that the Pharaoh was a native of this village; God knows best!

#### 765 YAḤYĀ IBN YAḤYĀ.

Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-Laythī was the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Kaṭhīr, the son of Wislāsīn or Wislās, the son of Shammāl, the son of Manghāyā. He drew his origin from the Masmūdah, a Barbar tribe which had contracted clientship with the (Arabian) tribe of Layth. He, for that reason, bore the appellation of *al-Laythī*. His grandfather, Abū 'Isā Kaṭhīr, the first of the family who passed into Spain, fixed his residence in Cordova. It was there that he (*Yaḥyā*) heard (*the lessons*) of Ziyād Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ziyād al-Lakhmī, surnamed Shabaṭūn†, who was a

1 I follow the orthography of one MS. and of the printed text of Maqqarī's *Spanish History*. Abū 'Abd Allāh Ziyād Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī, generally known by the name of Shaba ṭūn was a native of Cordova and a doctor of the rite of Mālik. It was he who first introduced into Spain the system of jurisprudence drawn up by that imām and who taught there the *Muwaffā* (No. 524, note). Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the second Umayyad sovereign of Spain

(Continued on page 219)

\* نَبَا in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gives: Basabṭūn and its variation as Sabaṭūn in the margin.—Ed.

native of that city and the person who (*there*) knew best by heart and could dictate the contents of the *Muwaṭṭā* composed by Mālik Ibn Anas (*No. 524*). He heard also Traditional information delivered by Yaḥyā Ibn Muḍar al-Qaysī, a native of Spain. At the age of twenty eight years he travelled to the East and learned perfectly the *Muwaṭṭā* under the dictation of Mālik, with the exception of some paragraphs, belonging to the chapter which treats of the spiritual retreat<sup>1</sup>. Not being sure of having heard these passages well, he learned to repeat them correctly under the direction of Ziyād. At Makkah he heard (*Traditional information delivered by*) Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (*No. 249*) and, in Miṣr (*Old Cairo*) he received lessons from al-Layḥ Ibn Sa'd (*No. 523*) 'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb (*No. 302*) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim (*No. 337*). After attending assiduously the lessons of Mālik and profiting greatly by his tuition, he studied the law under the principal disciples of that *imām*, both those of Madīnah and those of Miṣr. Mālik used to call him the '*āqil* (or *intelligent man*) of Spain. His motif for doing so is thus related: Yaḥyā was, one day, at Mālik's lecture with a number of fellow-students, when some one said: "Here comes the elephant"! All of them ran out to see the animal, but Yaḥyā did not stir. "Why", said Mālik, "do you not go out and look at it? such animals are not to be seen in Spain". To this Yaḥyā replied: "I left my country for the purpose of seeing you and obtaining knowledge under your guidance; I did not come here for the purpose of seeing the elephant." Mālik was so highly pleased with this answer that he called him the '*āqil* of the people of Spain. Some time after, Yaḥyā returned to Spain and, having become chief (*of the 'ulamā*) he propagated throughout all that country the system of law drawn up by Mālik. It was accepted by immense multitudes,

---

(Continued from page 218)

wished to have him for a *qāḍī* at Cordova, but could never obtain his consent. Ibn Ziyād died A.H. 204 (A.C. 819-20), or 193, according to another statement. It was by his advice that Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā travelled to the East for the purpose of studying under Mālik.—(Gayangos's *Maqqari*, (Vol. II, p. 100, *et seq*).

1 The spiritual retreat (*i'tikāf*) consists in remaining some days and nights successively in a mosque and passing that time in prayer, fasting and meditation.

and the number of persons who taught the doctrines which they had learned from him was very great. The best edition<sup>1</sup> of the *Muwaffā* and that which has the greatest reputation was given (*orally*) by Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā. By his rectitude and piety he obtained the highest respect from the amirs (*the men in power*) and acquired great influence over them; such was his self-denial, that he scrupulously avoided accepting any office under government. The elevated rank which he held (*in public estimation*) was much superior to that of a *qāḍī*, and his refusal, through religious motives, to accept such an office gave him more influence over men in power than any *qāḍī* could possess. The Spanish writer, Abū Muḥammad 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn Ḥazm (*No.* 423), says: "Two systems of law were at first promulgated by persons in power and high station: that of Abū Ḥanīfah (*No.* 738) and that of Mālik. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, the disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah,"—we shall give his life,—“being appointed (*chief*) *qāḍī*, acquired, the right of nominating all the others, and there was not a city, from the far east to the most distant of the African provinces, in which he did not establish, as a *qāḍī*, one of his own disciples or one of those who professed his doctrines. Here, in Spain, we adopted the system of Mālik for the following reason: Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā was in high favour with the *ṣulṭān*, and his advice in whatever concerned (*the nomination of*) *qāḍīs* was always followed. So, no *qāḍī*, was ever appointed to act in any part of the Spanish provinces till Yaḥyā had given his opinion and pointed out the person whom he preferred. He never designated any person for that office except one of his own disciples or of those who followed his doctrines. Now, as all men hasten towards that which is advantageous for them in the world, they adopted willingly what they hoped would conduce to their interest. I must add that Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā never filled the duties of a *qāḍī* and would never consent to accept such a place. This line of conduct served to augment his influence with the men in power and disposed them to follow more readily his advice”.

<sup>1</sup> Literally: *recital*. The contents of those classical works were taught orally, the professor knowing them by heart.

The following anecdote is related by Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Fayyād<sup>1</sup> in the work composed by him: The Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam, surnamed al-Murṭadā<sup>2</sup> and the (*fourth*) Umayyad sovereign of Spain, convoked, by letter, the juriconsults into his presence, and they all went to the palace. It was in Ramaḍān, (*the month of strict abstinence*), and he, happening to look at one of his concubines whom he loved passionately, was so much excited (*by her beauty*) that he lost all self-command and had commerce with her. He then regretted deeply what he had done and consulted these doctors respecting the mode of manifesting his repentance and expiating his sin. Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā replied: 'A sin of that kind can be expiated by a fast of two consecutive months'. As he had hastened to give this opinion (*fatwā*) before the others had time to speak, they kept silent, but, on leaving 'Abd al-Raḥmān's presence, they spoke to each other of what had passed and then said to Yaḥyā: 'What prevented you from giving a *fatwā* conformable to the doctrine of Mālik?' That *imām* said 'He who sins thus has the choice of manumitting (*a slave*) or giving food (*to the poor*), or of keeping a fast'. To this he answered: 'Had we opened to him such a door as that, he would satisfy his passion every day and repair his fault by freeing a slave. So I imposed on him the severest penalty in order to prevent him from relapsing'. When Yaḥyā left Mālik, with the intention of returning to his native country, he went to Miṣr and found there 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim, who was occupied in making a written compilation of the doctrines which he had learned from Mālik. (*On seeing this collection*) he resolved on hastening back and hear Mālik himself treat the questions which Ibn al-Qāsim had enregistered. He therefore travelled (*to Madinah*) a second time and, finding, on his arrival, that Mālik was very ill, he stayed with him till he expired. After attending the funeral, he returned to Ibn al-Qāsim, who recited to him the

1 This author is not mentioned by Ḥājjī Khalifah and al-Maqrūbī merely informs us that the subject of his work was historical. According to an indication given by Ibn al-Aṭṭar in his *Kāmil*, it contained information respecting the Abbāsid dynasty. See Mr. Dozy's *Historia Abbadidarum*, II<sup>d</sup> part, p. 34

2 This is a mistake; his surname was *al-Muzaffar*



doctrines such as he heard them from Mālik's own lips. Abu 'l-Walid Ibn al-Faraḍī (*No. 326*) mentions that fact in his historical work, with some other particulars of the same kind. When Yaḥyā Ibn Yāḥyā returned to Spain, he became the paragon of the age and had none to equal him in that country. He was a man of great intelligence. Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Lubābah<sup>1</sup> said: "The (*great*) jurisconsult of Spain is 'Isā Ibn Dīnār<sup>2</sup>; its most learned man is 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>3</sup>, and its most intelligent man is Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā." Yaḥyā, being suspected of having had a share in the (*great*) revolt<sup>4</sup>, fled to Toledo and then solicited a letter of protection, which was granted to him by the Amīr al-Ḥakam. He then returned to Cordova. "Never", said Aḥmad Ibn Kḥālīd<sup>5</sup>, "since the time of the introduction of

1 Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Lubābah (لبابه), a native of Spain, a teacher of Mālikite jurisprudence and a Traditionist, died A.H. 314 (A.C. 926-7).—(Gayangos's *Maqqari*, and the Arabic edition of the same work.)

2 According to al-Maqqari, this 'Isā Ibn Dīnār was a jurisconsult and composed a work entitled *al-Ḥidāyah (the guide)*? He left Cordova during the reign of Ḥishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the second Umayyad sovereign, and travelled to the East, where he studied the law under Mālik.

3 Abu Marwān 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb was a native of Cordova and one of the Spanish doctors who travelled to the East for the purpose of studying under Mālik. He contributed to the introduction of that imām's doctrines into Spain. Al-Dabbī places his death in the month of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 239 (May, A. C. 854). See Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica Hispanica*, t. II, p. 138. According to the authority followed by Mr. de Gayangos' (*Maqqari*, vol. I, p. 343) he died at Cordova, A.H. 238, after composing not less than one thousand works or treatises on various subjects.

4 This is the famous revolt of the suburb (*rabaḍ*) of Cordova which took place A.H. 198 (A.C. 814), under the reign of al-Ḥakam Ibn Ḥishām. A full and exact account of this event, which led to the conquest of Crete by these suburabians (*Rabaḍis*), is contained in Mr. Dozy's *Historie des Musulmans d'Espagne*, t. II, p. 68 *et seq.*

5 Aḥmad Ibn Kḥālīd, a doctor of the law and a Traditionist, was a contemporary of Ibn Lubābah (see *note 1* above). The Umayyad sovereign 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāsir esteemed him so highly that he had him brought to Cordova and lodged in one of the houses belonging to the mosque near the palace. He allowed him a daily ration of provisions and made him considerable presents. The enemies of Ibn Kḥālīd reproached him for accepting these favours, and he composed a work in vindication of his conduct.—(*Maqqari*, Arabic text, vol. II, p. 158).

Islāmism, did any of the learned in Spain enjoy such good fortune, such influence and such a reputation as Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā". Ibn Baṣḥkuwāl (No. 206) says, in his Historical work: "The prayers which Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā addressed to God were always fulfilled. In his appearance, dress and manner of sitting he greatly resembled Mālik. It is related that he said: 'I (*one day*) went to take hold of the stirrup of al-Layth Ibn Sa'd (No. 523), and his servant boy tried to prevent me, on which he addressed to me these words: 'You shall have all the learned men for servants': and that I have lived long enough to witness." The same author adds: "Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḥyā died in the month of Rajab, 234 (Feb., A.C. 849). His tomb is situated in the cemetery of the 'Abbāsids, and prayers are offered up at it in times of drought." This cemetery lies outside Cordova. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydi\* (No. 590) informs us, moreover, that he died on the 22nd of that month. Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn al-Faraḡī states that his death took place in 233, or, by another account, in 234 and in the month of Rajab. God knows best. *Wislās* or *Wislāsin* is a Barbar word which signifies *he hears them*<sup>1</sup>. *Shammāl* is pronounced with an *a* after the *sh* and a double *m*. *Mangḥāyā* signifies *a killer* in Barbar<sup>2</sup>. We have already spoken of the words Laythī (No. 481) Barbar (No. 15) and Māsmūdah, (No. 662).

## 766 YAḤYĀ IBN AKTHAM.

Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā Ibn Aktham Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qaṭan Ibn Sam'an Ibn Muḥannaj al-Tamīmī al-Usayyidi al-Marwazī (*a member of the tribe of Usayyid, which was a branch of that of Tamīm, and a native of Marw*) drew his descent from

1 The word *islāssin* is barbar and signifies *he heard them*.

2 In Barbar, the root *anḡh* or *enḡh* انغ signifies *to kill*. A killer or murderer is designated by the words *inigh* or *inḡhān*. The same root appears in the name of *Mangḥāyā*, which, however has not a Barbar form,

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: al-Mahdī.—Ed.

Akṭham Ibn al-Ṣayfi, the judge of the Arabs<sup>1</sup>. He was learned in the law and sagacious in his judgement. Al-Dāraquṭnī (*No. 409*) mentions him as having been one of al-Shāfi'i's (*No. 532*) disciples, and the Khaṭīb (*No. 33*) says, in his History of Baghdād: "Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham was untainted with heresy and followed the doctrine professed by the people of the *Sunnah* (the orthodox). He heard (*Traditions*) from 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (*No. 300*), Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (*No. 249*) and others". We have already related, in our article on Sufyān, what passed between Yaḥyā and that doctor. "Traditions were delivered on his authority by Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī (*No. 587*) and others". Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far<sup>2</sup> said of him: "Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham was a man of note in the world; his proceedings and his history are well known; neither the great nor small are ignorant of his merit, his learning, the high authority which he held and the skill with which he minded his own interest and those of the *khalifs* and sovereigns who were his contemporaries. He possessed an extensive knowledge of jurisprudence, great literary acquirement, singular skill in the conduct of affairs<sup>3</sup> and the talent of surmounting difficulties". He obtained such influence over al-Māmūn's mind that no one could surpass him in that *khalif's* favour. Al-Māmūn himself was versed in the sciences; so, when he knew the character of Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham and perceived that he held the highest station in learning, he set his whole heart on him and went so far as to appoint him to the office of *qāḍī 'l-quḍāt*<sup>4</sup> and confide to him the administration of his subjects. The wazīrs charged with the direction of public affairs took no decision without submitting

1 Akṭham Ibn Al-Ṣayfi, a chief of the Tamīm tribe, was so highly renowned for his wisdom, that the Arabs of all the tribes used to take him for judge in their contestations. He died towards the fifth year of Muḥammad's preaching, having then attained a very advanced age. (See Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, t. II, p. 579; *Ibn al-Jawzī*; *Ibn Durayd*.)

2 Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far was one of the witnesses who signed the *Khalif al-Muṭṭi's* (المطيع) abdication. This took place A. H. 363 (A.C. 974). (*Nujūm*).

3 The Arabic word is المعارضه but one of the MSS. has المعارضه. If this reading be adopted, the meaning is *speaking with elegance*.

4 The *qāḍī 'l-quḍāt* (*qāḍī of qāḍis* or lord chief justice), resided in the capital and had all the other *qāḍis* under his jurisdiction.

it to Yahyā for his approval. We know of no person's having ever obtained such complete influence over the mind of his sovereign except Yahyā Ibn Yahyā (*No. 765*) and Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād (*No. 31*). A person, noted for speaking with great elegance, being asked which of the two, Yahyā Ibn Akṭham or Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād, was the better man, he answered in these terms: "Aḥmad was grave with his concubine and with his daughter; Yahyā was gay with his adversaries and his enemies; Yahyā was untainted with heresy and followed the orthodox doctrine, whilst Aḥmad was quite the contrary." In our article on Aḥmad we have said some words of his religious belief and of his partiality for the Mu'tazalites. Yahyā was heard to say: "The *Qur'ān* is the word of God, and whoever says that it is created should be invited to abandon that opinion; and if he do not, his head should be struck off." The jurisconsult Abu'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Uḡhnuhī<sup>1</sup> surnamed Zayn al-Dīn, mentions, in his treatise on the partition of hereditaments (*farā'id*), the problems designated by surnames<sup>2</sup>, and, amongst them, that one which is called the *Māmūniyan* (*al-Māmūniyah*) and which is the fourteenth in order. It runs thus: (*A person died, leaving*) father and mother and two daughters. Before the inheritance was shared (*between them*) one of the daughters died, leaving (*as survivor*) the other persons specified in the problem<sup>3</sup>. It was called the *Māmūniyan* for the following

1 Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Al-Uḡhnuhī, a doctor of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence, was a native of Uḡhnuh, a village near Arbela, in Ādharbā'ijān. He studied the law at Baḥdād and composed, on the *farā'id*, or partition of inheritances, a work of great repute. He afterwards returned to Uḡhnuh where he died in the first fifth of the sixth century. (A.H. 501-520; A.C. 1107-1126). (*Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īn*; ms. of the Bibl. imp. ancien. fonds. no 861).

2 In the science which treats of the partition of inheritances, some problems occur which are so remarkable that each of them is distinguished by a particular name; such, for instance, as the *Akḍarian*, the *Gharvūryan*, the *Malikiyan*, the *Ḥimāriyan*, etc. On this subject the reader may consult the 6th volume of Dr. Perron's translation of Sidi Kḥalīl's treatise on Mālikite jurisprudence. This work is included in the collection entitled *Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie*.

3 The parents and the two daughters were, each of them, entitled to a certain portion of the inheritance; but, as one of the daughters died before the partition, her share was to be divided among the survivors. In this case, two separate calculations must be made.

reason : (*The Khalif*) al-Māmūn wished to find a man fit to act as a *qāḍī* and hearing of Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham's talents, he had him sent for. Yaḥyā, being introduced, saw clearly that the *khalif* disdained him on account of his low stature; on which he said : "Commander of the faithful ! it is for my learning that you require me and not for my stature, ask me a question." Al-Māmūn proposed to him the one above mentioned and Yaḥyā answered : "Commander of the faithful ! was the person who died first a male or a female?" The *khalif* perceived immediately that he was acquainted with the problem and appointed him *qāḍī*. In this problem, if the first who died was a male, the two questions (*to which it gives rise*) can be resolved by (*dividing the inheritance into*) fifty four (*equal parts*); and if the first who died was a female, the grandfather (*of the daughters*), could not inherit in the second case (*that is on the death of the daughter*) because he is a father of a mother (*the maternal grandfather* ; and the questions (*involved in the problem*) can both be resolved by (*dividing the inheritance into*) eighteen parts<sup>1</sup>. The *Khaṭīb* says in his History of Baḡdād : "Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham was nominated as *qāḍī* of Baṣrah at the age of twenty years or thereabouts. The people of that city found him look so young that they asked each other of what age he might be. Yaḥyā, being informed of this, spoke (*to them*) as follows : 'I am older than 'Attāb Ibn Asīd<sup>2</sup> whom the Prophet sent to act as a *qāḍī* in Makkah ; I am older than Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal<sup>3</sup>, whom the Prophet sent to act as a *qāḍī* for the people of Yamān ; and I am older than Ka'b Ibn Sūr<sup>4</sup>, who was sent by 'Umar Ibn al-

1 For the rules of inheritance partitions, see Dr. Perron's *Sidi Khalil*, vol. VI; D'Ohsson's *Tableau general de l'Empire Othoman*, V., p. 288, and the *Note sur les successions musulmanes*, which was drawn up by Mr. Solvet and inserted in Mr. Bresnier's *Chrestomathie arabe*.

2 'Attāb Ibn Asīd, a member of the Umayyad family, was appointed governor of Makkah by Muḥammad. He died A. H. 13 (A. C. 634), the same day as Abū Bakr. (*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*).

3 Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal, of the tribe of Khazraj, was a native of Madinah and one of Muḥammad's companions. He died A.H. 18 (A. C. 639), aged thirty-eight years.—(*Mu'ārif*)

4 Ka'b Ibn Sūr belonged to the tribe of Azd. He joined the party of 'Ayyūb and lost his life at the battle of the Camel, A.H. 36 (A.C. 656).—(*Mu'ārif*).

Khaṭṭāb to act as a *qāḍī* for the people of Baṣrah'. In making this answer he produced his own justification". The Prophet nominated 'Aṭṭāb Ibn Asīd, *qāḍī* of Makkah, on the taking of that city, and he ('*Attāb*') was then twenty-one years of age, or twenty-three, according to another statement. He became a Muslim on the day in which Makkah was taken, and addressed these words to the Prophet: "I shall be your Companion and never quit you"; on which the Prophet said to him: "Would you not consent to my appointing you over the family of God"? 'Attāb continued to act as their *qāḍī* till he died. (*The Khaṭīb*) adds: Yaḥyā remained a year without receiving any one as a (*competent*) witness<sup>1</sup>. One of the *amīns* (*syndics of corporation*) then went to him and said: "O *Qāḍī*! you have put a stop to all proceedings and made too long a delay<sup>2</sup>. 'How so'? said Yaḥyā. 'Because', said the *amīn*, 'you who are the *qāḍī* will receive no one as a witness'. In consequence of this remonstrance, he authorised, that very day, seventy persons of the city to act as witnesses". Another author states that Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham was appointed *qāḍī* of Baṣrah in the year 202 (A.C. 817-18). We have already mentioned, in the life of Hammād Ibn Abī Hanīfah (*No. 195*) that Yaḥyā succeeded Ismā'il, the son of that Hammād, in the *qāḍī*ship of Baṣrah. 'Umar Ibn Shabbah (*No. 466*) relates in his *Kitāb Akhlāb al-Baṣrah* (*History of Baṣrah*) that the *qāḍī*ship of Baṣrah was taken from Yaḥyā in the year 210. Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr<sup>3</sup> relates as follows: "We were with al-Māmūn, on our way to Syria, when he ordered a proclamation to be made declaring *mut'ah* (*temporary*) marriages to be lawful. On this Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham said to me and Abu 'l-'Aynā (*No. 617*) 'Tomorrow morning, early, go both of you<sup>4</sup> to him and, if you find an opportunity of speaking (*to him on the subject*) do so; if

1 According to the Muslim law of testimony, none but persons noted for integrity and piety can be received either as witnesses in a court of justice or as witnesses to bonds and deeds.

2 I read تربت.

3 This person is not known to the translator.

The regular and incorrect form غدا, employed here instead of اغدو, is worthy of remark.

not, remain silent till I go in.' We went there and found him with a toothpick in his hand and exclaiming, in a violent passion : 'Two *mut'ahs* occurred in the time of the Prophet of God and in that of Abū Bakr ; and shall I forbid the practice ? Who are you, vile scarabee ! to dare forbid me to follow what was practised by the 'Prophet of God and by Abū Bakr ' ? On this, Abū 'l-'Aynā made me a sign and said : 'Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr ! that is a man who is capable of attributing to 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb what he has just said ; how can we speak to him<sup>1</sup> ? ' So we held our peace. Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham then came in and sat down. We sat down also, and al-Māmūn said to him : 'Why do I see you look so troubled ? ' Yaḥyā answered : 'Commander of the faithful ! it is with grief for a novelty introduced into Islāmism.' 'What novelty ? ' said the *khalif*. Yaḥyā replied : 'A proclamation has been made declaring *mut'ah* marriages lawful, declaring fornication lawful.' 'Fornication ? ' exclaimed al-Māmūn. 'Yes ; *mut'ah* is fornication ! ' On what authority do you say so ? ' 'On that of the book of Almighty God and of a declaration made by His Prophet. God said : *Now are the true believers happy*, and so forth to the words : *and those who keep themselves from carnal knowledge of any except their wives or the (slaves) whom their right hands possess ; and who so coveteth any (woman) beyond these, they are transgressors*<sup>2</sup>. Commander of the faithful ! a *mut'ah* wife—is she a woman possessed by the right hand (*a slave*) ? ' The *khalif* answered : 'No ! ' 'Is she a wife who can inherit and be inherited of lawfully in the sight of God ? a wife bearing legitimate children ? one whose marriage is regulated by lawful conditions ? ' The *khalif* answered : 'No'. 'Then', replied Yaḥyā, 'whoever passes these two limits is a transgressor. Commander of the faithful ! there is al-Zuhri (No. 537) who related on the authority of 'Abd Allāh and al-

1 The text of this passage is corrupt. The edition of Būlāq inserts وقال before رجل and two manuscripts read نكحه instead of بكحه. I believe the right reading to be قال محمد بن علي وقال محمد بن علي and, as such, I adopt it. The reading ياجعل instead of راجعك is given by the edition of Būlāq and one of the manuscripts.

2 These verses are to be found in the beginning of the twenty-third sūrah of the *Qur'ān*.

Ḥasan, the sons of Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyah (No. 533) that they heard their father declare that he heard 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālīb say : *The Prophet ordered me to proclaim that mut'ah marriages were forbidden and unlawful, after he had authorised them*. Al-Māmūn then turned towards us and said : 'Is it well ascertained that this Tradition came from al-Zuhri ?' We replied : 'It is, Commander of the faithful ! a number of Traditionists have related it, such as Mālik (No. 544), to whom God be gracious !' On hearing this, he exclaimed : 'God forgive me ! proclaim that *mut'ah* marriages are forbidden !' and a proclamation to that effect was immediately made." The *qādī* Abū Ishāq Ismā'il Ibn Ishāq Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Hammād Ibn Zayd Ibn Dirham al-Azdī, who was a doctor of Mālikite jurisprudence and an inhabitant of Baṣrah, said, in speaking of Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham and extolling his merit : "He one day did to Islāmism a service the like of which no man ever rendered to it before". Yaḥyā's works on jurisprudence are excellent, but so voluminous that they are neglected by readers. He composed some treatises on the fundamentals of jurisprudence and published a work against the people of 'Irāq (*the Ḥanafites*) to which he gave the title of *al-Tanbīh* (*the warning*). He had frequent discussions with Dāwūd Ibn 'Alī (No. 210). When he was a *qādī*, a man went up to him, and the following dialogue ensued : "May God preserve you ! how much should I eat" ? Yaḥyā replied : "Enough to get over hunger and not enough to attain satiety". "How long may I laugh ?" "Till your face brightens, but without raising your voice." "How long should I weep ?" "Weeping should never fatigue you, if it be through fear of God". "What actions of mine should I conceal ?" "As many as you can". "What are the actions which I should do openly ?" "Those which may serve as examples to good and virtuous men whilst they secure you from public reprobation." On this, the man exclaimed : "May God preserve us from words which abide when deeds have passed away<sup>2</sup> ! " Yaḥyā was the most acute of men and the most

1 Ismā'il Ibn Ishāq was appointed *qādī* of Baḡhdād, A.H. 262 (A.C. 875-6). —(*Nuḡm.*)

2 The reading followed here is قول قاطن و عمل ضائع, which phrase signifies: "Word abiding and deed transitory."



skilful in the management of affairs. I read in a miscellany that Aḥmad Ibn Abi Khalīd al-Aḥwal (*No. 4, note*), al-Māmūn's wazīr, was standing, one day, in the presence of his sovereign when Yaḥyā came forth from a closet to which he had retired and stood (*also in the khalif's presence*). "Come up", said al-Māmūn. He went up and sat with him on the sofa, but at the farthest end of it. Aḥmad then said: "Commander of the faithful! the *qāḍī* Yaḥyā is for me a friend to whom I confide all that concerns me, but he is changed from what he used to be for me." On this, al-Māmūn said: "O Yaḥyā! the ruin of a sovereign's prosperity is caused by the misintelligence which arises between his ministers. No one can equal you or Aḥmad in my esteem; what then is the motive of this mutual distrust?" Yaḥyā replied: "Commander of the faithful! I declare, by Allāh! that my feelings towards Aḥmad are even more friendly than what he said; but he, seeing the rank which I hold in your favour, fears that, one day or other, I may turn against him and disserve him in your mind. I prefer telling this to you openly, so that he may be relieved from his apprehensions, and I declare that even if he injured me to the very utmost, I should never speak ill of him in your presence." "Is that the fact?" said the *khalīf* to Aḥmad. He replied: "It is so". Al-Māmūn then exclaimed: "God protect me from you both! I never met with men more shrewd and more intelligent than you. No vice could be reproached to Yaḥyā except a certain inclination which was attributed to him and of which he had the reputation<sup>1</sup>; but God best knows how he may have been in that respect. The *Khaṣīb* (*No. 33*) states, in his History of Baghdād, that Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (*No. 19*) being informed, of the imputations cast on Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham's character, exclaimed: 'Good God! who can say such a thing?' and denied the fact in the most positive manner. It is related, moreover, that the jealousy borne to Aḥmad was excessive. He was acquainted with a great number of sciences and, when he had a conversation with any one and found him skilled in jurisprudence, he questioned him on points relative to the Traditions and, if he discovered that he knew Traditions by heart, he would propose to him some grammar-

---

<sup>1</sup> This innuendo is more than sufficiently explained, a little farther on.

tical difficulty; then, if he found that he was acquainted with grammar, he would question him on scholastic theology; and all that for the purpose of confounding the man and bringing him to a stand. A very intelligent native of Khurāsān, who knew by heart many Traditions, went to see him one day and was drawn by him into a discussion. When Yahyā discovered that he was versed in a variety of sciences, he asked him if he knew any Tradition which had served as a fundamental principle of Jurisprudence. The other replied: "I learned from Sharik (No. 270) that Abū Ishāq (No. 477) told him that al-Hārith<sup>1</sup> related to him that 'Ali caused a pederast to be lapidated." Yahyā, on hearing this, stopped short and addressed not another word to the man. The Khatib then relates that Yahyā received a visit from the two sons of Mas'adah<sup>2</sup>, who were extremely handsome. When he saw them walking across the court of his house, he recited extempore these lines:

"O you who have left your tents to visit me! may God grant you both long life with His blessing! Why have you come to me when I am unable to do either the lawful deed or the deed forbidden. It saddens me to see you stand before me and to have nothing to offer you except fair words".

He then made them sit down before him and kept them in amusing chat till they went away. It is said that he was dismissed from the qādīship on account of these verses<sup>3</sup>. I read in a miscellany that Yahyā Ibn Aktham was jesting, one day, with al-Hasan Ibn Wahb, the same person of whom we have spoken in the life of his brother Sulaymān (No. 259) and who was then a boy. In playing with him, he tapped him on the cheek and, perceiving that he was displeased, he recited these lines:

"O full moon, whose cheek I tapped and who, highly offended, turned away from me in anger! If a scratch displeased you

1 Al-Hārith Ibn Qays was one of the *Ṭabī'īs*, or disciples of Muḥammad's Companions.

2 One of these brothers was perhaps the 'Amr Ibn Mas'adah whose life is given in this work (No. 482).

3 These verses have most certainly a double meaning: the expressions employed in them being very equivocal.

or a bite, wear always, my master, a veil (*to conceal your face*). Let not those locks appear as a temptation, nor let their ringlets cover your cheeks, lest you slay, the wretched, or tempt the anchorites, or leave the *qāḍī* of the Muslims in torment."

Aḥmad Ibn Yūnus al-Ḍabbī relates as follows: "The *kātib* Ibn Zaydūn, who was an extremely handsome youth, was writing under the dictation of the *Qāḍī* Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham when the latter pinched his cheek. He felt much confused, blushed and threw away the pen. 'Take up your pen,' said Yaḥyā, 'and write down what I am going to say to you.' He then dictated to him"—the above mentioned verses. The following anecdote was related by Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il al-Ṣaffār<sup>1</sup>: "I heard Abū'l-'Aynā say, at one of Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad's (*No. 610*) sittings, (*or conferences*): I was<sup>2</sup> at one 'Abū 'Āṣim' al-Nabīl's sitting, and Abū Bakr, the son of Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham, began to pull about a young slave who was there. The boy cried out; Abū 'Āṣim asked who was that man? and, being informed that it was Abū Bakr the son of Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham he said: *If he be guilty of theft, his father hath been also guilty of theft heretofore*<sup>3</sup>." This anecdote is given by the *khatīb*, in his History of Baghdād. The same author relates, in that work, that al-Māmūn asked Yaḥyā who was the author of this verse:

"A *qāḍī* who considers fornication as meriting corporal chastisement, and thinks a worse crime no harm."

Yaḥyā replied: "Does the Commander of the faithful not know by whom it is?" "I do not", said the *khalīf*. "Well", said Yaḥyā, "it was uttered by that profligate, Aḥmad Ibn Abī Nu'aym," the same who said:

1 Abū 'Alī Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār, the same Traditionist of whom mention is made in the life of Abū Sulaymān al-Kharrābī (*No. 148*), died A.H. 341 (A.C. 952).—(*Nujūm*).

2 Abū 'Āṣim al-Laḥāk al-Shaybānī, surnamed al-Nabīl (*the genius*), was a Traditionist of the best authority and a native of Baṣrah. He died A.H. 212 (A.C. 827-8), or 213, at the age of ninety-one years.—(*Nujūm*, *ʿIṭabaqāt al-Iḥfāz*).

3 This is an application of the seventy-seventh verse of the twelfth sūrah of the *Qur'ān*, which refers to Joseph and Benjāmin. Abū 'Āṣim substituted in it the words *his father* in place of *one of his brothers*. For the theft committed by Joseph, see Sale's note on this verse.

'I think that tyranny will never cease as long as the nation is governed by an 'Abbāsīd.'

The narrator says that al-Māmūn was confounded, and that, after a moment's silence, he gave orders to have Aḥmad Ibn Abi Nu'aym banished to Sind. These two verses belong to a piece which I shall give here :

"Fortune, which reduced me to silence, now permits me to speak of the afflictions which have kept me so long astounded. Cursed be Fortune for exalting some men and depressing others ! May that nation never prosper,—that nation which deserves to suffer lengthened adversity and lasting perdition ! If it consent to undergo the administration of Yaḥyā, of a man who is incapable of ruling it ; a *qāḍī* who considers fornication as meriting corporal chastisement and thinks a worse crime no harm. He would judge in favour of his smooth-faced fondling and give sentence against Jarīr and 'Abbās'. God protect us ! justice hath disappeared and little honesty is to be found with mankind. Our *amīr* takes bribes : our judge acts like the people of Lot, and our head (*the khalīf*) is the worst of rulers. Did religion prosper and flourish, every just measure would be taken for (*the welfare of*) the people ; but I am sure that tyranny will never cease, as long as the nation is governed by an 'Abbāsīd."

I am inclined to think that this piece contained more verses than what are inserted here, but these are all which the *khatīb* gives. The *Amālī* (or *dictations*) drawn up by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim al-Anbārī (*No. 616*) contains an anecdote which I shall now insert : "The *qāḍī* Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham said to a person whom he admitted into his familiarity and with whom he was accustomed to jest : 'Tell me what you heard the people say of me'. The other replied : 'They say nothing of you but what is good. 'Nay', said the *qāḍī*, 'I do not make you this question for the purpose of obtaining from you a certificate of morality.'

---

1 This verse seems to mean that the *qāḍī* would prefer the society of a vile minion to that of poets such as Jarīr (*No. 127*) and al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf (*No. 297*). The whole piece is very obscure, as it contains expressions and allusions which can only be explained by conjecture.

The man then answered: 'I never heard them accuse the *qāḍī* of any thing except an irregular inclination.' Yaḥyā laughed and said: 'I ask God's pardon for all the sins of which I am accused except that which you have mentioned<sup>1</sup>, (*for I never committed*) it.' " Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (*No. 415*) relates, in his *kitāb al-Aghānī*, a number of similar anecdotes concerning Yaḥyā. He says also: "Al-Māmūn, having frequently heard imputations of this nature cast upon Yaḥyā, resolved on putting him to the test and invited him to a private interview. He then said to a young mamlūk (*white slave*) who was a *Khazarian* by nation and remarkably handsome: 'You alone shall attend us, and, when I go out, do not leave the room.' When they met in the sitting-room and had conversed together for some time al-Māmūn retired as if on some necessary occasion and, having left the slave with Yaḥyā, he concealed himself in a place whence he could see what would happen. The slave, whom he had told to jest and make sport with Yaḥyā, did what he was ordered, and the *khalīf* well knew that Yaḥyā would not dare to take liberties with the boy. Having then heard Yaḥyā say: '*Were it not for you (who seduced us) we should have been true believers!*' "<sup>2</sup> he came into the room and recited these verses:

"We hoped to see justice made manifest, but that hope was followed by disappointment. How can the world and its inhabitants prosper, if the chief *qāḍī* of the Muslims acts like the people of Lot?"

The *kātib* Abū Ḥakīmah Rāshid Ibn Ishāq Ibn Rāshid, who was the author of these verses, composed a great number of pieces on Yaḥyā. In the article on al-Māmūn which al-Mas'ūdī has given in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, will be found some anecdotes concerning Yaḥyā; we abstain from inserting them here because they are of the same kind as those just mentioned. A story is told of Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abi Sufyān which greatly resembles the one we have just related of al-Māmūn's asking who was the author of a certain verse and of Yaḥyā's replying by another verse taken from the same poem. When Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abi Sufyān the Umayyad

1 The true reading is: المشهور عنا غير .

2 *Qur'ān*, Sūrah 34, verse 30.

was laid up with the malady of which he died, he suffered so greatly that his life was despaired of, and one of 'Alī Ibn Abī Talīb's sons, whose name I do not recollect, went to make him a visit. Mu'āwiyah rallied all his strength and sat up in his bed, in order to receive him and not give him the gratification of seeing how ill he was. Being too weak to hold himself up, he at length leaned back upon a pile of cushions and recited this verse:

"I rally all my strength, so that those who are ready to rejoice at my sufferings may see that I am a man whom misfortune cannot overcome."

The son of 'Alī immediately rose from his seat and went out, reciting this line:

"When death grasps you in its clutches, you will find all your amulets of no avail."

The persons present admired greatly this repartee. The verses here mentioned are taken from a long *Qaṣidah* which was composed by Abū Dhuwayb Khuwaylid Ibn Khālīd al-Hudhālī (*the Hudhālīte*)<sup>1</sup> on the death of his sons, five of whom were carried off, in one and the same year, by the plague. They had fled from their native place with their father and were going to Egypt. Abu Dhuwayb died on his way to that country, or, by another account, on his way to Ifrīqiyah (*North Africa*), whither he was accompanying 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr. I have since read, in the ninth chapter of Ibn al-Habbāriyah's (*No. 650*) *Falak al-Ma'ānī*\*, that al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭalīb, went to visit Mu'āwiyah during his illness, and that the latter said to his attendants: "Prop me up (*with cushions*)" and then recited the verse of Abū Dhuwayb's applying it to his own case. Al-Ḥasan†

1 Abū Dhuwayb Khuwaylid Ibn Khālīd was a member of the tribe of Hudhāyl. He went to Makkah, with the intention of seeing Muhammad, but, on arriving, he found him dead. In the *Khilāfat* of 'Umar, he accompanied an expedition sent against the Greeks and died in that campaign. According to another statement, he died on his way to Makkah, when 'Uthmān was Khalīf. He was said to have been the best poet of the tribe of Hudhāyl, which was also the most poetical of all the Arabian tribes—(Suyūṭī's *Shawāhid al-Mughnī*.)

\* *Falak al-Maghānī* in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† Al-Ḥusayn in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

saluted (*on entering*) and then repeated the other verse. God knows if this be exact. Abū Bakr Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhiri (*No.* 578) relates the same anecdote in his *Kitāb al-Zuharah* and attributes the reply to al-Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī. I must here observe that neither Ibn al-Habbāriyah nor al-Zāhiri mention that Mu'āwiyah was in his last illness when this happened, and such could not possibly have been the case, because al-Ḥasan died before Mu'āwiyah, neither could al-Ḥusayn have been present at Mu'āwiyah's death, for he was then in Ḥijāz and Mu'āwiyah breathed his last in Damascus. I since found, towards the beginning of the work entitled *Kitāb al-Ta'āzi* (*book of consolations*) and composed by Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (*No.* 610) that this scene passed between al-Ḥusayn and Mu'āwiyah. It was probably from this work that Ibn al-Habbāriyah took his account of it. An anecdote of a similar kind is related of 'Aqīl, the son of 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib: Having abandoned his father\*, he joined the party of Mu'āwiyah, who received him with great kindness and treated him with the highest honour; but that was merely for the purpose of annoying 'Alī. After the murder of 'Alī, Mu'āwiyah remained sole possessor of the supreme authority, and, finding 'Aqīl's presence becoming irksome, he began to say in his presence things that might offend him and oblige him to go away. One day, at a levee where all the most eminent of the Syrian (*Arabs*) were assembled, Mu'āwiyah said to them: "Do you know who was the Abū Lahab of whom God (in his Qur'ān†) spoke in these terms: "*The hands of Abū Lahab shall perish?*" The Syrians answered that they did not. "Well," said he, "Abū Lahab was the paternal uncle of that man," pointing to 'Aqīl. He had no sooner pronounced these words that 'Aqīl said: "Do you know who was Abū Lahab's wife, of whom God said: *And his wife also, the bearer of faggots, having on her neck a rope made of palm-tree fibres?*" † They answered that they did not: "Well", said he, "she was the paternal aunt of that man", pointing to Mu'āwiyah. The fact was that Umm Jamil, Mu'āwiyah's aunt

---

\* The correct version should be: 'Aqīl, the son of Abi Ṭālib, having abandoned his brother. M. de Slane's rendering is an error.—Ed.

† Qur'ān, *sūrah* 111.

and the daughter of Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn 'Abd Manāf, was the wife of Abū Lahab 'Abd al-'Uzzā and the person who is indicated in the sūrah of the *Qur'ān*. It was really a silencing answer. An anecdote similar to the foregoing is told of a certain king who laid seige to a city. He had with him an immense army of cavalry and infantry, with provisions in abundance. He sent a letter to the lord of the city, advising him to surrender the place or else he should be attacked. In this letter he spoke of his numerous troops and the great quantity of munitions which he had brought with him, and in it he inserted this passage of the *Qur'ān*: *Until they came to the valley of the ants; and an ant said: "O ants! enter into your dwellings lest Solomon and his forces treat you under foot and perceive it not!"* The lord of the city, having received this epistle, pondered over it for some time and then read it to his officers. "Who", said he, "can return to that a proper answer?" One of the secretaries replied: "Let these words be written to him: *And he smiled, laughing at its words.*"<sup>2</sup> This answer was approved of by all present. An anecdote of a similar kind is thus related by Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (No. 157), in his *Anmūdḥaj*: 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Muthānnā al-Ṭūsi, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Muwaddib, belonged to a family of al-Mahdiyyah<sup>3</sup> and was a native of Qayrawān. He had some reputation as a poet but led a wandering life, being always in search of minerals and the philosopher's stone. His manner of living was very miserable and parsimonious, as he spent (*in chemical operations*) whatever he was able to gain. Having left this country with the intention of going to Sicily, he was taken prisoner, at sea, by the Christians (*Rūm*) and remained a long time in captivity. Thiqat al-Dawlah Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Qudā'i, the prince of Sicily, having concluded a truce with the Christians, obtained that all the captives should be sent to him. Ibn al-Muwaddib, who was one of the number, recited to Thiqat al-Dawlah a poem in which he extolled his merit and thanked him for what he had done. Not receiving, in return, a

1 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 27, verse 18.

2 This is the continuation of the foregoing verse.

3 Al-Mahdiyyah is a seaport town in the province of Tūnis.



gift adequate to his expectation and being inordinately desirous (*of obtaining money*) he spoke (*to that amir on the subject*) and was most importunate (*in his demands*)<sup>1</sup>. At that time, he was living concealed in the house of an al-chemist with whom he was acquainted, and remained there a long while. Having then gone out (*one night*) in a state of intoxication, with the intention of purchasing sugar-plums (*to eat with his wine*), he was arrested before he was aware and carried before the chief of the *shurṭāh* (*police guards*), by whom he was conducted to governor. "You good-for-nothing fellow!" said the latter, "what is this I hear of you?" The poet replied: "A pack of lies! may God protect our lord the amir?" The prince then asked him who it was that said in one of his poems:

"The man nobly born is always plagued by scoundrels<sup>2</sup>."

The poet replied: "It was the same person who said:

"The enmity of poets is the worst of acquisitions." "

The prince remained silent for some time and then ordered him a sum of one hundred *rubā'īs*<sup>3</sup>; but, fearing that he might again be irritated against him and punish after pardoning, he expelled him from the city. The lines cited here are the second hemistichs of two verses belonging to that *qaṣidah* of al-Mutanabbi's (*No. 49*) which rhymes in *na* and which he composed in praise of Badr Ibn 'Ammār. It begins thus:

"Love takes away from the tongue the faculty of speech, and the complaints which give most solace to a lover are those which he utters aloud."

It is well-known poem. The verse to which the first hemistich belongs is as follows:

"Impose silence on that adviser who, in accusing me, leads you into error. The man nobly born is always plagued by scoundrels."

---

1 This passage may also signify; He discoursed (*on alchemy*) and searched with great ardour (*the philosopher's stone*).

2 Literally: by sons of fornication.

3 I can discover nothing precise respecting the value of the coin called *rubā'i*, which word, in Arabic means *A quadruple*.

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid gives: *Dinārs*.— Ed.

The second verse is this :

"The complots of fools turn against themselves, and the enmity of poets is the worst of acquisitions."

Having mentioned the name of Thiqat al-Dawlah, we shall give here a poem composed in his praise by Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Tanūkhī, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Qāḍī Milāh (*the son of the Qaḍī of Milāh*). The poet recited it to him on the festival of the Sacrifice. This *qasīdah*, which is so remarkable for its originality, was not to be found complete, but I at length discovered a copy of it written on the cover of a book. Till then, I knew only a part of it and never heard of any person's knowing more. As it is so fine a poem and so rare, I have decided on giving it here :

"Love and my afflicted heart cause my tears to flow, whilst my eyes gather (*a harvest of*) that passionate desire which is imposed (*on every lover*). True it is that I am called towards that object which I wished to avoid and from whose abode I had departed; it is a soft-voice gazelle (*maiden*) adorned with ear-rings who invites me. Hers are the large, dark eyes, the languishing glances, (*the waist so slender that it leaves*) the girdle empty, and the bracelet holding firmly (*to the arm*). The brackish water flowing from her country; is (*for me*) sweet-tasted, and its cold winds shed genial mildness. What makes me despair of our meeting are the dangerous grounds which intervene and in which (*even*) the nocturnal breeze (*loses its force and*) dies. The jealous spy abstains from sleep lest he should see, in a dream, (*my*) union effected (*with her whom I love*). He passes the day regretting that, though our dwelling-place was near (*to him*), his inattention prevented him from seeing what had passed. The atmosphere gives us to expect a thunder-cloud, pouring down its showers and whose lightnings, like yellow serpents, glance around. When it appeared and the thunder howled, and the eyelids of the black cloud shed their waters. I was like a man stung by a scorpion; the thunder was the incantation of the serpent charmer, and the mizzling rain was the saliva which he blew from his mouth; so great were the sufferings I endured. By that was recalled to my mind the recollection of (*my beloved*)

Rayyā and of what I had forgotten ; I now remember (*all*), but that redoubles my affliction. When we met in the sacred territory (*of Makkah*), Rayyā rejoiced our hearts by the cry of *labbayka* (*here I am at your call*) ; our camels then roamed freely ; I looked at her, whilst the humps of the camels were dropping blood<sup>1</sup> and she said (*to her female companions*) 'Does any one of you know that young man ? his gazing at me so long makes me uneasy. When we are in march, he walks on a line with us, and when the camels' feet cease to move, he also stops.' I then said to her two companions : 'Tell her that I am smitten with love for her' and they replied : 'We shall manage (*to do so*) cautiously.' Say also to her : 'O Umm 'Amr ! is not this (*valley of*) Minā ? wishes made in the vale of Minā are never disappointed (*tukhlafu*). It was for me an omen (*tafāltu*) of your fulfilling your latest promise, when you let me see, as if by accident, the tips of your fingers dyed with *ḥinnā*. In 'Arafāt, I find what informs (*me*) of a favour I shall obtain ; that of your hearts inclining towards me. The (*traces left by the*) blood of the victims will always serve to guide us, even when my reason is absorbed in converse with love. The kissing of the sacred stone will announce to me the approach of good fortune and of a time favourable to our love.' They bore (*her*) my message and she said, in smiling : 'The words of augury are deceptive. On my life ! did I not tell you both that he arrays his discourse in the embroidered robe of eloquence ? Trust as little as you can to his insidious words and say (*to him*) : 'Thou shalt know, to-day, which of us is the better augur. You hoped, in (*the valley of*) Minā, to obtain your wish, and, when in that vale, you injured my reputation. Our pilgrim's sacred garment has announced that we are forbidden to meet and that I shall refuse to grant what you desire. There (*is my answer*). And, when I cast the pebbles, that should have informed you of my removal, by a distant journey, from the dwellings where you reside. Take care lest I disdain you, on the night of the departure ; it will be quickly done, but the persons skilled in augury are few.' Never did I see two such

---

1 Literally : were like noses dropping blood. The camels intended to be sacrificed were marked with an arrow stuck into the hump.

devoted lovers as we are ; but tongues are sharp and have a double edge. Were it not for a sweet-voiced and slender-waisted maiden, for the brilliant whiteness of her teeth, for her large, dark eyes and her long eyelashes, the passionate lover would recover (*his senses*), he that could not close his eyes would enjoy sleep, he that despaired would hope, and he that was sick would cease (*to suffer*). Censorious females sometimes reproach me for lavishing my wealth on those who awaited my gifts in silent expectation, and not on my companions who asked (*them*) with importunity. They said : 'When you have spent all your money and are in want, who will give you more,' And my answer was : 'Yūsuf! that illustrious descendant of Quḏā'ah, whose generosity hastens to grant in abundance that which calls forth gratitude.' Whenever a cloud of (*beneficence*) which promised abundant showers, frustrated our hopes, we found that the rains of his bounty never disappointed us. When he and other princes toil to acquire glory, he succeeds easily, but they must labour hard and only obtain the gleanings. Always vigilant, he combines mildness with energy ; his hands procure him what he wants and protect him against what he fears. He is a sword drawn to strike the enemies of the faith, and a protecting curtain lowered down over those who fear God. When in march, two armies accompany him : his prudence and his troops ; he has for companions two swords : firm resolution and the sharp-edged steel. Always ready to chastise those who offend him, he regulates the actions of fate by his decisions. His foresight discovers that which no other can perceive, and arranges matters which could not be settled by the spear. May God protect him who guards, by his vigilance, religion's sacred ground and who protects the hills of Islāmism even in the darkest night ! (*God protect*) him who gives full career to his promises in the arena of glory and who regulates his threats conformably to the obligations of justice ! him who cuts his enemies to pieces whilst their chiefs take to flight before the swords which fall upon their heads ! He directed against them an army which levelled the earth by the very sound of its march ; and the hills were unable to sustain the weight of all the arrows which oppressed them. His lances, in the brightness of the morning, were like serpents gliding through the thick vapours of

the mirage; the brightness of his swords lighted up the darkness, and clouds of dust obscured the day. The light of the sun was hidden by the dust, but the action of his swords in striking foemen's necks was not interrupted. Every year you send against them an army, charged to claim from them (*what you exact*), and it obtains satisfaction at the point of the spear. When they concealed the wound which one year had inflicted and were recovered from their sufferings, you began again to open that wound (تقرف). How many (*chiefs*) with faces covered by the twisted braids of their hair, whom you left (*on the field of battle*), with their necks no longer covered (*akshafa*) by the beard of the chin (لحيته). (*Each of them*) was a sword which cut deeply into the object on which it fell; yet they fled, and you may now see shortened those (*bodies*) which were so long. By my life! you transgressed against God by imploring His favour (*for you possessed it already*), and you rendered services of which God (*alone*) knows the number. You pursued them for the sake of your people, till they were scattered far and wide; you invited them to the faith until they became orthodox believers (*tahannafū*). O *Thiqat al-Mulk*! you whose empire is an arrow fledged and pointed for piercing the hearts of the enemy! may you enjoy this festival of which you are the ornament and which borrows from your brilliant qualities its noblest epithets. The (*victim with*) its sides marked, appeared in brilliant array, as if its back was covered with the variegated gauze of 'Irāq. After a year's absence, it (*this festival*) comes to visit you, because it longed to see you and looked anxiously forward to this day of meeting. You gave to it your glory to serve it for a collar and for ear-rings; and it thus appears before us decked in rings and jewels. The presence of your son Ja'far renders this day doubly fortunate; how admirable the festival which enjoys the presence of two kings! May you never cease to be asked for favours and to grant them, to inspire hopes and to fulfil them, to be called on when misfortunes are impending and to avert them! "

1 We do not possess another text of this very obscure poem; so that in many passages, I have been obliged to correct and translate by conjecture. It has been published with a great number of various readings, by Mr. Amari, in his *Bibliotheca Arabo-Sicula*, p. 634 *et seq.*

Here ends the *qaṣīdah*, *Ṭhiqāt al-Dawlah* had a son named *Tāj al-Dawlah Ja'far*, who was versed in literature and had a talent for poetry. A well known piece of verse was composed by him on two pages, one of which was dressed in red silk and the other in black. Here it is:

"I see two rising moons (*faces*) each borne on a branch (*a slender body*) and in just proportion; they are arrayed in robes one of which is tinted like the cheek and the other like the pupil of the eye. Here, behold the sun in the red sky of evening, and there, the moon in the shades of night fall."

These verses were composed by him in the year 527<sup>1</sup>. On the tenth of Muḥarram, 215 (9th March, A.C. 830), al-Māmūn arrived in Miṣr (*Old Cairo*) and set out again, towards the end of the month of Ṣafar (April). The *qāḍī* Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham, whom he had taken with him and appointed to the *qāḍiship* of Miṣr, held that place during three days and then departed with his sovereign. It was for this reason that Ibn Zūlāq (*No. 159*) has inserted his name in the History of the *qāḍīs* of Egypt. It has been handed down that Yaḥyā related the following extraordinary fact: "When I was in al-Ruṣāfah (*No. 19, note*)," said he, "a man, who was a grandfather in the fifth degree, claimed, at my tribunal, the inheritance of the grandson of his great grandson<sup>2</sup>." 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn Abī 'Amr al-Mu'adhḥal Ibn Ghaylān Ibn al-Muḥārib Ibn al-Buḥturī al-'Abdī (*No. 143, note*) the celebrated poet, went frequently to visit the *qāḍī* Yaḥyā and used to drop in at his levees. One day, having found great difficulty in approaching him and undergone some humiliation; he ceased his visits. Being then pressed by his wife to renew them, he answered her in these terms:

"She would oblige me to disgrace myself, thinking my dishonour a trifle in comparison with her advantage. 'Ask favours,'

1 This date is false. The Amir *Tāj al-Dawlah* succeeded to his father *Ṭhiqāt al-Dawlah*, A. H. 388 (A.C. 998), and abdicated on 410 (A.C. 1019-20). It is not probable that he could have composed this madrigal event in the year 427.

2 By the Muslim law, the nearest surviving male ascendant has a right to a certain share in the property left by his descendant.

said she, 'from Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham'; and I replied: 'Ask them from the Lord of Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham.' "

This *qāḍī* continued to pass through many vicissitudes of fortune till the reign of al-Mutawakkil 'ala-Allāh. When the *qāḍī* Muḥammad, the son of the *qāḍī* Aḥmad Ibn Abī Duwād (No. 31) was dismissed from office, Yaḥyā was appointed to succeed him on that occasion, the *khalīf* invested him with five robes of honour. In the year 240 (A.C. 854), al-Mutawakkil deposed him, seized on his riches and nominated, in his place, a member of the 'Abbāsīd family named Ja'far Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī. Ja'far's secretary then went to Yaḥyā and said: "Surrender up to me the administration with which you are charged". Yaḥyā replied: "Not till two creditable witnesses shall declare that the Commander of the faithful sent me orders to do so". The administration was taken from him by force, and al-Mutawakkil, who was greatly incensed against him, seized on all his estates and ordered him to remain a prisoner in his own house. Some time after, he (Yaḥyā) set out to make the pilgrimage and took his sister with him, as he intended making a residence in the holy city. Having then learned that al-Mutawakkil had forgiven him, he renounced the project of settling (at Makkah) and departed for 'Irāq but, on reaching al-Rabadhah he breathed his last. This took place on Friday, the 15th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, 242 (14 April, A.C. 857), or, according to another statement, on the first day of the following year (30th April, A.C. 857). He was interred at that place, having then attained the age of eighty-three years. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'īd related as follows: The *qāḍī* Yaḥyā Ibn Akṭham was, for me, a sincere friend; he loved me and I loved him. When he died, I wished that I might see him in a dream, so that I might ask him how God had treated him. And, one night, I had a dream in which I saw him and asked him that question. He replied: 'God has forgiven me, but He reprimanded me and said: 'O Yaḥyā! thy mind was allayed (and turned) from me during thy dwelling in the world.' I answered: 'Lord! I place my reliance on a Tradition which was related to me by Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍarīr (No. 84. note), who had learned it from al-A'mash (No. 253), who had heard it from Abū

Šāliḥ<sup>1</sup> who had heard Abū Hurayrah (*No. 244, note*) say that the Prophet of God pronounced these words: 'God said: I should be ashamed to punish in the fire a grey-headed man.' On this, God said to me; 'Yahyā! I pardon thee; My Prophet said the truth, but yet thy mind was turned from Me during thy abode in the world.' " This relation is given by Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī in his *Risālah*<sup>2</sup>. "*Aktḥam* means a corpulent man or sated with food. This name is sometimes written *Aktam*, but, in both cases, the signification is the same." So says the author of the *Muḥkam* (*No. 424*). *Qaṣan* and *Sam'ān* take the vowels here indicated. I consulted a great number of books and of persons versed in this art (*etymology*) respecting the word *Muḥannaj*, but could obtain no certain information about it. I then met with a correct copy of the *Khaṭīb's* History of Baghdād, which had been written out under the dictation of a master who knew the work by heart, and I read there that *Muḥannaj* should be written as here indicated. I since found the same pronunciation given in 'Abd al-Ḡhanī Ibn Sa'id's *al-Mukḥṭaliṣ wa 'l-Mu'taliṣ* (*No. 376*). *Usayyidi* means belonging to the tribe of *Usayyid*, a branch of that of *Tamīm*. *Usayyid*, the son of 'Amr, the son of *Tamīm*, was the progenitor of this family. We have already spoken of the relative adjectives *Tamīmī* and *Marwāzī* (*No. 3*). The village of *al-Rabadhah* is a dependancy of *Madīnah*. It lies on the great pilgrim road and is a regular halting-place for their caravans. It was on this place that Abū Dharr al-Ḡhifārī was banished by 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān<sup>3</sup>. He remained there till his death; his tomb is still to be seen and is often visited (*by pious pilgrims*). *Milah* is a small town in one of the districts of *Ifriqiyah*, but God knows best<sup>4</sup>. The *qādī* Ja'far Ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid bore the surname of Abū 'Abd Allāh and died in the year 258 (A.C. 871-2), or by another account, in 268 or 269.

1 Abū Šāliḥ al-Sammān, named also *Dhakkwān* and surnamed *al-Zayyāt*, was a *mawlā* of the tribe of *Ḡhāṭafān* and an eminent Traditionist. He died at *Madīnah*, A.H. 101 (A. C. 719-20). (*Nujūm*, *Iḥṣāz*).

2 See *No. 369* and; for an account of the *Risālah*, my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, 1st part, p. 456.

3 Abū Dharr Jundab Ibn al-Sakan al-Ḡhifārī, one of the earliest converts to Islāmism, died at *al-Rabadhah* A.H. 32 (A.C. 652-3). (*Nujūm*, *Ma'ārif*.)

4 The town of *Milah* lies 18 or 20 miles N.W. of *Constantina*.



## 767 YAḤYĀ IBN MU'ĀDH

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Mu'adh al-Rāzī (*a native of Ray and*) a celebrated preacher, was one of the *men of the path* (No. 111) Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (No. 369) mentions him in his (*celebrated treatise, the*) *Risālah* and includes him in the number of the *Shaykh*s (*the most eminent Ṣūfī doctors*). "He was", says he, "the only man, in his day, who had no model but himself; he was most eloquent on the subject of hope (*in God's mercy*); particularly when he discoursed on the knowing (*of God*). "He went to Balkh where he resided for some time and then returned to Naysābūr, where he died. One of Yaḥyā's sayings was: "How can he be abstemious (*from wordly enjoyments*) who is without the fear of God? respect that which is not thine and use with great moderation that which is thine." He used sometimes to say: Hunger is a spiritual exercise for those who aspire (*to the knowledge of God*), a trial for those who are turning (*unto God*), a regular practice for those who abstain (*from the enjoyments of this world*) and a favour granted to those who have acquired the knowledge (*of God's perfection*). Solitude is the fit companion for the sincerely devout; missing the opportunity (*of obtaining salvation*) is worse than death; for missing (*such a thing*) is the being cut away from the truth, whereas death is only the being cut away from living. Abstinence consists in three things: poverty, solitude and hunger. If a man thinks to deceive God by trying to cast a veil over his sins, God will tear off that veil and expose them to the public". "He learned Traditions from Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Rāzī<sup>1</sup>, Makkī Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī<sup>2</sup>

---

1 According to the author of the *Tabaqāt al-Huffūz*, Abū Yaḥyā Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Rāzī was a sure and exact Traditionist, and a native of Kūfah. He settled at Ray and taught Traditions on the authority of Mālik and others. His piety and the holiness of his life led the people to consider him as one of those mysterious personages who were designated by the title of *abdāl*s and of whom Mr. Lane has given a very good account in his translation of *the thousand and one nights*, chap. III, note 62. This ascetic died A. H. 200 (A.C. 815-6), or 199, according to the compiler of the *Nujūm*.

2 Makkī Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī (*a native of Balkh*) taught Traditions on the authority of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik and others. He died A.H. 214 (A.C. 829-30), or 215... (*Ḥuffūz*).

and 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭanāfisi'. A number of strangers belonging to Ray, Hamadhān and Khurāsān taught, on his authority, a few well supported Traditions. The Khaṭīb (No. 33) says of him, in the History of Baghdād: "When he came to Baghdād the Shāykh<sup>s</sup> of the Ṣūfīs and the devotees gathered round him and, having set up a throne, they placed him on it, sat down before him and entered into a conference. Al-Junayd (No. 140) then uttered some words, on which Yaḥyā said: "Be silent, my lamb! what have you to do with speaking when all the people are talking"? The allusions and expressions which he employed were remarkably elegant. One of his sayings was: "A pious discourse is a fine thing, but its meaning is finer; its use is finer than its meaning; the recompense which it merits is finer than its use and, finer than its recompense is the favour of Him for Whose sake that discourse was made". He said also: "True friendship cannot be augmented by kindness nor diminished by unkindness". Another of his sayings was: "He whose aspect is not as silver for the vulgar, as gold for the aspirants (*to the knowledge of God*), as pearls and rubies for those who know God and are advanced in His favour, that man is not one of God's sages who aspire to know Him". He said also; "The finest thing in the world is a correct discourse uttered by an eloquent tongue and proceeding from a handsome face; a shrewd discourse, drawn from a profound ocean (*the heart*) by the tongue of an ingenious man". He said also: "My God! how can I forget Thee, I who have no other lord but Thee? My God never shall I utter the words: *Never again shall I return (to sin)*, for I feel that my heart is liable to break its promises; yet shall I utter them, provided that I die before I relapse". One of his prayers was as follows: Almighty God! though my sins cause me to fear, my hopes in Thy mercy assure me against danger. Almighty God! Thy kindness has concealed my sins from this world, but it is for me more necessary that they should be concealed from view on the day of the resurrection. Thou hast been bountiful towards me in preventing them from appearing before the company of true believers: do not, therefore bring me to shame on that day, in the

1 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭanāfisi', a traditionist whose authority was cited by Ibn Mājah and other eminent doctors, died A.H. 230 (A.C. 844-5).- (*Huffūz, Nujūm*).

presence of all Thy creatures, O Thou most merciful of the merciful ! " A descendant of 'Ali, who resided at Balkh and to whom he went to pay his respects, said to him : "Tell me, Master ! and may God assist you ! what is your opinion of us who are the people of the house (*the members of Muḥammad's family*)" ! Yaḥyā replied : "It is that which I would say of clay kneaded with the water of (*divine*) revelation and sprinkled (?) with the water of the (*heavenly*) mission : can it give out any other odour than the musk of true direction and the ambergris of piety"? The 'Alide (*was so highly pleased with this answer that he*) filled Yaḥyā's mouth with pearls. The next morning, Yaḥyā received a visit from the 'Alide and said to him : "Your coming to see us is an effect of your goodness, and our going to see you was on account of your goodness ; so you, in visiting and being visited, are doubly good". Another of Yaḥyā's sayings was : "To him who is going to see a true friend the way never appears long ; he who goes to visit his beloved never feels lonely on the road". He said also : "How miserable are the sons of Ādam ! if they feared hell as much as they fear poverty, they would all enter into paradise". "No man", said he, "obtained his utmost wish without longing for death as ardently as the hungry man longs for food. He sees causes of ruin approach, is uneasy about his family and his brethern and is just falling into a state which would trouble the soundest reason." He said again : "He who neglects the minor duties of piety will not obtain the greater gifts (*which God bestows*)". Another of his sayings was : "Of the things which fall into the lot of those among you who are truly believers, the best are three namely, that which, it profits them not, will not harm them ; that which, if it rejoices them not, will not sadden them, and that which, if it does not gain them praise, will not bring upon them blame".\* He said again : ("*A man's*) acts are like the mirage ; (*his*) heart is devastated (*and deprived*) of piety ; (*his*) sins are equal in number to the sands and the grains of

---

\* de Slane's rendering is not intelligible. The passage is quite clear and should be rendered thus : "Of the things which fall into the lot of a believer from your (i.e. human) habits the best three are : if you do not benefit him, do not harm him either ; if you do not please him do not sadden him either : and if you do not praise him do not blame him either." - Ed.

dust; yet he desires to possess the high bosomed maidens of his time. Woe be to you! you are drunk but not with wine. How perfect would you be had you striven against (تأقت) your hopes! how great, had you hastened in fulfilling your appointed duty! how strong had you resisted your passions"! On such subjects he uttered many fine maxims. He died at Naysābūr in the year 258. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh said: "I read these words on the tomb-stone of Yaḥyā Ibn Mu'ādh al-Rāzi "The sage of the epoch, may God whiten his face and unite him with the blessed Prophet! died on Monday, the sixteenth of the first Jumādā, 258, (30th March A.C. 872), at Naysābūr.

#### 668 YAḤYĀ IBN MANDAH

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-'Abdī was the son of 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the son of the *imām* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of Ishāq, the son of Muḥammad, the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Mandah, the son of al-Walīd, the son of Mandah, the son of Baṭṭah, the son of Istandār, the son of Jihārbakht, the son of Firuzān. *Mandah* is a surname; he who bore it was called Ibrāhīm. It is said that Istandār's real name was *al-Firuzān*. God knows! Yaḥyā Ibn Mandah was a most distinguished *ḥāfiẓ* and one of the most eminent amongst the Traditionists. We have already spoken of his grandfather (*No.* 594). Yaḥyā was designated by the surname of Abū Zakariyā, his father by that of Abū 'Amr, his grandfather by that of Abū 'Abd Allāh, his great-grandfather by that of Abū Muḥammad and his great-great-grandfather by that of Abū Ya'qūb. He was a native of Iṣbahān and a Traditionist, as were his father, his grandfather, his great-grandfather and his great-great-grandfather before him. Highly distinguished for his merit, his talents and his vast knowledge in Traditional lore, he was also a trustworthy relator of Traditions, an accomplished *ḥāfiẓ* and one of those who were noted for the copiousness of their information and for their veracity. The works composed by him were numerous, his conduct exemplary and the duties he imposed on himself arduous. At that epoch, the family to which he belonged had not a member worthy of being compared to him. He published, for the first time, some collections of Traditions, part of which he drew from

his own stock and the rest from the lips of the numerous *Shaykhs* and teachers who resided at Iṣbahān. He heard Traditions delivered by Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zayd al-Ḍabbī, Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Kātib, Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Faḍlawayh al-Iṣbahānī, his own father and his two paternal uncles, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh and Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-Raḥmān. His other teachers were Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Nu'mān al-Qaṣṣās,\* Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Jaṣṣās, Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥawrdānī† and Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafi. Having gone to Naysābūr, he there heard Traditions taught by Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn khalaf al-Muqrī and Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (No. 27). At Hamadhān he learned Traditions from Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Nahāwandī; at Baṣrah he studied them under Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammād Ibn Aḥmad al-Shāhid, 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sa'dānī and a great number of other professors. One of the works compiled by him was a (*biographical*) History of Iṣbahān. Having gone to Baghdād, on his way to the pilgrimage, he taught Traditions in that city and made dictations in the mosque of al-Manṣūr. So great was his reputation and so high the rank which he held (*as a Traditionist*), that a crowd of *Shaykhs* went to note down his observations, and amongst them were Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir, 'Abd al-Qadir Ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Jilī, and the grammarian Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad‡ al-Khashshāb. Traditions were delivered on his authority by the ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Barakāt, 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn al-Mubārak al-Anmāṭī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī Turāb al-Zankawī al-Khayyāt, both of them natives of Baghdād, Abū Ṭāhir Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār Ibn al-Sabbāgh, the ḥāfiẓ Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Ala, and a great number of others. The ḥāfiẓ Ibn Al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) mentions him in

\* In 'Abd al-Ḥamid, al-Qudāt.—Ed.

† In 'Abd al-Ḥamid, al-Jawrdānī.—Ed.

‡ 'Abd al-Ḥamid inserts: Ibn between Aḥmad and al-Khashshāb vide No. 324.—Ed.

the *Kitāb al-Dhayl* and says: "He wrote out for me a licence to teach all the Traditions which he himself had learned." He then adds: "The *hāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad, whom I asked what he thought of him, extolled him highly and praised his good memory, his knowledge and his learning". Farther on he says; "I heard the *hāfiẓ* Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abī Naṣr Maṣṣūr Ibn Muḥammad al-Laftawānī say: 'The family of Ibn Mandah began by a Yahyā and ended by a Yahyā, meaning in the knowledge of the Traditions, in science and in merit.'" 'Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Ismā'il Ibn 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, the *hāfiẓ* of whom we have already spoken (*No. 377*) mentions him in the *Sivāq* (or continuation) of the History of Naysābūr and says: "Abu Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn Mandah was a man of great merit and came of a family noted throughout the world for learning and for the knowledge of Traditions. He travelled (to many cities), met there the great doctors, and learned Traditions from their lips. He composed a work on the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (that of Muslim and that of al-Bukhārī)." It is related on the best authority that one of the learned gave the following saying as Ibn Mandah's: "Excessive laughter is a mark of folly; folly and precipitation result from weakness of mind, weakness of mind, proceeds from want of judgment; want of judgment comes from a bad education, and a bad education draws down contempt. Headlessness is a sort of madness; envy is a malady for which there is no cure, and detraction engenders hatred." It has been handed down from al-Asma'i (*No. 354*), through a series of creditable narrators, that the following anecdote was related by Ibn Mandah. "I was in the desert and went into a mosque. The *imām* stood up to direct the prayer and then recited the passage of the *Qur'ān* (*sūrah 71, verse 1*) in which God says: "We sent Noah unto his people. Here he got embarrassed and continued to repeat the same words, on which a Bedwin Arab, who was standing behind him and accompanying the prayer, exclaimed: 'Well, man! If Noah has not gone there, send some one else.'" Yahyā Ibn Mandah used often to repeat these lines of a poet:

"I wondered how a man could purchase error at the price of true direction; but he who purchases worldly goods at the price of his religion is more to be wondered at. But still more wonderful

is the man who sacrifices his religion to obtain the worldly advantages possessed by another; he is yet a greater loser than the two former."

He was born at Iṣbahān on Tuesday morning, the 19th of Shawwāl, 434 (1st of June, A. C. 1043), and he died there on the feast of the Sacrifice, 512 (24th March, A. C. 1119). After his death, the Mandah family never produced a man like him. Ibn Nuqṭah (*No. 634*) says, in the *Ikmāl al-Ikmāl*, that his death took place on Saturday, the 12th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 511 and that his father 'Abd al-Wahhāb was born in the year 386 (A.C. 996), and died in the month of the latter Jumādā, 475 (Oct.-Nov., A.C. 1082). We have marked the orthography of his ancestors' names in our article on his grandfather Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad<sup>1</sup>.

### 869 IBN SA'DŪN AL QURṬUBĪ

Abū Bakr, Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'dūn Ibn Tammām Ibn Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Qurṭubī (*a member of the Arabian tribe of Azd and a native of Cordova*), bore the title of Ṣā'in al-Dīn (*preserver of the faith*) and was one of the *imāms* (*or great masters*), who, in latter times, were well versed in the *Qur'ānic* readings, the sciences connected with the *Qur'ānic* text, the Traditions, grammar, philology, etc. He left Cordova in the flower of his youth and proceeded to Egypt. In Alexandria, he heard the lessons of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Rāzī and, in Miṣr (*Old Cairo*), those of Abū Ṣādiq Murshid Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qāsim al-Madanī al-Miṣrī (*a native of Madīnah who had settled in Egypt*). There also he studied under Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī, generally known by the appellation of al-Ṣilafī (*No. 43*) and other masters. In the year 517 (A.C. 1123-4), he arrived in Baghdād and read the *Qur'ān* under the direction of the *Shaykh* Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-Muqrī (*teacher of the Qur'ān-readings*), who was generally known by the designation of Ibn Bint al-*Shaykh* Abī Manṣūr al-*Khayyāt* (*the son of the daughter of the Shaykh Abū Manṣūr the tailor*). He heard from the lips of that professor the

<sup>1</sup> The passage here indicated is not to be found in our manuscripts.

contents of a great number of books, one of which was Sibawayh's *Kitāb* (No. 479). He read Traditions under Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bazzār,\* surnamed Qāḍī 'l-Māristān (*the qāḍī of the infirmary*), Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Ḥuṣayn (الحصين) Abu 'l-'Izz Ibn Kādis and other masters. He was religious and devout, remarkable for such gravity and dignity of bearing as inspired respect. As a Traditionist he was a sure authority, veracious and trustworthy; his talents were great, his words few, his good actions numerous and his discourse instructive. He resided at Damascus for some time and then went to inhabit Moṣul, whence he removed to Iṣbahān. From that he returned to Moṣul and all the *Shaykhs* (or *eminent doctors*) of the time went to hear his lessons. Thī ḥāfiẓ Ibn al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) mentions him in the *Dhayl* and says: "I met him in Damascus, where he gave lessons which (even) the *Shaykhs* under whom Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Rāzī had studied, went to hear. I myself selected some choice passages out of his lectures. Having asked him the date and place of his birth, he replied that he was born in the year 486 (A.C. 1093-94) at Cordova, a city in Spain." I read in a book that his birth took place in the year 487, but the former date is the true one. Our *Shaykh* the Qāḍī Bahā al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Rafī' Ibn Tamīm generally known by the surname of Ibn *Shaddād* and *qāḍī* of Aleppo, took pride in stating that he had learned Traditions and *Qur'ān* readings from Abū Bakr al-Qurṭubī. To this we shall recur in our article on Ibn *Shaddād*. "We used," said he, "to read (*the Qur'ān*) under him at Moṣul, and, every day, we saw a man come in, salute him without sitting down, hand him a packet the contents of which were unknown to us and then retire. We tried to discover what was in it, and at length found out that it was a fowl ready plucked which the *Shaykh* purchased, every day, from that man, for his own use and which, on returning to his house, he cooked with his own hands." The same *qāḍī* states, in his *Dalā'il al-Aḥkām*, that he read (*the Qur'ān*) under him during the space of eleven years and finished in the year 567 (A.C. 1171-2). The *Shaykh* Abū

\* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Bazzār.—Ed.

† In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Kādis.—Ed.



Bakr al-Qurṭubī often repeated the following verses, tracing them, through a regular series of transmitters, up to the author, the *Kātib* Abū 'l-Qāhir al-Wāsiṭī:

"The pen of fate writes out what is to happen; so, whether we move or remain quiet, it is just the same. How foolish in thee to toil for sustenance! is not sustenance granted even to the embryo in the womb?"

He said also: "The following verses were repeated to us by Abū 'l-Wafā 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Wahb Ibn Ḥassān, who stated that they were recited to him in Old Cairo by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Manī' (منيع), who gave them as having been composed by himself:

"I have a device by which calumny may be averted, but no device can serve against a liar. No stratagem of mine can avail against him who says things of his own invention."

The *Shaykh* Abū Bakr al-Qurṭubī died at Moṣul, on the day of the festival of the Sacrifice, 567 A. H. (4th August, A.C. 1172).

## 770 YAḤYĀ IBN YA'MAR.

Abū Sulaymān, or, as some say, Abū Sa'id, Yaḥyā, the son of Ya'mar al-Adawī\* al-Waṣḥqī, was a grammarian of Baṣrah, and a *Tā'bi'i* (one of those who had received lessons from a Companion of Muḥammad). He met (and knew) 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar (No. 243, note), 'Abd 'Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās (No. 43, note), and others (of the Companions). Qatādah Ibn Dī'āmah al-Sadūsī (No. 516) and Ishāq Ibn Suwayd al-Adawī handed down Traditions on his authority. He was one of the chief *Qur'ān*-readers<sup>1</sup> of Baṣrah, and it was from him that 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Ishāq learned the manner of reading (*that book*). He removed to *Khurāsān* and was

<sup>1</sup> See No. 18, note.

\* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Adawānī which is supported by the explanation of the author at the end of the article.—Ed.

appointed *Qāḍī* at Marw. The text of the *Qur'ān*, the rules of grammar and the various dialects of the Arabs were equally familiar to him. He acquired his knowledge of grammar from Abu 'l-Aswād al-Duwālī (No. 285). It is related that, when Abu 'l-Aswad drew up the chapter on the agent and patient (*the subject and object of the verb*), a man of the tribe of Layth added thereto some chapters and, having found, on examination, that there existed, in the language of the (*desert*) Arabs, some expressions which could not be made to enter into that (*section*), he stopped short and abandoned the work. It is possible that this person was Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar, who, having contracted an alliance, by oath, with the tribe of Layth, was considered as one of its members. He was a *Shī'ite* of the primitive class, one of those who, in asserting the superior merit of the *People of the house*<sup>1</sup>, abstained from depreciating the merit of those (*Companions*) who did not belong to that family. 'Āṣim Ibn Abi 'l-Najūd (No. 294) the *Qur'ān*-reader, related as follows: "Al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf (No. 144), being informed that Yaḥyā Ibn Ya'mar declared al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn to be of the posterity of the Apostle of God, and that he was then in *Khurāsān*, wrote to Qutaybah Ibn Muslim (No. 517), the governor of that province, ordering him to send Yaḥyā to him. This was done and, when Yaḥyā stood in his presence, he said to him: 'Do you pretend that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were of the posterity of the Apostle of God? by Allāh! I shall cast (*to the ground*) that part of you which has the most hair on it<sup>2</sup>, unless you exculpate yourself'. 'If I do so', said Yaḥyā, shall I have an amnesty?' 'You shall', replied al-Ḥajjāj. 'Well,' said Yaḥyā, 'God, may His praise be exalted! said: *And we gave unto him (Abraham) Isaac and Jacob: we directed them all; and Noah had we before directed, and, of his posterity, David and Solomon, and Job, and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron; thus do we reward the virtuous, and Zakariya, and John, and Jesus, and Elias; all of them were righteous.*<sup>3</sup> Now, the space of time between Jesus and Abrahām is greater than which separated

1 See No. 767.

2 That is: I shall strike off your head.

3 *Qur'ān*, sūrah 6, verse 84.

al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn from Muḥammad, on all of whom be the blessing of God and His salvation !' Al-Ḥajjāj answered : 'I must admit that you have got out of the difficulty ; I read that before but did not understand it !' The quotation was most appropriate ; how admirable the talent displayed by Yahyā in adducing that passage ! How finely he applied it ! "Then," said 'Āṣim, "al-Ḥajjāj said to him : 'Where were you born ?' Yahyā answered : 'At Baṣrah'. 'Where were you brought up ?' 'In Khurāsān.' 'And this pure Arabic (*which you speak*), how did you come by it ?' 'It was God's gift.' 'Tell me if I commit faults in speaking.' 'Yahyā remained silent, but as al-Ḥajjāj insisted on having an answer,' he at length said : 'O *Amīr* ! since you ask me, I must say that you exalt what should be depressed and depress what should be exalted<sup>1</sup>.' 'That, by Allāh ! is a grave fault.' He then wrote these words to Quṭaybah : 'When this, my letter, reaches you, take Yahyā Ibn Ya'mar for your *qāḍī*. Salutation !' Ibn Sallām (*No. 509*) stated that he heard Yūnus Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>3</sup> relate as follows. Al-Ḥajjāj said to Yahyā Ibn Ya'mar : 'Do you remark any incorrection in my speech?' 'Yes,' replied Yahyā, 'in one point'. 'What is that.' 'In reading the *Qur'ān*'. 'That were shameful indeed ! what is it ?' 'In reciting this verse : *Say, if your fathers and your sons, and so forth to the words be more dear (aḥabba) to you than God<sup>4</sup> you pronounce aḥabbu.*' Ibn Sallām here observed : "It would appear from this that, as the phrase was long, al-Ḥajjāj forgot how it commenced. Al-Ḥajjāj then said : 'be assured that you shall never hear me commit such a fault again.' "Then," said Yunus, "he sent him to Khurāsān which, at that time, was governed by Yazīd, the son of al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Ṣufrah." God best knows which of these statements is exact. Ibn al-Jawzī (*No. 345*) says, in his *Shuḍhūr al-Uqūd*<sup>5</sup> : "In the year eighty-four of the Hijrah (A.C. 703), al-Ḥajjāj

1 The true reading is *amā hiyā laka*.

2 This passage signifies also : you put in the nominative what should be put in the accusative and *vice versa*. I suspect that Yahyā employed this equivocal expression designedly.

3 The life of Ibn Ḥabīb is given in No. 765, note.

4 *Qur'ān*, surah 9, verse 24.

5 This was a historical work. Its title signifies : *Golden beads for necklaces*.

banished Yahyā Ibn Ya'mar because on saying to him: 'Do I speak incorrectly,' he received this answer: 'You do but the fault is scarcely perceptible'. 'I give you three days,' said al-Ḥajjāj, 'and, if I find you, after that, in the land of 'Irāq, I shall put you to death.' In consequence of this, Yahyā left the country." Abū 'Amr Naṣr Ibn 'Alī Ibn Nūḥ Ibn Qays stated that the following relation was made to him by 'Uthmān Ibn Miḥṣan (محصن): "The Commander of the faithful pronounced a *khuṭbah* at Baṣrah, and in this discourse, he said 'Fear God! he that fears God incurs no *huwārah*'. The congregaton did not understand what he said and asked its meaning from Yahyā Ibn Ya'mar. He answered that the word *huwārah* signified *loss* and that the *khalīf* meant to say: He who fears God shall sustain no loss." Al-Qazzāz (No. 626) says, in his *Kitāb al-Jāmi'*: *Hawārāt* means *dangers*: its singular is *hawārah*. Al-Rāzī said: "I related this to al-Aṣma'i (No. 345) and he answered: 'I never heard that till this very moment, now that you have told it to me. The rare expressions of the language are really very numerous, but that one I never heard' ". Al-Aṣma'i related as follows: "My father told me that Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab, wrote, when in *Khurāsān*, a letter to al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf in which he said: 'We met the enemy and forced him to take refuge on the summit *'ar'arat* of the hill, and we are at the foot of it *al-Ḥaḍīd*'. 'How,' said al-Ḥajjāj, 'did the son of al-Muhallab come by such words as these? and, being told that Yahyā Ibn Ya'mar was with him, he said: 'Ah! that explains it. Yahyā composed poetry and was the author of this verse:

'People concur only in hating my family; but from the oldest times, people hate those who are good!.' "

*Khālīd al-Ḥaḍhdhā* (No. 539, note) stated that Ibn Sirīn (No. 539) possessed a copy of the *Qur'ān* in which Yahyā Ibn Ya'mar had marked the vowel points. He spoke the purest Arabic, using the most elegant terms without effort and quite naturally. His adventures and remarkable sayings are well known. He died in the year 129 (A.C. 746-7)<sup>2</sup>, *Ya'mar* or *Ya'nur*,—but this latter

1 Literally: the fat.—This verse is by no means clear, and its application is not evident unless we suppose it to have been uttered by one of the 'Alids.

2 *Dihabi*, cited by the author of the *Nujūm*, places the death of Yahyā Ibn Ya'mar in the year 89 of the Hijrah.

form is neither current nor correct,—is the present tense of the verb '*amira*, which signifies *to live long*. This name, like that of Yaḥyā (*he lives*), was given to him as a presage of long life. '*Adwān*' means *descended from 'Adwān*, whose true name was al-Ḥārith and who was the son of 'Amr Ibn Qays 'Aylān. He received the surname of '*Adwān* (*hostility*) because he attacked his brother with the intention of killing him. *Washiqi* means *descended from Washiq*, who was the son of 'Awf, the son of Bakr, the son of Yaḥkur, the son of that same 'Adwān.

### 771 AL-FARRĀ THE GRAMMARIAN

Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn Ziyād Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Manzūr al-Aslamī al-Daylamī al-Kūfī (*a Daylamite by origin and a native of Kūfah by birth*), was generally known by the surname of al-Farrā. He was a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Asad, or, according to another statement, of the tribe of Minqar. Al-Farrā was the most eminent of all the doctors of Kūfah and also the most distinguished by his knowledge of grammar, philology and the various branches of literature. Abu 'l-'Abbās Tha'lab (*No. 41*) is stated to have said: "Were it not for al-Farrā, pure Arabic would no longer exist; it was he who disengaged it (*from the ordinary language*) and fixed it (*by writing*). Were it not for al-Farrā, good Arabic had gone to the ground; (*before his time*), it was a matter of discussion; everyone who pleased had the pretention of knowing it and discoursed on it as well as his intelligence and his genius would permit, so that it had nearly disappeared'. He and al-Aḥmar<sup>1</sup> learned grammar from Abu 'l-Hasan al-Kisā'i (*No. 408*); they were the most eminent of his disciples and also the most attached to him. Al-Farrā, having resolved on entering into the service of (*the khalif*) al-Māmūn, went a great number of times to the door of the palace (*with the hope of obtaining admittance*), and,

<sup>1</sup> 'Alī al-Aḥmar (*the red*) was a soldier in al-Raṣhīd's nūbā, or body-guard. His knowledge of pure Arabic was so extensive that al-Kisā'i got him appointed as tutor to that khalif's children. He died on his way to Makkah), A.H. 194 (A.C. 809-10). Flügel's *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*, Part 1st, p. 134.

one day, whilst, he was waiting there, Abū Bishr Thumāmah Ibn al-Ashras al-Numayrī (No. 504, note) a Mu'tazilite doctor who was intimate with (the *khalif*) al-Māmūn, went up to him. "I saw, said Thumāmah, 'a person in the attire of a literary man; so, I sat down beside him and commenced putting to the test his knowledge of philosophy. Finding that he was (in that branch), an ocean (of learning), I tried him in grammar and discovered that he had not his parallel; I then examined him in jurisprudence and perceived that he was a good legist and well acquainted with the conflicting opinions of those people (the *juris consults*); I ascertained also that he was an able astronomer, a learned physician, and well-versed in the history of the (desert) Arabs, their battle-days and their poetry. On this, I said to him: 'Who are you? you must be al-Farrā!' He replied: 'I am he'. I immediately went in to the Commander of the faithful, al-Māmūn, informed him of the circumstance and got the order to have al-Farrā introduced without delay. It was thus that he became acquainted with al-Māmūn". Qutrub (No. 609) related as follows: "Al-Farrā entered into the presence of (the *khalif*) al-Rashīd and made a discourse in which he committed solecisms. On this, Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā the Barmakid (No. 129) said: 'Commander of the faithful! he speaks incorrectly.' The *khalif* said to al-Farrā: 'You commit solecisms?' and received this answer: 'Commander of the faithful! it is in the nature of the (desert) Arabs to employ correctly the final inflexions, and in the nature of those who inhabit fixed abodes to employ them incorrectly; when I am on my guard, I do not commit faults but, when I return to my natural habit, I commit them.' The *khalif* was satisfied with this answer. The *Khatīb* (No. 33) says, in his history of Baghdād: "When al-Farrā got acquainted with al-Māmūn, the latter bid him draw up a work which should contain the principles of grammar and all the pure Arabic expressions which he had heard. He then ordered him to be confined in a chamber of the palace, and appointed male and female servants to attend him and furnish him with everything which he required; hoping, by this means, to deliver his heart from all preoccupations and to leave him nothing to wish for. They were even to inform him of the hours of prayers by chanting the *adhān* (or call) at the proper times. He sent to him also a number of copyists and attached to his

service confidential men and agents charged to pay the expenses. Al-Farrā then dictated, and the copyists wrote down his observations; and this continued during two years, until they had finished the work. It was entitled *al-Ḥudūd* (the limits or chapters<sup>1</sup>.) Al-Māmūn ordered this book to be transcribed (and placed) in his libraries. When al-Farrā had finished his task, he went out in public and began the composition of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī* (rhetorical figures employed in the *Qur'ān*?). The narrator (of these facts) says: 'We tried to count the number of persons who assembled for the purpose of hearing him dictate (and publish) the text of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī*, but, not being able to do so (they were so many), we counted the *qāḍīs* only and found that they were eighty.' He continued to dictate the work till he finished it. The copyists then withheld it from the public, so that they might make money of it, and declared that they would not communicate it to any person unless he consented to have it copied by them at the rate of one *dirham* for five leaves<sup>2</sup>. Al-Farrā, to whom complaints were made on this subject, sent for the copyists and remonstrated with them. Their answer was: 'We attended your lessons in order to profit by your learning; of all your works this is the most essential; so, allow us to gain a livelihood by means of it.' He replied: 'Be more complaint with them; it will be for your advantage as well as theirs.' Finding that they would not follow his advice, he said to them: 'I shall let you see (what you do not expect), and then announced to the public that he would dictate the *Ma'ānī* and join to it a complete commentary, with fuller remarks than those already given. He therefore held sittings and dictated one hundred leaves on the word *al-ḥamd*<sup>3</sup> alone. The copyists then went to him and said: 'We shall concede to the public what they demand and copy for them at the rate of one *dirham* for ten leaves.' What induced him to (compose and)

1 For the contents of this grammatical work, see Flügel's *Grammatische Schulen*, p. 134).

2 It is worthy of remark that a *dirham*, or six pence, for ten pages of copy, was considered as an exorbitant price, at Baḡhdād, towards the beginning of the ninth century of our era.

3 *Al-ḥamd* is the first word of the expression which, in Arabic means: "Praise be to God" and by which most Muslim books commence.

dictate the *Ma'ānī* was, that one of his disciples, who was then in the service of al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl (*No. 169*) and whose name was 'Umar Ibn Bukayr, wrote to him in these terms: "The *Amir* al-Ḥasan is always asking me questions relative to the *Qur'ān*, and I cannot readily call to mind the proper answers. Would you be pleased to lay down for me certain fundamental principles, and compile, on that subject, a work to which I may refer." On reading this note, he invited his disciples to assemble and hear him dictate a work on the *Qur'ān*. On the appointed day, when all were present, he came in to them and told a man who acted as a *mu'adhdhin* in the mosque and who knew well the *Qur'ān*, to commence reciting (*the text of that book*). The man began by the *Fātiḥah*<sup>1</sup> and al-Farrā explained it, and this continued till they went over the whole book; the *mu'adhdhin* reciting and the professor explaining. This commentary fills about one thousand leaves; nothing like it had ever been composed before, and no person can possibly add to it. Al-Māmūn placed his two sons under al-Farrā's tuition, so that they might be instructed in grammar. One day, al-Farrā rose from his place; on some necessary occasion, and the two young princes hastened to bring him his slippers. They struggled between themselves for the honour of offering them to him, and they finally agreed that each of them should present him with one slipper. As al-Māmūn had secret agents who informed him of every thing that passed, he learned what had taken place and caused al-Farrā to be brought before him. When he entered, the *Khalif* said to him: "Who is the most honoured of men?" Al-Farrā answered: "I know not any one more honoured than the Commander of the faithful." "Nay," replied al-Māmūn, "It is he who arose to go out and the two designated successors of the Commander of the faithful contented for the honour of presenting him his slippers, and at length agreed that each of them should offer him one." To this al-Farrā answered: "Commander of the faithful! I should have prevented them from doing so had I not been apprehensive of turning them away from some honourable example which they had already received or discouraging their minds in the

---

1 The *Fātiḥah* or opening, is the name given to the first sūrah of the *Qur'ān*.



pursuit of that high estimation to which they ardently aspire. We know by tradition that Ibn 'Abbās held the stirrups of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, when they were getting on horse back after paying him a visit. One of those who were present said to him: 'How is that you hold the stirrups of these striplings, you who are their elder?' To which he replied: "Ignorant man! no one can appreciate the merit of people of merit except a man of merit." Al-Māmūn then said to him: 'Had you prevented them, I should have inflicted on you the penalty of censure and reproach and should have declared you in fault. That which they have done is no debasement of their dignity; on the contrary, it exalts their merit, renders manifest their excellent nature and inspires me with a favourable opinion of their character. No man, though great in rank, can be dispensed, by his high position, from three obligations: he must respect his sovereign, venerate his father, and honour his preceptor. As a reward for their conduct, I bestow on them twenty thousand *dinārs* (£10,000), and on you, for the good education which you give them, ten thousand *dirhams* (£500)." The following anecdote is related also by the *Khaṭīb*: "One day, al-Farrā was sitting in the house of the legist Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, who was the son of his aunt, and happened to say that few men ever mastered one branch of science without finding the others quite easy. On this, Muḥammad said: 'You, Abū Zakariyā! have studied pure Arabic; so, I shall question you on a point of (*canon*) law.' 'Let us hear your question,' said al-Farrā, '(and I shall answer) with the blessing of God.' Muḥammad then said to him: 'What do you say of a man who, in making the two satisfactory prostrations that some neglect in the accomplishment of the prescribed prayer rendered necessary, neglects, again, in these prostrations, something important?' Al-Farrā reflected for some time and then replied that the man incurred no obligation. 'Why so?' said his cousin. 'Because,' said he, 'according to us grammarians, a diminutive noun cannot be diminished again; and besides, the two prostrations are the completion of the prayer, and that which is complete requires no further completion.' On hearing this, Muḥammad exclaimed: 'Now, I am sure that a descendant of Adam never engendered a son like you!' " I already mentioned this anecdote

in the life of al-Kisā'i (No. 408) and there referred to the account which I give of it here. Al-Farrā had a leaning towards the doctrine of the Mu'tazilites. Salamah, the son of 'Āṣim, related as follows: "Al-Farrā told me that he and Bishr al-Marisi (No. 112), lived together in the same house, for twenty-one years and that neither of them learned any thing from the other." Al-Jāhiḡ (No. 481) said: "I arrived at Baghdād, in the year 204 (A. C. 819-20), at the time of al-Māmūn's entry into that city. Al-Farrā used then to come to see me, and I wished him to learn scholastic theology (*kalām*), but he had no desire of doing so." Abu 'l-Abbās Tha'lab said: "Al-Farrā used to hold public sittings in the mosque adjoining his own house. He philosophized (*employed the philosophical style*) in his works to such a degree that he introduced philosophical terms into his discourse". Salama, the son of Aḡmad and the grandson of 'Āṣim said: "I wondered at al-Farrā's esteem for al-Kisā'i whom he much excelled in grammatical knowledge." One of al-Farra's sayings was: "When I am dying, my soul shall undergo in some measure, the influence exerted by (*the conjunction*) *ḡattā*: it will be *depressed, elevated and afflicted*<sup>1</sup>." No verses have been handed down as his excepting the following, which were given by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dinawari (No. 187, note) on the authority of Abū Bakr al-Ṭuwāl:

"Lord of a single acre of ground, you have nine chamberlains! You sit in an old ruin and have door-keepers to exclude visitors! Never did I hear of a door-keeper in a ruined dwelling! Never shall the eyes (*of men*) see me at a door of yours, a man like me is not made to support repulses from door-keepers."

I since discovered that these verses are attributed to Ibn Mūsā 'l-Makfūf\*; God knows best! Al-Farrā was born at Kūfah, whence he removed to Baghdād, which continued to be his usual place of residence. He was so ardent in the pursuit of gain that he could not remain quietly at home and, when he had passed a whole year

---

1 These terms in the language of the grammarians, signify: *govern the genitive case, the nominative and the accusative.*

\* In 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, al-Makfūf.—Ed.

in hoarding up money, he would go to Kūfah, and pass there forty days with his people to whom he generously distributed the sum which he had collected. He composed a number of works, such as the *Hudūd* and the *Ma'ānī* of which treatises we have already spoken; two works, one much larger than the other, on the *mushkil* (or expressions of doubtful import) which occur in the *Qur'ān* (?); the *Kitāb al-Bahī*\* (?), a small volume, of which I met a copy after drawing up the present article. It contains the greater part of the terms which Abu 'l-'Abbās *Tha'lab* inserted in his *Faṣīḥ* (No. 42); it is of the same size as that book, and the only difference between them is, that the latter offers the same matters in another order: al-Farrā merely remodeled the work and made thereto a few additions. I may add that the *Bahī* contains a few terms which are not to be found in the *Faṣīḥ*, but there is very little difference between the two books. His other works are the *Kitāb al-Lughāt* (on dialectical expressions), the *Kitāb al-Maṣādir*, etc., (on the nouns of action which are found in the *Qur'ān*), the *Jam'a wa-Tathnīyah*, etc. (on the plurals and duals which occur in the *Qur'ān*), the *Kitāb al-Waqf wa'l-Ibtidā* (on the full stop and the commencement of phrases), the *Kitāb al-Fākhīr*; var *al-Mufākhīr*†, the *Kitāb Ālat al-kātib* (the tool for secretaries), the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (on rare expressions) the *Kitāb al-Wāw* (on the copulative conjunctions) etc. Salamah, the son of 'Āsim, states that al-Farrā dictated (most of) his works from memory; those dictated by him from copies which he held in his hand were the *Kitāb Mulāzim* (?) and the *Kitāb Yāfi'* wa *Yafa'ah*<sup>1</sup>. According to Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (No. 616) those two books contained about fifty leaves, and all his works filled three thousand leaves. Muḥammad Ibn al-Jahm<sup>2</sup> composed a poem in honour of al-Farrā; its rhymes are formed by an *u* followed from the syllable *hi*; but I abstain from

---

1 It is said that, in the whole Arabic language, no root furnishes two adjectives having the same signification and exactly similar in their form to the adjectives *yāfi'* (يَافِع) i.e. *adult*, and *yafa'ah* (يُفَعُّ) which come from the root *yafu'* يَفَعُّ.

2 An interesting anecdote of this member of the Barmakid family is given in No. 37.

\* In 'Abd al-Īlamid, al-Bahā.—Ed.

† In 'Abd al-Īlamid, al-Mufākhīr.—Ed.

inserting it here, to avoid lengthening this article. Al-Farrā died A. H. 207 (A. C. 822-3) on the road to Makkah, and at the age of sixty-three years. He was surnamed *al-Farrā (the furrier)*, not because he manufactured or dealt in furs, but because he was a *farra (scanner or sifter)* of words. So says al-Sam'ānī in his *Ansāb*, and he cites for his authority the *Kitāb al-Alqāb*<sup>1</sup>. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī (No. 621) says, in his work<sup>2</sup> that Ziyād, the father of al-Farrā, was maimed of his hand, it having been cut off in the war with al-Ḥusayn, the son of 'Alī. This assertion requires to be examined: al-Farrā lived sixty-three years and was therefore born in the year 144; the war with al-Ḥusayn took place in A.H. 61; so, between that event and al-Farrā's birth, eighty-four years must have elapsed; to what age then did his father live? If the person who lost his hand was al-Farrā's grandfather, the thing had been possible. منظور must be pronounced *manzūr*. We have already spoken of the word *Daylamī*, and of the *Banū Asad*. Minqar was the son of 'Ubayd, the son of Muqāis, whose real name was al-Ḥārith, the son of 'Amr, the son of Ka'b, the son of Sa'd, the son of Zayd Manāt, the son of Ṭamīm, the son of Murrah. The tribe named after him is very numerous and has produced a great number of remarkable men, some of whom were Companions of the Prophet. They were all surnamed *al-Minqarī*. Such were Khālīd, the son of Ṣafwān, and Shabīb, the son of Shabbah<sup>3</sup>. Ṣafwān and Shabbah were the sons of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn al-Aktham al-Minqarī. Khālīd and Shabīb were noted as good orators, speaking with elegance and precision. Khālīd had frequent sittings with the Commander of the faithful, al-Ṣaffāh, as is well-known and Shabīb was often in the society of (*the khalifs*) al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and others. Mention has been made of them both in our article on al-Buḥtūrī (No. 743).

1 In the bibliographical dictionary of Ḥājī Khālifāh, four works are mentioned which bear this title.

2 Ḥājī Khālifāh gives the titles of five works composed by Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī.

3 See No. 295, note. Two MSS, and the lithographed text of Ibn Quṭaybah's *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* read Shaybah.

## 772 ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-YAZĪDĪ

Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā Ibn al-Mubārak Ibn al-Mughīrah al-'Adawī, surnamed al-Yazīdī, was a teacher of the *Qur'ānic* readings, a grammarian and a philologist. He studied under Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā al-Baṣrī (No. 480), the great teacher of the readings, and succeeded him in that occupation. He inhabited Baghdād and there taught Traditions which he had learned from Abū 'Amr, Ibn Jurayj (No. 350) and others. Traditions were received from him and transmitted down by his son Muḥammad, by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (No. 509) by Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (No. 84), by a number of his own sons and grandsons, by Abū 'Umar al-Dūrī (164, note)<sup>1</sup>, Abū Ḥamdūn al-Ṭayyib\* Ibn Ismā'il<sup>2</sup>, Abū Shu'ayb al-Sūsī<sup>3</sup>, 'Āmir Ibn 'Umar al-Mawṣilī<sup>4</sup>, Abū Kḥallād Sulaymān Ibn Kḥallād and others. He differed from Abū 'Amr respecting the manner of reading a few words in the *Qur'ān*, having adopted for them a manner of his own. As he had been preceptor to the children of Yazīd Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī<sup>5</sup>, (the *Kḥlaif*) al-Mahdī's maternal uncle, he was surnamed *al-Yazīdī* (the *Yazīdīyan*). Hārūn al-Rashīd, to whose service he was subsequently attached, confided to him the education of his son al-Māmūn, who was still a child<sup>6</sup>. Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī was considered as a trustworthy Traditionist, a learned *Qur'ān*-reader and an elegant speaker; he was well acquainted with the idioms of the (*desert*) Arabs, skilled in grammar and veracious (*as a Traditionist*). A number of fine works were

1 The manuscripts and the printed editions read *Abū 'Amr*, but I follow the excellent copy of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā* which is in the Bibl. imp., ancient fonds, No. 742; see fol. 52.

2 Abū Ḥamdūn al-Ṭayyib Ibn Ismā'il al-Dḥuhli, a native of Baghdād and a teacher of the *Qur'ān*-reading was noted for the sanctity of his life. The date of his death is not given. (*Ṭab al-Qurrā*, f. 53).

3 Abū Shu'ayb Ṣāliḥ Ibn Ziyād al-Sūsī, a *Qur'ān*-reader of great authority, died A.H. 261 (A.C. 874-5), aged upwards of ninety years. (*Ṭab al-Qurrā*, f. 53.)

4 Abū 'l-Faṭḥ 'Āmir Ibn 'Umar, a native of Moṣul, a teacher of the *Qur'ān*-readings and a Traditionist, died A.H. 250 (A.C. 864-5).—(*Ṭab al-Qurrā*, f. 60).

5 Our author speaks of this chief at the end of the present article.

6 The Arabic proverb says: He placed al-Māmūn in his lap.

\* Al-Ṭāibib (physician) in 'Abd al-Ḥamid.—Ed.

composed by him. His views were just and his poetry (*so good that it*) was collected into a *dlwān*. The philological work entitled *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (*book of rarities*) was drawn up by him on the plan of the *Nawādir* which al-Aṣma'i (No. 354) composed for Ja'far the Barmakid (No. 129), and contains designedly, the same number of leaves as that treatise. He obtained his knowledge of pure Arabic and of the history of the people (*the adventures and quarrels of the Arabic tribe*) from Abū 'Amr (*Ibn al-'Alā*), al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad (No. 208) and other learned men of that age. Abū Ḥamdūn al-Ṭayyib\* related as follows: "I met the son of Abū 'l-'Atāhiyah (No. 91) who had just taken down in writing a mass of information which had been dictated to him by Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, and all of which the latter declared to have received from Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā. It filled nearly one thousand *jilds* (or *skins*), each *jild* forming about ten leaves: so there were ten thousand leaves in all." Al-Yazīdī obtained an immense quantity of philological information from al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad, and wrote down under his dictation the rules of prosody, which science that master had just begun to discover, he placed, however, his principal reliance on Abū 'Amr, whose extensive acquaintance with pure Arabic he highly appreciated. At one time, he kept a school for boys, opposite to the house in which Abū 'Amr resided, and was then admitted into the familiarity of that doctor, who became very partial to him on account of his quick intelligence. The information transmitted down by him is considered as perfectly genuine. His works are the: *Nawādir* of which we have just spoken, the *Maqṣūr wa al-Mamdūd* (*on the short and the long alif*), a compendium of grammar and a treatise on the vowels (*nuqāt*) and diacritical points (*shakl*). Ibn al-Munādī related as follows: "I frequently asked about (*the moral character of*) Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, his veracity and his credibility as a relator of Traditional knowledge. These questions I addressed to a number

1 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far al-Munādī, a celebrated Traditionist and *Qur'ān*-reader, was highly esteemed for the exactitude of his information, his knowledge of history and his acquaintance with pure Arabic. He died in the month of Muḥarram, 336 (July-August, A.C. 947). *Ṭab. al-Qurrā*, f. 78).

\* Al-Ṭabīb in 'Abd al-Ḥimīd.—Ed.

of our *Shaykhs*, some of them professors of Arabic, other of *Qur'ān*-reading and others of Traditions; and they all declared that he was trustworthy and veracious, and that he never felt fatigue nor dislike in the pursuit even of the slightest information which could be obtained from oral Tradition. 'But', said they, 'he was suspected of being inclined towards the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites.' " Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām taught the text of the *Gharīb* (*unusual and obscure expressions of the Qur'ān and the Traditions*) on the sole authority of Abū Muḥammad al-Yazidī, because he well knew the eminent merit of that doctor. In the reign of al-Rashīd, al-Yazidī and al-Kisā'i (No. 408) held sittings together and taught *Qur'ān*-reading to the public. Al-Kisā'i was preceptor to al-Amin (*the son of al-Rashīd*), and al-Yazidī to al-Māmūn (*the other son*). By the order of that *khalif*, al-Kisā'i taught his pupil the system of reading (*harf*) adopted by Ḥamzah (No. 199) and al-Yazidī taught him the system of Abū 'Amr (*Ibn al-'Alā*). "Al-Yazidī," said al-Aṭhram (No. 531, note), "entered one day into the house of al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad and found him seated on a cushion. Al-Khalīl made room for him and invited him to sit down beside him. Al-Yazidī did so and then said: 'I am sure that I inconvenience you.' 'Nay,' replied al-Khalīl, "no place is too narrow for two friends or too wide for two enemies.' " Al-Māmūn, having asked al-Yazidī about something, received from him this answer: "No; and may God accept my life as a ransom for yours, Commander of the faithful!" "Well said!" exclaimed the *Khalif*, "never was the word *and* better placed than in the phrase which you have just uttered!" He then made him a present. "One day," said al-Yazidī, "I went to see al-Māmūn; all nature was smiling<sup>2</sup>, and his female musician Nu'ām\*, who was one of the handsomest women of the age, was singing to him an air of which these were the words:

"You pretended that I had wronged (you) and, fled from me, but in flying, you shot an arrow which pierced me to the

1 Had the word *and* not been inserted, the phrase would have signified: May God not accept my life, etc.

2 Such appears to be the meaning of the expression *al-dunyā ghādhdhah*, which signifies literally: the world was flourishing.

\* Omitted in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

heart. You did well to fly ; but be indulgent and pardon me ; this is the spot where the proscrip̄t finds a refuge ; this is the place to which he whom love has afflicted may retreat, to which he whose eyes have been wounded by your beauty may run for protection. You have robbed my heart of its ease, yet, may God never paralyse the hand which committed that theft ! ”

Al-Māmūn made her sing the same piece three times and then said : ‘Tell me, Yazidī ! can there be anything (*in life*) better than what we are now engaged in?’ I answered: ‘There is, Commander of the faithful!’ ‘What is it?’ said he. I replied : ‘The giving of thanks to Him Who has granted to you this great and signal favour.’ He answered : ‘You are in the right and have said the truth. !’ He then, after making me a present, ordered one hundred thousand dirhams (£2,500) to be brought in, so that he might give it away in alms. I have still before my eyes the sight of purses as they were brought in and of the money as it was distributed.” Al-Yazidī complained, one day, to al-Māmūn of being in great need, by reason of debts which he had incurred. The *khalif* answered : “We have not, at present, means of giving you wherewithal you may obtain (*the deliverance*) you desire.” “Commander of the faithful,” said al-Yazidī, “I am reduced to great straits and my creditors are hard upon me. Think of some expedient for me.” Al-Māmūn reflected a little, and it was then agreed upon between them that al-Yazidī should come to the door of the palace, when the *khalif* was holding one of his familiar parties, and there write a note in which he would request to be admitted or to have one of the sovereign’s boon companions sent out to him. When the company were assembled, al-Yazidī came to the door and gave the servant a sealed letter. Al-Māmūn, to whom it was brought in, opened it and found that it contained these lines :

“Worthiest of brethren and of friends ! I am here, as a parasite, waiting at your door. Let me make one of the society or send out to me one of my companions (*to keep me company*).”

Al-Māmūn read the letter to those who were present and said : “It is not fit that such a parasite should enter here, in such a



state (*as we are*).” He then sent out to him this message : “Your entrance here, at this hour, is impossible ; choose for yourself the person whom you wish for a boon companion.” When al-Yazidi received this missive, he answered “I can make for myself no better choice than ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Tāhir (*No. 318*).” Al-Māmūn then said to ‘Abd Allāh : “His choice has fallen on you, so you must go out to him.” The other replied : Commander of the faithful ! must I become the associate of a parasite ?” The *khalīf* answered ; I cannot possibly turn him from his intention ; but you have the choice of going out to him or of avoiding that obligation by paying a fine.” “I shall give him ten thousand dirhams (£500),” exclaimed ‘Abd Allāh. “I do not think,” said al-Māmūn that, for so small a sum, he will forego the pleasure of your company.” ‘Abd Allāh then offered ten thousand more, and then another ten, whilst the *khalīf* continued to say : “I do not think that enough for him.” When the offer mounted up to one hundred thousand dirhams, al-Māmūn said : “Send them to him quickly.” ‘Abd Allāh wrote a draught on his intendant for the sum and sent it off by a messenger. Al-Māmūn then said (*to al-Yazidī*) : “In the present case, it is better for you to accept this sum than to carouse with ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Tāhir whilst he is in his present state.” Al-Yazidī consented to receive the money. He (al-Māmūn ?) was very adroit in every thing he did. Abū Aḥmad Ja‘far al-Balkhī<sup>1</sup> relates in his book<sup>2</sup>, that al-Yazidī asked al-Kisā‘ī’s opinion respecting the following verses :

“I do not think that a *kharab* can be hatched from its egg by a falcon. The ‘*ayr* is not a horse’s foal, (*it*) is not ; the foal (*is but*) a foal.”

The word *kharab* signifies a male bustard<sup>3</sup>, and ‘*ayr*’ means the male of the onager. Al-Kisā‘ī answered that the last of

1 Abu Aḥmad Ja‘far Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Balkhī was a doctor of the Ḥanafī sect and the author of some controversial works, the titles of which are given by Ḥājī Khalīfah, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*. The year of his death is not mentioned.

2 I am unable to indicate the title of this book, the author having composed more works than one.

3 In Arabic, *hubāra*. Dr. Shaw has given a description of it in his *Travels*.

the words) foal ought to be in the accusative, because it is the object of the verb to be (which in Arabic governs the accusative)<sup>1</sup>; so, that being admitted, there is, in the rhyme, a fault of the kind called *iqwā*.<sup>2</sup> "Nay" replied al-Yazīdī, "the verse is correct, for the phrase finishes with the second *is not*, which merely serves to corroborate the first. After these words, the poet enounces a new proposition and says: *The foal (is but) a foal.*" He then (bowed so low that he) struck the floor with his bonnet and exclaimed: "(It is) I, Abū Muḥammad, (who say so!)," Yaḥyā Ibn Khālīd the Barmakide (who was there present, felt scandalised at this conduct and) said to him: "How dare you (be so familiar as to) pronounce your surname in the presence of the Commander of the faithful? By Allāh! al-Kisā'i's mistake joined to his good breeding, is better than your right answer, joined to your unpoliteness." To this, al-Yazīdī answered: "The sweetness of my triumph put me off my guard." I must here observe that al-Kisā'i was wrong in saying that the verse contained an *iqwā*, for, in the technical language of the prosodians, the term *iqwā* designates specially a change in the grammatical inflexion (or vowel) which accompanies the letter (or consonant) forming the rhyme, and this change consists in nothing more than the substitution of an *o* (the sign of the nominative) for an *i* (the sign of the genitive), or vice versa; that is, one of the rhyme-consonants takes an *o* and the other an *i*; but if the discordance exists between two verses, so that one rhyme-consonant takes an *a* (the sign of the accusative) and the other an *o* or an *i*, that irregularity is not called an *iqwā* but an *īṣrāf*. Abū 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī (No. 46) alludes irregularities in one of his longer poems containing a lament on the death of the *Sharīf* al-Tāhir, the father of al-Riḍā (No. 641) and of al-Murtaḍā (No. 418); he thus describes the croaking of the raven:

---

1 Al-Kisā'i, meant to say that *muhro*, which is the last word of the verse and in the nominative case, should have been put in the accusative and pronounced *muhra*. He was mistaken.

2 For the meaning of this technical term and those which occur farther, on, see de Sacy's *Truite de prosodie arabe* and Freytag's *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*.

"It is modelled on the 'iḡā and is devoid of *iqwā*, or *ikfā*, and of *īṣrāf*.<sup>1</sup> "

This verse being connected (*by its meaning*) with those which precede, cannot be rendered intelligible unless the other be cited, and that we think unnecessary to do here. I merely quote it as an example ; that is all. Some say that the *īṣrāf* is a variety of the *iqwā* ; if that be so, al-Kisā'i was right in what he said. This paragraph is a superfluity but contains some useful information. The greater part of al-Yaḡīdī's poetry is good. Hārūn Ibn al-Munajjim (*No. 753*) speaks of him in the *Kitāb al-Bārī* and gives some fragments of his composition ; such, for instance, are the following satirical lines, directed against al-Aṣma'i al-Bāhili (*No. 354*) :

"You who pretend to draw your origin from Aṣma', tell me how you are connected with that noble race ? Are you not a man whose genealogy, if verified, proves that you descend from Bāhilah ? " 2

"This last verse" said Ibn al-Munajjim, "is one of the most satirical which have been composed by the later poets." I may add that the idea contained in it is borrowed from the following verse in which Ḥammād 'Ajrād (*No. 197*) attacked Bashshār, the son of Burd (*No. 110*) :

"You call yourself the son of Burd, though you are the son of another man ; or, grant that Burd married your mother ; who was Burd ? "

Here is another of his (*al-Yaḡīdī's*) satirical pieces :

"Be careful not to lose the friendship of Abu 'l-Muqātil, when you approach (*to partake of*) his meal. Breaking his crumplet, is, for him, as bad as breaking one of his limbs. His guests fast against their will and without meaning to obtain the (*spiritual*) reward which is granted to fasting."

1 These terms of prosody have probably other significations in the ordinary language, but it is not necessary to indicate them.

2 "More despicable than a Bāhili" was a common proverb among the Arabs.

In our article on al-Mubarrad, we have given (*No. 610*) a passage taken from one of al-Yazidi's poems and directed against Shaybah Ibn al-Walid. Amongst the numerous anecdotes and stories which he handed down, we may notice the following: "A man, pretending to be a Prophet, was arrested and taken before (*the khalif*) al-Mahdi: 'Are you a Prophet?' said al-Mahdi: 'I am' said the prisoner. 'To whom were you sent (*on a mission*)?' The man replied: 'Did you allow me to go to any person? why, the very moment I received my mission, you cast me into prison!' The khalif laughed and said: 'Go and be converted unto God.'" Al-Yazidi had five sons who became distinguished as men of learning, philologers, poets and narrators of historical anecdotes. Their names were Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il, 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Ubayd Allāh and Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq. All of them composed works on philology and genuine Arabic. Muḥammad, who was the eldest, was also the best poet among them<sup>1</sup>. According to Di'bīl al-Khuzā'i (*No. 213*), he was the author of these lines:

"Why should you travel about when the person whom you love (*and pursue*) dwells in a fixed abode? That, assuredly, is an enormous fault. As long as you assist Fortune and Care against yourself, whom can you have to blame? (*The lover answered*): I am miserable, yet shall I never think of her with indifference, neither will she be clement, though, by her, I am miserable."

He composed also these lines:

"O thou whose dwelling is so far off! thou whose name is always on my tongue and whose image is in my heart<sup>2</sup>. The vicissitudes of Fortune may remove thee to a distant land, yet still shall my desires bring near to me thy image."

He composed a great quantity of good poetry and assisted his father in the education of al-Māmūn. In the latter part of his life he became dull of hearing. When al-Māmūn set out for

1 For an account of the members of the Yazidi family, most of whom were distinguished literary men, see professor Flügel's *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*, p. 90.

2 Literally: who are joined to my heart and to my tongue.

**Khurāsān**, he (*Muḥammad al-Yazīdī*) went with him, and remained in his service after their arrival in the city of Marw. He continued to reside there till the accession of al-Mu'taṣim; whom he then accompanied to Egypt, where he died. His father, Abū Muḥammad, died A.H. 202 (A.C. 817-8) in **Khurāsān**, and probably at Marw, whither he had accompanied al-Māmūn from Baghdād and where the latter had established his residence. I since found in Abū 'Amr al-Dānī's<sup>1</sup> *Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā* (*chronological list of Qur'ān-readers*), that he died at Marw in the year just mentioned, but the author then adds these words: "Ibn al-Munādī related that, according to what he had heard, he lived to within a few years of a century and died at Baṣrah; but the first statement is the truest." God knows best! We have already spoken of his grandson Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī (*No. 614*), and given the date of his death with some account of him and of his merit. (*'Adawī*) means *belonging to the family of 'Adī*, who was the son of 'Abd-Manāt, the son of Udud, the son of Ṭābikhah, the son of al-Yās, the son of Muḍar, the son of Nizār, the son of Ma'add, the son of 'Adnān. The descendants of 'Adī formed a numerous and celebrated tribe. Abū Muḥammad al-Yazīdī belonged to it in the quality of a *mawlā*; his grandfather, al-Mughīrah, having been the enfranchised slave of an 'Adawide woman and having therefore been surnamed *al-'Adawī*. At the beginning of this article we have explained the meaning of the surname *al-Yazīdī* and mentioned who Yazīd was; I need not repeat that account here. Many of al-Yazīdī's descendants were men of eminent talent and renown, authors of books and composers of charming and celebrated poems. Some of these pieces I should give here, were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much. The posterity of al-Yazīdī were highly proud of the work composed by his son Ibrāhīm and entitled *Mā ittafaq lafẓuh* etc. (*list of homonyms*). This treatise contains every term

---

<sup>1</sup> See *No. 713*. One of al-Dānī's works is a manual for the student of the *Qur'ānic* readings, and is entitled the *Muqni'*. Its contents have been made known to us by Mr. de Sacy, in the *Notices et Extraits*, t. VIII. See also t. XX, p. 456 of the same work in the second part of my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*.

which has different significations. I saw a copy of it in four volumes. It is a most valuable work and affords an evident proof of the vast learning and extensive information possessed by the author. Other good and useful works were composed by the same person. This also may be said of the other members of his family: they composed works which are in great repute. Yazīd the Ḥimyarite, who was the maternal uncle of (*the khalif*) al-Mahdī, held a high rank under the 'Abbāsids and acted as governor of Baṣrah and of Yaman in the name of al-Manṣūr. He died at Baṣrah, A.H. 165 (A.C. 781-2). It was of him that Bashshār Ibn Burd said:

"Abū Khālīd! you who, when young, were an able swimmer in the ocean (*of generosity*), are encamped on its border, now that you are grown old. You were formerly beneficent, but you fell back from that habit, till you went treading in the beaten path of ordinary men. The rank to which you attained is exalted to an extreme degree and, to an extreme also, has your fair renown declined; you are like 'Abd Allāh's cat, which, when young, was sold for a dirham and, when old, for a *qirāṭ*." <sup>1</sup>

After searching uselessly for the anecdote of 'Abd Allāh's cat in the works which I imagined would have contained it, I consulted the persons who were versed in those matters but could obtain no information on the subject. I then met with the following verses, the author of which was al-Farazdaq (*No. 763*):

"I saw other people increase in honour, day by day, whilst your honour gradually declined. (*You are*) like the cat which, when young, bears a high value and, when old, is cheap."

It was from these verses that Bashshār borrowed his idea; he did not mean a particular cat, but meant to say that every cat which, when young, was sold dear, lost its value when it grew old.

### 773 AL-TIBRĪZĪ.\*

Abū Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Bisṭām al-Shaybānī al-Tibrīzī (*a member of the tribe of Shaybān*

<sup>1</sup> By the term *qirāṭ*, the poet probably meant to designate the twenty-fourth part of the dirham.

\* The Arabs pronounce it thus.—Ed.

and native of *Tabriz*), generally known by the title of al-Khaṭīb (the preacher) was one of the great masters in (the science of Arabic) philology, and possessed a perfect knowledge of polite literature, such as grammar and philology. He made his studies under Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (No. 33), Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-Raqqī<sup>1</sup>, Abū Muḥammad al-Dahhān the philologist<sup>2</sup>, and other literary men. He heard Traditions delivered, in the town of Šūr (Tyre), by the legist Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Sulaym Ibn Ayyūb al-Rāzī (No. 251) Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Yusuf al-Dallāl al-Sāwī<sup>3</sup>, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Raqqī and others. Traditions were delivered on his authority by the Khaṭīb and ḥafīẓ Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Thābit (No. 33), the author of the History of Baghdād, by the ḥafīẓ Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir<sup>4</sup>, Abū Maṣṣūr Mawhūb Ibn Aḥmad al-Jawālīqī (No. 724), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khaṭayr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sahl al-Anda-

1 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Zunayn (زَيْن) al-Raqqī (a native of Raqqah, in Mesopotamia) and an inhabitant of Baghdād, was highly distinguished for his talents. He was versed in grammar, Arabic philology, polite literature and the art of calculating inheritance shares. He composed also a work on the theory of the rhyme; in prosody. One of his masters was Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri. His death took place in the year 450 (A.C. 1058-9). Suyūṭī's *Biographical Dictionary of grammarians and literary men*; ms. of the *Bibl. imp.*, supplement, n. 683.

2 Our author has already noticed an Abū Muḥammad Sa'id Ibn al-Mubārak al-Dahhān (No. 247), a grammarian of great celebrity; but the Abū Muḥammad al-Dahhān of whom he speaks here, lived in the preceding century, and was the son of Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī. He was an able grammarian, versed in Arabic philology, jurisprudence and the *Qur'ān*-readings. In his lectures on jurisprudence, he adhered to the system followed in 'Irāq (the doctrine of *Abū Ḥanīfah*), and, in dogmatic theology, he followed the system of the Mu'tazilites. He taught also the Traditions and had al-Ṭibrizī for a pupil. He was very negligent in his dress. Died A.H. 447 (A.C. 1055.)—Suyūṭī's *Grammarians*.

3 Various readings: *al-Sayyārī*, *al-Sayyādī*:

4 Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir, one of the great Traditionists of 'Irāq, was born A.H. 467 (A.C. 1074-5). He became eminent as a grammarian, philologist, legist and historian. He died in the month of Šha'bān, A.H. 550 (October, A.C. 1155)—(*Tabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*.)

lusi<sup>1</sup> and other distinguished men. A great number of students commenced and finished their education under him. The *ḥāfiẓ* Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (No. 370) speaks of him in the *Dhayl* and in the *Ansāb*; he enumerates his merits and says: "I heard Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn *Khayrūn*<sup>2</sup>, the teacher of the *Qur'ān* readings, state that Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī al-Tibrizī did not hold a satisfactory conduct; he then related some things respecting him and said: 'I asked the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir his opinion of what Ibn *Khayrūn* had said (concerning al-Tibrizī's character), but he kept silent as if he would not contradict what had been said<sup>3</sup>, but he at length declared that al-Tibrizī, as a philologist, was a sure authority and that the information which he handed down was worthy of credit.'" Al-Tibrizī composed some instructive works on literature, such as a commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* (No. 143), a commentary on al-Mutanabbī's (No. 49) poems, a

1 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-*Khayr* Ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, a native of Valencia in Spain, received also the surname of al-*Ṣīnī* (the Chinese) because he had gone to China in search of Traditional information. After encountering many dangers in his travels, he fixed his residence in Baḥḥad, where he studied jurisprudence under the celebrated doctor Abū Ḥāmid al-*Ḥazzālī*. Subsequently to a journey made to Iṣbahān, where he heard Traditions taught by the doctors of that city, he returned to Baḥḥad, studied the belles-lettres under Yaḥyā al-Tibrizī and died there, in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 541 (June-July., A.C. 1146).—(Al-Maqqarī. Arabic text, vol. I, p. 895).

2 Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn *Khayrūn*, a native of Baḥḥad and teacher of the *Qur'ān*-readings, was noted for the surety of his information and the sanctity of his life. He composed a work on the readings entitled *al-Miftāḥ* (the key) and died in the month of Rajab A.H. 530 (January, A.C. 1145) at an advanced age.—(*Tabaqāt al-Qurra*, no. 742, fol. 148).

3 Tibrizī's moral character does not appear in the best light, if we may judge after a piece of verse composed by him and given farther on. Ibn *Khayrūn* must have often been scandalized by facts of this nature, as the most eminent doctors and many of the sovereigns who patronized poets and literary men, took the greatest pleasure in composing and listening to poems which cannot be transferred, undisguised, into any European language. Ibn *Khallikān* himself cites, with complacency, verses which do not admit of a literal translation. Amongst the Muslim princes, *ulamā*, *qādis* and poets, there were probably but few who could say, with Ovid: *Amore puerorum* *et* *minus*.



commentary on Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri's (No. 46) *Dīwān* entitled *Siq̣ al-Zand*<sup>1</sup>, a commentary on the seven *Mu'allaqahs*, a commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*<sup>2</sup>, a *Tahdhib* (or remodeling) of the *Gharib al-Ḥadīth*<sup>3</sup>, a *Tahdhib* of the *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*<sup>4</sup>. He is the author of a good introduction to grammar, having for object the elucidation of the secrets of that art; this work is very rare. He composed also a treatise on prosody and rhyme, entitled *al-Kāfi* (the sufficient), a treatise on the parsing of the *Qur'ān*, to which he gave the title of *al-Mulakhkḥaṣ* (the summary) and a copy of which I saw in four volumes. His commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* forms three works, the greater commentary, the middle and the less<sup>5</sup>. Other works also were composed by him. We have related in our article on the *Khaṭīb* Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī what passed between that historian and al-Tibrizī, when the latter was studying under him at Damascus and to that article we refer the reader<sup>6</sup>. He (*al-Tibrizī*) studied polite literature at the Nizāmiyah college in Damascus. The motive which induced him to go to Abu 'l-'Alā al Ma'arri, was, that having procured a copy of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azhari's (No. 613) *Kitāb al-Tahdhib*, in four small volumes, he wished to verify the correctness of its text under the direction of some person well versed in

1 See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie, arabe*, t. III, p. 90.

2 The *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* is a collection of ancient poems. An edition of this rare and precious compilation with al-Marzūqī's commentry, is to be published at Berlin by Mr. Gosche.

3 *Gharib al-Ḥadīth* means rare and obscure expressions occurring in the Traditions. A number of works were composed on this subject, but the most noted was that of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (No. 509).

4 The work entitled *Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq* (correction of discourse) was composed by Ibn al-Sikkīt, a philologer whose life will be found in this work.

5 Tibrizī's middle commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* is that which has been published by Freytag. It is frequently diffuse and unsatisfactory. The information borrowed by the author from his predecessors is often very useful, but his own communications are generally philological futilities. In explaining the verses of the text, he disserts on what is simple and evident, but seldom attempts to clear up a real difficulty.

6 The passage to which our author refers is not to be found in any of the manuscripts. It is absent also in the printed editions.

philology, and Abu 'l-'Alā was indicated to him as the fit man. He put the volumes into a bag and carried them on his back from Tabriz to al-Ma'arra, not having the means of hiring whereon to ride. The transpiration penetrated from his back into the books and left on them marks of humidity. They are now in a *waqf*<sup>1</sup> at Baghdād, and, when a person not acquainted with what happened, sees them, he thinks that they must have remained for some time under water; these stains are, however, nothing else than the sweat of al-Tibrizī. So I find it related in the history of the grammarians composed by al-Qāḍi al-Akrām Ibn al-Qifṭī, the wazīr, of Aleppo (*No. 510, note*). God knows if his account be true! Al-Tibrizī went to Egypt when a young man and had there for a pupil the *Shaykh* Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir Ibn Bābshād, the grammarian (*No. 280*) to whom he communicated some philological information. He then returned to Baghdād and continued to reside there till the day of his death. He taught from memory a great number of poems which he had learned from the author, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn Muḥayriz<sup>2</sup> al-Baghdādī; such, for instance as the following piece, given by al-Sam'ānī in that article of the *Dhayl*, which treats of the Khaṭīb al-Tibrizī. It is the best known of that poet's productions:

"O my two friends! how sweet were the morning draughts which I took on the bank of the Tigris and yet sweeter were those of evening at al-Ṣarāt<sup>3</sup>. Near these two streams I drank the liquor of a vine; it was like melted cronelian, and they were like liquid pearls. Two moons were then present; one, that of the heavens and the other a moon (*a young beauty*) of the earth; one inspiring desire for the sweets of love, the other enamoured. I kept filling the cup (*for that earthly moon*) and sipping nectar from her lips whilst she kept filling for me and drinking from my lips.

---

1 *No. 729.*

2 According to some MSS. *Nahrir*. The person who bore this name is not noticed in the works consulted by the translator.

3 *No. 129, note.*

I said to the full moon (*of heaven*): 'Do you know who is this?' and she answered: 'I do; it is my twin sister!.'"

These verses are the finest and the most elegant which poetry can offer. The idea expressed in the second verse is borrowed from Abū Bakr al-Dāni Ibn Labbānah (*No. 660*), who said, in a long *qaṣīdah* which he composed in praise of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād (*No. 660*), the sovereign of Seville:

"I asked his brother, the (*bountiful*) ocean, what he thought of al-Mu'tamid and he answered: He is my brother; but he is always tranquil and sweet."

It was not sufficient for the poet to represent that prince as the brother of the ocean, but he must add that he was tranquil and sweet, whereas, the ocean is agitated and salt. This is an example of pure and original eulogium. The *qaṣīdah* itself begins thus:

"She wept on bidding me farewell, and her fellow-travellers knew not whether those tears were drops of dew or pearls fresh (*from the shell*). She was followed by a band (*of maidens*), Nay! I am wrong; the word *band* cannot be said of stars shining through the darkness of night."

This poem is of considerable length, and I therefore abstain from giving it all, lest I should be drawn away from my subject. The *khaṭīb* (*al-Tibrizī*) related that the following lines were recited to him by the author, who was the Ibn Muḥayriz above mentioned:

"Maidens of the tribe of Muḍar! (*your companion*) Salmā is sister to the moon (*in beauty*). O may Salmā never afflict me (*with her disdain*)! she has abandoned my eyes to unceasing wakefulness. Whether she turn away from me or towards me, my heart's blood is equally in peril. I have lodged the whiteness of her teeth in the black (*core*) of my heart and (*the pupil*) of my eye."

He himself composed some poetry, such, for instance, as the following lines:

---

1 In this translation the word *sister* is placed for *brother* and the gender of certain pronouns has been changed. For the reason see note 3 on page 277.

"Some persons are surfeited with a day's travelling, but I am surfeited with dwelling in the same place. I have resided in 'Irāq amongst the vilest of men, descendants of the vile."

He related also that al-'Imād\* al-Fayyād wrote to him as follows :

"Say to Yahyā, the son of 'Alī, though discourse assumes various characters, yet, mine contains neither falsehood nor deception ; (*say to him*) : You are merit in person, when the eyes of men are turned towards merit ; true merit has obtained, through you, its real value. All those who once existed are surpassed by you, and those who now exist are fatigued in following your footsteps. You were born under one of those conjunctions which occur after a lapse of many centuries. Other men, compared with you, are as cloudy weather compared to a clear sky. When inquiries are made respecting them, the accounts received are various ; from what we have heard and seen, (*some are like*) level plains and (*others like*) rugged ground. If we weighed against you all who ever existed, (*we would find you to be*) a king (*and them mean*) artisans. What are now (*the tribes of*) Shaybān and Azd ? all said respecting them is mere conjecture. You are the stem of (*the tree of*) learning and other men are only its branches. You are the ocean, and the men most distinguished for their merit are mere springs of water. The sword, if put ( *ح* ) to the test, is far superior to scabbards. The *mu'allā* is not equal to the *fadd*, neither is Ḥajūn to be compared with Makkāh's temple<sup>1</sup>, Mirth and levity may amuse, but serious affability is far above them. White females and brown are not on an equality in beauty. A married female may please, but nothing is so charming as a young virgin. I said to the envious : 'Be whatever you wish to be ; he who shoots farthest obtains the prize, whether you be proud or humble.' May your life endure as long as the definition of motion differs from that of rest ! May your wishes be accomplish-

1 The Arabs of the desert made use of ten arrows in casting lots : each arrow had a particular mark and a particular name. That which gained the entire pool was called the *mu'allā* ; that which entitled the drawer to one seventh of the pool was called the *fadd*.—Ḥajūn was the name of a valley near Makkah.

\* Al-'Amīd in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

ed as long as birds dwell in nests! My affection for you has been carefully preserved from all admixtures which alter affection; in me its exterior manifestation is not in disaccord with the interior; nay, the love which my heart bears towards you is formed of sincerity. Make a wager (*about it*), for wagers are sometimes made on love-matters; if one man be deceitful, another is sincere."

Ibn al-Jawālīqī (No. 724) relates that his *Shaykh* the *Khaṭīb* Abū Zakariyā (*al-Tibrizī*) said to him: I then wrote to al-'Imād al-Fayyād these verses:

"Say to al-'Imād\*; the brother of high eminence: I am but a drop of water from your overflowing ocean. You have raised me to honour and gained me high renown, in bestowing on me so ample a vestment of eulogium. Out of your gracious bounty you have clothed me in a raiment of poetry, and I, proud of that attire, have marched about in the height (*of glory*) and in the gardens (*of delight*). I here give you a pebble in return for a pearl which was the produce of a cultivated mind. My genius would be at a stop, did it attempt any thing similar; it could hardly produce a fraction (*of such excellence as yours*). How could a streamlet compete with the vast ocean? how could a pebble be compared with a pearl? You, the able horse man in (*the career of*) that jewel-adorned poetry and that prose which dissipate even the pains of sickness! you who, by your abilities, aim at the highest point (*of perfection and attain it*)! know that my talent cannot reach so far. Impose not on me the task of giving you fitting praise; such a duty I am unable to fulfil. My talent has been always too feeble; for poetry; I have often turned away from making verses, and even with great aversion. Be then so kind as to excuse me; I avow that, compared with your abundance, talent like mine is poverty".

Al-Tibrizī was born in the year 421 (A. C. 1030); he died suddenly at Baghdād on Tuesday, the 27th of the latter Jumādā 502 (1st Feb., A. C. 1109), and was interred in the cemetery at the Ābriz gate. In *Bisṭām*, the letter *b* is followed by an *i*. We have already spoken of *Shaybānī* (No. 42) and of *Tibrizī* (No. 570): so, we need not repeat our observations.

\* al-'Amīd in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

## 774 IBN MUṬĪ AL-ZAWĀWĪ

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭī<sup>1</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Nūr al-Zawāwī, surnamed Zayn al-Dīn (*the ornament of religion*), was a member of the Ḥanafī sect and one of the great masters of the age as a grammarian and a philologist. He resided at Damascus for a long time and had a great number of pupils to whom his tuition was highly profitable. Some useful works were composed by him<sup>2</sup>. Having removed to Miṣr (*Old Cairo*), on the invitation of al-Malik al-Kāmil (*No. 668*), he opened a course of literature in the mosque called *al-Jāmi' al-'Atīq*, and received, for his pains, a fixed salary. He remained there till his death; he died in New Cairo, towards the end of the month of *Dhu 'l-Qa'dah*, 628 (Sept., A.C. 1231), and was buried, the next day, on the border of the *Khandaq* (*fosse*) which is in the vicinity of the imām al-Shāfi'ī's mausoleum. His tomb is still to be seen. He was born in the year 564 (A.C. 1168-9). *Zawāwī* means belonging to the *Zawāwā* (*Zoaves*), a great tribe which, with its numerous branches and subdivisions, inhabits the country outside of Bijāyah (*Bugia*), a government (*town*) in the province of Ifriqiyah.

## 775 YAḤYĀ IBN AL-MUNAJJIM

Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā was the son of 'Alī, the son of Yaḥyā, the son of Abū Maṣṣūr, surnamed *al-Munajjim* (*the astrologer*),

1 It is probably by error that this surname is here written *Ibn Abd al-Muṭī'*. In the grammar of Ibn Mālik, verse 5, and in the first verse of the author's own grammar (see Ḥājī Khalīfah's *Bibliographical Dictionary*, vol. I, p. 415), we read *Ibn Muṭī'*, and such is the appellation by which he is generally known. In the *Bibliographical Dictionary of the grammarians* by al-Suyūṭī, the surname given to him is also *Ibn Muṭī'*.

2 His grammatical treatise entitled the *Alfiyah*, because it consisted of about one thousand verses, was in great repute till outdone by the treatise of Ibn Mālik which bears the same title. The *Fuṣūl* or *aphorisms*, another of Ibn Muṭī' 's grammatical works, had a great number of commentators.

and whose real name was Abbān\* Ḥāsis, the son of Urid, the son of Kād, the son of Mihānidād Ḥāsis,† the son of Farukhdād‡ the son of Asad, the son of Mihr Ḥāsis, the son of Yezdegird (*the last of the Sasanid kings of Persia*). He commenced his career as a boon companion of al-Muwaffaq Abū Aḥmad Ṭalḥah, the son of the khalif al-Mutawakkil and the father of the khalif al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh. Al-Muwaffaq never became khalif, but acted as the lieutenant of his brother, al-Mu'tamid 'alā-Allāh, and was constantly engaged in fighting against the Qarmāṭs. As his achievements in this war are well-known and would furnish matter for a long narration, this is not a fit place for relating them. After (*the death of*) al-Muwaffaq Yaḥyā (*Ibn al-Mu'ajjim*) became the boon companion of the succeeding khalifs and, more particularly, of al-Muktafī bi-Allah, the son of al-Mu'tadid. He attained to a high rank in that prince's favour and was preferred by him to all the other courtiers and table-companions. He professed these doctrines of scholastic theology which were received by the Mu'tazalites and wrote a number of treatises on that subject. Sitzings were held by him in the presence of al-Muktafī, and many shoolmen attended them. Amongst the numerous works composed by him, we may notice, the *Bāhir* (*eminent*) containing the history of such poets as had flourished under the two dynasties (*that of the Umayyads and that of the 'Abbāsids*). It begins by an article on Bashshār Ibn Burd (*No. 110*) and ends with another on Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah (*No. 689*). His son Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā terminated this work, which had been left unfinished, and had the intention of adding to it an account of all the modern poets. He, in consequence, gave in it notices on Abū Dulāmah (*No. 228*) Wālibah Ibn al-Ḥubāb (*No. 162, note*). Yaḥyā Ibn Ziyād (*No. 403*) Muṭi' Ibn Iyās (*No. 183, note*), and Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr. Abu 'l-Ḥasan was a scholastic theologian and, as a legist, he adhered to the system of jurisprudence drawn up by Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabari (*No. 544*). The (*other*)

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamid inserts 'Ibn' between Abbān and Ḥāsis. Ed.

† Muḥṣid son of al-Ḥāsis in 'Abd al-Ḥamid. Ed.

‡ Marūḥdād in 'Abd al-Ḥamid. Ed.

works composed by him were, a history of his own family, in which he traced its origin up to the Persians, the *Ijmā'* (general agreement) treating of al-Ṭabarī's system of jurisprudence, a *Mudkhil* (or introduction) to the study of that system and a vindication of its principles, a *Kitāb al-Awqāt* (treatise) on the hours of prayer (?), etc. His father, Yaḥyā, had many curious and amusing encounters with al-Mu'taḍid such, for instance as that which Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (No. 559) gives in his *Murūj al-Dīḥab*. "Yaḥyā Ibn al-Munajjim," says he, related as follows: 'It was one day in the presence of al-Mu'taḍid, who was then in an angry mood. His *mawlā*, Badr, of whom he was very fond, came in and the *khalīf*, having distinguished him at a considerable distance, laughed aloud and asked me who was the poet that said:

"In her face is an intercessor which obliterates the wounds she inflicted on our hearts; whenever she intercedes, she is heard with deference?"

I replied: 'It was al-Ḥakam Ibn 'Amr al-Sārī<sup>1</sup>, who said so.' On this, he exclaimed: 'He has expressed the thought admirably well! let us hear the whole piece.' I, in consequence, recited to him these lines:

'O! how I suffer from a person who has driven away my sleep, so that it will return no more, and who has added fresh torments to those which afflicted my heart! The sun seems to be rising out of her shoulders, so handsome is her face; or rather, the moon is rising out of her buttoned vest. She is looked on with kindness by her lover, despite the wrongs he suffered from her (cruelty). and whatever she does is forgiven. In her face is an intercessor which obliterates the wounds she inflicted on our hearts; whenever she intercedes, she is heard with deference."

Abu 'l-Faḥ Ibn Kuṣḥājīm (No. 128, note), the celebrated poet, says, in that chapter of his work entitled *al-Mayā'id wa 'l-Muṣārid*,

<sup>1</sup> In some of the manuscripts this name is written *al-Shirī*.

[Abd al-Ḥamīd gives in the margin on the authority of *Murūj*: Al-Ḥakam Ibn Qanbarah al-Māzinū al-Baṣrī. Ed.



which treats of hunting lions with arrows, that Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim, who was the boon companion of (*the khalif*) al-Muktafī bi-Allāh, related as follows: "The Commander of the faithful, al-Muktafī bi-Allāh, was displeased with me because, when he was about returning from al-Raqqah, I set out before him and made the first stage of the journey by water. This I had been induced to do by Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad, the son of 'Abd al-Šamad (*No. 363*) who asked me go in the same boat with him. I did not think that the *khalif* would be displeased by my doing so or offended at my leaving him and staying away. When we arrived at (*the town of*) al-Daliyah, he gave orders that I should be taken back to Qarqisiyah and remain there till I had killed a lion and sent it to him. I was therefore obliged to return, and a number of the vocal musicians, who had taken the water-conveyance, were sent back with me. I then wrote to *khalif* some verses, but could not induce him to relent; so, I returned to al-Raḥabah, and there went to lodge with Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Sa'id al-Quṭrubullī. I passed the time with him in the enjoyments of life; and we had drinking parties, morning, noon and night. He was highly pleased with my society. One of our companions was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān, the grandson of (*the wazir*) Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt (*No. 669*). I then wrote from al-Raḥabah, to the wazir Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (*No. 438*) and, in my letter, I enclosed a piece of verse which I requested him to read to al-Muktafī. It runs as follows:

"Fortune would rather perish than procure us pleasure and unite us with our friends. She struck me and my brethren with an arrow which scared our souls and let them quite appealed. We were sent back when the rest of the company went forward on their way, and then our affliction was extreme. Were we told of such a misfortune as ours happening to any other, the recital would fill us with terror. We were ordered to hunt lions and, for my part, I should *think* it fortunate if the lion did not hunt us. Were we to disobey, then, you would find this (*proverb*) justified. *What people can obey if asked above their force?* Every task may be imposed on a man except that

which is impossible. Princes are always fond of jesting, but their jests are accompanied with speedy favours. The wazir neglected us, and we were ruined: a man's deserts (*even*) is serving the cause of God, are (*sometimes*) unrequited. We stretched forth our hands to Him and our hopes took refuge in His bounty. He is an intercessor whose prayer is never rejected, even when the request of the ablest intercessor is not granted. The sports of kings brings on familiarity and fructify into gifts of real value.<sup>1</sup> You, the director of the khalif's empire! render us a service and speak to him in our favour: the best of men is he who is the most obliging."

This letter was put into the government letter-bag and sent off with Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān, the dispatch bearer. When (*the wazir*) al-Qāsim received it, he did not lay it out of his hand till he went in to al-Muktafi and read to him both it and the poem. (*The khalif*) found the verses very good and gave orders that a letter should be immediately sent off, authorizing me to depart from the place where I was and to have myself provided with a conveyance, so that I might proceed to the (*khalif's*) court. In a very short time, the messenger brought me the letter and I started off. On arriving in Baghdād, I recited to al-Muktafi the following verses:

"The nights which appeared to me so short in the Karkh (*a suburb*) of Baghdād, seemed very long when I was in Qarqisiyah. Was it well done to depart and leave me there, like a pledge, me a stranger and unwell! I was the only one punished, yet I had accomplices in my fault; but patience! God is the only protector I require. If God grant that I return safe to Baghdād, before grief kills me, and, if He let me see that the khalif al-Muktafi, the descendant of the khalifs, he on whom our hopes are fixed, is still for me as he was, neither shewing me aversion nor disapprobation nor altered sentiments, then indeed, all the pains I suffered will appear light because they were inflicted with a good intention."

The khalif admired this piece and was much touched with its contents: I perceived even from his looks and tone of voice that

---

<sup>1</sup> Literally: saleable.

he pitied me". The anecdotes told of him are numerous and many of his productions are beautiful. He was born in the year 241 (A.C. 855-6), and he died on the eve of Monday, the 13th of the first Rabi', A.H. 300 (28th October, A.C. 912). We have already spoken of his father 'Alī (No. 443), of his brother Hārūn (No. 759), and of his nephew 'Alī (No. 444). I did not then trace up their genealogy, not having discovered it till I was drawing up the present article. I give it here as I found it written in the *Fihrist* (No. 273, note), of Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm, but I do not attempt fixing the orthography of the proper names, not having the means of verifying them; so I transcribe them here as I found them.

#### 776 ABŪ BAKR IBN BAQĪ

Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Baqī, a celebrated poet and a native of Cordova in Spain, was the author of the *muwāshshahāt* (*stanzas, sonnets*), which are so much admired. Al-Faṭḥ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Qaysī (No. 500), speaks of him in these terms, in his *Maṭmaḥ al-Anfus*<sup>1</sup>: "He was expert in verse and prose, firm and regular in the texture of his style<sup>2</sup>; he possessed (*great*) qualities and, by the beauties of his (*productions*), he embellished the morning (*assemblies and those of*) the evening. In the career of perfection, he sped on and reached the goal, and he built (*edifices*) of information on the most solid columns. But Fortune refused

1 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ, better known by the surname of Ibn Kḥāqān, wrote in a style so affected, so full of obscure expressions and so extravagant in its metaphors, that the reader is very often in doubt respecting the true meaning of those turgid and pompous phrases. The extracts taken by Ibn Kḥallikān from his works have not been always reproduced correctly by the copyists, who evidently understood very imperfectly what they were writing. That may be seen in comparing the text of the passage here cited with that which al-Maqqarī, in his *History of Spain*, Vol. II, p. 59 of the Arabic edition, gives of the same passage. The translation here offered is probably not always exact.

2 Literally: numerous in the knotting of his threads and in the irregularity.

him her favours. cut and severed the cord of his pasturing (*in the enjoyments of life*) she accomplished none of his projects, neither did she shed on him one drop of prosperity. She granted not to him (موغته) a just share of respect, and established him not in the fertility of a (*rich*) pasture-ground. He therefore became a rider (*a crosser*) of mountains, a traverser of deserts; never halting for a single day and never finding people with whom he had a right to be pleased. And moreover, his mistrustful imagination was not to be overcome by (*the assurance of*) safety; his mind was (*fickle and*) unstable, like the pearls of a broken necklace. (*This continued*) till Yahyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qāsim<sup>1</sup> snatched him out of that vacillation, granted to him the means of subsistence, raised him to the heaven in which he himself stationed, watered him with the stream of his bounty, furnished to him a retreat under the shelter of his (*patronage*) and prepared for him a path of comfort in which he might expatiate (*as he liked*). He (*Ibn Baqī*) lavished on him therefore (*the finest of*) his sayings, and, in return for many gifts, ennobled him in his rhymes, bestowed on him exclusively the most precious pearls (*of poetry*) and adorned his breast with the collars of brilliant *qasīdahs*". The same author speaks of him again in the *Qalā'id al-Iqyān* and says: "It was he who bore aloft the standard of poetry, who possessed the talent<sup>1</sup> of open declaration and indirect allusion; it was he who established the rules of that (*art*) and revealed its beauties; the (*expressions the most*) untractable became obedient to his will. When he drew up verses, he put to shame the row of pearls on a necklace, and produced (*a poem*) more beautiful than robes of flowered silk; and (*yet*) his evil fortune domineered (ظلم) over him, and the days of his (*existence*) never brightened up." The following piece is attributed to Abū Bakr (*Ibn Baqī*), but I do not find it given by al-Faḥ in either of the above mentioned works. It is, however, a very fine poem, one of the best composed by the author and the most generally known:

1 I can find no information respecting this Yahyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qāsim, but, from his names I am almost inclined to suppose that he descended from the Hammūdiye branch of the Idrisid family.

2 Literally: the sign, which probably means the distinguishing mark.

"Dearer to me, than the life of my father is that gazelle (*maiden*) whom my eyes saw with admiration (*as she roamed*) between al-'Udhayb and the banks of the (*river*) Bāriq. I asked her to let me gaze yet longer and thus allay the thirst of my passion, and she answered by a promise soon to be fulfilled. We passed the night in darkness under a canopy adorned with brilliant stars, and, whilst the night swept on, I handed to her a (*liquor*), dark as musk and, like it, fragrant to the smell. I held her to me (*as closely*) as the warrior grasps his sword; and her two long ringlets hung, like the sword-belt, round my neck. At length, drowsiness overcame her and I removed her (*a little*) from me whilst she clasped me in her arms. I placed her at a distance from the heart which loved her, so that she might not have under her head a palpitating pillow. When I saw the night drawing towards its end and perceived that its (*dark*) locks and the crown of its head were turning grey, I bade adieu to my beloved and said, with a sigh: 'Give me the pain of seeing you depart.'"

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Dihyah (*No. 472*) has inserted some of these verses in the work which he entitled: *al-Muṭrib min aṣḥ'ār ahl il-Maghrib* (*volume of amusement, extracted from poems composed by natives of the West*). Another of Ibn Baqī's poems is a long *qasidah* in which he praises Yahyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qāsim, the same person who has been already mentioned in this article. Here is an extract from the eulogistic part:

"There are two lights which cannot be hidden from mortals; nobleness of character and beauty of aspect. Both are united in Yahyā; so, let him renounce to the (*attempt of*) concealing that superiority which is evident to all. In every land, his praises spread a perfume which surpasses that of the penetrating vapours arising from the censer. Add to his qualities; add to his generosity; you might as well add leaves to the forest, water to the rain-cloud<sup>1</sup>. On that generous man rests the calm of gravity joined to such courage as is displayed by the lion in his den. He is like the sword which, even when hidden in the scabbard, appals the hearts of those who inhabit towns. He surpasses (*in bounty*) the dark

---

<sup>1</sup> The last hemistich, rendered literally, signifies: between the grove and the rain-cloud.

cloud, shedding its rains without interruption; he bestows as it does, but prayers are never offered up to obtain his beneficent showers. He puts to shame the copious ocean; for, in each of his hands, are five seas. I am come to obtain a share of your beneficence, which is as the pouring forth of the rains, or rather, the pure water of paradise. I saw that the countenance of prosperity, near you, was (*smiling and*) white, and therefore, to reach you, I rode across the green waters of every sea. Towards you speeded the ship which bore an able poet (البلغ شاعر); it was (*obedient*), as the camel which is guided by a halter fastened to its nose. The daughters of A'waj<sup>1</sup> were fatigued with bearing me company; so many were the solitary deserts which they had to cross".

The author of the *Qalā'id al-'Iqyān* gives the following fragment of a piece by the same author:

"O thou who, of all mankind, art the most killing in glances and the sweetest in kisses! since when are aloes and honey combined in thee? Thy cheek is like the rising sun, and, on its surface, is a rose to which wine and modest shame add fresh colours. Love for thee is, for my heart, an article of belief, and is confirmed by the letters which issue from thy cheeks and by the messengers coming from thy glances. If you know not that I have lately lost my liberty, command me what thou wilt: I shall do it and obey. Couldst thou see my heart, thou wouldst perceive therein a wound not yet healed up and inflicted by thy glances".

The Kātib 'Imād al-Dīn (*No. 678*) mentions him in the *Kharidah* and inserts there some extracts from his poems; then, at the end of the book, he speaks of him again and gives, as his, the following verses:

"In a goblet was a cool (*wine*) which (*in aspect*), resembled a cornelian sky, studded with stars. (*That liquor*) has built a *ka'bah* (*temple*) for pleasure in the *haram* (*sacred ground*) of youth and, to it, sports hasten on their pilgrimage from every side."

The poetry of Ibn Baqī offers numerous beauties. He died A.H. 540 (A.C. 1145). The word *Baqī* (بقي) takes an *a* and a double *i*.

<sup>1</sup> A'waj was the name of a horse celebrated for his good qualities and the excellence of his breed.

## 777 MU'IN AL-DĪN AL-ḤAŞKAFĪ.

Abu 'l-Faḍl Yaḥyā Ibn Salāmah Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad, surnamed Mu'in al-Dīn (*aider of the religion*) and generally known by the title of al-Khaṭīb al-Ḥaṣkafī (*the preacher of Ḥiṣn Kayfā*), is the author of a *diwān* containing poems, exhortations and epistles. Born at Ṭanzah, he was brought up at Ḥiṣn Kayfā, whence he removed to Baghdād. In that city, he studied literature under the Khaṭīb Abū Zakariyā al-Tibrizī (*No. 773*) and, by the solid information which he thus acquired, he rose to distinction. He studied also, with success, the Shāfi'ite system of Jurisprudence. Having left Baghdād with the intention of returning to his native place, he stopped al-Mayyāfāriqīn, where he fixed his residence and filled the office of a *khaṭīb*. He acted also as a *muftī* (*expounder of the law*) and gave public lessons which were highly profitable to those who attended them. The Kātib 'Imād al-Dīn (*No. 678*) mentions him in the *Kharīdah* and says: "In science, the most learned man of the time; in talent for poetry and prose, the Ma'arrī (*No. 46*) of the epoch; his were the elegant assonances and the admirable paranomasias, the parallelisms and (*their*) exactitude, the style firm and delicate, the thoughts simple and profound, the perfect *taqṣīm* (*the expression of different ideas in the same verse*) and the talent (*of which the renown was*) widely spread and lasting." The same writer then says, after making a long eulogium of the poet and enumerating his merits: "I wished to meet with him, and flattered myself, that, on my arrival at Moṣul, I should see him; for I was ardently desirous of instruction and most assiduous in frequenting men of talent, for the purpose of augmenting my acquirements. But the length of the journey and my inability of supporting fatigue were obstacles which prevented our meeting." He then gives a number of passages extracted from the poems of this author and, amongst them, the following:

"I passed the evening in reprimanding a dissolute fellow, but he took my reproaches as a jest: 'Wine,' said I, 'is a bad thing.' He replied: 'God preserve it from turning bad!'—'It brings on obscene discourse,' said I. 'The pleasure of life is in such discourse,' said he. 'It excites vomition,' said I. 'I honour it,' said he, 'too well to discharge it by the ordinary passage; but,

after all, I shall give it up.' 'When ?' said I. 'When I am laid in the tomb.' "

I may here observe that the *Khaṭīb* borrowed the expression : *discharging by the ordinary passage*, from another poet with whose name I am unacquainted, but who composed the following (*fine*) verses which are currently known :

"A censor reproached me for loving wine, and I answered : 'I shall drink it whilst I live and even in my grave. Arise ! pour me out a liquor, red, clear and and pure ; though it is forbidden, I care not. Casuists declare that it is lawful when boiled down ; but I have in my stomach a fire which will reduce it to one third'. If they ask me why I cast it up, my answer is : 'I respect it too much to discharge it by the ordinary passage'."

'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣbahānī adds : "A person of merit recited to me, at Baghdād, some verses similar to the five\* which are so currently known. They are much admired for their natural turn and the art with which they are composed. Here they are :

"I complain to God of two fires (*which consume me*) ; one proceeding from the cheeks of my beloved, and the other lighted up by her in my heart. (*I complain*) of two maladies ; one which her glances have excited in my blood, the other which is settled in my body. (*I complain*) of two delators ; one is my tears which, when I think of her, betray my secret ; the other, the spy who always watches over her. (*I complain*) of a double weakness ; one is that of my patience, when I think of her and of my love ; the other, that of people who think her obedient to my will. She is so thin and slender that I exclaim, in admiration : Is that her waist or my little finger ? is that her skin or my own ?"

One of his good pieces is that in which he satirizes a vocal musician and which we here give :

"A musician whose singing reduced him from riches to poverty ; such a one I met with in an assembly of persons whom I liked to have for companions. When I saw him, my talent in my physiognomy did not deceive me, and I said : 'what is that ? can such a

\* The Ḥanafite doctors declared that the juice of the grape, boiled down to one third of its primitive volume, was a lawful drink.

\* *السيارات* meaning planets.—Ed.



countenance ever become pleasing?' To remain no longer in doubt respecting him, I spoke from amidst the company, saying: 'Come, my man! sing us the air of: *O for the days passed at Sal'a<sup>1</sup>, the days passed at Sal'a are not to be despised.*' On this; he raised up one of his eyebrows, lowered the other, and emitted from his mouth a fetid gale which filled the room and which, whilst he marked the measure, was, for every soul of us, a cause of annoyance. When he began to speak (*sing*), a person who was listening in a dark corner of the hall (الغنا) said: 'He is not satisfied with modulating and confounding (*notes*), but must also sing false! There he is for you! will he never have done calling his servant *scoundrel* and drawing near to us?'<sup>2</sup> He pretends to scan (*to accent well the words of*) the air and only gets more embroiled!' His intonation was a cry frightful beyond the bounds of description<sup>3</sup>; he who had sent for him did not foresee the annoyance which the fellow would give to the company. Some of the assembly stopped their noses; others, their ears, and the rest covered their eyes, to avoid seeing him. I was so provoked that I could not refrain from expressing my indignation, and exclaimed: 'Listen sirs! I or the singer must be heard! Now I declare that I shall not sit down unless this man be sent away! drag the dog out by the heels! he is (*for us*) a cause of sickness and malady!' They answered: "You have pitied our sufferings and delivered (ذبت\*) from torture. Thus in sending him out, I secured my own tranquillity and obtained the thanks (*of the company*). When his face was turned from us, I recited this prayer at the head of the assembly: 'Praise be to God who has delivered us from affliction.'"<sup>†</sup>

---

1 According to the author of the *Marāṣid*, Sal'a was the name of a place in the neighbourhood of Madinah.

2 The text is here corrupt, the manuscripts offering a number of various readings. The translation is probably not exact.

3 The right reading appears to be النبا

\* برلت in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

† Abd al-Ḥamīd adds:

Despite of numerous compositions on the subject, I never came across such a piece:

Al-~~kh~~ṭīb, mentioned above, expresses the same idea:

(Continued on page 295)

In our article on the *Shaykh al-Shāṭibī* (No. 512) we have given a piece of his, forming an enigma the word of which is *bier*. The idea of it is very good. Most of al-Ḥaskafī's poetry is remarkable for this kind of wit and for the neat manner in which the thoughts are expressed. He was attached to the *Shī'ite* doctrines, as may be easily perceived in his poems. In the town of Āmid, were two youths who had a great fondness for each other and were always together<sup>1</sup>. One of them rode out to the country, set off at a gallop, the horse fell and he was killed. The other immediately sat down to drink wine, was choked by the liquor and died the same day. A literary man spoke of their fate in the following lines :

"They shared between themselves the clear draught of life and the troubled draught of death. We never before saw two equal partakers in the same destiny. They continued in mutual love till the last moment of their existence, and seldom does fidelity in love last till the hour of death."

When the *Khatīb (al-Ḥaskafī)* heard these lines, he said : "The poet did not work out the idea, not having mentioned the cause of their death ; but I did so in a piece composed on the same occurrence and said :

"(*I should have given*) my life to save the two brothers who lived in Āmid and who received the stroke (*of death*) on a day unlucky and frowning (*'abūs*). One was killed by a horse and the other by wine (*khandarīs*)".

Had he said ; "One was killed by a horse (*sāfināt*) and the other by liquor (*sāfiyāt*)" it would have been much better, on account of the assonance. The poet (*adopted this correction and,*

---

(Continued from page 294)

"He, who forces people to hear him sing, is veiled from the houses of the people and is denied admittance.

He sang then twinkled his eyes and shook his beard, then we said : The youth was undoubtedly epileptic,

He scanned the verse in a way that the most of us liked the tongue in his mouth had been cut off.

No allegation of people was brought against him but he was sent away slapped".—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> This passage, in parenthesis, is omitted in most manuscripts.

to preserve the rhyme), altered the first verse somewhat in this manner :

My life etc..... who received the stroke of death on a day severe in its evils (*adhāt*)."

I since found the two first mentioned verses in the *Kitāb al-Jinān*\*, a work composed by al-Qāḍī al-Raṣhīd Ibn al-Zubayr (No. 64), who there attributes them to the eminent legist and teacher of the *Qur'ān*-readings, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥuṣayrī Ibn Aḥmad al-Mu'allim; but I met with the account above given in the handwriting of a contemporary<sup>1</sup>. The *Khaṭīb al-Ḥaṣkafī* left some fine moral exhortations and some choice epistles. He continued to hold a high rank (in public estimation) and to teach up to the day of his death. This occurred A.H. 551 (A.C. 1156-7), or in 553, according to another statement. He was born in or towards the year 460 (A.C. 1067-8) *Ḥiṣkafī* means belonging to *Ḥiṣn Kayfā*, a strong and lofty castle situated between Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar and Mayyāfāriqīn. Had this adjective been formed regularly, it would have been *al-Ḥiṣnī*, which term is even sometimes employed; but, when a relative adjective is formed from two nouns one of which governs the other in the genitive, the two are (generally) combined together so as to make one word and from that word the relative is derived, and so it was in the present case. It is thus that from *Rās Ayn* has been formed *Rās'anī*; from 'Abd Allāh, 'Abdalī, from 'Abd *Shams*, 'Abshamī, and from 'Abd al-Dār, 'Abdarī; the same rule applies to all other names of a similar kind. *Ṭanzah* (طنزه) is the name of village in Diyār Bakr, situated higher up than Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar. It has produced some eminent traditionist and other learned men, all of whom bore the surname of *al-Ṭanzī*. The *Kātib* 'Imād al-Dīn says, in the *Kharīdah*: "From this village came Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṭanzī, the same who composed these verses :

"I still love the land of Ṭanzah, though my townsmen, since I left them, deceived my expectations. May God bless that land! could I again see its soil, I should take it as a collyrium for my eyes, so dearly do I love it."

<sup>1</sup> According to another reading : of a Maḥḥarībīn.

\* Al-Lisān in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, - Ed.

The same author adds: "This poet was still alive in the month of Ramaḍān, 568 (April-May, A.C. 1173).

### 778 YAḤYĀ IBN TAMĪM AL-ŠANHĀJĪ.

Abū Ṭāhir Yaḥyā Ibn Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs al-Ḥimyarī al-Šanhājī (*No. 123*), was a sovereign of Ifrīqiyah and the neighbouring countries. We have already spoken of his father (*No. 123*) and traced up their genealogy; some of his ancestors also have been mentioned in this work. He was appointed to act as his father's lietutenant at al-Mahdiyyah, on Friday, the 25th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 497 (19 September, A.C. 1104), at the moment in which the seventh degree of Capricorn was the ascendant. On the day of his father's death, when the supreme authority devolved on him, he was aged forty-three years, six months and twenty days. He then rode out (*in state*), according to custom, with all the officers of the empire around him, and, on returning to the palace, he gave to every person connected with government, such as the courtiers and the (*chiefs of the*) troops, magnificent robes of honour to replace the (*mourning*) dresses which they had put on in consequence of the death of Tamīm. He distributed also to the soldiers (*jund*) and (*armed*) Negro slaves large sums of money, and made them most flattering promises. In the *Kitāb al-Jam'u wa 'l-Bayān* (*collection and exposition*) a work treating of the history of Qayrawān and composed by 'Izz al-Dīn (*the glory of religion*) 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Shaddād Ibn Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, who was the son of Yaḥyā's brother, I found the following passage: "The amīr Tamīm, a very short time before his death, sent for his son Yaḥyā, who was then in the government palace (*dār al-Imārāh*) with his officers and companions. Yaḥyā entered with them all, and they found Tamīm in the treasury room. He told them to sit down and said to one of the company: 'Arise! go into that closet and look for a book of such and such an appearance, it is in such and such a place; go and bring it here.' The man went and brought the book which, on examination, proved to be a

collection of predictions relative to the fate of empires<sup>1</sup>, 'That is it,' said he, 'count off from the beginning so many leaves and read the page to which you come'. There, the following words were found written: *The king against whom treason shall be wrought (al-malik al-maghdūr) will be of a lofty stature, have a mole on the right thigh and a black spot on the left side.* The amīr Tamīm then told him to shut the book and put it back into its place. When that was done, he said: 'Two of those marks I have already seen, but the third remains to be discovered. Rise up, you, *Sharīf*! and you, such a one, and procure me certain information respecting the third.' They rose up and went with Yaḥyā into a place where they could not be seen by Tamīm. Yaḥyā then uncovered his body and showed them, on his left side, a spot shaped like a crescent. They returned to Tamīm and informed him of the circumstance, on which he said: It is not I but God that has given him (*the power*)! He then spoke to them in these terms: 'I shall relate to you an extraordinary occurrence; a slave-merchant offered me for sale the girl who became that man's (*Yaḥyā's*) mother. I found her handsome and, my mind being inclined towards her, I purchased her and placed her in the hands of the attendants of the palace. I then told the merchant to come to me another time for payment, and I began to consider where I could find money pure (*in the sight of God*) and acquired by lawful means, with which I might pay the price. Whilst I was reflecting on the matter, I heard al-Sāmikī<sup>2</sup> calling out in a loud voice and requesting permission to speak with me. I passed my head out of the window and asked him what he wanted. He replied: 'I was just this moment digging in the (*ruined*) palace of al-Mahdī and found there a trunk closed with a padlock; so I left it as it was and am come to inform you of the fact.' I sent with him a person in whom I could confide, and they found in the trunk a quantity of robes embroidered with gold fringes and rotten with age. I ordered the fringes to be melted down and thus obtained neither more nor less than the price of the young girl.' The

1 In Arabic, *Maḥamah*. See my translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, vol. II, p. 226.

2 I suppose that the word السامكى \* is a proper name.

\* السائل (*beggar*) in 'Abd al-Hamīd.—Ed.

persons present were filled with admiration on hearing this recital and invoked on Tamīm the favour of God. Money and robes were then distributed to them by his orders; after which, they retired." 'Abd al-'Azīz the historian just mentioned, says also: "As to the book of which we have spoken, I met with it since, in the possession of the sulṭān al-Ḥasan, now deceased." He meant al-Ḥasan the son of 'Alī and the grandson of Yaḥyā. He then gives, from that book, a number of predicitons which received their accomplishment. Let us return to our account of Yaḥyā: Once seated on the throne, he took the direction of the affairs, governed his subjects with justice and reduced a number of fortresses which his father had been unable to take. 'Abd al-'Azīz says, in his History: "Under his reign," that is, the reign of Yaḥyā, "the Mahdī Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart (*No. 662*) arrived from Tripoli at al-Mahdiyyah, on his return from the pilgrimage. He stopped at a mosque situated to the south of the Maṣjid al-Sabt (*the mosque of Saturday*) and there a number of people from al-Mahdiyyah gathered round him for the purpose of studying, under his direction, some works treating of the fundamentals of the faith. He then took on himself the task of putting a stop to the many scandalous acts which were publicly committed and Yaḥyā, to whom his conduct was reported, assembled a number of the legists and had him brought before them. The humble appearance of Ibn Tūmart, his squalid dress and his profound learning made such an impression on the Amīr that he asked the man for his blessing. The other replied: 'May God prosper thee for the welfare of thy subjects and render their happiness profitable to thy offspring.'" Ibn Tūmart remained but a short time at al-Mahdiyyah and then went to al-Munastīr where he stopped for a while, and, from that, he proceeded to Bugia." In the life of Tamīm the father of Yaḥyā, we mentioned that Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart passed at Bugia (Bijāyah) whilst that prince was reigning; God knows if that be true! Farther on, 'Abd al-'Azīz says: "In the year 506 (A.C. 1113-4), some strangers arrived at al-Mahdiyyah and asked for an interview with Yaḥyā, pretending that they were practitioners of the great art (*aichemy*) and that they had attained the end for which that art was instituted. He allowed them to enter and, when they appeared before him, he asked to see a

specimen of their talent. To this they replied: 'We can deprive tin of its dimness and its particular sound, so that it is not to be distinguished from silver. Your Lordship has saddles, swords, standards, tents and vases worth many quintals of silver, in place of these we shall give you as much as you wish, as much as you can employ in the important affairs which engage your attention<sup>1</sup>; but you must allow us to operate (*before you*) in private.' To this he consented and admitted them to a place where they might work in his presence. The amīr had no person with him except the *Sharīf* Abu 'l-Ḥaṣan 'Alī and the general Ibrāhīm, commander of the cavalry<sup>2</sup>. The operators, who were also three in number, had agreed upon a private signal; and as soon as they found a fair opportunity, one of them called out: *Dārāt al-būṭaqaḥ* (*the crucible is upset!*) Each of them then sprung forward, with a dagger in his hand, and rushed upon the person opposite to him. The amīr was sitting on a sofa; he who attacked him exclaimed: 'I am a saddler, and struck him on the top of the head. The blow cut through some folds of the turban but inflicted no wound. A second stroke, directed by an unsteady hand against his breast, merely scratched the skin. The amīr then struck the assassin with his foot and threw him on his back. The servants, hearing the noise, opened the door which gave on the room in which they were, and Yaḥyā, having gone in to them, bolted that door against his assailants. He who attacked the *Sharīf* did not leave off till he killed him. The *Qā'id* Ibrāhīm, having drawn his sword continued to fight against the three till the guards broke in the door which was at their side, entered into the room and slew the assassins. As they wore the Spanish (*Muslim*) dress, a number of persons thus attired were massacred in the city. The amīr Yaḥyā went out immediately and walked through the streets till the tumult was calmed." Yaḥyā governed with justice, he was particularly watchful over the interests of his people and knew exactly what were the receipts and the expenditure of the administration; following thus the line of conduct which is marked out

---

1 وتستعمل ذلك في مهماتك, is the reading of the manuscripts and is here followed.

2 Literally: (*qā'id al-A'lunah* (*leader of the bridles*).

by an intelligent mind and a sound judgement. In the books of the predictions he is designated by the title of *al-Maghlidūr*, and how justly it was applied to him is demonstrated by the occurrence of which mention has been just made. He was well acquainted with history and biography, having read many books treating of these matters; he was a protector of the weak, kind and charitable to the poor, whom he always provided with food in times of distress; he admitted into his familiarity the men of learning and of merit, and kept in such order the (*nomadic*) Arabs who inhabited his territories, that they stood in awe of him and abstained from giving career to their avidity. He was well-skilled in the practice of astrology and the art of drawing judgements from the stars. His countenance was handsome; over one of his eyebrows was a black spot; his eyes were dark blue, his stature somewhat lofty and his legs thin. He had always at his court a number of poets, who went there to sing his praises and immortalize his renown in their *diwāns*. One of them was Abu 'l-Šalt Umayyah Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Abi 'l-Šalt, the same of whom we have already spoken (*No. 101*). This poet obtained Yaḥyā's protection after having travelled over many countries and been tossed by fortune from one place to another. He is the author of well-known epistle which treats of Egypt, its wonders, its poets, etc., and he composed a great number of fine eulogiums on Yaḥyā, on Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of Yaḥyā and on al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, his grandson. Here is an extract from one of these poems:

"Restrain your mind from every passion except that of bestowing, and that of fighting, true glory is composed of bravery joined to liberality. Such is the conduct of Yayḥā whose gifts revived our expiring hopes, by the fulfilment of his promises. He bestows a whole flock of camels at a time, camels slender-limbed and smooth, or horses sleek and strong, full grown and robust. His are the lofty mind and the eye proudly glancing; his the tents pitched on a mountain (*of glory*) on the keystone of the vault in which culminate the Pleiades. When he appears seated (*in state*) on the imperial throne, you have before your eyes a Joseph (*in beauty*) stationing in the sanctuary erected by David. The race from which he sprung wore, for their usual clothing, coats of plated mail, and had for dwelling-place the



backs of well trained steeds, obedient to the rein. (*They were*) envied because they had none to equal them ; and where shall we find a great man who is not exposed to envy ! One common origin unites you all, but every sort of wood does not give out the perfume of the *lignum aloes*. I say to the rider who hurries on his camel, traversing the earth, from one desert to another : 'Pass not by a source of which the waters are pure ; expect not, from the solid rock, a spring to quench your thirst. Here are the fountains of Yaḥyā which never run dry ; this is the way which leads to them ; it is always open. Let your sword decide your claims : the decision of the sword is not to be rejected<sup>1</sup>.' "

He composed other poems besides those. Yaḥyā died on Wednesday, the festival of the Sacrifice, A.H. 509 (25th April, A.C. 1116). His astrologer said to him (*that*) day : "The casting of your nativity to-day announces for you evil fortune ; so, do not ride out". Yaḥyā followed his advice, and his sons proceeded (*without him*) to the Muṣallā (*No. 262, note*), accompanied by the great officers of the empire. When the prayer was over, they all entered into the presence of the sovereign for the purpose of offering him their salutations, according to the established custom. Chanters, then recited passages of the *Qur'ān* and poets repeated their verses ; after which, the company proceeded to the great saloon and partook of a repast. Yaḥyā stood up with the intention of going there but, on reaching the door, he made a sign to one of his slave-girls, and leant upon her for support ; he had then scarcely made three steps into the room when he fell down dead. His son 'Alī, whom he had appointed to act as his lieutenant at Sfax, a small town in Ifrīqiya was sent for and, on his arrival, received (*from the people*) the oath of fidelity. Yaḥyā was buried in the palace (or *citadel*, Qaṣr), according to custom ; but, a year after, his remains were transported to Qaṣr al-Sīdah ; one of the castles within the walls of al-Munastīr. This town is also in Ifrīqiya. He left thirty male children. His son and lieutenant, 'Alī (*Ibn Yaḥyā*) was born at al-Mahdiyyah on Sunday morning, the 15th of Ṣafar, 479 (1st June, A.C. 1086).

---

1 This last verse has no connexion with those which precede and must be out of its place.

On the death of his father, who had given him the government of Sfax, the principal officers of the empire assembled and drew up a dispatch in his father's name, ordering him to come to him in all haste. He received this message at night and set out immediately, escorted by some of the chiefs who commanded the (*nomadic*) Arabs. He travelled with the utmost diligence and arrived on the noon of Thursday, the day after the festival of the Sacrifice. The first thing he did was to hasten the internment of his father and to say over him the funeral prayer. Yaḥyā was buried on Friday morning, the 13th of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah. The new sovereign then held a sitting for the reception of the people; and they all entered and saluted him with the title of amir (*imārah*). He then rode out at the head of his troops and bands, after which, he returned to the palace. It was under his reign that his brother Abu 'l-Futūḥ, the son of Yaḥyā went to Egypt, taking with him his wife Bullārah who was the daughter of al-Qāsim (*Ibn Tamīm*), and his son al-'Abbās, who was then a child at the breast. On his arrival at Alexandria, he was lodged in a palace and treated with great honour, by the order of al-'Āmir, who, at that time, was the sovereign of Egypt. He died in that city after a very short residence, and Bullārah married al-'Ādil Ibn al-Sallār, whose true name was 'Alī and of whom we have spoken in this work (*No. 460*). When al-'Abbās grew up, he was gradually advanced in dignity by al-Ḥāfiẓ, the sovereign of Egypt, and succeeded to al-'Ādil as Wazīr. Our professor Ibn al-Aṭhīr (*No. 435*) has an article in his history, under the head of *various events of the year 502*, in which he speaks of the three men who went to Yaḥyā under the pretext of conversing with him on alchemy. According to him, they attacked Yaḥyā, that year, and then occurred what we have related. This event coincided with the coming of Abu 'l-Futūḥ and his companions fully armed, to the door of the palace; but they were refused admission. "Yaḥyā" says Ibn al-Aṭhīr, was therefore convinced that they were all in the plot, and ordered Abu 'l-Futūḥ to be sent with his wife Bullārah to Qaṣr Ziyād (a *fortress situated between al-Mahdiyyah and Sfax*), and there kept in confinement. Bullārah was his (*Abu 'l-Futūḥ's*) cousin. On the death of Yaḥyā, his son and successor ('*Alī*') dispatched them by sea to Egypt, and they landed at Alexandria." End of the extract.

Things continued to go on prosperously till the death of 'Alī, who expired on Tuesday, the 22nd of the latter Rabi', 515 (10th July, A.C. 1121). He was buried in the *Qaṣr*. Before dying, he designated his son Abū Yaḥyā al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā as his successor in the supreme authority. Al-Ḥasan was born in the town of Ṣūṣah and in the month of Rajab, 502 (February, A.C. 1109). On the day of his accession, he had attained the age of twelve years and nine months. The day after his father's death, he appeared in public and, having received the salutations and good wishes of the people, he rode out in the midst of his troops. The events which occurred during his reign are too numerous to be related and we shall only notice one of them. Roger the Frank, sovereign of Sicily, took Tripoli of Africa, by assault, on Tuesday, the 6th of Muḥarram, 541 (18th of June, A.C. 1146), massacred all the (*male*) inhabitants, reduced to slavery the women and children, and seized on all their wealth. He then began to repeople it and filled with men and military stores. On Monday, the 12th of Ṣafar, 543 (1st of July, A.C. 1148), he occupied al-Mahdiyyah, which had been evacuated by al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī. This prince, feeling his inability to resist an attack, had departed from the city, carrying off with him whatever objects of value could be easily transported. All the inhabitants fled with the exception of such as were too feeble to depart. The Franks took possession of the city and found there an immense quantity of money and treasure. This family produced nine kings; the first Ziri Ibn Manād (*No. 234*), and the last, al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, with whom fell the dynasty of the Bādisids, which had subsisted two hundred and sixty-eight\* years. Al-Ḥasan retired to al-Malga, a strong castle in the neighbourhood of Tunis (*and near Carthage*), which was then held by Abū Maḥfūz Maḥriz Ibn Ziyād, one of the Arab chiefs<sup>1</sup>. He underwent there such vexation and annoyance from Maḥriz that he did not make a long stay and resolved on going to Egypt and putting himself

1 For a fuller account of these events and of the persons here named, see the second volume of my translation of the *History of the Berbers*, by Ibn Khaldūn.

\* One hundred and eight years in 'Abd al-Hamid. Both the statements are wrong. The actual duration was 208 years (A.H. 334 to A.H. 543).—Ed.

under the protection of al-Ḥāfiẓ, the Fātimid sovereign of that country. When the officer whom Roger had left in al-Mahdiyyah as his lieutenant heard of al-Ḥasan's intention, he sent spies to watch his proceedings and fitted out twenty galleys for the purpose of seizing him if he retired by sea. Al-Ḥasan, being informed of this, gave up his project and resolved on going to 'Abd al-Mūmin Ibn 'Alī (No. 383), in the city of Morocco. He therefore sent three of his sons to Bugia, a city lying at the extreme limit of Ifriqiyah, with directions to ask from (Yahyā Ibn 'Azīz) the sovereign of that city, the permission to set out from thence for Morocco. This prince, fearing that, if al-Ḥasan reached 'Abd al-Mūmin, they would both concert some plan detrimental to himself, dissimulated his real intentions and sent back the messengers with a letter filled with a profusion of fair promises and containing these words: "There is no necessity for your going to 'Abd al-Mūmin; I shall do for you every thing you can desire." Al-Ḥasan set out, in consequence, for Bugia; but, on arriving near that city, he found that the sovereign, instead of coming out to meet him, had given orders to transport him to Algiers, a town situated beyond Bugia. Al-Ḥasan was taken to Algiers and lodged in a place by no means suitable to a person of his rank. The daily allowance of provisions assigned to him was quite insufficient for the number of his followers, and he was prevented from going about. It was in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 544 (May-June, A.C. 1149) that he arrived in Algiers. In the year 547, 'Abd al-Mūmin took Bugia, and the sovereign of that city fled to Constantine.<sup>1</sup> Roger, the sovereign of Sicily, died in the first third of the month of Dhū 'l-Hijjah, 548 (February, A.C. 1154), and had for successor his son William I.<sup>2</sup> It was to the prince (William II) that Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn Qalāqīs, the poet of whom we have spoken (No. 735), went to recite laudatory verses. This was in the year 563 (A.C. 1167-68). On

1 Ibn Khallikān has written, by mistake, *al-Qusṭanṭīniyah* (Constantinople) instead of *Qusanṭīna* (Constantine). See the *Historie des Berbers*, t. II, p. 58.

2 In the Arabic text this name is written غنيم (Ghinīm). The same name is written غليلم (Ghulielm) in the inscription traced on the parapet of the Old Norman palace called La Cuba, near Palermo. See Mr. Amari's article in the *Revue archéologique* of 1849, p. 669.

the death of William, the authority passed to his daughter, who became the mother of the emperor of Germany (*al-anbirūr malik al-Lāmāniyah*), the same who is still living. When she died, her son, who was then a child, obtained the supreme power. He has reigned a long time, is clever and intelligent, and keeps up a regular intercourse by letters and otherwise with al-Malik al-Kāmil (No. 668), the sovereign of Egypt. God knows how far these indications may be true! 'Abd al-Mūmin arrived before al-Mahdiyyah (*which was then in the hands of the Franks*) and took it after a most obstinate resistance. He made his entry into the city on the festival day of 'Āshurah, A.H. 555 (21 January, A.C. 1160) and established there a lieutenant.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī (*whom he had found at Algiers*) accompanied him in this expedition and, being well acquainted with the resources of the country, was now left with that lieutenant for the purpose of assisting him in the direction of affairs. Two farms in the neighbourhood of the city were assigned to him for his support, and a house was given to him in which he might reside with his sons and followers. I have not been able to discover the date of his death.<sup>2</sup> Maḥriz Ibn Ziyād, the chief above mentioned, was killed at the combat of Satif,<sup>3</sup> on a Thursday, in the second third of the latter Rabi', A.H. 555 (April, A.C. 1160).<sup>4</sup> It was for this al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī that Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umayyah Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz composed the work entitled *al-Ḥadīqah* (No. 101).

## 779 YAḤYĀ THE BARMAKID

Abu 'Alī\* Yaḥyā, the Wazīr of Hārūn al-Raṣhid, was the son of Khālīd and the grandson of Barmak. We have already

1 See *Histoire des Brebers*, t. II, p. 589.

2 Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī died, A. H. 563 (A. C. 1167-68).

3 The combat of Satif, in which the Almohades, commanded by 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Abd al-Mūmin, defeated the Arabs of Ifriqiyah, took place in the year 546 (A.C. 1151-2). (*Histoire des Berbers*, t. II, p. 190).

4 According to the author of the same work, t. II, p. 194, Maḥriz was killed at the battle of Qayrawān, A.H. 556 (A.C. 1161).

\* Abu al-Faḍl in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.—Ed.

spoken of his sons, Ja'far, (*No. 129*) and al-Faql (*No. 502*). Their ancestor Barmak was a Magian of Bal<sup>kh</sup> and the servant (*officialating minister*) of the Nawbahār, a place of worship which the Magians had in that citiy. It was he who lighted therein the (*sacred*) fires. Barmak and his sons were generally designated as the *sādins* (or *guardians*) of that temple. He was a man of great authority among those of his religion. I do not know whether he became a Muslim or not. His son Khālīd rose to power under the 'Abbāsids and succeeded to Abū Salāma. Ḥafṣ al-Khallāl (*No. 194*) as Wazīr to Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Safaḥ. We have spoken of him in the article on Ja'far and mentioned there the date of his death. Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mas'ūdī says, in his *Murūj al-Dhahab*: "The height to which Khālīd Ibn Barmak attained in prudence, bravery, learning, generosity, and other noble qualities was never reached by any of his sons: Yaḥyā did not equal him in judgement and intelligence, nor al-Faql, the son of Yaḥyā, in liberality and disinterestedness, nor Ja'far, the son of Yaḥyā, in epistolary writing and elegance of language, nor Muḥammad, the son of Yaḥyā, in nobleness and elevation of mind, nor Mūsā, the son of Yaḥyā, in bravery and energy. When Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī (*No. 347*) sent Qaḥṭabah Ibn Shabīb al-Tā'ī against Yazīd Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah al-Fazārī, who was governing two 'Irāqs in the name of the (*Umayyad Khalif*) Marwān Ibn Muḥammad, Khālīd was one of those who accompanied him. They halted, on the way, at a village and, whilst they were breakfasting on the terrace of one of the houses, they saw several flocks of gazelles and other wild animals coming from the desert and approaching so near that they got (*into the camp*) among the soldiers. 'Amīr!' said Khālīd, 'order the men to saddle and bridle!' Qaḥṭabah stood up in amazement and, seeing nothing to alarm him, said: 'What do you mean, Khālīd! by this advice?' The other replied: The enemy are in march against you; do you not see that, if these flocks of wild animals draw so near to us, they must be flying before a numerous body of men? The troops were scarcely on horseback when the dust (*raised by the approaching army*) was perfectly visible. Had it not been for Khālīd, they would all have perished." As for Yaḥyā, he was perfect in talent, judgment and noble qualities.

Al-Mahdi, the son of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, placed his child, Hārūn al-Rashīd, under his care and confided to him the boy's education. When Hārūn became khalif, he acknowledged his obligations to Yaḥyā and said to him: "My dear father! it is through the blessings and the good fortune which attend you and through your excellent management that I am now seated on this throne; so, I confide to you the direction of affairs." He then handed to him his signet-ring. Allusion to this is made in the following lines, composed by al-Mawṣilī, a poet whom I suppose to be the same person as Ibrāhīm al-Nadīm (*No. 9*) or else his son, Iṣḥāq (*No. 84*):

"Did you not see that the light of the sun, once languishing (*and dim*), brightened up on the accession of Hārūn? (*That happened*) through the good fortune which attends God's trusty servant, Hārūn the beneficent; Hārūn is now chief of the state and Yaḥyā is his wazīr."

Al-Rashīd had so deep a respect for Yaḥyā, that, in speaking of him, he always called him *my father*, and authorised him to take the initiative in every affair and bring it to a conclusion. This lasted till he overthrew the Barmakids. Being then irritated against Yaḥyā, he imprisoned him for life and put to death his son Ja'far, as we have already related. Yaḥyā was highly distinguished for wisdom, nobleness of mind and elegance of language. One of his sayings was; "Three things indicate the degree of intelligence possessed by him who does them: the bestowing of gifts, the drawing up of letters and the acting as ambassadors." He used to say to his sons: "Write down the best things which you hear; learn by heart the best things which you write down; and, in speaking, utter the best things which you have learned by heart." He said also: "This life is a series of vicissitudes, and wealth is (*given to us as*) only a loan; let us follow the models (*of virtue*) offered by our predecessors and leave a good example to those who come after us." Al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān (*No. 505*) states that he heard Yaḥyā Ibn Khālīd say: "As for the man to whom I have done no good, I have always before me the choice (*of doing so or not*), and as for him to whom I have done good, I am engaged to serve him (*for the future*)."

The Qāḍī Yaḥyā

Ibn Akṭham (No. 766) related as follows : "I heard al-Māmūn say : 'Yaḥyā Ibn Khālīd and his sons had none (*to equal them*) in ability, in elegance of language, in liberality and in bravery ; it was well said by a poet that :

'The sons of Yaḥyā are four in number, like the elements ; when put to the test, they are found to be the elements of (*which*) beneficence (*is formed*)'

I said to him : 'Commander of the faithful ! their ability, their elegance of language and their liberality we all acknowledge ; but in which of them was courage ?' He replied : 'In Mūsā, the son of Yaḥyā ; I had even the intention of establishing him as governor in the frontier province of Sind.' " Ishāq al-Mawṣillī, the son of Ibrāhīm al-Nadīm, states that his father made to him the following relation ; "I went to Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd Ibn Barmak, and complained to him of a (*pecuniary*) embarrassment. He answered : 'Alas ! what can I do for you ? I have nothing at the present moment. However, I shall point out to you a thing which I hope you will be the man to execute : The agent of the governor of Egypt came to see me and requested me to ask a gift from his master for myself. I refused, but he still insists. Now, I am told that such a one, your slave girl, cost you three thousand (*dinārs*) ; so here is what I may do ; I shall ask him to make me a present of that girl and tell him that she pleases me very much ; but do not you consent to sell her for less than thirty thousand *dinārs*. You will then see what will happen.' Well, by Allāh ! I had scarcely time to look about me when in came the agent. He asked me how much I would take for the girl ; I replied that I would not dispose of her for less than thirty thousand *dinārs* ; he continued bargaining with me and finished by offering twenty thousand. When I heard this sum mentioned, I had not the heart to refuse it and I sold her. Having received the money, I went to see Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd. He asked me what I had done in the sale of the girl, and I replied : 'By Allāh ! I could not refrain from accepting twenty thousand *dinārs*, as soon as I heard the offer.' He answered : 'That was mean-spirited on your part ; but the agent of the governor of Persia has come to me on a similar mission ; so, here is your girl ; take her



back and do not sell her for less than fifty thousand *dīnārs* when he goes to bargain with you for her. He will certainly give you that price. This man came to me, and I asked fifty thousand *dīnārs*. He began to bargain and, when he offered me thirty thousand, I had not the heart to refuse that sum and could scarcely believe my ears. I accepted this offer and then went to Yahya, the son of *Khālid*. 'For how much did you sell the girl?' said he. I told him, and he exclaimed: 'You unfortunate fellow! was your first (*fault*) not sufficient to prevent you from committing a second?' I replied: 'My heart was too weak to refuse a sum for which I could have never hoped. 'Here' said Yahyā, 'is your girl; take her and keep her!' I replied: 'I have gained by her fifty thousand *dīnārs* and am again become her owner. Bear witness that I declare her free and that I promise to marry her.' It is thus I found the anecdote related, but I since met with the history of the *wazīrs* composed by al-Jihshyārī (*No. 359, note*), and there I read that Ibrahim al-Mawṣilī was told by Yahyā not to accept less than one hundred thousand *dīnārs* and that he sold her for fifty thousand, and that, the second time, he was told not to accept less than fifty thousand and that he sold her for twenty thousand. Al-Aṣma'ī (*No. 354*) related as follows: "I went, one day, to visit Yahyā and he said to me: 'Tell me, Aṣma'ī! are you married?' I replied that I was not. 'Have you a slave-girl?' said he. I answered: 'I should willingly be indebted to you for one.' He then ordered a young girl to be brought in: she was in the height of beauty, of grace and of elegance: and he said to her: 'I give you to this man;' and then he told me to take her. I thanked him and was wishing him every happiness when she burst into tears and exclaimed: 'O my lord! how can you give me away to such a man as that? do you not see how deformed and ugly he is?' He said to me: 'I will give you in exchange for her two thousand *dīnārs*.' I answered: 'I have no objection to that.' The money was given to me and the girl was taken back to Yahyā's house. That girl, said he, 'did something to displease me, and I meant to punish her in giving her to you, but then I had pity on her.' 'Why did you not inform me of that previously' said I, 'so that I might have reassumed my pristine form; you should at least have allowed me to comb my beard, wipe my

eyes, perfume my person and make myself handsome.' He laughed (*at this sally*) and ordered another thousand dinārs to be given to me". The following anecdote was related by Ishāq al-Nadīm: When Yahyā, the son of Khālīd rode out, the usual gift which he bestowed on those who went up to him with an application was two hundred di hams.<sup>1</sup> One day, as he was riding out, a literary man, who was also a poet, drew near to him and said:

'O thou who art the namesake of Yahyā the chaste (*saint John the Baptist!*) the bounty of the Lord hath assigned to thee a double paradise (*one on earth and the other in heaven*). Two hundred (*dirhams*) is the gift of everyone who cross with thy path; but that sum is too little for a man like me; 'tis what he receiveth from thee who runneth the quickest!"

Yahyā replied: "You say true; let this man be taken to my house." When he returned from the khalīf's residence, he asked the man what was his business and received this answer: 'I have contracted marriage and am under the necessity of filling one of three obligations: either to pay the dowry (*which I have settled on my wife and*) which amounts to four thousand dirhams (£ 100), or to divorce (*her*) to pay (*her*) a pension till such time as I shall have the means of procuring the bride's outfit.' Yahyā gave orders that he should receive four thousand dirhams for the dowry, four thousand for the purchase of a dwelling, four thousand for the requisite furniture of a house, four thousand for the reception of the bride and four thousand for future maintenance. He received the twenty thousand and departed." Muḥammad Ibn Munādhīr (*No. 127, note*) the celebrated poet, related as follows: "Al-Rashīd made the pilgrimage with his two sons, al-Amin Muḥammad and al-Māmūn 'Abd Allāh. Yahyā Ibn Khālīd accompanied him with his two sons, al-Faḍl and Ja'far. When they arrived at Madīnah, al-Rashīd held a public sitting with Yahyā Ibn Khālīd, and distributed to the inhabitants the customary donations. Al-Amin then held a sitting with al-Faḍl and distributed donations; after which al-Māmūn, accompanied by Ja'far, did the same. For this reason, the people of Madīnah

1 About five pounds sterling.

named that *year of the three donations*. Never had they seen the like before. I composed, on this subject, the following verses<sup>1</sup>:

"They are come to us, the descendants of the kings belonging to the family of Barmak. What good news! what a beautiful sight! Their rule is, to make, every year, an expedition against the enemy and a journey to the Temple ancient and pure. When they halt in al-Baṭḥā (*the valley*) of Makkah, that (*city*) is illuminated by their presence. Baghdād is then in darkness and, whilst they perform the pilgrimage, three moons dispel the shades which covers us in Makkah. Their hands were created for nothing else but deeds of liberality, and their feet were made of (*treading*) the boards of the pulpit."

The *Khaṭīb* (No. 33) says, in the article on Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi (No. 618) which he inserted in his History of Baghdād, that he (*al-Wāqidi*) related as follows: "I traded in corn at Madīnah and had in my hands one hundred thousand dirhams which had been lent to me in order that I might make them productive. This money I lost and then I went to 'Irāq for the purpose of seeing Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd. Having sat down in his antechamber, I entered into conversation with the servants and door-keepers, and asked how I could get to see him. They answered: 'When his dinner is taken in to him, no one is prevented from entering; we shall then admit you.' When the dinner was brought, they let me in and seated me with him at the same table." 'Who are you?' said he, 'and what do you require?' I told him and, when the dishes were removed, we washed our hands; after which I went over to him with the intention of kissing him on the head, but he drew back from me. When I (*retired and*) reached the place where the guests mount their horses on departing, a servant came to me with a purse containing one thousand dīnārs and said: 'The Wazīr wishes you a good evening; he bids you help yourself out of your difficulty with this and requests you to come to see him to-morrow morning.' I returned to see him (*the next morning*) and sat down to table with him, and he began

---

<sup>1</sup> M. de Sacy has given these verses in his *Chrestomathie arabe*, t. I, p. 13.

to question me as he had done the day before. When the dishes were removed, I went up to him for the purpose of kissing him on the head, but he drew back from me. On my going to the mounting-place, a servant brought me a purse containing one thousand dinārs and said: 'The Wazīr wishes you a good day, bids you help yourself out of your difficulties with this and requests you to return tomorrow.' I took the money, retired, and, the next day, went again to see him. He then gave me as much as I had received the two days previously. On the fourth day, I went to visit him as I had done before, and he then allowed me to kiss him on the head. 'I did not at first permit you to do so,' said he, 'because I had not rendered you a service which entitled me to that mark of respect. But now, I have been of some use to you.' (*He then called his servants and said:*) 'Boy let such and such a house be given to this man; Boy! fit it up with such and such a set of furniture; Boy! give him two hundred thousand dirhams, the half to pay his debts and the other half to put him in better circumstance. 'He then said to me: 'Become my companion and reside in my house. I replied: 'May God exalt the Wazīr! I hope you will allow me to return to Madīnah that I may repay there what I owe; after that, I shall reappear in your presence; that, for me, would be more befitting.' He gave his consent and furnished me with every requisite for travelling. I went to Madīnah, paid my debts and, having returned, I never quitted him since.'—Abū Qabūs al-Ḥimyārī\* went, one day, to see him and recited to him the following verses:

"May the plentitude of God's favour descend on Yaḥyā, who bestows such gifts as not a man before him ever gave. He forgets the services which he renders, but never forgets his promise."

Yaḥyā granted to the poet what he came to apply for and bestowed on him also a sum of money. I may here observe that the (*idea expressed in the*) second verse was afterwards (*borrowed and*) applied by Sharaf al-Dawlah Muslim Ibn Quraysh (No. 647, *note*): A man said to him: "Amir! do not forget my demand,"

---

\* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd observes: The name occurs in *Kitāb al-Wuzarā wa al-Kutāb* as Abū Qābūs 'Umar Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥīrī, which is correct because he was a Christian of Ḥīrah.—Ed.

and he replied : "Not till I have fulfilled it." Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Anṣārī<sup>1</sup> makes (*honourable*) mention of Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd in the following passage :

"Mayest thou (*fair maid*) be ever fortunate ! knowest thou not that during those nights which had borrowed their darkness from the colour of thy hair, I used to wait with patience till their obscurity was dispelled by the brightness of a face which shone like the face of Yaḥyā, when (*his son*) Ja'far was mentioned (*with commendation*)."

Yaḥyā used to say : "Spend when Fortune turns towards you, for her bounty cannot then be exhausted, spend when she turns away, for she will not remain with you." He said also : "The benefactor who reminds (*a person*) of a service rendered alloys the value of that service ; and he who forgets a favour received is guilty of ingratitude and neglect of duty."

Another of his sayings was : "The sincere intention (*of doing a good action*) and a legitimate excuse (*for not doing it*) are equivalent to its accomplishment." He said again: "In adverse fortune, wiles (*and stratagems*) led to perdition." Al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl (*No. 169*) was heard to say : "When a man's conduct towards his brethern is changed on obtaining authority, we know that he is not fitted for that place<sup>2</sup> ; so said the president of the board of generous actions, Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd Ibn Barmek." Yaḥya had a private secretary whom he admitted into his familiarity. This secretary resolved on having his son circumcised, and people of all classes made preparations for being present at the ceremony. The great officers of the empire, the chiefs of the civil administration and the government-writers offered, all of them presents suitable to their respective ranks. A friend of the secretary, being in reduced circumstances and unable to satisfy his desire of doing like the others, took two large and clean bags, filled one of them with salt, the other with perfumed potash, and

1 This Muslim died A.H. 208 (A.C. 823-24). We have spoken of him in *No. 10. note*.

2 Literally : We know that authority is greater than he.

sent them to him with a letter of which we give here a copy : "Could I fulfil my will, I should conform to the custom and, if my means permitted me to accomplish my ardent desire, I should outdo even the foremost in the race of generosity and surpass those who make the greatest efforts to shew you honour. But my means preclude me from doing what I wish and the narrowness of my fortune prevents me from engaging in a rivalry with the wealthy. Fearing, however, that the register of our gifts should be closed before the inscribing of my name therein, I send you some of that which, at the beginning (*of a repast*), brings good luck and a blessing, and of that which concludes (*the repast*) by its perfume and cleansing quality. (*in so doing*) I bear with patience the pain which my inability gives me, and support the anguish of not having the power to execute (*my intentions*). But, as long as I find not the means of filling my duty towards you, I shall offer, for my excuse, this word of almighty God : *No blame shall be incurred by those who are weak, or by the sick, or by those who find not wherewithal to contribute.* (*Qur'ān, sūr. 9, verse 92.*) Receive my salutations." When Yahyā Ibn Khālīd arrived at the place where the festival was held, his secretary shewed him all the presents which he had received and even the two bags with the accompanying letter. The idea of sending these two objects appeared to Yahyā very good, and he ordered them to be filled with money and taken back to the person who had sent them. The sum thus given was four thousand dīnārs (£ 2,000). A man said to Yahyā : "By Allāh ! thou art milder in temper than al-Aḥnaf Ibn Qays (*No. 277*)," and received this answer : "Those who offer me more than I deserve shall not have a place in my favour." Ishāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī called on one of his servant-boys and, not getting an answer from him, he said : "I heard Yahyā, the son of Khālīd, observe that a man's mildness of temper is indicated by the ill-breeding of his servants." Yahyā was one day riding out with al-Raṣḥīd when a man stopped before the khalīf and said : "My mule is dead." Al-Raṣḥīd replied : "Let five hundred dirhams (£ 10) be given." On this, Yahyā made him a sign and, when they dismounted, al-Raṣḥīd said to him : "Father ! you made me a sign about something and I do not understand what it meant." Yahyā

replied: "The mention of so small a sum as that should never proceed from your lips; a person of your rank should say: five thousand, or ten thousand." "Well," said al-Raḡhīd, "and when a demand such as that is made to me, what shall I answer?" "You must then say:" said Yaḥyā, "buy him a mule." To conclude, we may observe that the anecdotes related of the Barmikid family are very numerous, and that an abridgment such as this will not admit the insertion of any more. When Hārūn al-Raḡhīd put to death Jā'far, the son of Yaḥyā the Barmakid, he reduced to ruin all the family and cast into prison Yaḥyā and al-Faḍl, the son of Yaḥyā. The place of their confinement was al-Rāfiqah, called also Old Raqqah and situated near the town of New Raqqah, which is a well-known place on the bank of the Euphrates. To designate both towns they say the two *Raqqahs*, giving thus to one name a predominance over the other. Examples of a similar licence are offered by the names *al-'Umarāni*,<sup>1</sup> *al-Qamarāni*<sup>2</sup> and some others. Al-Jihshyārī relates in his *History of the Wazīrs*, that, when Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd, was in prison, where they kept him closely confined, he had one day a longing to eat some *sikkājah*.<sup>3</sup> Having obtained, with great difficulty, the permission to prepare some, he cooked it, but, when he had finished, the skillet in which he had made it fell from his hand and was broken to pieces. On this, he recited some verses, upbraiding Fortune and expressing his loss of every hope and every desire. He remained in the prison of al-Rāfiqah till his death, which event took place on the 3rd of Muḥarram, 190, (29th November, A.C. 805). He died suddenly, without any previous illness, being then seventy years of age, or seventy-four, according to another account. His son al-Faḍl said over him the funeral service. He was buried on the border of the Euphrates, in the suburb called Rabad Harthamah. In his pocket was found a paper on which was written in his own hand: "The accuser has gone forward (*to the tribunal*) and the

1 *Al-'Umrāni* (the two 'Umaras), was a term employed to designate the two first *khālīfs*, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

2 The term *al-Qamarāni* (the two moons) was employed to designate the sun and the moon.

3 The *sikkājah* was a dish prepared with barley-meal, minced meat and vinegar.

accused will soon follow; the *Qāḍī* will be that equitable Judge Who is never unjust and who has no need of taking evidence." Al-Rashīd, to whom this paper was sent, wept, the remainder of that day, and his countenance, for some days after, bore striking marks of sorrow.<sup>1</sup> Yaḥyā settled a monthly pension of one thousand dirhams (£ 25) on Sufyān al-Thawrī (No. 248), and the latter used to say, when prostrated in prayer. "O Lord! Yāḥyā has delivered me from the cares of this life, deliver him from the pains of the next." When Yaḥyā died, one of his brothers saw him in a dream and asked him how God had treated him? To this he replied: "He forgave me in consideration of Sufyān's prayers." Some say that the Sufyān of this anecdote was Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (No. 249). God knows best! "Al-Rashīd," says al-Jihshyārī, "repented of his conduct towards the Barmakids and deeply regretted the manner in which he had treated (*the prisoners*). He said, before some of his brothers that, if he could be assured of their fidelity, he would reinstate them in their places. He used also to say: 'Some people impelled us to punish our ablest and most faithful advisers, and they made us believe that they themselves were capable of replacing them; but, when we did what they wanted, they were not of the least use to us.' He then recited this line:

'Infamous wretches<sup>2</sup>! spare us your calumnies, or fill (*with ability*) the place which they filled (*so well*).'

I may observe that this verse has for its author al-Ḥuṭay'ah (No. 91, note), and that, after it, comes the following:

"They were persons who, if they built, built well; if they took an engagement, they fulfilled it, and if they imposed an obligation, they rendered it binding."

Al-Zamakhsharī (No. 684) says, somewhat to this effect, in his *Rabī' al-Abrār*: "Under the bed of Yaḥyā, the son of Khālīd, was found a paper on which was inscribed:

1 In some of the manuscripts, this biographical notice ends here.

2 The Arabic imprecation is: no father to your father, and seems to signify: may God's curse be on your ancestor.

3 The manuscripts belonging to Mr. Caussin de Perceval has اوشدوا النجار and the edition of *Bulāq* اوشدوا البجار, which readings I do not understand.



"By the reality of God ! injustice is disgraceful ; an unhealthy pasture-ground is that of injustice. We must go before him who shall retribute every action on the day of judgment ; all adverse parties must appear before God."

\*[I must now say<sup>1</sup> that I have inserted in this compendium the quantity (*of information*) which it was possible for a person to give who had but little leisure. I have omitted under this letter, which is the *Y*, a considerable number of articles which I intended to have inserted, but had not time enough (*ittasā'*) to do so. I have kept them back, with a great deal of rough drafts, so that they may serve (*اعدها*) for another (*Ākhar*) and a more extensive work which I mean to compile on the same plan, if God grant me time and if He aid me in my undertaking (*wa waffaq li 'l-'amal*). It shall contain (*muḥṭawīyan*) a mass (*jumma'*) of that information which is required by persons who occupy themselves with these matters, and will dispense the reader from the necessity of recurring to a great number of books (*wa yastaghīn man yuṭāli 'ahū 'an nuraḡāt kutub kathīrah*) ; for I have selected my notes from standard works of history and from the (*authentic*) accounts given of those who lived in ancient and in modern times. To the best of my belief (*fi mā yaḡlib 'alā Ḥannī*). I have not neglected to consult any of the noted works which are in the hands of the public or any of those which are less known (*al-khāmīlah*) whether they were voluminous or concise ; and I have always taken care to select therefrom whatever seemed fit to enter into (*fi*) this work. It is my intention, with the will and the help of God, that it shall form more than ten (*akthar min 'asharah*) volumes ; but assistance must be demanded from the Almighty and His aid must be implored to direct me.<sup>2</sup>]

1 The following paragraph is to be found in professor Wustenfield's edition, but none of our manuscripts gives it except that which belongs to Mr. Cuassin de Perceval. It is omitted in the edition of Būlāq. I follow the text of Mr. Caussin's manuscript, that of the lithographed edition being very incorrect.

2 The work which our author here promised never appeared. The articles which follow were added to the present work by Ibn K<sup>h</sup>allikān himself, some years after the appearance of the autograph copy. See the note by which he concludes this work.

\* □ Omitted in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.--Ed.

# INDEX

## A

- Aaron, 255.  
 'Abādah, 40.  
 'Abāth, 146n.  
 Abbān, 284n.  
 Abbān Ḥaṣiṣ, 284.  
 'Abbās, 233.  
 al-'Abbās, 3, 30, 31, 79, 102, 133, 172, 195, 233, 303.  
 al-'Abbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf, 233n.  
 'Abbāsids, 8, 65n, 98n, 127, 130, 133, 136, 138, 163n, 186n, 221n, 223, 275, 289, 307.  
 'Abd Allāh, 131, 187, 275, 296.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās, 172, 254.  
 'Abd Allah Ibn, 'Abd al-Mu'min, 306n.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Awfā  
   'Alqamah al-Aslamī, 41n.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Ishāq, 254.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī, 138, 140  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Abbās, 127.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Amr, 37.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Awn al-Baṣrī al-Muzanī, 35n, and note.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣa'dānī, 250.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Muthannā al-Ṭūsī, 237.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far, 117.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mālik, 213.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muhammad al-Hanafiyah, 228.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak, 42, 101, 216, 224.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 22.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Naṣr, 54.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rajā, 46.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ṭāhir, 270.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar, 1, 42, 151, 254.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Umar Ibn al-Akṭham al-Minqarī, 265.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Wahb, 219.  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubayr, 100, 125, 235.  
 'Abd Allāh al-Rāzī, 253.  
 'Abd al-'Aziz, 111n, 299.  
 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwān, 111.  
 'Abd al-Ghani Ibn Sa'id, 245.  
 'Abd al-Ḥamid, 4n, 12n, 14n, 18n, 22n, 29n, 35n, 38n, 40n, 65n, 68n, 70n, 71n, 84n, 86n, 88, 90n, 95n, 106n, 107n, 108n, 109n, 115n, 120n, 122n, 125n, 126n, 127n, 129n, 132n, 134n, 146n, 147n, 152n, 156n, 159n, 161n, 173n, 177n, 179n, 184n, 199n, 212n, 218n, 223n, 235n, 238n, 250n, 253n, 254n, 263n, 264n, 266n, 267n, 268n, 281n, 282n, 284n, 285n, 294n, 296n, 298n, 306n, 313n, 318n.  
 'Abd al-Laṭif, 95n, 97.  
 'Abd al-Malik, 130, 138, 172, 186n.  
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, 222.  
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, 129.  
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ṣāliḥ, 172.  
 'Abd Manāf, 114, 180.

- 'Abd-Manāt, 274.  
 'Abd al-Mū'min Ibn 'Alī, 305, 306.  
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 3, 103, 123, 133, 172.  
 'Abd al-Qādir Ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ al-Jilī, 250.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 190.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Nu'aym, 2, 3.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥakam, 221.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim, 219, 221.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir, 7, 222n.  
 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan'ārī, 179.  
 'Abd al-Ṣamad, 286.  
 'Abd al-Ṣamad Ibn Abī 'Amr al-'Abdī, 243.  
 'Abd Ṣhams, 114, 296.  
 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 249, 252.  
 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Mālikī, 34.  
 'Abd Yaghūth, 179n.  
 'Abdah, 34.  
 'Abdalī, 296.  
 'Abdarī, 296.  
 Abī Ṭālib, 236n.  
 al-Ablah, 117.  
 Abraham, 255.  
 al-Abrash, 155.  
 'Ābriz gate, 282.  
 'Abshāmī, 296.  
 'Abu 'l-'Abbās, 48.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, 286.  
 Abu al-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Nū'mān al-Qaṣṣāṣ, 250.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās 'l-Mubarrad, 143, 160, 180, 232, 236.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ṣaffāh, 163n, 307.  
 Abu 'l-'Abbās Ṭha'lab, 65, 258, 263, 264.  
 Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Ṭūsi, 48.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh, 3, 47, 55, 57, 59, 245, 249.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Akfānī, 14.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Faḍl, 73.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥārūn Ibn al-Munajjim, 98, 99.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Hishām al-Ḍarir, 106.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥumaydī, 149, 223.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, 60, 61, 62.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Sa'id, 244.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Uthmān al-Bighālī al-Karkhī, 74.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn Ismā'il al-Maḥāmīlī, 160n.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ja'fī, 59.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Marzubānī, 265.

- Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mufajja' 14.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad 54, 55, 57, 61, 81, 249, 252,  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-'Abbās Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Yazīdī, 274.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Sa'd al-Tājir, 4.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥakīmī, 160n.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Rāzī, 252.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Jaṣṣāṣ, 250.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Barākāt Ibn Hilāl al-Sa'idī, 87.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'il al-Bukhārī, 214.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd, 212.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Manī' 254.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Najjār, 33.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Nu'mān, 55.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī, 312.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, 273.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Nāfi' 1.  
 Abū Abd Allāh Wuhb Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Kāmil Ibn Sayj Dhī Kibār al-Yamani, 177.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Wāqidī, 149.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 196.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh Ziyād Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī, 218n.  
 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 172.  
 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaytham Ibn 'Adī Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Zayd Ibn Usayyid Ibn Jābir Ibn 'Adī Ibn al-Ghawth Ibn Julhumah, 132.  
 Abū Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn 'Aṭiyah: 183.  
 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Ubayd Allāh, 273.  
 Abū Aḥmad al-'Askārī, 176.  
 Abū Aḥmad Jā'far al-Balkhī, 270.  
 Abū Aḥmad Ṭalhah, 130.  
 Abū Aḥmad Yaḥyā, 283, 285.  
 Abu 'l-Akḥṭai, 107.  
 Abu 'l-'Alā, 54, 170, 279.  
 Abu 'l-'Alā Ibn Abī al-Nadā al-Ma'rūf, 77.  
 Abu 'l-'Alā Ibn Afrūnā, 129.  
 Abu 'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri, 162, 170, 271, 276, 278.  
 Abu 'l-'Alā Sa'id Ibn Maḥlad, 130.

- Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr, 284.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, 126, 150, 199.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad al-Mu'allim, 296.  
 Abū 'Alī Ismā'il, 62.  
 Abū 'Alī Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār, 232n.  
 Abū 'Alī Muḥammad Ibn Sa'id Ibn Binḥān, 65.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Muhandis, 92.  
 Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, 157, 174.  
 Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā, 306, 314.  
 Abū 'Āmir al-Manṣūr, 145n.  
 Abu 'Amr, 50, 249, 266, 267.  
 Abū 'Amr al-Dānī, 274.  
 Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā 50, 266, 267, 268.  
 Abū 'Amr Ibn Jurayj, 266.  
 Abū 'Amr Nāṣr Ibn 'Alī Ibn Nuḥ Ibn Qays, 257.  
 Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, 39n.  
 Abu al-Ash'ath Aḥmad Ibn al-Miqdām, 102.  
 Abū 'Āṣim al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaybānī, 232. and n.  
 Abu al-Aswad al-Duwali, 255.  
 Abu al-'Atāhiyah, 267.  
 Abū 'Awānah, 214, 215.  
 Abu 'l-'Aynā, 227, 228, 232.  
 Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Mustawif, 197.  
 Abū 'l-Bakhtārī, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185.  
 Abū Bakr, 107n, 131, 132, 150, 151, 152, 153, 226n, 228, 232, 289, 316n.  
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Thābit, 276.  
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqi, 250.  
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Manṣūr Ibn Khalaf al-Muqri, 250.  
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Jarrāḥ al-Kharraz, 126.  
 Abū Bakr al-Anbari, 264.  
 Abū Bakr Ayyūb Ibn Kisīn al-Sikhiyānī, 100n.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ḥāzimī, 177.  
 Abū Bakr al-Dānī Ibn Labbānah, 280.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn 'Ayyāsh, -139.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Bāqī, 288, 291.  
 Abū Bakr Ibn Dāwūd al-Zāhiri, 236.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Zayd al-Ḍabbī 250.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Anṣārī, 18.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abd al-Bāqī al-Bazzār, 253.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Nahāwandī, 250.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Abī Nāṣr Manṣūr Ibn Muḥammad al-Laftawānī, 251.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥawrdānī, 250.

- Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-  
 'Isā al-Dānī, 158.  
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-  
 Qāsim al-Anbārī, 233.  
 Abū Bakr al-Qurṭubī 253,  
 254.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, 131, 149.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ṣulī, 160, 161,  
 169.  
 Abū Bakr al-Ṭuwāl, 263.  
 Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Muḥam-  
 mad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān  
 Ibn Bāqī, 288.  
 Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'dūn  
 Ibn Tammām Ibn Muḥam-  
 mad al-Azdi al-Qarṭubī, 252,  
 Abū 'l-Barakāt, 95.  
 Abū 'l-Barakāt 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb  
 Ibn al-Mubārak al-Anmāṭī,  
 18, 250.  
 Abū 'l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh  
 Ibn Malkān, 94.  
 Abū 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Anbārī,  
 65.  
 Abū 'l-Barakāt Ibn al-Muṣṭa-  
 fawī, 28.  
 Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Mubārak  
 Ibn Hamdān Ibn al-Shi'ār  
 212n.  
 Abū Bishr Thumāmah Ibn al-  
 'Ashras al-Numayri, 259.  
 Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, 214.  
 Abū Dharr Jundab Ibn al-  
 Sakan al-Ghifārī, 245 & note.  
 Abū Dhuwayb Khuwaylid Ibn  
Khālīd al-Hudhālī, 235.  
 Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī, 181, 182.  
 Abū Dulāmah, 284.  
 Abū 'l-Durr Yāqūt Ibn 'Abd  
 Allāh al-Rūmī, 190, 193,  
 194.  
 Abū 'l-Durr Yāqūt al-Mawṣilī,  
 187.  
 Abū Dūwād Muḥammad Ibn  
 al-Musayyab al-'Uqaylī, 9.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍā'il al-Nūrī, 27.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl, 306n.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn  
 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān  
 al-Ushnuhī, 225.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad Ibn al-  
 Ḥasan Ibn Jirūn al-Amin,  
 74.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Ḥasan Ibn  
 Wahb, 166.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl Ja'far, 81.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl Ja'far al-Muta-  
 wakkil 'ala Allāh, 165.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn  
 Hibat Allāh Ibn al-'Alā,  
 250.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn  
 Nāṣir, 18-19, 19n, 250, 276,  
 277.  
 Abū 'l-Faḍl Yaḥyā Ibn  
 Salamah Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn  
 Muḥammad, 292.  
 Abū 'l-Faraj, 89.  
 Abū 'l-Faraj 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah  
 of Iṣbahān, 146 and note,  
 234.  
 Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī,  
 122.  
 Abū 'l-Faraj Yāsin,  
 22.  
 Abū 'l-Faṭḥ, 288n.

- Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Āmir Ibn 'Umar, 266n.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ibn Kuṣḥājīm, 285.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Ibn Iṣḥāq al-Nadīm, 288.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-Qaysī, 288.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Nāṣir Ibn Abī 'l-Mukārim 'Abd al-Sayyid Ibn 'Alī at Muṭarrizi, 4.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn Abī 'l-Karam Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn 'Abd al-Wahīd al-Shaybānī, 24.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn Qalāqīs, 305.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Sulaymān Ibn Ayyūb al-Rāzi, 276.  
 Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Sultān Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Musallam al-Maqdisī, 87.  
 Abu 'l-Feda's Annals, 208n.  
 Abu 'l-Feda's Geography, 71n.  
 Aḥu 'l-Fidā, 173n.  
 Abū Firās, 119, 124.  
 Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī, 173.  
 Abū Firās Hammām, 107.  
 Abu 'l-Futūḥ, 303.  
 Abu 'l-Futūḥ Barjawān, 9.  
 Abu 'l-Futūḥ Naṣr Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Makhlūf Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī Ibn Qalāqīs al-Lakhmī al-Azhar al-Iskandarānī, 20.  
 'Abd al-Ghāfir Ibn Ismā'il Ibn 'Abd āl-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, 251.  
 Abū Ghālib Shujā' Ibn Fāris al-Dihlī, 73.  
 Abu al-Ghanā'im Ibn al-Mu'alim, 159.  
 Abū Ḥafṣ, 153.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥajnā, 111.  
 Abū Ḥakimah Raṣhīd Ibn Iṣḥāq Ibn Raṣhīd, 234.  
 Abū Ḥamdūn al-Ṭayyib Ibn Ismā'il al-Dihlī, 266 & note, 267.  
 Abū Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Ḥibat Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abī 'l-Ḥadīd al-Madā'nī, 27.  
 Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī 185, 277n.  
 Abū Ḥanīfah, 4, 41, 42, 43 and note, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 220, 246n, 276n.  
 Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī, 263.  
 Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān Ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥayyūn, 52, 58.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan, 3, 54, 55, 56, 57, 95, 170, 284.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn - Yahyā, 284.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, 52, 54, 55, 300, 301.

- Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Abī Turāb al-Zankawī al-Khayyāf, 250.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah al-Kisā'i, 106.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī, 285.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā 99.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bākhārī, 56.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh Ibn Abī Ghānā'im Sa'id Ibn Hibat Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī, 88.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Hilāl Ibn al-Muḥassan Ibn Abī Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Zahrūn Ibn Ḥabbūn al-Sābi al-Harrānī, 126.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt, 39.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Talmidh, 91.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khushyār Ibn Labbān Ibn Baṣṣahri, 71n.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kisāi, 258.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mālik Ibn Sa'id Ibn Mālik al-Fāriqī, 62.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mas'ūdī, 307.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mubārak Ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Ṣayrāfi, 65.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn Muḥayriz al-Baḡhdādī, 279.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Naḍr, 34.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Rawḥi, 7.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sabbāk, 14.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khayr Ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, 277n.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khayr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sahl al-Andalusī, 276.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sa'id Ibn Hibat Allāh, 95.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan Tāhir Ibn 'Bābshād, 279.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ubayd Allāh 250.  
 Abū Ḥudhayfah Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā, 143.  
 Abū Hurayrah, 178, 245.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, 14, 15.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'fār al-Munādī, 267n.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alī Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Umar, 87.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Ibn Lankak, 14.  
 Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far, 11.  
 Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Qāsim Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh, 286.  
 Abu al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd al-Muti' Ibn 'Abd al-Nūr al-Zawawī, 283.  
 Abū 'Isa Kathīr, 218.  
 Abū 'Isa al-Tirmidhī, 224.  
 Abū Ishāq, 126n, 214, 231.  
 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Dhuhli, 100.



- Abū Ishāq Ismā'il Ibn Ishāq  
 Ibn Ismā'il Ibn Ḥammād  
 Ibn Zayd Ibn Dirham al-  
 Azdi, 229.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Sabi'i, 42.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi, 126.  
 Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzi, 1.  
 Abū Ismā'il Ḥammād Ibn 'Abī  
 Sulaymān Muslim, 42n.  
 Abu 'l-'Izz Ibn Kadīs, 253.  
 Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Yaḥyā  
 Ibn Jābir Ibn Dāwūd al-  
 Balādhuri, 164.  
 Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, 47, 63,  
 99, 100, 127, 380.  
 Abū Ja'far Mas'ūd, 51.  
 Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn  
 Ḥabīb, 121n.  
 Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn  
 Ḥumayd Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd  
 al-Ṭūsi, 170, 171.  
 Abu Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn  
 Sulaymān, 286.  
 Abu Ja'far al-Ṣaymari, 128.  
 Abu Ja'far al-Ṭabari, 284.  
 Abu 'l-Karam Hibat Allāh  
 Ibn 'Alī Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn  
 Thābit Ibn Hāshim Ibn  
 Ghālib Ibn Thābit al-Anṣārī  
 al-Khazraji, 86.  
 Abū Khālīd, 275.  
 Abū Khālīd Yazid Ibn Mazyad  
 Ibn Zāyidah al-Shaybānī,  
 173.  
 Abū Khallād Sulaymān Ibn  
 Khallād, 266.  
 Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Ibn Diḥyah  
 290.  
 Abū Khaythamah, 214.  
 Abū Khirāsh, 157.  
 Abū Lahab 'Abd al-'Uzzā  
 236, 237.  
 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Ḥaziri, 69,  
 90.  
 Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Hibat Allāh Ibn  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Muṭṭalib,  
 91.  
 Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn, 86n.  
 Abu 'l-Mansūr Niazar al-  
 'Ubaydī 6.  
 Abū Maḥfūz Marḥiz Ibn Ziyād  
 304.  
 Abū Makārim Hibat Allāh Ibn  
 Wazīr Ibn Muqallad, 83,  
 86.  
 Abū Mālik, 155.  
 Abū Mālik al-Kindī, 106.  
 Abū Manṣūr, 99, 252,  
 283.  
 Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd  
 Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Fargh-  
 ānī al-Miṣri 62.  
 Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī, 278.  
 Abū Manṣūr al-Jawālīqī,  
 19.  
 Abū Manṣūr al-Jili, 190.  
 Abū Manṣūr Mawḥūb Ibn  
 Aḥmad al-Jawālīqī, 276.  
 Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn  
 'Abd Allāh Ibn Faḍlawayh  
 al-Iṣbahānī, 250.  
 Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad Ibn  
 'Abd al-Mālik Ibn al-Ḥasan  
 Ibn Khayrūn, 277 & note.  
 Abū Manṣūr at-Munajjim,  
 98.

- Abū Maṣṣūr al-Tha'ālibi, 7.  
 Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik  
   Ibn Ḥabīb, 222n.  
 Abū Maymūnah, 3.  
 Abū Miḥjan, 111.  
 Abū Mu'ādh, 144.  
 Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Ḍarīr,  
   244.  
 Abū Muḥammad, 249, 271,  
   274.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh,  
   64.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh  
   Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn  
   Aḥmad al-Khushshāb, 250.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh  
   Ibn Aḥmad al-Khāzin,  
   145n.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh  
   Ibn 'Alī al-Muqrī, 252.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh  
   Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Sa'id al-  
   Qutrubullī, 286.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh  
   Ibn Muḥammad al-Akfānī  
   14.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh  
   Ibn Muḥammad al-Tanūkhī,  
   239.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Alī Ibn  
   Aḥmad, 220.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Dahhān,  
   276.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan,  
   63.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn  
   Aḥmad Ibn Ḥakīnā al-  
   Ḥamīmī, 68.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ibn  
   'Ammār, 9.  
 Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-  
   Ḥakīnā, 70, 90, 91.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Khāzin,  
   145.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥallabī,  
   128.  
 Abū Muḥammad Ṣa'id Ibn al-  
   Mubārak al-Dahhān, 187,  
   276.  
 Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā Ibn  
   Akṭham Ibn Muḥammad Ibn  
   Qaṭan Ibn Sam'ān Ibn  
   Muḥannaj al-Tamīmī al-  
   Usayyidi al-Marwazī, 223.  
 Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā Ibn  
   Mubārak Ibn al-Mughīrah  
   al-'Adawī, 266.  
 Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā al-  
   Laythī, 218.  
 Abū Muḥammad al-Yazidī,  
   266-275.  
 Abū 'l-Munḍhir Hishām al-  
   Asadī, 100, 101.  
 Abū 'l-Munḍhir Hishām Ibn  
   Abī 'l-Naḍr Muḥammad Ibn  
   Sā'ib Ibn Bishr Ibn 'Amr  
   al-Kalbī, 102.  
 Abū 'l-Muqātil, 272.  
 Abū 'l-Murḥaf Naṣr, 18, 19.  
 Abū Murrah Sayf Ibn Dhī  
   Yazan, 178.  
 Abū Mūsā 'l-'Aṣḥari, 42n, 13.  
 Abū Muslim 'l-Khūrasānī,  
   307.  
 Abū 'l-Muṭarrāf Muḥārib Ibn  
   Dithār al-Sadūsī, 42n.

- Abu 'l-Muwayyad al-Muwaf-  
 faq Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥam-  
 mad al-Makki, 4.  
 Abu 'l-Nadā Bīāl Ibn Jarir  
 al-Muḥammadi, 22.  
 Abū Nahshal, 153.  
 Abu 'l-Naṣr Sa'id Ibn Abi  
 'Arūbah, 214n.  
 Abū Nu'aym, 3.  
 Abū Nuḥayr al-Sa'dī, 152,  
 Abū Nuwās, 140, 141, 142,  
 146.  
 Abū Qābus al-Ḥimyarī, 313 &  
 note.  
 Abū Qābus 'Umar Ibn Sulay-  
 mān al-Ḥira, 313n.  
 Abu 'l-Qāhir al-Wāsiṭī, 254.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim, 23, 58, 60, 62,  
 86, 87.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Aziz,  
 58, 60, 61, 62.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm  
 Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd  
 Allāh Ibn Yūsuf al-Dallāl  
 al-Sāwī, 276.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān  
 250.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Tirād  
 'l-Zaynabī, 65.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh  
 69.  
 Abu 'l-Qasim Hibat Allāh Ibn  
 al-Faḍl Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz  
 Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-  
 Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad  
 Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn Ya'qūb Ibn  
 Yūsuf Ibn Sālim, 73.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Aflah, 93.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Ḥajar,  
 23.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥānī al-  
 Andlusi, 66.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Ḥusayn  
 253.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Sa'id Ibn  
 al-Musayyab, 180.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm Ibn  
 Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-  
 Shāhid, 250.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il, 273.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il Ibn  
 Muḥammad, 251,  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd al-  
 Zamalkhsharī, 65.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim Naṣr Ibn Aḥmad  
 Ibn Naṣr Ibn Māmūn,  
 11.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Quṣḥayrī,  
 245, 246.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Suhayli,  
 178.  
 Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh  
 Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh  
 Ibn Zunayn al-Rqqī, 276. &  
 note.  
 Abū Qatādah, 151, 152.  
 Abū Qubays, 50.  
 Abu 'l-Raqa'maq Aḥmad Ibn  
 Muḥammad al-Anṭāki,  
 8.  
 Abu Rifā'ah 'Umarah Ibn  
 Wathimah, 149.  
 Abu Ruwaym Nāfi', 2.  
 Abu 'l-Sa'adat Hibat Allāh Ibn  
 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn  
 Ḥamzah, 64.

- Abū 'l-Sa'ādāt (Ibn al-Shajari), 66, 68.  
 Abū Sa'd, 51, 52.  
 Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, 73, 149, 173, 277.  
 Abū Ṣādiq Muṣṣid Ibn Yaḥyā Ibn al-Qāsim al-Madīnī, 87, 252.  
 Abū Sa'id, 123, 128, 162.  
 Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Maḥdī, 215n.  
 Abū Sa'id al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkrai, 122n.  
 Abū Sa'id Ibn Yūnus, 149.  
 Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī, 1.  
 Abū Sa'id Māhik Ibn Bindār, 128.  
 Abū Sa'id Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf, 161.  
 Abū Sa'id Yaḥyā, 254.  
 Abū Salāma, Ḥaṣṣ al-Kallāl 307.  
 Abū Ṣāliḥ, 38, 149,  
 Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān, 245n.  
 Abū 'l-Salt Umayyah Ibn Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Abī 'l-Salt, 301, 306.  
 Abū 'l-Sa'ūd, 22.  
 Abū Shu'ayb Sālih Ibn Ziyād al-Sūsī, 266 and note.  
 Abū Sufyān, 103n.  
 Abū Sulaymān, 254.  
 Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī, 232n.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Bāqilānī, 74.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī, 252.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥaqaṣī, 250.  
 Abū Ṭāhir al-Dhuhli, 53.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad, 54, 55.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Kātib, 250.  
 Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī, 20, 81.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Yaḥyā Ibn 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh 250.  
 Abū Ṭāhir Yaḥyā Ibn Tāmīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs al-Ḥimyari al-Ṣanhājī, 297.  
 Abū Ṭālib, 63, 119, 139, 180, 185, 196.  
 Abū Tammām al-Ṭā'i, 25, 28, 65, 68, 146n, 161, 162, 163, 65, 169.  
 Abū 'l-Tayyib, 7.  
 Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi 25, 28.  
 Abū 'l-Ṭufayl 'Āmir Ibn Wathīlah, 42 and note.  
 Abū Turāb, 15n.  
 Abū 'l-Turūq al-Ḍabbī, 143.  
 Abū 'Ubādah, 170.  
 Abū 'Ubādah al-Buḥārī, 25, 28, 159, 160, 161, 186.  
 Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām, 266, 268, 278.  
 Abū 'Ubaydah, 34.

- Abū 'Umar al-Dūrī, 266.  
 Abū 'Umar Yūsuf Ibn Hārūn al-Kindī al-Ramādī, 145.  
 Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id, 15.  
 Abu 'l-Wafā 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn al-Wahb Ibn Ḥassān, 254.  
 Abu 'l-Walid, 130.  
 Abu 'l-Walid Ibn al-Faraḍī, 149, 222, 223.  
 Abū Yahyā al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yahyā, 304.  
 Abū Yahyā Ishāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Rāzī, 246n.  
 Abū Ya'lā al-Khalīl Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Khalīl al-Khalīlī, 217 and note.  
 Abū Ya qūb, 249.  
 Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq, 273.  
 Abū Yazid, 180.  
 Abū Yazīd Wathīmah, 148.  
 Abū Yūsuf, 47, 183n.  
 Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, 220.  
 Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Ibn Ibrāhīm, 180.  
 Abū Zakariyā Yahyā al-'Abdī, 216, 249, 262.  
 Abū Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn Ādam, 215n.  
 Abū Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Bisṭām al-Shaybānī al-Tibrizī, 275, 277..  
 Abū Zākariyā Yahyā Ibn Ma'in Ibn 'Awn Ibn Ziyād Ibn Bisṭām 'bn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Murri, 213.  
 Abū Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn Mandah, 251.  
 Abū Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn Mu'adh al-Rāzī, 246.  
 Abū Zakariyā Yahyā Ibn Ziyād Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Manzūr al-Aslāmī al-Daylamī al-Kūfī, 258.  
 Abyssinia, 117n.  
 Abyssinian, 178, 195.  
 'Ād, 140.  
*Adab al-Kātib*, 123.  
 Ādam, 75, 126, 133, 248, 292.  
 al-'Adawānī, 254n.  
 'Adawī, 274.  
 Aden, 22, 24n.  
 Ādharbā'ijān, 16, 117n, 173n, 213n, 225n.  
 'Adī, 132, 141, 156, 274.  
 al-'Ādil Ibn Sallār, 303.  
 'Adnān, 274.  
 'Aḍud al-Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, 6.  
 'Adwān, 258.  
 'Adwānī, 258.  
 al-Afḍal, 25, 26.  
 Afghānistān, 51n.  
 Africa, 84n, 86n, 169n, 235, 304.  
 African, 220.  
 Aḥmad, al-Dhuhli 54, 263.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Abi Duwād, 225, 244.

- Aḥmad Ibn Abi 'l-Fayyāḍ, 221.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Abi Khālīd al-Aḥwal, 230.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Abi Nu'aym, 232, 233.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, 18, 44, 184, 214, 215, 216, 230.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Khālīd, 222.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥāṭim al-Nūshārī, 12, 13, 17.  
 Aḥmad Ibn al-Miqdām, 102n.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Farghānī, 53.  
 Aḥmad Ibn al-Muthannā, 14.  
 Aḥmad Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Ammār, 181.  
 Aḥmad Ibn 'Uqbah, 213.  
 Aḥmad Ibn Yūnus al-Ḍabbī, 232.  
 al-Aḥmar, 258.  
 al-Aḥnaf Ibn Qays, 315.  
 Aḥnafs, 209.  
 al-Aḥzam, 121.  
 'Ajam, 134.  
 Aktam, 245.  
 Aktham, 245.  
 Aktham Ibn al-Ṣayfī, 224.  
 Aleppo, 8, 26, 85n, 99, 138, 160, 161, 167, 170, 185, 186, 193, 197, 199, 200, 212, 213, 253, 279.  
 Alexander the Great, 104n.  
 Alexandria, 20, 23, 58, 252, 303.  
*Alfiyah*, 108n, 283n.  
 Algiers, 305, 306.  
 'Alī al-Aḥmar, 258n.  
 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās, 172.  
 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib, 36, 41, 64, 100, 105, 108, 117, 119, 121n, 122, 134, 138, 140, 196, 197, 229, 235, 236, 248, 265.  
 'Alī Ibn 'Aṣim, 45, 46, and note.  
 'Alī Ibn Ḡhannām al-Kūfī, 40n.  
 'Alī Ibn Ḥamzah al-Iṣbahāmī, 146, 169.  
 'Alī Ibn Ḥārūn, 288.  
 'Alī Ibn Ḥasan, 48.  
 'Alī Ibn Ḥusayn, 87.  
 'Alī Ibn 'Isā al-Rummānī, 126.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Kūfī, 39, 40.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Madini, 35, 214, and note.  
 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Tabrizī, 281.  
 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭanāfisi, 247.  
 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, 60, 61.  
 'Alī Ibn Sāmān, 128.  
 'Alī Ibn Ṭirād al-Zaynabī, 74.  
 'Alī Ibn Yahya, 98, 283, 288, 302, 303, 304.  
 'Alī al-Ṭāhir, 66.  
 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 138.  
 'Alides, 66, 119n, 248, 257n.

- 'Ālij, 187.  
*Almegisti*, 71.  
 Almohades, 306n.  
 Alp Arsalān, 51, 52.  
*Amāli*, 157, 174, 233.  
 'Amam, 156.  
*A'mār al-'Ayān*, 170.  
 Amari, Mr. 305n.  
 al-A'maṣh 100, 214, 244.  
 Āmid, 295.  
 al-'Amid, 281n, 282n.  
 al-Amīn, 98n, 268, 311.  
 Amīn al-Dawlah Ibn al-'Ammār,  
     9.  
 Amīn al-Dawlah Ibn al-  
     Talmīdh, 88, 96, 97.  
 Amīn al-Dīn, 187, 188, 189,  
     190.  
 al-Amīn Muḥammad, 311.  
 al-Āmir, 303.  
 'Āmir Ibn 'Umar al-Mawṣili  
     266.  
 'Amr Ibn 'Adi, 156.  
 'Amr Ibn 'Āṣī, 104.  
 'Amr Ibn Dinār, 214.  
 'Amr Ibn al-Ghawth, 142.  
 'Amr Ibn al-Hind al-Lakhmī,  
     116.  
 'Amr Ibn Ka'b, 265.  
 'Amr Ibn Maṣ'adah, 231.  
 'Amr Ibn al-Masīḥ al-Ṭhu'alī  
     142.  
 'Amr Ibn Qays 'Aylān, 258.  
 'Amr Ibn al-Ṣharīd, 176.  
 'Amr Ibn Tamīm, 34, 245.  
 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd, 144, 148.  
 'Amr Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān,  
     37, 38.  
 'Amr al-Zubaydi, 136, 137.  
 Anas Ibn Mālīk, 41, 42, 100.  
*Anbā 'l-Ruwāt fi Abnā 'l-Nuḥāt*,  
     199.  
 al-Aḥbār, 41, 51, 213, 218.  
 Angora, 177n.  
*Anmūdḥaj*, 237.  
*Anmūdḥaj al-A'yān min shu'arā'*  
     *al-Zamān*, 90.  
*Annals of Abu 'l-Fidā* 2n, 3n,  
     152n, 173n.  
*Annals of Ṭabari*, 179n.  
*Ansāb*, 3, 142, 144, 149, 173,  
     218, 265, 277.  
 Anṣār, 87, 151, 171n, 184.  
 al-'Anṣī, 179n.  
*Antidotarium*, 95.  
 'Aqīl Ibn Tāriḥ, 156, 157.  
 'Aqīl Ibn Abī Ṭālib, 236.  
 'Aqīl (?) 'Adī Ibn Zayd al-  
     'Abādī, 195.  
 al-Aqīq, 29, 67, 204.  
*Aqrābādīn*, 95.  
 al-Aqra' Ibn Hābiṣ, 107.  
 'Arab, 20, 32, 36n, 59n, 74,  
     130, 135, 141, 142, 157, 168,  
     251, 304.  
 al-A'rābī, 36n.  
 Arabia, 191, 205n.  
*Arabian nights*. See also *Thous-*  
     *and and one nights*.  
 Arabic, 31n, 34, 50, 53, 55, 64,  
     66, 68n, 70n, 71, 85, 86,  
     121n, 122n, 127, 133n, 134  
     141n, 143, 163n, 164n, 166n,  
     189n, 201n, 211n, 224n,  
     238n, 256, 257, 258, 262,  
     264n, 266n, 267, 268, 270n,

- 271, 273, 276, 277n 288n,  
298n, 305n, 317n.
- Arabs, 34, 36, 53, 55, 58, 64,  
69, 103n, 104n, 117n, 119,  
120, 121n, 123, 133, 134,  
135n, 142, 150, 154, 156,  
170, 202n, 205n, 209n,  
236, 255, 259, 266, 272n,  
224, 275n, 281, 300,  
303.
- 'Arafāt, 56, 130, 240.
- al-Arāk, 168.
- Arbela, 26, 27, 33, 193, 197,  
225n.
- Ardabil, 161n.
- al-'Arjī, 36, 37, 38.
- Armenia, 173n.
- al-Arḡam, 173.
- Arsacides, 104n.
- Arsalān al-Baṣūṣirī, 150.
- Arṭāh Ibn Suhayyah, 129, 130,  
and note.
- Asad, 180, 258, 284.
- Asad Ibn 'Amr al-Bajali, 49,  
and note.
- al-Asadī, 185.
- Ascalon, 102n.
- al-Aṣfar, 195.
- al-A'shā, 38.
- 'Āshūrah, 100.
- Asia, 196.
- Asia Minor, 212.
- 'Asīb, 177.
- 'Āṣim, 263, 264.
- 'Āṣim Ibn Abī 'l-Najūd, 255,  
256.
- \*Askar Ibn Abī Naṣr Ibn  
Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī, 196.
- 'Askar al-Maūdī, 180.
- al-'Askarī, 122n.
- Al-Aṣma'i, 3, 251, 257, 272,  
310.
- Aṣturīlābi, 71.
- al-Aswad al-'Ansī, 179.
- 'Aṭī Ibn Abī Rabāḥ,  
42.
- al-Athram, 268.
- 'Aṭṭāb Ibn Asīd, 226, 227.
- Avicenna, 95, 169n.
- Awāj, 291.
- al-'Awāṣimi, 200.
- 'Awf, 107.
- 'Awf Ibn Abī Jamīlah, 36.
- 'Awf Ibn Bakr, 258.
- 'Awf Ibn Sa'd Ibn Dhubyān  
Ibn Baghid Ibn Rayth Ibn  
Ghaṭafān, 218.
- Awḥad al-Zamān, 94, 95,  
96.
- 'Āwīnah, 205.
- 'Awn, 218.
- 'Awn al-Dīn Yaḥyā Ibn  
Huhayrah, 19, 96.
- Aws, 87, 163, 171.
- Aws Ibn Ḥajar, 163.
- 'Awwānah, 132.
- al-Awzā'i, 215.
- A'yan Ibn Ḍubay'ah Ibn 'Iqāl,  
124.
- 'Aydhāb, 23, 24.
- 'Āyishah, 124, 226n.
- Ayman al-'Ālamīn, 19.
- 'Ayn Shams, 7.
- Ayyūb al-Sikhtiyāni, 1, 100.



- Azd, 104, 226n, 252, 292, 293, 312.  
 281.  
 al-Azd, 155.  
 al-Azhar, 20.  
 al-Azharī, 42.  
 al-'Aziz, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60.  
 al-'Azzā, 131.
- B
- Bāb al-Futūḥ, 6.  
 Bāb Ḥarb, 20.  
 Bāb Salām, 54.  
 Bābak al-Khuramī, 161n, 213n.  
 Bābil, 41, 51, 193.  
 Babylonia, 133n.  
 al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī, 69, 95.  
 Badī' al-Zamān, 23.  
 Bādīsids, 304.  
 Badr, 285.  
 Badr Ibn 'Ammār, 238.  
 Badūl, 159n.  
 Baghdād, 5, 11, 14, 18, 19, 20, 27, 30, 33, 34, 42, 43, 51, 53, 55, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 78n, 79n, 80, 88, 89n, 95, 96, 98, 100, 102n, 106n, 126, 142, 150, 184, 188, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 212, 313, 214, 225n, 229n, 232, 247, 250, 252, 260n, 263, 266, 274, 276n, 277n, 279, 282, 287, 292, 293, 312.  
 al-Baghdādī, 196.  
 al-Bahā, 264n.  
 Bahā al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf Ibn Rāfi' Ibn Tamīm, 253.  
 Bahā al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, 186.  
 Bahl, 264.  
 Bāhilah, 272.  
 Bāhilite, 272n.  
 Bāhir, 284.  
 al-Baḥnsā, 86n, 88.  
 Baḥr, 107.  
 Bahrām, 184.  
 Baḥrayn, 116n.  
 al-Bākharzī, 99.  
 Bākhtarī, 185.  
 al-Bakhtarī, 180.  
 Bakkār Ibn Abd Allāh al-Zubayri, 180.  
 Bakr, 258.  
 al-Balādhurī, 164n.  
 Bal-'Anbar, 39.  
 Balḫ, 546, 248, 307.  
 Balqīs, 15.  
 Bani 'l-Naḍir, 42n.  
 Bani Qaṭan Ibn Nahshal, 108.  
 Bani Qurayzah, 42n.  
 Bani Samurah, 14.  
 Banū al-Aṣfār, 194, 195n.  
 Banū 'Āmir Ibn Layth, 3.  
 Banū Asad, 265.  
 Banū Fazārah, 140.  
 Banū Riyāh, 107, 108.  
 Banū Yarbū', 151.

- Bqī', 217, 291.  
 Barbar, 86n, 218, 223.  
 Bariq, 290.  
 Barjawān, 10, 11, 60.  
 Barmak, 306, 307, 312.  
 Barmakid, 259, 264n, 267, 316.  
 Barmakide, 104, 271.  
 Barmakids, 173, 308, 317.  
 Barwiz, 179.  
 Basa'ūṭūn, 218n.  
 Bashshār Ibn Burd, 92, 98, 144, 147, 148, 272, 275, 284.  
 Başrah, 11, 14, 15, 18, 34, 100n, 101, 109, 117, 122, 125, 131, 133n, 134, 137n, 149, 183, 214, 215n, 226, 227, 229, 232n, 250, 254, 256, 257, 274, 275.  
 al-Başrī, 40.  
 al-Baṭhā, 119, 312.  
 Baṭṭah, 249.  
 Battle of the Camel, 124, 226n.  
 al-Bayāḍī, 51.  
 Bayṭās, 186.  
 Bayt al-maqdis, 115.  
 al-Bazzāz, 253n.  
 Benjamin, 137, 232n.  
 Berlin, 278n.  
*Bibliothèque imperiale*, 3n, 166n.  
 Bijāyah, 283, 299.  
 Bilbays, 9.  
 Bin Yamīn (Benjamin) al-Başrī, 137.  
 al-Birkah, 57.  
 Bishr al-Marisi, 263.  
 Biṣṭām, 218, 282.  
 Biṣṭāmī, 217.  
 al-Biṭāḥ, 152.  
*Book of Animals*, 81.  
 Bresnier's *Chrestomathie arabe*, 226n.  
 Bugia, 283, 299, 305.  
 Buḥtur, 132, 170.  
 al-Buḥturī, 31, 132, 142, 146n, 159-173, 185, 265.  
 al-Buḥturī's *Diwān*, 166n, 171n.  
 Bujayr, 54.  
 Būlāq 54n, 92n, 108n, 127n, 138n, 148n, 173n, 189n, 228n, 317n, 318n.  
 Bullārah, 303.  
 Bulukīn, 9n.  
 Būrān, 142.  
 Burd, 272.  
*Biurdah* (poem), 86n.  
 Buṣīr Qurīdus, 87, 88.  
 Būṣīr al-Ṣidr, 88.  
*Buyūtāt al-'Arab*, 133.  
*Buyūtāt Quraysh*, 133.

## C

- Cairo, 6, 7, 9, 10, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 63, 64, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 149, 150, 219, 243, 252, 254, 283.  
*Canon of Avicenna*, 169n.  
 Capricorn, 297.  
 Carthage, 304.  
 Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabica*

*Hispanica*, 222n.  
 Caspian sea, 204n.  
 Caussin's *Essai*, 152n, 153n, 156n.  
 Chaldaea, 133n.  
 China, 277n.  
 Chinese, 277n.  
 Chosroes, 155, 170, 178.  
 Chosroes Anūshirwān, 178.  
 Chosroes II, 170n.  
 Christian 88, 89, 313n.  
 Christmas day, 96.  
 Chwolsohn's *Ssabier*, 126n.  
 Cilicia, 200n.  
*Commentary on the Stations (Maqāmāt) of al-Ḥarīrī*, 4.  
 Constantina, 245n.  
 Constantine, 305.  
 Constantinople, 305n.  
 Cordova, 145n, 218, 219n, 222, 223, 252, 253, 288.  
 Crete, 222n.  
 La Cuba, 305n.

## D

al-Ḍabbī, 222n.  
 Dābiq, 138.  
 Dādūwayh, 179.  
 Dahlak, 22.  
 al-Dakādik, 155.  
*Dalā'it al-Aḥkām*, 253.  
 al-Dāliyah, 286.  
 Damascus, 26, 75, 85n, 138, 194, 196, 197, 236, 253, 278, 283.  
 Damietta, 55.  
 al-Dānī, 274n.

Dār al-Salām, 188n, 192n.  
*Dār al-Tirāz*, 81.  
 al-Dāraqutnī, 216, 224.  
 al-Darawī, 84.  
 Ḍarb dinār, 212.  
 Ḍarb Dinār al-Saghīr, 194.  
 Ḍarb al-Sabā, 64.  
 Dārij, 67.  
 Dārim, 107, 114, 123.  
 Ḍarir, 144.  
 David, 122, 255, 301.  
 Dawqal, 115n.  
 Daws, 155.  
 Ḍawṭarā, 108.  
 Dāwūd Ibn 'Ālī, 229.  
 Daylam, 1.  
 Daylamite, 128, 179, 258.  
 de Gayangos' *Maqqari*, 222n.  
 de Hammer, 129n.  
 D'Horbelot, *Riblioth Orientale*, 209n.  
 d'Ohsson's *Tableau general de l'Empire Ottoman*, 111n, 226n.  
 de Perceval, M. Caussin, 5n, 45n, 103n, 125n, 156n, 317n, 318n.  
 de Perceval, M. Caussin, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, 45n, 66n, 68n, 107n, 136n, 151n, 156n, 174n, 178n, 179n, 208n, 224n.  
 de Sacy, 68n, 117n, 274n.  
 de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, 19n.  
 De Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, 57n, 125n, 312n.  
 De Sacy's *Ḥarīrī* 13.

de Sacy's Relation de, Egypt, 96n.  
 de Sacy's *Traite de prosodie arabe*, 271n.  
 de Slane, M, 36n, 64n, 196n, 236n, 248n.  
Dlahabi, 257n.  
Dhahabī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz*, 100n, 160n.  
Dhakwān, 245n.  
Dlāt Awshāl, 110.  
Dhayl, 253, 277.  
Dhu 'l-Liwā, 140.  
Dhu 'l-Nūn, 79n.  
Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn al-Faḍl Ibn Sahl, 99.  
 Di'bil al-Khuzā'i, 273.  
 Dik al-Jinn, 28.  
 Dirār Ibn al-Azwar al-Asadi 151.  
 al-Diwān al-'Aziz, 30.  
*Diwan d'Amrolkais*, 142n, 177n.  
 Diyā al-Dīn, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33.  
 Diyā al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhir, 24.  
 Diyār Bakr, 296.  
 Dozy, M, 126n. 163n.  
 Dozy's *Dictionnaire des noms, des vêtements des Arabes*, 194n.  
 Dozy's *Historia Abbadidarum* 221n.  
 Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 109n, 145n, 222n.  
 Ḍubay'ah, 124.

Ḍubbah, 143.  
*Dumayt al-Qaṣr*, 56.  
*Durrat al-Ḡhawwās*, 35, 38.  
*Durrat al-Tāj fīshī'r Ibn Ḥajjāj*, 71.

## E

Egypt, 6, 7, 9n, 23, 24, 26, 27, 32, 52, 53, 55, 58, 70, 84, 86, 88, 92, 149, 150n, 177n, 235, 252, 274, 279, 301, 303, 304, 306, 309.  
 Eg'ptian, 3n, 64n, 81, 87, 187, 208.  
 El-Farcadani, 156n.  
 Elias, 255.  
 Emessa, 8, 79n.  
 English, 70n, 105n, 124n.  
*Essai*, 5n, 103n, 156n.  
 Euphrates, 43, 140, 170, 176, 316.  
 European, 57, 126n, 195n, 277n.  
*Exploration Scientifique de 'l-Algerie*, 225n.  
 Eve, 24.

## F

*Fuḍā'il al-Anṣār*, 184.  
 al-Fāḍil 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 21.  
 al-Faḍl Ibn Marwān, 308.  
 al-Faḍl Ibn Ṣahl, 37, 99.  
 Faḍl Ibn Ṣāliḥ, 62.  
 al-Faḍl, Ibn Yahyā, 307, 311, 316.  
 Faḍls, 103.

- Fahm, 155.  
 al-Fa<sup>kh</sup>ri, 65n.  
 al-Falak al-Dā'ir 'ala 'l-Mathal  
   al-Sā'ir, 27.  
 Falak al-Ma'āni, 235.  
 Falak al-Maghāni, 235n.  
 Fam al-Şilḥ, 142.  
 al-Faramā, 55.  
 Farās, 173n.  
 Farazdaq, 108, 125n.  
 al-Farazdaq, 102, 107, 126,  
   275.  
 Farazdaqah, 124.  
 al-Farghāni, 10.  
 al-Fāri'ah, 174.  
 Farid, 104.  
 Fāriḥ, 156.  
 Fārij, 156n.  
 al-Fārisi al-Faṣawī, 148.  
 Fāros, 134.  
 al-Farqadān, 156.  
 al-Farrā, 258-265.  
 Farukhdād, 284.  
 Faṣā, 148.  
 Faṣawī, 150.  
 Faṣiḥ, 264.  
 al-Faṭḥ Ibn Khāqān, 171. and  
   note 289.  
 Fātiḥah, 261,  
 Fāṭimah, 120, 121n, 174.  
 Fāṭimid, 6, 8, 305.  
 Fatimids, 52, 53.  
 al-Fayyūn, 88.  
 Fihri, 181.  
 Fihrist, 288.  
 Firūz, 179.  
 Firuzān, 249.  
 Flavius, 195n.  
 Flugel, 146n.  
 Flugel's *Die grammatischen  
   Schulen der Araber*, 121n,  
   122n, 258n, 260n, 273n.  
 Franks, 306.  
 French, 71n, 132n.  
 Freytag, 278n.  
 Freytag's *Darstellung der  
   Arabischen Verskunst*, 271n.  
 Freytag's *Hamasa*, 74n, 155n,  
 Freytag's *Maidāni*, 205n, 208n,  
   209n.  
 al-Furāt, 148.
- G
- Gabriel, 59, 183.  
 Galen, 89.  
 Gayangos's *Maqqari*, 219n,  
   222n.  
 Germany, 306.  
 Ghālib, 107, 108, 109, 110.  
 Ghāliyah, 144.  
 Ghanā'im, 88n.  
 Gharib, 39, 268.  
 Gharib al-Ḥadīth, 278.  
 Gharib al-Muṣannaḥ, 39n.  
 Ghars al-Ni'mah Abu 'l-Ḥasan  
   Muḥammad Ibn Hilāl, 127.  
 Gharūryan, 225n,  
 Ghassānids, 185.  
 Ghaṭafān, 218, 245n.  
 al-Ghawṭh, 142.  
 al-Ghazzāl, 143.  
 Ghīyāth, 218.  
 Ghirbāl al-Zamān, 212n.  
 Goeje, M. 164n.  
 Gog, 204n.

Gosche, Mr., 278.

Greece, 177n.

Greek, 72n, 190, 196.

Greeks, 71, 121, 177, 194, 195n, 212, 235.

## H

Ḥabaṭah, 125n.

Ḥabīb Ibn Aws al-Ḥā'ī Abū Tammām, 25, 162, 163.

Ḥābis, 107.

*al-Ḥadāyā wa 'l-Tuḥaf*, 15.

al-Ḥādī, 134, 136, 137.

*al-Ḥadiqah*, 306.

*al-Ḥafawāt al-nādirah min al-Mu'qqalin al-Malḥūzīn wa 'l-Saqatāt al-bādirah min al-Mughaffilīn al-Malḥūzīn*, 127.

al-Ḥāfīz, 303, 305.

Ḥafs al-Ḥallāl, 307.

al-Ḥajar, 116n.

al-Ḥājir, 63.

al-Ḥājirī, 29n.

al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf, 109 and note 255, 256, 257.

Ḥājji Khalīfah, 7n, 86n, 146, 212n, 217n, 221n, 265n.

Ḥājji Khalīfah's Bibliographical Dictionary, 71n, 95n, 270, and note.

Ḥajūn, 281.

al-Ḥakam Ibn 'Amr al-Sāsī, 285.

al-Ḥakam Ibn Hishām, 222n,

al-Ḥakam Ibn Qanbarah al-Māzinā al-Baṣrī, 285n.

al-Ḥākim, 10, 60, 61, 62.

al-Ḥākim al-Mustanṣir, 7.

Ḥakīnā, 90n.

Ḥalimah, 34, 40.

Ḥamadḥān, 247, 250.

Hamām, 123.

*Ḥamāsah*, 65, 74, 75, 115n, 129n, 155, 157n, 169, 277, 278.

Ḥamāt, 8, 196.

al-Ḥamawī, 196.

Ḥammād, 86n,

Ḥammād Ajrad, 272.

Ḥammād Ibn Abī Ḥanīfah, 41, 49, 227.

Ḥammād Ibn Abī Sulaymān, 42.

Ḥammād Ibn Salamah, 214.

Ḥammām Ibn Munabbih, 178.

Ḥammūdite, 289.

Ḥamrā, 57.

Ḥamzah, 3, 45, 268.

Ḥamzah al-Zayyāt, 41.

Ḥanafī, 270n, 283.

Ḥanafites, 4, 51, 180, 229, 293.

Ḥanzalah, 107.

Ḥarb gate, 101.

Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah Ibn 'Abd Shams Ibn 'Abd Manāf, 237.

al-Ḥarīr, 105

al-Ḥarīrī, 35, 38, 39, 68, 117.

al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, 187.

al-Ḥārith, Ghassānid, 185.

al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Amr Ibn Ka'b, 265.

al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Amr Ibn Qays 'Aylān, 258.

al-Ḥārith Ibn Ka'b, 38.

al-Ḥārith Ibn Mālik, 156.

al-Ḥārith Ibn Qays, 231, note.

- al-Ḥārith Ibn Rabi', 151n.  
 Ḥārithah Ibn Tha'labah Ibn 'Amr Muzayqiyā Ibn 'Āmir Mā al-Samā, 87.  
 Ḥarmalah Ibn Yaḥyā. 45.  
 Ḥarrān, 126.  
 Harthamah Ibn A'yan al-al-Hāshimī, 88.  
 Hārūn Ibn 'Alī 'l-Munajjim, 98, 99, 272, 288.  
 Hārūn al-Rashīd, 35, 88, 172, 173, 180, 183, 185, 266, 306, 308, 316.  
 Hārūt, 193n.  
 al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 122, 123, 144.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, 304, 305, 306.  
 al-Ḥasan, Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib, 36, 63, 64, 105, 117, 134, 185, 235, 236, 255, 256, 262.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Yaḥyā, 299, 301, 304.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥanafīyah, 229.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Sahl, 142, 261, 314.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Umārah, 49.  
 al-Ḥasan Ibn Wahb, 167, 231.  
 Hāshim, 8, 114, 121n, 180.  
 Hāshimid family, 3.  
 al-Ḥasīs, 284n.  
 al-Ḥaskafī, 295.  
 Ḥātim 119n.  
 al-Ḥaṭim, 21n, 119, and note.  
 Ḥātim al-Ṭā'i, 132, 208n.  
 Ḥātim, 208.  
 Ḥayṣ Bayṣ, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 193, 194.  
 al-Haytham, 134, and note, 136, 140, 141, 142.  
 al-Haytham Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ṣarrāf, 42.  
 Ḥayyūn, 126n.  
 al-Ḥaziri, 90, 99.  
 Heliopolis, 7n.  
 Hibat Allāh, 81.  
 Hibat Allāh al-Buṣiri, 86, 87, 88.  
 Hibat Allāh Ibn Sa'id, 95n.  
 Hibat Allāh Ibn al-Talmidh, 88, 97.  
 al-Ḥidāyah, 222n.  
 Hieropolis, 170n.  
 Ḥijāz, 24, 123, 125, 145n, 177, 214, 215, 236.  
 Hilāl al-Ṣābi, 126, 127, 132.  
 Ḥilf al-Fuḍāl, 103.  
 Himāriyan, 225n.  
 Hims, 161.  
 Himyar, 177, 178.  
 Ḥimyarite, 178, 275.  
 Hind, 157.  
 Ḥirah, 116, 155, 313n.  
 al-Hisān, 296n.  
 Hishām al-Ḍarir, 106.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 38, 118, 119, 121, 137, 138, 139, 218.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, 218n, 222n.

- Hishām Ibn Ḥassān al-Azdi  
 al-Baṣrī, 35 and note.  
 Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, 102, 103n  
 106.  
 Hishām Ibn 'Urwah, 34, 42,  
 100, 101, 102, 180.  
 Ḥiškafī, 296.  
 Ḥiṣn Kayfa, 292, 296.  
 al-Ḥiṣnī, 296.  
*Historie des Berbers* 305n,  
 306n.  
*History of Arbela*, 28, 33.  
*History of Baghdād*, 33, 41,  
 42, 45, 49, 63, 102, 170, 180,  
 183, 184, 194, 216, 224, 226,  
 230, 232, 245, 247, 259, 276,  
 312.  
*History of Baṣrah*, 131.  
*History of Egypt*, 149.  
*History of Iṣbahān*, 3.  
*History of the Kadis of Cairo*,  
 9n.  
*History of Nayṣābūr*, 251.  
*History of the Qāḍī Jawhar*,  
 53.  
*History of the Qāḍīs of Cairo*  
 61n.  
*History of the Qāḍīs of Egypt*.  
 56, 243.  
*History of Spain*, 288n.  
*History of the Wazīrs*, 316.  
*History of Ziyād Ibn 'Abīh*,  
 103.  
 Ḥubaysh, 110.  
 Ḥudhayl, 235n.  
 Ḥudhaylite, 157, 235.  
*al-Hudūd*, 256, 264.  
*Ḥuffāz*, 100n, 102n, 214n,  
 215n, 217n, 245n, 246n,  
 247n.  
 Ḥujr, 34, 40, 142.  
 Ḥulwān, 173n.  
 Ḥumayd, 163.  
 Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, 34.  
 Humaym, 107.  
 Hums Emessa, 161.  
 Ḥunayn, 59.  
 Hurmuz, 1n.  
 Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Īsa 'l-Ḥājirī  
 29  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī  
 Ṭālib, 100, 117, 119, 138, 236,  
 255, 256, 262, 265.  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-  
 Nu'mān, 61 and note.  
 al-Ḥusayn Ibn Yūsuf, 62.  
 Ḥuṣhaym, 36, 37, 215.  
 al-Ḥuṣṭa'yah, 317.  
 al-Huṣūn, 205.  
 Ḥuzwā, 204.

## I

- Ibn 'Abbās, 36, 47, 262.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 150n.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭī', 283n.  
 Ibn Abī Uways, 3.  
 Ibn Abī Za'idah Waki', 215.  
 Ibn Aflah, 93.  
 Ibn 'Ammār, 182.  
 Ibn al-Anbār, 39.  
 Ibn al-Anbārī, 66.  
 Ibn 'Aqīl, 108n.  
 Ibn 'Aṭā, 145.  
 Ibn al-Aṭhīr al-Jazari, 24, 303.  
 Ibn al-Azwar, 153.



- Ibn Bāqī, 289, 290, 291.  
 Ibn Bardūn, 163n.  
 Ibn Bashkuwāl, 223.  
 Ibn al-Bawwāb, 187.  
 Ibn Bint al-Shaykh Abī Manṣūr al-Khayyāt, 252.  
 Ibn Dahhān, 187.  
 Ibn al-Dharawī, 84.  
 Ibn al-Dubaythī, 190, 191.  
 Ibn Durayd, 115n, 224n.  
 Ibn al-Faḍl, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79.  
 Ibn Fūrak, 123.  
 Ibn al-Habbāriyah, 235, 236.  
 Ibn Ḥabīb, 256n.  
 Ibn Ḥajjāj, 71, 93.  
 Ibn Ḥakīnā, 68, 92.  
 Ibn Ḥanbal, 44, 214.  
 Ibn al-Ḥasan, 48.  
 Ibn Ḥayyūs, 157.  
 Ibn Ḥazm, 220.  
 Ibn Hilāl, 189n.  
 Ibn Hishām, 109n.  
 Ibn Hubayrah, 44n, 79.  
 Ibn Jarīr, 66n.  
 Ibn Jawālīqī, 96, 282.  
 Ibn al-Jawzī, 40, 169, 224n.  
 256  
 Ibn Jinnī, 65.  
 Ibn Jurayj, 100.  
 Ibn al-Kalbī, 151.  
 Ibn Kathīr, 3n.  
 Ibn Khālawayh, 125.  
 Ibn Khaldūn's History of the *Berbers*, 88n, 304n.  
 Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*, 131n, 132n, 245n, 274, 298n.  
 Ibn Khālīd, 222n.  
 Ibn Khallikān, 78, 113n, 160n, 172n, 199n, 277n, 288n, 305n, 318n.  
 Ibn Khāqān, 288.  
 Ibn al-Khāshshāb, 64.  
 Ibn al-Khaymī, 75.  
 Ibn Khaysūm, 277.  
 Ibn al-Labbānah, 158.  
 Ibn Lankak al-Baṣrī, 11 and note, 14.  
 Ibn Lubābah, 222n.  
 Ibn al-Madīnī, 214n.  
 Ibn Maḥdī, 215.  
 Ibn Ma'īn, 35n, 45n, 184, 213, 214, 216, 217.  
 Ibn Mājah, 247n.  
 Ibn Mālik, 108n, 283n.  
 Ibn Mandah, 251.  
 Ibn al-Marāghah, 113.  
 Ibn Mubārak, 47, 215.  
 Ibn Muḥayriz, 280.  
 Ibn al-Mujāwir, 159.  
 Ibn al-Munādī, 267, 274.  
 Ibn al-Munajjim, 91, 99, 272.  
 Ibn al-Munajjim al-Ma'arri, 84.  
 Ibn Munīr, 158.  
 Ibn Mūsa 'l-Makfūf, 263.  
 Ibn al-Mustanīr, 39.  
 Ibn al-Mustawfī, 33, 198.  
 Ibn Muṭī' al-Zawawī, 283 and note.  
 Ibn al-Muwaddib, 237.  
 Ibn al-Najjār, 194.  
 Ibn Nu'mān, 9n, 10.  
 Ibn Nuqṭah, 252.  
 Ibn Qādī Milah, 239.  
 Ibn Qalāqīs, 20, 21, 23, 24, 83.  
 Ibn al-Qāsim, 221.  
 Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, 73, 80.

- Ibn Qutaybah, 107, 122, 123, 143, 163n, 177, 178, 184, 185, 265n.  
 Ibn Rashīd al-Qayrawānī, 237.  
 Ibn al-Rūmī, 163, 215.  
 Ibn Sa'dūn al-Qurṭubī, 252-254.  
 Ibn Sallām, 256.  
 Ibn al-Sam'ānī, 65, 250, 253.  
 Ibn Sanā al-Mulk, 81-86.  
 Ibn Sanjar Bahram, 29n.  
 Ibn al-Sawādī, 73, 77.  
 Ibn Shaddād, 253.  
 Ibn al-Shajari, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70.  
 Ibn Shihāb, 214.  
 Ibn al-Sikkī, 4n, 278n.  
 Ibn Sinā, 95.  
 Ibn Sirin, 45, 257.  
 Ibn Surayj, 53.  
 Ibn al-Ta'āwidhī, 30, 31.  
 Ibn Ṭabaṭabā, 8.  
 Ibn al-Talmīdh, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96.  
 Ibn Tamīm, 303.  
 Ibn Tūmart, 299.  
 Ibn 'Umar, 1, 2, 100, 152.  
 Ibn 'Uyaynah, 317.  
 Ibn Wazīr, 84.  
 Ibn Yahyā, 302.  
 Ibn Yūnus, 72n.  
 Ibn Zaydūn, 232.  
 Ibn Ziyād, 219n.  
 Ibn al-Zubayr, 125.  
 Ibn Zūlāq, 52, 53, 243.  
 Ibn Zūlāq al-Fāriqī, 96.  
 Ibn Zūlāq's History of the Qaḍis of Egypt, 60.  
 Ibrāhīm (commander), 300.  
 Ibrāhīm (Mandah), 249.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī, 184.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ṭarzi, 296.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Āli al-Dhuhli, 100n.  
 Ibrāhīm Ibn Ḥātim al-Asadi, 87.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili, 310.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Nadīm 308, 309.  
 Ibrāhīm al-Yazidī, 274.  
 Idrisid, 289n.  
 Ifriqiyah, 53, 87, 235, 245, 283, 297, 302, 305, 306n.  
 Ifṭikīn al-Turkī, 6.  
 'Ijl, 102n.  
 Ijmā', 285.  
 Ikmāl al-Ikmāl, 252.  
 Ikhtilāf al-Fuṣṭah, 53.  
 'Imād al-Dīn, 19, 24, 69, 72, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 291, 292, 293, 296.  
 al-'Imād al-Fayyāḍ, 281, 282.  
 Imāmiyahs, 52.  
 Imra al-Qays Ḥunduj Ibn Ḥujr al-Kindi, 92 and note, 142, 143, 177.  
 Imra al-Qays's Mu'allaqah, 62n, 135n.  
 'Imrān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Dā'i Sabā Ibn Abi 'l-Sa'ūd Ibn Zuray' Ibn al-Abbās al-Yāmī, 22.  
 India, 51.  
 Intermediate Station, 148.

*al-Intiṣār*, 65.  
 'Iqāl', 107, 123.  
*Iqnā'*, 95.  
*Iqtinā'*, 4.  
 'Irāq, 19n, 26, 60, 125, 134,  
 145n, 150n, 160, 167, 173n,  
 192, 194, 229, 242, 244, 257,  
 276n, 281.  
 'Irāqs, two, 44, 307.  
 al-'Ird, 115.  
*Irshād*, 217n.  
*Irshād al-Alibbā ilā ma'rifat al-*  
*Udabā*, 197.  
 'Isā Ibn Dīnār, 222.  
 'Isā Ibn al-Qāshhī, 130.  
 Isaac, 255.  
 Iṣbahān, 3, 15, 51, 145, 146n,  
 249, 250, 252, 253, 277n.  
 Iṣhāq, 63, 249, 308.  
 Iṣhāq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Muṣ'ab  
 106 and note.  
 Iṣhāq Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣili,  
 266, 309, 315.  
 Iṣhāq Ibn Sulaymān al-Rāzī,  
 246.  
 Iṣhāq Ibn Suwayd al-'Adawī  
 254.  
 Iṣhāq al-Nadīm, 311.  
*Iṣṭiqāq*, 107n, 115n, 125n.  
*Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq*, 4, 278.  
 Islamism, 31, 66, 90, 103, 112,  
 129, 151, 179, 200, 203, 207,  
 223, 228, 229, 241, 245n.  
 Ismā'il, 184  
 Ismā'il Ibn Abi Khālīd,  
 34.  
 Ismā'il Ibn Ḥammād, 41, 44,

49, 227.  
 Ismā'il Ibn Iṣhāq, 229n.  
 Ismā'il Ibn Muḥammad Ibn  
 Ismā'il al-Ṣaffār, 232.  
 Israel, 208n.  
 Istandār, 249.  
*Isti'āb*, 112.  
 Iyād, 208n.  
 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn  
 Shaddād Ibn Tamīm Ibn  
 al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, 297.  
 'Izz al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan  
 'Alī Ibn al-Aṭhīr, 27, 33,  
 212.

## J

Jābir Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-  
 Anṣārī, 100.  
 Jacob, 82, 255.  
 Jaḥimāh, 155, 156.  
 Jadīs, 104, 184.  
 Ja'far Ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid Ibn  
 Ja'far Ibn Sulaymān Ibn  
 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn  
 al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī, 244,  
 245.  
 Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ, 66.  
 Ja'far Ibn Rabi'ah, 45.  
 Ja'far Ibn Yaḥyā, 104,  
 207, 259, 307, 311, 314,  
 316.  
 Ja'far (al-Mutawakkil), 171.  
 Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, 63, 180, 183,  
 184, 185, 246n.  
 Ja'far (Tāj al-Dawlah) 242,  
 243.

- Ja'far Ṭayālisi, 184.  
 al-Jāhiẓ, 81, 263.  
 Jakina, 68n, 90n.  
 Jakināt, 70n.  
 Jala'ah, 125n.  
 Jalābī, 71n.  
 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Zaynabī  
     77.  
 Jalhah, 40n.  
 al-Jalsā, 115.  
*Jam'a wa 'l-Tathniyah*, 264.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan  
     'Alī Ibn 'Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd  
     al-Wahīd al-Shaybānī, al-  
     Qiftī, 199.  
 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāḍī 'l-Akram  
     Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn  
     Yūsuf Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd  
     al-Wahīd al-Shaybānī al-  
     Saywī, 199.  
*al-Jamhrah*, 104, 151.  
*Jamharat al-Nisab*, 102.  
 Jāmī' al-'Atīq, 55, 57, 87,  
     283.  
 Jāmī' al-Qaṣr, 33.  
 Jarīr, 107, 108, 112, 113, 114,  
     121n, 122, 233.  
 Jarir (al-Mutalanmis). Ibn  
     'Abd al-Maṣīh Ibn 'Abd  
     Allāh Ibn Zayd Ibn  
     Dawfan Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Wahb  
     Ibn Julay Ibn Aḥmas Ibn  
     Ḍubay'ah Ibn Rabī'ah Ibn  
     Nizār Ibn Ma'add Ibn  
     'Adnān, 115.  
 Jasn, 156.  
 Ja'wanah Ibn Sha'ūb al-Shijā'i,  
     2, 3.  
 Jawhar, 53, 58, 62.  
 al-Jawharī, 39, 109n, 133n.  
 al-Jawrdānī, 250n.  
 Jawsh, 18n.  
 al-Jaydā, 38n.  
 al-Jaz'a, 29.  
 al-Jazīrah, 33.  
 Jazīrah Ibn 'Umar, 24,  
     296.  
 Jengeez Khān, 208n.  
 Jerusalem, 115.  
 Jesus, 156, 255.  
 Jew, 94.  
 al-Jidā, 38.  
 Jiddah, 24.  
 al-Jifār, 55.  
 Jihārbakht, 249.  
 al-Jihshyārī, 310, 316, 317.  
 Jilān, 71n.  
 al-Jizah, 54, 38.  
 Job, 255.  
 John the Baptist, 255,  
     311.  
 Joseph, 82, 232n, 255,  
     301.  
*Journal Asiatique*, 111n, 125n.  
 al-Jubb, 57.  
 Juddah, 24.  
*Judhwat al-Muqtahis*, 149.  
 al-Julāh, 123.  
 Julhumah, 40, 132.  
 al-Junayd, 247.  
 al-Junayd Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥ-  
     mān al-Ghaṭafānī at-Murri,  
     218.  
 Jurjān, 145n.  
 Jusham, 159n.  
 Justinian II, 121n.

## K

- Ka'b Ibn Māmah, 208n.  
 Ka'b Ibn Sa'd, 265.  
 Ka'b Ibn Sūr, 226, and note.  
 Ka'bah, 118, 119n.  
 Kābul, 41, 51.  
 al-Kābuli, 51.  
 Kād, 284.  
 al-Kādish, 253n.  
 al-Kāfi, 278.  
 Kalāṭah, 125.  
 Kalb, 103, 107.  
 Kalilah and Dimnah, 68n.  
 Kamāl al-Dīn, 72, 78n.  
 Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-'Adīm, 185.  
 al-Kamāl Ibn al-Shi'ār al-Mawṣilī, 212 and note.  
 Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Yūnus, 72, and note.  
 Kāmil, of Ibn Athīr 109, 122, 161n, 173n, 174n, 221n.  
 Kāmil (of al-Mubarrad), 143, 148.  
 al-Karkh, 66, 69, 147, 287.  
 al-Karkhi, 73, 80.  
 Kathīr, 218.  
 Kātib, 85.  
 Kātib al-Wāqidi, 102.  
 Kāwūs, 1n.  
 Khalaṭah, 125.  
 al-Khābūr, 173, 174, 176.  
 Khālāṭ, 173n.  
 Khalaṭah, 125.  
 Khalf, 160n.  
 Khālid (Mujālid), 36n,  
 Khālid, 173n.  
 Khālid al-Hadhhdhā, 257.  
 Khālid Ibn Barmak, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 314, 315, 316, 317.  
 Khālid Ibn Ṣafwnā al-Minqari, 163, 265.  
 Khālid Ibn Walid, 107n 149, 150, 151, 152, 153.  
 Khālidites, 15.  
 Khalif of Baghdād, 8.  
 Khalifah Ibn Khayyāt, 102.  
 al-Khalil, 59, 268.  
 Khalil Allāh, 191n.  
 al-Khalil Ibn Aḥmad, 34, 40, 59n, 267, 268.  
 Khān, 212.  
 Khandaq, 283.  
 al-Khansā, 19, 174, 176, 177.  
 Kharashah, 34.  
 Kharashamah, 40.  
 Kharidah, 19, 24, 69, 73, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 92, 99, 291, 292, 296.  
 Khārijī, 173n.  
 Khārijites, 133, 144, 173, 176, 196.  
 al-Khashshāb, 250.  
 Khaṭīb, Abū Bakr al-Baghdādi, 11, 14, 17, 41, 42, 43, 45, 49, 63, 101, 102, 126, 170, 180, 183, 184, 216, 217, 218, 224, 226, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 245, 247, 259, 262, 276, 278, 293, 294n, 312.  
 Khaṭīb Abū Zakarriyā al-Ṭibrizi, 279, 282, 292.

al-Khaṭīb al-Haskafī, 292, 295,  
296.

al-Khaṭīrī, 90n.

al-Khaṭṭāb, 153.

Khawārij, 134n.

Khawātim al-Khulafā, 134.

al-Khawlah, 125.

al-Khayf, 56.

Khaytham, 132n.

al-Khayzurān, 51, 63, 101.

Khazarian, 234.

al-Khāzin, 145n.

al-Khazraj, 87, 171, 226n.

Khazraji, 87.

al-Khiḍr Ibn 'Aqil al-Ibrānī  
194.

Khiṭāṭ (Maqrizi), 54n.

al-Khubzāruzzī, 11, 13, 15, 18,  
147.

al-Khulaysā, 204.

Khunays, 109n.

Khunaysh, 109, 110.

Khurāsān, 34, 40, 106n, 133,  
139, 197, 206, 218, 231,  
247, 254, 255, 256, 257,  
274.

Khurāsānis, 208n.

Khurramiyah, 213n.

Khushyār Ibn Labān Ibn  
Bāshahri of Jilān, 71 and  
note.

Khawārazm, 197, 199, 200.

Khawārazm-Shāh, 208n.

Khawarizm, 4, 5, 6.

Khawaylid Ibn Murrah, 157n.

Khuzā'ah, 40, 103.

Khuzā'i, 34, 40.

Kindah, 104.

Kis, 196n.

al-Kisā'i, 45, 106, 258n, 263,  
268, 270, 271, 272.

Kish, 196.

Kisrā, 79n.

Kitāb al-Aghānī, 68n, 146n,  
181, 182, 199, 234.

Kitāb al-Akhlāq, 52.

Kitāb Akhlāq al-Baṣrah, 227.

Kitāb Ālat al-Kātib, 264.

Kitāb al-Alqāb, 40, 265.

Kitāb alqāb Quraysh, 103.

Kitāb alqāb al-Yaman, 103.

Kitāb al-Amālī, 64.

Kitāb al-Amāliḥ wa 'l-A'yān  
wa musdī al-'Awāṭif wa 'l-  
Iḥsān, 127.

Kitāb al-Anwā, 40.

Kitāb al-Anqāt, 285.

Kitāb al-'Ayn, 40.

Kitāb al-Bahī, 264.

Kitāb al-Bānī, 91, 98, 99,  
272.

Kitāb Buyūtāt Quraysh, 103.

Kitāb al-Dhayl, 73, 251.

Kitāb al-Duwal, 199.

Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Kabīr, 184.

Kitāb Faḍā'il Qays 'Aylān,  
103.

Kitāb al-Fākhīr, 264.

Kitāb al-Fuṣūl, 123.

Kitāb Ghārib al-Ḥadīth, 40.

Kitāb hubūf Ādam, 133.

Kitāb al-Hudūd, 106.

Kitāb Ibtida al-Da'wah bi 'l-  
'Uhaydiyin, 52.

Kitāb iddh'at Ziyād Mu'ā-  
wiyah, 103.

- Kitāb Iṣtirāḡ walad Nizār*, 104.  
*Kitāb Ikhtilāf Uṣūl al-Madhāhib*, 52.  
*Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, 52.  
*Kitāb al-Irshād fī ma'rifat 'Ulumā il-Bilād*, 217.  
*Kitāb al-Jam'a wa 'l-Bayān*, 297.  
*Kitāb al-Jāmi'*, 257.  
*Kitāb al-Jinān*, 296.  
*Kitāb Khilq al-Farās*, 40.  
*Kitāb Khiṭaṭ al-Kūfah*, 134.  
*Kitāb al-Kunā*, 103.  
*Kitāb al-Lughāt*, 264.  
*Kitāb al-M'āni*, 40, 260.  
*Kitāb al-Ma'āni 'l-Mukhtara'ah*, 28.  
*Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, 123, 163n, 184, 214n, 226n, 265n.  
*Kitāb al-Mabdā wa al-Ma'al*, 198.  
*Kitāb man lahu himmah* 199.  
*Kitāb al-Maṣādir*, 40, 264.  
*Kitāb al-Mathālib*, (by Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī), 103, (by al-Haytham Ibn Adī), 133.  
*Kitāb mathālib ahl al-Baṣah*, 34.  
*Kitāb al-Maw'ūdāt*, 103.  
*Kitāb al-Mu'anmarin*, 133.  
*Kitāb al-Mu'atabāt*, 104.  
*Kitāb al-Mudkhil*, 40.  
*Kitāb al-Mughrib*, 4.  
*Kitāb Mulāzim*, 264.  
*Kitāb mulūk Kindah*, 104.  
*Kitāb mulūk al-Tawā'if*, 104.  
*Kitāb al-Munāfarāt*, 103.  
*Kitāb al-Mushājarāt*, 104.  
*Kitāb al-Nawādir*, 134, 264, 267.  
*Kitāb al-Nawāfil*, 103.  
*Kitāb al-Nisā*, 99.  
*Kitāb al-Qiyās*, 106.  
*Kitāb al-Rāyat*, 184.  
*Kitāb al-Rawayāt*, 184n.  
*Kitāb al-Riddah*, 157.  
*Kitāb ṣunā'a Quraysh*, 103, 104.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣifāt*, 39.  
*Kitāb Ṣifāt al-Nabī*, 184.  
*Kitāb al-Ṣilāh*, 40.  
*Kitāb al-Ta'āzī*, 236.  
*Kitāb tafriq Azd*, 104.  
*Kitāb Ṭasm wa Jadīs*, 104.  
*Kitāb al-Tahdhib*, 278.  
*Kitāb al-Waqf wa 'l-'Itidā*, 264.  
*Kitāb al-Wāw*, 264.  
*Kitāb al-Wuṣūd*, 134.  
*Kitāb Wulāt al-Kūfah*, 134.  
*Kitāb al-Wuzarā al-Kuttāb*, 313n.  
*Kitāb Yāfi' wa Yafa'ah*, 264.  
*Kitāb al-Zīj*, 71.  
*Kitāb al-Zuharah*, 236.  
*Kitāb al-Zuharah*, 236.  
*Kosegarten*, 179n.  
*Kūfah*, 41, 42, 44, 46, 50, 100, 106, 107, 108, 109n, 117n, 122n, 132, 133n, 134, 139, 160n, 214, 215, 246n, 258, 263, 264.  
*al-Kūfī*, 132.  
*Kulayb*, 114.  
*Kulliyāt of Ibn Sīnā*, 25.  
*Kulthūm*, 34, 40.  
*Kuna al-Ashraf*, 134.  
*Kunāsah*, 44, 139.

*Kunnas wa Hawāsh*, 95.

al-Kusā'i, 125.

al-Kuthayyir, 131.

## L

Labatalah, 125.

al-Labbādi, 16.

Labid Ibn Rabi'ah al-'Āmiri,  
68.

*al-Laṣīf*, 195.

Lakhm, 20, 156.

Lakhmide, 156.

al-Lāmāniyah, 306.

Lane, 246n.

Lankak, 18.

Layth (tribe), 218, 255.

Layth Ibn Bakr Ibn 'Abd  
Manāt Ibn Kinānah, 183.

al-Layth Ibn Sa'd, 100, 149,  
219, 223.

al-Laythi, 218, 223.

Laylā, 107.

Lebanān, 191.

Legatee, 15.

Leyden, 126n, 164n.

Lihb, 131.

Lihbide, 131.

*Literaturgeschichte der Araber*,  
129n.

al-Liwā, 155.

Lubnān, 191.

*Lum'a* of Ibn Jinnī, 65.

## M

*Mā ittafaq lafẓuh*, 274.

Ma'add, 274.

*Ma'āni*, 260, 261, 264.

*Ma'āni al-Shi'r*, 169.

*Ma'ārij*, 226n, 245n.

al-Ma'arraḥ, 279.

Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, 84.

Ma'arri, 292.

al-Madā'ini, 27, 28.

*Madīḥ al-Shām*, 133.

*Madinah*, 2, 3, 9, 4n, 42, 55,  
63, 69, 87, 100n, 101, 111n,  
112, 113, 114, 115, 117n, 142,  
151n, 153, 157, 171n, 180,  
183, 214, 216, 217, 219, 221,  
226n, 245, 252, 294n, 311,  
312, 313.

al-Maghdūr, 301.

Maghrib, 9, 53, 55, 57, 58, 61.

al-Maghribi, 84n.,

Maghribin, 296n.

Magians, 307.

Magog, 204n.

Māh, 41.

Maḥāsīn Ibn 'Ajam, 26.

al-Mahdī, ('Ubaydi) 6, 8, 43,  
134, 136.

al-Maheli, 223n, 265, 266, 273,  
275, 298, 308.

Mahdi Muḥammad, Ibn Tū-  
mart, 299.

al-Mahdiyyah, 10, 88, 237, 297,  
299, 302, 303, 304, 305,  
306.

al-Mahel, 108.

Māhik, 128, 129.

Mahriz Ibn Ziyād, 304, 306,  
and note.

Ma'in, 217

Majd al-Dīn, 77.



- Majd al-Din Abu 'l-Sa'adat al-Mubarak, 33.  
 Majd al-Din, al-Şāhib, 77.  
 al-Makhzūmī, 38.  
 Makkah, 4, 5, 9n, 21n, 24, 38, 42, 50, 55, 56n, 103n, 115, 118, 119n, 216, 219, 226, 227, 235n, 240, 244, 258n, 265, 281, 312.  
 Makki Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī, 246.  
 Maksūh, 179n.  
 Malakiyān, 187.  
 al-Makfūf, 263.  
 al-Malfūf, 263n.  
 al-Malga, 304.  
 Malhamah, 298n.  
 Mālik, 1, 3, 12, 34, 45, 52, 53, 107, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 218n, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 229, 246n.  
 al-Malik al-'Ādil Ibn Ayyūb, 33.  
 al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī, 25, 26.  
 al-Malik al-Ashraf, 33.  
 Mālik Ibn Anas, 215, 219.  
 Mālik Ibn Nuwayrah, al-Yarbū'ī, 149, 150.  
 al-Malik al-Kāmil, 283, 306.  
 al-Malik al-Manşūr, 26.  
 al-Malik al-Nāşir, 188n.  
 al-Malik al-Kabir 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd, 26.  
 Malik Shāh, 51, 52.  
 Malik Shāh I, 187.  
 Malik Shāh II, Sultān Abu 'l-Fath, 187.  
 al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, 26.  
 al-Mālikī, 187.  
 Mālikite, 222n, 225n, 229.  
 Malikiyan, 225n.  
 Malkān, 96.  
 Māmah, 208.  
 Ma'mar, 214.  
 Ma'mar Ibn Rāshid al-Ḥarrānī, al-Başrī, 214n.  
 al-Māmūn, 35, 36, 99, 104, 106, 142, 184, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 243, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 266, 268, 269, 270, 273, 279, 309, 311.  
 al-Māmūniyah, 225.  
 Manāqib al-Udabā, 65.  
 Manbeh, 170.  
 Manjib, 160, 170, 171, 172.  
 Mandah, 249, 252.  
 Manghāya, 218, 223.  
 al-Manşūr, 6, 42, 43, 48, 63, 100, 101, 134, 138, 250, 265, 275.  
 Manşūr Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Jawshan Ibn Manşūr Ibn Humayed Ibn Ithāl Ibn Wazar Ibn 'Atṭāf Ibn Bishr Ibn Jandal Ibn 'Ubayd al-Rā'i Ibn Husayn Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn Jandal ... Ibn Nizar Ibn Ma'add Ibn 'Adnān, 18.  
 Manşūriyah, 144.  
 al-Manzil, 104.  
 Manzūr, 265.

- Manzūr Ibn Rabbān al-Fazārī, 125.  
*Maqāmah*, 117.  
*Maqāmāt*, 23, 68.  
 al-Maqqari, 221n, 222n, 277n, 288n,  
 Maqqari's *Spanish History*, 218n.  
*Maqṣūr wa 'l-Mamdūd*, 267.  
*Marāsid*, 294n.  
*Ma'ārif*, 142.  
 Marj al-Dalhamiyah, 85.  
 Ma'rūf al-Karkhi, 69, 80n.  
 Marūhdād, 284n.  
 Mārūt, 193n.  
 Marw, 34, 35, 37, 40, 51, 197, 223, 255, 274.  
 Marw al-Shahjān, 206.  
 Marwān Ibn Abi Ḥafṣah, 284.  
 Marwān Ibn Ḥakam, 114, 115, 117.  
 Marmān Ibn Muḥammad, 44.  
 Marwānide, 7.  
 Marwazī, 245.  
 al-Marzubān, 41.  
 al-Marzūqi, 278n.  
 Maṣ'adah, 231.  
*al-Maṣā'id wa 'l-Maṭārid*, 285.  
*Masālik al-Abṣār*, 122n.  
 Maṣḥad of al-Zaydī, 212.  
 al-Masiḥ, 142n.  
 Maṣjid al-Bir wa 'l-Jummayzah, 57.  
 Maṣjid al-Sabī, 299.  
 al-Maṣjid al-Zaydī, 212n.  
 Masmūdah, 218, 223.  
 Mas'ūd, 87.  
 al-Mas'ūdī, 137, 172, 234.  
*al-Maṭhal al-Sāir fī adab al-Kātib wa 'l-Shāir*, 27.  
*Maṭmah al-Anfus*, 288.  
 Mawāsīm, 134.  
 al-Mawṣili, 308.  
 Mawsilian, 147.  
 al-Maydānī, 115n.  
 Maymūn Ibn Hārūn, 164.  
 al-Mayyāfāriqīn, 292, 296.  
 Māzin, 34.  
 Meru, 197.  
 Mesopotamia, 26, 33, 98n, 173n, 194, 276n.  
 Mihrijān, 41.  
*al-Miftāḥ*, 277n.  
 Mihānidād Ḥasīs, 284.  
 Mihr Ḥasīs, 284.  
 Milah, 239, 245.  
 Minā, 131, 240.  
*al-Minhal al-Ṣāfi*, 86n.  
 al-Minqari, 265.  
 Mirbad of Baṣrah, 11, 18, 34.  
 Mirdās, 146.  
*Miṣbāḥ*, 4.  
 Miṣr, 219, 221, 243, 252, 283.  
 Morocco, 171n, 308.  
 Moses, 255.  
 Mosul, 9, 25, 26, 27, 33, 87, 92, 187, 190, 197, 199, 209, 210, 212n, 253, 254, 266n, 292.  
 Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal, 226.  
 al-Mu'āfa Ibn Zakariya al-Jariri, 11.  
 al-Mu'allā, 187.  
*al-Mu'allalaqahs*, 45n, 68, 92n.

- Mu'ammad, 138n.  
 Mu'āwiyah, 103, 104, 106n,  
 Mu'āwiyah Ibn Ābi Sufyān,  
     133, 103 and note, 104, 114,  
     117n, 234, 235, 236.  
 al-Mubarrad, 109, 122, 131,  
     148, 181, 182, 273.  
 Muḍar, 68, 117, 274, 280.  
*Mudkhil*, 285.  
*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, 278.  
*al-Mufākhīr* 264.  
 Muḡayrah, 132n.  
 al-Muḡīrah Ibn al-*Shu'bah*  
     132, 274.  
*Muḡīrī*, 95.  
 Muḡīriyah, 144.  
*Muḡīnī 'l-Labīb*, 109n.  
 Muḡrib, 4, 6.  
*Muḡadhdhab*, 1, 193.  
 Muḡadhdhab al-Dīn, 190.  
 Muḡadhdhab al-Dīn Abu Ṭālib  
     Muḡammad, 75.  
 al-Muḡallab Ibn Abi Ṣufrah,  
     256, 257.  
 Muḡammad<sup>o</sup>, 3, 7, 15n, 34,  
     35, 41, 42n, 86n, 100n,  
     104n, 112n, 121n, 124n,  
     134, 151n, 164, 179n,  
     203, 216n, 224n, 226n, 231n,  
     235n, 248, 254, 256.  
 Muḡammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh,  
     249.  
 Muḡammad Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik  
     Ibn Ṣāliḥ, 98.  
 Muḡammad Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik  
     al-Zayyāt, 286.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Abi Sarī al-  
     Baḡhdādī, 102, and note.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Aḡmad al-  
     Hakīmī, 160.  
 Muḡammad Ibn 'Alī, 276n.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Fādīḥ al-  
     Aḡwāzī, 35.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Ḥabīb, 121.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Hakīmā 68,  
     69.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah, 229.  
 Muḡammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-  
     Ṣhaybānī, 42, 262.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Hishām Ibn  
     ismā'il al-Malkhazūmī, 38.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Ḥumrān Ibn  
     Rabī'āh, 123.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Ishāq, 45, 178,  
     183, 215.  
 Muḡammad Ibn al-Jahm,  
     264.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Khalaf Ibn al-  
     Marzubān, 160 and note.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Mlik *Shāh* I,  
     178.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Maṣṣūr 227,  
     228.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Muḡammad  
     Ibn Muḡammad, 185.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Munādhīr,  
     311.  
 Muḡammad Ibn al-Munkadir,  
     42.  
 Muḡammad Ibn al-Nu'mān, 9,  
     58, 60, 61.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Sa'd, 102.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Sufyān Ibn  
     Mujāshī', 107, 123.  
 Muḡammad Ibn Sulaymān,  
     287.

- Muḥammad Ibn Sharaf, 33.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Tukush Khuw-  
ārazm Shāh, 197.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart, 299.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Uḥayḥah, 123.  
 Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn  
 Lubābah, 222.  
 Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā, 349,  
 307.  
 Muḥammad (King of Aden),  
 22  
 Muḥammad, the missionary, 53.  
 Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, 171n.  
 Muḥammah al-Baqir, 183.  
 Muḥammad, qādī, 59, 60, 61,  
 244.  
 Muḥammad al-Sa'dī, 81.  
 Muḥammad al-Yazidī, 274, 256  
 273.  
 Muḥārib Ibn Dithār, 42.  
 Muḥāsīd, 284n.  
 al-Muḥassan, 127.  
 al-Muḥawwal, 160n.  
*Muḥkam*, 245.  
 Mu'in al-Dīn al-Ḥaṣkafī, 292,  
 297.  
 al-Mu'izz, 6, 8, 9n, 10, 53, 54,  
 58.  
 al-Mu'izz Abu Tamīm Ma'add  
 Ibn al-Manṣūr, 53.  
 Mu'izz al-Dawlah, 6.  
 Mujālid Ibn Sa'id al-Hamdānī  
 al-Kūfī, 36 and note.  
 al-Mujalla, 108n.  
*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 198.  
*Mu'jam al-Shu'arā*, 198.  
*Mu'jam al-Udabā*, 198.  
 Mujāshī, 107, 109, 123, 124.  
*Mūjaz*, 104.  
*Majmū'ah al-Ṣaghīr*, 191.  
*al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-Mu'talif*,  
 245.  
 al-Mukhtār al-Musabbihī, 6,  
 10, 52.  
*Mukhtaṣar*, 106.  
 al-Muktafi bi-Allāh, 284, 286,  
 287.  
 al-Mulakhkhaṣ, 278.  
*Mulūkl*, 104.  
 al-Munajjim, 99, 283.  
 al-Munastir, 86, 87, 88.  
*al-Muntakhab [poem]*, 53.  
*Muqaddimah*, 5.  
 Mu :ā'is, 265.  
 al-Muqallad Ibn al-Muṣayyab,  
 9.  
 Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān, 45.  
 Muqaṭṭam, Mount, 87.  
*Muqrī'*, 274n.  
 al-Muqtafi li-amr Allāh, 65n,  
 66n, 95, 96.  
*Mu'rib*, 4.  
 Murjiyans, 148.  
 Murr, 107.  
 Murrah, 129n, 218, 265.  
 Murri, 218.  
 al-Murtaḍā, 221, 271.  
*Murūj al-Ḥahab*, 137, 172, 234,  
 255, 307.  
 Mū-ā 'l-Amin, 137.  
 Mūsā 'l-Hādī, 136.  
 Mūsā Ibn Furāt, 148.  
 Mū-ā Ibn Ja'far, 33.  
 Māsā Ibn Yahyā 307, 309.  
 al-Musabbih. 142n.  
 al-Musabihi 10.

Muşallā, 114, 302.  
 al-Muşallā, 187.  
 Muşannaj, 245.  
 Muştarik, 172, 198n.  
 Muştarik waḍ'an wa 'l-Mukh-  
 talif şaq'an, 198.  
 Muslim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Quşha-  
 yri, 214.  
 Muslim Ibn al-Walid, 91.  
 Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-  
 Anşāri, 314.  
 al-Muştafā, 7.  
 Muştafā Aḥmad, 183.  
 al-Musta'in, 164.  
 al-Mustanjid, 94n.  
 al-Mustanşir, 7, 299, 302.  
 al-Mustarşhid, 65n, 69.  
 Musulmān, 41, 122n, 149,  
 177n.  
 al-Mu'taḍid, 130, 284,  
 285.  
 al-Mutalammis, 115, 116,  
 117.  
 al-Mu'tamid 'alā-Allāh, 284.  
 al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād, 158,  
 280.  
 Mu'tamid al-Mulk Abu 'l-  
 Faraj Yaḥyā Ibn al-Talmidh,  
 89.  
 al-Mu'tamid Şanā al-Mulk,  
 81.  
 al-Mu'tamin, 185.  
 al-Mu'tamin Işhāq, 63.  
 Mutammim, 149, 150, 152,  
 153, 154, 157, 158, 159.  
 al-Mutanabbî, 64, 65, 162, 164,  
 170, 199, 238, 277.  
 al-Mutanabbî's *Diwan*, 187.

al-Murriizi, 4, 5.  
 al-Mu'taşim, 161n, 274.  
 al-Mutawakkil, 130, 164, 170,  
 171, 244, 284.  
 al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh, 160,  
 165, 244.  
 Mu'tazili, 144.  
 Mutazilites, 4, 143, 144,  
 183, 225, 259, 263, 268,  
 284.  
 al-Muṭi', 224n.  
 Muṭi' Ibn Iyās, 284.  
 Muṭrib min aṣṣhār ahl il-Maghrib,  
 290.  
 al-Muṭṭalib, 180.  
 al-Mu'āfā al-Tamimi, 183.  
 al-Muwaffaq, 130, 284.  
 al-Muwaffaq Abū Aḥmad  
 Ṭalḥah, 284.  
 al-Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad,  
 6.  
 Muwaffaq al-Din Abu 'l-Ma'ālī  
 Aḥmad, 27, 28.  
 Muwaffaq al-Din Abu Muḥa-  
 mmad 'Abd al-Laṭif Ibn  
 Yūsuf, 96, 97.  
 Muwawṣṣahāt, 288.  
 Muwaṭṭā, 218n, 219, 228.  
 al-Muẓaffar, 221n.

## N

Nabatean, 51.  
 Nabḥān al-Faqasī, 168.  
 al-Nābil, 232n.  
 Naḍr Ibn Azd, 131.  
 al-Naḍr Ibn Şhumayl, 34, 35,  
 37, 38, 39, 40.

- Nāfi, the *mawla* of Ibn 'Umar, 1, 2, 42.
- Nafi, the *Qur'ān* Reader, 2, 3.
- al-Nafīs al-Qutrusī, 30.
- Nafisah, al-Sayyidah, 63.
- Naḥrīr, 279n.
- Najd, 19, 115, 205.
- al-Najīb Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, 187.
- Nājiyah, 107.
- Najm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Yūsuf Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad, 158, 159.
- al-Nāmī, 22n.
- al-Nāmūs, 22.
- Naqayāya, 213n.
- Naqiyā, 213, 218.
- Nasā, 197, 214n.
- Nashū al-Mulk Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Mufarraǵ, 84.
- Naṣībīn, 173, 176.
- Nasiḥ, 35n.
- al-Naṣiḥ Ibn al-Dahhān, 92.
- Nasim, 167.
- Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, 72n.
- al-Nāṣīr li-Dīn Allāh Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, 30.
- Naṣīriyan, 188.
- Naṣr, Ibn Bujayr, 54.
- Naṣr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, 26.
- al-Naṣr al-Khubzāruzzī, 11, 14, 17, 18.
- Naṣr Ibn Rabi'ah, 156.
- Naṣr al-Numayrī, 18.
- Nawādi*, 267.
- al-Nawār, 124, 125.
- al-Nawawī, 1n, 177n.
- Nawbahār, 307.
- al-Nayrab, 186.
- Nayṣābūr, 35, 246, 249, 250.
- Naẓm al-Jumān*, 41n, 47n.
- Negro, 297.
- Nile, 32, 83.
- Nimrod, 191n.
- Nizām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Muẓaffār Ibn Jarīr, 66n.
- Nizāmiyah, 97, 190, 193, 194, 278.
- Nizār, 7, 8, 104, 274.
- Noah, 191, 251, 255.
- Norman, 23n, 305n.
- Note sur les successions musulmanes*, 226n.
- Notices et Extraits*, 274n.
- Nu'aym, 268.
- Nujūm*, 40n, 42n, 46n, 49n, 98n, 100n, 102n, 106n, 111n, 117n, 121n, 148n, 151n, 160n, 161n, 172n, 213n, 214n, 215n, 224n, 229n, 232n, 245n, 246n, 247n, 257n.
- Nu'mā, 165.
- al-Nu'mān, (Abū Ḥanifah) 41, 49.
- al-Nu'mān Ibn Jasr, 156.
- al-Nu'mān Ibn Muḥammad, 52, 53, 55, 56, 62.
- Numārah, 156.
- Numayr Ibn 'Āmir, 20.

Numayrī, 20.

Nūr al-Dīn Arsilān Shāh, 26,  
27.

Nuṣayb, 110, 111.

## O

Ormus, 196n.

Ouahb, 179n.

## P

Palermo, 305n.

Perron, Dr. 225n, 226n.

Persia, 41, 71n, 79n, 148, 177n,  
284, 309.

Persian, 5, 18, 41n, 70,  
105n, 107n, 178, 179,  
184.

Persian Gulf, 196n.

Persians, 18, 70, 71n, 146n,  
178, 285.

Perviz, 179.

Pharaoh, 208n, 218.

Pleiades, 301.

Price's *Retrospect of Mahom-  
madan history*, 139n.

Ptolemy, 71.

## Q

al-Qāḍī 'l-A'azz, 20.

al-Qāḍī al-Akram Ibn al-Qiftī,  
199, 279.

al-Qāḍī 'l-Fāḍil, 25, 32, 81, 82,  
83, 85.

al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil 'Abd Raḥīm,  
20.

Qāḍī 'l-Māristān, 253.

al-Qāḍī al-Raṣhīd, 81.

al-Qāḍī al-Raṣhīd Ibn al-Zubayr,  
296.

al-Qāḍī l-Sa'id, 81, 82, 83, 84,  
85, 86, 159.

Qadīd, 54n.

al-Qāḍisiyah, 105n, 111n,

Qaḥṭabah Ibn Shabīb al-Ṭāī,  
307.

*Qalā'id al-Iqiyān*, 171n, 289,  
291.

Qālūn, 3n.

al-Qarāfah, 7.

Qarmaṭs, 284.

Qarqisiyah, 176, 286.

al-Qāsim, 6, 27, 185, 287,  
303.

al-Qaṣr, 9, 10.

Qaṣr al-Baḥr, 6.

Qaṣr al-Dhahab, 7.

Qaṣr al-Sidah, 302.

Qaṣr Ziyād, 303.

Qatādah Ibn Dī'āmah al-Sadūsī,  
100, 145, 214, 254.

Qaṭan, 245.

Qaylah, 87.

al-Qayn, 156.

Qayrawān, 9n, 10, 54, 237,  
297, 306n.

Qays 'Aylān, 103.

Qays Ibn Aṣīm al-Minqārī,  
112.

Qays Ibn al-Makshūh, 179.

Qazwin, 217n.

al-Qazzāz, 257.

Qinnisrīn, 138.

Quḍā'ah, 241.

al-Qudā'i, 250n.  
 Qunbul, 3.  
*Qur'ān*, 2, 3, 18, 21n, 25, 39, 44, 45, 49, 53, 80, 87, 103, 112n, 114, 122n, 138, 142, 143, 190, 191n, 193n, 198, 203n, 208n, 228n, 232n, 234n, 236, 237, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 260, 261, 264, 266, 268, 274, 276n, 277, 278, 296, 302, 315.  
*Quraysh*, 33, 99, 103, 104, 133, 180.  
*Qurayshide*, 180.  
*Qurayshids*, 119, 181.  
*Qurayshite*, 124.  
*Qurayshites*, 103, 104.  
*Qūsh*, 24.  
*Qusantīnā*, 305n.  
*Quşayyī*, 103.  
*al-Qusantīniyah*, 305n.  
*Qutaybah Ibn Muslim* 255.  
*Qutrub Muḥammad*, 39, 259.  
*Qutrubbul*, 101.  
*Quwayq*, 186.

## R

*Rabaḍ Harthamah*, 316.  
*al-Rabadhah*, 244, 245.  
*Rabadīs*, 222n.  
*Rabī' al-Abrār*, 317.  
*al-Rabī' Ibn Yānus*, 43, 47, 48.  
*Rabī'ah*, 68, 103, 156.  
*al-Rafīqah*, 316.  
*al-Rahabah*, 286.

*al-Rā'i*, 22n.  
*Rajā Ibn Sahl al-Ṣaghānī*, 180.  
*Rakaḍah*, 125.  
*Rakānah*, 180.  
*al-Ramādī*, 145n.  
*al-Raqqah*, 18, 172, 276n, 286, 316.  
*Rās 'Ayn*, 168, 176, 296.  
*Rās'anī*, 296.  
*al-Rashid*, 134, 172, 173, 174, 180, 258, 259, 268, 308, 311, 315, 316, 317.  
*al-Rawḍ al-Unuf*, 123.  
*Ray*, 213, 246, 247.  
*Raydān al-Ṣaqlabī*, 10.  
*Rayyā*, 240.  
*al-Rāzī*, 257.  
*Red Sea*, 24.  
*Renaud, M.*, 71.  
*Reiske*, 116n.  
*Revue archeologique*, 305n.  
*al-Riḍā*, 271.  
*Riqāsh*, 156.  
*Risālah*, 245, 246.  
*Roger the Frank*, 304, 305.  
*Romans*, 194.  
*Rūḍah*, 54n.  
*Rudwā*, 191.  
*Ruḥ al-Ḥaywān*, 81.  
*Rām*, 194, 195, 237.  
*al-Rūmī*, 191, 194.  
*al-Ruṣāfah*, 43, 243.

## S

*Subā*, queen of, 15.



- Sabaṭḥ, 125.  
 Sabaṭn, 218n.  
 Sabeen, 126, 127,  
*Sabīl ilā ma'ārifat al-Ḥaqq*,  
 148.  
 Sa'd, 265.  
 Sa'd Ibn Hudhaym, 209n.  
 al-Sa'dān, 150.  
 Šaddā, 150.  
 Sa'ds, 209.  
 Sadūsīde, 144.  
 al-Saffāh, 127, 128n, 138, 265.  
 Šafwān, 265.  
 Šahāh, 39, 109n.  
 Šahāh of al-Jawhari, 187.  
 Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād, 145.  
 Šahīh (of al-Bukhārī), 251.  
 Šahīh (of Muslim), 251.  
 Sahl Ibn Sa'd al-Sa'idī, 41, 42,  
 100.  
 Ša'id (upper Egypt), 88.  
 Sa'id (Ibn Ḥajjāj), 93.  
 al-Sa'id Ibn Sana al-Mulk, 81,  
 84, 85.  
 Sa'id Ibn Abi 'Arūbah *Shu'bah*,  
 214, and note.  
 Sa'id Ibn al-Āṣ, 117, 136.  
 Šā'in al-Dīn, 252.  
 al-Sakb 40.  
 Šakhr, 174, 176, 177.  
 Sal'ā, 294.  
 Saladin, 25, 84, 188n.  
 Šalāh al-Dīn, 25, 26, 84,  
 85n.  
 Šalāh al-Dīn, Sulṭān, 186.  
 Salamah, 263, 264.  
 Sale, 122n, 148n, 232n.  
 Šālīh Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abd Allāh  
 Ibn 'Abbās Ibn 'Abd al-  
 Muṭṭalib, 172, 186.  
 Šālīh Ibn al-Aṣbagh al-Tanū-  
 khī, 160.  
 Šālīh Ibn al-Mutawakkil  
 214n.  
 Šālīh Ibn Usamah, 54.  
 al-Šālīhiyah, 186.  
 Saljūq, 51, 187.  
 Salmā, 280.  
 Sam'an, 245.  
 al-Sam'āni, 3, 142, 144, 190,  
 218, 265, 279.  
 al-Samannūdiyah, 88.  
 Samarqand, 59.  
 Sāmarrah, 107, 121n.  
 al-Samāwah, 107.  
 al-Sāmikī, 298.  
 Sammāk Ibn Ḥarb, 42.  
 Šamšāmah, 136, 137.  
 Šan'ā, 54, 179.  
 Šanhājah, 86n.  
 al-Šarāt, 279.  
 Šarkhad, 26.  
 Sarraman ra'ā, 171n.  
 Ša'sa'ah, 107, 112.  
 Sāsānid, 284.  
 Satif, 306n.  
 Sawād, 133, 173n.  
 Sawār, 107, 109.  
 Sayf al-Dwlah, 9n.  
 Sayf al-Dawlah al-Mubārak  
 Ibn Munqidh, 84.  
 Sayf Ibn Dhī Yazan, 178.  
 al-Sayyādī, 276n.  
 al-Sayyārī, 276n.  
 Sayyid al-Ahl, 87.  
 Seville, 158, 171n, 280.

- Sfax, 303,  
Shābatūn, 218.  
Shaba'ūn, 218n.  
Shabbah, 265.  
 al-Shā'ibī, 36, 131.  
Shabīb Ibn Shabbāh, 163,  
 265.  
 al-Shāfi'ī, 1, 45, 50, 51, 53, 63,  
 216, 224, 283.  
Shāfi'ite, 225n, 292.  
Shāfi'ites, 4.  
Shajarah, 69.  
Shajari, 69.  
Shāmil, 193.  
Shammāl, 218, 223.  
Shams al-Dawlah Tūrān Shāh,  
 24, 84.  
 al-Sharaf, 33.  
Sharaf al-Dawlah Muslim Ibn  
Quraysh, 313.  
Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh  
Muḥammad Ibn Sa'd Ibn  
Ḥammād al-Ṣanhājī al-Dulusi  
al-Būṣīrī, 86n.  
Sharaf al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan,  
 74.  
Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn 'Unayn,  
 81.  
Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭusī, 72.  
Sharaf al-Mulk Abū Sa'd  
Muḥammad Ibn Manṣūr al-  
Khuwārazmī, 51.  
Sharh Shawāhid il Mughnī,  
 109n.  
Shārī, 176.  
Sharīfs, 134.  
Sharik, 46, 231.  
 al-Sharqiyah, 26, 27.  
 al-Shāṭibī, 295.  
 Shaw, Dr., 270n.  
 al-Shawrā, 120.  
Shay-Allāh, 156.  
Shaybah, 265n.  
Shaybah Ibn al-Walīd, 273.  
Shaybān, 173n, 199, 275, 281.  
Shaybānī, 282.  
Shayzar, 9.  
Shihāb, 65n.  
Shihāb al-Dīn, 196.  
Shi'ites, 15n, 35n, 58, 144, 255,  
 295.  
Shija', 3.  
 al-Shi'ri, 285n.  
Shudhūr al-'uqūd, 122, 256.  
Shumayl, 34, 40.  
Shurāt, 176.  
 Sibawayh's *Kitāb*, 253.  
 Sibjān Ibn 'Umar, 173n.  
 Sicily, 23, 24, 237, 304, 305.  
 Sidi Khalīl, 225n, 226n.  
Ṣiffīn, 100n, 104.  
 al-Siḥānī, 173.  
 al-Silafī, 73, 87, 252.  
 Simāk Ibn al-Nu'mān, 15, 16.  
 al-Simāk, 14n.  
 Sind, 109, 233.  
 al-Ṣinī, 277n.  
 Sinjār, 26, 79, 197.  
*Siq al-Zand*, 278.  
 Solomon, 15, 122, 237, 255.  
 Sons of Tawny, 195.  
 Spain, 7, 104n, 149, 218, 219,  
 220, 221, 222, 223, 253, 277n,  
 288.  
 al-Sudayrah, 66.  
 Sudd, 204.

- Şufyān, 107, 224, 317.  
 Şufyān al-Ṭhawrī, 47, 100, 215, 317.  
 Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah, 215, 216, 219, 224.  
 Suḥaym, 107, 108, 109.  
 Suhayyah, 129n.  
 al-Sukkari, 122.  
 Sulaym, 176.  
 Snlaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 110, 111, 118, 138.  
 Sulaymān Ibn Wahb, 166, 231.  
 al-Şūlī, 162.  
 Sumaysāt, 26.  
 Sumayyah, 129n.  
 al-Suqyā, 172.  
 Şūr, 276.  
 Şurr Durr, 23.  
 Sūsah, 88, 304.  
 al-Suyūṭī, 109n, 123.  
 Suyūṭī's *Biographical Dictionary of grammarians and literary men*, 276n, 283n.  
 Suyūṭī's *Grammarians*, 276n.  
 Suyūṭī's *Shawāhid al-Mughnī*, 235n.  
 Syria, 9, 27, 55, 81, 85, 98n, 111n, 116, 119, 124, 127, 134, 145n, 150n, 160, 192, 194, 196, 200, 215, 227.  
 Syrian, 119, 236.  
 Syrians, 119, 236.
- T
- Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāz, 214n, 232n, 246n, 276n.  
 Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā', 3n, 266n, 267n, 274, 277n.  
 Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi', 225n.  
 Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā, 107, 122, 124, 143.  
 al-Ṭabarī, 179n, 285.  
 al-Ṭabīb, 266n, 267n.  
 Ṭābī'i, 1.  
 Ṭābīkhah, 274.  
 Tabrīz, 276, 279.  
*Tafḍīl al-Kilāb*, 160n.  
*Tahdhīb*, 1n, 36n, 100n, 193.  
*Tahdhīb al-Asmā*, 42n, 100n.  
 al-Ṭāhir, 271.  
 Ṭāhir Ibn al-Ḥusayn, 106n.  
 Ṭāhir Ibn Muḥammad al-Hāshimī, 167, 168.  
 al-Ṭā'i, 84, 132.  
 al-Ṭā'i li-Allāh, 8.  
 Tāj al-Dawlah Ja'far, 243, and note.  
 Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī, 75.  
*Tajriḥ wa ta'dīl*, definition of 214n.  
 Ṭallah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far, 224.  
*Talkhīṣ*, 95.  
 Tall Nuhākā, 174.  
 al-Talmīdh al-Ṭabīb, 88n.  
 Tamīm, 34, 39, 76, 103, 107, 109, 110, 123, 152n, 163n, 223, 224n, 245, 265, 297, 298, 299.  
 Tamīm Ibn al-Mu'izz Ibn Bādīs, 88.

- Tamim Ibn Zayd al-Qayni, 109.  
 Tamīmī, 245.  
 al-Tamīmī al-Māzini, 34.  
 Tamīmides, 152.  
*al-Tanbih*, 229.  
 Ṭanzah, 292, 296.  
 al-Ṭanzī, 296.  
 Ṭarafah Ibn al-'Abd al-Bakrī 116.  
 Ṭarafah's *Mu'allaqah*, Prologus, 116n.  
 Ṭarīf, 174, 176.  
*Tārīkh al-'Aynī*, 126n.  
 Tartars, 27, 197, 199.  
 Ṭasm, 104, 184.  
*al-Taṣrif al-Mulūki*, 65.  
 Ṭāwūs, 179.  
 Ṭay, 25, 132, 133, 141, 160, 163.  
 al-Ṭay, 132.  
 Taym Allāh, 199.  
 Taym Allāh Ibn *Ṭha'labah*, 41.  
 Taymā, 205.  
 al-*Ṭha'libī*, 11n, 12, 56, 99, 132n, 145n.  
*Ṭhābit*, 41.  
*Ṭhadūl*, 132.  
*Ṭahlān*, 191.  
*Ṭha'labah*, 199.  
*Ṭhamūd*, 114.  
*Ṭhiqat al-Dawlah*, 237, 239, 243.  
*Ṭhiqat al-Mulk*, 242.  
*Ṭhousand and one nights*, 246n.  
*Ṭhu'al*, 132, 141, 142.  
*Ṭhu'ali*, 132, 142.  
*Ṭhumāmah*, 259.  
 Tibrizi, 277n, 282.  
 al-Tibrizi, 275-282.  
 Tigris, 33, 55, 91, 101, 173n, 188.  
 Tikrit, 79.  
 Tinnis, 55.  
 al-Ṭirimāh Ibn Hakim, 76.  
*Tirmidh*, 41, 79.  
 Toledo, 222.  
 Tripoli, 299, 304.  
 Tubba', 155.  
*Tuhfat al-Zurafā fi Tārīkh al-Khulafā*, 7.  
 Ṭamādir, 176.  
 Tunis, 88, 237n, 304.  
 Ṭurayf, 176.  
 Turkish, 62, 171n, 212.  
 Turkumāns, 186.  
 al-Ṭūsī, 72.  
 Tyre, 276.

## U

- 'Ubayd, 265.  
 'Ubayd Allāh, 100n, 170.  
 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Umar 100 and note.  
 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn 'Umar al-'Umari, 180.  
 'Ubayd al-Rā'i, 19.  
 al-'Udhayb, 204, 290.  
 Udud, 274.  
 Uḥud, 191.  
 'Ukābah, 199.  
 'Ulwah, 160.  
 'Umān, 196.

- 'Umar, 316n.  
 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, 100, 112.  
 'Umar Ibn Bukayr, 261.  
 'Umar Ibn Hānī, 138.  
 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, 130, 131, 132,, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 226, 228, 235n, 316n.  
 'Umar Ibn Shabbah, 131, 227.  
 al-'Umarānī, 316.  
 'Umārat al-Yamanī, 32.  
 'Umaymah, 157.  
 Umayyad, 7, 44, 111, 117n, 118, 119n, 129, 136, 218, 221, 222n, 226n, 234, 307.  
 Umayyads, 127, 128n, 134, 138, 139, 140, 284.  
 Umayyah, 104.  
 Umayyid, 104n, 110.  
 Umm 'Amr, 15, 16, 240.  
 Umm Jamil, 236.  
 Umm Mutammim, 151.  
 Umm Salamah, 3.  
 'Uqaylide, 144.  
 'Uqūd al-Jumān, 212.  
 Urid, 284.  
 Ursa minor, 156n.  
 'Urwah, 34, 40, 100, 102, 157,  
 Usāmah al-Dhuhli, 54.  
 Usayyid, 223, 245.  
 Usayyidi, 245.  
 Ushnuh, 225.  
 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān, 37, 117n, 235n, 245.  
 'Uthmān Ibn Miḥsan, 257.
- V
- Valencia, 277n.  
 Vespasian, 195n.
- W
- al-Waḍḍāh, 155.  
 Waddān, 111.  
 Wahb Ibn Munabbih, 177, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184.  
 Wuhraz, 178.  
 Wādī 'l-Qurā', 111.  
 Wā'il, 173n.  
 Wajīz, 193.  
 Wakī' Ibn al-Jarrāh, 42, 100.  
 Wālibah Ibn al-Ḥubāb 284.  
 al-Walid al-Buḥturi, 170.  
 al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, 121, 138, and note.  
 al-Walid Ibn Ṭarīf, 173, 174, 174, 176, 177.  
 al-Walid Ibn Yazīd, 139.  
 al-Wāqidī, 153, 157, 180, 312.  
 Wāqim, 114.  
 Ward, 18n.  
 Wardiyah, 71.  
 Warsh, 3.  
 al-Waṣṣal 'l-Marqūm fī ḥall al-Manzūm, 25, 28.  
 Washq, 258.  
 Washqī, 258.  
 al-Washshā, 148.  
 al-Waṣī, 15n.  
 Wāṣil, Ibn 'Aṭā, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148.

Wāsiṭ, 187.  
 Wathīl Ibn Amr Ibn Juwayn  
 Ibn Wuhayb Ibn Ḥimayr,  
 109.  
 Wathīmah Ibn Mūsā, 148, 149,  
 150, 153, 159.  
 Wazīr, 199, 201, 211.  
 Wazīr Ibn Baqīyyah, 138.  
 Wazīr Ibn al-Qifṭī, 199 and note.  
 William I, 305.  
 William II, 23n, 305.  
 Wislās, 218, 223.  
 Wislāsīn, 218, 223.  
 Wustenfēld, 177n, 198n, 318n,  
 Wustenfēld's *Arabische Aerzte*,  
 94n, 95.  
 Wuthayl, 109n.

## Y

Yadhbul, 191.  
 Yahyā, 98, 99, 170.  
 Yahyā Ibn Tamīm, 302, 303.  
 Yahyā, the Barmakid, 271, 306,  
 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312,  
 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318.  
 Yahyā Ibn Abī Kaṭhīr al-Yam-  
 anī, 214, and note.  
 Yahyā Ibn Ādam, 215.  
 Yahyā Ibn Akṭham, 223, 224,  
 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230,  
 231, 232, 233, 534, 243, 344.  
 Yahyā Ibn 'Alī, 99.  
 Yahyā Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Qāsim,  
 289, 290.  
 Yahyā Ibn 'Azīz, 305.  
 Yahyā Ibn Mā'in, 35, 45, 184,  
 213, 215, 218, 219.

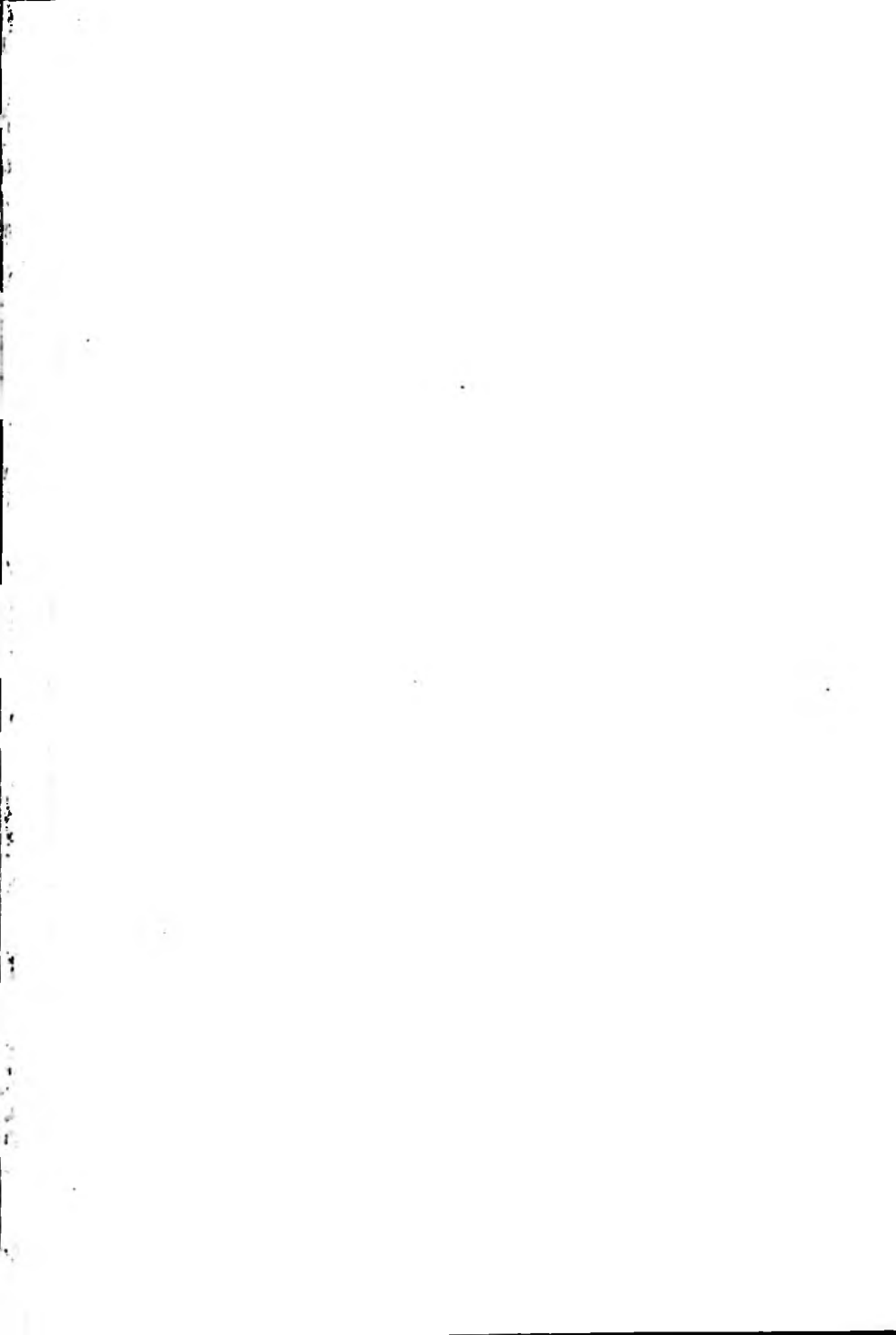
Yahyā Ibn Mandah, 249, 251,  
 252.  
 Yahyā Ibn Mu'ādh, 246, 249,  
 283, 285.  
 Yahyā Ibn Muḍar al-Qaysī,  
 219.  
 Yahyā Ibn al-Munaiim, 283-  
 288.  
 Yahyā Ibn Sa'dūn, 252.  
 Yahyā Ibn Sa'id, 215.  
 Yahyā Ibn Sa'id al-Anṣārī,  
 100.  
 Yahyā Ibn Sa'id al-Qaṭṭān,  
 100.  
 Yahyā Ibn Tamīm al- Sanḥajī,  
 297-306.  
 Yahyā Ibn Yāhiyā, 218, 219,  
 220, 221, 222, 223.  
 Yahyā Ibn Yamar, 254, 255,  
 256, 257, 258.  
 Yahyā Ibn Ziyād, 284.  
 Yahyā al-Tibrizi, 277n.  
 Yamāmah, 5n.  
 Yaman, 9, 22, 23, 24, 177, 178,  
 179, 195, 226, 275.  
 Yamanites, 103.  
 Ya'mar al-'Adawi al-Washqī,  
 254.  
 Ya'qub, 212.  
 Ya'qūbs, 4.  
 Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 87, 88, 172,  
 196, 197, 198, 199, 212,  
 Yāqūt Ibn Arslān al-Turku-  
 mānī, 185.  
 Yāqūt al-Mawṣili, 187, 188,  
 190.  
 Yāqūt al-Rūmī, 190, 195.  
 Yāqūt al-Turkumanī, 185.

Yarbī, 152n.  
 Yarūq, 185, 186.  
 al-Yarūqiyah, 186.  
 al-Yās, 274;  
 Yaṣḥkur, 215n, 258.  
 Yāsir, 22, 24.  
 Yatimah, 7, 11n, 12, 99, 145n.  
 Yatimat al-Dahr, 56.  
 Yazdigird, 71n, 284.  
 Yazid, Ibn Kulthūm, 34,  
 Yazid Ibn al-Kumayt, 48.  
 Yazid Ibn Maṣṣūr Ibn 'Abd  
 Allāh Ibn Yazid al-Ḥimyari,  
 266, 274, 275.  
 Yazid Ibn Mazyad, 173 and  
 note 174, 175, 176.  
 Yazid Ibn Mu'āwiyah, 138.  
 Yazidī Ibn al-Muhallab, 256, 257.  
 Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah  
 al-Fazārī, 44, 307.  
 al-Yazidī, 266, 267, 268, 269,  
 270, 271, 272, 273, and note  
 274.  
 Yazīdīyan, 266.  
 Yūnus Ibn Ḥabīb, 256.  
 Yūsuf, 69, 139, 241.  
 Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn  
 Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn  
 al-Qudā'i, 237, 241.  
 Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, 112n.  
 Yūsuf Ibn Tāshifin, 158.  
 Yūsuf Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi,  
 138.

## Z

Zadhūwayh, 179n.  
 Al-Zāhiri, 236.

*Al-Zuhr al-Bāsim fi awṣāf*  
*Abi 'l-Qāsim*, 23.  
 Zakariyā, 255.  
 Zam'a, 185.  
 Zama'ah, 125.  
 al-Zamakhsharī, 5, 66, 317.  
 Zamzam, 21n.  
 Zardafnah, 160, 170.  
 Zariā, 161.  
 Zariqah, 161n.  
 Zarqā al-Yamamah, 5 and note.  
 Zawawā, 283.  
 Zawawī, 283.  
 al-Zawrā, 192.  
 Zayd, 63, 66, 109, 110, 138,  
 139, 140, 153, 154.  
 Zayd al-Khayl, 66.  
 Zayd Manāt, 107, 265.  
 Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 119, 121.  
 Zayn al-Dīn, 225, 283.  
 al-Zaynabī, 76, 78.  
 Zīnat al-Dahr, 69, 70, 90.  
 Ziri Ibn Manād, 304.  
 Ziride, 9n.  
 Ziyād Ibn 'Abd Allāh, 265.  
 Ziyād Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman Ibn  
 Ziyād al-Lakhmī, 218, 219.  
 Ziyād Ibn Abīh, 103, 104.  
 Ziyād Ibn 'Awn, 218.  
 Zoaves, 283.  
 Zubaydite, 137.  
 al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwām 100.  
 Zuhayr Ibn Abi Sulmā, 45.  
 Zuhayr Ibn Ḥarb al-Nasā'i, 214n.  
 Zuhayr al-Sakb, 34, 40.  
 al-Zuhri, 1, 100, 228, 229.  
 Zūtā, 41, 51.





**Ibn Khallikan's**

**WAFAYAT AL-A'YAN**

**WA ANBĀ' ABNA' AL-ZAMĀN**

**(A Biographical Dictionary)**

**Vol. 7**

**Eng. Translation**

**M. de Slane**

**Edited by**

**Dr. S. Moinul Haq**

WA  
(A  
M.

This i  
Khallik  
disting  
had ga  
this b  
attentio  
teenth  
known  
brough  
Then h  
lation.  
literate  
correcti  
orthogr  
has al  
Christia  
of Edu  
Slane l  
months  
Its usefi  
ment  
Brockel  
importa  
graphic  
fore, it  
and liter  
From its  
sent day  
and unc  
valuable  
search  
and hist

ISBN 8  
Set of

## KITAB BHAVAN

Exporters & Importers  
1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj  
New Delhi-110002, [India]

Phones : 3274686, 3277392, 3277393

Fax : 91-11-3263383

Telex : 31-63106 ALI IN

ISBN 81-7151-170-8 Set  
ISBN 81-7151-177-5 (Vol. VII)

First Published in India 1996

*Published by:*

Nusrat Ali Nasri for Kitab Bhavan  
1784, Kalan Mahal, Daryaganj  
New Delhi-110002

*Printed in India at:*

Johar Offset Printers  
Maujpur, Ghonda  
Delhi-110053.

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

ا	=	a	د	=	d
آ	=	aw	ت	=	t
ای	=	ay	ظ	=	z
ب	=	b	ع	=	'
ط and ث	=	t	غ	=	gh
ث	=	<u>th</u>	ف	=	f
ج	=	j	ق	=	q
ح	=	h	ک	=	k
خ	=	<u>kh</u>	گ	=	g
د	=	d	ل	=	l
ذ	=	<u>dh</u>	م	=	m
ر	=	r	ن	=	n
ز	=	z	و	=	o; w
س	=	s	ه	=	h
ش	=	<u>sh</u>	ی	=	i; y
ص	=	s	.	=	.

Long vowels: a, i, u

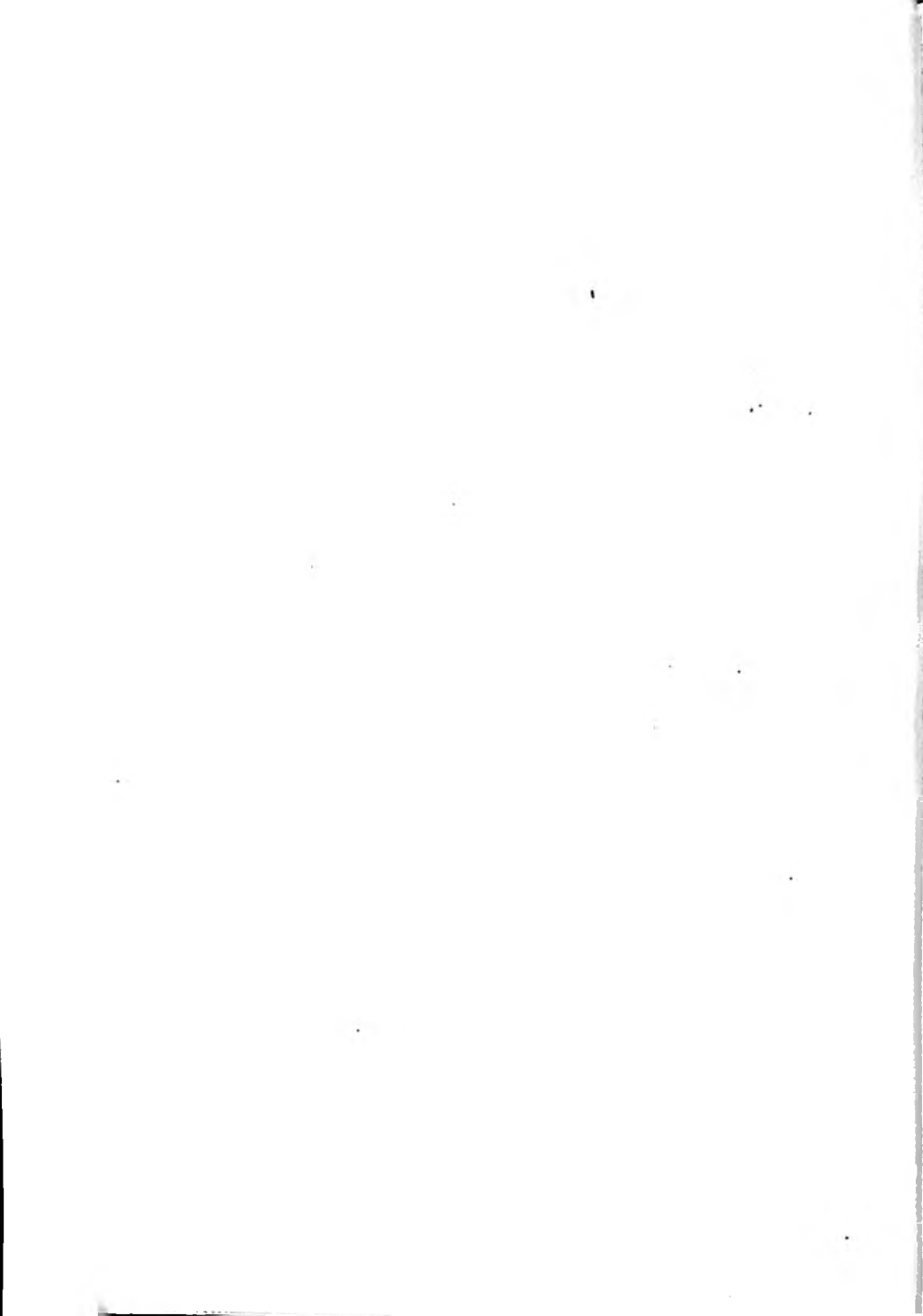
Short vowels: a, i, u

## NOTE

"The sacred aayat from the Holy Qur'an and ahadith have been printed for Tabligh and for increase of your religious knowledge. It is your duty to ensure their sanctity. Therefore, the pages on which these are printed should be disposed of in proper Islamic manner".

## CONTENTS

	Page
Note on Transliteration	iii
Note	iv
780     Yahya Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hunbyrah	1
781     Yahya Ibn Zabadah	16
782     Yahya Ibn Nizar	22
783     Yahya Ibn Al-Jarrah	26
784     [Yahya B. 'Isa] Ibn Matruh	31
785     [Yahya B. 'Isa] Ibn Jazlah	39
786     [Yahya B. Habash] Shihab Al-Din Al-Suhrawardi	41
787     Abu Ja'far [Yazid B. Al-Qa'qa'] The Qur'an Reader	47
788     Yazid Ibn Ruman, The Qur'an Reader	51
789     Yazid Ibn Al-Muhallab	52
790     Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim	87
791     Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah	91
792     Yazid Ibn Hatim Al-Muhallabi	100
793     Yazid Ibn Mazyad Al-Shaybani	105
794     [Yazid] Ibn Mufarrigh	121
795     Yazid B. Salamah (Ibn Al-Tathriyah)	151
796     Ya'qub Al-Majishun	160
797     The Qadi Abu Yusuf	162
798     Ya'qub Al-Hadrami	177
799     Abu 'Awanah [Ya'qub Ibn Ishaq] The Hafiz	181
800     Ya'qub B. Ishaq Ibn Al-Sikkit	183
801     Ya'qub Ibn Al-Layth Al-Saffar	191
802     Ya'qub Ibn Yusuf Ibn 'Abd Al-Mu'min	225
803     Ya'qub Ibn Da'wud, The Vizir	242



# IBN KHALLIKHAN'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

## 780 YAHYA IBN MUHAMMAD IBN HUBAYRAH

Abu T-Muzaffar Yahya Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hubayrah Ibn Sa'id Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Jahm Ibn 'Amr Ibn Hubayrah was surnamed 'Awn al-Din (*aid of the religion*) and drew his descent from Shayban (*the progenitor of the Arabic tribe which bears this name*). His ancestor Hubayrah was the son of 'Alwan, the son of al-Hawfazan, whose real name was al-Harith, the son of Sharik, the son of 'Amr, (or Matar) the son of Qays, Shurahbil, the son of Murrah, the son of Hammam, the son of Dhuhl, the son of Shayban. Tha'labah, Shayban's father, was the son of 'Uqabah, the son of Sa'b, the son of 'Ali, the son of Bakr, the son of Wa'il, the son of Qasit, the son of Hinh, the son of Aqsa, the son of D'ami, the son of Jadilah, the son of Asad, the son of Rabi'ah the son of Nizar, the son of M'add, the son of 'Adnan.--It is thus that his genealogy has been given by a number of authors, such as Ibn ad-Dubaythi (*vol. III. p. 102*) in his historical work and Ibn al-Qadisi (*vol. I. p. 290*) in his *Kitab al-Wuzara* (*book of vizirs*). It was not made public till some years after his accession to the vizirate, when it was mentioned by the poets in their eulogies. He was a native of Bani Awqar, a village situated in that part of Iraq which is called Dujayl. It is the same place which bore the name of *Dur*, 'Armanya, and which is now named, after him, *Dur al-Wazir* (*the monastery or village of the vizir*). His father belonged to the *jund* (or military colony) (*vol. II. p. 132*) established there. Yahya professed the doctrine taught by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal. He learned Traditions, acquired considerable information in each branch of knowledge, learned the *readings* of the noble book (*the Qur'an*) and concluded that study by going over all the systems of Qur'an-reading and the different lessons which have been handed down. He studied grammar, became acquainted with the history of the desert Arabs and of their battle-days, cultivated assiduously the art of penmanship, got by heart the locutions employed by elegant speakers and applied himself to the acquisition of a good epistolary style. His master in polite literature was Abu Mansur al-Jawaliqi (*vol. III. p. 498*) and, in law, Abu'l-Husayn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad

al-Farra. He was also a pupil of the preacher Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn 'Ali Ibn Muslim Ibn Musa Ibn Imran al-Zabidi.<sup>1</sup> He learned the Traditions respecting the Prophet from Abu 'Uthman Isma'il Ibn Muhammad Ibn Qayla al-Isfahani, Abu'l Qasim Hibat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husayn <sup>الحسين</sup> the *katib*, and from those who came after them. He himself taught Traditions, some of which he had learned from the *imam* al-Muktafi li-Amr Allah, the Commander of the faithful. A great number of persons received Traditions from him and, amongst them, the *hafiz* Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi (vol. II. p. 96). The first office which he filled (*under government*) was the inspectorship of the plantations (*ishraf al-akriha*)<sup>2</sup> situated on the west (*bank of the Tigris*); he then passed to the inspectorship of the taxes paid in kind (*al-iqamat al-amkhzaniyah*), and was afterwards appointed inspector of the *makhzan* or government stores (*al-ishraf bil-makhzan*). This place he did not long fill, having been nominated, in the year 542 (A.D. 1147-8), clerk of the khalifs household (*kitabah diwan al-zimam*, from which post he was raised to the vizirate. The author who compiled the biography of Ibn Hurbayrah relates, in these terms, the motives which led to his nomination: "Amongst the things which increased his influence and raised him to the vizirship was the conduct held by Mas'ud al-Bilali' the *shihnah* (or resident) whom the sultan Mas'ud Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malik Shah the Seljuqid had established at Baghdad as his lieutenant. Al-Bilali was one of those Abyssinian slaves and eunuchs who held so high a rank in the (Seljuq) empire. He used to behave with great impoliteness in the presence of the khalif, transgressing the rules of etiquette which were always to be observed, and permitting his licentious followers to spread disorder (*through the city*). Qawwar al-Din Abu'l Qasim 'Ali Ibn Sadaqah, who was, at that time the khalif's vizir, wrote a number of letters to Sultan Mas'ud, requesting him to reprimand al-Bilali for his conduct, but could never obtain an answer. When 'Awn al-Din was appointed clerk of the household, the khalif spoke to him on the subject and bade him write to the sultan. 'Awn al-Din, knowing that the vizir had already written a number of letters and that they had remained unanswered, sent off request after request till he obtained a reply. The letter (*which had this effect*) was drawn up by himself, and I should insert it here, were it not so long; but I may mention, in a summary manner, that it contained good wishes for

1 See towards the end of this article.

2 The names of the offices mentioned in this paragraph are here rendered by their probable signification; as we do not yet possess any precise information respecting the internal administration of the khalifate in its latter days.



the sultan's welfare, reminded him of the exemplary conduct held by his predecessors towards the khalifs, of their sincere obedience, the respect which they always shewed them and the protection which they afforded them against those who dared to thwart them. He then complained of Mas'ud al-Bilali, mentioned that he [had] written a number of times on that subject without receiving an answer and spoke to a great length on this matter. It was in the month of the latter Rabi' 542 (September, A.D. 1147) that he wrote this letter. Very soon after, he received an answer containing the sultan's excuses with a formal disapproval of al-Bilali's conduct. The khalif al-Muktafi was highly pleased to have followed the advice of 'Awn al-Din and felt deeply obliged to him; so, 'Awn al-Din continued to enjoy his favour and was raised to the vizirate."

The same author says: "Another motive which conduced to 'Awn al-Din's nomination was, that, in the year 543 (A.D. 1148-9), two of the sultan's emirs. One of whom was al-Baksh al-Mas'udi, lord of al-Lihf, which is a place in Iraq, and the other, Ildegiz al-Sultani, came to Baghdad with a numerous body of troops and committed in it the greatest disorders. This will be found related in the books of annals.<sup>3</sup> The vizir Qawwam al-Din Ibn Sadaqah undertook to bring about an arrangement, but without success. 'Awn al-Din then asked and obtained the khalif's authorisation to treat with the invaders who had attacked him and, by his skilful management, he succeeded in putting a stop to their evil doings till such time as they had assembled sufficient forces to resist them, and enabled the people to seize on their riches. This event was a means employed by destiny for the elevation of Ibn Hubayrah and the dismissal of Ibn Sadaqah from the vizirate. Effectively, when this serious affair was terminated, the khalif al-Muktafi summoned Ibn Hubayrah to his presence by a notification (*mutali'ah*), which was carried to him by two emirs of the empire. When Ibn Hubayrah read it, all his family made great demonstrations of joy<sup>4</sup> and, as he rode with his followers to the khalif's palace, the public learned that he had been appointed vizir. On his arrival at the door of the *hujrah* (the *khalif's cabinet*), he was called in and found al-Muktafi seated, to receive him, on the right

---

3 Ildegiz was governor of Arran and Adharbaijan. He and a number of other emirs revolted against the sultan Mas'ud, marched towards Baghdad, defeated the khalif's troops and committed all sorts of atrocities. They then asked and obtained the khalif's pardon, retired and spread ravage and devastation over all the countries through which they passed. — (Ibn al-Athir's *Kamil*; Mirkhond.)

4 The meaning of the text is doubtful.

side of the *Taj*.<sup>5</sup> He kissed the ground, saluted and then, during an hour, a conversation with the khalif which no other person could overhear. On retiring he found a robe of honour (*tashrif*) prepared for him, according to the custom followed towards vizirs. He put it on and, being called in a second time, he kissed the ground and invoked blessings on the khalif in a style which excited that prince's admiration. He then pronounced these words:

"As long as my life endures, I shall thank 'Amr for services of which he never vaunted, great though they were. He saw my indigence even there where it was concealed, and kept it in sight until it disappeared."

I may observe that these are two verses of three which were composed by Ibrahim Ibn al-'Abbas al-Suli.<sup>6</sup> The verse which should have come after the first was:

A generous man whose wealth is never withheld from his friend, and who never manifests a complaint if the shoe (*fortune*) slips from under him.

'Awn al-Din, in reciting the two verses, altered the last half of the second, which originally ran thus:

and it was like a mote in his eye, till removed.

Having thought fit to address the khalif in this style, he altered the expression, through respect. When he retired, they brought him a bay horse, with white pasterns, a white spot reaching from the forehead to the nose, and a rich caparison; such being their custom with respect to vizirs. The details of this ceremony I have abridged. He then rode forth, preceded by the great functionaries, the officers of the empire, the emirs attached to the court, all the khalif's servants and all the chamberlains of the diwan; with drums beating before him and the *masnad* (*cushion*) borne after him, according to the usual practice on such occasions. He entered into the diwan, dismounted apart and took his seat on the *dast* [*uppermost seat*]. The *shaykh* Sadid

5 The *Taj*, or *crown*, was a pavilion adjoining the palace of the khalifs at Baghdad. — See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, tome I, page 74. It was in it that the khalif appeared in state, on the days of solemn audience.

6 Those verses are given in the *Hamasa*, page 697. The commentator, at-Tabrizi, says that they were composed by a native of Madinah in honour of Amir Ibn Said Ibn al-Asi, who, as we learn by the *Nujum*, was put to death, in the year 69 (A.D. 688-9) by the Umayyad khalif, 'Abd al Malik Ibn Marwan. Ibrahim al Suli could not have composed this piece, for he died A.H. 283 (A.D. 857) and was not a native of Madinah.

al-Dawlah Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karim Ibn al-'Anbari then stood forward to read the diploma (*of the vizir's nomination*). It was a remarkable piece of its kind and, were it not so long, I should insert it here; besides, it is well known and copies of it are in the hands of the public. When he finished, the Qur'an-readers chanted (*passages of the Qur'an*) and the poets recited pieces of their composition. Ibn Hubayrah was installed in the vizirship on Wednesday, the 3rd of the latter Rabi' 544 (10th August, A.D. 1149). He bore at first the title of Jalal al-Din (*grandeur of religion*), but, on being appointed vizir, he received that of 'Awn al-Din. Eminent for learning and for merit, he displayed also an unerring judgment and a virtuous disposition; during his vizirship he conducted matters in a manner which attested the greatness of his abilities and the excellence of his counsels. This assured him (*the khalif's*) gratitude, entitled him to high consideration and contributed largely to his good fortune. As he had a great respect for the learned, his receptions were attended by all men distinguished for talent, no matter in what line. Traditions were repeated in his presence and controlled by him and the *shaykhs* (*professors*) who were there; discussions were carried on and useful information was communicated to an extent which cannot be described. He composed some works such as the *al-Ihsah fi ma'ni al-Sihah* (*elucidation of passages in [Jawhari's Arabic dictionary,] the Sihah*), forming nineteen books (*volumes?*); a commentary on the *al-Jam' bayn al-Sahihayn* (vol. I, p. 120) with an exposition of the maxims uttered by the Prophet and contained in that work; the *Kitab al-Muqtasid* (*which hits the mark*) -- this word takes an *i* after the *s*; a complete commentary on it, in four volumes, was drawn up by the celebrated grammarian Abu Muhammad Ibn al-Khashshab (vol. II, p. 66) and an abridgement of the *Islah al-Mantiq*<sup>7</sup>: the *Kitab al-'Ibadat*, etc.) *treatise on devotional rites*) according to the system of canon law taught by the imam al-Shafi'i; an *Arjuzah* etc. (*technical verses*) on the long and the short final *a*; an *Arjuzah* on the art of penmanship (*or orthography* الخط Our professor 'Izz al-Din Abu'l Hasan 'Ali, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Athir (vol. II, p. 288) gives, in his lesser historical work, that which treats of the Atabeks, a chapter, concerning the siege of Baghdad in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah* 553 (Nov.--Dec. A.D. 1158) by al-Malik Muhammad and Zayn al-Din. He says there that al-Muktafi li-Amr Allah made every effort to put that city in a good state of defence and that his vizir, 'Awn al-Din Ibn Hubayrah, helped him in a manner of which no other person could have been capable. He adds: "By

---

7 The life of Ibn al-Sikkit, the author of the *Islah al-Mantiq*, is given in this volume.

al-Muktafi's order, a proclamation was made in Baghdad, promising five dinars (2 £ 10s.) to every person who should be wounded during the hostilities, and, effectively, that sum was given to everyone who received a wound. A man of the people got wounded and went to the vizir, who said: 'That is a mere scratch, not worth 'a penny.' The man returned to the fight and got a stroke across his belly, so the entrails were falling out; he then came back to the vizir and said: 'My Lord will that satisfy you? The vizir laughed, ordered him a donation and sent for a doctor to dress his wound.' (End of the extract.)

I must here make an observation: the Muhammad of whom Ibn al-Athir speaks was the son of Mahmud Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muluk [Malik] Shah, the Seljuqid, and the Zayn al-Din was Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Bektikin, generally known by the (*Turkish*) appellation of *Kutcheh* (*the little*) and the father of Muzaffar al-Din, lord of Arbela (*vol. ii, p. 535*). According to another author, this Malik Muhammad was Muhammad Shah, and the event took place in the year 552. God knows which of the two is in the right! It is Ibn al-jawzi who says so in his *Shuzur al-'Uqud*, and he must have been better acquainted with what passed than any other, for Baghdad was his native place and he was there all the time. I have spoken of Muhammad Shah<sup>8</sup> in the article on his father. The *imam* (*khalif*) al-Muktafi li-Amr Allah Muhammad bore the surname of Abu 'Abd Allah and was the son of al-Mustazhir; he died on the eve of Sunday, the 2nd of the first Rabi' 555 (12th March, A.D. 1160). His son al-Mustanjid Billah Abu Muzaffar Yusuf was then proclaimed khalif. Ibn Hubayrah went into him, took the oath of fealty, was received honourably and confirmed in the vizirship. Fearing to be dismissed from office, he never attempted to contradict his sovereign, and he continued in place till the hour of his death. His praises were celebrated by the most distinguished poets of the age, and one of them, Abu'l Fawaris Sa'd, surnamed Hays Bays (*vol. I. p. 559*) and generally known by the appellation of Ibn Sayfi, composed on him some exquisite eulogiums. In one of these pieces he says:

Anecdotes of generosity excite him, even in his calmest mood, as the red intoxicating liquor excites the nomadic village. He stands first when other people spring from their seats in dismay, and when the loftiest pinnacles (*chiefs*) tremble before the storms of calamity. He interrupts vile discourse, avoids opprobrious language and is always taken up with the love of glory. He is

---

8 I read : Mahmud Shah; see vol. III, p. 234.

incapable of committing the slightest act of meanness, and his bosom is unmoved by the dangers incurred in those deeds which lead to glory. When name of 'Awn al-Din Yahya is pronounced, the clouds flash forth their lightnings (*harbingers of rain*), and the strong lances wave proudly.<sup>9</sup>

It was the custom at Baghdad that, in the month of Ramadan the great officers of the empire partook of a repast (*simat*) given by the khalif at the house of the vizir, and this repast was called the *tabak*. Hays Bays, who was high-minded man and had all the noble pride of true Arab, was one of the guests. Seeing that a number of persons, having no other merit than that of being paid functionaries, passed before him to a higher place, he was so highly offended that he wrote to the vizir 'Awn al-Din a letter in which he requested that (*for the future*) his absence might be pardoned. (*It ran thus:*)

Thou, who in wealth and in poverty, wert always lavish of thy money! thou who, morning and night, furnishest provisions to (*needy*) travellers! Thou who convoked the persons enriched by thee to partake of an augmentation from thy bounty! In every house there is a table supplied with provisions by the generosity, and yet thou invitest its master to the *tabak*. Thy gifts are poured fourth like a torrent and, were those on whom they light not afraid of thy just severity, they would cry but: "Save us from drowning!" Thy noble qualities cover the land with a constant shower: even in the day of battle, thou drenchest the soil with the blood and the sweat of the horsemen. Spare my shoulders from being pressed in a manner which, if I resented, would expose my reputation and my character to sarcasms. If thou permittest it, such a humiliation will degrade me; and how often hast loaded me with burden (of gifts) which I could hardly bear; I am sick of the fortune (*which pursues me*) and of her attacks: my noble pride alone preserves my life, Grant me the favour which I ask; (*grant it as readily*) as thou bestowest thy numerous gifts. To be liberal in granting honour is far above being liberal with money. The disk of the sun; exalted though he be, turneth yellow from grief, when obliged to descent towards the horizon. People consider as folly such (*sensibility as mine*); but often hath innate dignity been confounded with folly.

The vizir 'Awn al-Din received the present of an inkstand made

---

9 The copyists and editors, not having well understood this piece, have given it very incorrectly. In the third line, I read الدنيا and, in the fourth, but with doubt, يقنف

of rock-crystal and inlaid with coral. Seeing at his levee a number of poets and, amongst them, Hays Bays, he observed that it would be well to compose a piece of verse on that object. One of the persons present, a blind man whose name I have not met with, then recited these lines:

Iron was, by divine favour, rendered soft for [prophet] David, so that he wrought it at will into coats of mail.<sup>10</sup> The crystal, though a stone has been softened for you, yet bending it to one's wish is hard and difficult.

Hays Bays here observed that the poet had spoken, not of inkstand but of the maker; on which the vizir said: "Let him who finds fault change (*it for the better*)."<sup>11</sup> Hays Bays did so in these lines:

Your inkstand was made of your two days,<sup>11</sup> and these have been mistaken for crystal and for coral. One is your day of peace, which is white and pours forth abundance; the other is your day of war which is red, like red blood.

I since found the two first verses in the *Kitab al-Jinan*, a work composed by the *Shaykh* al-Qadi al-Rashid Ahmad Ibn ab-Zubayr al-Ghassani, the same of whom mention has been made towards the beginning of this work (vol. I, p. 143). He attributes them to al-Qadi al-Rashid Ahmad Ibn al-Qasim al-Saqalbi,<sup>12</sup> Qadi of Misr, who, as he relates, went to the levee of al-Afdal Shahanshah Amir al-Juyush (vol. I, p. 612) and, seeing before him an inkstand of ivory inlaid with coral, extemporized these lines:

Iron was, by divine favour, rendered soft for [prophet] David, so that he wrought it, at will, into coats of mail. Coral though a stone, has been softened for you, yet it is hard and disobedient to the will.

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Bakhtyar, generally known by the name of al-Ablah (vol. III, p. 159) composed, in this vizir's praise, a number of *qasidahs*; one of which I insert here because it is the finest:

The zephyr and the (*pliant*) willow (*ban*) of the sandhill have

10 *Qur'an*, sur. 34, verse 10.

11 The meaning of this is explained in the next verse.

12 Ahmad Ibn al-Qasim, surnamed al-Qadi al-Rashid, was a native of Sicily, from which country he moved to Egypt. He died A.D. 1131-2. — (*History of the Qadis of Misr*; ms. of the Bibl. imp., ancient fonds, no 691.)

committed a falsehood: they offered themselves as the likeness<sup>13</sup> (of my beloved), but they forgot the ornaments (of her person) and her (graceful) neck. O thou who art a statue (in beauty)! thou whose anklets are too wide<sup>14</sup> for the instep and whom I am unable not to love! I once had tears and strength of mind; but now, neither tears nor strength of mind remain. Thou hast rendered my body a dwelling-place for sickness, since thou dwellest in al-Jara, after having departed from Tabala<sup>15</sup>. O (my friend!) thou who seest those gazelles (maidens) cross our way! know that my heart, and not the winding valley, is their pasture-ground. Her waist is pliant like wand, and the polishes date-tree blossoms (her teeth) with a piece of arak wood. When she holds discourse with you, she fails not bring back (to you) the days of passionate love. Often have I passed the wine-cup to my companions, whose eyes shewed inebriation and who staggered in their gait. (We were then) in an arbour embellished with flowers, whose raiment was not (made of the silks) from Yaman or from San'a. In the morning, I hastened with ardour to visit the soil of that spot (where I met my beloved; I was there) before the turtle-doves had mounted to the top of the *ban-tree*. The lightning-clouds shook over it their flashing swords, and the lake, through fear of them, put on a coat of mail.<sup>16</sup> O thou who blamest me! load me, as you please, with reproaches sufficient to rend even the solid rock; but know that I was formed by nature for loving, just as the vizir was formed by nature for deeds of liberality.

The poet then makes his transition to the eulogium which, to avoid prolixity, I suppress. Abu'l Fath Sibt Ibn al-Ta'awizi (*vol. III, p. 162*) composed also in his honour a single *qasidah* which I here give:

13 Literally: they described thee.

14 I suppose that the poet wrote *وسمت* "are wide," instead of *ضمت* "are tight," - as thick ankles were probably not considered to be a point of beauty. By the word *anklets* are meant the bracelets worn on the ankles by Muslim ladies. These ornaments are of a crescent shape and as thick as the thumb. They are hollow inside and contain a little ball of metal which, as it rolls about, makes a clinking sound.

15 Tabala was a village on the road leading from Makkah to Yaman; al-jara lay probably at a great distance from that place.

16 That is: the [surface of the water was wrinkled with waves. "The breeze has changed the water into "a coat of mail," said al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbad to Ibn 'Ammar, in one of his sportive moods. See Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, t. IV, p. 139.

May the rains descend on these vernal abodes and on these hills which, since the departure of their inhabitants, look sickly and emaciated like me. For her (*who is absent*) I have engaged that my eyelids shall be a fountain and pour from their angles an abundant flood of tears. Though her dwelling place be much changed from the state in which I saw it, the love which is in my heart shall never be known to change. O my two friends! the aspect of that cloud whose lightnings gleam dimly over al-Ajra'ayn has renewed my affection for her and awakened my passion. My eyes and my sight have been delivered over to constant waking by the slowness of that procrastinating maid in the fulfillment of her engagements. When I said to her: "My body is emaciated by love!" she would reply: "Where is the lover who is not emaciated?" When I said: "Let my tears bear witness to the sadness which you cause me;" she would answer: "Tears are not witnesses whose evidence can be accepted." Blame me not, my two friends! if I weep in my foolish passion for one who always breaks her promise and always procrastinates. The heaviest affliction which a lover can undergo is the irksome indifference of his beloved and the fatiguing remonstrances of censorious friends. At the foot of you insulted sandhill are (*the maidens*) fair and incomparable, who played with those hearts of ours and with our reason, on the morning in which their glances and our hearts met together and which was not free from the blood of wounded (*lovers*). O! how admirable is the valley of al-Arak, where the perfume of your presence is revealed by the northern and the southern breezes. In that cool valley, morning and evening, as often as blew the zephyr, a love-sick heart found alleviation. I invoked indifference, but it would not aid me; I attempted to use patience (*and to bear with her*), but it was of no avail. Thou (*my beloved*) knewest all the causes of love and you heaped them on a back which was already loaded with misfortunes. The only profit I derived from the loving of fair maidens was watching the nights of longing desire, how slowly they passed over. How often did these nights inspire me with the hope of meeting a man renowned in manners, grave, prudent and precipitate; in the enjoyment of whose favour I might proudly swing my body from side to side, and, in whose court, I might sweep haughtily along in training robes. Now I have been long accustomed to his gifts and only desire to kiss that beneficent hand; the generous character of Yaha the vizir gives me the assurance of that favour's being granted, and 'Awn al-Din is the very best of sureties.



This vizir frequently recited the following verses:

The secrets of love can be explained to you by no man, till it has procured for thee the vexation of being reproved. The love which I bear her will not consent that she should ever permit me to see in her even the slightest imperfection.

The *shaykh* Shams al-Din Abu'l Muzaffar Yusuf Ibn Qizaghli or [Firaghli] Ibn 'Abd Allah (*vol. I, p. 439*), who was a daughter's son of the *shaykh* Jamal al-Din Abu'l Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi (*vol. II, p. 96*) states, in his *Mirat al-Zaman*, a historical work of which I saw, in Damascus, a copy composed of forty volumes, all of them in the author's own handwriting, that his father, Qizaghli, was a white slave (*mamluk*) belonging to 'Awn al-Din and that his mother was the daughter of the *shaykh* Jamal al-Din Abu'l Faraj just mentioned. Their son was therefore a *mawla*<sup>17</sup> to him ('Awn al-Din). He states also that he heard his preceptors at Baghdad relate that 'Awn al-Din gave the following account of his elevation: "I was in such straitened circumstances that, for some days, I remained without food. One of my family then advised me to visit the tomb of Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (*vol. III, p. 384*), and there ask God's assistance, because all prayers offered up at that tomb were fulfilled. So I went to the tomb of Ma'ruf, prayed there and invoked (*the help of God*). I then retired, with the intention of returning to the town (*balad*),"--by the word *town* he meant Baghdad, -- "and I passed through Katufta ['Atfa]," -- a place  near Baghdad, -- "and there I saw a deserted mosque. I went into it for the purpose of saying a prayer of two *rak'ash*, and saw there a sick man lying on a mat. I sat down by his head and asked him if he desired anything. He replied: 'A quince.' I went to a fruiterer's, and got from him two quinces and an apple, for which I left my cloak (*mizar*) in pledge. The man ate part of a quince and bade me shut the door. When I had done so, he got off the mat and told me to dig there. I dug and found a jar. 'Take it,' said he, 'for you are more deserving of it than any other.' I asked him if he had not an heir and he answered: 'No; I had a brother whom I have not seen this long time and who, as I am told, is dead. We were natives of al-Rusafah.' He was still talking to me when he died. I washed his body, put it into a shroud and buried it. Having taken the jar, which contained five hundred dinars (  $\text{ق.}$  2250) I went to the Tigris with the intention of crossing over, when a waterman, dressed in rags and having an old boat, called out: 'Come with me.' I dropped down the river with him, and never did I see a man so

---

17 See introduction to the second volume.

like to the one that had just died. 'Where do you belong to?' said I. He answered: 'To al-Rusafah; I have some daughters and am very poor.' 'Have you any relatives?' said I. 'No,' said he, 'I had a brother, but it is very long since I saw him, and I know not what God has done with him.' 'Hold your lap;'" said I. He did so, and I poured all the money into it. Seeing him greatly astonished I related to him what had passed. He then bade me take the half of it, but I replied: 'I shall not take even a single piece.' I then went up to the residence of the khalif, wrote a supplication (*and sent it in*). It came out endorsed thus: "*The inspectorship of the makhzan*. From that post I mounted to the vizirate."

Ibn Qizaghli\* continues thus: "My grandfather, Abu'l-Faraj, relates, in his *Muntazim*, that the vizir begged of God to die a martyr and, every time he found an opportunity of risking his life for the faith, he encountered the danger. On Saturday, the 12th of the first Jumada, 560 (27th March, A.D. 1165), he was in good health. That night, he went to bed perfectly well, but, at day-break, he had a fit of vomiting and sent for a doctor. This man attended him and gave him a draught which, some say, was poisonous, and he died. About six months after wards, this doctor drank poison and then said repeatedly: 'That which I gave to drink has been given to me!' till he died."

(*Ibn al-Jawzi*) says, in the *Muntazim*: "On the night of the vizir's death, I was sleeping, with my companions, on the roof of the house, and I had a dream in which, methought, I was in the palace of the vizir and that he was there seated. A man came in with a javelin in his hand and struck him with it between the *unthian*<sup>18</sup>, so that the blood gushed out like a fountain and struck the (*appsite*) wall. I then turned round and, seeing a gold ring lying on the ground, I took it up and said: 'To whom must I give it? (*The answer was*): 'Wait till servant come forth and to him give it.'" On awaking, I related the dream to my companions and had scarcely finished when a man came up and said: 'The vizir is dead.' One of those who were present exclaimed: 'That is impossible! I left him, yesterday evening in the very best health'. Another man then came and confirmed the news. The son of the vizir ordered me to wash the corpse. I began to do so and, on lifting up the arm in order to wash the *maghabin*,"—by this word are designated the folds made by certain parts of the

---

\* [For variants see Cairo ed. vol. V, P. 282-Ed.]

18 *Unthian* (*the two testicles*). It is difficult to conceive how such a wound could be inflicted. Did the author mean to write *thidian* (*the two nipples*)?

body, the armpits, for instance; its singular is *maghbin*;--"the ring fell from the hand to the ground and, on seeing it, I marvelled greatly, by reason of my dream. Whilst washing the corpse, I remarked on the face and on the body spots which denoted that he had been poisoned. When the bier was brought out, all the shops in Baghdad were closed and not a single inhabitant but accompanied the funeral. The prayer was said over the corpse in the Mosque of the Citadel (*jami'al-Qasr*) and interred in the college (*madrasah*) founded by the vizir himself, but of which even the ruins have now disappeared. A number of poets composed elegies on his death." End of Ibn al-Jawzi's recital.

The author of the history of this vizir states that the cause of his death was sudden predominance of phlegm over his natural temperament. Having gone out to hunt with (*the khalif*) al Mustanjid, he took a laxative draught which was not sufficient to operate the evacuation of the phlegm. On Friday, the 6th of the first *Jumada*, he rode back to Baghdad, supported on the saddle (*by servants*), and went to his pew in the mosque, where he attend the public prayer. After that, he returned to his house and, at the hour of the morning prayer, he had a recurrence of the attack and swooned away. The waiting-maids screamed out, but he recovered and told them to be silent. His son, 'Izz al-Din Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, who was his lieutenant in the vizirship, being informed of what had passed, hastened to see him and said, on entering into the room: "The *ustad al-dar* (*mayor of the palace*) has sent different persons to know the cause of the outcry."--This *ustad* bore the names of Abu'l Faraj Muhammad and the surname of Ibn Maslamah; he was the son of 'Abd Allah, the son of Hibat Allah, the son of al-Muzaffar, the son of the *ra'is al-ru'asa'* (*vol. III, p. 48*).--"The vizir smiled (*on hearing these words*), notwithstanding his state of suffering, and pronounced these lines:

'How many are those who, in their folly, will rejoice at my death and wield the sword with tyranny after my decease. If they, poor fellows! were aware of the evils which shall befall them when I am gone, they would die before me.'

"He then swallowed a draught which brought on an evacuation, after which, he called for water to make the ablution preparatory to prayer. He said the prayer in a sitting posture and made the prostration, but, as he continued for a considerable time without sitting up, the attendants shook him and perceived that he was dead. The *imam* (*khalif*) al-Mustanjid, being informed of this event, gave orders for his burial."

'Awn al-Din left two sons 'Izz al-Din Muhammad, him of whom

mention has been just made, and Sharaf al-Din Abu'l-Walid al-Muzaffar. As for his birth, Abu 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Qadisi (*vol. I, p. 290*) states, in his History of the Vizirs, that this vizir, according to his own declaration, was born in the year 497 (A.D. 1103-4). One (*of his contemporaries*) said: "I saw him in a dream, subsequently to his death, and asked him in what state he was? He replied:

"We are asked concerning our state, after undergoing a change of state and being for ever concealed from sight. We have obtained double reward for what we wrought in view of our own salvation, and we found that the good we did to others was selected (*and put aside as the best*)."

When the news of his death reached the mayor of the palace, 'Adud al-Din Ibn al-Muzaffar, the poet Sibṭ Ibn al-T'awidhi was present. He was a *mawla* to the Muzaffar family, his father Nushtikin having been a *mamluk* (*white slave*) to one of its members. It was the son who changed the name of Nushtikin into that of 'Abd Allah. Ibn al-T'awidhi, wishing to ingratiate himself with 'Adud al-Din who, to his knowledge, was not on good terms with the vizir, extemporized these lines:

People told me that the vizir was dead: "Come," said they, "let us weep for Abu 'l-Muzaffar Yahya," I replied: "That is for me the slightest of misfortunes and afflictions, since Ibn al-Muzaffar ('*Adud al-Din*) is alive (*Yahya*)."

Another individual, whose name I do not now recollect, but who was a poet of some celebrity, pronounced these verses (*on the same event*):

O Lord! the noble (*Yahya*) Ibn Hubayrah is dead and Yahya Ibn Ja'far<sup>19</sup> is alive! With one Yahya have disappeared all meritorious and princely qualities, but, with the other Yahya lives (*Yahya*) every folly and every vice.

My intention (*in relating these anecdotes*) is to show how numerous were the merits of Ibn Hubayrah and I have prolonged this article for the purpose of attaining that object.

I remarked in Abu'l-Khattab Ibn Dihyah's (*vol. II, p. 384*) work, the *Kitab al-Nibras fi tarikh khulafa' bani'l 'Abbas* (*the book of the lamp, on the history of the 'Abbasid khalifs*), an error which I am anxious to point out, lest those who read that book may suppose the author's

---

19 The author speaks of this person at the end of the present article.

statement to be correct. In speaking of the khalif al-Muktafi li Amrillah he has something to this effect: 'That khalif was highly fortunate in possessing such a vizir as Abu'l Muzaffar 'Awn al-Din Yahya Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hubayrah, who was descendant of the great emir Abu Hafs 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah, whose transcendent merit, loudly celebrated by all historians, was transmitted to his grandson 'Awn al-Din. He then relates something highly honourable for 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah who was governor of the two Iraqs under the Umayyads. Ibn Dihyah thought that the vizir of whom we have here spoken was a descendant of that emir. I was greatly surprised at his making such a mistake: the vizir drew his origin from the progenitor of the tribe of Shayban, as we have already shewn at the beginning of this article, and the emir belonged to the tribe of Fazarah, as will be seen in our article on his son Yazid: and wide is the difference between Shayban and Fazarah. The author was, no doubt, led into this error by finding in the genealogy of the vizir an 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah, which person he took for the emir. Such a fault, coming from a man like Ibn Dihyah, is not be pardoned; for he was a *hafiz* (knowing by heart traditional information) and should have been well acquainted with general biography *امور الناس*. The mistake is evident, but, to err is in the lot of humanity.

Most of the persons whose names occur in this article have been already mentioned in this (*biographica*)<sup>20</sup> history and have each of them, a separate article, but we have not spoken of [al-Shaykh] al-Zabidi. He was a man of great influence, an active reformer of manners<sup>20</sup> and a person whose society was profitable to the vizir. As I have not mentioned him in this work, I feel it is my duty to direct towards him the reader's attention, for a man like him should not be passed over. He arrived in Baghdad A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115-6) and died in the month of the first Rabi' 555 (March-April, A.D. 1160). Abu 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Najjar (*vol. I, p. 11*) says, in his History of Baghdad: "He was born at Zabid (*in Yaman*), on the eve of Wednesday, the 22nd of Muharram; 460 (3rd December, A.D. 1067); he died on Monday, the 1st of the first Rabi' 555 (11th March, A.D. 1160), and was buried in the cemetery adjoining the Jami' (*or mosque*) of al-Mansur at Baghdad."

As for the verse of the poet: "O iord! the noble (Yahya) Ibn Hubayrah is dead and Yahya Ibn Ja'far is alive;" the last words refer to Abu'l Fadl Yahya Ibn Abi'l Qasim 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Muhammad

---

<sup>20</sup> See vol. III, p. 216, note (5). The arabic expression is to command what is laudable and forbid what is reprehensible.

Ibn al-Mu'ammār Ibn Ja'far, surnamed Za'im al-Dīn (*the champion of the faith*). He was appointed inspector of the *Makhzan* in the month of the latter Jumada, 542 (Oct.-Nov. A.D. 1147), and remained in office till the year 567 (A.D. 1171). He was appointed vizir on the dismissal of Abu'l Faraj Ibn al-Muzaffar<sup>21</sup> and occupied that post till his death. His conduct entitled him to praise and gratitude, and he was a friend to men of learning. His birth took place at Baghdad after the last evening prayer *al-isha'* of Thursday, the 29th Safar, 511 (2nd July, A.D. 1117). He died in Baghdad on the 20th of the first Rabi', 570 19th October, (A.D. 1174), and was interred in a mausoleum (*turbat*) which he had erected for himself in the al-Harbiyah cemetery.

### 781 YAHYA IBN ZABADAH

Abu Talib Yahya Ibn Abi'l Faraj Sa'id Ibn Abi'l-Qasim Hibat Allah Ibn 'Ali Ibn Zabadah al-Shaybani (*belonging to the Arabic tribe of Shayban*) was a *katib* (*writer in a government office*) and a *munshi* (*a drawer up of official dispatches*). His family, belonged to Wasit, but Baghdad was the place of his birth, of his residence and of his death. He bore the surname of Qawwam al-Din (*support of religion*) or, according to another statement, 'Amid al-Din (*column of religion*). Eminent in rank and in talent, he obtained the highest reputation as a *Katib*, a *munshi* and an arithmetician; besides which, he possessed some skill in jurisprudence, dogmatical theology, [*ilm al-Kalam*] the fundamentals (*of law*) and other sciences. As a versifier, he displayed great talent. When a student, he attended the lessons of Abu Mansur al-Jawaliqi (*vol. III, p. 498*) and studied *Qur'an*-reading under the tuition of that professor and of his successors. He learned Traditions [*hadith*] under some of the teachers and, from his early youth till the time of his death, he filled (*successively*) a number of places in the service of the *diwan* (*the government of the khalif*). His epistles are remarkable for the graces of their style, the elegance of their ornaments and the delicacy of their allusions. In drawing up dispatches, he paid more attention to the ideas than to the cadence; his letters are elegant, his thoughts just, his poetry good and his merits are so conspicuous that they need not be described. Being nominated director of the office which administered (*the cities of*) Basrah, Wasit and al-Hillah, he continued to fill that post till the

---

21 The same who was mayor of the palace. See page 14.

month of Muharram, 575 (June-July, A.D. 1179), when he was recalled from Wasit and appointed to act as *hajib* (chamberlain) at the Nuba\* door<sup>1</sup> and to render justice in all cases of appeal to the sovereign.<sup>2</sup> In the month of the first Rabi' 577 (July-August, A.D. 1181), he was dismissed from all these offices and, in the month of the first Jumada, 582 (July-Aug. 1186), he was restored to them again. When the mayor of the palace (*ustad al-dar*) Majd al-Din Abu'l Fadl Hibat Allah Ibn 'Ali Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, generally designated by the surname of Ibn al-Sahib, was put to death (*by order of khalif al-Nasir*), which event occurred on Saturday, the 19th of the first Rabi', 583 (29th May, A.D. 1187), Ibn Zabadah was appointed to succeed him. In the year 585 (A.D. 1189-90), he was dismissed from office and sent back to Wasit where he remained till the month of Ramadan, 592 (August, A.D. 1196), and was then recalled (*to Baghdad*). On Monday, the 22nd of Ramadan, he was appointed director of the official correspondence and obtained again the inspectorship of the board of government grants (*muqata'at*), which places he held till his death. His conduct was exemplary and the line of life which he followed most praiseworthy. He was particularly careful in fulfilling his religious duties, and transmitted down a few Traditions. A great quantity of his prose writings and poetical compositions has been written down under his dictation by different persons. One of these pieces is as follows:

In times of trouble, the worthless are raised to such eminence that the affliction is general. When tranquil water is agitated, the dregs rise from the bottom.

By the same:

People never find me more firm than when I am in the power of sudden misfortunes. It is thus that the sun does not display all his force till he enters into the mane<sup>3</sup> of the Lion (i.e. in the sign of the zodiac.)

In the following verses, written by him to al-Mustanjid, he compliments that khalif on the arrival of the festival day (*the 10th Dhu'l-Hijjah*):

\* [Al-Mutawalli in Cairo ed.]

1 The state entrance of the khalif's palace at Baghdad was called the *Taj*. It was death for whoever dared to tread on the sill-stone of that door.

2 See vol. I, p. 346, note (14).

3 One of the lunar mansions is called the mane of the Lion.

Glorious prince! thy elevation is so great that our felicitations cannot reach thee; it is we who should obtain felicitations, reposing, as we do, under the shelter of thy favour. Thou art time (*good fortune*) itself; the day of the festival is a part of time, and it is not the custom to compliment time on the arrival of the festival.

By the same:

If you aspire to command, act uprightly; then, even if you wish to reach the heavens, you will succeed. The *alif* (ا), one of the written letters of the alphabet, is placed at the head of the others because it is upright.

By the same:

Envy not those who are vizirs, even though they obtain from their sovereigns, by the favour of fortune, more than they ever expected. Know that a day will come when the solid earth shall sink from under them as it used to sink before them through awe. Aaron, the brother and partner of Moses, would not have been seized by the beard<sup>4</sup>, had he not been (*his brother's*) vizir.

To Ibn Zabadah belonged every sort of elegant ideas. He left a *diwan* (or collection) of epistles; I saw a copy of it in my native place, but am unable to insert here any of its contents, as I cannot call them to mind.

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Sa'id al-Dubaythi (*vol. III, p. 102*) says, in his History: "Abu Talib Yahya Ibn Sa'id Ibn Hibat Allah,"—meaning Ibn Zabadah,—"recited to me from memory the following lines which, as he told me, had been repeated to him by Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Arrajani (*vol. I, p. 134*):

The eyes of that maiden had their attention divided (*between two objects*), whilst she was bewildered at departing and afflicted by the coming of the camels, which was announced to her by the burden of the driver's song. With one eye, she answered my salutation and, with the other, she watched the looks of the jealous spies. Seeing around her persons ready to denounce her, she suppressed her tears and withdrew into the asylum of her tent. On the morning in which I bade them farewell, whilst tears flowed from my eyes and my mind was troubled at being

---

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Qur'an*, sur, 20, verse 95, Moses seized his brother Aaron by the beard, because he had suffered the Israelites to set up the golden calf.



separated from my companions, the reflection of those tears appeared on her cheeks, and (*our foes*) were jealous, thinking that she wept at my weeping.

When Ibn Zabadah was dismissed from the inspectorship of Wasit) the poet, Abu'l Ghana'im Muhammad Ibn 'Ali, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Mu'allim (*vol. III, p. 168*), wrote to him these lines:

When the rains refused to moisten the earth, you poured upon mankind the showers of your liberality. You were not removed from the province for a motive which might expose you to depreciation and neglect; but, when the torrents of your generosity seemed ready to overwhelm the land, they sent you away, in order to save the country from a deluge.

Al-Wajih Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, generally known by the name of Ibn Suwayd, and who was a merchant of Takrit, related to me the following anecdote: "The *shaykh* Muhi al-Din Abu'l Muzaffar Yusuf, who was the son of Jamal al-Din Abu'l Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi (*vol. II, p. 96*), the celebrated *hafiz* and preacher, was sent from Baghdad on an embassy to the court of al-Malik al-'Adil Ibn al-Malik al-Kamil Ibn Ayyub (*vol. III, p. 235*), who was then reigning in Egypt. Al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, the brother of al-Malik al-'Adil, was at that time detained as a prisoner in the fortress of al-karak."--I have already spoken of this in the article on al-Kamil (*vol. III, p. 246*).

[al-Wajih said:]\* "When Muhi al-Din passed through damascus, on his return, to Baghdad, I happened to be there and went to visit him with the *Shaykh* Asil al-Din Abi'l Fadl 'Abbas Ibn 'Uthman Ibn Nabhan al-Irbili (*a native of Arbela*), who was then chief of the (*corporation of*) merchants. We sat down and, in the conversation which ensued, he (*Muhi al-Din*) said: 'I prevailed on al-Malik al-Nasir Da'wud, the lord of al-Karak, to swear that he would not allow al-Malik al-Salih to leave the prison, unless an order came to that effect from al-Malik al-'Adil.' On this, al-Asil said to him: 'Tell me, master! did you do so by the order of the August diwan (*the khalif's government*)?' Muhi al-Din answered: 'Was any authorisation necessary, for making such a demand? The welfare of the public required me to do so; but you, Asil! are an old fellow.'<sup>5</sup> To this, our master (*al-Asil*) replied: 'It is true; I am an old fellow, and know not what

\* [See Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 290-Ed.]

5 Literally: "You are Tareh; "that is: You are as old as Tareh! by which name Arabic historians designate *Terah*, the father of Abraham.

I say: but I shall relate to your Worship an event which has some analogy to this and which I know to be very curious." Let us hear it'; said Muhi al-Din. Al-Asil then spoke as follows: 'Ibn Ra'is al-Ru'asa',<sup>6</sup> being director of the administration at Wasit, was bound to send (to Baghdad), every, month, the sum of thirty thousand dinars ( £ 15,000), as the contribution of Wasit, and the custom was that no delay, not even of a single day, should be allowed. On one of these months, he was unable to make up the sum and, feeling uneasy on the subject, he consulted his *na'ibs* (*lieutenants*). They replied: 'There, my Lord, is Ibn Zabadah who is indebted (to the administration) for many times that sum; call him to an account and he will make up to you over and above what you have to send off.' He, in consequence, sent for Ibn Zabadah and said to him: 'Why do you not pay (*your taxes*) like the others?' Ibn Zabadah answered that he had a note in the khalif al-Mustanjid's handwriting, dispensing him from paying. 'Have you a note in the khalif al-Nasir's handwriting?' said the other. 'I have not', replied Ibn Zabadah 'Be off! said Ibn Ra'is al-Ru'asa', and bring here what you owe.' Ibn Zabadah answered: 'I care for nobody and shall bring nothing'. He then stood up and walked out of the room. The *na'ibs* then said to their master: 'You possess the two cushions (*emblems of civil and military authority?*) and have the right of control over all the government intendants; no one has the high hand over you, and who is this man that he should return you such an answer? You would do well to enter by force into his house and seize on all that it contains; no one will dare to make any observation.' In pursuance of their advice, he ordered boats to be got: ready for himself and his soldiers. Ibn Zabadah resided at that time on the other side of the river, opposite to Wasit. When the boats were brought for Ibn Ra'is al-Ru'asa and his men, a *zabzab* (or yawl) was seen coming, as if from Baghdad. When he perceived it, he said: 'This *zabzab* must be coming on an affair of importance; let us see what it may be; after that we shall resume what we are about. As the boat drew near, some of the khalif's servants who were in it cried out: 'Kiss the ground! kiss the ground! He obeyed, and they handed to him a notification (*mutala'ah*) containing this order: 'We send you a robe of honour and an inkstand for Ibn Zabadah: place the robe on your head, hold the inkstand to your breast, and go on foot to him; clothe him in the robe and send him off to us, in order that he may be our vizir.' He put the robe on his head, held the inkstand against his bosom and went off on foot. When he met Ibn Zabadah, he recited to him this verse:

---

<sup>6</sup> This name signifies: the son of the chief of chiefs. See vol. III, p. 48.

Whilst a great man is living, people hope in him and fear him; but no one knows what is concealed in futurity.

He then began to make excuses and received this answer: 'No blame on you for to-day.' Ibn Zabadah then embarked in the yawl and set off for Baghdad. No other example is known of a person's having had the vizirate sent to him. When he arrived, the first thing he did was to dismiss Ibn Ra'is al-Ru'sa' from the inspectorship of Wasit, saying that he was not fit for such an office. 'Now', said al-Asil, 'who can assure your Worship that al-Malik al-Salih will not get out of prison and obtain the throne? You may then be sent to him as an ambassador, and how will you be able to look him in the face without blushing?' Muhi al-Din answered him by this line:

"(That will happen) when the two gatherers of acacia-berries shall return, and when Kulayb shall be raised from the dead for the tribe of Wa'il."<sup>7</sup>

Very soon after, al-Malik al-Salih got out of the prison of al-Karak, obtained the government of Egypt, and then happened what happened. "I was in Misr," said al-Wajih, "when Muhi al-Din came there as ambassador to al-Malik al-'Adil, but this prince having been arrested (by his officers), was replaced by al-Malik al-Salih. Muhi al-Din went forth to compliment the latter; of that I was an eyewitness."

It was in these terms that al-Wajih related to me the anecdote, but it contains a mistake, committed either by him or by al-Asil. Ibn Zabadah was never appointed vizir; he filled no other places than those which I mentioned at the beginning of this article; so if the narration be true, the thing happened when he was sent for to act as *munshi*. God knows the truth!

Ibn al-Dubaythi says: "I asked Abu Talib Ibn Zabadah when he was born, and he answered: On Tuesday, the 25th of Safar, 522 (1st March, A.D. 1128). He died on the eve of Friday, the 27th of *Dhu 'l-Hijjah*, 594 (30th October, A.D. 1198). The funeral service was said over him in the mosque of the Castle, at Baghdad [*Jami' al-Qasr*], and he was interred near the mausoleum of Musa Ibn Ja'far (*vol. III, p. 463*)."

*Zabadh* means a bit of *zabad* (*civet*), which is a perfume made use of by women.

---

<sup>7</sup> For the meaning of this verse, which became proverbial, see Freytag's *Nierdanii Proverbia*, t. I, P. 128.

## 782 YAHYA IBN NIZAR

Abu'l Fadl Yahya Ibn Nizar Ibn sa'id al-Manbaji (a native of Manbaj), is mentioned, in these terms, by the *hafiz* Abu Sa'd 'Abd al-Karim Ibn al-Sam'ani (vol. II, p. 156), in the *Dhayl*, a work which was composed as a supplement to the *Khatib's* History of Baghdad (vol. I, p. 75) "He composed poetry in a natural and unaffected style, and wrote down for me some of his verses. When I asked him the date of his birth, he answered: 'In the month of Muharram, 486 (February, A.D. 1093), at Manbaj.'" The same author then gives some of his pieces, one of which is as follows:

There was a clear-complexioned youth, the line of whose '*idhar*' [cheek]<sup>1</sup> augmented the trouble and the cares of his admirers. Oceans of beauty undulate in his cheeks and cast *ambergris*<sup>2</sup> upon their shores. Youth lets its waters flow over his cheeks. So that the borders of those streamlets produce *myrtle*.<sup>3</sup>

It has come into my mind that there are things to be criticized in this piece: The poet says, in the second verse, that oceans of beauty undulate in his cheeks; why then does he say, in the third verse, that youth lets its waters flow over them? What congruity is there between the water of youth and oceans of beauty? Not content with committing that fault, he represents the water as flowing in streamlets, that is to say, in rivulets; but rivulets are not to be placed on a line with oceans. In the same verse, he compares the '*idhar*' to *ambergris*; why then, in the third, does he assimilate it to *myrtle*? It is true that poets, when they seek for objects to which the '*idhar*' may be compared, have the custom of designating it as *ambergris* or as *myrtle*, but they never bring both together in the same piece. At the time in which I studied polite literature, [*al-adab*], I heard two verses recited which pleased me much; they are by an author whose name I could not learn, and run thus:

O thou who reproachest me with admiring one whose cheeks are encircled with an '*idhar*! knew that the fertile and the sterile soils are not to be compared. A sea of beauty undulates on those cheeks and casts *ambergris* upon its shores.

In the beginning of the year 672 (July-August, A.D. 1273), a volume of the work entitled *al-Sayl wa al-Dhayl* and composed by the

- 1 For the meaning of this word, I refer to the first volume, p. xxxvi.
- 2 The word *ambergris* is often employed as the synonym of '*idhar*'.
- 3 See introduction to vol. I, p. xxxvi.

katib 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani as a supplement to his *Kharidat al-Qasr* (vol. III, p. 303), fell into my hands. In it I found an article on Yahya Ibn Nizar al-Manbaji in which is introduced a piece of ten verses composed by him in praise of the Sultan Nur al-Din Mahmud Ibn Zangi (vol. III, p. 338). As that piece contains the second of the two verses just mentioned, I perceived that the person who versified the idea contained in the second of the three verses above given was the author of those which are inserted in the *Sayl*. Soon after, I received a visit from my friend Jamal al-Din Abu'l Mahasin Yusuf Ibn Ahmad, generally known by the surname of al-Hafiz al-Yaghmur<sup>\*</sup> and, in the course of our conversation, mention was made of the two verses. On this, he observed that the author of them was 'Imad al-Din Abu'l Manaqib Hussam Ibn Ghozzi<sup>\*\*</sup> Ibn Yunus al-Mahalli (*a native of al-mahalla in Egypt*) who had settled in Damascus. "I heard him recite them," said he, "and he mentioned that they were of his own composing. "Nay," said I, "the verse containing the idea (*which we have remarked*) was composed by Yahya Ibn Nizar al-Manbaji; 'Imad al-Din al-Mahalli may have made the first verse for the purpose of introducing the other as citation *tadmin* as is customary in some cases; but he should have indicated that it was a citation, lest those who read them both might suppose it to be his. Observe that the first verse is not in the piece which yahya al-Manbaji composed in honour of Nur al-Din." At a later period, it struck me that al-Mahalli's piece also was liable to censure: in the verse which prepared the way for the other he says that fertile and sterile grounds are to be compared. Now, these qualities depend upon the presence or the absence of vegetation. Then, in the next verse, he assimilates the '*idhar* to ambergris; but what analogy is there between plants and ambergris? The manner of introducing the second verse is therefore faulty. This critical remark is similar to that already made on the piece which consists in three verses.

A number of persons recited to me two (*other*) verses composed by al-'Imad al-Mahalli and which I here give:

They said to me: "The hair sports with the cheeks of the youth whom you admire;" and I answered: "That is not a defect....The glowing coal of his cheek has burned the ambergris "of his beauty-spot, and the smoke arising from it has formed the '*idhar*."

The idea then crossed my mind that the same critical remark

---

\* [al-Ya'muri in Cairo ed., p. 294-Ed.]

\*\* [Adi in Cairo ed., p. 294-Ed.]

which I made on the other verses was applicable to these also. Observe that the poet, when told of the hair's sporting with the youth's cheeks, does not disapprove of it, but says: That is not a defect. He therefore admits that the hair was an excellent thing in its kind. Why then does he say in the next verse that the glowing coal of the cheek has burned the ambergris, *etc.* and that the 'izar was formed of the smoke? What analogy is there between the smoke of ambergris and hair? To express the thought correctly, he should have said to those who spoke to him: That is not hair but the smoke of ambergris.--I had at Aleppo a friend and fellow-student named 'Awn al-Din Abu al-Rabi'ah Sulayman Ibn Baha' al-Din 'Abd al-Majid al-'Ajami, who was a native of that city. He composed two verses in which he came near to the idea above mentioned and which insert here:

When the flame of his cheek appeared to my eyes, my heart  
flew into it like a moth (*into a candle*). Burnt by that flame, it  
formed a beauty-spote and there, on the borders (*of the cheek*),  
is the trace of the smoke.

Here the idea is well brought out and cannot incur a censure similar to the preceding, but the poet has fallen into another fault which deserves to be taken up: he represents the 'idhar as the smoke resulting from the burning of the heart, whereas, al-'Imad al-mahalli called it the smoke of the ambergris of the beauty-spot; now, there is certainly a wide difference between the two kinds of smoke; one smells sweetly and the other badly. Our article on 'Abd Allah Ibn Sarah al-Shantarini (*vol. II, p. 59*) contains two verses in which that poet has expressed a very original idea; he says:

(*I think of her*) whose waist was so slender and the border  
(*lineaments*) of whose beauty so tender (*delicate*), that my heart  
was filled with a tender passion. It was not an 'idhar which  
clothed her cheek but rather a tint cast upon it by the dark pupils  
of (*our*) eyes.<sup>4</sup>

The original source of all the pieces of this cast is a poem in which the *katib*. Abu Ishaq Ibrahim a Sabi speaks of his page Yumn, who was of a swarthy complexion. We have already given it (*vol. I, p. 32*), but we reproduce here what related to our subject;

---

<sup>4</sup> In the translation already given of this piece and the following, the meaning has been so much softened down and disguised, that the observations here made by our author do not apply to them. It was therefore necessary to render them more literally.

Thou hast a face which my right hand seems to have traced, and words which deceive my hopes. In it is the image of the full moon, but over it have been cast the shades of night.

The thought contained in 'Awn al-Din's two verses comes near to that which is expressed in the following lines, composed by Abu'l Husayn Ahmad Ibn Munir al-Tarablusi (*vol. I, p. 140*).

Think not that the mole upon her cheek is a tear of blood fallen from my eyes. It was produced by a burning coal from the fire in my heart, immersed in that (*cheek*), it was extinguished and then rose to the surface.

I have here digressed from my subject and discoursed rather diffusely, but my observations are not devoid of utility.

Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ani says also (*in the work above cited*): "Yahya Ibn Nizar al-Manbaji recited to me the following verses and gave them as his own:

Had she turned away from me through coquetry or through disapprobation, I should still hope to gain her affection and should forgive her. But, if she rejects me through satiety, I cannot hope to make her relent; it is difficult to mend a glass, once it is broken.

He (*Yahya Ibn Nizar*) left other fine pieces of verse and expressed (*therein*) many elegant ideas.

The historical annals compiled by ('*Alif al-Din*) Abu'l Faraj Sadaqah Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Haddad<sup>5</sup> contain a passage to this effect: "On the eve of Friday, the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijjah, 554 (19th Dec. A.D. 1159), Yahya Ibn Nizar al-Manbaji died at Baghdad and was buried in the Wardiyah cemetery. It is said that he felt a weight (*or obstruction*) in one of his ears and called in an administrator of theriac (*a quack-doctor*) to treat him. This operator sucked his ear and drew out of it a portion of the brain; that was the cause of the patient's death." Al-Sam'ani says that he was the brother of Abu'l Ghana'im, the famous merchant. Of the latter he gives an account in a separate article of the Dhayl, and praises him highly.

Imad al-Din al-Mahalli was an elegant and refined literary scholar, if we may judge from the anecdotes told of him. He left some good poetry, consisting of short pieces only, and no *qasidahs*. He

---

5 See vol. I, p. 290.

knew by heart the *Maqamat* (of *al-Hariri*, see *vol. II*, p. 490) and explained their difficulties. His death took place at Damascus, on the eve of Wednesday, the 14th of the first Rabi', 629 (9th January, A.D. 1232). He was buried in the Sufi cemetery. His birth is placed, by estimation, in the year 560 (A. D. 1164-5). His early youth was passed at al-Mahallah and, from that place, he drew his surname. The denomination under which he was generally known was that of Ibn al-Jamal. I found among my rough notes, and in my own handwriting, two verses attributed to Wajih al-Din Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn Yahya Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Zarawi\* (*vol. II*, p. 555) the poet. Here they are:

Her '*idhar* is the smoke of the aloes-wood of her beauty-spot; her saliva, the water of the roses of her cheek.

I then found the following verses attributed to Ibn Sana'al-Mulk (*vol. III*, p. 589), but they belong, in reality, to As'ad Ibn al-Mammati (*vol. I*, p. 192):

A brunette who surpasses all others in complexion, in shape and in the sweetness of her lips. Her breath is the vapour arising from the aloes-wood of her beauty-spot; and her saliva is the rose-water of her cheek. Were the moon to write her a letter of compliments, the signature would be "Your humble servant."

I found the following lines attributed to an inhabitant of Aleppo called Muhadhhab al-Din Abu Nasr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Khidr, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Burhan al-Tabari; he was a native of Tabaristan, a calculator and an astronomer:

Her waist was slender, the radiance of her face dazzling and her aspect charming to the eye. With the fire of her cheek the heated the ambergris of her beauty-spot and, from the smoke of that ambergris, resulted the '*Idhar*.

I then perceived that al-Mahalli had borrowed his idea from one or the other of those persons just mentioned.

### 783 YAHYA IBN AL-JARRAH

Abu'l Husayn Yahya Ibn Abi 'Ali Mansur Ibn al-Jarrah Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Muhammad Ibn Daw'ud Ibn al-Jarrah, a native of Egypt--

---

\* [Ibn al-Dawri in Cairo ed., p. 297-Ed.]



this addition to the genealogy I found in the handwriting of a literary scholar, but am unable to certify its exactitude, and consider the first (*links of the chain*) as the surest,—was surnamed Taj al-Din (*crown of the religion*). During a long time office he was employed as a writer (*katib*) in the correspondence, under the government of Egypt. He wrote a great deal and in a beautiful hand. His talents, literary acquirements and varied information were of the highest order; his natural genius was fine, his poetry charming and his letters elegant. He heard Traditions in the frontier city of Alexandria, where he had for teachers the *hafiz* Abu Tahir al-Silafi (*vol. I, p. 86*) and Abu al-Thana' Hammad Ibn Hibat Allah al-Harrani. Traditions were taught also by him to numerous auditors.

An enigma was composed by him, of which the word was *dumluj* (دملج), a term serving to designate the object worn by women (*the bracelet which encircles the ankle or the upper arm*). As this riddle is a remarkable thing of the kind, I am induced to insert it here; it is in prose and runs thus: "What is the thing,<sup>1</sup> which, by inversion, becomes a stone; its face is a moon; if you reject it, it takes patience and goes apart from mankind (*or from the skin*); if you render it hungry, it will be satisfied with a date-stone; it folds itself around vacuity; if you glut it, it kisses your foot and becomes the companion of your servants (*your shoe-ties*); if you perfume it, it is lost; if you take it to the bazar, it refuses to be sold; if you let it be seen, it renders (*its*) possession agreeable (*to you*) and embellishes the enjoyment (*which it procures you*); if you double its second (*letter*) and reject the finals, it troubles life and renders necessary an alleviation from praying; at the time of the *'asr*, it causes anguish, at the *fajr*, it gives (*you*) alleviation an repose but, to its good termination is joined a bad trace; if you divide it, it prays for you and leaves a thing which, if you are borne upon it, affrights you, thought it aids you to accomplish your wishes, increases your wealth and, by means of that which is a help for the poor, brings about for you a good result. Receive my salutations."

Any person, meeting with this enigma and not knowing the way of solving it, would find great difficulty in clearing it up: I shall therefore give here the elucidations which the subject requires: The

---

1 Most of the words employed in this enigma have a double signification, one which is quite obvious but not appropriate, and the other, appropriate but less generally known. So the expressions of the author are, in themselves a tissue of enigmas. The piece itself is a very poor one and not worth the long commentary in which Ibn Khallikan takes the trouble of explaining it.

words: *What is the thing which, by inversion, becomes a stone* indicate the terms *dumluj* (d, m, l, j, bracelet for the ankle or the upper arm), which, being inverted, gives j, l, m, d, (*jalmad*, stone). The words: *whose face is a moon* mean that it is as round as the moon. In the expression: *if you reject it, it takes patience and goes apart from the skin* (b, sh, r), the word *bashar* is the plural of *bashara* (the skin of the body); now when it is thrown off, it takes patience and leaves the place where it was. *If you render it hungry, it will be satisfied with a date-stone* (*nuwa*); the word *nuwa* has two significations, namely, remoteness and a date-stone. In the provinces of Iraq, it is the custom to grind down date-stones with ripe or unripe dates and give them as forage to oxen; but here, the author intended to disguise the meaning which he gave to the word: when the *dumluj* is taken off the arm or the leg, it may be said to be hungry because its belly (or interior) is empty, and to be resigned to its *nuwa*, or removal from the limb of its owner. People say: "Such a one is satisfied with a *nuwa* نوى when he is so poor that he cannot procure a morsel to eat and makes up for that by sucking a datestone. This is often done by the inhabitants of Hijaz and of barren countries, when provisions are scarce. The author of the enigma had these two significations in view when he made use of the word *nuwa*, and, in that, consists the *tawriyah* (or disguising of the true meaning). In the expression: *it folds itself around vacuity*,<sup>2</sup> the word *khawa* means emptiness; and, effectively, when it (the bracelet) has its interior empty, it is really *khawi* (vacuus). The word *glutting*, in the expression: *if you glut it, it kisses your foot*, means putting it on, for the owner, when he does so, has filled its interior, and it is then over the foot, as if it was kissing it. In the words: *it becomes the companion of your servants*, we find also a *tawriyah*: *khadam* (servants) is the plural of *khadim* and one of those plurals which recur very rarely. The active participle having the form *fa'il* (which is the type of the form *khadim*) does not take a pluri'al having the form *fa'l* (which the type of *khadam*) except in a few cases which are to be learned (not from rules but) by audition; such, for instance as *gha'ib* (absent) *haris* (gardian) and *jamid* (solid), of which the plurals are *ghaiyab*, *haras* and *jamad* respectively. It is by audition only that these plurals are to be learned. The same word *khadam* is also the plural of *khadama*, which means the strap bound round the pastern of the camel and to which is tied the thong which holds the leathern shoe (on the animal's foot). An ankle-bracelet is called a *khadama* because it is sometimes made of straps inlaid with gold and silver. Another plural of *khadamah* is *khidam*. The expression: *if you perfume it, it is*

2 This idiomatical expression, when taken in its usual signification, denotes that a person supports patiently the sufferings caused by hunger.

lost has another meaning which is here disguised (*though intended*): the word *dha'*, having for its noun of action *diya'*, means *to be lost*, and signifies, when applied to perfumes, that their odour escapes (*and spreads around*). The words: *if you take it to the bazar, it refuses to be sold*, have here another meaning: as the word *suq* signifies not only the place where things are bought and sold, but also the *legs*, (*the words which signify*) taking it to the bazar (*mean also*) entering the leg into it: It refuses to be sold, because it is customary not to offer for sale an object of that kind until it is taken off the leg; we may therefore say that, before it is taken off, it refuses to be sold. The words: *if you let it be seen, it renders its possession agreeable to you and embellishes the enjoyment (which it procures you)* are so clear that they require no explanation.<sup>3</sup> If you double its second (letter), which is the *m*, and reject the final, you obtain the word *dummal* (boil, impostume), which troubles life by the pain it gives and therefore renders necessary an alleviation from (the fatigues of) praying. At the time of the 'asr, it causes anguish; the word 'asr has a double signification: it designates one of the (daily) prayers, and is also the noun indicating the action expressed by the verb (*asar, to press*). Here again is a disguising of the meaning, and such is also the case with the word *fajr* which signifies the *dawn of day* and is, besides, the noun of action belonging to the verb *fajar* which signifies *to let flow*. When a man's tumour is pressed, he feels anguish and trouble, and when he lets the humour run out of it, he obtains *alleviation and repose*. To its good termination is joined a bad trace; here the author designedly opposes the idea of badness to that of goodness and, no doubt, the discharge of the humour is a good thing and the scar left on the place a bad (or ugly) one. If you divide it, it prays for you; that is, if you cut the word *dumluj* in two, the first half is *dum* (*endure!*), which is prayer that a man may live long. And leaves a thing which, if you are borne upon it, affrights you; what is left is the syllable *luj*; now, the word *lujj* means *the waves of the sea*. In the first case, there is but one *j* and in the second, there are two; but licenses of this kind are pardoned when they occur in enigmas, conundrums<sup>4</sup> and riddles, and no attention is paid to them. As the sea is a fearful thing, the author said; it affrights you. It sometimes aids you to accomplish your wishes, because you arrive by it at the place to which you wished

3 This phrase is so far from being clear that most of the copyists do not understand it; they write *تأخّل* in place of *جمل* and *الاتباع* or *الامتاع* in place of *الامتاع*

4 The word rendered by *conundrum* is *تصنيف*. It means in reality, changing the diacritical points of a word; the result of which is that the consonants of the word are changed and its meaning also.

to go; it *increases your wealth*, because people embark for the purpose of trading. And, by means of that which is a help for the poor, it brings about for you a good result: by the words: that which is a help for the poor, is meant a ship, in as much as God said (*Qur'an*, sur. 18 verse 78).\*: but the vessel belonged to some poor people who worked upon the sea; this vessel was therefore a help for them in their need the manner in which a thing terminates. God knows how far these explication are right.

The word which signifies *enigma* has eight forms: *lughz*, *lughuz*, *laghz*, *laghaz*, *ulghuza*, *loghghuza* and *lughuza*.—What we have said here is rather long, but it was requisite that no doubts should be left in the reader's mind. In a collection of pieces drawn up by a man of talent who was one of my acquaintances, I found two verses attributed to Yahya Ibn al-Jarrah and I give them there:

I lift my hand towards my beard, with the intention of plucking out a white hair; but instead of the white one, it takes out a black. Since my own hand does not obey my wish, what must I think my enemies?<sup>5</sup>

He (*Ibn al-Jarrah*) was born on the eve of Saturday, the 15th of *Sha'ban*, 541 (21st January, A.D. 1147), and died at Dimyat on the 5th of *Sha'ban*, 616 (16th October, A.D. 1219). The enemy (*the Crusaders under John of Brienne*), whose projects may God always confound! were then besieging that place.—*Jarrah* is to be pronounced with a double *r* preceded by an *a*. — The enemy took Dimyat on Tuesday, the 27th of the month just mentioned (7th November), but God knows if this date be right. The Muslims retook it in the month of the latter *Jumada*, 618 (A.D. July-August, 1221).

I give here a note which I found in the handwriting of the professor and philologist *Muhammad al-Din Abu Talib Muhammad Ibn 'Ali*, generally known by the surname of *Ibn al-Khaymi*. He was a native of al-Hilla (in *Mesopotamia*) and had settled in Misr (Old Cairo). He says: "The enemy landed before Dimyat on Tuesday, the 12th of the first *Rabi'*, 615 (8th June, A.D. 1218); they landed on the eastern bank of the (river) on Tuesday, the 16th of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, in the same year (3rd February, A.D. 1219). This fortress was taken on Tuesday, the 26th of *Sha'ban*, 616 (6th November, and kept them from poverty. The word *result* (*ma'al*) means A.D. 1229), and was recovered from

---

\* [*al-Qur'an*, 18 : 79]

5 This passage, though given in the printed editions, is not to be found in our manuscripts.

them on Wednesday, the 19th of Rajab, 618 (8th September, A.D. 1221). From the time of their landing till that of their departure, three years, three months and seventeen days elapsed. It is a remarkable coincidence that they landed on a Tuesday, blockaded the town on a Tuesday and took it on a Tuesday. According to a tradition, God created on a Tuesday all things disagreeable."

*Dimyat* is a Syrian word; its primitive form was *Dhamiat* (ذميطة) with a point on the *d* (ذ -), and is derived from -ud-, which means *the power of the Lord*.<sup>6</sup> This seems an allusion to the junction of the two seas, that of fresh water (*the Nile*) and that of salt; but God knows best.

#### 784 [YAHYA B. 'ISA] IBN MATRUH

Abu'l Husayn Yahya Ibn 'Isa Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali Ibn Hamzah Ibn Ibrahim al-Husayn Ibn Matruh, surnamed *Jamal al-Din* (*beauty of religion*) was a native of Upper Egypt (*Sa'id*). He there passed his youth and, after residing for sometime in Qus, he entered into the civil administration and filled successively various offices till he got attached to the service of the sultan al-Malik al-Salih Abu'l Fath Ayyub, surnamed *Najm al-Din* (*star of the religion*). This prince, who was the son of the sultan al-Malik al-Kamil (*vol. III, p. 240*) and the grandson of al-'Adil Ibn Ayyub, was then acting in Egypt as his father's lieutenant. When al-Malik al-Kamil aggrandized his empire by the adjunction of the Eastern Countries (*Iraq, Mesopotamia, etc.*) and obtained possession of Amid, Hisn Kayfa, Harran, al-Ruha (*Edessa*), al-Raqqah, Ras 'Ayn, Saruj and their dependencies, he sent there his son, al-Malik al-Salih, as his lieutenant. This took place in the year 629 (A.D. 1231-2). Ibn Matruh, who was attached to the service of that prince, accompanied him in all his excursions throughout these provinces [*al-bilad*] and continued to do so till his master returned to occupy the throne of Egypt. Al-Salih made his entry into Cairo on Sunday, the 27th of *Dhu'l Qa'dah*, 637 (19th June, A.D. 1240). In the beginning of the year 639 (July-August, A.D. 1241), Ibn Matruh came back to Egypt and received from the sultan the intendancy of the treasury. He continued to rise in favour and to

---

6 The ancient Egyptians called this town *Tamiati* and the Greeks *Tamiathis*. The meaning assigned to this name by our author has nothing to support it.

gain the good will of his sovereign till the latter obtained possession of Damascus for the second time. This was in the month of the first Jumada, 643 (Sept-Oct. A.D. 1245). Sometime afterwards, the sultan established commissaries (*na'ibs*) in Damascus, and Ibn Matruh, whom he sent there to act as vizir, rose thus to easy circumstances and an elevated position. Al-Malik al-Salih then set out for Damascus, where he arrived in the month of *Sha'ban*, 646 (Nov.-Dec. A.D. 1248), and then dispatched an army against Hims (*Emessa*), for the purpose of taking that city from the commissaries who had been established there by al-Malik al-Nasir Abu'l Muzaffar Yusuf (*vol. II, p. 445*), surnamed Salah al-Din. This prince was the son of al-Malik al-'Aziz, the son of al-Malik al-Zahir, the son of sultan Salah al-Din (*Saladin*), and lord of Aleppo. He had taken by force (*the city of Hims*) from the hands of its former possessor, al-Malik al-Ashraf Muzaffar al-Din Abu'l Fath Musa (*vol. I, p. 628*), the son of al-Malik al-Mansur Ibrahim and the grandson of al-Malik al-Mujahid As'ad al-Din *Shirkuh*. As this prince was devoted to al-Malik al-Salih, the latter set out from Egypt with the intention of reinstating him in the possession of Hims. He then took from Ibn Matruh the office which he held at Damascus, and sent him off with the army which was marching against Hims. Whilst al-Malik al-Salih was remaining in Damascus, where he resolved to await the result of the expedition, he received intelligence that the Franks were assembling in the island of Cyprus, with the intention of invading Egypt. He in consequence sent off to the troops which were blockading Hims the order to raise the siege and return to Egypt for the purpose of guarding its territory. The army went back to that country, and Ibn Matruh, who had continued in the service of al-Malik al-Salih, now incurred that sultan's displeasure, for some things which he had done. In the beginning of the year 647, the Franks landed in Egypt and, on Sunday, the 27th of Safar, in the same year (11th June, 1249), they obtained possession of Damietta.<sup>1</sup> Al-Malik al-Salih encamped with his army at al-Mansurah, and Ibn Matruh continued in his service notwithstanding the disfavour shown to him. On the eve of the 15th of *Sha'ban*, 647 (Nov. A.D. 1249) al-Malik al-Salih died at al-Mansurah and Ibn Matruh went to Cairo (*Misr*) where he remained in his house till the day of his death. This is but a summary sketch of his history.

He possessed great talents, an amiable disposition and, to his merit and uprightness, he united the most estimable qualities of heart. An intimate friendship subsisted between him and me; when

---

<sup>1</sup> According to other accounts, saint Louis took Damietta on the 22nd of Safar (6th June).

separated from each other, we kept up an epistolary correspondence and, when we met in a fixed abode (*the city*), we had sittings in which our time was passed in literary and amusing conversation. He composed a *diwan* of poetry, the greater part of which he recited to me. One of the pieces which I heard from him was a long and elegant *qasidah*, commencing thus:

Here is Ramah (*vol. I, p. 200*); take to the right of the valley, and let your swords repose in their scabbards; but beware of the glances shot from the large eyes of its maidens! how many lions (*heroes*) have been struck down by those arms! To him among you who feels sure of his heart (*I shall only say that*), in that place, I am not sure of my own. My two companions! at the sand-hill, in the (*tribe's*) reserved grounds, a heart remains in captivity and has no one to redeem it. It was stolen from me on the day of the tribe's departure, by the glances of an eye whose lashes were darkened with collyrium. In the tribe of her for whose love I am dying, are eyes always watching the proceedings of lovers. There also is a sweet-voiced (*maiden*), with perfumed and honeyed lips, from whom, only for those jealous spies, I should have obtained my will. By what way can a meeting be effected with one who is so closely guarded by bright swords and yellow (*shafted*) spears? Her flowing hair dwells within a tent of hair, and her beauty always resides in the desert.<sup>2</sup> They guard with the spear her whose waist, so slender and so gracefully bending, resembles the pliant (*spear*). A female (*friend*) said to us: The look of hair pendant over her cheek and as straight as the letter *alif* | being joined to the *mim* † of her smiling mouth,<sup>3</sup> will heal the thirst of the passionate lover.

The whole poem is very fine, but I limit my choice to this passage, through the necessity of being concise. Another piece of his is the following:

I am attached to a person of the family of Ya'rub, whose glances are sharper and more destructive than the swords of her noble Arab kinsmen. I have lodged her in the recess formed by my bosom, through love for her brilliant teeth and for the sweet water of her lips. Censors! you who blame the languor of her eyes; I am pleased with her very defects. She is pliant (*in her movements*), though the zephyr passes not by (*to bend*) her waist;

---

2 The translator may have perhaps mistaken the meaning of this verse.

3 These two letters form the word *ma*, which signifies *water*.

she sheds perfume around, yet ambergris breathes not from her bosom.

Being taken ill, in one of his journeys, he stopped at a mosque on the road-side and said:

The doctor may be unable to cure me; so, Thou, O Lord! who healest all woes, heal my illness through Thy gracious bounty. I am detained here as Thy guest, and beneficence towards guests is a quality of the generous.

After his death, these lines were found written on a piece of paper. He related to me that he had, one day, a discussion with Abu'l Fadl Ja'far Ibn Shams al-Khilafat (*vol. I, p. 328*), respecting a verse contained in a *qasidah* which had been composed by the latter and which began thus:

Who will bring to me that pliant branch (*mai'ien*) who is engirdled with eyes<sup>4</sup>, whose qualities, whose lips and whose voice are all sweet? Rich (*i.e. large*) in haunches, poor (*thin*) in waist; did you ever hear speak, in the world, of a rich person being poor?

The verse which gave rise to the contestation was as follows:

I say: "O sister of the gazelle!" and she answers: "May the gazelle perish! may it not" serve!"

Ibn Shams al-Khilafat pretended that it was his and that it belonged to one of the *qasidahs* which were contained in his *diwan*. Each of the disputants had then a certificate drawn up, attesting the verse to be his, and these documents they had signed by a number of witnesses. Ibn Matruh declared solemnly, that he had composed it, and he was a man very cautious in his affirmations and never known to claim a thing which did not belong to him; but God knows the secrets of all things!

One of my acquaintances recited to me the following lines, declaring that Ibn Matruh had taught them to him and had mentioned that they were by himself.

O thou who hast forced me to put on the raiment of sickness, a sallow complexion marked with the (*blood*) of tears!

---

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of these words is: on whom all eyes are fixed. The same idea is similarly expressed by al-Mutanabbi in a verse which is given in the next page.



receive the last sighs of a heart which I should have expelled from my bosom, had it not melted away through grief for thy absence.

During the time of his remaining secluded in his house, whilst his mind was preoccupied and his heart saddened at having no longer any place to fill, he caught a disorder in his eyes which finished by nearly depriving him of sight. I used then to visit him very often, but as I was at that time acting as the deputy of the chief *qadi* and magistrate of all Egypt, whose name was Badr al-Din Abu'l Mahasin Yusuf Ibn al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali, surnamed the Qadi Sinjar, I was under the necessity of suspending my visits for a short period. He therefore wrote to me these lines:

O thou whom my eyes are longing to see; thou, the charms of whose society have never ceased to fill my heart! These eyes and this heart in their present state, are always a dwelling for the moon and for the sun.<sup>5</sup>

The following verses are taken from one of his long *qasidahs*:

The (*admiring*) eyes which encircle that queen of beauty form her *yataq*; she takes our bosom for her tent and, in my heart, she has a *sabaq*.

The edea expressed in the first verse is borrowed from al-Mutanabbi, who said:

The glances of admirers are fixed upon her waist; so that she is encircled with a girdle of eyes.

*Yataq* (يطاق) is a Turkish word; it designates the company of soldiers who pass the night around the royal tent, and guard it when the prince is making an expedition.<sup>6</sup> *Sabaq* سبق means the king's tent; when he is on a march, a tent is sent forward to the place where he intends to halt, so that, on his arrival, he may find every thing prepared and not be obliged to wait till the tent in which he had already stopped is brought up. In the following verses, he introduces, with great elegance, a verse of al-mutanabbi's:

When she smiled and let me sip intoxication from her lips, I called to mind what had passed between al-'Uzayb and

5 There is here an allusion to Ibn Khallikan's title of *Slams al-Din* (*the sun of religion*). By the moon is perhaps meant the qadi Sinjar who, as we have, seen, bore the title of Badr al-Din (*the moon of religion*).

6. The primitive signification of the Turki'h word *yataq* is *bed*.

Bariq<sup>7</sup>; her slender stature and the flow of my tears made me think of our (*slender*) lances couched against the foe and of the rapid course our steeds.

We give here al-mutanabbi's verse, which forms the beginning of a long *qasidah*:

I called to mind what passed between al-'Uzayb and Bariq: there our lances were couched; there ran, with emulation, our rapid steeds.

Ibn Matruh and Baha' al-Din Zuhayr (*vol. I, p. 542*) were old friends. Their acquaintance commenced when they were boys and residing in Upper Egypt. They were as two brothers, neither of them having any wordly interest distinct from that of his companion. When they entered into the service of al-Malik al-Salih; they maintained their mutual friendship and carried on a written correspondence in verse, containing an account of whatever occurred to them. Baha' al-Din himself related to me that Jamal al-Din Ibn Matruh wrote to him, one day, for the gift of a *darj* (*a large sheet*) of paper, being then in straitened circumstances. They were at that time in the East (*Mesopotamia*), as I believe. Here are the lines:


Sir! I am in want of a leaf (*in Arabic: ورق* ; bestow on me a sheet as fair as your reputation. If it comes to me with some Ink (*I shall say*): "Welcome to the (*fair*) cheeks and the dark "eye."

Baha' al-Din informed me that the writer had placed two vowel points upon the *r* of the word *w, r, q*. 'ورق' so that it might be read either *waraq* (*leaf*) or *wariq* (*money*), and thus make known his distressed situation. Baha' al-Din answered in these terms:

My master! I send you what you wrote for: a little ink and some *wariq*. Yet the small quantity<sup>8</sup> of that is precious in my sight, since you compared it to cheeks and eyes.

In the life of Baha' al-Din (*vol. I, p. 544*) I have given two verses which Ibn Matruh wrote to him and I related, after Baha' al-Din's own statement, the motive which led the author to compose them. Since I wrote that, an accomplished literary scholar arrived in Egypt

<sup>7</sup> These are the names of two places in Arabia, but they signify also *sweet water* and *flashing*, by which terms poets sometimes designate the moisture of the lips and the whiteness of the teeth.

<sup>8</sup> To obtain the measure and the meaning of this verse, we must read *yasiru* 

and I mentioned to him, in conversation, what Baha' al-Din had told me. I said also that he had recited to me the following verse, as having been composed by Ibn al-Halawi (*vol. I, p. 544*):

You compose verse well and you reward those who praise you in verse. Tell us then whether you are Zuhayr or Harim?.

Here, that person said to me: "The *qasidah* of which you speak was recited to me by the author, Ibn al-Halawi, when we were in Mosul; but I read the verse in a different manner, for I heard it thus pronounced by him who composed it:

You make verse well and you remunerate those who bring verses to you. Tell us them whether you are Zuhayr or Harim?"\*

Ibn al-Halawi may, perhaps have composed this verse in the form given to it by Baha' al-Din and, afterwards, modified it in the manner indicated by the literary scholar; or, perhaps, one or other of these relaters may have made mistake; but the verse is very good, both ways. The history of Zuhayr Ibn Abi Sulama al-muzani<sup>9</sup> is so well known that we need not leave our subject for the purpose of giving a long account of this anteislamic poet. He used to compose poems in praise of Harim Ibn Sinan al-Muzani, a famous Arab chieftain in the times of paganism. Harim frequently bestowed rich presents on Zuhayr and even swore that, every time the poet saluted him, he would give him, out of his property, something very fine, such as a horse, or a camel, or a male slave, or a female slave. Zuhayr, not wishing to be onerous to Harim, never afterwards passed by a company where that chief was, without saying: "Salutation to you all, this morning! with the exception of Harim; the best among you, I leave him out."

Let us resume our account of Ibn Matruh: I have been informed that, before his elevation to power, he wrote a petition to a *ra'is* (or *chief of a government office*), requesting him to take charge of a certain affair for one of his friends. The *ra'is* sent out to him the paper with the following answer written on it: "To arrange such an affair would be a toil for me." To this Ibn Matruh wrote as a reply: "Were it not for toiling *etc.*" The *ra'is* understood the allusion and did the business. These words belong to a verse of al-Mutanabbi's which runs:

---

\* [Harim in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 307-Ed.]

9 For the history of Zuhayr, the author of one of the *Mu'allaqah*, see, Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, tome II, page 527 et seq.

Were rank to be gained without toil, every man would be a *ra'is*; (but they know that) liberality impoverishes, and hardy daring is often fatal.

The hint was really very delicate. Jamal al-Din Abu'l Husayn Yahya Ibn 'Abd al-'Azim Ibn Yahya Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Ali, a learned and highly accomplished philologist, who was generally known by the surname of al-Jazzar al-Misri, recited to me an elegant *qasidah* which he had composed in honour of Ibn Matruh. It is rather long, so I shall merely give the amatory part of it:

Here is her vernal abode which my should was longing to see again; stop the caravan so that I may fulfil my duty towards that spot (*in offering it my salutations*). According to the laws of love, it would be disgraceful for me if I treated with ingratitude a place which procured me so much happiness. I shall never forget the nights passed therein with her whom I loved, and those happy hours. If, since their departure, I am become the mere shadow of myself, yet the love which I feel for her has never ceased to be a reality. My friend, sincere and noble! at such a moment as this, the generous man never forgets his friends. Place your hand upon my heart; you may perhaps alleviate its palpitations within my bosom: My eyes have shed torrents of tears, since they last saw this abode of love, and how often have they wept when they saw (*from afar*) the lightings (*of the beneficent raincloud*) glimmer over it. They have exhausted the pearls, of their tears, and now, they scatter on the ground their rubies (*drops of blood*). Stay with me, and tell the caravan to wait: if it will not, let it go forward on its way; this is a country which we can seldom hope to attain, and we have never missed attaining (*overtaking*) a caravan. How often, in these tracts, have I endeavoured to see her who, when she called her sister, astonished the moon (*who thought that the call was addressed to her*). The rose is disgraced by the redness of her cheeks and the juice of the grape wishes to resemble (*in flavour*) the moisture of her lips. For her, beauty is well adapted and has always been so; and real worth has always been adapted to (*the character of*) Ibn Matruh.

Ibn Matruh was born at Usyut on Monday, the 9th of Rajab, 592 (8th June, A.D. 1196); he died in Old Cairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 1st of Sha'ban, 649 (19th October, A.D. 1251) and was buried at the foot of Mount Muqattam. I was present at the funeral service and the interment. One of his last injunctions should be inscribed on the headstone of his grave:

I am deposited, like a pledge, in the bottom of an excavation, possessing no other wordly good that shroud. O Thou who includest all Thy servants in Thy mercy, I am one of Thy servants who were sinners.

It is stated that, when he had breathed his last, a paper, on which were written the following lines, was found under his head:

Why standest thou in such terror of death, since the mercy of the Lord may always be hoped for? Hadst thou been guilty of every crime which mortals ever committed the mercy of God can extend over them all.

The chief Qadi Badr al-Din Yusuf, he of whom we have spoken above, died in Cairo on Saturday, the 14th of Rajab, 663 (14th June, A.D. 1265), and was interred in the mausoleum which bears his name and lies near the mosque founded by him in the lesser Qarafah cemetery.\* He told me more than once, that he was born in the mountains near the town of Arbela and that he drew his descent from a *zirzar* (or Greek patrician). *Usyut* is a town in Upper Egypt; some persons suppress the first letter of the name and pronounce it *Suyut*.

## 785 [YAHYA B. 'ISA] IBN JAZLAH

Abu 'Ali Yahya Ibn 'Isa Ibn Jazlah, the physician, was the author of the *Kitab al-Minhaj*, a work drawn up in alphabetical order and containing the names of plants, drugs, medicaments, etc., in great quantity. He was a Christian, but became Muslim and then composed an epistle in which he confuted the Christians, exposed the foulness of their doctrines and extolled Islam. In it he set forth arguments to prove that the latter was the true religion and adduced passages which he had read in the Pentateuch and the Gospel and which spoke of the apparition [*ai-Zahur*] of Muhammad as a prophet to be sent by God. (*According to him, these passages*) were concealed by the Jews and the Christians, who never made them public and whose turpitudes he then enumerates. It is an elegant epistle and displays great talent. In the month of Dhu'l Hijjah, 485 (January, A.D. 1093), it was read (*by students*) under his direction.<sup>1</sup>

---

\* [Qarafat al-Sughra in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 309 Ed.]

1 The Arabic may also signify: "it was read (*before witnesses, so that it might serve as a proof*) against him (*in case he relapsed*)." This may, perhaps, be what Ibn Khallikan, or his authority, meant.

The manner [*sabab: cause*] of his conversion was, that he went to study (*logic?*) under Abu 'Ali Ibn al-Walid the (*mu'tazli*) whose lessons he attended assiduously and who never ceased exhorting him to embrace Islamism, adducing evident proofs which attested the truth of that religion. This continued till God directed him, and he then became a good Musalman. He studied medicine under Abu'l Hasan Sa'id Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn al-Husayn<sup>2</sup> and profited by that doctor's tuition. He possessed a superficial knowledge of polite literature and wrote a good hand. A great number of works were composed by him for the Imam (*khalif*) al-Muqtadi bi'amr Allah, such as the *Taqwim al-Abdan* (*regimen of the body*), the *Minhaj al-Bayan* etc. (*highway of exposition, treating of the (plants and simples) made use of by man*), the *Isharah fi talkhis il 'Ibarah* (*indication concerning the abridgment of the 'ibarah*),<sup>3</sup> an epistle in praise of the medical art, demonstrating its accordance with the divine law and refuting the attacks directed against it, an epistle addressed to Alya (*Elias?*) the priest, when he (*the author*) became a Muslim. There are other works of his besides the above. He was one of those doctors who were famous for their theroretical knowledge of medicine and for the practice of that art. Abu'l Muzaffar Yusuf Sibī Ibn al-Jawzi (*vol. I, p. 439*) mentions him in the historical work entitled *Mir'at al-Zaman*, and says: "When he became a Muslim Abu'l Hasan, who was then *qadi* of Baghdad, deputed to him the task of engrossing the judgements pronounced in court. He (*Ibn Jazla*) acted as doctor to the inhabitants of his quarter and the persons of his acquaintance; he took from them no retribution [*ujrat*] and carried to them gratuitously the potions and medicines which they required. He sought out poor people and made them the objects of his charity. Sometime before his death, he made a *waqf*<sup>4</sup> of his books and deposited them in the *mash-hed* (*or funeral chapel*) of Abu Hanifah (*vol. III, p. 555*)." All this is mentioned under the year 493 (A.D. 1099-1100), and it was customary with that historian to place each of his biographical notices under the year in which the individual died; his books being drawn up in the form of annals. The author of the work

---

2 Sa'id Ibn Hibat Allah, a celebrated doctor of Baghdad, was employed between the years 470-500 (A.D. 1077-1106), as physician to the khalifs al-Muqtadi and al-Mustathir Billah. Some of his pupils, such as Ibn Jazlah Awhad al-Zaman and Ibn al-Talimid, became highly distinguished -- (Wustenfel's *Arabische Aerzte*, no. 143).

3 The *Isharah* and the *Ibara* treated probably of medicine: Haji khalifah does not indicate them in his Bibliographical dictionary.

4 See vol. I, p. 49.

entitled *Kitab al-Bustan al-Jami' li-tawarikh al-Zaman* (the Garden being a collection of historical tales)<sup>5</sup> states that Ibn Jazlah died in the year 493, and Abu'l Hasan Ibn al-Hamadani (vol. I, p. 280) informs us, besides, that his death occurred towards the end of *Sha'ban* (beginning of July, 1100). This indication is borrowed from him by Ibn al-Najjar in the History of Baghdad (vol. I, p. 11). Another author states that his conversion to Islam took place in the year 466, to which Ibn al-Najjar add: "On Tuesday, the 11th of the latter Jumada (11th February, A.D. 1074).--*Jazla* is to be pronounced with an *a* after the *j*; it takes, no vowel after the *z*, but the *l* is followed by an *a*.

## 786 [ YAHYA B. HABASH ] SHIHAB AL-DIN AL-SUHRAWARDI

Abu'l Futuh Yahya Ibn Habash Ibn Amirak, surnamed *Shihab al-Din* (*flambeau of religion*), was a native of Suhraward and a philosopher; the same who was put to death at Aleppo. Some say that his name was Ahmad (*not Yahya*), and others assert that the surname *kunniyah* Abu'l Futuh was his real name. Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad Ibn Abi 'Usaybiah al-Khazraji<sup>1</sup>, the philosopher who composed the

5 This work is not noticed by Haji Khalifah.

1 Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad Ibn al-Qasim Ibn Khalifah Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah surnamed Muwaffaq al-Din and a member of the Arabic tribe of Khazraj, was born in Damascus, where his father was an oculist and his uncle Rashid al-Din Abu'l Hasan 'Ali, director of the hospital for the treatment of the maladies of the eyes. He studied philosophy under Rida al-Din al-Jili, and profited greatly by the lessons of Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Baytar, with whom he made a number of botanical excursions. Ibn al-Baytar is the author of the Dictionary of Simples, a deservedly celebrated compilation of which Dr. Sontheimer published a German translation, at Stuttgart, in the year 1840. Ibn Abi 'Usaybi'ah kept up for sometime an epistolary correspondence with the celebrated physician and philosopher, 'Abd al-Latif. In the year 634 (A.D. 1236-7), he got an appointment in the hospital founded at Cairo by the sultan Salah al-Din (Saladin). Some years after, he accompanied the Amir Izz al-Din Aidmor to Sarkhod, in Syria, and he died there, aged upwards of seventy years. His history of the physicians, entitled *'Uyun al-Anba fi Tabaqat al-Atibba* (sources of information concerning the physicians of divers classes), contains a number of curious and highly interesting articles. The list of its chapters has been given by Mr. Wustendfeld in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Aertze*, No. 237, and from that work are taken the indications given here. In the catalogue of the Bodleian library, tome II, p. 131 *et seq.* will be also found this list of chapters.

work called *Tabaqat al-Atibbah* (classified dictionary of medical men), gives to this Suhrawardi the name of 'Umar and does not mention that of his father. The true name is, however, the one which I have indicated, in the beginning, and I have therefore placed his article here (among the *Yahyas*). I found in the handwriting of some persons versed in this branch of science (*biography*) that such was his name, and I received the same information from a number of other, that exactness of whose knowledge could not be doubted. That fortified my opinion and led me to place al-Suhrawardi's article here. He was one of the most learned men of that age. He studied philosophy and the fundamentals of jurisprudence under the *Shaykh* Majd al-Din al-Jili, who was then teaching in the city of Maraghah, one of the governments [*a'mal*] in Adharbaijan, and he continued with him till he attained pre-eminence in these two sciences. This Majd al-Din al-Jili was the professor under whom Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (*vol. II, p. 652*) studied with such profit and completed his education; he was considered as a great master (*imam*) in all those branches of science. The author of the *Tabaqat al-Atibba'* says, in that work: "Al-Suhrawardi was the first man of his time in the philosophical sciences, all of which he knew perfectly well. In the science of the fundamentals of jurisprudence he stood pre-eminent; he was gifted with great acuteness of mind and the talent of expressing his thoughts with precision. His learning was greater than his judgment." He then states that he was put to death towards the close of the year 586, at the age of thirty-six years. At the end of this article we shall give the true date of his death. After this, he says: "It is reported that he was acquainted with the art of *simia'* (*natural magic*), and the following anecdote was related by a Persian philosopher who happened to travel with him from Damascus: 'When we reached al-Qabun, a village which lies near the gate of Damascus, on the road leading to Aleppo, we came up to some Turkomans who had with them a flock of sheep. We said to the *shaykh* (al-Suhrawardi): Master! we would like to have one of those sheep to eat? He replied: 'I have with me ten dirhems (6 shillings); take them and buy a sheep.' We bought one from a Turkoman and proceeded on our journey, but we had not gone far when a companion of this herdsman came up to us and said: Give back the sheep and take a smaller one; for that

---

2 The Arabic text has here, and farther on, "a head of sheep"; the word, "head" is employed also in English to designate one individual of a species; we say: three head of oxen. In Arabic historians we sometimes meet with the expression: "he brought back many heads of prisoners," which means simply: many prisoners. In Turkish and in Persian expressions of this kind are very common; "three chains of elephant" means three elephants.



a fellow (*whom you got it from*) did not know how to sell it to you; this sheep is worth more than the sum given for it. We talked with him on the subject, and the *shaykh* said to us, on perceiving what was going on: 'Take the sheep and walk off with it; I shall stay with the man and give him satisfaction.' We proceeded on our way whilst the *shaykh* entered into conversation with the fellow, endeavouring to tranquillize him. When we had got to a short distance, he left him and followed us. The Turkoman ran after him, calling out to stop, but the *shaykh* did not mind him. Finding that he could get no answer, he ran up to the *shaykh* in a passion and pulled him by the left arm, exclaiming: 'Do you mean to go away and leave me thus?' The arm separated from the shoulder and remained in his hand, with the blood running out. Astounded at the sight, and forgetful of what he was about, the Turkoman threw down the arm in terror. The *shaykh* turned back to the arm, took it up with his right hand and then followed us. The other continued to retreat, and the *shaykh* kept looking at him till he disappeared. When he came up to us, we saw in his right hand a towel and nothing else.

A great number of similar anecdotes are related of him, but God knows if they be true. He composed some works, such as the *Tanqihat* (enucleations), treating of the fundamentals of jurisprudence, the *Talwihat* (elucidations), the *Kitab al-Hayakil* (book of temples)<sup>3</sup>, the *Kitab Hikmat til-Ishraq* (the philosophy of illuminism)<sup>4</sup>, and epistle entitled *al-Ghurbat al-Gharibah* (extraordinary peregrination (?)) and drawn up on the plan of Avicenna's *Epistle of the bird* [*Risalah al-Tayr*] (see vol. I, p. 443) and on that of the *Hay Ibn Yaqzan* composed by the same author.<sup>5</sup> This epistle, which is elegantly written, treats of (*What is called*) the discourse of the mind (i.e. *its ambitious suggestions*) and whatever, in the system of the philosophers, is connected with that subject. Here are some of his sayings: "Let your reflection be turned towards such an image of sanctity as may be gratification to the seeker of enjoyment."--"The tracts of sanctity are an abode on whose (floor) the ignorant cannot tread"--"For the bodies darkened (*by sin*), the realm of the heavens is forbidden. Declare therefore the unity of God and be filled with veneration for Him; remember Him, for you are naked, though clothed in the raiment of existence."--"Were

---

3 This work was probably a treatise on mysticism.

4 For the signification of the word *ishraq* see my French translation of Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*, tome III, p. 167.

5 Another work bearing the title of *Hay Ibn Yaqzan* (or *Yaqdhan*) was composed by Ibn Tufayl and published by Pocock.

there two suns in the world, its columns would be destroyed."--"The order (of nature) refuses to be otherwise than it is."

"I hid myself and said: 'I am not visible;' and by my effort, I let myself be seen by all things that have being."--"If I was sure that we (and God) were never to meet, I should satisfy my passion in the enjoyment of Salma."<sup>6</sup>

"I implore thee, O Lord! to deliver my subtle part (*the soul*) from this dense (or "*material world*)."

Some poems are attributed to him, one of which is on the soul and in the same style as the verses rhyming in '*ayn*' which were composed by al-Husayn Ibn Sina and which we inserted in his article (*vol. I, p. 443*). This philosopher (*al-Suhrawardī*) said (*on the subject*):

She divested herself of the temple (*the body*) at the sand-hill of the park (*the world*), and aspired with ardour to regain her former abode. Impelled by passionate desire, she turned towards that dwelling-place, that vernal residence of which even the crumbling ruins had disappeared. She stopped to question it, and the echo (or *screech-owl*) replied: "There is no way (*to effect*) your meeting." She is like a flash of lightning glimmering over the park, and then disappearing, as if it had not gleamed.

A well known piece of his is the following:

Our souls are always turned towards you with tender affection; to meet with you would be their nosegay and their wine.<sup>7</sup> The hearts of your lovers yearn for you and aspire after the pleasure of that meeting. O how lovers are to be pitied! they must conceal their feelings, and yet their passion betrays them. If they let their secret be known, they risk the shedding of their life's blood; for this only is shed the blood of lovers. Whilst they hide (*their feelings*), flowing tears tell their secret to the jealous spies. The symptoms of (*love's*) malady appear in their looks, and that suffices to dispel every doubt concerning them. (*Your devoted lover humbly*) abases the wing (*with indulgence*) before him. To meet with you, his heart is always yearning; to please you, his eyes are ever watchful. Replace the darkness of your cruelty by the light of your kindness; your aversion is night, and your

---

6 That is : were I sure that there was no future life, I should indulge in sensual pleasures during this life. --The preceding sentences are evidently borrowed from the *Sufis*.

7 All this piece has a mystic import: the beloved is God.

benevolence is day. She (*the beloved*) acted sincerely towards her lover, and their hearts were sincere towards her; the light (*shining*) from those (*hearth*) was like a lamp burning in a niche. Their desires are ardent; the hour favour your approach; clear are the goblets (*for the feast*). My friend! the lover is not to be blamed if the morning shines (*if his joy appears*) in the horizon of (*happy*) meeting; lovers are not in fault if their ardour overcomes their secrecy, so that their passion is increased and they reveal it. In risking lives, they knew that such prodigality was (*followed by*) success. The herald of (*mysterious*) truths called unto them and, from morning till evening, they continued obedient to that call. Whilst they rode along the way of fidelity, their tears formed an ocean on which the seamen were their passionate desires. By Allah! they sought not permission to approach the door of the beloved, till they were invited thither and had received the key. Never do they find pleasure in discourse of which the beloved is not the subject; all their time is therefore (*continued*) happiness. They appeared in the (*beloved one's*) presence, though every sign which could attest the existence of their persons had disappeared, when they saw the beloved, they stood reveled and uttered a loud cry. He (*the beloved*) annihilated them from before him; the veils of existence which shaded them were removed and their souls were dissolved.<sup>8</sup> Try to resemble them, if you are not like them; to resemble the generous (*brings*) good success. Arise my boon companion! and bring the wine in its cup! for the goblets have already passed round; (*let it be the produce*) of the wine of nobleness (*drawn*) from the tun of piety; let it not be such wine as has been trod out by the husbandman.

He left some other elegant pieces, in prose and in verse; but we need not lengthen this article by inserting them. He was a follower of the rite introduced by al-Shafi' (*vol. II, p. 569*) and had received the title of *al-Murid\* bal-Malakut* (*the aspirant who desires the divine glory*). He was suspected of holding heretical opinions, of disbelieving in God and of following the system professed by the philosophers of ancient times. These suspicions became so general that, when he arrived in Aleppo, the '*ulama*' of the city issued a *fatwa* in which they declared that he might be slain with impunity; so pernicious did his

---

8 The ultra-sufi doctrine of the soul's being absorbed into God and of its then losing the consciousness of its individuality is openly declared in this verse.

\* [*mu'cyad* in Cairo ed, Vol., V, p. 316 -- Ed.]

opinions appear to them. The most ardent of the assembly for his condemnation were the two *shaykhs* Zayn al-Din and Majd al-Din, the sons of Jahyal.

The *shaykh* Sayf al-Din al-Amidi (*vol. II, p. 235*) relates as follows: "I met with al-Suhrawardi in Aleppo, and he said to me that he should certainly become master of the earth. I asked him how he learned that, and he replied: 'In a dream; methought I drank up the waters of the ocean'. I observed to him that the dream might signify being celebrated for learning, or something of that kind; but I saw that he would not give up the idea which he had in his mind. It seemed to me that he possessed great learning and little judgment."

It is related that when he was convinced that he should be put to death, he often recited these lines:

I see that my foot has shed my blood; my blood is now worthless; alas! of what avail was my repentance?

The idea in the first hemistich is borrowed from Abu'l Fath 'Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Basti (*vol. II, p. 314*), who said:

My foot bore me towards my death; I see that my foot has shed my blood; I did not cease to repent, but repentance has been useless to me.

This occurred in the reign of the sultan al-Malik al-Zahir (*vol. II, p. 443*), son of the sultan Salah al-Din (*Saladin*) and sovereign of Aleppo. Al-Suhrawardi was imprisoned by his order and then strangled, in pursuance to the sultan al-Din's advice. It was in the castle of Aleppo, on the 5th of Rajab, 587 (29th July, A.D. 1191) that the execution took place. Al-Suhrawardi was then eight and thirty years of age.

Baha' al-din Ibn Shaddad, the *qadi* of Aleppo, speaks of him, towards the commencement of his life of Salah al-Din.<sup>9</sup> After mentioning how orthodox حسن عقيدہ that sultan was in his belief, he enters into a long discourse in which he praises him for the scrupulous observance of his religious duties and then adds: "He ordered his son, the sovereign of Aleppo, to put to death a youth just grown up, whom they called al-Suhrawardi and who was said to be an adversary of the divine law. (*Al-Zahir*) had him arrested as soon as he was told of it, and acquainted his father with the circumstance. The latter ordered the prisoner to be put to death, which was done."

---

9 See Schulten's *Vita et res gestae Saladini* page. 7.

The body was exposed on a cross during some days. Sibi Ibn al-Jawzi (*vol. I, p. 439*) has inserted in his historical work the following statement, which had been made by the same *qadi*, Ibn Saddad: "On Friday, the 29th of "Dhu'l Hijjah, 587 (17th January, A.D. 1192), after the hour of prayer, the corpse of *Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi* was carried out of the prison of Aleppo, and all the partisans of that man dispersed and left him."

I must here add that, when I was residing in Aleppo, where I passed some years, studying the noble science (*the divine law*), a great difference of opinion existed among the inhabitants respecting the charter [*amr*] of al-Suhrawardi. Each of them spoke according to the dictates of his fancy: some declared him to have been a Zindiq<sup>10</sup> and an infidel; others took him for a saint and one of those favoured persons who were gifted with miraculous powers [*al-Karamat*] they said also that after his death, they had witnessed things (*prodigies*) which justified their opinion. But the public, in general, considered him to have been an infidel who believed in nothing.<sup>11</sup> May God pardon us our sins, grant us health (*of mind*) and preserve us from evil in this world and the next! may He permit us to die in the belief of those who know the truth and are rightly directed! The date for his death given here is the true one, though it disagrees with that which I inserted, on another authority, in the beginning of this article. According to a third statement, his execution took place in the year 588, but that indication is of no value.

Both syllables of *Habash* are pronounced with an *a*. -- *Amirak* is a Persian word signifying *petty emir*, that people add the letter *k* to the end of nouns in order to form the diminutives.-- We have already spoken of *Suhrawardi* in our article on the *shaykh* Abu Najib 'Abd al-Qadir al-Suhrawardi (*vol. II, p. 150*), and to that we refer the reader.

## 787 ABU JA'FAR [YAZID B. AL-QA'QA'] THE QUR'AN — READER

Abu Ja'far Yazid Ibn al-Qad'qa' the reader<sup>1</sup>, was a *mawla*, by

10 The followers of Zoroaster's doctrine were called *Zindiqs* by the Musulmans; for them, this term is the equivalents of infidel.

11 Al-Suhrawardi was evidently a *Sufi*, and very far advanced in pantheistical speculations.

1 In the first century of Islamism, the true manner of reading the *Qur'an* could only be learned by oral instructions. The reason of this has been already given. Vol. I, p. 152.

enfranchisement<sup>2</sup> of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ayyash Ibn Abi Rabi'ah al-Makhzumi<sup>3</sup>, and bore the surname of al-Madani (*the inhabitant of Madinah*). He learned the manner of reading the *Qur'an* from 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abbas (*vol. I, p. 89*), by reciting it under his direction

عرصا and received instructions on the same subject from his patron, Ibn 'Ayyash, and from Abu Hurayrah (*vol. I, p. 570*). He heard it read by 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab (*vol. I, p. 567*), and by Marwan Ibn al-Hakam (*afterwards, the fourth 'Umayyad khalif*). It is said that he read the *Qur'an* under Zayd Ibn Thabit (*vol. I, p. 372*). *Qur'an*-reading was taught on his authority by Nafi' Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Abi Nu'aym (*vol. III, p. 522*) Sulayman Ibn Muslim Ibn Jammaz<sup>4</sup>, 'Isa Ibn Wardan<sup>5</sup> and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Ziad Ibn Aslam. He is the author of a system of readings. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Nasa'i (*vol. I, p. 58*) said: "Yazid Ibn al-Qa'qa' is a sure authority. He taught *Qur'an*-reading to the people in Madinah before the catastrophe of al-Harrah,"<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim al-Maliki said: "Abu Ja'far Yazid Ibn al-Qa'qa' was a *mawla* of Umm Salamah, one of the Prophet's wives." He said: "Some say that he was the same person as Jundub Ibn Firuz, a *mawla* of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ayyash al-Makhzumi, and that he was a most holy man [*afdal al-nas*]."

Sulayman Ibn Muslim said: "Abu Ja'far Yazid Ibn al-Qa'qa' informed me that he taught *Qur'an*-reading in the mosque of the Prophet at Madinah, before the affair of al-Harrah; and that battle

2 See the introduction to the second volume, page IX.

3 Abu'l Harith 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ayyash Ibn Abi Rabi'ah al-Makhzumi, the *Qur'an*-reader, is said to have seen the Prophet. He learned the readings from some of the Prophet's companions and taught them to a great number of other persons. It is stated that he was killed, in the service of God, A.H. 78 (A.D. 697-8), in Sijistan; but, by another account, he lost his life subsequently to the year 70 -- (*Tabaqat al-Qurra'*, Ms. of the *Bib, imp.*, ancien fonds, no. 748, fol.8).-- The author of the *Nujum* says that he was killed in India, A.H. 48 A.D. 668-9).

4 The reader, Abu'l Rabi الربيع Sulayman Ibn Muslim Ibn Jammaz was a *mawla* of the tribe of Zuhra and a native of Madinah. He generally followed the system of reading adopted by Nafi'-- (*Tab, al-Qurra'*, fol. 34 verso The date of his death is not given.)

5 Abu'l Harith 'Isa Ibn Wardan al-Hadda' الحدا' the camel driver) was a native of Madinah and a reader. He died probably before Nate. --(*Tab. al-Qurra'*, fol. 25 verso).

6 Further on, our author speaks again of the battle of al-Harrah.

(said he) took place towards the end<sup>7</sup> of the year 63, in counting from the time of the Prophet's arrival in Madinah.<sup>8</sup> He was an excellent reader. Every day, I used to look over what he read (*tu us*) and (*thus*) learned from him his system of reading. He related to me that, when he was a child, they brought him to Umm Salamah, who stroked his head and invoked God's blessing on him."—"I asked him," said the same Sulayman, "at what time he commenced *Qur'an*-reading?" and he said to me: "Do you mean teaching it or learning it?" I answered: 'Teaching it;' and he replied: 'O! it was long before al-Harrah; in the days of Yazid Ibn Mu'awiyah (*the second Umayyad khalif*). The battle of al-Harrah was fought fifty three years after the death of the Prophet."

Nafi' Ibn Abi Nu'aym said: "When the body of Abu Ja'far Yazid Ibn al-Qa'qa' the reader, was washed after his death, they perceived that all the space from the neck to the heart was (*smooth and white*) like a leaf of the *Qur'an*, and every one present was convinced that it was the light of the *Qur'an* (*which had produced that appearance*)."

Sulayman Ibn Muslim related as follows: "Yazid Ibn al-Qa'qa' told me that, when Nafi' passed near him, he would say: 'Do you see that fellow? When a body still wearing long hair, he used to come and read (*the Qur'an*) under 'my direction, but he afterwards treated me with ingratitude.' In relating this, he laughed." Sulayman said: "The concubine of Abu Ja'far declared that the whiteness which reached from his neck to his heart became (*afterwards*) a white spot between his eyes." He related again as follows: "I saw Abu Ja'far in a dream, after his death. He appeared to be on the top of the Ka'bah, and I said: 'Is that Abu Ja'far?' He replied: 'It is I; offer to my brethren a salutation from me and tell them that God has placed me among the living [martyrs\*] who obtain regularly a portion (*of the Divine favour*). Offer my salutation to Abu Hazim<sup>9</sup> and tell him that Abu Ja'far

---

7 The Arabic expression *ras al-sanah* (the head of the year) means the end of the year. Ibn Khaldun designates the end of a century by the words *ras al-miya*.

8 The battle of al-Harrah was fought towards the end of the last month of the Muslim year. According to Abu'l Fida, in his *Annale*, it took place, on the 27th of Zu'l Hijja, A.H.63 (27th of August, A.D. 683).

\* *Shuhada'*, here means martyrs in the path of God, who according to the *Qur'anic* verse are not to be considered as dead. "Nay, they live of finding their sustenance in the Presence of their Lord" *Al Qur'an* 3: 19.

9 By the surname of Abu Hazim may perhaps be meant a disciple

says to him: 'Prudence! prudence! for Almighty God and his angels are present, every evening, at your suitings.'

Malik Ibn Anas (vol. II, p. 545) said: "Abu Ja'far the reader was a holy man "and acted as *mufti* (*casuist*) for the people of Madinah."

Khalifah Ibn Khayyat (vol. I, p. 492) said: "Abu Ja'far Yazid Ibn al-Qa'qa' died at Madinah in the year 132 (A.D. 749-750)." According to another tradition, he died in the year 128.

Abu 'Ali'l Ahwazi<sup>10</sup> says, towards the commencement of his treatise on the readings entitled *al-Iqna'* (the satisfactory): "Ibn al-Jammaz said that Abu Ja'far "never ceased to be for the people their *imam* (great master) in *Qur'an*-reading, till the year 133, when he died at Madinah. Some say that his death took place in the year 130, but God knows best."

As al-Harrah has been mentioned in this article more than once and as some readers, not knowing anything about it, may wish to obtain information on the subject, I shall here say that the word *harrah* : حرّ, in its primitive signification, designates every spot of ground which is covered with black stones. A tract of this kind is called a *harrah* (the plural of which is *hirar*); there are a great number of *hirars*. That which is here mentioned is the *Harrah of Waqim*, which lies near Madinah, to the east of the town. When Yazid, the son of Mua'wiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan, held the supreme authority, he dispatched against Madinah an army commanded by Muslim Ibn 'Uqbah al-Murri. That chief sacked the place, and the inhabitants, who had gone out to this *harrah*, engaged in a battle the details of which would take us too long to relate; besides, they are to be found in the books of annals.<sup>11</sup> It is said that, after the catastrophe of al-Harrah upwards of one thousand unmarried girls of Madinah gave birth to children, in consequence of the infamous treatment [*fujur*] which they had undergone. When Muslim Ibn 'Uqbah had massacred the inhabitants

---

of Muhammad's companions and a Traditionist of good repute whose names were Abu Hazim Salamah Ibn Dinar. He was a native of Medina and a *mawla* of the tribe of Khazraj. He died A. H. 135 (A.D. 752-3), according to an Nawawi, in his *Tahdhib* (Wustenfeld's edition, or, in 140, according to the author of the *Tuba qat al-Huffaz*.

10 According to Haji Khalifah in his biographical Dictionary, the author of the treatise on the *Qur'an* -readings which bears the title of *al-Iqna'*, was Abu' Ali Hasan Ibn 'Ali al-Ahwazi, who died A.H. 446 (A.D. 1054-5).

11 See Abu'l Fida's Annals, tome I, P. 395, and Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans of Espagne*, tome I, p. 100 et seq where a full and satisfactory account of this battle is given.



of Madinah, he set out for Makkah and was seized by death at a place called the Thaniyah (or defile of) Harsha (حرشي). On this, he called in Husayn حُصَيْن Ibn Numayr al-Sakuni and said to him: "Come here, you ass!<sup>12</sup> you are to know that the Commander of the faithful ordered me, in case I was on the point of death, to give you the command; and now, that I am dying, I am unwilling to disobey him (though I ought to do so)."<sup>13</sup> He then prescribed to him a number of things which he should execute, after which he said: "If I got to the fire (of hell) after (my good action of) having slain the people of al-Harrah, I shall be very unfortunate indeed!" - Waqim (واقم) is the name of one of the atams of Madinah Al-Utum (الأطم) is a building like a castle and situated near al-harrah that place was (usually) called the Harrah of Waqim.<sup>14</sup>

## 788 YAZID IBN RUMAN, THE QUR'AN-READER

Abu [Rawh] Yazid Ibn Ruman, the *Qur'an*-reader!<sup>1</sup> was a *mawla* of the family of al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwam (vol. II. p. 199) and a native of Madinah. He learned how to recite the *Qur'an* correctly by reading it aloud under the direction of 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Ayyash Ibn Abi Rabi'a al-Makhzumi (see page 162 of this volume), and he heard it read by Ibn 'Abbas (vol. I. p. 89) and 'Urwah Ibn al-Zubayr (vol. II, p. 199). *Qur'an*-reading was learned from him by Nafi' Ibn Abi Nu'aym (vol. III, p. 522), who read aloud the text under this direction. Yahya Ibn Ma'in (see page 24 of vol. IV) declared that Yazid Ibn Ruman was a sure authority. Wahb Ibn Jarir<sup>2</sup> stated that his father related to him as follows: I saw Muhammad Ibn Siah (vol. II, p. 586) and Yazid Ibn Ruman counting on their fingers the number of verses from the *Qur'an* which they recited during the prayer.<sup>3</sup> Yazid Ibn Ruman

12 Literally : You ass packsaddle !

13 See Dozy's *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne* tome I, page 127.

14 The text of this passage is probably incorrect: if translated literally, it would signify : which place was therefore called the *Harrah of Waqim*. It is here rendered in a manner which excludes the absurdity.

1 See. Vol. I, p. 152, note. 1.

2 Abu'l -'Abbas Wahb Ibn Jarir, a traditionist of Basra, died A.H. 206 (A.D. 821-2), (*Tabaqat al Huffaz: Nujum.*)

3 When the Musulman performs the ceremonies of the canonical  
(Contd. on the next page)

related as follows: "I was praying by the side of Nafi', the son of Jubayr Ibn Muta'im<sup>4</sup>, and he made me a sign to prompt him; and we were then praying<sup>5</sup>. He stated also that, in the time of (the *khalif*) 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, the people made twenty-three prostrations during the prayer, when they were in the month of Ramadan.<sup>6</sup> Yazid Ibn Ruman died in the year 130 (A.D. 747-8).

### 789 YAZID IBN AL-MUHALLAB

Abu Khalid Yazid al-Azdi was the son of al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufrah. We have already mentioned his father under the letter *M* (vol. III, p. 508), and, as we have there traced up and spoken of his genealogy, we need not repeat our observations here. Ibn Qutaybah (vol. II, p. 22) states, in his *Kitab al-Ma'arif*, and a number of other historians also relate as follows: "Al-Muhallab, on dying, designated Yazid as his successor. The latter was then thirty years of age. 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan (the *Umayyad khalif*) dismissed Yazid from office by the advice of al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf al-Thaqafi (vol. I, p. 356), and appointed in his place, as governor of *Khurasan*, Qutaybah Ibn Muslim al-Bahili (vol. II, p. 514). Yazid then fell into the hands of

---

prayer, he must recite, in a low voice, at least three verses of the *Qur'an*. Devotees repeat even a whole chapter or a considerable number of verses, ten, twenty, one hundred, etc, each time. It appears from the anecdote here related, that counting on the fingers the number of the verses, as they are recited, was authorized by the example of two very eminent doctors, although it was probably considered as an irregular proceeding.

4 Quray shite, Jubayr Ibn Mut'im al-Nawfali, one of the companions, embraced islamism subsequently to the battle of Badr, and then accompanied Muhammad in some of his expeditions. His authority as a Traditionist is acknowledged by al-Bukhari and Muslim. He was one of the most learned of the Quray shite chiefs. His death took place at Medinah, A.H. 54 (A.D. 673-40, according to the author of the *Nujum*, and of the *Tahdhib al-Asma' Nafi'*, the son of Jubayr, was considered as an *imam* of great merit and a learned and sure Traditionist. He died A.H. 99 (A.D. 717, 8) --(*Tahdhib*).

5 This anecdote seems adduced to prove that the Musulman, in reciting a portion of the *Qur'an* during the prayer, may have himself prompted by his neighbours, in case his memory fails him.

6 These prostrations are made in addition to those which are required in the ordinary form of prayer. The Hanafites make twenty; the Shafites, thirty-six. We learn here that, in the time of 'Umar, twenty-three was the usual number.

al-Hajjaj." I must here make some observations: Al-Hajjaj, who was married to Hind, the sister of Yazid and the daughter of al-Muhallab, had conceived a great dislike for his brother-in law, as he apprehended, from what he saw of his noble character, that the place which he then filled might, one day be occupied by Yazid. So, to protect himself against his attacks. He never ceased to ill-treat him. He was always consulting astrologers and other persons who cultivated the art (*of divination*), in order to learn by whom he should be succeeded, and they used to answer: "By a man named Yazid." He was then governor of the two Iraqs and saw no one capable of replacing him in that office except this Yazid. And thus it fell out; on his death, Yazid obtained the command. So say the historians.

Let us now resume our extract from the *Ma'arif* and finish it. "Al-Hajjaj inflicted tortures on Yazid who at length escaped from prison and went to see Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who was then in Syria. That prince interceded with his brother (*the khalif*) al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and obtained a free pardon for Yazid. This put a stop to al-Hijaj's conduct towards the latter. When Sulayman obtained the khalifate, Yazid received from him the government of *Khurasan* and then took (*the cities of*) Jurjan and Dihistan. Having set out for Iraq, he learned about the death of Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and proceeded to Basra where he was arrested by 'Adi Ibn Artat أرتات who bound him in chains and sent him to 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. Yazid was imprisoned by that *khalif*, but, having effected his escape, he went to Basra. On the death of 'Umar, he revolted against the new *khalif*, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who then sent against him his brother Maslamah (*Ibn 'Abd al-Malik*). This general slew Yazid (*on the field of battle*)."

The *hafiz* Abu'l Qasi, generally known by the surname of Ibn 'Asakir (*vol. II. p. 252*), says, in his greater historical work: "Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab, had been appointed to govern Basra in the name of Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. Some time after, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz conceived a dislike for him and was still incensed against him when 'Adi Ibn Artat, to whom he had given the government of Basra, brought Yazid to him." Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab taught some traditions which he had learned from Anas Ibn Malik (*vol. II, p. 587*), 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and his own father al-Muhallab. Traditions were handed down on his authority by his son 'Abd al-Rahman, by Abu 'Uyaynah the son of al-Muhallab, by Abu Ishaq al-Sabi'i (*vol. II, p. 392*) and by others.

Al-Asmi'i, (*vol. II, p. 123*) related that al-Hajjaj, having arrested Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab, inflicted on him grievous tortures and would

not consent to suspend them unless he received, every day, from the prisoner, the sum of one hundred thousand dirhems ( £ 2.500). When the money was not paid in, al-Hajjaj put Yazid again to torture, that very day, and continued to torment him till the night set in. One day, Yazid had collected one hundred thousand dirhems, for the purpose of bying off that day's tortures, when the poet al-Akhtal<sup>1</sup> came in to him and said:

Abu Khalid! Khurasan has perished since your departure, and the needy all exclaim: "Where is Yazid?" Since you are gone, the two Marws. The throne of government has no splendour since your absence; beneficence has ceased and there is no generous man to shower down his gifts.

By the two Marws, the poet meant Marw al-Shahjan, which is the greater, and Marw al-Rud, which is the lesser. They are both well-known cities of Khurasan. We have already spoken of them in this work (*vol. I, p. 50*).

"On this," says al-Asma'i, "Yazid gave the poet the one hundred thousand dirhems, and al-Hijjaj, being informed of the circumstance, sent for him and said: 'Native of Marw! art thou still so generous, though in such a state? well I shall hold thee quit of the tortures of this day and of those which follow it.'" So the anecdote is related by Ibn 'Asakir, but the mere received opinion is that the author of the verses, he to whom this happened, was al-Farazdaq (*vol. III. p. 612*); and I since found the verses in the collected poetical works of Ziad al-A'ajam (*vol. I, p. 631*) God knows best!

The same hafiz (Ibn 'Askir) related as follows: "When Yazid fled from al-Hajjaj and went to find Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who was then at al-Ramlah he passed, on his way through Syria, by the tents of some Arabs and said to his servant boy: 'Go to those people and ask them to give us a drink of milk.' When the milk was brought, he drank it and said: 'Give them one thousand dirhems ( £ 25).' The boy observed to him that these people did not know who he was (and that he need not give them so much); and he replied: 'But I know who I am; give them the thousand dirhems.' And that was done." The same author says: 'Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab made the pilgrimage and (to conclude the rites and ceremonies) he sent for a barber to shave his head. When the operation was finished, he ordered him a recompense of one thousand dirhems.' And that was done." The man was amazed and astounded, but at length said: 'With this sum

---

1 See vol. III, p. 138. note

I shall go and ransom from slavery my mother, such a one.' Yazid said: 'Give him another thousand'. The barber exclaimed: 'May my wife be divorced from me if I ever shave any one's head after this!' 'Give him two thousand more,' said Yazid."

Al-Mada'ini said: Sa'id Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-Asi<sup>2</sup> bore a fraternal affection to Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab. When 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz caused the latter to be imprisoned and gave orders that no person should be allowed to see him, Sa'id went to him and said: "Commander of the faithful! Yazid owes me the sum of fifty thousand dirhems, but you hinder me from seeing him; will you permit me to go and exact from him the payment?" The khalif consented, and Sa'id entered into the chamber of Yazid, who was rejoiced to see him, "How did you get in?" said he. Sa'id informed him of the stratagem. "By Allah!" exclaimed Yazid, "you shall not go away without that sum." Sa'id refused, but Yazid declared in the most solemn manner that he should accept the money and sent to his house for fifty thousand dirhems which he gave to him. Another, author in relating this anecdote, adds: A poet said on that subject:

I never saw a noble prisoner give presents to a visitor, except Yazid. He bestowed fifty thousand on Sa'id Ibn 'Amr, who went to see him; and the money was paid down without delay to Sa'id.

Abu'l Faraj al-Mu'afah Ibn Zakariya al-Nahrawani (*vol. III, p. 374*) relates, in his *Kitab al-Aris wa 'l-Jalis*, an anecdote which learned from 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Kufi and which we insert here: Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (*the 'Umayyad khalif*) required from 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah<sup>3</sup> the payment of one million of dirhems (£ 25,000), out of (*what the latter had gained in*) his expeditions on sea. 'Umar (*not being able to pay that sum*) went to see Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab<sup>4</sup>, who had been appointed governor of Iraq and took with him 'Uthman Ibn Hayyan al-Qa'qa' *القحطاع* Ibn Khalid al-'Absi, al-Hudhayl Ibn Zufar al-Kilabi and some other persons belonging to (*the tribe of*) Qays. When

---

2 This Sa'id must have been the son of the conqueror of Egypt, but I can find no information respecting him.

3 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah<sup>1</sup> Fazari was one of the most active generals and provincial governors whom the Umayyad had in their service. He died in the year 106 (A.D. 724-5).

4 The recital which follows is omitted in the edition of Bulak. I give it after three manuscripts and indicate the corrections which should be made in the lithographed text of Wustensfeld. The piece is curious, as it offers specimens of the sententious and elliptical style of speaking for which the ancient Arabs were remarkable.

they arrived at the door of Yazid's pavilion, the chamberlain obtained permission to introduce them (*adhana lahum al-hajib*) and informed them that his master was washing his head. Yazid, at length came in, threw himself upon his bed and then said: "What has brought you all together?" Uthman replied: "Here is our *shaykh* and master, Ibn Hubayrah; al-Walid (*the late khalif*) furnished him with money and troops when he was about undertaking an expedition on sea, and a debt of one million of dirhems is now made out against him. We therefore said: Yazid is the chief of the Yamanites, the vizir of Sulayman and the lord of al-Iraq; he has delivered from similar difficulties persons who were far from being similar to us. By Allah! if the wealth of the tribe of Qays had been sufficient, we should have taken the payment upon ourselves." Al-Qa'qa' then spoke and said: "Son of al-Muhallab! this is an excellent affair sent to you by God, and no one deserves such a favour more than you. Act therein according to your former doings; let not stint or parsimony hinder you from fulfilling this duty; we have come to you with Ibn Hubayrah, on account of debt with which he is loaded. Give therefore to us our money and hide our shame from the Arabs." Al-Hudhayl Ibn Zufar then spoke as follows: "Son of al-Muhallab! had I found a pretext for not coming to you, now that you have riches in Iraq. I should have stayed away. You once came to us when you feared danger and you remained with us a guest: did we then allow you to retire in sorrow? By the right hand of God! though we left (*neglected to visit*) you when you were in Syria, we have now come to you (*anatiannak*) in Iraq; that (*distance*) is only a short step and renders indispensable the fulfilling of our duty (*towards you*)." Ibn Khayth-mamah then spoke and said: "I shall not repeat to you, son of al-Muhallab! what the others have just said: (*for their words would give me to understand*) that you (*anna anta*) are not strong enough to deliver Ibn Hubayrah from his burden; and on whom then could we count? By Allah! the case is not so (*and I shall merely say that*) the tribe of Qays is not in a situation to help him; their went is insufficient, and the khalif will grant him no respite" Ibn Hubayrah then spoke and said: 'As for me, my affair is done if my request succeed, and (*I am done for*) if it be rejected; since I find no one (*to whom I could think of applying*), either before or after you. This business did indeed preoccupy my mind, but (*I am convinced that*) you have already arranged it." On hearing these words, Yazid laughed and said: "Hesitation is the brother of avarice; there shall be no difficulties raised (*by me*); judge (*for yourselves and say how much you require*)." Al-Qa'qa' said: "The half of the sum," and Yazid replied: "I take charge of it. Boy! let us see what there is for breakfast." The repast was brought in and we (*said the narrator*) let our disappointment

appear to him more than we were aware of (*jankarna mahu akthar mimma 'arafna*). When we had finished (*falamma faraghna*), he ordered us to be perfumed and arrayed in handsome robes.

The narrator continues his recital thus: We then withdrew and, as we passed (*the door*), Ibn Hubayrah said: "Tell me who, after Ibn al-Muhallab, will take charge of paying the remainder? God has (*surely*) reduced your credit and your influence! By Allah! Yazid knows not the difference between half and whole; for him one is the same as the other. Go back and speak to him of what remains (*to be paid*)."

The narrator continues in these terms: Yazid suspected that they would come back to him for the entire sum, and he therefore told the chamberlain to admit them, if they returned. When they came and were introduced, Yazid said to them: "If you regret your agreement, I shall cancel it, and if you think the sum which I offered too little, I shall increase it." Ibn Hubayrah then said: "Son of al-Muhallab! when a camel is heavily loaded, his very ears are a weight for him; and I am heavily loaded with what remains for me to pay." Yazid replied: "I take the whole burden on myself." He then rode to Sulayman and said: "Commander of the faithful you established me in authority for the purpose of attaining your ends through my means; I hesitate at nothing, as long as the money (*which you furnish me*) is sufficiently ample; but I have not now in my hands even the least trifle belonging to you, wherewithal I may render services (*to the needy*) and (*thus*) erect movements of (*your*) generosity; were you not there to help me, the undertaking of the smallest thing would cripple me." He then said: Ibn Hubayrah has come to see me, with his principal companions. Sulayman (*here interrupted him and*) said: "Take care and touch not the money which belongs to God (*the money of the state*); that man is all duplicity and cunning, a collector (*of wealth*) and a refuser (*of it to others*), a deceiver and a miser, a man to be avoided. And what did you do?" Yazid answered: "I undertook to pay his debt (*kal: hamaltu anhu*." "You were in the wrong)," said Sulayman; "you should have carried the money (*kal: ahmilu*) to the public treasury." "By Allah!" replied Yazid, "I did not take charge of it with the intention of defrauding (*the state*); I shall carry the money to the treasury tomorrow." This he did, and Sulayman, being informed of it, sent for him. When he saw him (*come in*), he laughed and said: "It is for you that my fire has burned and that my tinder-box gave out sparks (ذكت بلد ناري ووريت بك زناري)." The charge is for me and the honour for you. My oath (*that the cash should be paid in*) is fulfilled قدوفت لي يميني. Go now and take back your money". This he did.

Yazid said, one day: "By Allah! I prefer life to death and an

honourable reputation to life; could I obtain a gift never yet granted to mortal, I should wish to have an ear by means of which I might hear what people say of me after my death." We have mentioned this saying in the life of his father al-Muhallab (*vol. III. p. 508*), to whom we attributed it, and not to Yazid; God knows best!

Abu'l Hasan 'Ali al-Mada'ini (*vol. I, p. 438*), said: "One of Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab's intendants sold, for the sum of forty thousand dirhems ( £ 1,000), the melons produced in one of that emir's farms. When Yazid was informed of the circumstance, he said to the intendant: 'You have converted us into greengrocers! were there not old women enough in the tribe of Azd among whom you might have shared them?'--'Umar Ibn Laja<sup>5</sup> the poet praised Yazid in the following terms:

Trace up the genealogy of the Muhallabs; you will find them all, from father to son, noble and generous. How many the envious who detested them unjustly for their merit, and who could not reach, nor even approach, the height to which that family has risen by its virtues. But you always see illustrious chiefs exposed to envy whilst no one envies the vile. Were it said to Glory: 'Turn from them and leave them; since thou art all-powerful in the world; she would not obey. Noble sentiments are souls of which no men but the Muhallabs are the bodies.

Al-Asma'i relates that some members of the tribe of Quda'ah went to visit Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab, and one of them recited to him these verses:

By Allah! If the request which we address to you fails, we know not to whom we can direct our prayer. We have travelled over many lands and found none but you who had the reputation of being generous. Persevere in the conduct to which you have accustomed us; or, if not, tell us towards whom we shall go.

He ordered one thousand dinars to be given to the poet, who, the following year, came back and said:

Why are the doors of other men abandoned whilst yours is crowded like a market? Is it through affection that they come to you or through respect? or did they leave distant countries in search of a pasturage, announced by the lightnings of

---

5 'Umar Ibn Laja was a contemporary of the poet Jarir, whom he sometimes satirized. -- (Ibn Durayd's *Ishtiqaq*.)



beneficence which they saw flashing from your hands? I know that you take pleasure in noble deeds and that those who did so are very few.

Yazid ordered ten thousand dirhems to be given to the poet. Persons versed in history all agree that, under the Umayyads, the most beneficent family was that of the Muhallabs, and, under the 'Abbasids, that of the Barmikids. God knows best! They displayed great bravery in many famous conflicts.

Ibn al-Jawzi (*vol. II, p. 96*) relates, in his *Kitab al-Azkiya* (*book for the intelligent*), that a serpent fell (*from the roof of a hovel*) upon Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab and that he did not push it away; on which, his father said to him: "You have lost your judgment in retaining your courage." When 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays al-Kindi took up arms against al-Hajjaj--the history of this event is well known<sup>6</sup>--he went to Tustur where many persons joined him and, mention being made of the Muhallab family, much abuse was directed against its members. On this, 'Abd al-Rahman said to Harish Ibn Hilal al-Quray'i<sup>7</sup>, who was one of the company: "What is the matter with you, Abu Qudamah? why do you not speak out your mind? and received from him this answer: "By Allah! I know of none who are so careful of themselves as they when they are in easy circumstances, and so indifferent for their personal safety when they are in distress."

'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Sulaym al-Kalbi went to visit al-Muhallab and, seeing that all his sons, from the eldest to the youngest, were on horseback he said to them: "May God accustom the Muslims to see a continual series of you; by Allah! though you are not grandchildren of the Prophet, you are grandchildren of a *malhamah*.<sup>8</sup> Habib, one of al-Muhallab's sons, lost a male child and charged Yazid to recite the funeral service over the corpse. On this, some person said to him: "Why do you confide that duty to your brother? are you not his elder and is not he that is dead your son?" Habib replied: "My brother is honoured by the people; he bears a high reputation among them, and all the Arabs have their eyes fixed on him. I should regret to abase that (*reputation*) which God has exalted."

6 The fullest account which we have of 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt is given by Price, in his *Retrospect of Mahomedan History*, vol. 1 p. 455 *et seq.*

7 This Harish belonged to the tribe of Tamim and was one of their bravest warriors. He distinguished himself highly in *Khurasan*. -- (Ibn Durayd's *Ishtiqaq*.)

8 These last words appear to mean: you are a band which will bring about a catastrophe.

Mutarraf Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Shikhkhir<sup>9</sup>, seeing, one day Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab walking about in a silk robe, of which the train swept the ground, said to him: What meaneth this manner of walking? it is odious to God and to his Prophet!" "Dost thou know me?" said Yazid. "I do," replied the other, "thy commencement was a filthy drop (*of sperm*), thy end shall be a nasty carcass, and, during the interval, thou weariest the excrement (*of a worm*)."—This thought has been versified in the following manner by Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Sami, a native of Khurasan.

I gazed with wonder on him who was proud of his shape and who, before that, was but a nasty drop. To-morrow, when that handsome shape is gone, he will be a filthy carrion in the earth. Nay, with all his self-love and pride, he carries excrements between his flanks.

The *hafiz* generally known by the surname of Ibn 'Asakir (*vol. II. p. 252*) says, in that article of his greater historical work which treats of Abu Hirash Mukhallad, the son of Yazid Ibn al-Mukhallad: "This Mukhallad was one of those whose liberality procured them universal praise. He went to see 'Umar Ibn Abd al-'Aziz for the purpose of speaking to him in favour of his father: who had been imprisoned by that khalif. He had been appointed by his father to the government of Jurjan. On his way, he passed near Kufa and there received the visit of Hamzah' Ibn Bayd al-Hanafi<sup>10</sup>, who came to him with a number of the inhabitants. This famous poet then stood before him and recited these verses:

We have come to you for an affair which we request you to arrange; say to us: 'Welcome!' so that another welcomer may answer you. Refer us not to people who, when they make a promise, tell a lie. You are the head of a family before whom the East and the West have bent in submission and under whose care you were educated; excellent, I declare, were the lessons which they gave. In your eleventh year, you possessed that wisdom which is required but by hoary chieftains; your thoughts

---

9 Mutarraf Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Shikhkhir was the son of one of the Prophet's companions. He died subsequently to the year 87 (A.D. 706). —(Ibn Qutaybah's *Ma'arif*.) From what is related of him here, he seems to have been a rigid and puritanical Muslim.

10 The poet Hamzah Ibn Bayd al-Hanafi was a native of Kufa. He celebrated the praises of al-Muhallab, of that emir's sons and of the *qadi* Bilal Ibn Abi Burda. The gifts which he received for his eulogiums were immense. — (*Kitab al-Aghani*.)

were always turned towards serious affairs, whilst the thoughts of those as old as you were fixed on sport and play. You were so beneficent that I exclaimed: 'Does there yet remain a petitioner to ask a favour? an applicant who has something to demand? From you, gifts flowed upon solicitors, and also from those in your antechamber, when their generosity was invoked.

'Let me hear your affair' said Mukhallad. He immediately arranged it and then ordered one hundred thousand dirhems (£ 2500) to be given to the poet".

A man who had already visited Mukhallad and received from him a present adequate to his deserts, went to see him again, and Mukhallad said to him: "Did you not already come to us, and did we not make you a gift?" "It is true;" replied the visitor. "What then," said Mukhallad, "has brought you back?" "Those words," replied the man, "which al-Kumayt (*vol. III. p. 373*) pronounced, in speaking of you:

He gave, then gave again; we returned to him and he gave; then I returned, and he renewed his gift. (*This happened*) many times. I never return to him but he receives me with smiles and treats me with honour.<sup>11</sup>

His reply obtained for him that made it a gift double of the former."

Qabisah Ibn 'Umar al-Muhallab related as follows: "Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab effected the conquest of Jurjan and Tabaristan, and took prisoner one of their great chiefs named Sul."--I may here observe that this Sul was the prince of Jurjan and the grandfather of two celebrated and good poets, Ibrahim Ibn al-'Abbas al-Suli (*vol. I, p. 22*) and Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Yahya al-Suli (*vol. III, p. 68*).--Yazid found there a great quantity of treasure and other valuable objects. He therefore wrote to (*the khalif*) Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik a letter in which he said: "I have taken Tabaristan and Jurjan, places which none of the Chosroes dynasty and none of their successors had ever been able to conquer. I am sending you so many files of camels<sup>12</sup> loaded with money and presents that, when the first of them reaches

11 The expression here rendered by *treating with honour* signifies literally: *doubling the cushion*: which was done probably for the purpose of seating the visitor more commodiously. It occurs again in the article on Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah.

12 The manuscripts all read قطار This plural from of the word قطار is not mentioned in the dictionaries.

you, the last will be still here with me." 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, who succeeded to the khilafat on the death of Sulayman, required of Yazid the fulfilment of this promise and cast him into prison. Mukhallad, the son of Yazid went to intercede with 'Umar in favour of the prisoner. Qabisah continues thus: "From the time of Mukhallad leaving the city of Marw Shahjan till he reached Damascus, he gave away in presents one million of dirhems ( £ 2,5000). When he was about to appear before 'Umar, he put on a suit of shabby clothes (*which he tucked up*), and a dirty old cap.<sup>13</sup> 'Umar, on seeing him, said: 'I perceive that you have tucked up your clothes;' to which Mukhallad replied: 'If you tuck up yours or let them hand down, we shall do the same.' He then addressed him thus: 'You have extended your clemency to 'all men; why then keep you this man in prison? If there be a legal proof of his culpability, adduce it and then pronounce sentence; if not, make him take oath (*that he is not guilty*), or else be reconciled with him on condition of his giving up to you all his landed estates.' Yazid, on hearing this, exclaimed: 'As for the oath, it shall never be said by the Arabs that Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab, was obliged to take one by necessity; as for my landed estates, they are of sufficient value to pay what is claimed of me.' Mukhallad died at the age of twenty seven years and (*on this occasion*) 'Umar said: 'Had God meant well towards the father, he would have left this youth with him.'

It is stated that Mukhallad died of the plague. The funeral service was recited over him by 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, who said, on finishing: 'To-day is dead the most gallant youth of all the Arabs.' He then pronounced the following lines of a poet, applying them to the circumstance:

Our souls are going off in sighs for the loss of 'Amr, and  
the faces of all the people are darkened and soiled with dust."

An elegy, composed on his death by Hamzah Ibn Bayd al-Hanafi, the poet above mentioned, contains the following lines:

The thrones (*of state*) will no longer be occupied by you; and,  
to-day that your (*grave*) clothes only, (*not your chamberlains,*)  
prevent you from being seen, the only throne on which you  
repose is the bier.<sup>14</sup> The last time we saw you was at Dabiq, on

---

13 The austerity of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, his detestation of worldly pomp and his rigid piety are well-known.

14 The word *sarir* signifies *throne* and *bier*. The poet employs it here in the two meanings.

the day in which they poured upon you the crumbling mould  
(of the grave).

Al Farazdaq (*vol. III, p. 612*), said, in an elegy on his death:

Never did the bier which they carried off hold the like of Mukhallad! Never did grave-clothes cover a man like him. Thy father is one whose name sufficed to put a hostile squadron to flight, though in it (*every lance-head*)<sup>15</sup> was fully a span in length. The foe knew that, when he girded his loins, he was the lion of the forest that never fled from danger بالمعرد

The passage given above proves that Mukhallad, the son of Yazid, died on or about the year 100 (A.D. 718-9), for 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz was raised to the *khilafat* in the month of Safar, A.H. 99 (Sept. Oct. A.D. 717) and died in the month of Rajab, 101 (Jan. Feb. A.D. 720).<sup>16</sup> It was in 'Umar's residence that he expired. Hamzah's elegy proves also that Mukhallad died at Dabiq, which is a village situated in the government of Aleppo, and to the north of the city. It gives its name to a large meadow (*marj*) in the neighbourhood. Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik died at that place and there also is his tomb, a well-known monument.

Let us resume our account of Yazid. Abu Ja'far al-Tabari (*vol. II, p. 597*) says, in his great historical work: "Al-Mughirah, the son of al-Muhallab, acted as his father's lieutenant at Marw, and held the government of that city and of the province." He died in the month of Rajab, 82 (Aug.-Sept. A.D. 701), as we have said in the life of al-Muhallab when this news reached Yazid, he told it to the military (chiefs) but kept it from al-Muhallab's knowledge; preferring that he should learn it from the women. Al-Muhallab, hearing their lamentations, asked what was wrong and, being informed that al-Mughirah was dead, he exclaimed: 'From God we came, and to God we must return!' His grief was so excessive that he let it appear, and was reprimanded, for that reason, by one of his domestic officers. He then called in Yazid and sent him off to Marw, after giving him instructions for his conduct. During all this time, his tears were trickling down over his beard. Al-Hajjaj wrote to him a letter of condolence for the loss of al-Mughirah, who was truly an able chief."—I may here mention that al-Mughirah had a son named Bishr of whom Abu Tammam (*vol. I, p. 348*) speaks in the first part of his

15 This parenthesis is supplied by conjecture.

16 This passage is important in a philological point of view: it proves that the expression *في خلود* signifies on or about.

*Hamasa* (p. 119), and some of whose poetry he inserts in that work. One of these pieces, composed by him on (*his uncle*) Yazid, we here give:

The *amir* (*al-Muhallab*) has treated me ill and so did al-Mughirah; Yazid also has turned his back upon me. All of them have got (*governments*) wherewith to sate their appetite; yet it is disgraceful for a man to be sated when his companion suffers from hunger. Use me gently, dear uncle, and employ me when an untoward event arrives; time (*as you know*) is an assemblage of vicissitudes. I am your sword and, though swords may sometimes rebound (*without cutting*), yet the sword of a man like me will never rebound, to the detriment of your cause. At what door shall I ask permission to enter, if I be replied from the door of which I was the guardian?

Let us return to al-Tabari's narration: "On the day of al-Mughirah's death, al-Muhallab was stopping at *Kish* (or *Kiss*), in Transoxiana, being engaged in *r* with the people of that place. Yazid set out with sixty horsemen and met, in the desert, with a body of five hundred Turks. A desperate conflict ensued, and Yazid was wounded in the thigh by an arrow. After that, al-Muhallab made peace with the inhabitants of *Kish*, on receiving from them a (*sum of money, as*) redemption. He then left them and set out for Marw. On arriving at Zaugh ul, which is a village in the government of Marw al-Rud, he was attacked by pain in the bowels. He then called in Habib and such of his other sons as were with him. Some arrows, tied up so as to form a bundle, were brought in, by his order, 'What think you?' said he, 'could you break them all, now that they are tied together?' They answered that they could not. 'And if they were separated?' 'Certainly', said they, 'We could break them.' 'Such,' continued he, 'is the effect of union!' He then made them a long exhortation."--which it is needless for us to repeat here, and finished by saying: 'I nominate Yazid as my lieutenant appoint Habib to the command of the *jund* (*the Arab troops*), until he led them to Yazid, whose authority they will all acknowledge. His son al-Mufaddal then said: 'Had you not placed him at our head, we ourselves would have done so.' Habib received his dying injunctions and, after saying the funeral prayer over the corpse, he proceeded to Marw. Yazid wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, informing him that al-Muhallab was dead and had chosen him as his successor."

This nomination was confirmed by al-Hajjaj, who afterwards, in the year 85 (A.D. 704), revoked it and gave the government to al-Mufaddal. Yazid's brother. His motive for so doing was this: Having

gone (*some years before*) to visit (*the khalif*) 'Abd al-Malik, he passed on his way back by a monastery at which he halted. Being then informed that a very old and learned Christian was residing there, he had him brought in and said to him: "Tell me, *shaykh*! do you find in your books any thing concerning you and us?" "I have," replied the other; "we find therein all that has already happened to you and the mention of your present state and of what it will be." "Are we designated by our names or are we merely described?" "All is described without being named, but there is a name without description." "What description do you find of the Commander of the faithful?" "We find that, for the time in which we are, he is a bald sovereign before whom every one who stands in his way must fall prostrate." "What do you find next?" "A man named al-Walid",<sup>17</sup> "And what then?" "A man whose name is that of a prophet and by whom God will display his power to men." That was Sulayman, the son of 'Abd al-Malik. "Do you know what will happen to me?" "I do" "Who will succeed to me in the authority?" "A man called Yazid." "Will that be in my life-time or after my death?" "I do not know," Do you know his description?" "He will act with perfidy; that is all I know." the person (*who related this anecdote*) said: Al-Hajjaj was struck with the idea that the person thus indicated was no other than Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab and, during the remainder of his journey, which required seven days, he never ceased thinking of the old man's words. On his arrival, he wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, requesting permission to resign the government of Iraq and received from him a letter containing these words: "I see very well what your intention is; you wish to discover how you stand in my opinion." He then vainly employed every means for the purpose of bringing about Yazid's deposition, till one of al-Muhallab's cavalry officers, named al-Khiyar Ibn Sabrah and who was then in the service of Yazid, came to see him and was asked by him how that amir was getting on. Al-Khiyar replied: "His obedience (*towards the khalif*) and the mildness of his administration are most exemplary." "That is a fib!" exclaimed al-Hajjaj, "tell the truth." His visitor then said: "God alone is greater and more mighty than he; he has saddled (*the steed of independence*) and has put no bridle on (*to restrain it*)." "You now speak the truth!" replied al-Hajjaj, and at a later period, he gave to al-Khiyar the government of 'Uman (*in Arabia, or of 'Amman, in Palestine?*).<sup>18</sup> He then wrote to 'Abd al-Malik, blaming his conduct of

---

17 The son and successor of 'Abd al-Malik.

18 *Khiyar* was put to death at 'Uman by Ziad, the son of al-Mahallab.--  
(*Ishtiaq.*)

Yazid and of all the Muhallab family; in short, the addressed him so often on that subject that he received from him a letter containing these words: "You are always speaking against Yazid and the family of al-Muhallab; point me out another man capable of governing Khurasan. Al-Hajjaj named Maja'ah (or *Mujja'h*) Ibn Sa'd al-Sa'di. To this, 'Abd al-Malik returned the following answer: "The same motive which impels you to effect the ruin of the Muhallab family has induced you to propose Maja'ah Ibn Sa'd. Look out for a man of decision, and capable of executing your orders." Al-Hajjaj sent him the name of Qutaybah Ibn Muslim al-Bahili (*vol. II, p. 514*) and received for answer: "Appoint him." When Yazid learned that al-Hajjaj had effected his deposition, he said to the members of his family: "Who, do you think, will receive from al-Hajjaj the government of Khurasan?" They answered: "Some man of (*his own tribe*) the Thaqif." "Not at all!" replied Yazid, "one of you will receive from him a letter appointing him to that place and, when I am gone to meet him (*and am in his power*), he will replace that person by another, and Qutaybah Ibn Muslim is the fittest man." The narrator of this anecdote said: When al-Hajjaj obtained from 'Abd al-Malik the authorisation to depose Yazid, he felt that he would do wrong if he announced to him by a letter that the command was taken from him, and therefore wrote to him a dispatch in which he said: "Leave (*your brothers*) al-Mufaddal as your lieutenant and come here." Al-Husayn *الحسين* Ibn al-Mandir, whom Yazid consulted on receiving this letter, advised him to give a pretext for remaining where he was. "Because," said he, "you stand very high in the good opinion on the Commander of the faithful. This is a stroke aimed against you by al-Hajjaj. If you delay your departure, I am in hopes that the khalif will write to him the order to confirm you in your post." To this Yazid replied: "We are of a family whose fidelity (*towards the khalifs*) has always been for it a benediction; I detest disobedience and opposition to orders." He then commenced making preparations for his departure. Al-Hajjaj, thinking that he delayed too long, wrote these words to al-Mufaddal, Yazid's brother: "I have appointed you to the government of Khurasan." Yazid, whom al-Mufaddal then pressed most earnestly to depart, said to him: "Al-Hajjaj will not leave you in place, once I am gone; his only motive in acting as he does is the fear of my resisting his orders." "You are mistaken" replied al-Mufaddal, "and are jealous of my good fortune." "I am not jealous of you," replied Yazid, "and that you shall soon have reason to know." In the month of the latter Rabi' 85 (April-May, A.D. 704) Yazid left Khurasan, and al-Hajjaj replaced al-Mufaddal by Qutaybah Ibn Muslim. Husayn Ibn al-Mundhir, or according to another statement, Firuz Ibn Husayn, said, in speaking of Yazid:



I advised you to take a decided step, but you would not hear me; and now, that you are stripped of your commandment, (*al-amarat*) you regret (*your folly*). But I shall not weep for you through fondness, neither shall I pray that you return home safely.

When Qutaybah Ibn Muslim arrived in *Khurasan*, Husayn was asked by him what he had said of Yazid and he made the following answer:

I advised you to take a decided step, but you would not hear me; blame then yourself, if you mean to blame. If al-Hajjaj learns that you resist his orders, you will find that his power is overwhelming.

Qutaybah then asked him what was the advice he gave, and Husayn replied: I told him not to keep a single yellow or white (*piece of money*), but to send them all to the emir (*al-Hajjaj*)."

The following verses by 'Abd Allah Ibn Hammam al-Saluli were composed on the replacement of Yazid by Qutaybah.

We said, Qutaybah! the morning you came here. "Assuredly, we have got in you a one eyed substitute for Yazid. Your father in no way resembled al-Muhallab; your (*family*) compared to his, is mean and despicable. Wide is the difference between one who rose to fortune by castanets and one who brandished the sword amidst the fires of war. Here come the squinting Bahilites under whose domination liberality has perished and infamy flourishes.

The expression *a one-eyed substitute (badal a'war)* is figuratively applied to a man generally despised who succeeds, in office, to one who always deserved praise. They say also, in the same sense: *a one-eyed successor (khalaf a'awar)*. The word *castanets* alludes to the fact that Qutaybah, in his youth, was a (*public dancer and*) player on those instruments. Qutaybah is here called a *squinter (ahwal)*, and so he was; the plural form of this adjective is analogous to those of *aswad*, *ahmar*, etc which are *sudan*, *humran*. Some say that these verses were composed, not by 'Abd Allah Ibn Hammam, but by Nahar Ibn Tawsi'ah al-Yashkuri.<sup>19</sup>

Al-Tabari says, under the year 90 (A.D. 708-9): "Al-Hajjaj went forth against the Kurds, who had occupied the entire province of Farz.

---

19 Nahar Ibn Tawsi'ah was one of al-Muhallab's favorite poet. He died A.H. 103 (A.D. 721-2).

He took with him Yazid and his brothers al-Mufaddal and 'Abd al-Malik. When he encamped, he had them placed in a tent, near his own lodgings and under a guard of Syrian troops; this tent was surrounded with a sort of ditch. He exacted from them a sum of six million (£ 150,000) and put them to the torture (*in order to enforce payment*). Yazid suffered those pains with such firmness as provoked the anger of al-Hajjaj. It is said that he (*Yazid*) had been wounded by an arrow, the head of which remained in his thigh, and that, if any thing touched him there, he would cry out; even if it was moved in the slightest manner, he would utter a cry. Al-Hajjaj ordered him to be tormented and receive strokes on the thigh. This was done; Yazid cried out and his sister Hind, who was then with her husband al-Hajjaj, heard the cry and began to scream and to lament. On this, al-Hajjaj divorced her. He afterwards let them alone and began to ask money from them. They commenced furnishing it and, during that time, they made arrangements for effecting their escape. Having sent to (*their brother*) Marwan Ibn al-Muhallab, who was then in Basra, they told him to put torsos at their disposal and to give the public to understand that he meant to offer them for sale; they bade him also ask so high a price for them that no one would buy them. 'They will be for us, said they, 'a means of escape, if we succeed 'in getting out of this place.' Marwan did so, whilst his brother, Habib, also was undergoing tortures at Basra. Yazid then ordered a copious repast to be served to the guards and had them provided with wine. Whilst they were drinking and unmindful of their charge, he put on the clothes of his cook, placed a false white beard over his own and went out. One of the guards saw him and said: 'That is Yazid's manner of walking.'<sup>20</sup> He then went up, looked at him in the face, --it was in the night, and seeing the white beard, he turned away, saying: 'This is an elderly man.' Al-Mufaddal followed his brother without being remarked and they went to a boat which was kept ready for them in the swamps (*al-Bataih*) by their directions. They were then at the distance of eighteen parasangs from Basra. When they reached the boat, they waited for 'Abd al-Malik who had met with something to detain him, and at length Yazid said to al-Mufaddal: 'Get into the boat with us and let him follow.' To this, al-Mufaddal, who was born of the same mother as 'Abd al-Malik, replied: 'By Allah! I shall not stir from this spot till my brother comes, even should I be taken back to prison.' Yazid stopped till 'Abd al-Malik came up; they then embarked and voyaged the remainder of the night, until daybreak. The next morning, the guards discovered that their prisoners had escaped and sent to inform al-Hajjaj of what had happened. He was

---

20 Yazid had been lamed by an arrow.

dismayed at the news and, imagining that they had fled in the direction of *Khurasan*, he sent off, by the post horses, to Qutaybah Ibn Muslim, a dispatch in which he gave him warning of their approaching arrival, ordered him to make preparations for resisting them and to send messengers to the commanders of all the districts (*quran*) and frontier stations, enjoining them to hold themselves in readiness and to keep a look-out for the fugitives. He sent also another dispatch to (*the khalif*) al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, informing him of their evasion and expressing his opinion that they intended to go to *Khurasan*, and not elsewhere. He continued thinking of what they intended to do and would sometimes say: 'I am sure that Yazid's mind prompts him to act like Ibn al-Ash'ath.'--I may here observe that Ibn al-Ash'ath whose names were 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays, of the tribe of Kindah, revolted against 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan. His history is well known and is to be found in the books of annals.

When Yazid (*and his companions*), says al-'Tabari, "drew near to al-Bataih"<sup>21</sup>, the horses which had been kept in readiness were brought to them, and they rode off with a guide who took the way which crosses (*the desert*) of al-Samawah. Two days later, al-Hajjaj learned that they were on the road to Syria, that their horses were fatigued with the journey and that a person had seen them travelling towards the desert. He immediately sent off this news to al-Walid. Yazid continued his route till he reached Palestine and there he stopped at the dwelling of Wuhayb Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Azdi, a person whom Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (*the khalif's brother*) held in high esteem. Wuhayb took his guest to Sulayman and said: 'Here is Yazid; his brothers are at my house; they have 'fled hither from al-Hajjaj and they seek refuge under your protection.' 'Bring them to me,' said Sulayman, 'I answer for their safety. He (*al-Hajjaj*) shall 'never lay hands on them, as long as I live.' Wuhayb brought them and thus placed them out of danger. Al-Hajjaj then wrote to al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, saying: 'The family of al-Muhallab have defrauded the treasury; they escaped from me and are now with Sulayman.' When al-Walid knew that Yazid was with Sulayman, his uneasiness of mind was diminished to a certain degree, but he was greatly incensed at the loss of the money and therefore wrote to his brother Sulayman, asking where Yazid was. 'He is with me,' replied Sulayman, and I have engaged myself for this safety. He owes no more than three millions of the six which al-Hajjaj required of them.

---

21 The immense marshes which extend from Basra to the Persian gulf were called the *Bataih*.

They have paid three and owe three, which I shall take upon myself.' Al-Walid returned this reply: 'By Allah! I shall not pardon him till you send him to me chained.' To this, Sulayan answered: 'If I send him to you, I will go with him; but, for God's sake! do not dishonour me or bring me into disgrace.' Al-Walid wrote back as follows: 'By Allah! if you bring him to me, I shall not forgive him.' Yazid then said (to Sulayman): 'Send me to him; by Allah! I do not wish to raise enmity and hostile feelings between you and him, or to let you and your brother gain a bad reputation on my account. Send me to him; let your son come with me and write to him (*the khalif*) as mild a letter as you can.' Sulayman dispatched his son Ayyub with him and, as al-Walid had ordered the prisoner to be brought in chains, he said to his son: 'When you enter into the khalif's presence, appear before him bound in the same chain as Yazid.' When they reached the place where al-Walid was, they appeared before him in that state and the khalif, on seeing his brother's son attached to the same chains as Yazid, exclaimed: 'By Allah! we have offended Sulayman!' The youth (Ayyub) then handed him his father's letter and said: 'Commander of the faithful! may my life be laid down to save yours! do not cast dishonour on my father, you who are our natural protector; do not deprive us of the hope that people shall always continue to expect safety under the protection of us who are so closely allied to you; do not disappoint those whose hope to gain honour in becoming attached to us who derived our honour from you.' He then read his father's letter, which ran as follows: 'To the servant of God, al-Walid Commander of the faithful; for, Sulayman, the son of 'Abd al-Malik. Here is the point: Commander of the faithful I certainly think that, if an enemy who revolted against you and resisted were to solicit my protection and place himself under my safeguard, you would not dishonour my guest and bring my right of protection into discredit; how then should it be if the person whom I received as my guest had always been devotedly obedient to your will and rendered, not only he but his father and all the members of his family, the most signal services to Islamism. I have now sent him to you and, if you wish (*taghzu*) to come to a rupture with me, to annul my credit as a protector and to injure me in the gravest manner, you have the power of doing so and may do it. But I implore you, in God's name! to avoid a rupture, to refrain from casting a blemish on my honourable reputation and to continue the kindness and friendship which you have hitherto shown me. By Allah! Commander of the faithful! you know not how long my life and yours may endure, neither do you know when death shall part us. If the Commander of the faithful, whose happiness may God prolong! be inclined to retard the moment of my death, to act kindly towards

me, to respect my rights and to abstain from hurting me, I pray him to do so. By Allah! Commander' of the faithful! there is nothing in the world, after my duty towards God, in which I find more delight than in your good will and your happiness; it is by deserving your benevolence that we all hope to obtain the favour of God. Commander of the faithful! if you deign, even for a single day, to give me joy, to be friendly towards me, to maintain my honour and to respect my rights, you will pardon Yazid for my sake, and all you reclaim of him shall be paid by me.'

When this letter was read, the khalif said: 'We have been too severe on Sulayman.' He then called his nephew over to him, and Yazid began a speech in which, after extolling the Almighty and praising the Prophet, he said: 'Commander of the faithful! we appreciate to the utmost degree the kindness you have always shown us; others may forget favours, but we, never; others may be ungrateful, but we cannot'. The toils which we have undergone in the service of your noble family, the strokes we have inflicted on your enemies in many great battles, both in the Eastern countries and in the West, are surely good titles to your benevolence.' The khalif then made him sit down, granted him a full pardon and left him free. Yazid returned to Sulayman, and his brothers tried to raise the money which was claimed of him. Al-Walid wrote to al-Hajjaj, saying: 'I did not attempt to touch Yazid and the members of his family, because they were with Sulayman (*and under his protection*). So do you let them alone and cease writing to me about them.' When al-Hajjaj received this letter, he discontinued his attacks against them and even renounced to one million of dirhems which were owing to him by Abu 'Uyaynah (*another of al-Muhallab's sons*). He also set at liberty Habib, the son of al-Muhallab. Yazid passed nine months with Sulayman, enjoying agreeable life and great tranquillity of mind. His protector never received a present (*of money*), but sent him the half of it.

Being asked by one of his usual companions why he did not build a house for himself, he replied: 'What should I do with it? I have always dwelling ready prepared for me.' 'Where is that dwelling?' said his friend. He answered: 'If I hold a commandment, I will be in the government palace; and if I be out of it I will be in the state prison.' He said also: 'I should feel no pleasure in being free from worldly cares and having fortune submissive to my will;' and, being asked his reason, he answered: 'Because I should detest adopting lazy habits.'

It the month of Shawwal, a.H, 95 (June-July A.D. 714) and subsequently to these events, al-Hajjaj died. Some say that his death

took place on the 25th of Ramadan, and that, he had then reached his fifty-third or fifty-fourth year. When he was on the point of death, he charged Yazid Ibn Abi Kabshah to replace him in the administration of the two cities (*al-Misran*), that is, of Kufa and Basra and to take the direction of military affairs and the presidency of the public prayer. To Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim (*see next article*) he confided the administration of the land-tax (*kharaḡ*). Those two nominations were confirmed by al-Walid, who approved also of all the other appointments made by al-Hajjaj. According to another account, it was from al-Walid himself that they received their appointment. Al-Hajjaj held the government of the two Iraqs during twenty years.

Al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik died on Saturday, the 15th of the latter Jumada, A.H. 96 (25th February, A.D. 715) at Dayr Maran." I may observe that this monastery is situated on the slope of Qasiun, the mountain which lies near Damascus. He was buried in the cemetery outside the gate called Bab al-Saghir:

Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik was proclaimed khalif on the day of his brother al-Walid's death and, in that year,--I mean the year 96, --he took the government of Iraq from Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim and gave it to Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab. Khalifah Ibn Khayyat (*vol. I, p. 492*) says: "In the year 97 (A.D. 715-6), Yazid untied in his own hands the commandment of the two cities,"--meaning Kufa and Basra. God knows best, "Salih Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman received from him the administration of the land-tax with the order that he should put to death the members of the 'Aqil<sup>22</sup> family, that to which al-Hajjaj belonged. He, in consequence, arrested them and then put to the torture, under the direction of 'Abd al-Malik, the son of al-Muhallab."

Al-Walid intended to have taint from Sulayman the right of succeeding to the khalifate and of transferring it to his own son 'Abd al-'Aziz. Al-Hajjaj had taken a solemn engagement to second the khalif and so also did Qutaybah Ibn Muslim al-Bahili, the same who replaced Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab in the government of *Khurasan*. When Sulayman obtained the khalifate, Qutaybah was apprehensive that his government would be taken from him and given to Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab. He therefore wrote to Sulayman congratulating him on his accession, condoling with him on the death of al-Walid, mentioning the services which he himself had rendered to the state and vaunting his fidelity to 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid. He then

---

22 According to Ibn Durayd, in his *Ishtiqaq*, the name عقیل should be pronounced 'Aqil. In the life of al-Hijjaj (*vol. I p. 366*), it has been transcribed 'Uqayl. In the genealogy given there Ibn 'Uqayl must be replaced by Ibn Abi 'Aqil.

added that he would be equally serviceable and obedient to the new khalif, provided that the government of Khurasan were not taken from him. He addressed to him also another letter in which he spoke of the conquests he had effected, of his elevated position and of his influence over the foreign kings, said he, are filled with terror "at my name." He then attacked the sons of al-Muhallab and declared solemnly that if Yazid was named governor of Khurasan, he himself would repudiate the authority of the khalif. In a third letter he declared that he had repudiated his authority. These three dispatches he sent off by a man of his tribe to whom he gave the following instructions: "When the khalif has read the first letter, he may probably hand it to Yazid, if the latter be present. In that case, give him the second letter and, if he hand it also to Yazid, after reading it, give him the third. If, on the contrary, he reads the first letter and put it up without passing it to Yazid do not give him the two others (*but keep them up*)." The narrator says. Qutaybah's messenger arrived, found Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab with Sulayman and delivered the first letter to the khalif who read it and passed it to Yazid. He then gave the second letter which was read and passed also to Yazid. On this, he gave the third. Sulayman read it, changed colour and, having called for (*sigillary*) clay, he sealed it up and kept it in his hand.

According to Abu 'Ubaydah Ma'mar Ibn al-Muthannah (*vol. III, p. 388*), the first letter contained an attack on Yazid, accusing him of perfidy, ingratitude and thanklessness; in the second was an eulogium on the same person and, in the third, were written these words: "If you do not confirm me in the place which I now occupy and give me the positive assurance then I have nothing to fear from you, I shall cast off your authority as I cast off my slippers, and shall certainly fill it (*the land*) with horse and foot to attack you." Sulayman then ordered Qutaybah's messenger to go down to the guest house and, when the evening set in, he sent for him and gave him a purse of dinars (*gold pieces*), saying: "This is to requite your trouble and here is a diploma "containing your master's nomination to the government of Khurasan; set out, and a messenger of mine shall accompany you." The Bahilide (*Qutaybah's emissary*) departed with the khalif's messenger and, on reaching Hulwan, they were told by the people that Qutaybah had revolted. On this, Sulayman's agent turned back after delivering the diploma to Qutaybah's man, who pursued his journey. When Qutaybah saw the messenger, he consulted his brothers on the line of conduct which he should follow, and they replied: "After what has occurred here, Sulayman can no longer have any reliance on you." Some time after, Qataybah was slain, as we have related in our account of him (*vol. II, p. 516*); this

occurrence we mentioned in a summary manner, because the details would have led us too far.--Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab, having then obtained the government of Iraq, reflected (*on the state of that province*) and said to himself: Iraq has been ruined by al-Hajjaj; the people of that country place all their hopes in me yet, if I go there and begin to exact the payment of the *kharaj* (*land-tax*), I shall be obliged to act with great severity, become (*for them*) as bad as my predecessor and plunge then into a civil war. God forbid that I should bring down upon them again the afflictions from which He has just delivered them, and yet, if I did not furnish to Sulayman the same amount (*of revenue*) as he received from al-Hajjaj, he would reject what I send though it came from me." He therefore went to the khalif and said: "I can point out to you a man who well understands the administration of the *kharaj* and to him you might confided that duty. His name is Salih Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman, and he is a *mawla* of the tribe of Tamim." Sulayman replied: "I accept your recommendation" Yazid then set out for Iraq, whither Salih had preceded him and was then stopping at Wasit. On drawing near the town, he met all the inhabitants, who had gone forth to receive him, but Salih did not appear till he had nearly reached the place. It was only then that Salih set out, preceded by (*a guard of*) four hundred Syrians. He returned to the town with Yazid and, on entering, said to him: "There is a house which I have cleared out for you." Yazid stopped there, and Salih proceeded to his own residence. (*From that moment*) he stinted Yazid (*in money matters*) and would not allow him to meddle, even in the slightest degree (*with the finance department*). Yazid caused one thousand tables to be got ready, so that he might give a repast to the inhabitants; Salih took them from him (*and did not restore them*) till Yazid said: "Write down the expense to my own account." Yazid purchased a great quantity of objects and, having drawn bills on Salih for the amount, he sent to have them cashed. They were not accepted, and the bearers returned to Yazid who go into a passion and said to himself: "This is my own doing." Soon after, he received the visit of Salih and made room for him on his own seat. "What are those bills?" said Salih, "the *kharaj* administration cannot take charge of them; a few days ago, I accepted a bill of yours for one hundred thousand dirhems ( £ 25,000) and I have already advanced you the amount of your salary. Other sums you asked of me, and I gave them. Matters cannot go on so; the Commander of the faithful will never approve of these proceedings and you will be certainly called so an account." Yazid replied, in laughing: "Come now, Abu'l-Walid! accept these last bills," and wrought him into a so good humour that he said: "Well I shall I accept them, but do not draw too many on me." "I shall not." replied Yazid."



Sulayman, having given to Yazid the government, not of Khurasan but of Iraq, said to 'Abd al-Malik, the son of al-Muhallab: "How would you act were I to appoint you to the government of Khurasan?" 'Abd al-Malik replied: "Commander of the faithful! you would always find me acting according to your wishes. The khalif then turned the conversation to another subject, and 'Abd al-Malik sent to some of the military chiefs in Khurasan, who were attached to him, a letter in which he said that the Commander of the faithful had offered to him the government of that province. Intelligence of this reached Yazid, who was disgusted with the government of Iraq on account of the restraint in which he was held by Salih, with whom he found that he could do nothing. He therefore called in 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Ahtam and said to him. "I want your advice concerning an affair which preoccupies my mind, and wish you to free me from the uneasiness it gives me." Ibn al-Ahtam answered: "I shall obey whatever order you are pleased to give." Yazid then spoke to him in these terms: "You see in what restraint I am kept here and may imagine the annoyance which it gives me. Now, the government of Khurasan is vacant and I have been informed that the Commander of the faithful spoke of it to 'Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Muhallab, Is there any means (*by which I might obtain it*)" "There is, most certainly;" replied the other, "send me to the Commander of the faithful and I am sure that I shall return here with your appointment to that post." "It is well," said Yazid, "but be careful not to speak of what I have told you." He then wrote a letter to Sulayman in which he described the state of Iraq and praised highly Ibn al-Ahtam, as being a man perfectly well acquainted with the affairs of Khurasan. He authorised Ibn al-Ahtam to travel by post and gave him thirty thousand dirhems (£ 750). Ibn al-Ahtam was seven days on the road. On arriving, he went to Sulayman's residence with the intention of delivering to him Yazid's letter. Being introduced, he found him at breakfast and therefore sat down in a corner of the room. Two (*raasted*) pullets were then brought to him and, when he had finished eating, Sulayman said to him: "You shall have an audience later, do not miss it." One third (*of the day*) had passed, when the khalif sent for him and said: "Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab informs me by his letter that you are well acquainted with the state of Iraq and of Khurasan, and he speaks of you with commendation. How did you acquire your information respecting these countries?" Ibn al-Ahtam replied: "No man knows them as I do; I was born and brought up in Khurasan."—"Ah!" said Sulayman, "the Commander of the faithful is in great want of a man like you, whom he may consult respecting these two provinces. Whom would you recommend as a fit person to govern Khurasan?" Ibn al-Ahtam replied: "The Commander of the faithful knows whom

he would like to appoint; if he deign to name the person, I shall tell him whether he is fit for the place or not." Sulayman mentioned a man of the tribe of Quraysh, and the other said: "That is not the man for Khurasan." The khalif then named 'Abd al-Malik, the son of al-Muhallab. Ibn al-Ahtam replied: "He will not answer till he knows how to levy a body of troops."<sup>23</sup> Among the last whom the khalif named was Waki' <sup>دكح</sup> Ibn Abi Sud. "Commander of the faithful" said the other, "Waki' is a man of great bravery, decision and gallantry, but he is not of that (county) and, besides, he has never commanded a body of three hundred men and has always been under the orders of a superior." "You say true," replied Sulayman, "but come now, tell me who is the fittest man." Ibn al-Ahtam answered: "One whom, I know, but whose name you did not produce." "Who is that?" said the khalif, "I shall not mention his name unless the Commander of the faithful promise to keep the secret to himself and to protect me against the ill-will of that person." "I promise it to you," said the khalif, "Name him." "Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab," replied Ibn al-Ahtam. The khalif said: "But that man is in Iraq and prefers residing there to being in Khurasan."—"You know him well, Commander of the faithful!" replied the other, "but you may oblige him to accept and authorise him to leave a lieutenant in Iraq when he is about to set out."—"You have hit on it! exclaimed Sulayman. He then had a diploma drawn up, by which Yazid was constituted governor of Khurasan, and, to it he joined a letter in which he said: "Ibn al-Ahtam is, as you mentioned, a man of intelligence, piety, talent and judgment." Ibn al-Ahtam received the letter with the diploma and, after a journey of seven days, he rejoined Yazid "What news do you bring with you?" said the latter. Ibn al-Ahtam handed him the letter. "Nonsense, man!" exclaimed Yazid, "have you any news?" The other handed him the diploma. Yazid immediately gave order to make preparations for his departure and, having called in his son Mukhallad, he sent him on before, to Khurasan, that very day. Yazid then set out and stopped in Kuurasan three or four months, after which he invaded and took Jurjan, Tabaristan and Dishistan. This was in the year 93 (A.D. 710-7). Having lost five thousand men in besieging one of the fortresses of Jurjan, he swore, by a most solemn oath, to slay so many of the enemy that the blood would suffice to turn a mill. He therefore massacred numbers, but it was necessary to pour water on the blood in order to make it flow and turn the mill. He then ate bread made of the flour which had been ground by means of their blood. Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik died soon after. His death took place

23 The Arabic text says: till he can count men.

at Dabiq, on the eve of Friday, 19th of Safar, A.H. 99) 1st October, A.D. 717), or, according to another statement, on the 10th of that month. *Dabiq* is a village lying to the north of Aleppo.

'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, whom he appointed as his successor, took the government of *Khurasan* from Yazid and gave it to 'Adi Ibn Artat'l-Fazari, who immediately arrested his predecessor, bound him in chains and sent him to the new khalif. 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz detested Yazid and all the members of that family: "They are a domineering set," said he, "and I do not like such people." Yazid, on his part, declared that he thought 'Umar to be hypocrite. When Yazid was brought before 'Umar, the latter said to him: "What has become of the money about which you wrote to Sulayman Ibn 'Abd al-Malik?" Yazid answered: "You know on what footing! was with Sulayman; I wrote him that (*story*) merely that he might tell it to the people, for I knew very well that he would be incapable of calling me to an account, if he heard any thing against me, or of treating me in a manner which I should not like." 'Umar replied: "I see that this affair of yours will bring you to prison. Have therefore the fear of God before your eyes and pay the money which is claimed of you; it belongs by right to the Muslim people and I cannot possibly avoid exacting it." He then sent him back to prison.<sup>24</sup>

Al-Baladhuri (*vol. I, p. 438*) states, in that chapter of his *Book of Conquests* which treats of Jurjan and Tabaristan, the Yazid, having finished with Jurjan, went to *Khurasan* and received on the way the usual presents. He then confided to his son Mukhallad the government of *Khurasan* and went to see Sulayman, after writing to him that he had with him twenty-five millions of dirhems. This letter fell into the hands of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz whom in consequence, arrested Yazid and cast him into prison. God knows the exact truth! 'Umar then sent for al-Jarrah Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hakami and dispatched him to *Khurasan*, Mukhallad the son of Yazid, then came to 'Umar and had with him the conversation which we have already related. When Mukhallad left the room, 'Umar said: "In my opinion, that youth is better than his father." Mukhallad died very soon after. As Yazid refused to pay the money which was claimed of him, 'Umar had him clothed in a woollen cloak and placed on the back of a camel. He then said: "Take him off to Dahlak."--Dahlak is an island in the Sea of *Idhab* (*the Red Sea*), and not far from Sawakin. The khalifs used to confine there the persons with whom they were displeased. The narrator continues: "When Yazid was taken forth and saw the people passing near, he exclaimed: Good

24 This relation from the *Annals of Taburi*.

God! have I not relations and friends enough to prevent me from being taken to Dahlak, where none are sent but scandalous criminals?" Salamah Ibn Nu'aym al-Khawlanî (*who heard these words*) went in to 'Umar and said: "Commander of the faithful! let Yazid be taken back to prison; for I fear that, if you send him off the Dahlak, his people will take him by force out of our hands. I saw some of them, and they were indignant at the manner in which he was treated." Yazid was taken back to prison and there he remained till he was informed of 'Umar's sickness. It is said that 'Adi Ibn Artat had caused Yazid's hands to be chained to his neck and his legs to be fettered; after which, he delivered him up to Waki Ibn Hassan Ibn Abi Sud al-Tamimi, who had orders to transport the prisoner to 'Ayn al-Tamr, whence he was to be taken before 'Umar. A troop of Azdites stooped Waki' with the intention of taking Yazid from him by force; but he drew his sword, cut the cuble of the boat, took away the prisoner's sword and said: "I declare my wife divorced if I do not strike off his head; therefore disperse and leave him." Yazid then called out to them and informed them of Waki's oath, on which they dispersed, Waki' pursued his route and delivered the prisoner to the *jund* (or detachment of Arab troops) at 'Ayn al-Tamr. The *jund* took him to 'Umar, who put him into prison. When Yazid was detained in Umar's prison, he received the visit of al-Farazdaq the poet who, seeing him in chains recited these lines:

Your chains hold in bondage liberality and beneficence, the man who paid for others the price of blood and who wrought every virtuous deed; one who never gave way to insolent joy when worldly goods were heaped upon him; one who is patient under affliction and refers his cause to God.

On this, Yazid exclaimed: "Alas! what have you done? you have done me harm." "How so?" said the poet. Yazid replied "You praised me and I in such a state!" Al-Farazdaq answered: "I saw that you were now held cheap and I meant to obtain you (*your favour*) in exchange for my (*poetical*) merchandise." Yazid then threw him his ring and told him to sell it: "That," said he, "is worth one thousand dinars, which will serve as the interest of a capital to be paid to you later.

He remained in prison till the year 101 (A.D. 719-20) when 'Umar was taken ill, and he was filled with dread at the prospect of Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik's succeeding to the khalifate. When he, the son of al-Muhallab, had obtained the government of Iraq, he had cruelly persecuted, as we have already said, the family

of Abu 'Aqil, the same of which al-Hajjaj was a member. The mother (niece)<sup>25</sup> of Hajjaj was the daughter of Muhammad Ibn Yusuf Ibn al-Hakam Ibn 'Abi Aqil and had married Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. She bore him a son named al-Walid, the same who was (afterwards) called the *Fasiq* (debauched reprobate) of the 'Umayyad family. She was the daughter of al-Hajjaj's brother. He, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik had promised her that, if ever God placed Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab in his power, he would cut off one of his limbs. The son of al-Muhallab, fearing that this threat would be executed, took measures for escaping from prison and sent to his clients the order to keep camels in readiness, so as to facilitate his flight. 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz fell sick at Dayr Sam'an: When the illness grew serious, Yazid descended from the prison, went to the place where the camels were stationed, according to agreement, and rode off. When he had got out of danger, he wrote these words to 'Umar: "BY Allah! if I wear sure that you would survive, I should not have left my prison; but I cannot be otherwise than afraid of Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik." On this, 'Umar said: "Almighty God! if Yazid mean to be wicked towards the people, protect them from his wickedness and turn his artifices against himself. It was thus that Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab effected his escape.

Waqidi (vol. III, p. 61) says that Yazid did not fly from prison till after the death of 'Umar. I found in the rough copy of the *Qadi Kamal al-Din Ibn al-'Adim's History* (vol. I, p. 247) that 'Umar imprisoned Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab and his son Mu'awiyah at Aleppo and that their evasion took place there God knows best! 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz died at Dayr Sam'an on Friday,—some say on Thursday,—the 25th of Rajab, 101 (10th February, A.D. 720). Others say that he died on the 20th of that month. He was then aged thirty-nine years and some months. Other accounts say that he died at Khunasirah and ancient village in the neighbourhood of Aleppo and of which al-Mutanabbi has spoken in the following line:

I love the country between Emessa and Khunasirah every man loves the spot where he passed his early life.

Umm 'Asim, the mother of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, was the daughter of 'Asim, the son of (the khalif) 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab. He ('Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz) was called the *Umay al with the sear on the forehead*; having been wounded in that part by one of his father's horses. Nafi' (vol. III, p. 521) the *mawla* of ('Abd Allah), the son of

---

25 This passage is not found in most manuscripts. The indication given in it, and corrected by the translator, is evidently erroneous.

'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, relates as follows: "The son of 'Umar was often heard to say: "I should be glad to know that descendant of 'Umar who is to have "a mark on his face and who will fill the earth with (his) justice."

Salim al-Aftas related as follows: "Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz received a kick from a horse, at Damascus, when he was a little boy. He was taken to his mother 'Umm 'Asim, who clasped him in her arms and began to wipe the blood off his face. She had not finished, when seeing his father come in, she turned towards him in a passion and began to reproach and upbraid him: 'You have killed my child,' said she, 'because you would not give him a servant or a nurse to protect him from accidents such as this.' He replied: "Be silent, 'Umm 'Asim! what a benediction will it be for you if this boy turn out to be the Umayyad with the scarred forehead."

Hammad Ibn Zayd made the following relation: 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab passed by an old woman, in the milk-market, who had milk to sell, and he said to her: 'Old woman! deceive not the true believers and the visitors of God's holy house, by mixing water with your 'milk.' She replied: 'I shall obey.' Some time after, he passed near her again and said: 'Old woman! did I not forbid you to water your milk?' She answered: 'By Allah! I never do so.' Her daughter, who was within the booth, then spoke to her and said: 'Is it thus that you draw down upon yourself the double reproach of fraud and falsehood?' 'Umar overheard her and intended punishing the old woman, but spared her on account of her daughter's words. He then turned to his two sons and said: 'Which of you will marry that girl? Almighty God may produce from her an offspring as virtuous as herself.' His son 'Asim replied: 'I will marry her;' and did so; and she bore him a daughter whom they named 'Umm 'Asim. This daughter became the wife of 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Marwan and bore him 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. After her (death), her husband took another wife whose name was Hafsa and of whom it was (proverbially) said: *Hafsa is not one of the women who are like 'Umm 'Asim'.*

The *shaykh* Shams al-Din Abu'l Muzaffar Yusuf Ibn Qizaghli (vol. I, p. 439), a daughter's son to Jamal al-Din Abu'l Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi (vol. II, p. 96), states in his *Kitab Jawharat al-Zaman fi tadhkirat il-Sultan*,<sup>26</sup> that Ibn 'Umar related as follows: Whilst my father was patrolling at night the streets of Madinah, he heard a woman say

---

26 This work is not mentioned in Hajji Khalifah's bibliographical dictionary. The title signifies: *Gem of the age, being a commemoration of the sultan.* I do not know of what subject it treats.

to her daughter: 'Rise, my girl! and water the milk.' The other answered: 'O Mamma! did you not hear the Commander of the faithful's public crier forbid the mixing of milk with water?, To this the mother replied: 'His crier is far from you now!' and the daughter answered: 'If he sees me not, she Lord of that crier will see me.' 'Umar wept and, when the morning set in, he sent for the two women and asked the daughter if she was married. The mother answered that she was not, and 'Umar then said to me: O 'Abd Allah! marry that girl; if I stood in need of a wife, I myself would take her.' To this I replied that I (*was already provide for and*) could do without her. He then said: 'Abu 'Asim! do you marry her.'" Abu 'Asim (*whose other name was* 'Abd al-'Aziz, married her and she became the mother of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz the Umayyad."

On the death of 'Umar Ibn 'Aziz, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik was raised to the khalifate. Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab then proceeded to Basra, seized on that city, imprisoned 'Adi Ibn Artat, the officer who governed it in the name of the new khalif and, having openly rejected the authority of Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, he aspired to obtain the khalifate for himself. One of his concubines then went to him, kissed the ground before him and said: "Hail to the Commander of the faithful!" On which he recited this verse:

Return to your place! wait till you see what will happen when  
this dark thunder-cloud clears off.

I must observe that this verse is taken from a piece composed by Bishr Ibn Katia (?) al-Asadi.\* It is not necessary for us to give the particulars of this event (*the revolt of Yazid*), which we here indicate in a summary manner. Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik then placed his brother Maslamah and his nephew al-'Abbas Ibn al-Walid at the head of the troops and sent them against Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab. This chief marched forth to encounter them and established his son Mu'awiyah in Basra as his lieutenant, leaving with him troops, money and the prisoners. He sent on before him his brother 'Abd al-Malik, who proceeded to al 'Aqr, where he halted.<sup>27</sup> This place is called also the 'Aqr of Babul; it lies near Kufa and not far from Karbala, the spot where al-Husayn, the son of 'Ali, was slain. Al-'Aqr was originally the name of this castle. There are four places which bear this name, but we need not mention the others, as Yaqut al-Hamawi (*see page 9 of this vol.*) has noticed them in his *Mushtarik*. — Al-Tabari says: Maslamah

---

\* Qa'nat al-Asadi (Cairo ed.) vol. V, p. 346.

27 The recital is evidently taken from al-Tahari's *Annals*.

Ibn 'Abd al-Malik advanced and took position opposite to Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab. The troops drew up in line and engaged into combat. The people of Basra, charged those of Syria, threw them into disorder and forced them to retreat, but their adversaries rallied, attacked them and put them to flight. 'Abd al-Malik, who commanded the van-guard, retreated after this check and went to join his brother Yazid. The van-guard, retreated after this check had went to join his brother Yazid. The people (of Basra) and taken the oath of fealty to Yazid and sworn, on the Book of God and the *Sunnah* of his Prophet, that they would support him, provided that he hindered (his) troops from entering into their city رجاء and that he should not recommence towards them the conduct followed by that reprobate, al-Hajjaj. Marwan Ibn al-Muhallab, who was in Basra, excited the people to march against the Syrians and join his brother Yazid. Al-Hasan al-Basri (vol. I, p. 370) tried to dissuade them and said, in one of his public sittings: "I marvel at a reprobate from among the reprobates, an impious man from among the impious, who has passed some time in submitting this people to every dishonour, and that too, in the name of God, and who, in God's name also commits every sin. What they (his partisans) devour is devoured by him, what they take is taken by him, and, when a mouthful is refused him, he swallows it (by force). He said to you: 'I am filled with (a virtuous) anger (for the cause of God), and be you also filled with anger. He has set up a long cane with a rag tied to it (for a standard) and drawn after him a fickle رجاء wild and silly band of youths, who have not the least intelligence. He says: 'I summon you to follow the path traced by 'Umar Ibn 'abd al-'Aziz but were that path followed, he would be fettered in chains and cast into the place where 'Umar had already put him.'" Here a man said to him: "How now, Abu Sa'id, are you making an apology for the Syrians?" meaning the Umayyads. To this he replied: "I make their apology? may God never forgive them! Sa'id, the son of al-'Abbas, related as follows: The Prophet of God said: 'Almighty God! I declare sacred in Madinah all those things which You declared sacred in your town of Makkah. And yet the people of Syria entered into it for three days, and not a door was locked but they burned it (the house) and all that was in it; things went so far that (vile) Copts and Nabateans intruded upon Qurayshite women, tore their veils off their heads and their bracelets off their ankles. Their swords were suspended from their shoulders whilst the Book of God was trodden by them under foot! Shall I let myself be killed for the sake of (one or other of) two reprobates who dispute the possession of (worldly) authority? By Allah! I should be delighted if the earth were to swallow them both up.'" Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab, being informed of



what al-Hasan had said, disguised himself, with some of his cousins, and went to the mosque where he held his sittings. After saluting, they took him aside, and the assembly looked on with apprehension. Yazid then commenced with him a discussion in which he was joined by one of his cousins. Al-Hasan said to the latter: "Who are you? what do you mean, you son of a sluttish mother!" The other drew his sword and, being asked by Yazid what he intended to do, he replied: "To kill that fellow." "Sheath your sword," said Yazid, "for, by Allah! if you kill him, the people who are now for us will turn against us." I may here observe that Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab is the person meant in that verse of the *Duraydiyah*, or *Maqsurah*, of Ibn Durayd (*vol. III, p. 37*), which runs thus:

And, before my time, Yazid aspired to reach the height of power, and he was neither feeble nor irresolute.

The commentators of the *Duraydiyah* have all discoursed on this verse and related the history of *Yazid*. Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab remained (*with his army of*) Maslamah.

On Friday, the 14th of Safar, 102 (24th August, A.D. 720), the boats were burned by the order of Maslamah; the two armies met and the fire of war was lighted up. When (*Yazid's*) people saw the smoke and were told that the bridge of boats was burning, they fled in disorder. Yazid, being informed that they had taken to flight, asked why they did so and, having learned that the bridge was on fire and that not one of them had kept his ground, he exclaimed: "May God curse them for mosquitoes, that fly away before smoke!" He himself had not the slightest thought of retiring. Being then informed that his brother Habib was slain, he said: "Life will have no value for me after the loss of Habib; I abhorred the idea of retreating when my troops took to flight, and now, by Allah! I abhor it more than ever! March forward!" One of his companions said (*afterwards*): "We knew that the man intended to get killed, so those who disliked fighting hung back and went off, one after the other. But a good troop still followed him whilst he dashed forward. Every band of horsemen which he met was put to rout; not a troop of Syrians but turned aside to avoid him and the lances of his companions. Abu Ruba 'l-Murji then went up to him and said: The rest of our people are gone off; what think you of returning to Wasit, where you may hold out till you receive reinforcements from the people of Basra and till the people of Oman and Bahrayn come to you in their ships. You might entrench yourself (*and wait for them*)!" Yazid replied: 'Confound your advice! do you pretend to say that my death will be easier there than here?' The other answered: 'I fear for your life; see you not the

mountains of from (*the masses of armed men*) which surround you?' 'I care not for them,' exclaimed Yazid, 'no matter whether they be mountains of iron or of fire. Leave us, if you are not inclined to fight on our side.' He then advanced against Maslamah, without caring to attack any other, and the latter, on seeing him approach, called for his horse and mounted him. The Syrian cavairy gathered round (Yazid) and his companions; Yazid was slain with his brother Muhammad and a number of his partisans. Al-Qahl <sup>القحل</sup> Ibn 'Ayyash al-Qalbi exclaimed, on seeing Yazid: 'I shall kill him or he shall kill me but, as it will be difficult to get at him, some of you must charge with me and occupy his companions till I reach him.' We will charge with 'you'; exclaimed some of his comrades. They dashed on in a body and, after an hour's fighting, when the dust cleared off, the two parties separated, leaving Yazid dead and al-Qahl Ibn 'Ayyash at his last gasp. Al-Qahl made a sign to his companions, pointing out where Yazid was lying.

The head of Yazid was brought in by a *mawla* of the Murrah family who, being asked if it was he who slew him, answered: 'No.' Whilst the combat was going on, al-Hawari Ibn Ziyad saw a horse without a rider and exclaimed: 'Hurrah! *Allahu Akbar*\* there is the horse of that reprobate, the son of al-Muhallab; God grant that he may be dead!' They looked for him, and his head was brought to Maslamah, who did not recognise it. On this, Haiyan al-Nabati said: 'Think what you please, but think not that the man has fled; he has most certainly been killed.' "What sign is there of that?" said Maslamah. The other replied: "In the time of Ibn al-Ash'ath, I heard him say: 'Shame on Ibn al-Ash'ath! raising dust (*in flying before his enemies*) was his main occupation. How could he prove himself superior to death unless he died honourably?"

I may here observe that the emir Abu Nasr Ibn Makula says, in that section (*of the work entitled al-Ikmal*) which is headed by the word *al-Qahl*, *al-Fahl*\*\* "*Qahl* is similar (*in its written form*) to *fahl*, except that the first letter has two points (*instead of one*). He (*al-Qahl*) was the son of 'Ayyash Ibn Hassan Ibn Samir Ibn Sharahil Ibn 'Uzayr. He slew Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab. Each of them struck his adversary and slew him". When Yazid's head was carried to Maslamah, no person could say whether it was his or not; some one then advised him to have it washed and a turban put on it. That was done, and he recognised him. Maslamah sent it to his brother Yazid Ibn 'Abd

\* *Allahu Akbar* see Cairo ed. Vol. V.p, 349.

\*\* *Al-Fahl wa'l Qahl, wa'l Ajal* in Cairo ed., op. cit.,

al-Malik; the bearer was khalid Ibn al-Walid Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Abi Mu'ayt. Khalifah Ibn Khayyat says: "Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab, was born in the year 53 (A.D. 673); he was killed on Friday, the 12th of Safar, 102 (22nd August, A.D. 720)." God knows best!

When those who had reached Wasit, Mu'awiyah, the son of Yazid, had thirty-two prisoners in his power. These he caused to be brought out of prison and beheaded. One of them was 'Adi Ibn Artat. He then marched out of the town, and the people (*his soldiers*) said to him: "Out upon you! we see clearly that you intend to have us all killed; has not your father been killed?" He advanced as far as Basra, carrying with him the money and the treasures. Al-Mufaddal, the son of al-Muhallab, and the other members of the family were all assembled at Basra, as they feared the disaster which really took place. They then prepared seagoing ships and embarked all sorts of military stores. Mu'awiyah wished to obtain the commandment over the rest of the family, but they assembled and chose al-Mufaddal for their chief. "Al-Mufaddal", said they, "is our senior and you are still a boy like some others of the family." Al-Mufaddal held the commandment over them till they reached Karman where there were many scatters who had escaped from the battle, and he united all those troops under his orders. An army, sent in pursuit of them by Maslamah Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, overtook them at a defile in (*the province of*) Fars and attacked them with great vigour. Al-Mufaddal and a number of his officers lost their lives in that combat. All the other members of the Muhallab family were afterwards killed, with the exception of Abu 'Uyanah and 'Uthman Ibn al-Mufaddal who took refuge at the court of the Khaqan (*chief of the Khazars*) and of Ratbil (*prince of Kabul*). Maslamah sent their heads to his brother Yazid who was then encamped near Aleppo. When the heads were stuck upon poles, Yazid went out to look at them and said to his companions: "That is the head of 'Abd al-Malik; that is the head of al-Mufaddal; by Allah! he looks (*as tranquil*) as if he were sitting with me and conversing."

Another author, not al-Tabari, says: "When the head of Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab was brought to Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, one of the courtiers began to depreciate the character of Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab; but the khalif said to him: Hold your tongue! Yazid aspired to greatness, encountered dangers and died honourably." When Maslamah had finished the war against the Muhallabites, he obtained from his brother Yazid, that very year, the united governments of Kufah, Basra, Khurasan. The death of Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab was lamented in a number of fine elegies composed by his favourite poet, Thabit Qutnah. In one of these pieces he said:

All the (*Arab*) tribes swore to second you in what you undertook; they followed you and marched (*to battle*). But when the lances shocked together and you exposed your troops to the point of the spear, they abandoned you and fled. You were slain, but not disgracefully; and how many the violent deaths which are disgraceful!

This Thabit was one of the best poets and warriors of Khurasan. He lost one of his eyes and, as he kept its socket always filled with cotton (*quin*), he became known by the name of Thabit Qutnah. Having received, at one time, from Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab the government of a canton in Khurasan, he mounted into the pulpit, but felt so confused and troubled that he was unable to utter a word and got down. The people having then gone to visit him at his house, he said to them:

I cannot stand up among you as your orator, but, when battle rages, I am an able orator with my sword.

When they heard this, they exclaimed: "By Allah! had you said so when in the pulpit, you would have been the very best of orators."

Ibn Qutaybah speaks of him in the *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara*. It was against Thabit that Sahib al-Fil al-Hanafi, with whom he was often engaged in satirical conflicts, directed these lines:

Abu'l 'Ala'! you met on Friday last with a misfortune: you were troubled and like to choke. Your tongue turned (*in your mouth*) when you were going to speak, and made a slip like that of a man who tumbles down from a mountain's top. When the eyes of the congregation were fixed on you in broad day-light, you were nearly strangled in clearing your voice.

Ibn al-Kalbi (*vol. III, p. 608*) says, in his *Jamharah*: "This Thabit (*came of a very noble family being*) the son of Ka'b Ibn Jabir Ibn Ka'b Ibn Karman Ibn Tarafah Ibn Wahb Ibn Mazin Ibn Tamim Ibn al-Asad Ibn al-Harith Ibn al-'Atiq Ibn al-Asad Ibn 'Imran Ibn 'Amr Muzayqiya' Ibn 'Amir Ma al-Sama'.

An author, but not al-Tabari, says that Yazid was killed by al-Hudhayl Ibn Zufar Ibn al-Harith al-Kilabi. Al-Kalbi says also: "When I was a boy, the people used to say: 'The Umayyads exposed religion (*to ignominy*) on the day of Karbala (*When al-Husayn, the son of 'Ali, was killed*), and they injured generosity on the day of al-'Aqr!'"

Muhammad Ibn Wasi' , *واسع* related as follows: "When we received the news of al-Yazid's death, a woman of Oman, who

was a professional weeper at funerals, came to me and made in my presence a lament for those of the Muhallab family who had been killed."

Ibn 'Abbad said: "During more than twenty years after the death of the Muhallabs, not a girl was born in our family and not a boy died.<sup>28</sup> Khalifah Ibn Khayyat says: "In the year 102, on Friday, the 12th of Safar (22nd August, A.D. 720), Yazid, the son of al-Muhallab, was slain, at the age of forty-nine years. He was illustrious by his noble character, his generosity, his rank and his bravery." It is related that the khalif Yazid received a visit from his brother Maslamah, at the time of Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab's revolt, and, seeing him dressed in coloured robes (*as if to enjoy a party of pleasure*), he said to him "Why do you wear clothes, you who are one of those whom the poet designated in this verse:

People who, when engaged in war, tighten their garments  
around them (*and abstain*) from women; leaving them to pass  
the night in a state of purity.

Maslamah answered: "We fight against our equals, those who belong to the Quraysh family; but, when a raven croaks, we do not mind it."--I may add that the author of this verse was al-Akhtal al-Taghlibi, a Christian and a celebrated poet.

## 790 YAZID IBN ABI MUSLIM

Abu'l-'Ala Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim Dinar, a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Thaqif, was a *mawla* of al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf (*vol. I, p. 356*) and his secretary. It was for the talent and abilities which he displayed in the management of affairs that al-Hajjaj raised him to eminence. We mentioned, in the life of Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab that al-Hajjaj, in his last illness, appointed Ibn Abi Muslim to act as his deputy in the administration of the *kharaaj* (*land-tax*) of Iraq. On the death of al-Hajjaj, he was confirmed in that post by (*the khalif*) al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and no modifications were made in his attributions. Some say that he held his appointment from al-Walid, subsequently to the death of al-Hajjaj and that al-Walid said: "I am, with regard to al-Hajjaj and Ibn Abi Muslim, like a man who

---

<sup>28</sup> This seems to mean that the death of the Muhallabites brought good luck to the people.

lost a piece of silver and found a piece of gold." Sulayman, the brother and successor of al-Walid, dismissed Ibn Abi-Muslim from office and sent Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab to replace him. Ibn Abi Muslim was brought before the khalif with his hands and neck enclosed in a wooden collar *جامة*. Being low-set, and ungainly *دسيم*, with an ugly face and a large belly, he presented to the eye a very despicable appearance, Sulayman, on seeing him, said: Are you Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim?" The other replied. "I am; may God direct the Commander of the faithful." "The curse of God be on him," exclaimed Sulayman, "who shared his trust with you and confided to you authority on his own responsibility." "Commander of the faithful!" replied Ibn Abi Muslim, "make not (*such a wish*); you see me now that things have turned badly for me. But, if you saw me in prosperity, you would admire, not despise, think highly of me and not scorn." On hearing these words, Sulayman exclaimed: "Curse on the fellow! what a quick intelligence he has and what a sharp tongue!" He then said to him: "Tell me, Yazid! your master al-Hajjaj is he still falling down to hell, or has he already reached the bottom of it?" He replied: "Commander of the faithful! say not such things; al-Hajjaj was a foe to your foes and a friend to your friends; he lavished his blood for you and his place, on the day of the resurrection, will be on the right hand of 'Abd al-Malik and on the left of al-Walid; so, put him where you think fit."

According to another relation, he replied: "Tomorrow, on the day of the resurrection, he will be between your father and your brother; so place them where you will." "Curse-on the fellow!" said Sulayman, "how devoted he is to his master! it is such men as he that should be admitted into favour." One of the khalif's social companions here said: "Commander of the faithful! take that man's life; do not spare it." Ibn Abi Muslim asked who that person was and said, on hearing his names: "By Allah! I have been told that his mother had not always her ears hidden by her.<sup>1</sup> Sulayman, on hearing these words, could not refrain from laughing and ordered the prisoner to be set at liberty. He then caused an enquiry to be made into his conduct and thus learned that he had not defrauded the state even of a dinar or of a dirhem. He even thought of taking him for his secretary, but 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (*who was afterwards khalif*) said to him: "Commander of the faithful! I implore you, in God's name, not to revive the recollections left by al-Hajjaj by taking his secretary for yours." Sulayman replied: "Abu Hafs! I had his conduct examined

---

1 This seems to mean that her had been cut off at one Time to punish her for being a prostitute.

into and have not found in it the least trace of speculation." 'Umar replied: "I could find for you an individual who cares as little as he for dinars and dirhems. Who is that?" said the khalif. "Satan;" replied 'Umar; "he handles neither dinars nor dirhems, and yet he brought ruin upon mankind." Sulayman abandoned his project.

Juwayriyah Ibn Asma<sup>2</sup> related as follows: 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, being informed that Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim had set out on an expedition with some Muslim troops, wrote to the *'amil* (or *superintendent*) of the army, an order for his recall. 'I detest,' said he, 'the thought of gaining victories by means of an army in which that man is.'

The *hafiz* Abu'l Qasim Ibn 'Asakir (*vol. II, p. 252*) gives, in his (*biographical*) history of Damascus an article on Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim, in which he relates as follows, on the authority of Y'aqub<sup>3</sup>: "In the year 101 (A.D. 719-20), Yazid was appointed to the government of Ifriqiyah (*Mauritania*), in which post he replaced Isma'il Ibn 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Abi'l-Muhajir, a *mawla* of the tribe of Makhzum. Yazid acted in the most commendable manner and was killed in the year 102."

Here is, however, what al-Tabari (*vol. II, p. 597*) relates, in his great historical work: "He resolved, it is said, on acting towards them (*the Muslims of Mauritania*) in the same manner as al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf had treated those members of the population of Sawad (*Babylonia*) who had embraced Islamism and settled in the cities of Iraq: al-Hajjaj sent them back to the districts of which they were natives and exacted from them the poll-tax, such as they had to pay before their conversion. Yazid resolved on doing like him, but the people consulted together and decided on killing him, which they did. They then placed at the head of affairs Yazid's predecessor in the government and wrote to (*the khalif*) Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik a letter in which they said: 'We have not cast off our allegiance, but Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim treated us in a manner which neither God nor the Muslims could brook. We therefore slew him and reinstated in office your former governor.' To this, Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik replied by a letter in which he said: 'I disapprove of Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim's conduct and confirm the appointment of Muhammad Ibn Yazid to the government of Ifriqiyah. This was in the year 102.'"

---

2. The Traditionist Juwayriya Ibn Asma, a member of the Dubay'ah tribe, died A.H. 173 (A.D. 789-90).

3. A number of Traditionists bore the name of Ya'qub, but we have not means of determining which of them it was whose authority is cited by Ibn Asakir.

Al-Waddah Ibn Khaythamah related as follows: 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ordered me to set at liberty some people who were in prison, and Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim was among them. Him I left where he was, but let out all the others. This he could never forgive me. When we were in Ifriqiyah, we heard that Yazid was coming to act as governor, and I therefore took to flight. He, being informed of the place where I was, sent persons to arrest me and bring me to him. When I was taken before him, he said: 'For a long time I have been asking Almighty God to place you in my power.' To this I replied: 'For a long time I have asking Almighty God to protect me from you, God has not protected you,' said Yazid, "and, by Allah! I shall kill you. Were the angel of death to come for you, I should hasten to take your life before he did.' He then called for the sword and the *nat*'.<sup>4</sup> They were brought in, and al-Waddah was placed on the *nat*' by his order, with his hands tied behind his back. A man holding a sword stood behind him and (at that very moment) was heard the call to prayer. Yazid went out to join the congregation and, as he was making the prostration, the swords (of the conspirators) took away his life. A man then came in to al-Waddah, cut his bonds and set him at liberty. Muhammad Ibn Yazid, a *mawla* of the Ansars, was re-established in the government.

So says al-Tabari; he names Muhammad Ibn Yazid, but Ibn 'Asakir gives that of Isma'il Ibn 'Ubayd Allah. God knows best! I may here observe that al-Waddah was chamberlain to 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. Being ordered by that khalif, who had been taken ill, to set at liberty all the prisoners, he let every one of them out, with the exception of Yazid. On the death of 'Umar, al-Waddah fled to Ifriqiyah, through fear of Yazid, and then took place what has been related.--'Umar fell sick at Khunasirah, The word *جامعة* *jam'iah* employed above, where mention is made of Yazid Ibn Abi Muslim's being brought before the khalif, means a collar by which the hands are fastened to the neck.--The (d) in the word *ذميم* *damim* which occurs in the expression (rendered by) *low-set* and *ungainly*, is written without a point and signifies *ugly*. 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab (the khalif) said: "Give not your daughters in marriage to ugly *ذميم* *men*, for that which, in men, pleases women is the same which, in women, pleases men (i.e. *beauty*). *ذميم* (*damim*) with a point on the ذ signifies *blamable*. Ibn al-Rumi (vol. II, p. 297) employed the word rightly when he said:

4 The *nata'* was a circular carpet of leather, having round the border a running string by means of which it might be drawn up into the round shape. The executioner made use of it to receive the blood of those whom beheaded.



Like the fellow-wives of a handsome woman; they say of her face, unjustly and through envy, that it is ugly (*damim*).

I have indicated the right orthography of the word because it is often incorrectly written.--*Khunasirah* is the name of an ancient village in al-Ahass, which is a district in the province of Aleppo. It lies to the south-east of that city, near Qinnisrin 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz acted there as governor, in the name of (*the khalif*) 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan and in that of Sulayman, the son of 'Abd al-Malik. It is this place which is meant in the following verse of al-Mutanabbi.

I love the country between Emessa and Khunasirah; every man loves the spot where he passed his early life.

The celebrated poet 'Adi Ibn al-Riqa' al-'Amili<sup>5</sup> mentions also this place in his well-known *qasidah* which rhymes in *d*; he says:

When the vernal flowers follows in succession, may the rains water abundantly the *Khunasirah* of al-Ahass.

## 791 YAZID IBN 'UMAR IBN HUBAYRAH

Abu *Khalid* Yazid Ibn Abi'l-Muthanna 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah Ibn Mu'ayyah Ibn Sukayn Ibn *Khadij* Ibn *Baghid* Ibn Malik Ibn Sa'd drew his descent from 'Adi, the son of Fazarah, whose genealogy is so well known<sup>1</sup> that we need not lengthen this article by its insertion. According to Ibn Durayd (*vol. III, p. 37*) Mu'ayyah *معية* is the diminutive of *mi'an* *معان* which itself is the singular of the word *am'a*, which signifies the *intestines*. This opinion is, however, rejected by others who consider the word as the diminutive of (*the proper name*) Mu'awiyah. -- The vowels of *Sukayn* are an *u* and an *a*; in *Khadij* and *Baghid* the first vowel is an *a*. The other names are so generally known that it is not necessary for us to mark their pronunciation.

According to the *hafiz* Abu'l Qasim Ibn 'Asakir (*vol. II, p. 252*),

5 'Adi Ibn Riqa' al-'Amili, one of the numerous poets who flourished in the reign of al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, had frequently satirical encounters with the celebrated Jarir (*vol I, p. 294*). He usually resided in Damascus.

1 genealogy is given by M. Caussin de Perceval in his *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*. According to the tables, Fazara drew his descent from Ma'add Ibn 'Adnan, by Ghatafan.

he (Yazid) was a native of Syria and governed Qinnisrin in the name of (the *khalif*) al-Walid Ibn Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He accompanied Marwan Ibn Muhammad, the last of the Umayyads, when that prince took the city of Damascus (A.H. 127, A.D. 744-5), and then obtained from him the government of all Iraq. He was born in the year 87 (A.D. 705-6). Ibn 'Ayyash (vol. I, p. 553) mentions him in the list of those governors who ruled in Iraq and held under their orders al-Misrayn (the two cities) that is to say, al-Basra and al-Kufa.

Ibn Qutaybah (vol. II, p. 22) says the same thing in his *Kitab al-Ma'arif*, where he names those emirs who governed simultaneously the two Iraqs. The first name on the list is that of Ziyad Ibn Abihi (vol. I, p. 364) who acted there as the lieutenant of Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan, and the last is that of Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah, the subject of this article. The same writer adds: "No other, after these, over held the united governments of the two Iraqs." In the same work, he had already spoken of him, in the article on 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah. There he says: "Abu Ja'far al-Mansur besieged Yazid in Wasit during some months and obtained the surrender of the city by granting him amnesty and protection. When Yazid rode forth, at the head of his household, to meet him, he said: "No empire could prosper with such a man in it: and had him put to death."

Khalifah Ibn Khayyat (vol. I, p. 492) says: "In the year 128 (A.D. 745-6), Marwan Ibn Muhammad dispatched Yazid to Iraq, as governor. This was subsequently to the death of al-Dahhak." — He means al-Dahhak al-Shaybani Ibn Qays the Kharijite.<sup>2</sup> "Yazid went as far as Hit, and there stopped. He was tall and corpulent, brave, liberal, a good orator and a great eater, but inclined to envy."

Abu Ja'far al-Tabari mentions him in his History, under the year 128: "In this year," says he, "Marwan Ibn Muhammad sent Yazid

---

2 There were two generals bearing the names of al Dahhak Ibn Qays. One of them was a Qurayshite, of the family of Fibr: he governed the district of Damascus in the name of Mu'awiah Ibn Abi Sufyan, joined the party of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr, then had himself acknowledged as khalif by his own troops, the Qaysides. He was slain at Marj Rahit, A.H. 64 (A.D. 683-4) in fighting against the khalif Marwan the first (see vol. I, p. 100). The other belonged to the tribe of Shayban. He put himself at the head of the Harurites, branch of the Kharijit party in Mesopotamia, took the city of Kufa from 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azid, and then marched against Marwan the second. He was slain in battle at Kafaratutha in the month of Safar, 128 (November, A.D. 745). — Notwithstanding Reiske's recommendation, one of those chiefs has been sometimes confounded with the other, a fault of which there is example in this work, vol. II, p. 109: the note (15) should be struck out.

Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah to Iraq, for the purpose of warring against the Kharijites who were in that country." He then, under the year 132 (A.D. 749-50), speaks of the revolt got up by Qahtabah Ibn Shabib, one of the 'Abbasid missionaries (*of political agents*), subsequently to the triumph of that party in Khurasan and the adjoining countries. Abu Muslim al-Khurasani, the same of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II. p. 100*), was the principal abettor of that movement and continued to be its main-spring till the 'Abbasids had fully established their authority. The history of these events is well known, and, as we have given some account of them in our article on Abu Muslim we need not enter into further particulars. Qahtabah revolted in Iraq and marched against Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah. Some encounters, too numerous to be related, took place between them, and we may state, in a summary manner, that Qahtabah forded the Euphrates (*with his army*), in the neighbourhood of al-Falujah, a well-known village in Iraq, and advanced to attack Ibn Hubayrah, who was in the opposite bank of the river. Qahtabah was drowned. This occurred on Wednesday evening, the of Muharram (27th Aug. A.D. 749), towards sunset, and his son, al-Hasan, replaced him as chief of the army. This is not a fit place for relating this celebrated battle, as full account of it would be too long. Ma'an Ibn Zaidah al-Shaybani (*vol. III. p. 398*) was one of Yazid Ibn Hubayrah's partisans and his ablest assistant in all affairs, either of war or otherwise. It is said that in the night (*of the battle*), he struck Qahtabah Ibn Shabib with his sabre on the head or, according to another statement, on the shoulder, so that he fell into the water. He was taken out alive and said (*to his people*): "If I die, let the water be my grave, so that no one may know what has become of me." Other relations are given respecting the manner in which he was drowned, and God best knows the truth!

Let us return to our account of Ibn Hubayrah: Seeing his troops vanquished and put to flight by the army of which Qahtabah, and then al-Hasan, the son of Qahtabah, was the commander, he took refuge in Wasit and fortified himself in that city. Abu'l 'Abbas 'Abd Allah, the son of Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-'Abbas Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, and surnamed as Saffah, then arrived from al-Humaymah with his brother Abu Ja'afar 'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad (*the same who was*) surnamed al-Mansur. The village of al-Humaymah, situated on that part of the Syrian frontier which extends from the territory of al-Balqa' to Kufa, was then the residence of the 'Abbasids, and there were assembled a number of their partisans, their agents and the persons who were assisting them in establishing the 'Abbasid dynasty and overthrowing that of the Umayyads. The chief of the latter dynasty and the last of its sovereigns was at that

time, Marwan Ibn al-Hakam. He bore the surname of al-Ja'di and was designated familiarly by the nickname of al-Himar.<sup>3</sup> When they arrived at Kufa, Abu'l 'Abbas al-Saffah was solemnly acknowledged as sovereign: The inauguration took place on Friday, the 13th of the latter Rabi', 132 (29th November, A.D. 749). Another account places that event in the month of the first Rabi' but the preceding date is the true one. The cause of the 'Abbasids then began to triumph and their power augmented whilst that of the Umayyads declined. (*Abu Ja'far*) Al-Mansur, being then dispatched by his brother, al-Saffah, with the order to besiege Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah in Wasit, joined the army which was then posted near the city, under the orders of al-Hasan Ibn Qahtabah.

Al-Tabari says, in his great historical work: "Frequent messages passed between Abu Ja'far al-Mansur and Ibn Hubayrah. The latter then demanded by letter that an *aman* (or full pardon) should be given to him. A paper to that effect was drawn up and sent to him. He passed forty days in consulting doctors of the law (on its validity,) before he consented to accept it. Abu Ja'far, to whom it was then brought back, sent it to al-Saffah, who ordered him to ratify it in Yazid's favour. Abu Ja'far's intention was to fulfil all the conditions granted, but al-Saffah never took a decision without the approbation of Abu Muslim al-Khurasani, who was the chief director of the 'Abbasid party and had a spy who informed him by letter of al-Saffah's proceedings. Abu Muslim then wrote these words to al-Saffah: 'The best of roads is a bad one if there be stones on it, and, by Allah! no road is good in which one meets with Ibn Hubayrah'. When the letter of amnesty was signed, Ibn Hubayrah left the city at the head of thirteen hundred Najjarites<sup>4</sup> and was proceeding to enter on horseback into the enclosure (surrounding Abu Ja'far's tent), when the door-keeper stood up and said: 'Welcome, Abu Khalid! dismount quietly!' Ten thousand of the Khurasani troops were then drawn up about the enclosure. Yazid dismounted, asked for a cushion so that he might sit down and then, at his request, The chiefs of the troops who came with him were admitted. The door-keeper now said to him: 'Abd Khalid! you may go in.' The other replied: 'Do you mean me and those who are with me?' The door-keeper answered: 'I asked permission for you alone to enter'. Yazid stood up and went in. A cushion was placed for him and he conversed for some time

---

3 Al-Himar means the ass. Marwan received this nickname for the tenacity of his character.

4 The Majjarites formed a branch of that religious and political party, the Kharijites, who may be considered as the Puritans of Islamism.

with him (*Abu Ja'far*). As he was withdrawing, Abu Ja'far kept his eyes fixed upon him till he disappeared. (*Yazid*) then went to visit him every second day, accompanied by a troop of five hundred horse and three hundred foot. Yazid Ibn Hatim (*see the next article*) then said to Abu Ja'far: 'Emir! this Ibn Hubayrah is capable of coming and intimidating (*our*) troops, for he had lost none of his influence.' Abu Ja'far, in consequence, ordered the door-keeper to inform Ibn Hubayrah that, in coming again, he ought not to bring with him all his troop, but merely his usual attendants. Ibn Hubayrah changed colour on receiving this message and came (*the next time*,) with a suite of about thirty persons. On this, the door-keeper said to him: 'You seem to have come prepared (*for what ever may happen*).' The other replied: 'If you tell me to come on foot, I shall do so', -- 'Nay,' said the door-keeper, 'I mean nothing disrespectful, and the emir has given no orders but for your advantage.' After that, Yazid made his visits every third day.

Muhammad Ibn Kathir related as follows: One day, in a conversation between Ibn Hubayrah and Abu Ja'far, the latter made use of the expression: 'I say, you sir!' or: 'I say, my man!' and then added, as if to correct himself; 'Emir! I merely employed the terms in which I not long ago heard people address you, and my tongue has outrun my thought. Abu'l 'Abbas al-Saffah insisted on Abu Ja'far's putting Ibn Hubayrah to death and, on his persisting to refuse, he wrote to him these words: 'By Allah! you must kill him; or else I shall send a person who will take him out of your enclosure and put him to death.' This letter decided Abu Ja'far on taking Yazid Ibn Hubayrah's life. He therefore caused all the rooms of the public treasury (*in Wasit*) to be sealed up and sent for the principal officers in Ibn Hubayrah's service. When they came, his door-keeper stepped forward and called out the names of two eminent chiefs, Ibn al-Hawtharah and Muhammad Ibn Nubatah. They stood up, went in, and were immediately deprived of their swords and handcuffed by three officers whom Abu Ja'far had posted within the precincts of his tent, with one hundred men. Then two other chiefs were introduced and treated in the same manner. Two others were then let in and underwent a similar treatment. This was done also with the rest. Musa Ibn 'Aqil (*who was one of them*) said: 'You took an engagement with us in God's name and have betrayed us: but I hope that God will punish you.' Ibn Nubatah (*intending to express his contempt*) made a noise with his lips, as if breaking wind<sup>5</sup> on which

---

5 The Arabic signifies literally: *pepedit in barta sua*. This noise, made with the lips, was probably meant to express contempt.

Ibn al-Hawtharah said to him: 'That will avail you nothing.' The other replied: 'This I had almost foreseen. They were all put to death and their signet-rings taken off. Hazim, al-Haytham Ibn Sha'bah and al-Aghlab Ibn Salim then took with them about one hundred men and, having gone to Ibn Hubayrah's residence, they sent in to him this message: 'We must have your treasures.' He told his door-keeper to go with them and point out where they were deposited. They placed guards at each of the doors and began to search every corner of the house. Ibn Hubayrah had then with him his son Da'wud, his secretary 'Umar Ibn Ayyub, his door-keeper, some of his *mawlas* and, in his arms, he was holding a young child, one of his sons. Alarmed at the sight of these people, he exclaimed: 'I declare, by Allah! that the looks of those men portend nothing good.' They went up to him, the door-keeper placed himself before them and said: 'Stand off!' on which al-Haytham Ibn Shabah gave him a blow on the shoulder (*with his sabre*) and brought him to the ground, Da'wud then attacked them but was killed; the *mawlas* also lost their lives. On this, he (*Ibn Hubayrah*) laid down the child, exclaiming: 'Take care of the boy!' and prostrated himself (*in prayer*). He was slain whilst in that position. Abu Ja'far, to whom their heads were carried, ordered a general amnesty to be proclaimed. Abu 'Ata' al-Sindi whose real name was Marzuq or Aflah, and who was *mawla* of the tribe of Asad, lamented Ibn Hubayrah's death in the following lines:

"The eyes which shed not over thee abundant tears, on the (*fatal*) day of Wasit, were surely congealed. On that evening the female mourners stood forward, whilst bosoms and cheeks were torn in the presence of the assembly. The court before thy dwelling is now deserted, but often did visitors station there, band after band. From those who came to visit thee, thou did never keep away: but alas! how far away are those who repose under the earth."

I may observe here that Abu Tammam al-Ta'i (*vol. I, p. 348*) has given this piece in his *Hamasah*, section of elegies. Here finish the indications borrowed from al-Tabari; they are roughly put together, having been extracted from different parts of his work. Another author says: "When Abu Ja'far joined al-Hasan Ibn Qahtabah (*under the walls of Wasit*) the latter gave up his tent to him and went somewhere else. Hostilities continued for some days; Ibn Hubayrah, seconded by Ma'an Ibn Zaidah, held out firmly and sustained a long siege. Abu Ja'far happened to say that Ibn Hubayrah, in sheltering himself behind ramparts, acted like a woman, and the latter, who was told of this, sent him a message to the following effect: 'If you said so and so, come out and meet me (*in single combat*): You will

then see (*what I am*).’ Abu Ja’far answered in these terms: I know of nothing to which I and you can be compared except a lion who met a wild-boar. The boar said to him: ‘Come and fight me;’ the other answered: You are not my equal in rank; if I encounter you and get a hurt. I should be disgraced, and, if I killed you, it would only be the killing of a boar, and I should obtain for that neither praise nor honour.’ The boar said: ‘If you come not out to fight me.’ I shall tell the other animals that you were afraid to meet me.’ The lion answered: ‘It will be easier for me to bear with your false imputations than with the disgrace of defiling my claws with your blood.’

Al-Mansur, having opened a correspondence with Ibn Hubayrah and the other chiefs, they asked to capitulate and drew up a model of a treaty of peace and safeguard. Al-Mansur sent this document to his brother, al-Saffah, who ratifies it, after inserting the following clause: ‘If Ibn Hubayrah break his word or infringes this agreement, the engagements taken with him and the amnesty granted to him shall be null and void.’ Abu-Mansur’s intention was to act with good faith towards Ibn Hubayrah.

Abu’l Hasan al-Madaini (*vol. I, p. 438*) says: ‘When the treaty of peace was written out, Ibn Hubayrah went to visit al-Mansur, who had a curtain drawn before him, and spoke in these terms: ‘Emir! your dynasty has only commenced; so, let the people taste of its sweetness and spare them its bitterness; love for your family will thus penetrate into their hearts and the mentioning of your names will be agreeable to their tongues. We always thought your cause would succeed.’ When he had finished, al-Mansur caused the curtain to be drawn from between them and said to himself. ‘How strange that he (*my brother*) should order me to kill such a man as this!’ Ibn Hubayrah in his last days, went to dine and sup with al-Mansur, taking with him only three of his companions, and was treated with the utmost regard.<sup>6</sup>

It is said that he engaged in a correspondence with ‘Abd Allah, the son of al-Hasan, the son of al-Hasan the son of ‘Ali Ibn Abi Talib, that he tried to gain partisans for the cause of the ‘Alids and intended to overthrow the power of the ‘Abbasids. He (*al-Saffah*) then received a letter from Abu Muslim, urging him to put Ibn Hubayrah to death, and al-Saffah, in consequence, wrote to al-Mansur, the order to take his life. Al-Mansur replied: ‘I shall not do so; I am engaged towards that man by a treaty and a promise of protection; these I shall not

---

<sup>6</sup> Literally: and the cushion was doubled for him. See note (11) of this volume.

break at the word of Abu Muslim.' Al-Saffah answered: 'I do not order his death in consequence of a word from Abu Muslim, but because he has infringed the treaty and is carrying on a secret intrigue with the family of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib: his blood is lawfully forfeited.' To this al-Mansur returned no answer, declaring that such a deed would be the ruin of the empire. Al-Saffah then wrote to him, saying: 'If you do not put him to death, I shall break of all connection with you.' Al-Mansur then said to al-Hasan Ibn Qahtabah: 'Do you kill him?' 'I will not,' replied al-Hasan. On this, Hazim Ibn Khuzaymah declared that he was willing to do the deed. He therefore took with him some of the Khurasani chiefs, entered into the castle where Ibn Hubayrah was and found him in company with his son Da'wud, his secretary and his *mawlas*. He had on an Egyptian shirt and a rose-coloured mantle; a barber was with him and about to cup him. When he saw them come in, he prostrated himself (*in prayer*) and was slain by them, as also his son Da'wud, his secretary and those who were with him. His head was borne to al-Mansur. Ma'an Ibn Zaidah escaped the same fate, being then with al-Saffah. Al-Mansur sent the head to his brother. This took place in the year 132 (A.D. 749-50)."

Al-Haytham Ibn 'Adi (*vol. III, p 633*) related as follows: "When Ibn Hubayrah was killed, a Khurasanide said to one of that chief's followers: 'What an enormous head your master had!' and received this reply: 'Your granting him a safeguard was even more enormous.'"

The *khatib* Abu Zakariya al-Tabrizi says, in his commentary on the *Hamasa*, section of elegies, after giving the verses rhyming in *d* which were composed by Abu 'Ata' al-Sindi on the death of Ibn Hubayrah, "Al-Mansur had sworn to act with good faith towards him and confirmed that engagement by a most solemn oath.<sup>7</sup> When he killed him, the head, was brought to him and he said to the guard (*who came with it*): 'Look at the enormous size of his head;' and to this, the guard replied: 'The safeguard to him was a greater enormity than his head.' Al-Mansur destroyed the castle of Wasit."

Hafiz Ibn 'Asakir says, in his greater history: "Every morning, when Ibn Huayrah awoke, they brought him an *uss* عسر, --this word means a large bowl, --"containing some honey, or else some sugar, on which milk had been drawn (*from the camel*). He would drink it off and towards the hour of morning prayer, would remain seated in the oratory till the proper time for saying it came. After

7 This passage is omitted in Breytag's *Hamasa*. It must have existed in the larger *Hamasa*, but not a copy remains of that work.



that he would retire and, when the milk operated, called for breakfast. At this repast he ate two fowls, two *nahids*," or young pigeons--"half a kid and flesh-meat drest in a variety of ways. He then went out, examined into the applications made to him, and, at noon, when he retired, he would send for some of his officers and of the chief men of the place, and then call for dinner. Placing a napkin over his breast, he would swallow large morsels without stopping. When he finished, the company retired and he went in to the women, with whom he remained till the hour of the afternoon prayer. He would then come out to pray, after which, he should give audience to applicants, examine into their affairs and say the 'asr prayer. A throne being then set up for him and chairs placed for the others, all sat down, and bowls ('isas) of honied milk and other drinks were brought in. The cloth being spread for the people and covered with dishes of meat, a table was set on an estrade for himself and his companions. They ate with him and, after sunset, they went to attend the evening prayer. When the prayer was over, the persons who were to pass the evening with him would assemble in a room and sit there till called in. Conversation would then be carried on till the night was far advanced. Every evening, he allowed ten services to be asked of him, and these were all granted the next morning. His (yearly) salary was six hundred dirhems (£. 15,000). Every month he would distribute large sums to his companions, to the legists and to the members of respectable families. 'Abd Allah Ibn Shuburnat al-Dabbi, the *qadi* and jurisconsult of Kufah, who was one of those who were admitted to his evening conversations, said:

"When the night was advanced and sleep was overcoming us, 'Ayyad would bring to us one of the two reliefs.

'Ayyad was his door-keeper and the two reliefs were the permission of going in (*to the emir*) or of retiring. (*At these social meetings*) he had no napkin and, when he called for one (*it was a signal for*) the company to rise up (*and retire*)."

A *shaykh* of the Quraysh tribe related as follows: "On a very hot summer's day, Yazid Ibn 'Umar Ibn Hubayrah admitted some people (*who were waiting to be introduced*). He had on an old tunic the breast of which was patched. They looked at him with wonder and he, remarking their astonishment, recited this verse of Ibrahim Ibn Harma's,<sup>8</sup> applying it to himself:

---

8 Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Ibn 'Ali Ibn Harmah, a member of the tribe of Quraysh, inhabited Madinah and bore a high reputation as a poet. He was

A gallant youth can attain to glory, though his robe be torn and his tunic patched.

His generous deeds, his noble qualities and the anecdotes related of him are numerous and well-known.--Khalifah Ibn Khayyat says: "Ibn Hubayrah was put to death at Wasit, on Monday, the 16th of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, 132 (26th June, A.D. 750).--In al-Tabari's historical work, the death of al-Hasan, the son of Qahtabah, is placed under the year 181 (A.D. 797-8).

## 792 YAZID IBN HATIM AL-MUHALLABI

Abu Khalid Yazid was the son of Hatim Ibn Qabisah Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufrah al-Azdi. The rest of the genealogy has been already given in our article on his (*great-*) grandfather al-Muhallab (*vol. III, p. 508*). We have spoken of his brother [Rawh] Ibn Hatim (*vol. I, p. 529*), of his father's uncle, Yazid Ibn al-Muhallab and of his descendant, the vizir Abu Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad al-Muhallabi (*vol. I, p. 410*). They belonged to an eminent family which produced a great number of illustrious and distinguished men.

Ibn Jarir al-Tabari (*vol. II, p. 597*) says, in his Annals, that the khalif Abu Ja'far al-Mansur took the government of Egypt from Humayd Ibn Qahtabah and gave it to Nawfal Ibn al-Furat, whom he replaced, A.H. 143 (A.D. 760-1) by Yazid Ibn Hatim. In the year 152 (A.D. 769), al-Mansur appointed Muhammad Ibn Sa'id as the successor of Yazid Abu Sa'id Ibn Yunus (*vol. II, p. 93*) says, in his Annals, that Yazid Ibn Hatim obtained the government of Egypt in the year 144, and another author adds: "in the middle of the month of Dhu'l Qa'adah." "Then," says he (*al-Tabari*), "in the year 154 (A.D. 771), al-Mansur went to Syria and visited Bayt al-Maqdis (*the house of the holy place, Jerusalem*) and, from that place, he dispatched Yazid Ibn Hatim to Ifriqiyah, with an army of fifty thousand men, for the purpose of carrying on the war against the Kharijites, who had killed 'Umar Ibn Hafs, his governor in that country.<sup>1</sup> Yazid held the

---

born A.H. 90 A. D. 708-9); in A.H. 140 (A.D. 757) he recited to the khalif al-Mansur a *qasidah* of his composition. He was notorious for his fondness of wine and his avarice. His death took place in the year 186 (A.D. 802) (*Kitab al-Aghani: Nujum*).

<sup>1</sup> See Ibn Khaldun's *History of the Berbers*, vol. I, p. 384 of the French translation.

government of Ifriqiyah from that moment (*till his death*). He vanquished the Kharijites and then made his entry into Qayrawan, A.H. 155 (A.D. 771-2), the year of his arrival in Ifriqiyah. By his liberality and his princely disposition he drew numerous visitors to his court; all spoke loudly in his praise and a number of poets who extolled his merits received from him magnificent rewards." Abu Usamah Rabi'ah Ibn Thabit al-Raqqi (*vol. I, p. 530*), a member of the tribe of Asad, or, by another account, a *mawla* of the tribe of Sulaym, went to visit Yazid Ibn Usayd, who was then governor of Armenia and who held that place for a long time under the khalifate of Abu Ja'far al-Mansur and of that prince's son and successor, al-Mahdi. The genealogy of this Yazid is as follows: Yazid Ibn Usayd Ibn Zafir Ibn Asma Ibn Usayd Ibn Qunfud Ibn Jabir Ibn Qunfud Ibn Malik Ibn 'Awf Ibn 'Amri al-Qays Ibn Buhthah Ibn Sulaym Ibn Mansur Ibn Tkrimah Ibn Khasafah Ibn Qays Ghaylan Ibn Mudar Ibn Nizar Ibn Ma'dd Ibn 'Adnan. He held a very high rank in the tribe of Qays, of which he was one of the bravest warriors and the ablest politicians. The Rabi'ah above mentioned praised him in a poem of considerable merit but, not having received from him an adequate retribution, he composed another on Yazid Ibn Hatim, the subject of this article, and was treated by him with the utmost munificence. He, in consequence, recited a *qasidah* in which he extolled Yazid Ibn Hatim and depreciated Yazid Ibn Usayd. As the latter had an imperfection\* in his speech, he alluded to this defect in the poem and said:

I declare by an oath which will admit of no subterfuge, by the oath of a man who swears without intending to prevaricate, that wide is the difference in generosity between the two Yazids him of the tribe of Sulaym and the illusive son of Hatim! Yazid of Sulaym is a saver of money, but that hero, the brother of the Azdites, is not a saver of his. Profusion is the Azdite hero's only aim, but the Qaysid's passion is to hoard up dirhems. Let not the stammerer suppose that I satirize him: I merely assign pre-eminence to men of merit. O thou who strivest to reach the height attained by him whose generosity is (*not less copious than*) oceans full to overflowing! Thou hast vainly endeavoured to imitate, in munificence, the son of Hatim; thou wert often remiss, but the Azdite was so never. Be satisfied with (*admiring*) the edifice of noble deeds raised by the son of Hatim whilst he toiled in delivering captive and faced the greatest dangers. Son of Usayd! strive not to rivalize with

---

\* [*Tamtamah* means stammering]

the son of Hatim; if you do, you will gnash your teeth with regret. He is the ocean; if you attempt to enter it, you will perish in the shock of its waters. I foolishly hoped to find honour in the tribe of Sulaym; what an idle, what a visionary thought! But the family of Muhallab is a brilliant constellation and, in war, it leads yours (*like a camel*) by the bridle. The family of Muhallab are as the nose on the face: all others are as the soles of the feet, and the nose is far exalted above the soles. I have declared them worthy of all glory and justly pronounced them superior to all other men. They alone possess the noblest of qualities, liberality and bravery in a battle. Even in adversity, they set no value on their money; even when borne on the bier, they gave protection to every outlaw.

Da'bil Ibn 'Alī al-Khuza'i, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I, p. 507*), related the following anecdote: "I said to the poet Marwan Ibn Abi Hafsah: 'Tell me Abu al-Simt, who is the best of all your modern poets?' He replied: 'The man who, of them all, composed the simplest of verses, 'Who is that?' said I. He answered: The man who said:

How different in generosity are the two Yazids, he of the tribe of Sulaym and the illustrious son of Hatim."

I already gave some of these verses in the life of [Rawh] Ibn Hatim (*vol. I, p. 350*), Yazid's brothers, but since met with a more complete copy of the poem and then decided on giving a separate notice of Yazid himself; for, in the case of a person so important, the slight account of him which we inserted in the life of his brother was really insufficient. Rabi'ah Ibn Thabit al-Raqqi had gone to visit Yazid some time before this, but did not obtain from him the favourable reception which he expected. He therefore composed a piece of verse in which was the following line:

I render God due thanks; but here I am returning with the boots of Hunayn<sup>2</sup>, as a gift from the son of Hatim.

When Abu Ja'far al-Mansur gave the government of Ifriqiyah to Yazid (*Ibn Hatim*) Ibn al-Muhallab and that of Egypt to Yazid (*Ibn Usayd*) of the tribe of Sulaym, they both set out together, and the former defrayed the expenses of the troops (*which escorted them*). To this, Rabi'ah al-Raqqi alluded in these verses:

Yazid the bountiful! your namesake, the Yazid of our tribe,

---

2 See vol. III, p. 573.

is not so lavish of his gifts as you. He leads troop of horse; you, another; yet both of them are paid by you.

This proves that Sulaym was the tribe to which Rabi'ah belonged, for he says that Yazid (*Ibn Usayd*) was of his tribe. Ash'ab<sup>3</sup>, he who was so notorious for his cupidity, visited Yazid (*Ibn Hatim*), who was then in Egypt, and sat down with the company assembled in the saloon. Seeing him whisper to a servant-boy, he went over to him and kissed his hand. 'Why do you so?' said Yazid. Ash'ab replied: 'Because I saw you whisper to your boy and thought that you were telling him to give me something.' Yazid laughed and said: 'I told him no such thing, but "I shall do it." He therefore made him a present and treated him with kindness.

Al-Turtushī (*vol. II, p. 665*) says, in his *Siraj al-Muluk*: "Sahnun Ibn Sa'id (*vol. II, p. 131*) declared that Yazid Ibn Hatim was truly a sage because he used to say: 'By Allah! I fear nothing so much as a man whom I may have wronged and who, to my knowledge, has no one to protect him except God. What I dread is, that he may say: 'May God call you to an account! may He judge between me and you!'"

Abu Sa'id al-Sam'ani (*vol. II, p. 156*) says, in his *kitab al-Ansab*: "The poet al-Mushahhar al-Tamimi went to visit Yazid, who was then in Ifriqiyah, and recited to him these lines:

"That I might reach you sooner, I shortened my prayers by half, during a month's journey and another month added to that. I fear not that the hopes which I placed on you shall be frustrated; but the sweetest gift is that which comes soonest.

On this, Yazid gave orders to bring money for the troops which he had in his pay and which formed an army of fifty thousand men. He then said: 'Those who wish to please me will lay aside two dirhems out of their pay for this man who has come to visit me.' He thus made up for him the sum of one hundred thousand dirhems, to which he himself added as much more." I must here observe that I found these two verses attributed to Marwan Ibn Abi Hafsah.

Abu'l Qaism Ibn 'Asakir (*vol. II, p. 250*) says, in his *History of Damascus*, after giving an account of Yazid's life and mentioning the

---

3 Ash'ab Ibn Jubah, a native of Madinah was always expecting to receive presents, even from persons whom he did not know. Numerous are related of his infatuation. See Abu'l Fida's *Annales* t. II, p. 632, and Freytag's *Meidani*; t. II, p. 50. He died A. H. 154 (A.D. 771).

government which he held: "Yazid Ibn Hatim said to the persons who were sitting in his company: 'Let me hear from you three choice verses.' Safwan, a member of the Banu Harit<sup>4</sup> family, which is a branch of the tribe of *Khazraj*, said to him: 'Must they be on you? Let them be on whom you please'; replied Yazid. One would have thought that the poet had them ready in his sleeve, for he recited immediately these lines:

I never knew what beneficence was except by hearsay, till I met with Yazid, the asylum of mankind (*al-Nasi*). I then met the most beneficent of those who walk upon feet; he was arrayed in an ample robe of liberality and bravery (*wa'l-Basi*). If glory could be procured by beneficence<sup>4</sup>, you would be its (*sole*) possessor and be more worthy of it than...

There (*said the poet*) 'Finish the verse', said (*Yazid*) by the words the '*Abbasides* (*Al 'Abbas*)'. The poet answered: 'That would not be proper'. He (*Yazid*) then said: 'Let no one ever hear you recite this piece.'

Yamut Ibn Muzarr<sup>5</sup> related as follows: I went, one day, to salute al-Asma'i<sup>6</sup> and hear him recite pieces composed by the good eulogistic poets of Muslim times, and I said to him: 'Tell me, Abu 'Uthman, Ibn al-Mawla, was he a good eulogistic poet?' To this he replied: 'He was; and I have been kept awake all last night by that fine passage in which he praises Yahya Ibn Hatim and says:

If honour could be bought or sold, others might sell it but Yazid would be the purchaser. When the lightning prepares to flash from the cloud of his (*beneficence*), the hands of those who invoke such showers are held forth before the flash appears. When you (*Yahya*) do a noble act, you accomplish it with hands whose generous gifts are always unalloyed. When people count those who are the bravest among the horsemen, every finger points you out as one of the number.'

Ibn al-Mawla went to see Yazid, when the latter was governor of Egypt, and recited to him the following verses:

---

4 The text says: If beneficence could by glory. All the manuscripts agree in the reading, but it is not satisfactory.

5 The life of Yamut will be found in this volume.

6 This is certainly a mistake; al-Asma'i died eighty-eight years before Yamut, and we find, lower down, that the latter gives him the surname of Abu 'Uthman, not of Abu Sa'id. Our author probably meant to name Abu 'Uthman al-Jahiz (*vol. II, p. 405*), who was Yamut's uncle.

Thou who, of all the Arabs, standest alone, without an equal, did another like thee exist, there would not be a poor man in the world.

Yazid, on hearing these verses, called for his treasurer and asked him how much money he had remaining in his chests. They replied: "There are gold and silver pieces to the amount of twenty thousand dirhems (£ 500)"; he told them to give the whole sum to the poet, whom he then addressed in these terms: "Brother, I ask pardon of God and next of you; did I possess more, I should not withhold it from you." *Ibn al-Muwla* was the surname of the poet Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Muslim.

Al-Asma'i (*vol. II, p. 123*) related also<sup>7</sup> that, when Yazid was in Ifriqiyah, a courier came with the news that a son was born to him in Basra. On hearing this, he said: "I give him the name of al-Mughirah." (*The poet*) al-Mushahhar al-Tamimi, who was present, exclaimed: "God grant that this child be a blessing to you and that his sons be as great a blessing to him as his father has been to his grandfather." Yazid held the government of Ifriqiyah till his death. He died at Qayrawan, on Tuesday, the 18th of Ramadan, 170 (13th March, A.D. 727), and was buried near the city gate called Bab Salm. His son, Da'wud, was appointed by him as governor of Ifriqiyah, but was removed from office, in the year 172 (A.D. 781-9), by Harun al Rashid. His successor was Ruh (*Rawh*) Ibn Hatim.

### 793 YAZID IBN MAZYAD AL-SHAYBANI

Yazid surnamed Abu Khalid and Abu Zubayr, was the son of Mazyad Ibn Za'idah al-Shaybani and the nephew of Ma'n Ibn Za'idah, him whose life we have already given (*vol. III, p. 398*). The remainder of the genealogy is there set forth in full, so, we need not repeat it here. This Yazid was a famous chieftain, renowned for bravery. He was governor of Armenia, but, in the year 172 (A.D. 788-9); he was deposed by Harun al-Rashid. Eleven years later, that khalif appointed him to the united governments of Armenia and Adharbaijan. We have already related something of his history in our account of al-Walid Ibn Iarif (*vol. III, p. 668*); it was Yazid who

---

<sup>7</sup> The insertion of the word *also* ايضاً is probably a mistake of the author's. See the preceding note.

conducted the war against that Kharijite and slew him. Al-Walid took up arms against Harun al-Rashid in the year 178 (A.D. 794-5). He revolted in al-Jazirah (*Mesopotamia*), the province situated between the Euphrates and the shatt (or river) of Mosul (*the Tigris*); His partisans, the Shurat, became so numerous that they overran all that country and killed the governor of Diyar Rabi'ah, who had al-Malik Ibn Salih Ibn 'Ali the 'Abbasid (*vol. I, p. 316*) in al-Raqqah. Al-Rashid asked the advice of Yahya Ibn Khalid the Barmaki, as to whom he should send to carry on the war against the insurgents. Yahya replied: "Send Musa Ibn Hazim of the tribe of "Tamim—or Pharaoh's real name was al-Walid and he was drowned by Musa (*Moses*)." Al-Rashid placed this chief at the head of a numerous army and sent him off. Al-Walid and his partisans advanced against him, put his troops to flight and slew him. When this news reached al-Rashid, he dispatched against him, Ma'mar Ibn 'Isa al-'Abdi. A number of encounters took place between the two armies, in the territory of Dara (*a city*) in Diyar Rabi'ah; hostilities continued for a considerable time, and the bands of al-Walid increased to such a degree that he became extremely powerful. Al-Rashid then said: "No person is capable of conducting this war except that bedouin Arab, Yazid Ibn Mazyad al-Shalbani. The poet Bakr al-Nattah<sup>1</sup> said:

"Send not against (*the tribe of*) Rabi'ah any other than a Rabi'anite; iron cannot be cut except by iron."

Al-Rashid placed Yazid at the head of a numerous army and ordered him to go and give battle to the rebel. Yazid went in pursuit of al-Walid who, being full of craft and cunning, endeavoured to circumvent him. A number of conflicts ensued; al-Rashid, being informed that Yazid was dilatory in his movements, sent him one troop of cavalry after another, and then dispatched an officer to reprimand him. Yazid went therefore in pursuit of the enemy and, having stopped in order to say the morning prayer, he was surprised, before finishing, to see al-Walid come up with his troops. The cavalry, on both sides, fell into rank, the soldiers marched forward and the battle was engaged. At that moment, Yazid called out and said: "Al-

---

1 Abu Wa'il Bakr Ibn al-Nattah, a member of the Yamenite tribe of Hanifah, led for sometime the life of a vagabond and then entered into the service of Abu Dulaf (*vol. II, p. 502*), one of al-Ma'mun's generals, who admitted him into the *Jund*, or armed militia and assigned to him a regular pay out of the coffers of the state (*rizkan sultanian*). Ibn al-Nattah was an excellent horseman, eminent for courage and intrepidity, and possessing a good talent for poetry. In his verses, he frequently vaunted his own prowess. He always remained attached to Abu Dulaf. — *Kitab al-Aghani*)



Walid! why do you take shelter behind your men? come out and fight with me." That I will', replied al-Walid. On this the armies halted, and not a man stirred from his place; the two champions tilted against each other, and the conflict lasted for some hours, without any advantage to either. At last, Yazid found an opportunity, and gave his adversary such a stroke on the leg that he felled him to the ground. He (Yazid) then carried out to his cavalry, which dashed forward, and they cut off his (*al-Walid's*) head.

Abu Ya'qub Ibn Ibrahim, surnamed Ibn al-Furat<sup>2</sup> al-Harawi, says, in the historical work of which he is the author, that al-Walid Ibn Tarif was killed by Yazid Ibn Mazyad at al-Hadithah, a place situated near 'Amah (عماة), in the territory of the Euphratian al-Jazirah (*Mesopotamia*). It is called Hadithah tal-Nurah lies at the distance of some parasangs from al-Anbar and must not be confounded with the Hadithan of Mosul. Yazid sent his son Asad (اسد) to al-Rashid with al-Walid's head and a letter announcing the victory. On this occasion, the celebrated poet, Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Ansari (*vol. I, p. 25*), who was wholly devoted to Yazid, pronounced these verses:

The khalif found among the descendants of Mudar a word so sharp that it separated bodies from heads. Were it not for Yazid,--and esteem has always a motive,--al-Walid would have flourished many more years than two. Noble is Yazid, and so were his fathers before him. To perpetuate their glory, they left (*the recollection of*) battle-days followed by battle-days.

When Yazid returned to court, al-Rashid called him forward, assigned to him a place of honour and said: "Yazid! most of the Muslim emirs belonged to your tribe." To this Yazid replied: "They did; but instead of mounting into pulpits (*to say the khutbah as they hoped to do*), they were mounted upon trunks of palm-trees." By these words he meant the posts to which their bodies were attached when they lost their lives. Al-Walid Ibn Tarif was slain in the year 179 (A.D. 795), as we have said in his article. Al-Fariah, his sister, lamented his death in those admirable verses which we have there given and alluded again: to it in the following piece:

---

2 In the manuscripts this name is written in various manners; one reads القراب (*al-qirab* or *al-qarrab*), another الفرات (*la-Furat*), a third الغرات (*al-Gharat*), etc. Hajji Khalifah does not mention this author in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*.

\* See Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 371.

Children of Wa'il! the sword of Yazid has cast you into affliction by striking al-Walid. Had another sword than that of Yazid attacked him, it would not have been so fortunate. The children of Wa'il cannot be slain but by each other: iron cannot be notched except by iron.

It is related that Harun al-Rashid, on sending Yazid Ibn Mazyad against al-Walid, gave him Dhu'l Faqar, the sword which had belonged to the Prophet. "Take it, Yazid! by it you will be victorious." He took it, departed, and then occurred what we have related of al-Walid's defeat and death. To this, Muslim Ibn al-Walid alludes, in the following verse of a *qasidah* composed by him in praise of Yazid:

You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and the bravery displayed by the first (*Musulman*) who ever prayed and fasted.

By these last words he meant 'Ali, the son of Abu Talib, for he was the person who dealt blows with it. Hisham Ibn al-Kalbi (*vol. III, p. 608*) mentions, in his *Jamhara al-Nisab*, something which refers to Dhu'l Faqar and, as it is a piece of useful information, I insert it here. In treating of the genealogy of the Quraysh family, he says: "Munabbih and Nabih, the sons of al-Hajjaj Ibn 'Amir Ibn Hudhayfah Ibn Sa'd Ibn Sahm the Qurayshite, were the chiefs of the Sahm family previously to the introduction of Islamism. They were slain at the battle of Badr and died in their infidelity. As chiefs, they were greatly respected. Al-'Asi, the son of Nabih, was killed with his father. To him belonged Dhu'l Faqar. 'Ali slew him on the day of Badr and took that sword from him." Another author says that Dhu'l Faqar was given to 'Ali by the Prophet. I must observe that *faqar*, with an *a* after the *f*, is the plural of *faqara*, which means a *vertebra* of the back. The plural forms are *faqar* and *faqarat*. The name of this sword is also pronounced *Dhu'l Fiqr*, the word *fiqr* is the plural of *fiqrah* (*vertebra*). We find in the language no other word of a similar form in the singular having such a plural form except *ibrah* (*needle*), the plural of which is *ibar*.

Let us return to our account of Dhu'l Faqar. The manner in which it came into the hands of Harun al-Rashid is thus related by al-Tabari (*vol. II, p. 597*), in a traditional account which he traces up to 'Umar, the son of (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil. The mother of that prince had been in the service of Fatimah, the daughter of al-Husayn, the son of 'Ali, the son of Abu Talib. She said: Dhu'l Faqar was borne by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abu Ja'far al-Mansur the 'Abbaside." The history of this event is well

known.<sup>3</sup> "When he felt death to be near, he gave Dhu'l Faqar to a merchant who had followed him and to whom he owed four hundred dinars (£ 200). 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abu Talib family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled.' The sword remained with the merchant till (the 'Abbasid prince) Ja'far the son of Sulayman Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-'Abbas Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib obtained the governments of Yaman and Madinah. He, being informed of what had happened, sent for the merchant, took the sword and gave him four hundred dinars. It remained with Ja'far till al-Mahdi, the son of al-Mansur, was raised to the khalifate. This sovereign, having learned where the sword was got possession of it. From him it passed to Musa al-Hadi and, from Musa, to his brother Harun al-Rashid."

Al-Asma'i (vol. II, p. 123) related as follows: "I saw al-Rashid at Tus with a sword suspended from his neck, and he said to me: 'Asma'i! would you like to see Dhu'l Faqar?' I replied: 'Most willingly; may God accept my life as a ransom for yours!' He then bade me draw the sword which he was wearing. I did so and found on it eighteen *faqaras*."<sup>4</sup>--We have digressed from our subject, and must now return to the history of Yazid Ibn Mazyad.

The *khatib* Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Thabit al-Baghdadi (vol. I, p. 75) relates, in his History of Baghdad, that Yazid, having gone to visit al-Rashid, was addressed by him in these terms: "Tell me, Yazid! who was the person that composed on you these lines:

No perfumes are on his hands or on his hair, neither does he wipe antimony powder from his eyes. He has taught the birds (of prey) a custom in which they have full confidence; so they follow him in all his expeditions.'

Yazid replied that he did not know, and al-Rashid exclaimed: "How can it be that verses such as these should be composed in your honour without your knowing the author?" Yazid felt quite abashed and, having returned to his dwelling, he said to the chamberlain: "Is there any poet at the door?" The other answered: "Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Ansari is there." "How long have you kept him waiting?"

3 This is the celebrated 'Alied surnamed *al-Nafs al-Zakiyah*, who revolted against the khalif al-Mansur in the year 145 (A.D. 762-3).

4 The worth *faqara* must here designate either a sort of waving ornament engraved on the blade or else a notch on its edge. It is doubtful which is meant, probably the latter.

said Yazid. For a long time," replied the chamberlain, I knew that you were not now in easy circumstances." "Let him in," said Yazid. The poet was introduced and recited to him the entire *qasidah*. When he had finished, Yazid said to his intendant [*wakil*]: "Sell such and such a farm of mine; give the poet one half the price obtained for it and put up the remainder for my own expenses." The property was sold for one hundred thousand dirhems, of which Yazid gave fifty thousand to Muslim. Al-Rashid, being informed of the circumstance, sent for Yazid and questioned him on the subject. Having learned the particulars, he said: "I shall order you a sum of two hundred thousand dirhems; with one hundred thousand you may repurchase your farm; add fifty thousand to those which you gave to your poet and keep fifty thousand for yourself." Abu Bakr Ibn al-Walid stole the idea from al-Nabighah al-Dhubyan<sup>5</sup> who said (in one of his poems):

When those chiefs go on an expedition with their troops, flocks of birds, led on by other flocks, hover in circles over them. They accompany them till the inroad be effected; for they are well trained and accustomed to blood. They are ready to swoop down, being certain that the tribe of those (*chiefs*) will be victorious, when two hostile troops meet in battle. They have learned from those (*chiefs*) a custom and know well to practise it when the lance is couched (*and projects*) over the horse's shoulger (*kawathib*)"

*Kawathib* is the plural of *kathibah* and signifies that part of the horse's back which is before the pommel of the saddle.

Muslim's poem began thus:

I roamed, free as a libertine, and courted the fair<sup>6</sup>, whilst my censors thought to upbraid me but abstained.

The eulogistic part of it contains this passage:

The khalif possessed, in one of the sons of Matar, a sword of which the blade corrected those who swerved (*from their duty*). How many were the (*princes*) who but for the Yazid of the tribe of *Shayban*, had never domineered from the exalted pinnacles of an empire. When war shews its curved teeth, the *imam* (*khalif*)

5 De Sacy has given an account of the anteislamite poet, al-Nabighah al-Dubyan, in the second volume of his *Chrestomathie arabe*.

6 The true reading of this hemistich appears to be

اجررت حبل خليع في الصبا غزل

shews his by (*setting forward*) Yazid, a chief who smiles in the heat of battle<sup>7</sup>, when the faces of the bravest warriors change colour. He obtains by mildness what defies the efforts of all other men; like death, he attains quickly to his aim, though he proceeds with slowness. People would not travel (*to obtain gifts*), were there not in his tent (*an object which*), like the temple (*of Makkah*), forms the meeting-point of every road. He clothes his swords in the souls (*the blood*) of those who breaks their engagements, and, with their heads, he makes crowns for his pliant spears. In the morning, he marches forth, bearing death on the points of his lances which, when couched, announce to the foe that his last hour is come. When a band (*of rebels*) is to proud to advance and do homage to the (*khalif*), he holds their death (*ready prepared and*) hidden behind his swords and spears. Even in peace, you will always find him armed in a double coat of mail; for he trusts not Fortune and is ready to act at the first call.

Abu'l Faraj al-Isbahari (*vol. II. p. 249*) relates as follows in the article on Muslim. Ibn al-Walid, which he gives in his *Kitab al-Aghari*: 'Al-Rashid," said Yazid Ibn Mazyad, 'sent for me one day, at an hour in which it was not usual (*for him*) to require the presence of (*chiefs*) such as me. So, I went to him with all my armour on and ready to execute whatever he might order. When he saw me, he laughed and asked me who was the person that composed the following verses in my praise:

Even in peace, you will always find him armed in a double coat of mail; for he trusts not Fortune and is ready to act at the first call. God established on earth (*the family of*) Hasim as a mountain (*of glory*); and the supports of that mountain are you and your son.

I replied that I did not know; on which he exclaimed: 'It is a shame for you, the chief of a great people, not to know the person from whom you received such an eulogy. It has come to the knowledge of the Commander of the faithful; he has heard it recited and recompensed the author. That man is Muslims Ibn al-Walid.' On my return home, I sent for the poet, made him a present and treated him kindly."

The two verses here mentioned are taken from the *qasidah* of which we have just given a fragment. It is related that Ma'n, the son of Zai'dah preferred his nephew Yazid to his own children, and was reproached by his wife for doing so. "How long," said she, "will

7 Literally: When war shews its teeth.

you continue to put forward your nephew Yazid and keep back your sons? If you advanced them, they would get on well; if you raised them to some authority; they would continue to rise in rank." He replied: "Yazid is nearly related to me and has a right to my treating him as a son, for he is my nephew. Nevertheless, my own children are dearer to my heart and nearer to my affection, but I do not find in them that talent of being useful which is possessed by Yazid. If the services which he did me ما يظلم به were rendered to a stranger, he would gain his affection and, if rendered to an enemy, he would convert him into a friend. This very night, I shall let you see something which will induce you to excuse me: Page! go and send here Jassas, Zai'dah, 'Abd Allah,"--he here named all his sons. In a short time, they came, dressed in perfumed waistcoats and Sindian shoes, though more than one third of the night had gone by.<sup>8</sup> They saluted and sat down. He then said: "Page! go and call Yazid." Very soon after, Yazid arrived, sheathed in armour and, leaving his lance at the door, he entered into the saloon. "Abu Zubayr!" said Ma'n, "why are you thus appareled?" The other answered: Emir! a messenger came to me from you, and my first impression was that you required my presence for some important affair; I therefore put on my armour and said to myself: 'If my conjecture be right, I shall not be obliged to return back, and, if I be mistaken, it will be very easy for me to strip off this apparel.'" Ma'n then said: "You may all retire and God protect you!" When they had withdrawn his wife declared that he well deserved to be excused. On this, he recited the following lines, applying them (to his nephew):

'Isam's noble mind raised 'Isam to power, taught him to advance and change the foe, and made of him a princely hero.<sup>9</sup>

It was to this circumstance that Muslim Ibn al-Walid alluded when he said: "Even in peace, you will always find him arrayed in a double coat of mail." It is related that, when Muslim came to this verse in reciting his poem, Yazid, in whose honour it had been composed, said to him: "Why did you not express yourself in the same manner as the A'sha of (the tribe of) Bakr Ibn Walid did<sup>10</sup> when he celebrated the noble deeds of Qays, the son of Ma'di Karib? He said:

8 They had been at a party of pleasure.

9 'Isam, was vizir to al-Nu'man, the king of Hira. See de Sacy *Chrestomathie arabe*, t. II, p. 532.

10 For the history of this poet, who was a contemporary of Muhammad, see de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe* t. II, p. 471.

When a troop of horse approaches, so dark and serried that warriors clothes in mail shun its encounter, you dash forward, without even taking a shield, and, proclaiming your name, you strike down the bravest with your sword.'

Muslim replied: "What I said is better; for that poet extolled his patron's imprudence (*khurq*)," -- this word signifies *ignorance of the right manner of eating*,--"and I extolled your resolution." The Qays whom al-A'sha eulogized was the father of al-Ash'ath Ibn Qays al-Kindi, one of the Prophet's Companions. We have already mentioned the verse:

He has taught the birds a custom in which they have full confidence *etc.*

And state I that the idea was borrowed from al-Nabighah: the same was done by a number of other poets, Abu Nuwas, for instance. 'Umar al-Warraq related as follows: "I heard Abu Nuwas recite his *qasidah* which rhymes in *r* and begins thus:

O thou who art visited by a demon! thou shalt not be of my evening parties nor with those who converse therein. I drive not birds away from a tree of which I found, by experience, that the fruits were bitter.

These verses excited my jealousy (*but I suppressed my feelings*) till he came to the following passage:

When the lances were dripping with gore and death appeared in her proper form, then at evening, came home, proudly stalking in (*yuthanni fi*) his coat of mail, a lion, the points of whose claws were stained with blood. The birds of prey journey forth on the morning of his departure, being gorged with the (*flesh of*) his victims.

I then said: 'You have left to al-Nabighah nothing out of that verse of his:

When those chiefs go on an expedition with the troops, *etc.!*

To this he answered: 'Hold your tongue! If I am not good at invention, I am not bad at imitation.'

The same idea was taken up by Abu Tammam Habib Ibn Aws al-Ta'i (*vol. I, p. 348*), who said:

In the morning, the eagles of his standards were overshadowed by eagle-birds, accustomed to quench their thirst

in blood; they kept close to the standards and seemed like a part of the army, only they did not fight.

Abi al-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi also said: (*something similar*) in the following verse:

The birds (*of prey*), encouraged by their frequent feeding on the slain, were ready to swoop down upon the living.

In the description of a troop given by the last-named author, we find an idea which comes near to the preceding; he says:

(*On come,*) with a stunning noise (*a troop of hunters*), before which the possessors of wings fled but could not escape, and from which the wild beasts, starting from their coverts, were not safe. The sun passed over that (*troop*), but with a feeble light, and he could scarcely be seen, for the wings of the vultures. When his rays found an opening through the (*crowded flock of*) birds, his round disk appeared like a dirhem over the helmets.

When Yazid held the government of Yaman, he received the visit of Marwan Ibn Muhammad, a well-known poet who was a *mawla* to Marwan Ibn Muhammad, al-Ja'di, the last of the Umayyad khalifs. This poet's surname was Abu Muhammad, but he was usually known by the appellation of Abu al-Shamaqmaq (*the son of the man tall and active*). He arrived on foot, in ragged attire, and recited to Yazid an eulogium, in which he described his own state of misery, saying:

Those who are in search of beneficence saddle their camels to visit you but the camel which bore me to you were my sandals.<sup>11</sup> I took them for my steed, having no other, in order to get through my journey. That steed outruns even the most active and, in its rapid course across the desert wilderness, it leaves behind the *mehari* camels, thin-flanked and full-chested. It goes to visit him who has the noblest reputation of all the family of Wa'il, (*him who is*) a dome erected to the glory of that tribe. It is Yazid whom I mean, the sword of the family of Muhammad, Yazid who dispels every misfortune which a man can dread. He has two days (*for acting*); one luxuriant with gifts and favours, the other, copious with bloodshed and the taking of lives. I have come to him with confidence, being assured that he will hear an eulogium and not defer its recompense.

---

11 Literally: and I travelled towards you on a sandaled camel.



To this he replied: "You say the truth; I never, on receiving an eulogium, defer its recompense; give this man one thousand dinars (£ 500)."

A long and excellent poem, rhyming in *b*, was composed in his praise by Abu'l Fadl Mansur Ibn Salamah al-Namri<sup>12</sup>, a well-known poet. It contains this passage:

Had the tribe of *Shayban* no other title to honour than Yazid, it would yet surpass all the others. Men know full well that liberality repels contumely, but he (*not content with being munificent*), dilapidates his wealth.

Abu'l 'Abbas al-Mubarrad (*vol. III, p. 31*) relates, in his *Kamil*, that Yazid Ibn Mazyad, meeting, one day, with a man who had a great flowing beard which covered his breast and was dyed (*with hinna*), said to him: "That beard of yours must put you to some expense." The man replied: "It certainly does and, for that reason, I say:

Every night, it costs me a dirhem for pomatum and another for *hinna*; thus one piece (*of money*) outruns the other. Were it not for the gifts of Yazid Ibn Mazyad, the scissors (*jalamani*) would have to twang around its borders."

Harun al-Rashid said to him one day: "I count upon you, Yazid! for an important business," and received this reply: 'Commander of the faithful! God has prepared for you, in me, heart sincerely devoted to your service, a hand ready to obey you and a sword whetted to slay your foes. If you have any order to give, speak."

---

12 Abu'l Fadl Mansur, qualifié d'en-Nemri parce qu'il était issu de Nemr Ibn Kacit, poète du temps des 'Abbasides. Sa patrie était la Mesopotamie. El-Fadl, fils de Yahya, de fit venir à Bagdad, à Haroun al-Rashid dont Mansur acquit bientôt les bonnes grâces. Mansur avait compris le goût de Haroun en fait de poésie par la faveur que ce prince accordait à Merwan, fils d' Abu Hafsa. Il avait senti que le calife désirait qu'on joignît à son éloge quelques traits contre la famille d'Ali comme de fait Merwan, de manière à montrer qu'on ne reconnaissait à cette famille aucun droit à l'émirat. Mansur imita Merwan en suivant cette voie; mais il ne lança aux 'Alides que des traits indirects et ménagés, parce qu'il était au fond leur partisan, tandis que Merwan attaquait franchement et avec énergie les descendants d'Ali, contre lesquels il était animé de sentiments hostiles par conviction autant que par ambition.

Mansur en-Nemri mourut à Ras-el-Ain sous le règne de Haroun. (Caussin de Perceval, gives this note on the authority of the *Kitab al-Aghani*. The author of that work says that the name of Mansur's father was Zibrikan).

Al-Mas'udi states, in his *Muruj al-Dhahab wa M'adin al-Jawhar* (meadows of gold and mines of jewels), that this conversation passed between Harun al-Rashid and Ma'n Ibn Za'idah, the uncle of Yazid; then, farther on, he adds that, according to some, it took place between al-Rashid and Yazid Ibn Mazyad. I must observe that it could not possibly have passed between al-Rashid and Ma'n, because the latter lost his life when Abu Ja'far al-Mansur was khalif, as we have already mentioned in his (Ma'n's) biographical notice, and, thought there be some difference of opinion respecting the precise date, it is certain that the event occurred not long after the year 150 (A.D. 767). How then could he have held this conversation with al-Rashid who did not obtain the khalifate till the year 170 (A.D. 786-7)?

Ibn 'Awn relates the following anecdote in his work entitled *al-Ajwibah al-Muskinah* (silencing answers)<sup>13</sup>: Al-Rashid was one day playing at mall [*la'b al-sawalijah*] and told Yazid to take the side of 'Isa Ibn Ja'far.<sup>14</sup> On Yazid's refusing, he got angry and said: 'Are you too proud to be his partner?' Yazid replied: 'I swore to the Commander of the faithful, that I would never be against him, either in sport or in earnest.'

I read in a compilation of anecdotes that some person related as follows: 'I was one night with Yazid Ibn Mazyad and we heard a voice exclaim: O! Yazid Ibn Mazyad!' He ordered the man who uttered that cry to be brought into his presence and then said to him: 'What induced you to call out that name?' The other replied: I used up my mule and spent my stock of money; then hearing a poet recited a verse, I drew a good omen from it. Yazid bade him repeat the verse, and he recited as follows:

If honour, generosity and beneficence require a supporter,  
call with a loud voice upon Yazid Ibn Mazyad.

When Yazid heard those words, he treated the man with affability and asked him if he knew that Yazid. The other replied: 'By Allah! I do not.' 'Well,' said Yazid, 'I am he.' He then gave him one hundred dinars and a pied horse which was great favourite of his.'

We have been rather been prolix in this article but discourse will branch into digressions, each of them connected with the other. The anecdotes told of Yazid's noble conduct are very numerous.

---

<sup>13</sup> A work bearing this title is attributed to Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali (vol. II, p. 621) by Hajji Khalifah in his *Bibliographacil Dictionary*, but that author takes no notice of Ibn 'Awn.

<sup>14</sup> 'Isa Ibn Ja'far was the grandson of the khalif al-Mansur.

He died in the year 185 (A.D. 801). An elegy was composed on his death by Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ibn Ayyub,<sup>15</sup> a well-known poet of the tribe of Taym; some persons attribute it to the well-known poet Muslim Ibn al-Walid al-Ansari, but they are mistaken. We give it here:

Is it true that Yazid is no more? Tell us, you who announce so loudly tidings of death! Do you know him whose death you proclaim? how have your lips been able to utter his name? may your mouth be (*for ever*) filled with caly.<sup>16</sup> Is the champion of (*our*) glory and of Islamism dead? Woe be to thee, to Earth! why hast thou not shuddered? See if the pillars of Islamism be not shaken and if the children's hair has not turned grey (*with affright*). See if the swords of the tribe of Nizar be reposing in their scabbards and if the saddle-cloths have been taken off the horses. See if the heavy clouds continue still to water the land with their showers and if the trees are still covered with verdure. When he died, did Nizar not feel the shock? It did, and its edifice of glory has fallen to the ground. When he was laid in the grave, the glory he acquired and his hereditary honours were there entombed. By Allah! my eyes shall never cease pouring forth floods of tears for his loss. The vile may abstain from weeping, but the eyes of worthy men shall never remain dry. Can the female mourners be parcimonious with their tears after the death of Yazid? can they spare their cheeks (*and not tear them*)? Let the pavilion of Islamism lament, him, for the cords of that tent are now weakened, as also its support. A poet from whom he never withheld his wealth now weeps over him, and laudatory poems have lost their value. Yazid is dead; but every living being is near to death or it hurried towards it. Let it be a consolation for (*the tribe of*) Rabi'ah that it never again can meet with (*so sad*) a day as this.

The idea enounced in the last verse has been employed by a number of poets. Muti Ibn Iyas (*vol. I, p. 438*) said, in an elegy on the death of Yahay Ibn Ziyad al-Harithi (*vol. II, p. 403*):

(*Say to Death:*) You may now carry off whom you please; misfortunes can no longer give us pain now that Yahya is no more!

---

15 Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ibn Ayyub, a member of the tribe of Tayyem Allat, was one of the poets who flourished under the 'Abbasids. He was patronised by al-Amin. Died A.H. 209 (A.D. 824-5).—(Nujum)

16 The expression: earth in your mouth! is equivalent to: I wish you were dead!

Abu Nuwas (*vol. I, p. 391*) said, in a lament composed on the death of (*the khulif*) al-Amin:

His death was the only thing I feared, and nothing now remains for me to dread.

Ibrahim Ibn al-'Abbas al-Suli (*vol. I, p. 22*) said, on the death of his father:

Thou wast dear to me as the apple of my eye; for thee (*alone*) my eyes shed their tears. Die now who may, since thou art gone; thou was my only care.

The article on Muslim Ibn al-Walid, which Abu'l Faraj al-Isbahani (*vol. II, p. 249*) has given in the *Kitab al-Aghani*, contains the following piece of information which is traced up by the author of that work to Ahmad Ibn Abi Sa'id. "Yazid Ibn Mazyad was eating his dinner when he received the present of a salve-girl. Immediately on finishing, he had intercourse with her and died in her arms. He was then in Barada'ah and there he was buried. He had with him Muslim and a number of his ordinary companions. Muslim lamented his death in these lines:

There is a tomb in Barda'ah and, in the grave which it covers, is hidden worth unequalled. On his death, Fortune left (*the tribe of*) Rabi'ah in such sorrow that, by Allah! it will never be exchanged (*for joy*). He always led on the Arabs in the path of glory: how much then were they astounded when death overtook him. On his death, the saddles (*the travellers*) lost every hope of gaining wealth,<sup>17</sup> and the cities recalled those who had left them in order to visit him. Depart (*in peace, o emir!*) depart like the rain-cloud, which leaves the plains and the hills extolling its beneficence.

This last verse is said to be the most expressive of any that are to [be] found in an elegy. The piece itself is given in the *Hamasah*, section of elegies. بردعة (*Barda'ah*) is the name of a town situated at the furthest extremity of Adharbaijan; so I find it mentioned in books of history, but native of that place say that it is in the province of Arran.\* *Barda'ah* is written with a pointed or an unpointed a (-d- or -d-), and such also is the case when the same word is employed to designate the pad which is placed under the saddle.--Some say

17 This verse is cited by our author so incorrectly that it scarcely admits of a reasonable explication. See it correctly given in Freytag's *Hamasah*, p. 428.

\* Irra in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 382.

that this elegy was composed by Muslim Ibn al-Walid on the death of Yazid Ibn Ahnadh al-Sulami.<sup>18</sup> According to another statement, he composed it on the death of Malik Ibn 'Ali al-Khuza'i, and the first verse ran thus: *There is a tomb in Hulwan, etc.*; the person whose death he lamented having died in that place. Hulwan is a city in Sawad (Babylonia), or in one of the governments into which Iraq is divided. God knows best which of these statements is true! 'Abu 'Abd Allah al-Marzubani (vol. III, p. 67) says, in his *Mu'jam al-Shu'ara'* (alphabetical dictionary of poets), that Abu'l Balha' 'Umayr Ibn 'Amir, who was one of Yazid's *mawlas*, composed the following lines:

How excellent the hero by whose death the vicissitudes of time brought down affliction upon his brethren, on the day he was interred.<sup>19</sup> The access to his court was easy when you alighted at his door: his hands were prodigal and his servants polite. When you see his friends and his brothers, you cannot tell which of them are his blood-relations (*they are all so deeply afflicted*).

Abu Tammam al-Ta'i, has given this piece in his *Hamasah*, section of elegies<sup>20</sup> must attributes it to Muhammad Ibn Bashir al-Khariji<sup>21</sup> According to some, we must read *Yasir* يسير in place of (*Bashir*). *Yasir* is an adjective derived from *your* (*opulence*); *Bashir* comes from *Bishara* (*good news*). He bore the surname of al-Khariji, not because he was a Kharijite, but because he belonged to the tribe of Kharijah, a branch of that of 'Adwan. God knows best! -- Here is another elegy on the death of Yazid; it was composed by Mansur al-Namari and is given in the *Hamasah* (page 440):

Abu Khalid! what an awful stroke fell upon (*the descendants*)

18 We should perhaps read: Yazid Ibn Usayd al-Sulami (*member of the 'tribe of Sulaim*).

19 Literally: on the day of al-Baqi. Al-Baqi was the name of the principal cemetery of Madinah, but the poet employs it here to designate the cemetery of Barda'ah, the town where his patron died.

20 See *Hamasah*, p. 376.

21 Mohammed, fils de Bechir, qualifié d'el-Kharedji qu'il descendait de Kharedja, fils d'Adwan, poète du Hidjaz, Son prénom était Abu Seuleyman. Il vécut sous les Omeyyades (et peut-être aussi sous les Abbasides, mais je l'ignore). Il fut particulièrement attaché à Abu Obeyda, fils d'Abd Allah, fils de Rabia, Coraychite de la famille d'Abd el-Ozza. Les panegyriques et élégies funébres qu'il a composées pour ce personnage sont les meilleures de ses poésies. Il habitait le plus ordinairement les déserts voisins de Médine et l'endroit nommé er, Rauhha الروحا (Note by Mr. Caussin de Perceval.)

of) Ma'dd, on the day in which you were consigned to your last home! By my life if the enemies (*of the empire*) now look cheerful and display an insulting joy, an insulting joy, they must have passed by the court of your dwelling and found it empty. Time hastened to terminate your existence, but renown will exhaust (*the efforts of*) time.

Yazid Ibn Mazyad had two sons, both of them illustrious by their noble character and exalted rank. One of them was the Khalid Ibn Yazid whose praises were celebrated by Abu Tammam al-Ta'i. This poet composed in his honour some beautiful pieces which we should insert here, were they not to be found in his collected poetical works. The other son was Muhammad Ibn Yazid, who was noted for his liberality: he never sent away an applicant (*empty-handed*); if he had not money to give, he would never say "No," but "Later," and would then hasten to fulfil his promise. Ahmad Ibn Abi Fanan Salih Ibn Sa'id composed verses in his praise. I since found the following lines in the *Kitab al-Bari'*, where they are attributed to Abi al-Shis الشيس al-Khuza'i:<sup>22</sup>

Noble actions were his passion and the occupation of his time; but few are those who love to do noble deeds. He scattered good offices throughout the land, and thus drew, from all quarters, a rich harvest of praise.

Khalid Ibn Yazid was appointed governor of Mosul by (*the khalif*) al-Ma'mun. He arrived there in company with Abu'l Shamaqmaq the poet already mentioned in this article. When he entered Mosul, the staff of his standard, which had been planted on the top of the city gate, was broken in two. He was about to draw a bad omen from this accident, when Abu'l Shamaqmaq extemporized to him these lines:

The breaking of the standard denotes neither danger to be feared nor evil to come suddenly. Being deprived it of its force at the aspect of this petty government, it declared that Mosul was much too small.

The khalif, being informed of what had passed, wrote these words to Khalid: "We have added to your government that of all Diar Rabi'ah, because your standard found Mosul too small." Yazid was delighted with the news and bestowed an ample reward on the poet. In the reign of al-Wathiq, the affairs of Armenia fell into great

<sup>22</sup> According to the author of the *Nujum*, the poet Abu al-Shis Muhammad Ibn Razzin died in A.H. 196 (A.D. 811-2).

disorder, and Khalid Ibn Yazid was dispatched to that province with a numerous army. Being taken ill on the way, he died at Daybil, a town in Armenia. This was in the year 230 (A.D. 844-5).

## 794 [YAZID] IBN MUFARRIGH

"Abu 'Uthman Yazid was the son of Ziyad Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn Mufarrigh Ibn Dhi'l 'Ashirah Ibn al-Harith Ibn Dallal Ibn 'Awf Ibn 'Amr Ibn Yazid Ibn Murrah Ibn Marthad Ibn Masruq Ibn Zayd Ibn Yahsub al-Himyari (*the Himyarite*). The remainder of the genealogy, from Yahsub upwards, is well-known, so there is no need of our giving it." It is thus that Ibn al-Kalbi (*vol. III, p. 608*) traces up Yazid Ibn Mufarrigh's genealogy in the *Kitab al-Jamharah*, but he does not mention his surname which, however, is given by the author of the *Aghani* (*vol. II, p. 249*). Most of the literati say that this Yazid was the son of Rabi'ah and the grandson of Mufarrigh; thus suppressing the name of Ziyad.

The author of the *Aghani* says: "His grandfather Mufarrigh received this name because he made wager that he would drink the whole contents of a skin filled with milk, and he did not lay it down till he emptied it. He was therefore called Mufarrigh." The same author relates, in the article of the *Aghani* which contains the history of al-Sayyid al-Himyari (*vol. II, p. 241*), who was Mufarrigh's grandson, that Ibn 'A'ishah<sup>1</sup> said: "Mufarrigh was the same person as Rabi'ah, Mufarrigh being merely a surname. Those who say that Rabi'ah was the son of Mufarrigh are mistaken."—God knows best.

---

1 Abu 'Abd al-Rah-man 'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad was generally known by the surname of Ibn A'ishah, because he was the son of A'ishah, the daughter of Talhah Ibn 'Ubayd Allah al-Tamimi, one of Muhammad's principal *Companions* and the same who was slain at the battle of the Camel, A.H. 36 (A.D. 656). As a traditionist and a transmitter of historical and literary information, he enjoyed a high reputation. It was at Baghdad that he gave his lessons. To his natural talents philological knowledge, peity and a perfect acquaintance with the history of the day (*or encounters*) of the desert Arabs, he joined great bodily strength. It would appear that he was an orthodox Muslim, believing that the Qur'an was God's uncreated word, for it is stated that the khalif al-Mamun a great adversary of that doctrine and a cruel persecutor of those who professed it, had him severely flogged. An accident which happened to him whilst undergoing this punishment gave to that reprobate poet, Abu Nuwas (*vol. I, p. 394*), the idea of composing on his misadventure a piece of verse which became generally known. He died A.H. 228 (A.D. 842-43), — (*Nujum*.)

Al-Fadl Ibn 'Abd al-Rahm al-Nawfali says that Mufarrigh was a blacksmith in Yaman; he made a lock for his wife on the condition that, when he had finished it, she would bring him a skin of milk. She did so and when he had drunk some of its contents, he laid it down. She told him to give her back the skin, and he replied: "I have nothing to empty it in." She insisted on having it and he emptied it into his belly. "O!" said she, "you are an emptier (*mufarrigh*)!" and, by this nickname he became generally known. According to the members of his (*Yazid's*) family, he belonged to the tribe of Himyar.

Ibn al-Kalbi and Abu 'Ubaydah (*vol. III. p. 388*) state that Mufarrigh followed the trade of a patcher and mender at Tabalah. I must here make some observations: *Tabalah* is a village on the road which leads from Makkah to Yaman. It is situated in a very fertile spot and is often mentioned in historical relations, proverbs and poems. This was the first government which al-Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf al-Thaqafi (*vol. I, p. 356*) ever obtained. Till that time, he had never seen it. He set out for it and, on getting near it, he asked whereabouts it was. They answered: "It is behind that hill." On this he exclaimed: "A government that can be hidden by a hill is worth nothing!" and he turned back and left it. From that time the Arabs said proverbially of any thing despicable: *It is more contemptible than Tabalah was for al-Hajjaj.*

The narrator (*of Ibn Mufarrigh's adventures*)<sup>2</sup> says: He [*Yazid*] pretended that he drew his descent from Himyar. He was affiliated by oath to the family of Khalid Ibn Usayd Ibn al-'Is <sup>الميص</sup> the Umayyad. According to another statement, he was a slave to al-Dahhak Ibn 'Awf al-Hilali by whom he was treated with kindness. Yazid was a poet and composed good amatory (*and satirical*) pieces. One of his descendants was al-Sayyid al-Himyari, whose name was Isma'il and whose father, Muhammad, was the son of Bakkar and the grandson of this Yazid. So it is stated by Ibn Makula *vol. II, p. 248* in his *Ikmal*. His title was al-Sayyid (*the chief*) and his surname Abu Hashim. He was one of the heads of the Shi'ite party. The history of his proceedings [*akhbar*] in that cause and the poems composed by him in support of it are well known. One of the finest passages in Yazid's poems is to be found in a *qasidah* containing the praises of the 'Umayyad prince Marwan Ibn al-Hakam, by whom he had been generously treated. Here it is:

2 The *Kitab al-Aghani* has a long article on Ibn Mufarrigh. That is the source from which our author has extracted, *verbatim*, the greater part of the information which is contained in this article.



You opened a market for (*the purchase of*) eulogy, at a time that eulogy was not considered as a marketable ware. God seems to have granted to you the privilege of taking lives and of distributing gifts.

The first of these verses has been given in our article on Yazid Ibn Mazyad Ibn Za'idah (*page 230 of this vol.*); it is there attributed to Ahmad Ibn Abi Fanan and said to be taken from a *qasidah* in which that famous poet<sup>3</sup> extolled the merits of Khalid, the son of Yazid Ibn Mazyad. God knows best! When Sa'id, the son of (*the khalif*). 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan, was appointed governor of Khurasan, he invited Yazid Ibn Mufarrigh to accompany him thither. Yazid refused, as he preferred becoming the retainer of 'Abbad<sup>4</sup>, the son of Ziyad Ibn Abih.<sup>5</sup> On this, he said to him: Since you refuse bearing me company and prefer following 'Abbad, hearken to the advice which I here give you; Abbad is a man of a low mind; avoid therefore being too familiar with him, although he encourage you to make free; he then only means to delude you. Visit him seldom, for he is greatly inclined to find irksome (*the presence of visitors*). Do not bandy arguments with him, even though he attack you, for he will not bear with such observations coming from you as you would have to bear with if they came from him." He then sent for some money and gave it to him, saying: "Let this help to defray your travelling expenses. If you perceive that you are not on a good footing with 'Abbad recollect that, with me, you shall always find a favourable reception and come to me." Sa'id then departed for Khurasan, and Ibn Mufarrigh set out with 'Abbad. When 'Ubayd Allah, the son of Ziyad and the governor of the two Iraqs, was informed that his brother 'Abbad was taking Yazid with him, he felt very uneasy and went out with the people to see him off. Whilst they were saying farewell to the travellers, he went to take leave of his brother and, having called Ibn Mufarrigh over to him, he said: "You asked 'Abbad to take you with him and he granted your request; now, that is a thing which annoys me greatly." "God protect the emir!" said Ibn Mufarrigh, "why should that annoy you?" 'Ubayd Allah replied: A poet is not to be satisfied

---

3 Of Ibn Abu Fanan little or no information has yet been found, except a few indications given by Ibn Khallikan and the author of the *Kitab al-Aghani*. He seems to have been one of the poets who flourished in the time of Harun al-Rashid.

4 'Abbad Ibn Ziyad was named governor of Sijistan by Mu'awiyah in A.H. 673), and he was still holding that place in the year 69 (A.D. 688-9). — (*Nujum*.)

5 In this article will be found an account of Ziyad's origin.

with such attentions as ordinary men show one to another; he is led away by his imagination, what he imagines the takes for certain and he never overlooks an affront, even when he ought to do so. Now, 'Abbad is going to a country which is the seat of war, and he will be so greatly taken up with the direction of his troops and the collecting of the landtax that he will not think of you.' Such neglect you will not forgive and (*in your satires*) you will cover us all with obloquy and shame." Yazid answered: "Emir! I am not what you think; I am profoundly grateful for the kindness which he has already shown me, and, besides, if I forget myself (*in my conduct towards him*), I shall always find a ready pardon." "That you will not; replied 'Ubayd Allah, "so you must promise me that if he delays giving what you expect from him, you will not hasten to attack him but write to me." "That I promise you;" said the poet. "It is well;" said 'Ubayd Allah, "so, now depart under favourable auspices." The narrator (*in the Kitab al-Aghani*) continues thus: 'Abbad arrived in Khurasan, or as some say, in Sijistan, — and was there so deeply engaged in warfare and in the collecting of the imposts that Ibn Mufarrigh thought the attention to which he was entitled very long in coming. So without writing a letter of complaint to 'Ubayd Allah, as he had engaged to do, he gave free career to (*the virulence of*) his tongue and attacked 'Abbad with sarcasms and satire. That emir had so great a beard that it resembled a fodder-bag. The poet was travelling with him, one day, and, seeing the beard shaken and tossed about by the wind, he laughed and said to a man of the tribe of Lakhm who was (*riding*) at his side:

O, that his beard was hay! we might then fodder all the Muslim cavalry.

'Abbad, to whom the Lakhmite perfidiously related what the poet had said, flew into a passion; "It does not become me now," said he, "to chastise him whilst he is in my company; but, though I defer his punishment, I intend later to "gratify my revenge; many are the times in which he cast abuse on my father." Ibn Mufarrigh, being informed of this, said: "I perceive the odour of death (*for me proceeding*), from 'Abbad!" He then went in to him and said: "Emir! I was with Sa'id Ibn 'Uthman, whose good opinion of me you have learned; you know also the favourable impression which he has left on my mind. I preferred you to him, but, as yet, I have derived from you no advantage. I therefore request permission to depart; I have no need of being your retainer." 'Abbad replied: "As you chose me, so also did I choose you into my service because you asked me to do so. You now hasten to prevent me from taking proceedings against you, and therefore you ask permission to depart. But you

mean to return to your people and give them the most unfavourable opinion of my character. Well, you have that permission and may make use of it when I have treated you according to your deserts." Being then informed that his honour and reputation were attacked by Ibn Mufarrigh, he encouraged some of the poet's creditors to cite him before (*the tribunal presided by*) himself, and the result was that he put him into prison and had him severely beaten. After that, he sent to him this message: "Sell me al-Arika\* and Burd." Al-Arika was a female musician belonging to Ibn Mufarrigh and Burd was his slave-boy. He had brought them up from their childhood and was greatly attached to them. The poet sent back by the same messenger an answer to this effect: "Ask the emir, if a man can possibly sell himself or his child." 'Abbad then took them from him (*by force*) or according to another, he sold them against their owner's will, to a native of Khurasan. When the two slaves entered into this man's house, Burd, who was very intelligent and had received a good education, said to him: "Do you know what you have bought? The other answered: "I do; I have bought you and that girl." "No, by Allah!" replied Burd, "you have bought for yourself nothing but shame, ruin and contumely, which will endure as long as you live." The man was alarmed at these words and exclaimed: "Woe betide you! how can that be?" Burd answered: "We belong to Yazid Ibn Mufarrigh, and, by Allah! nothing has reduced him to the state in which he now is but his evil tongue. You are aware that he dared to satirize 'Abbad, who is the emir of Khurasan<sup>6</sup> whose brother, 'Ubayd Allah, is the emir of the two Iraqs, and whose uncle is the khalif Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan. (*He attacked him*) because he thought him too slow (*in granting favours*); will he then withhold his tongue from you that have bought me and a girl who is as dear to him as his heart within his bosom. By Allah! I know of no man into whose dwelling has entered a more fatal acquisition than that which has now entered into yours." The man answered: I take you to witness that I declare you and her to be still his property: if you wish to go away, you may depart; I fear greatly for myself if Ibn Mufarrigh learns what has happened; if you wish to stay with me, both of you, may." Burd said to him: "Write those words to my master." The man wrote to Ibn Mufarrigh, who was still in prison, informing him of what he had done, and the other replied by a letter in which he thanked him for his conduct and requested him to keep the two slaves at his house till such time as God should set their master at liberty. 'Abbad then said to his chamberlain: "I do find that the fellow,"--meaning Ibn Mufarrigh, "is

\* [Al-Arakah in Cairo ed.]

6 The narrator probably meant to say: of Sijistan.

much annoyed at being in prison; sell his horse, his arms, all his effects, and distribute the price between his creditors. "This order was executed, but there still remained unpaid a part of the debt for which Ibn Mufarrigh was imprisoned. He composed the following lines on the selling of his slaves:

I sold (*sharitu*) Burd, and his sale depended upon me, I should not have sought an advantage for myself in selling him. Were it not for that bastard ('*Abbad*) and for the misfortunes which have befallen me, I should never have been separated from him. O Burd! never before did time bring on me so painful a stroke as this; never before did it oblige me to sell (*one whom I considered as*) my child.

*Sharitu* here means; *I sold*; it is one of those verbs which have two opposite significations, as it means *to sell* and *to buy*. — The piece to which these verses belong contains many more, but I omit the remainder.—Ibn Mufarrigh, having (*at length*) perceived that, if he continued, whilst in prison, to insult and satirize 'Abbad, he would only do more harm to himself, used then to answer in these terms to the persons who asked him what was the cause of his imprisonment: "*(I am)* a man to whom his emir is giving a lesson, for the purpose of correcting his extravagance and allaying his violence. That, I declare, is better than if he drew the skirt of his robe over the traces of his retainer's faults. 'Abbad, being informed of this, took pity on him and let him out of prison. Yazid then fled till he reached Basrah whence he proceeded to Syria, where he continued to err as a fugitive from one city to another, and to recite satires against Ziyad and his son ('*Abbad*). In one of those pieces, which we give here, the poet alludes to his abandoning Sa'id Ibn 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan for the purpose of following 'Abbad Ibn Ziyad, and he mentions in it the forced sale of Burd:

After some days passed at Ramah, you (*O poet!*) broke the bonds which attached you to Imamah. The winds drop tears for her affliction whilst the lightning smiles from the cloud. O! how I regret committing an act which has terminated in repentance. I left the generous Sa'id and his palace which is supported by lofty columns. (*I left him who is*) a lion in battle and who gives up the pleasures of love for the purpose of marching against the foe. Samarqand was conquered by his prowess and, in its precincts, he erected his pavilions, whilst I followed a slave belonging to the family of Ilaj.<sup>7</sup> Such thing are signs foreboding

---

7 'Abbad's grandfather was a slave. The history of his origin is given further on.

the end of the world. With him (*with the poet*) went an Abyssinian maid so small of ears (*sakka*) that she might be taken for an ostrich; one of those dark-complexioned females whose faces bear the mark of an inferior race. I sold Burd. O that, after (*losing*) Burd, I had become an owl<sup>8</sup> or its female, which invokes the echos between al-Mush<sup>h</sup>aq<sup>q</sup>ar and al-Yamamah. But a man must encounter what he most fears, if he wish to escape from ignominy and oppression. Slaves only should be beaten with the stick; a reprimand had sufficed to correct a freeman.

The family of 'Ilaj belonged to the tribe of Taif. We shall speak of it again, in this article, when we give an account of al-Harith Ibn Kaladah, Abu Bakr Ibn Durayd (*vol. III, p. 37*), makes a similar statement in his *Kitab al-Ishtiqaq*<sup>9</sup>, and cites the following lines to prove the fact:

Come to your senses, family of Abu Bakrah, is the sun to be compared with a candle? It is better to be a *mawla'* to the Prophet than to claim relationship with the family of 'Ilaj.

We shall speak of Abu Bakra Nafi'a\*\* Ibn Harith in this article and mention the circumstance which gave rise to these verse. (*Ibn Mufarrigh*) says, in the last<sup>10</sup>, verse of his piece that this Abyssinian maid resembled an ostrich in the smallness of her ears. They (*the Arabs of the desert*) say of a small ear, that it is *sakka'*: this word designates also such female animals as have no (*apparent*) ears. The same Arabs say: "Every *Sakka'* lays eggs, and every *Sharqa'* brings forth its young alive." By the word *Sharqa'* is meant animals having long ears. These Arabs consider it as a general law that every animal having visible ears is viviparous and that every animal without visible ears is oviparous.

The narrator continues in these terms: Ibn Mufarrigh then persisted in satirizing ('*Abbad*) Ibn Ziyad, so that his poems were publicly sung by the people of Basra. 'Ubayd Allah (*Ibn Ziyad*) caused an active search to be made for the poet, who narrowly escaped being taken and succeeded in reaching Syria. Narrators do not agree as to the person who delivered the fugitive to ('*Ubayd Allah*) Ibn Ziyad; one says it was Mu'awiyah. It must have been the latter, for he was

8 One of the superstitious ideas of the pagan Arabs was that the same of the dead passed into the bodies of screech-owls.

9 See page 186 of Wustenfeld's edition of that work.

10 The verse to which our author refers is now followed by others which have been added at a late period.

\*\* [Nafi' in Cairo ed.]

already reigning when 'Abbad was appointed to the government of Sijistan. The author of the *Aghani* relates, farther on, that Sa'id, the son of 'Uthman Ibn 'Affan, went to visit (*the khalif*) Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan and said to him: "Why have you nominated (*your son*) Yazid as your successor, to my exclusion? By Allah? my father was a better man than his, and I am better than he. We raised you to power and have not deposed you: through us you obtained what you have." "To this Mu'awiyah replied: "You are right in saying that your father was a better man than his; I freely acknowledge that 'Uthman was better than I am: you say that your mother was a better woman than his: (*to that I reply:*) a woman's worth must be appreciated by her remaining with her family, by her deserving the good will of her husband and by giving birth to noble-minded boys. You say that you are better than Yazid. To this, my son! I answer that, if I was offered in exchange for Yazid as many persons like you as would fill the Ghutah<sup>11</sup>, I should feel no pleasure in accepting the proposal. You say that your people raised me to power and did not depose me; (*to that I answer that*) I received my (*first*) command from one who was better than you, from 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, and your people confirmed my nomination. Moreover, I have not been a bad governor for you: I revenged your wrongs, killed the murderers of your father, elevated you to power and authority, enriched those among you who were poor and raised the lowest of you to high stations." Yazid then spoke in his (Mu'awiyah's) favour and obtained for himself the government of *Khurasan*.

Let us return to the history of Ibn Mufarrigh. The narrator says: He continued passing from one town of Syria to another and satirizing the sons of Ziyad. His poems having reached Basra, 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad, the emir of the two 'Iraqs, wrote on that subject to (*the khalif*) Mu'awiyah or, by another and more correct account, to Yazid (*the son and successor of Mu'awiyah*).

In this letter he said: 'Ibn Mufarrigh has satirized Ziyad and the sons of Ziyad; calumniating the former in his grave and covering the latter with eternal dishonour. From them he has passed to Abu Sufyan, whom he stigmatizes as a fornicator, and whose sons he attacks in the foulest language. He escaped from Sijistan, and I caused such strict search to be made for him that he fled the country.<sup>12</sup> He has now reached Syria where he mangles our

11 The country surrounding Damascus and covered with the gardens is called the *Ghutah*.

12 Literally: that the country spat him out, i.e., rejected him, was too hot to hold him.

reputation<sup>13</sup> and tears our honour to pieces. I send you the satires which he has directed against us, so that you may be induced to do us justice," He then sent (*to the khalif Yazid*) all the poems that Ibn Mufarrigh had composed on them. Yazid gave orders that search should be made for the offender who, being thus obliged to fly from one place to another, was driven out of Syria. He then went to Basra and stopped at the house of al-Ahnaf Ibn Qays. Of this person, whose real name was al-Dahhak, we have already spoken (*vol. I, p. 635*) his prudence became proverbial. Al-Ahnaf, of whom he asked protection, replied in these terms. "Were I to promise you my protection against the son of Sumayyah<sup>14</sup>, I should only be deceiving you (*fughirra*); I can protect any man against his own family but not against the person under whose authority he is."<sup>15</sup> The poet then went to others, none of whom would engage to protect him, but he at last obtained from al-Mundhir Ibn at Jarud al-'Abdi<sup>16</sup> a promise to that effect. As 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad was the husband of al-Mundhir's daughter and respected no man so much as her father, the latter, presuming on his influence over him, gave, inconsiderately, an asylum to the poet. 'Ubayd Allah was already informed of the fugitive's arrival in Basra. When he learned that he had taken refuge at al-Mundhir's, he sent for the latter and, when he appeared before him, he dispatched to his house some of the police guards. The dwelling was searched, Ibn Mufarrigh arrested, and his protector knew nothing of the matter till he saw the prisoner standing beside him. On this, he rose up, went over to 'Ubayd Allah and spoke to him in favour of his guest. "Emir! said he, "I implore you, in God's name, not to discredit my right of protection: I promised that man to be answerable for his safety." 'Ubayd Allah answered: "Mundhir Allah!<sup>17</sup> I have no objection to that man's composing verses in praise of your father and you, but he has satirized both me and my father, and yet you try to screen him from my vengeance. God forbid that he escape me! that shall never be, and I shall not pardon him." Al-

---

13 Literally: where he devours our flesh.

14 Ziyad, the father of 'Abbad, was the son of Sumayyah. See her history farther on.

15 Lit.: but not against his sultan.

16 Abu'l Ash'ath al-Mundhir Ibn al-Jarud al-'Abdi was appointed governor of Istakhar by 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib; and, in the year 62 (A.D. 681-2), he was nominated to the government of Sind by 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad, who was then emir of Iraq. Al-Mundhir died in Sind.-- (*Masrif, Nujum, Baladhuri*.)

17 *Mundhir Allah* means: monitor or God. Was that Ibn al-Jarud's real name?

Mundhir replied in an angry tone and received this answer: "You presume too much on your daughter that is with me; by Allah! if I please, I shall separate from her and signify to her a full and absolute divorce. "Al-Mundhir retired and 'Ubayd Allah then turned towards the poet and said: "Evil for 'Abbad has been your fellowship with him." The prisoner replied: "Evil for me has been his fellowship. I preferred him to Sa'id Ibn 'Uthman and spent, in accompanying him, all that I possessed. I imagined that he was not devoid of intelligence such as Ziyad's, of mildness such as Mu'awiyah's and of liberality such as that of the Quraysh; but he disappointed all my expectations, treated me with indignity and made me suffer every thing disagreeable, imprisonment, (*persecution for*) debt, upbraiding and beatings. I was like the man who watched delusive lightnings proceeding from a cloud without rain; he hoped that it would pour showers upon him and he died of thirst. I fled from your brother because I feared that he would act in a manner of which he would have to repent. Now, I am in your power do with me what you please." 'Ubayd Allah sent him to prison and then addressed to Yazid Ibn Mu'awiyah a letter in which he asked permission to put the poet to death. Yazid wrote back to him in these terms: "you must avoid putting him to death, but you may serve him for a lesson and make your authority to be respected, without endangering his life. He has relations in my army (*jund*) and among the persons of my court: were he put to death, they would be displeased with me and nothing would calm them except retaliating on you. Avoid that; know that all things are taken seriously by them and by me and that they would make you responsible for his death. Without going so far as to take his life, you have sufficient latitude for satisfying your anger." 'Ubayd Allah, on receiving this letter, gave orders that the prisoner should be obliged to drink so sweet *nabidh* (*grape-juice*) containing an infusion of *shubrum* (*euphorbia*), -- or, as some say, of *turbid* (*turbith*). This produced a diarrhoea and, whilst he was in that state, they paraded him through the city, with a she-cat and a sow tied on his (*shoulders*). The drug began to operate and the little boys ran after him, hooting and shouting. The evacuation persisted with such violence that he lost his strength and fell to the ground. 'Ubayd Allah being then told that they could not answer for his life, ordered him to be washed and taken back to prison. When they were washing him, he recited this verse:

Water can wash away what I have done, but my words  
(*satires*) shall remain even when your bones are mouldered into  
dust.

'Ubayd Allah, being asked why he chose such a punishment for



the poet, answered: He cast his filth on us and I intended that the sow should discharge her filth on him".<sup>18</sup> Out of the numerous verses directed by Ibn Mufarrigh against 'Abbad Ibn Ziyad, we may cite the following:

Now, that Mu'awiyah the (*grand-*) son of Harab, is dead, announced to your vase (*your influence?*) already cracked, that it will soon be (*completely*) broken. I now declare, (*O Ziyad!*) that your mother (*did not lay*) lay aside her veil (*her dress*) in order to have intercourse with Abu Sufyan but a thing occurred of a doubtful nature, and in (*a moment of*) great fear and trepidation.

The following verses are by the same poet.

Come! announce to Mu'awiyah, the son of Sakhr (*Abu Sufyan*), a message from the man of Yaman.<sup>19</sup> Are you angry when people say that your father was chaste, and pleased, when they call him an adulterer? (*In that case,*) I declare that your relationship (*rihm*) to Ziyad and that Sakhr never approached Sumayyah.

The expression. *I declare that your relationship to Ziyad, etc., is borrowed from the following verse, belonging to a poem which was composed by Hassan Ibn Thabit al-Ansari,*<sup>20</sup> surnamed Abu'l Walid, or, according to some, Abu 'Abd al-Rahman:

I declare that your relationship (*ill*) to the family of Quraysh is like the relationship of the young camel (*saqb*) to the young ostrich (*ral*).

The word *ill* has the same meaning as *rihm*; *saqb* means a camel's foal; *ral* means a young ostrich, The following verses were composed by Hassan Ibn Thabit on Abu Sufyan (*Ibn al-Harith*):<sup>21</sup>

Come! announce to Abu Sufyan a message from me to him, for that which was hidden has been brought to light. You

18 From this we should infer that it was not the poet but the sow which had taken the purgative draught. Muslim writers are sometimes very inattentive.

19 The poet was proud of belonging by birth to the powerful party of the Yamanites.

20 Hassan Ibn Thabit, one of the poets employed by Muhammad to satirize his adversaries, lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years, as his father, grandfather had done before him. He died A.H. 54 (A.D. 673-4).--(*Nujum*.)

21 See lower down, in the same page.

lampooned Muhammad and I answer in his defense; my recompense for that I shall find with God. How dare you attack him; you that are not his equal? May the worst (*sharr*) of you two be sacrificed to save the best (*khayr*). Assuredly, my father my father's father and my honour are sufficient to protect the honour of Muhammad against your insults.

The phrase: *may the worst of you two*, etc., gave rise to a discussion among the learned, because the words *khayr* and *sharr* are terms which express superiority and require to be associated (*with a compliment*).<sup>22</sup> Hassan Ibn Thabit composed this answer by order of the Prophet. I may here observe that in the Prophet's family were five individuals who resembled him in their looks; namely, this Abu Sufyan (*Ibn al-Harith Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib*), al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, Ja'far Ibn Abi Talib, Qutham Ibn al-'Abbas Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, and al-Saib Ibn 'Ubayd Ibn 'Abd Yazid Ibn Hashim Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib Ibn 'Abd Manaf, the ancestor of the *Imam al-Shafi'i*.<sup>23</sup>

This Abu Sufyan became a Muslim on the day in which Makkah was taken; that happened in the eighth year of the Hijrah. His subsequent conduct attested the sincerity of his conversion. He accompanied the prophet during the campaign of Taif and Hunayn. When the Muslims were routed at the battle of Hunayn, Abu Sufyan was one of the seven who stood firm and remained with the Prophet, till those who had fled rallied and came back. They then obtained the victory and a booty of five thousand captives. These the Prophet set at liberty. An account of this (*battle*) would form a long narrative, for which this is not a fit place. On that day, Abu Sufyan held the Prophet's mule by the bridle, without ever letting go his hold; and the Prophet used to say: "I hope to find in him one capable of replacing Hamzah Ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib." He declared also that Abu Sufyan would be one of those who were to enter into Paradise. He said also, "Abu Sufyan Ibn al-Harith is one of the youths of Paradise." or (*according to another statement*), "the chief of the youth of the people of Paradise." Most of the learned consider the surname (*Abu Sufyan*) to be his real name and say that he had no other; but some of them declare that his name was al-Mughirah. Others again say that al-

---

22 The author means to say that they are really adjectives in the comparative degree, although they have not the form proper to such adjectives. Formed according to rule, they would have been a '*Khyar and asharr*'.

23 This genealogy agrees with that given by Ibn Durayd in his *Ishtiqiq*. The same genealogy as it occurs in the life of al-Shafi'i (*vol. II, p. 569*), is faulty, --some of the names being incorrectly spelled.

Mughirah was the name of his brother, that he was called Abu Sufyan and nothing more. It is stated that, from the time of his conversion to Islam, he never dared to look the Prophet in the face, so much was he ashamed of having satirized him at a former period.

Let us resume our account of Ibn Mufarrigh. He is one of the poets who are mentioned in the *Hamasa*. We find there<sup>24</sup> this piece of his:

Behold! Zaynab visited me towards the close of the night (*and I said to her*): "Blessings be upon you! have come back, the (*happy*) days I passed (*with you*)?" She replied; "Avoid us and approach us not." (*I answered*); "How can I avoid you who are the sole object of my wishes? People ask if the sports of love continue when thirty years are passed, and I answer: Can they exist before the thirtieth year. The arrival of hoariness would be a great misfortune if, when it appears, the palanquin (*riders?*) were precluded from every sport."

The Spanish author al-Muzaffar<sup>25</sup> says, in his great historical works, that, joined to those verses (*min jumlahhadhi 'l-abyat*) were the following:

Were my body<sup>26</sup>, when it grows weak, to become the sport of noble princes (?) or (*the prey*) of lions or of wolves, that (*thought*) would alleviate my sufferings and console me in my misfortune; but (*I cannot be consoled because*) she who was the most cruel to me<sup>27</sup> exists no more.

When al-Husayn, the son of 'Ali Ibn Talib, was informed of Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan's death and the accession [*bay'ah*] of Yazid, the son of (Mu'dwiyah) (*to the khalifate*), he resolved on proceeding to Kufa, whither he had been invited by a letter addressed to him by a number of the inhabitants of that city. This is one of the well-

24 See Freytagh *Hamasa*, page 572.

25 Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Maslamah the second 'Aftaside sovereign of Badajoz, bore the title of al-Muzaffar (*the victorious*). He composed a work in fifty volumes, forming an encyclopedia of all the sciences, historical annals, biography, literature, etc. This immense compilation was named after him *the Muzaffarian*. The author died A.H. 460 (A.D. 1068). —*Maqqari* vol. II, p. 258 and 763 of the Leyden edition, and vol. I, p. 147 of the English translation by Gayangos.

26 Literally: my flesh.

27 Lit: the most ardent in worrying my flesh.

known circumstances of the affair which cost al-Husayn his life. During that time, he often recited and applied to his own case the following verses of a poem composed by Yazid Ibn Mufarrigh:

May I never spread terror through the flocks and herds by  
an incursion made at morning's dawn, if I call not Yazid (*to simple  
combat*) on the day in which, not without fear, he does (*me*) an  
injustice! May the fates watch (*to seize*) me, if I avoid (*the  
combat*).<sup>28</sup>

The persons who heard him discovered from this that he intended to have a struggle with Yazid Ibn Mu'awiyah for the supreme power. He set out for Kufa and when he drew near it, the governor, 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad sent against him a body of troops commanded by 'Umar Ibn Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas. Al-Husayn was slain at Taff and then happened what happened. It is related that (*before this*) Mu'awiyah had written to him in these terms: "I am certain that you have taken into your head the idea of assailing (*our government*) and that you will be unable to conceal it. If I be then living, I shall most willingly forgive you."

It is stated that (*the Umayyad khalif*) 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz said: "Were I one of al-Husayn's murderers and were God pleased to pardon me and to admit me into Paradise, I should not enter there, so much I would feel ashamed in the presence of God's apostle." 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad said to al-Harithah Ibn Badr al-Ghudani<sup>29</sup>: "What think you will happen to me and to al-Husayn on the day of the resurrection?" Received from him this answer: "His father and

---

28 In this piece the words *wa la daaoutu Yazida* seem equivalent to *illa* (or in *la*) *daaoutu Yazida*. The translator adopts this opinion the more readily as the expression *la min kada wa la min kada* does not mean: *neither of this nor of that; but: not only this but that*. For examples, see the Arabic text of Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*, Parts edition, tome I, p. 247 and tome III, p. 270.

29 Al-Ghudani الغداني is the right reading: see Ibn Durayd's *Ishtiaq*, page 140. That author informs us that al-Harithah Ibn Badr, surnamed Abu'l 'Anbas, was distinguished for his courage, his love of good wine and the rectitude of his judgment. Ziyad (*Ibn Abih*), with whom he was a great favourite, had his name inscribed on the roll of the Qurayshite troops (in order that he might receive a higher pay). He had been designated by 'Umar Ibn al-Rabi' as commander of the troops which were to be sent against the Azarika (vol. II, p. 514) of al-Ahwas, but al-Muhallab (vol. III, p. 508) forestalled him. He was drowned at that place. For more information respecting the character, conduct and death of this Arabic chieftain, see the first volume of Dozy's *Historie des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome I, pages 139, 141, 1e, seq.

his grandfather will intercede for him; your father and your grandfather will intercede for you. Learn from that what you want to know!"

The *Mir'at al-Zaman* (*mirror of time*), a historical work drawn up in the form of annals and composed by Shams al-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar Yusuf Ibn Qizughli, surnamed Sibt Ibn al-Jawsi<sup>30</sup>, because he was the son of Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawsi (*vol. II, p. 96*) daughter, and the autograph of which, in forty volumes, I saw at Damascus, contains, under the year 59 of the Hijrah, an account of what passed between Yazid Ibn Mufarrigh and the sons of Ziyad. He then adds: "Yazid Ibn Mufarrigh died in the year 69," that is to say, of the Hijrah, (A.D. 688-9). God knows best<sup>31</sup>! Abu'l-Yaqzan (*vol. II, p. 578*) says in his

30 See vol. I, p. 439.

31 Here the author finishes his account of Ibn Mufarrigh, without informing us what became of him when he was delivered up to 'Abbad. Had he continued his extracts from that poet's biography as given in the *Kitab al-Aghani*, he would not have left his readers in the dark. In order to repair his omission I insert here an abridged account of Ibn Mufarrigh's subsequent adventures, as related in the *Aghani*. During his detention in the prison to which 'Ubayd Allah had sent him, he never ceased composing satires on the family of Ziyad. 'Ubayd Allah, being informed of this, had him taken under escort, to his brother 'Abbad. (Here, in the *Aghani*, the names of the two brothers are displaced, one being put for the other.) The guards had orders to pass with to every caravanserai (*khan*) at which he had stopped on flying from 'Abbad, and to force him to efface all the satirical verses which he had written on the walls of the chambers in which he had lodged. As they would allow him no instrument with which he might scratch out the writings, he had to employ his nails and, when these were worn out and the tips of his fingers used to the bone, he was obliged to efface the obnoxious line with his blood. 'Abbad, to whom he was then delivered, put him into close confinement. The poet succeeded however, in discovering a man who, for a recompense, went to Damascus and there recited aloud, in one of the most public places, (the ms, has درب دمشق two verses by which the Yamanite troops were informed that their countryman and relative was kept in prison by the son of Ziyad. These Arabs, yielding to the spirit of party which animated the Yamanites against the Qaysides, could not suppress their indignation and carried their complaint before the khalif Mu'awiyah. He at first refused to grant what they demanded and sent them away, but then, listening to the dictates of his usual prudence, he had them called back and granted their request. A letter sent by him to 'Abbad procured the poet his liberty. Ibn Mufarrigh then waited on Mu'awiyah and obtained from him a full pardon with a gift of ten thousand dirhems (£250), on the condition of his not attaching the family of Ziyad. Having received from him also the permission of inhabiting whatever province he proceeded to Mosul and form

(Contd. on the next page)

*Kitab al-Nisab* (book of patronymics): "'Abbad Ibn Ziyad died A.H. 100 (A.D. 718-9) at Jarud."--Jarud is a village situated in the dependencies of Damascus and lying in the government of Hims (*Emessa*). Onagers are extremely abundant in that country. When the division of Egyptian troops entered into Syria, A.H. 660 (A.D. 1261-2) and marched against Antioch with the troops of Syria, it halted for a short time at Damascus, where I then was, and from that it returned back. The army entered into Damascus towards the end of the month of Sha'ban of that year (July, 1262). A person belonging to that army related to me a circumstance so curious that it may very well be mentioned here. They had halted at Jarud, the place of which we are speaking, and hunted down a great number of onagers. So, at least, they said. A soldier, having killed one of them, proceeded to cook its flesh in the usual manner. Being unable to bring it to a proper state of coction, he added wood to the fire and augmented the flame; but that produced no effect, although the fire was kept up for a whole day. Another soldier then rose, took up the animal's head and found on the ear an inscription which, when he read it, proved to be the name of Bahram Gur. When they brought me the ear, I found the mark to be quite visible, the hair on the ear being as the smallest shreds. This Bahram Gur was one of the (ancient) kings of the Persians and lived a long time before our Prophet. When that prince took more animals at the chase than he required, he would mark some of them and let them go. God knows how old this onager was when Bahram captured it and to what age it would have reached, had they set it at liberty and not killed it. The fact is that the onager is one of the long-lived animals. This individual must have lived

that to Basra. He then went to see 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad and offered him his excuses. These were well received and procured for him the authorisation of going to the province of Kerman. Some time after, he returned to Iraq and continued passing from one place to another till he at length obtained the favour of Mansur Ibn al-Hakam (?). He returned to Basra when 'Ubayd Allah feed from that place to avoid being murdered by the inhabitants who, seeing the troops of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr every where victorious, had resolved on taking their governor's life, 'Ubayd Allah was killed at the battle of the Zab, A.H. 67 (A.D. 687), in fighting against al-Mukhatr. For the history of the latter, the first volume of Dozy's brilliant and conscientiously written work on the Spanish Musulmans may be usefully consulted. When Ibn Mufarrigh returned to Basra, he renewed his attacks against the Ziyad family. Some time afterwards, he received abundant presents from 'Ubayd Allah, the son of Abu Bakra, and settled at al-Ahwaz where he continued to spend his wealth with the greatest liberality.--The article of the *Kitab al-Aghani* is very long and contains a great quantity of verses, anecdotes and digressions which are here omitted.

upwards of eight hundred years.<sup>32</sup> In the territory of Jarud is situated the famous mountain called al-Mudakhkhan. It is mentioned by Abu Nuwas (*vol. I, p. 391*) in the poem wherein he names the places at which he halted on his way to Egypt, where he intended to visit al-Khasib.<sup>33</sup> He says:

Towards the East I saw the temples of Tadmur (*Palmyra*)  
and found them empty: they are walls facing the summit of  
al-Mudakhkhan.

This name must be pronounced *Muddakhhan*.<sup>34</sup> The mountain was so called because it is always capped with clouds which appear like a mass of smoke (*dukhan*). — I since read the following passage in the *Mafatih al-'Ulum (the keys of the sciences)*, a work composed by Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yusuf al-Khuwarazmi: "Bahram Gur was the son of Bahram, the son of Sapur al-Junud, the son of Sapur Dhu'l-Aktaf. He was called *Bahram Gur* because he was fond of hunting the 'ayr. This last word serves to designate both the wild and the domestic ass."<sup>35</sup> Having calculated the duration of their dynasty from that period to the Hijrah, I found it to be two hundred and sixteen years. This onager must therefore have lived for more than eight hundred years, if we count from the time it was marked by Bahram Gur till the year 660, when it was killed; But God knows best!

In this article, frequent mention has been made of Ziyad, of his sons, of Sumayyah, of Abu Sufyan and of Mu'awiyah, as also of the poems composed upon them by Ibn Mufarrigh; now, as readers not acquainted with the facts may desire some information respecting them, I shall give here a summary account of the affair. There was a king of Yaman called Abu'l Jabr, of whom Ibn Durayd (*vol. III, p.*

32 The inscription was perhaps traced on the ear after the death of the animal.

33 Abu Nasr Khasib Ibn 'Abd al-Hamid was appointed intendant of the finances in Egypt, by the khalif Harun al-Rashid. According to Elmacin (*al-Makin*), page 119, and the author of the *Rawd al-Akhyar*, cited by Reiske in the *Annals of Abulfeda*, t. III. p. 751, Khasib's nomination took place in the year 190 (A.D. 305-6). This fact I do not find mentioned in the *Nujum*, a work of which the main subject is the history of Egypt, Al-Khasib was noted for his generosity and highly praised by the poets of the day.

34 This appears to be an error: the measure of the preceding verse requires the redoubling of the third consonant, not of the second.

35 *Gur* is the Persian name of the onager or wild ass. Our author has written *Jur*.

31) has spoken in the following verse of his celebrated *qasidah* which is entitled the *Maqsurah*:

And sadness mingled with the soul of Abu Jabr, till death joined him to the number of those whom it had already seized.

The surname Abu'l Jabr was his real name, some say that his name was Yazid and that he was the son of Shurahbil the Kindite; others state that Abu'l Jabr was really his name and that he was the son of 'Amr. Having been dethroned by his subjects, he went to Persia for the purpose of obtaining from Kisra (*Chosroes*) the assistance of a body of troops. The Persian king sent with him a band of his *Asawirah* (*cavalry*). When they reached *Kazimah* and saw the sterility and unproductiveness of Arabia, they said: "Where is this man taking us to?" and then delivered some poison to his cook promising him, at the same time, an ample recompense, if he put it into the meat which was to be served before the king. This was done, and the food had no sooner settled in his stomach, than he felt intense pain. When the *Asawirah* were informed of this, they went in to where he was and said to him: "Since you are reduced to such a state, give us a letter for king *Chosroes*, in which you have authorised us to return." He wrote a letter for them to that effect and, feeling some alleviation, he proceeded to *Taif*, the town situated in the vicinity of *Makkah*, and put himself under the care of al-Harith Ibn Kaladah the *Thaqafite*, who was the great physician of the Arabs and who resided there. Ibn Kaladah treated and cured him, for which service he received from his patient a rich present in which were included (*a slave-girl named*) *Sumayyah* and (*a slave named*) '*Ubayd*. Kisra had given them to Abu'l Jabr. The latter then set out for *Yaman* but, having had a relapse, he died on the way.

Ibn Kaladah gave *Sumayyah* in marriage to '*Ubayd*, and she had a son whilst '*Ubayd* was still living.<sup>36</sup> Her son was called by various names, such as *Ziyad* Ibn '*Ubayd*, *Ziyad* Ibn *Sumayyah*, *Ziyad* Ibn *Abihi* (*Ziyad, the son of his father*) and *Ziyad* Ibn *Ummihi* (*Ziyad the son of his mother*).<sup>37</sup> Those were the appellations by which he was known before his adoption (into the *Umayyah* family by *Mu'awiyah*, an occurrence of we shall speak farther on. *Sumayyah* had also by al-Harith Ibn Kaladah a son named *Abu Bakrah Nafi'* نافع.

36 Literally: she brought forth a son on the bed of '*Ubayd*. The Muslim law term: a child born on the bed of such a one, indicates that it was born in wedlock.

37 The three last denominations indicate that he was considered as a bastard, begot by an unknown father. *Ziyad* was so named by his enemies.



Ibn al-Harith, whom some persons call Nafi' Ibn Masruh and who became known, under the name of Abu Bakrah, as one of the Prophet's Companions. She had also two other sons, one named Shibi Ibn Ma'bad, and the other Nafi' (نافع) Ibn al-Harith. These were the four brothers who bore witness against al-Mughirah Ibn Shu'bah as being an adulterer. When we finish our account of Ziyad, we shall speak of that affair.

In the time of heathenism [*al-jahiliyah*], Abu Sufyan Sakhr Ibn Harb the Umayyad and the father of Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan, had incurred (*disreputable*) suspicions in consequence of his frequent visits to Sumayyah. It was in the time of their acquaintance that she gave birth to Ziyad, but she had still her husband 'Ubayd.<sup>38</sup> When Ziyad grew up, he displayed great talents and command of language, and became an orator whose eloquence, sagacity and intelligence filled the Arabs with admiration. It was for that reason that Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, on being appointed to the government of Basra by 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, took Ziyad Ibn Abihi for his secretary. Some time after, Ziyad brought a message from Abu Musa to 'Umar, who was so highly pleased with him that he ordered him a present of one thousand dirhems (£ 25). When Ziyad was gone, 'Umar thought of the money (*he had given*) and said: "There is one thousand lost, since Ziyad has gotten it." The next time that Ziyad came to see him, he said to him: "What has become of your thousand?" Ziyad answered: "I purchased a little slave (*'Ubayd*) with them and gave him his liberty. By the word '*Ubayd*' he meant his own father (*who was so called*). 'Umar replied: "Your thousand has not been spent uselessly. Will you bear to Abu-Musa al-Ash'ari a letter in which I order him to take another secretary in place of you?" Ziyad answered: "Most willingly; provided that the order does not proceed from a feeling of anger (*against me*)." "It does not proceed from any feeling of anger;" replied 'Umar. "Why then, said Ziyad, do you send him such an order?" (When dispatches were brought to 'Umar from Basra, he preferred that Ziyad should be the bearer of them, because he was sure of obtaining from him satisfactory information). He then gave him a government in the dependencies of Basra and soon after, took it from him [job] saying: "It is not as disgrace that I depose you, but I am unwilling that your superior intelligence should contribute to the oppression of the people (*an ahmil' alu'n-nasi fadl 'aqlika*)."

Abu Musa, having dismissed Ziyad, took for secretary al-Husayn Ibn Abi 'l-Hurr al-'Anbari. A dispatch, written by the latter, was

38 Lit: she brought him forth on 'Ubayd's bed.

received by 'Umar who, finding in it a fault of orthography, wrote back these words to Abu Musa: Give a flogging to your secretary." Ziyad, being sent by 'Umar to quell some troubles which had broken out in Yaman (*accomplished his mission so promptly that he*) had scarcely arrived when he set out again. On his return, he addressed the people in a speech the like of which they had never heard before. 'Amr Ibn al-'Asi then said: "By Allah! did that youth belong to the family of Quraysh he would (*force the Arabs to obey and*) drive them before them with his stick." Abu Sufyan, hearing this, said: "By Allah! I know the man who deposited him in his mother's womb." "Tell me," said 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, "who he was." "It was I," replied Abu Sufyan. "Take care of what you say, Abu Sufyan!" said 'Ali. To this the other answered by the following lines:

By Allah! were I not afraid, O 'Ali! that a certain person might look on me as his enemy, I, Sakhr Ibn Harb, should reveal the secret, even had there been no question of Ziyad. Long ago I was on good terms with (*the tribe of*) Thaqif and I then left a proof of my affection.<sup>39</sup>

When 'Ali obtained the supreme authority, Ziyad was sent by him to Persia, where he reduced all the country to obedience, protected it against attacks, collected the imports and remedied abuses, Mu'awiyah then wrote to him with the intention of turning him against 'Ali but this letter had no effect and was to 'Ali by him who had received it. In it were some verses which I abstain from inserting here. 'Ali wrote back to Ziyad in these terms: "I appointed you to the commandment which you hold, because I thought you worthy of it. In your present career, you cannot obtain the object you have in view unless you act with patience and a sincere conviction. 'Under the rule of 'Umar, Abu Sufyan committed a fault by which no relationship or right of inheritance can be established. As for Mu'awiyah, he can circumvent any man; so be on your guard against him; be on your guard! Receive my salutation." When Ziyad read this letter, he exclaimed: "I swear by the Lord of the Ka'bah, that the father of al-Husayn (*i.e.* 'Ali) bears witness in favour of me." It was this (*communication*) which emboldened Ziyad and Mu'awiyah to act as they (*afterwards*) did al-Hasan, the son of 'Ali, having obtained the khalifate after the murder of his father, gave up the supreme authority to Mu'awiyah, a fact which is well known. Mu'awiyah then endeavoured to gain over Ziyad and acquire his good will, so that he might be induced to serve him with the same

---

39 Lit: the fruit of my heart.

fidelity that he had shewn to 'Ali. This, joined to the words which escaped from his father in the presence of 'Ali and 'Amr Ibn al-'Asi (*produced the desired effect*) and in the forty-fourth year of the Hijrah Ziyad was acknowledged by Mu'awiyah (*as his brother*) and became known by the name of Ziyad Ibn Abi Sufyan.

When Abu Bakrah was informed that his brother had been adopted, with his own consent into the family of Mu'awiyah he declared most solemnly that he would never speak to him again. "That fellow," said he, "declares his mother to be an adultress and disavows his father. By Allah! I do not think that Sumayyah ever saw Abu Sufayn. Evil befall him! how will he manage with Umm Habibah, the daughter of Abu Sufyan and the widow of the Prophet. If he goes to visit her, she will refuse him admittance, and thus disgrace him, and, if she receive him, she will be guilty of an act injurious to the profound respect which all have for the Prophet."

Under the reign of Mu'awiyah, Ziyad went to Makkah for the purpose of making the pilgrimage and meant to visit Umm Habibah under the pretext that he and Mu'awiyah considered her as his sister but he then thought of what Abu Bakrah had said and abandoned his intention. According to another account, Umm Habibah refused to receive him, and, if we are to believe another statement, he made the pilgrimage but paid no visit in consequence of the words uttered by Abu Bakrah. "May God reward Abu Bakrah! said he, "he never, in any case, gives bad advice." Having gone to see Mu'awiyah, for whom he was acting as lieutenant, he took with him a magnificent present containing, amongst other objects, a collar of pearls so valuable that it excited Mu'awiyah's admiration. He then addressed him in these terms: "Commander of the faithful! I have subdued for you that country,"--meaning 'Iraq,--"I have collected for you its tribute, both by land and by sea, and have brought you the almond with its shell." On this, Yazid Ibn Mu'awiyah, who was sitting in the room, said to him: "If you have really done that, we shall transfer you from (*the tribe of*) Thaqif to (*that of*) Quraysh, from 'Ubayd to Abu Sufyan and from the rank of a secretary to that of governor."<sup>40</sup> Mu'awiyah, on hearing these words, said to Yazid. "That is quite enough! you are the flint I wanted for striking fire from my steel."<sup>41</sup>

Abu'l-Hasan al-Mada'ini (*vol. I, p. 438*) states that the *katib* Abu'l Zubayr told him that Abu Ishaq related to him what follows: "Ziyad,

<sup>40</sup> Literally: from the pen to the pulpit. In the manuscripts we read *manabir* (pulpits).

<sup>41</sup> That is: you hit precisely on my idea.

after purchasing his father 'Ubayd, went to see 'Umar, who said to him: "What did you do with your pay, the first time you received it?" Ziyad replied: "I purchased my father with it." This answer gave great pleasure to 'Umar. The anecdote (*told above concerning Yazid and Ziyad*) is in contradiction, with the statement that it was Mu'awiyah who declared Ziyad a member (*of the tribe of Quraysh*). When Mu'awiyah acknowledged Ziyad (*as his brother*), the Umyyads went to see him (*and remonstrate*). One of them, named 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Hakam, and brother to Marwan Ibn al-Hakam, then addressed him in these terms: "Mu'awiyah, had you found none but negroes (*Zanj*) to adopt, you would have (*taken them for member of your family and*) outnumbered us by (*an act of*) meanness and degradation." Mu'awiyah (*on hearing this reproach*), went up to Marwan, 'Abd al-Rahman's brother, and said: "Turn out that blackguard." Marwan replied: "By Allah! (*for you to say*) that he is a blackguard is not to borne." Mu'awiyah: "By Allah! were it not for my mildness and clemency, I should teach you that it must be borne. Did he not send me verses composed by himself against Ziyad and me? Hear them from my lips:

"Come! say to Mu'awiyah, the son of Sakhr: "We cannot suffer what you have done. Are you angry when people say that your father was chaste and pleased when they say he was an adulterer?"

We have already given the rest of this piece and attributed it to Ibn Mufarrigh; but there is a difference of opinion respecting its author: some say that it was composed by Ibn Mufarrigh, and others, by 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Hakam. In the former case, the first verse is that which has been previously given; in the latter, it must be read as it is here.

Ziyad, on his adoption by Mu'awiyah was treated by him with great favour, obtained a commandment and became one of his most effective supporters in the contestations with the sons of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib. It is related that, when he was governor of the two 'Iraqs, he caused active search to be made for a man named Ibn Sarh who was a partisan of al-Hasan, [the son of 'Ali] the son of Abu Talib. The name of this person had been included in the act of amnesty granted to the companions of al-Hasan, when the latter abdicated the khalifate in favour of Mu'awiyah. Al-Hasan, in consequence, wrote, the following letter to Ziya: "From al-Hasan to Ziyad: You know that we obtained an amnesty for our partisans, and yet Ibn Sarh informs me that he has been exposed to your attacks. I therefore request that you act towards him only for his good. Receive my salutation." This letter commenced by the writer's name and did not give to Ziyad

the surname of the son of Abu Sufyan. Ziyad was offended at it and replied in these terms: "From Ziyad, the son of Abu Sufyan, to al-Hasan: I received your letter concerning a reprobate who is now harboured by others, by partisan of yours and of your father. By Allah! I shall pursue and arrest him, even were he (*hidden*) between your skin and your flesh. The flesh that I most wish to devour is that of which you are a part." When al-Hasan received this epistle, he sent it to Mu'awiyah who, on reading it, was so indignant that he wrote to Ziyad a letter containing these words: From Mu'awiyah, the son of Abu Sufyan, to Ziyad: Al-Hasan, the son of 'Ali, has sent to me a letter written by you in answer to one in which he spoke to you concerning Abu Sarh. Its contents surprised me greatly and I perceived by it that you have two ways of judging matters, one which you inherited from Abu Sufyan, and the other from Sumayyah. That which you owe to Abu Sufyan is all prudence and precaution: the other, for which you are indebted to Sumayyah, is just such as should be expected from one like her. It was the last which produced the letter in which you revile al-Hasan and treat him as a reprobate. Now, by my life! you are more deserving of that epithet than he. If, through a sentiment of superiority, he commenced his letter by his own name, that could not derogate from your merit; but, by rejecting the application made by him in favour of a person whom he thought deserving of his intercession, you have thrown off your own shoulders a task which shall be executed by one who has a better right to accomplish it than you. On the receipt of this, my letter, restore to Ibn Sarh the property of his which is in your hands and do not attempt to injure it. I have written to al-Hasan, informing him that, if he pleases, the fugitive may either stay with him or return to his own country, [*balad*] and that you have been prohibited from harming him either by word or deed. In your letter to al-Hasan, you call him by his name without mentioning of whom he is the son; I therefore let you know, inconsiderate fellow! that al-Hasan is above the reach of contempt.<sup>42</sup> Did you then think that his father was so contemptible a person? but that person was 'Ali the son of Abu Talib; or did you think it (*not*) worth while to join his name to that of his mother was Fatimah, the daughter of the Apostle of God, and, if you have any intelligence remaining, you must acknowledge that therein he excels us all. Receive my salutation." — The word *rajwani* is a dual which (*has a plural signification and*) means *places of danger*.

---

42 The Arabic words have this meaning, but their literal signification is: the two sides (*rajawani*) cannot bandy him about; that is, he is not to be cast from side to side. Lower down, the author explains (*rajawani*) by its figurative signification.

I must here observe that the same anecdote is related in another form, and shall therefore give it here: Sa'id Ibn Sarh was a *mawla*<sup>43</sup> to Kurayz Ibn Habib Ibn 'Abd Shams, one of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib's partisans. When Ziyad, the son of his father (*Ibn Abih*) arrived at Kufa in the capacity of governor, he persecuted Ibn Sa'id and caused strict search to be made after him. Ibn Sa'id then went to Madinah and alighted at the door of al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali, who said to him: "What has forced you to quit your residence and come here?" The fugitive told his story and described the conduct of Ziyad towards him. Al-Hasan therefore wrote to Ziyad in these terms: "You engaged towards a certain Musulman that he should partake of all the advantages enjoyed by those of his belief, and incur the same obligations which are imposed on them. Yet you have pulled down his house, seized on his property and arrested the members of his family. Therefore, when this, my letter, reaches you, rebuild his house, and restore to him his property and the members of his family; I have given him hospitality and have been requested by him to interfere in this matter." To this Ziyad replied: "From Ziyad the son of Abu Sufyan, to al-Hasan the son of Fatimah: I received your letter, in which you commence by placing your own name before mine, and yet you request of me a service; you, a man of the people, from me, a sovereign (*sultan*)! You write to me in favour of a reprobate whom none would harbour except a reprobate like himself; and, what is still worse, he has found in you a patron (*tawallihi lyaka*)! You have allowed him to reside with you, him disaffected (*to government*) and taking pleasure in being so. But, by Allah! you shall not save him from me even were he hidden between your skin and your flesh; and certainly the flesh that I should most like to devour is that of which you are a part. Deliver him up by the halter<sup>43</sup> to one who has a better right to him than you. If I then pardon him, it shall not be in consequence of your intercession and, if I put him to death, it shall be on account of the love you bear him." When al-Hasan read this epistle, he wrote to Mu'awiyah an account of Ibn Sarh's affair and enclosed in the letter (*a copy of*) his own to Ziyad and the answer which he had received. He wrote also a letter to Ziyad (*and addressed it*) thus: "From al-Hasan, the son of Fatimah, who was the daughter of the Apostle of God, to Ziyad, the son of Sumayyah, who was a slave of the tribe of *Thaqif*, (*to Ziyad*) legitimate by birth and yet the son of an abandoned adulterer." When Mu'awiyah read al-Hasan's letter (*he was so much ashamed that*) Syria seemed too narrow

---

43 This is common proverbial expression; it refers to the practice of leaving the halter on the animal which is sold, in order that the purchaser may lead it away without difficulty.

to hold him, and he wrote to Ziyad in the terms which we have already mentioned.<sup>44</sup>

'Ubayd Allah Ibn Ziyad declared that, of all the verses directed against him, none wounded his feelings so much as the following, which were composed by Ibn Mufarrigh:

Reflect for reflection may give you a moral lesson. Are you not indebted for all your honours to your nomination as governor? As long as Sumayyah lived, she never suspected that her son belonged to the tribe of Quraysh.

Qatadah (*vol. II. p. 513*) relates that Ziyad, when on the point of death, said to his sons: "O, that your father had been a shepherd leading his flocks to countries far and near, and that what he came by had never befallen him!"

The verses directed by Ibn Mufarrigh against Ziyad and his sons are all of the same cast: he treats them as pretenders and goes so far as to say of the sons of Sumayyah:

Ziyad, Nafi' and Abu Bakrah are for me a cause of wonder. These three were formed in the same womb and had all the same father, yet one says that he is a Qurayshite, the other is an enfranchised slave, and the third has an Arab for his uncle.

As these lines require explanation, I shall give here what is related by persons versed in history: Al-Harith was the son of Kaladah Ibn 'Amr Ibn 'Ilaj Ibn Abi Salamh Ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza Ibn Ghiaarah Ibn 'Awf Ibn Qasi. This last was the same person as Thaqif. It is thus that Ibn al-Kalbi exposes this genealogy in his *Jamharah*. Al-Harith was a celebrated physician among the Arabs. He died soon after the promulgation of Islamism, but the fact of his conversion has not been ascertained. It is related that the Prophet of God ordered Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqqas to go and take the advice of al-Harith Ibn Kaladah on a malady by which he had been attacked. This proves the lawfulness of consulting on medical questions, persons who are not Muslims, provided they be of the nation as the sick man.<sup>45</sup> His son, al-Harith Ibn al-Harith, was one of those *whose hearts had been reconciled*,<sup>46</sup> and he is counted as one of the Prophet's *Companions*. It is said that al-Harith Ibn Kaladah was incapable of begetting

---

44 The edition of Bulaq and some of the manuscripts insert here another copy of Mu'awiyah's letter, with a few slight changes in the wording of the text. As these alterations are of no importance, the letter is suppressed in the translation.

children and that he died in the khalifate of 'Umar. The Prophet, when he laid siege to Taif, made this declaration: "Whatever slave lets himself down (*from the wall*) and comes to me shall be free." Abu Bakrah then lowered himself down from the fortress by means of a *bakaah*\* (*pulley*), -- which is a thing traversed by a rope and placed over a well for the purpose of drawing water. It is called a *bakarah* by common people, but this pronunciation is not correct, although the author of the *Mukhtasar al-'Ayn* (*abridgment of the 'Ayn*)<sup>47</sup> gives it as good. It has, however, so little to recommend it that no other philologist ever authorised it.

The narrator continues: He received therefore from the Prophet the surname of *Abu Bakrah* (*the pulley-man*), and used to say that he was a *mawla* of the Prophet of God. His brother, Nafi' was also going to lower himself down when al-Harith Ibn Kaladah said to him: 'Remain, and I adopt you as my son.' He therefore remained and was surnamed Ibn al-Harith. Abu Bakrah, before his conversion to Islam, bore also that surname, but, when he became a good Musulman, he gave it up. On the death of al-Harith Ibn Kaladah, Abu Bakrah abstained, through self-mortification, from receiving any part of the inheritance. This, I must observe, might have been the case, were we to admit the statement of those who say that al-Harith died a Musulman, for, if he did not, Abu Bakrah would have been excluded from inheriting, on account of the difference of religion.<sup>48</sup>

(*The narrator continues:*) Ibn Mufarrigh was induced to compose the three verses above-mentioned because Ziyad pretended to be a Qurayshide on the plea of his adoption by Mu'awiyah: because Abu Bakrah declared himself a *mawla* of the Prophet, and because Nafi' used to say that he was the son of al-Harith Ibn Kaladah, of the tribe of *Thaqif*. They were, besides, born of the same mother, the Sumayyah already mentioned. It was also for that reason that the poet composed on the family of Abu Bakrah the two verses which commence by the words: *Come to your senses, family of Abu Bakrah!*

45 The text may also signify: provided they be regular physicians.

46 After effecting the conquest of Makkah, Muhammad made large presents to some of the vanquished who had embraced his religion. He thus hoped to gain their hearts. (*Al-Qur'an*, sur. IX, verse 60.)

47 The author of this work was Abu Bakr al-Zubaydi, see Vol. III, p. 83.

\* Bakrah or Bakarah.

48 According to the Muslim law, persons of different religions cannot inherit one of the other.



'Haj was the grandfather of al-Harith Ibn Kaladah, as we have already state. This an abridged account of the affair of Ziyad and his sons.

I must again make an observation: these words of Ibn Mufarrigh in the second verse: *they had the same father*, are not true, for no one ever said that Ziyad was the son of al-Harith Ibn Kaladah; on the contrary, he was the son of 'Ubayd, having been born on his bed (in his lifetime). As for Abu Bakrah and Nafi', they were considered as the sons of al-Harith; How then could the poet say with truth that they had all the same father? Weigh these observations.

Ibn al-Nadim<sup>49</sup> says, in the work entitled the *al-Fihrist*, that Ziyad was the first person who compiled a work containing things disreputable to the Arabs. Ziad Ibn Abihi having been calumniated and seeing his genealogy impugned, composed that book for the use of his sons and said to them: "Defend yourselves with this against the Arabs, and they will cease to attack you."

The anecdote concerning al-Mughirah Ibn Shu'bah the Thaqifid and the evidence given against him must now be related: Al-Mughirah, having been named governor of Basra by 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, used to go out of the government palace every day, at the hour of noon. Abu Bakrah, having met him said: "Where is the emir going?" and received this answer. "I am going on business." To this Abu Bakrah replied: "An emir receives visits but never makes any." He (al-Mughirah) was going, is said, to see a women named Umm Jamil, who was the daughter of 'Amr and the wife of al-Hajjaj Ibn 'Atik Ibn al-Harith Ibn Wahb al-Jushami.--Ibn al-Kalbi states, in his *jamharah*, that Umm Jamil was the daughter of al-Afqam Ibn Mihjan Ibn 'Amr Ibn Shu'bah Ibn al-Huzam, and he counts this family among those of the Ansars. Another author furnishes this additional information: "Al-Huzam was the son of Ruwaybah Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Hilal "Ibn 'Amir Ibn Sa'sa'ah Ibn Mu'awiyah Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawazin." God knows best!

The narrator continues: Abu Bakrah was in an upper room with his brothers, Nafi', Ziyad and Shib Ibn Mabad, who were all sons

---

49 Abu'l Faraj Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, surnamed Ibn al-Nadim (*the son of the boon companion*) and Ibn Abi Ya'qub al-Warraq (*the stationer*), was a native of Baghdad. He composed in the year 377 (A.D. 987-8) a sort of encyclopaedia, full of literary, bibliographical, biographical, and historical information, to which he gave the title of (*list or index*). The fullest and most satisfactory account of this highly important and rare work has been given by professor Flugel in the thirteenth volume of the German Oriental Society's journal (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*).

of the same mother, her who was named Sumayyah. Umm Jamil was in a chamber opposite to theirs, and, the wind happening to blow open her door, they saw al-Mughirah in the act of carnal intercourse with her. On this, Abu Bakrah said:

There is a calamity for you! look at that." They looked till they were convinced, and Abu Bakrah then went down stairs and sat there, waiting till al-Mughirah came out. When he saw him, he said: "You know full well what you have done, so you had better quit us (*and leave the city*)."

The narrator says (*farther on*): Al-Mughirah went to say the afternoon (*zuhr*) prayer at the head of the congregation, and Abu Bakrah rose to go out, saying: "By Allah! you shall not preside at our prayer after what you did:" "Let him go on with the prayer," said (*some of the*) people, "for he is our emir. Write down your complaint and send it to (*the khalif*) 'Umar." He and his brothers did so, and 'Umar summoned al-Mughirah to appear before him, and them also as witnesses. When they arrived, 'Umar took his seat and cited them all forward. Abu Bakrah advanced, and (*the khalif*) said to him.<sup>50</sup> "Vidistine illum inter femora mulieris?" Respondit: "Per Deum! latera duo femorum divaricata adhuc mihi videre videor." Tunc eumden (*testem*) compellavit al-Mughira dixitque: "Callide aspeixisti!" Respondit Abu Bakra: "Moriar si non declarem id propter quod te Deus ignominia affecturus est." Dixit 'Umar: "Quinimo oportet te eum vidisse penem intromittentem in yulvam. Respondit Abu Bakrah: "Illud vidict attestor." Tunc dixit 'Umar: "Vae tibi, Mughirah! effugit quarta pars (*vita*) Tuae." Tunc Nafiam advocavit et ei dixit: "Quid east testimonium tuum?" Respondit: "Sicut testimonium Abu Bakrah." Dixit Omar: "Necesse est declarare illud (*scil. mentulam*) in mulierem intromissum fuisse, sicut stylum in pyxidem." Respondit: Certe intromissum fuit usque ad radicem (*kudad*). -- Vox *kudad* sagittae pennam significat. -- Tunc dixit Omar: "Vae tibi, Mughirah! effugit dimidium tuum." Postea (*testem*) tertium appellavit

---

50 The rest of the story, containing an account of the trial and the evidence of the trial and the witnesses, cannot be rendered into English; so it is given here in a Latin translation. That the observations addressed by 'Umar to al-Mughirah may be well understood, it is necessary to recal to mind that the Muslim law punishes adultery by lapidation and that a most formal declaration by four eye-witnesses is requisite for the proof of the crime. 'Umar, with all his austerity and uprightness, tried every means to save his friend and had the witnesses severely punished although he well knew that their depositions were true. His conduct in that business was very unfair and not such as his great reputation for integrity would have led us to expect.

evedixit: "Quid est testimonium tuum? Respondit: 'Idem est quod socii mei duo prestiterunt.'" Dixit 'Umar: "Vae tibi, Mughira! efiugit (*vice*) tuae dodrans." Tunc scripsit (*Omar*) and Ziadum qui nondum comparuerat, et postquam eum vidit, consedit in moschaeo, ducibus Muhajirorum et Ansariorum congregatis. (*Mughira*), Ziadum intrantem aspiciens, dixit: "Video hominem cujus lingua, Deo volente, Muhajirum ignominia afficere nolet," Sustulit Omar eaput disitque: Quid novisti, otidis pulle!" Fertur quoque al-Mughiram surrexisse ad Ziadum et dixisse: "*Post Arusam aromati locus non est.*"<sup>51</sup> Dico hand locutionem proverbium esse, Arabibus notum, sed illud exponere haud convenit, praesertim caum in hoc capite oratio nostra latius diffusa sit -- Tradidit narrator; Dixit ei al-Mughira; "Ziade! Dei excelsr memor esto coram quo staturus es in die resurrectionis. Certe Deus, ed liber ejus, et Propheta ejus et quao staturus es in die resurrectionis. Certe Deus, et liber ejus, et Propheta ejus et imperator fidelium effusionem sanguinis mei prohibebunt, dummode de iss quae vidisti ad ea quae non vidistitransire noles; cave ne propter rera turpem quam vidisti transeas ad rem quam non vidisti. Per Deum! si inter ventrem meum et ventrem illius (*mulieris*) fuisses, me mentulam in illam intromittentem haud vidisses." Tradidit narrator: "Tunc Ziadus, cujus oculi lacrymabant et facies rubore suffundebatur, dixit: "Imperator, fidelium! verum esse quod alii provero decerunt, dicere non possum; sed vidi consessum, audivi suspiria crebra et occasionem arreptam; vidi illum super illam recubantem." Dixit Omar: "Vidistine rem insetam in vulva sicut stylum in pyxide?" Respondit; "Haud vidi." Fertur etiam Ziadum dixisse; "Vidi illum pedes mulieris sustollentem; vidi testiculos ejus oscillantes super femora mulieris, cum, impetu vehementi."

'Umar then exclaimed: Praise be to God!" Al-Mughirah, being told by him to go over and beat them (*for having borne false witness against him*), inflicted on Abu Bakrah eighty strokes and flogged also the (*two*) others. Ziyad gave, by his deposition, great satisfaction to 'Umar, as it averted from al-Mughirah the penalty (*of lapidation*) fixed by the law. Abu Bakrah exclaimed after undergoing his punishment: "I bear witness that al-Mughirah did so and so" (*repeating his former evidence*). Umar was about to have him chastised a second time; when 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib said to him: "If you beat him, you must lapidate your friend."<sup>52</sup> He therefore let him alone and told him to repent

51 This proverb is explained by al-Maidani; see Freytag's edition, vol. II, p. 482. The speaker meant to say that he would be a lost man if Ziyad, the fourth witness, deposed against him.

52 These words of Ali's are explained farther on.

of his sin. "Do you bid me repent," replied Abu Bakrah, so that you may receive whatever evidence may be given me later?" 'Umar answered: "Such is my motive," and Abu Bakrah replied: "I shall (*therefore*) never serve as a witness between two parties, as long as I live." When he was undergoing the legal penalty, al-Mughirah addressed him thus: "Glory and praise be to God who has thus brought shame upon you!" "Not so," said 'Umar, "but may God bring shame upon the place in which these (*people*) saw you!"

'Umar Ibn Shabbah (*vol. II, p. 375*), states, in his history of Basra, that, when Abu Bakrah was beaten, his mother caused a sheep to be flayed and the skin applied to his back. This made people say that, assuredly, the strokes must have been very heavy. 'Abd al-Rahman, the son of Abu Bakrah, related that his father swore never to speak to Ziyad as long as he lived. One of Abu Bakrah's dying injunctions was that Ziad should not be allowed to say the funeral service over him, and that Abu Barzah al-Aslami, a person to whom he had been united in brothership by the Prophet of God, should discharge that duty. When Ziyad was informed of this, he (*left the place and*) went to Kufah. Al-Mughirah was greatly pleased with Ziyad's conduct (*at the trial*) and testified to him all his gratitude. At a later period when the pilgrims had assembled in Makkah, 'Umar received the visit of Umm Jamil and said to al-Mughirah, who was present: "Tell me, Mughirah! do you know this woman?" "I do," replied the other, "she is Umm Kulthum, the daughter of 'Ali." On hearing these words, 'Umar exclaimed: "Do you intend to make me believe that you do not know her? by Allah! I now think that Abu Bakrah did not accuse you wrongfully and, when I see you, I fear lest stones should be thrown down on me from heaven (*for saving you from lapidation*)."

The Shaykh Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi (*vol. I, p. 9*) says, in his Muhaddhab, towards the commencement of the chapter on the number of witnesses (*required by law*): "Testimony was given against al-Mughirah by three persons: Abu Bakrah, Nafi' and Shibl Ibn Ma'bad. As for Ziyad (*the fourth witness*), he (*merely*) said: *Vidi culum resilientem, (audivi) anhelitum fortem et (vidi) pedes duos (erectos) ad 'instar aurium asini; quid fuerit ultra, nescio!* 'Umar caused therefore the three witnesses to be chastised and did not punish al-Mughirah."

Legists have discussed what 'Ali meant when he said: "If you beat him, you must lapidate your friend;" and Abu Nasr Ibn al-Sabbagh (*vol. II, p. 164*) writes, in his Shamil, a treatise on the (Shafi'i) system of jurisprudence: "He ('Ali) meant to say: That sentence (of

*yours*) can only be (*applicable*) in case of your counting what he said for another (*a fourth*) deposition; but then the number (*of depositions requisite for the condemnation of al-Mughirah*) would be complete: if it (*your sentence*) applies to the first deposition (*made by Abu Bakrah, it can... be executed, because*) you have already punished him for it."

'Umar Ibn Shabbah relates as follows, in his history of Basra: "Al-'Abbas, the son of 'Abd al-Muttalib, said to 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab: "The Prophet of God made me a grant of (*the province of*) al-Bahrayn" "Who was witness to that?" replied 'Umar. Al-'Abbas named al-Mughirah Ibn Shubah, but 'Umar refused to admit such an evidence."

This article has run to a our statements took therefore a wide spread. They are not, however, devoid of utility.

#### 795 YAZID B. SALAMAH, (IBN AL-TATHRIYAH)

"Abu'l Makshuh Yazid Ibn Salamah Ibn Salamah al-Khayr Ibn Qushayr Ibn Ka'b Ibn Rabi'ah Ibn 'Amir Ibn Sa's'ah, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Tathriyah and a celebrated poet." It is thus that Abu 'Amr al-Shaybani (*vol. I, p. 182*) traces his genealogy. The appellation of al-Khayr (*the good*) was given to his (*great-*) grand-father because Qushayr had another son who was called Salamat al-sharr (*Salamah the bad*). The same author states that the name of this Yazid's father was al-Muntashir Ibn Salamah. According to Ibn al-Kalbi *vol. III, p. 608*), Yazid was the son of Simmah, who was one of the sons of Salamat al-Khayr. The learned men of Basra held him to be the son al-A'war Ibn Qushayr, which person is spoken of by Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Tusi<sup>1</sup> towards the commencement of Ibn al-Tathriyah's *Diwan* (*collected poetical works*) of which compilation he was the author. Here are his words: "Ibn al-Tathriyah was a poet by

1 Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Sinan al-Taymi (*of the tribe of Taym Allah*) al-Tusi (*a native of Tus*), was a man of learning and a narrator of anecdotes concerning the (*Arabian*) tribes, of poems and of (*the adventures of*) heroes (*fuhal*). He met (*and was taught by*) the great masters (*masharkh*) who professed at Basrah. The preceptor whose sittings he most frequented and from whom he received the greater part of his information was Ibn al-'Arabi. (*Fihrist.*) --Ibn al-'Arabi died A.H. 231 (A.D. 846). (See *vol. III, p. 25.*) We here learn from Ibn Khallikan that al-Tusi collected the poem's of Ibn al-Tathriyah into a *diwan*.

nature [*matbu'an*], intelligent, elegant in language, well-educated and of a noble, manly disposition; never did he incur either reproach or blame. He was liberal, brave, and held, by the nobleness of his family and character, a high rank in his tribe, which was that of Qushayr. The Umayyads had him for one of their poets and treated him with great favour."

Another author says: "Yazid Ibn al-Tathriyah was surnamed *al-Muwaddiq* (the exciter) on account of his handsome face, the beauty of his poetry and the sweetness of his discourse. People used to say that, when he sat in the company of women, he excited them to love. In speaking of a female, the verbs *istawdaqat* (in the tenth form) and *wadaqat* (in the first form) are employed to signify that a female desires the approach of the male. This verb, taken in its primitive signification, was only applied to animals having hoofs, but it was subsequently employed in speaking of human beings. A *Muwaddiq* is a person who inspires woman with an inclination for him. He frequented the company of females and liked conversing with them. It is said that he was impotent, incapable of having intercourse with a woman or of begetting children."

Abu Tammam al-Ta'i (vol. I, p. 348) mentions this highly distinguished poet in different places of his *Hamasah*; thus, in the section of amatory poetry [*nasib*] (p. 588), he has inserted as his the following lines:

(I think of) that 'Uqaylide female whose (ample forms) enveloped in her gown are (in shape, smoothness and colour) like a sand-hill, and whose waist is like a wand. She passes the summer within the tribe's reserved grounds and, in the afternoon, she makes her siesta at Na'man, in the valley of Arak. The glance which I cast at her, is it for me a very slight (satisfaction)? By no means! a (pleasure coming) from her is never slight. Friend of my soul! thou except whom I have no other sincere friend! O thou for whose sake I have concealed my love, disobeyed (the advice of thy) enemies and placed no faith in the words of those (intriguers) who 'interfered against thee! Is there no way of reaching a place near thee, where I may complain of the great distance (which lay between us) and of the dread (in which I stood) of (jealous) foes? May my life be the ransom of thine! numerous are my enemies, wide is the distance (between us), few are the partisans whom I have near thee. (If I die of grief), take not the fault thereof upon thyself, for thou art too weak (to bear it); to answer for my blood on the day of judgment would be a heavy responsibility! When I went (to see thee.) I had always

a pretext, but now, that I have not every day a business which may take me to your country; every day, I cannot send there a messenger.

Abu'l Faraj al-Isfahani, the author of the *Kitab al-Aghani*, formed [compiled] also a *diwan* of Ibn al-Tathriyah's poetry and attributes to him the following piece:

I should sacrifice my father for the safety of one who inspired me such love that my body is quite extenuated, for one on whom all eyes are fixed and who is the object of my passion, for one whose charms never cease augmenting desire and who is never to be seen unless under the protection of a watchful guard. If I am forbidden to hold converse with her, if I should have to encounter enemies and combats in case I tried to meet her, yet I shall continue to extol the beauty of Layla in eulogiums brilliant with the ornaments of rhyme and sweet to hear from the lips of the public. Dearest Layla! take care not to diminish my strength (*by thy disdain*) and permit me, though far away and an outcast, to hope that at I retain a share in your affection. Let me still give lasting trouble to jealous spies, as they have given constant annoyance to me. If you fear that you cannot support the bitterness of love, restore to me my heart, our visiting place is near.

The same author attributes to Ibn al-Tathriyah the piece which here follows:

I should sacrifice my life for the safety of one whose cool hand, if passed over my breast, would heal my pains, (*I devote myself*) for her who always fears me and whom I always fear; for her who never grants me a favour and from whom I never ask one.

Abu'l Hasan al-Tusi gives the following verses as Ibn al-Tathriyah's:

I should blush before God were I to be seen succeeding to another in the affections of a female or replaced therein by a rival. (*I should be ashamed*) to quench my thirst at a lake of which the borders are become like a beaten path, or to be a suitor for such love as you could grant, love too weak to endure.

I met these verses elsewhere and found that, after the first, was inserted another which I give here:

Water filled with dregs and troubled by the frequent visits of those who come to drink inspires me with disgust.

Al-Tusi gives also the following verses as his:

Many hope for a thing cannot obtain it, whilst it is granted to others who sit (*quietly and make no effort*). One man toils for a favour and another receives it; he to whom, it is granted had given up all hopes when it came.

The same author extracts this passage from a piece of verse composed by our poet:

I persist in turning away from her, though much against my will; and, when she is absent, I avoid listening to those who saw her or heard of her. Love for her came to me before I knew what love was, and it found a lasting abode in a heart till then unoccupied.

He gives also the following verses by the same poet.

And (*I pronounced*) a word which, when she (*whom I loved*) accused me of numerous crimes, dissipated every foul imputation. (*I said*): "If I am innocent, you do me wrong; if guilty, I have repented and merit pardon." When she persisted in rejecting my excuses and let herself be pushed to the utmost extreme by the lies of vile defamers, I discovered that indifference could console me when suffering from her disdain, and I no longer wished to approach one who refused me her love. I acted like the man who, afflicted with a malady, looks for a physician and, not finding one, becomes his own doctor.

The piece which we now insert is given as Ibn al-Tathriyah's by Abu 'Abd Allah al-Marzubani in his *Mu'jam al-Shu'ara'* (vol. III, p. 67), and is also to be found in the *Hamasah* (page 584); but some persons attribute it to 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Dumaynah al-Khathami.<sup>2</sup>

I should sacrifice my life and my family for the safety of her who, when unjustly wronged, knew not what to answer. She tried not to justify herself as one would do who is innocent, but remained astounded, so that people said: "How very suspicious!"

---

2 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Dumaynah al-Khathami was one of the early Muslim poets and lived probably in the first century of the Hijrah. Having learned that Muzahim Ibn Qays of the tribe of Salul was paying court of his wife, he assassinated the lover, smothered the women some time afterwards, and then killed his young daughter because she wept for her mother. He was detained for a long time in the prison of Tabalah but was finally liberated because the charge could not be made out against him. At a later period he was killed by the son of him whom he had murdered.--(Aghani, *Shawahid al-Mughni*).



In the same work, al-Marzubani gives also the piece (*which begins*) as follows:<sup>3</sup>

Though you long to see Raiya, you postpone the day of your meeting with Raiya! and yet you both belong to a branch of the same tribe!

I must here observe that, in this piece, the poet has attained the light of tenderness and elegance. It is given by Abu Tammam in his *Hamasah*, towards the commencement of the section which contains the amatory poetry. That author attributes it, however, to al-Simmah Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qushayri. God knows if he be right! Abu 'Amr Yusuf Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the author of the *Isti'ab*, which work contains the history of the Prophet's Companions, -- we shall give his life (*wa sayati dhikruhu*), - says in (another work of his), the *Bahjat-al-Majalis* (the beauties of sittings, or conferences): "Al-Simmah Ibn 'Abd Allah Al-Qushayri composed the following lines:

Had you remembered me as faithfully as I remember you  
I declare that you would not have refrained from tears. She replied: "By Allah! this quite the contrary; (I ever remember you and the sadness of) that recollection would burst even a solid rock!"<sup>4</sup>

Farther on, the same writer says: "Most of the literati consider him to be the author of: *Though you long to see Raiya*." He then gives all the verses, just as they are to be found in the *Hamasah*, and adds: "Some persons however attribute them to Qays Ibn Dharih,<sup>5</sup> others

3 This piece consists of nine verses and is to be found in the *Hamasah*, page 538.

4 Literally: Nay, by Allah! a recollection which, if poured upon the solid rock, it (*the rock*) would split asunder.

5 Abu Zayd Qays Ibn Darth ; al-Laythi, belonged to a  
beduin family which lived in the desert outside of Madinah, and was the foster-brother of al-Husayn the son of 'Ali. He married Lubna, the daughter of al-Hubab, but as their union was not fruitful, he was forced by his father to divorce her after ten years cohabitation. He then took another wife of the same name, but sore against his will and, soon after, he died of grief for being separated from his first love. He composed on Lubna a number of poems, passages of which are given in the article of the *Kitab al-Aghani* wherein his history is related. An abridged and tolerably fair translation of the prose account offered by the *Aghani* will be found in the second volume, page 412, of von Hammer-Purgsall's *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*. The author of the *Nujum* states that Ibn Dharih died on or about the year 65 (A.D. 684-5).

consider them as the production of al-Majnun<sup>6</sup>, but the majority say that al-Simmah is the author. God knows best!" From this we see the difference of opinion respecting the person who composed these verses; was it Ibn al-Tathriyah or al-Simmah Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qushayri, or Qays Ibn Dharih, or al-Majnun? God knows best!

Al-Marzubani mentions our poet in his *Muwaththaq*<sup>7</sup> and says: "Abu'l Jaysh recited to me the following lines as the composition of Yazid Ibn al-Tathriyah:

After nightfall, my camel moaned through (*grief and*) longing for its companion; O what dismay I felt, whilst her moans cast despondency into my heart! I said to her: Suffer with patience; the female of every couple must, sooner or later, be separated from the male.

He gives also the following verses and attributes them to the same author:

How can I receive consolation (*when separated from you*) who are the most amiable of being that walk (*on earth*)? My soul is afflicted and your dwelling - place far away. My life is in your hands, if you wish to take it; my soul can heal, if you choose to heal it. When you shewed no compassion for a man afflicted, you knew full well that, were I to visit a distant land, my soul should never admit of consolation and forget you.

Here is another piece cited by him as our poet's:

When I went (*to visit her*), I adorned myself not with ornaments, through fear of hostile spies; but she appeared in all her beauty. I never salute her first and, to escape their malice, I never ask them how she is.

The same author gives a great many more pieces composed by this poet, but we may confine ourselves to what is inserted here.

In the *Ansab al-Ashraf* (*genealogies of the sharifs*), the author, Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Jabir al-Baladhuri (*vol. I, p. 438*) says,

6 Al-Majnun (*the insane, the possessed*) is the surname by which was designated a poet whose love for Layla became proverbial. His name, it is said, was Qays Ibn al-Maluh, but his existence has been generally doubted. De Sacy in his *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, page 150, has a note on this subject. Be that as it may, a number of amatory poems pass under the name of al-Majnun.

7 The orthography of this name is not certain.

after relating the events of the year 126 (A.D. 743-4) and the death of the Umayyad khalif al-Walid Ibn Yazid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan: Whilst those things were going on, al-Mundalith Ibn Idris of the tribe of Hanifah was killed and, with him, Yazid Ibn al-Tathriyah.<sup>8</sup> This happened near a village called *al-Falaj* and situated, I believe, in (the province of) Yamamah." I then found the following passage in the work which Abu Bakr al-Hazmi. (vol. III, p. 11) composed on the names of places: "*Falaj* is a large village belonging to the Banu Ja'lah and having a pulpit.<sup>9</sup> It is also called *Falaj al-Aflaj*, and is situated in Yamamah." According to another author, *Falaj* is at six day's journey from Hajar, the capital of al-Bahrayn, and nine days journey from Makkah. Abu Ishaq al-Zajjaj (vol. I, p. 28) says, in that part of his *Ma'ani 'l-Qur'an* (rhetorical figures of the *Qur'an*) which contains his observations on the *surat al-Furqan* (the 25th): "*Al-Rass*, a valley in Yamaamh, is named also *Falaj*." From what he says, this may be the village of which we are now treating. A place (of nearly the same name) is mentioned in a verse which we here give:

They whose blood was shed at *Falaj* were the men! the best of men, O Umm Khalid!

But, in this name, the vowel *a* is omitted after the *l*. It is a valley on the road leading from Basra to the Hima (or reserved grounds) of Dariyah, which is a village near Makkah. A *Faljah* is mentioned in (the following passage of) a poem composed by an Arab of the desert:

Fair are the landmarks of *Faljah* at morning, and fair the tents set up on its hills, at either side (*wa khaynu rawabi hillatayha 'l-munassabu*). They say that the soil of *Faljah* is salt and the water brackish; 'tis true, but the water, though salt, is sweet unto the heart.

*Faljah* is the name of two places, one lying between Makkah and Basrah, and the other in (the valley of) al-'Aqiq.

The combat (which cost Ibn al-Tathriyah his life) took place in the year of al-Walid Ibn Yazid the Umayyad's death. Now, al-Walid was

8 It appears, from the *Kitab al-Aghani*, that the tribe of Hanifah and that of 'Uqay had for some time, being carrying on against each other a war of surprises and predatory incursions. In one of these encounters Ibn al-Tathriyah lost his life.

9 A town can not have a pulpit on cathedral mosque, unless it be the capital of a province or of a considerable district. The governor, who is also the khalif's representative, has alone the privilege of pronouncing the *khutbah* from the pulpit.

killed on Thursday, the 27th of the latter Jumada, 126 (16th April, A.D. 744), at *al-Bukhra*.<sup>9</sup> Abu'l-Hasan at-Tusi says, in speaking of this combat that the standard was borne by Yazid Ibn al-Tathriyah. When al-Mundalith was killed and his partisans were routed, Ibn al-Tathriyah stood his ground with the standard. He was dressed in a silk gown which got entangled in an 'Usharah-tree (*asclepias gigantea*), — The 'Usharah is a thorny plant and produces gum. — This accident caused him to fall, and the Banu Hanifah then kept striking him till he died. This combat is mentioned subsequently to the account of al-Walid's death and in the same year; so, the death of Ibn al-Tathriyah must be placed between that of al-Walid and the end of the year 126.

Abu'l Faraj al-Isfahani says towards the commencement of the volume (*diwan*) in which he has given the collection of Ibn al-Tathriyah's poetical works, that he was killed by the Banu Hanifah under the khalifat of the 'Abbasids; but the former indication is nearer to the truth. The following elegy was composed on the poet's death by al-Quhayf Ibn 'Umayr<sup>10</sup> Ibn Sulaym al-Nida Ibn 'Abd Allah al-'Uqayli:

Let the noble sons of Qushayr weep for the loss of their chief and their hero. O Abu'l Makshuh; now that you are gone, who is there to protect (us)? who is there to hurry on the (war-) camels whose feet are already used and worn by travel?

Al-Quhayf composed also a lament on the death of al-Walid Ibn Yazid. The following verse on the death of Ibn al-Tathriyah was composed by his brother Thawr Ibn Salamah:

I see that the tamarisk, my neighbour in the valley of al-'Aqiq, still holds itself erect (and yields not to grief), though fate has taken Yazid by surprise and overwhelmed him.

This verse belongs to a choice piece of poetry which Abu Fammam has inserted in the *Hamasah* (page 468). He attributes it to Zaynab Bint al-Tathriyah but others say that it was composed by the poet's mother.

Al-Tusi states that the combat above-mentioned was fought at

---

10 The Paris ms of the *Aghani* reads *Himyar* instead of 'Umayr. In this translation the reading of Ibn Khalikan and of the author of the *Qamus* is adopted. The history of al-Kuhaf, who was a contemporary of Ibn al-Tathriyah and belonged to the same tribe as he, offers nothing deserving of being noticed here.

al-'Aqiq. We find in Yaqt al-Hamawi's *Mushtarik*\* that there were ten places of this name. According to al-Asma'i vol. II, p. 123) the 'a'iqah (which word is the plural of 'aqiq) are valleys in which there is running water. In enumerating the places being this name, Yaqt says: "The third is the 'Aqiq of 'Arid, in al-Yamamah. It is a large valley near al-'Aramah and into it flow all the streams of al-'Arid. It abounds in sources and villages," He then says: "Al-'Aqiq a town in al-Yamamah, belongs to the Banu 'Uqayl. It is called the 'Aqiq of Namirah\*\* and lies on the road leading from al-Yamamah to Yaman." The valley of al-'Aqiq mentioned in the foregoing verse, is perhaps the first of the places thus indicated, or perhaps the second. God knows best! -- Ibn al-Tathriyah was called Abu'l Makshuh because he had on his *kashh* a scar caused by a burn. The word *kushh* signifies the side.

Yazid's mother was called al-Tathriyah<sup>11</sup> and he was surnamed after her. She was one of the children of Tathr Ibn 'Anz Ibn Wail. "The word *tathr* signifies fertility and abundance of milk. It is said that she was born in a year of which that was the distinguishing character, but others contradict this statement and say that she gave birth to her son in a year of that kind. Others again relate that she toiled in exacting butter from milk and was named al-Tathriyah because the *tathr* of milk is its butter." This account is, in itself, quite objectionable: all say that the poet's mother was of the family of Tathr Ibn 'Anz, whence we must conclude that she was named after that tribe, and declare that the words "she was born in a year of such a character" or "she gave birth to him in a year of such a kind" or "she extracted butter from milk" are here quite inapplicable. We submit these remarks to the reader; but it is evident that there were two opinions on the subject; according to one, she was named after her tribe and, according to the other, for the reasons stated in the second place. A great number of poems are attributed to Zaynab Bin al-Tathriyah the sister of Yazid. Such is the eulogistic piece which we here give:

He is proud when you go to ask of him a favour, and he bestows on you whatever he holds in his hand. Had he nothing to give but his life, he would bestow it; so let those who apply to him take care lest (by taking away his life,) they offend God.

---

\* "a lexicon of places bearing the same name.

<sup>11</sup> According to the author of the *Qamus*, this name should be pronounced al-Tathriyah, with an *a* after the *th*.

\*\* [Marrah in Cairo ed. vol. V, p. 416. Ed]

These verses have been attributed to Ziyad al-A'jam (*vol. I, p. 631*). The second is also to be found in the *diwan* of Abu Tammam's poems, where we meet with it in the *qasidah* which begins by these words:

Vernal abode! thou of which the inhabitants have departed!  
it is, alas! too true that the rains (?) have effected upon thee that  
(*destruction*) which they intended.

But, in all that, God best knows the truth!

### 796 YA'QUB AL-MAJISHUN

Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, the son of Abu Salamah Dinar, or Maymun, according to some bore the surname of al-Mujishun and stood allied (by clientship) to the Banu Taym, a branch of tribe of Quraysh (*al-Qurashi al-Taymi*). He was a *mawla*' of the Munkadirs, a family of Madinah Traditions were taught to him by Ibn 'Umar (*vol. I, p. 567*), 'Umar Ibn 'Abn al-'Aiz (*afterwards khalif*), Muhammad Ibn al-Munkadir (*vol. II, p. 119*) and 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Hurmuz al-A'araj;<sup>1</sup> traditions were taught on his authority by his sons Yusuf and 'Abd al-'Aziz, and by his nephew 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Abi Salamah. "Al-Majishun, says Ya'qub Ibn Shaybah,<sup>2</sup> was a *mawla* of the Hudayr family."<sup>3</sup> When 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-Aziz was governor of Madinah, Ya'qub al-Majishun knew him and used to converse with him

1 Abu Daw'ud 'Abd al-Rahma Ibn Hurmuz, surnamed al-'Araj (*the lame*), was a native of Madinah and a *mawla* of a Quraysh family, that of Harish Ibn Abd al-Muttalib, or that of 'Umar Ibn Abi Rabi'ab. He handed down a quantity of traditions, most of which he had received from Abu Hurayrah (*vol. I, p. 570*). Traditions were given on his authority, which was considered as perfectly sure. He died at Alexandria. A.H. 117 (A.D. 785-6)—(Dahabi's *Tahdib*).

2 Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Ibn Shainah Ibn Asfur, of the tribe of Sadus and a native of Basrah, fixed his residence at Baghdad and composed a *musnad*, or collection of authenticated Traditions, which work was very extensive, but remained unfinished. As a Traditionist, he was considered to be a good authority. He *Musnad* formed five volumes and a collection of traditions, which he traced up to Abu Hurayra, filled two hundred quires of paper. He was nominated *qadi* of Iraq but did not fill that office. His death took place in the first Rabi', 246 (May-June, A.D. 860).—(Dahabi's *Huffaz*).

3 Al-Munkadir Ibn 'Abd Allah, the father of Muhammad Ibn al-Munkadir was the son of al-Hudayr. —(Qamus).

familiarly 'Umar on his elevation to the khalifate, said to al-Majishun, who had come to visit him: "I have given up your acquaintance, because I have given up wearing silk clothes," and then turned away from him.<sup>4</sup>

Muhammad Ibn Sa'd (*vol. III, p. 64*) says, in his *Tabaqat*, that Ya'qub Ibn Shaybah related as follows: "Mus'ab (*vol. I, p. 186*) said: 'Al-Mujishun used to side with Rabi'at al-Rai (*vol. I, p. 517*) against Abi al-Zinad (*vol. I, p. 580*), because the latter was hostile to Rabiah, and that Abu al-Zinad was heard to say: "What passes between me and Ibn al-Majishun is similar to that which is related of the wolf. That animal used to enter into a village and devour children. The inhabitants, at last, assembled and went after him, but he fled away and they gave up the pursuit. One of them, a dealer in earthen ware, continued, however, to follow him, on which the wolf stopped and said: 'I can excuse the others (*for pursuing me*), but what have I done to you? I never broke a single pot of yours!' Now, as for that al-Majishun, I never broke any of his *kabars* (*lambourines*) or of his *barbers* (*guitars*)!' Al-Majishun's son related as follows: "The soul of al-Majishun was taken up aloft (*i.e. his animation was suspended*) and we placed the body on a bench, so that it might be washed (*according to the prescription of the law*). We then informed the people that we were going to carry forth the corpse (*to the grave*), when the washer (*of the dead*) came in and perceived, whilst he was operating, that an artery was still beating in the lower part of the foot. He came out to us and said: 'I find an artery still beating; so, I advise you not to hasten the interment.' On this, we induced the people to retire by informing them of what we had seen and, the next morning, when they returned, the washer went in and found the artery beating as before. We again made excuses to the people, and during three days, my father remained in the same state. He then sat up and said: 'Bring me some porridge. We brought it and, when had suspend it up, we asked him if he could tell us what he had seen? He replied. 'I can; when my soul was taken away, the angel mounted with me to the heaven of this earth and ordered the door to be opened. It was opened to him and he proceeded (*successively*) though the other heavens till he reached the seventh. There he was asked whom he had brought with him, and he answered: 'Al-Majishun.' On this, a voice said to him: 'He has not yet received permission to come here he has still to live such and such a number of years and of months and of days and of hours.' Whilst I was a carrying down, I saw the

---

4 It appears from this and from an anecdote related lower down, that al-Majishun was a man of pleasure who dressed finely and was fond of music.

Prophet, with Abu Bakr on his right hand, 'Umar on his left, and 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (*sitting*) at his feet. I said to the angel who was with me: 'Tell me who is that? and he answered: 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz'. On this, I said: "He is allowed to sit very near the Apostle of God" and I received this answer: He acted uprightly in an age of perversity, as the two others did in an age of righteousness." This relation is given by Ya'qub Ibn Shaybah in his article on al-Majishun. Abu'l Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Qawwas al-Warraaq states that Ya'qub al-Majishun died in the year 164 (A.D. 780-1), I have taken all this information from the work designed, by the *hafiz* Abu'l Qasim Ibn 'Asakir (*vol, II, p. 252*), to serve as a (*biographical*) history of Damascus.

Ibn Qutaybah says, in the article on Muhammad Ibn al-Munkadir, which he has given in the *Kitab al-Ma'arif*,<sup>5</sup> that one of Ibn al-Munkadir's *mawlas* was Ya'qub Ibn Majishun. He states also that he (Ya'qub) was a legist, and then adds: "Al-Majishun had a brother named 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Salamah, whose son, 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn 'Abd Allah, was surnamed Abu 'Abd Allah. He (*al-Majishun*) died at Baghdad; (*the khalif*) al-Mahdi said over him the funeral sevice and buried him in the Quraysh cemetery. This was in the year 164." We have already given in this work an article on his (*nephew's*) son and mentioned there what has been said by the learned respecting the signification of *al-Majishun*; it is therefore needless to repeat their words here.

In the expression: "*I never broke any of his kabars or of his barbats,*" occur two words which require explanation. The *Kabar* is a drum having only one face (*or head*), and the *barbat* is a sort of lute (*'ud*), the musical instrument so called. Its name is derived from *bar*, which signifies *breast* in Persian, joined to the (*Arabic*) word *batt* (*duck*), the well-known fowl so called. As this instrument bears a resemblance to the beast of a duck, it was so denominated. In Arabic, it is called *al-'ud* and *al-mizhar*; in Persian, it bears the name of *barbat*, as we have just said.

## 797 THE QADI ABU YUSUF

The *qadi* Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Ansari (*a descendant of one of the proselytes of Madinah*) was the son of Ibrahim, the son of Habib, the

---

5 See the *Kitab al-Ma'arif*, page 234.



son of Khunays, the son of Sa'd, the son of Habtah, who was one of the Prophet's Ansars. "Sa'd was known amongst the Ansars by the surname of Ibn Habtah (*the son of Habtah*); being thus denominated after his mother. Mulik, the father of Habtah, belonged to the family of 'Amr Ibn 'Awf the Ansaria. 'Awf, the father of Sa'd Ibn Habtah, was the son Bahir, who was the son of Mu'awiyah, the son Salama, the son of Bajilah, who was allied, by an oath of fraternity, to the family of 'Amr Ibn 'Awf the Ansaria." It is thus that the genealogy of Sa'd Ibn Habtah is traced up in the *Isti'ab*.<sup>1</sup>

The Khatib Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (*vol. I, p. 75*) says, in the historical work composed by him, that Sa'd was the son of Bahir,\* the son of Mu'awiyah, the son of Quhafah, the son of Balil, the son of Sadus, the son of 'Abd Manaf, the son of Abu Usamah, the son of Shahmah, the son of Sa'd, the son of 'Abd Allah, the son of Faddad,\*\* the son of Tha'labah the son of Mu'a'wiyah, the son of Zayd, the son of al-Ghawth, the son of Bajilah.

Abu Yusuf, a *qadi* and a native of Kufah, was one of Abu Hanifah's (*vol. III, p. 555*) disciples, a legist, a learned scholar and a *hafiz* (possessing great traditional information). He heard Traditions (*hadith*) from the lips of Abu Ishaq al-Shaybani,<sup>2</sup> Sulayman al-Taymi,<sup>3</sup> Yahya Ibn Sa'id al-Ansari (*vol. II, p. 549*), al-A'mash (*vol. I, p. 587*). Hisham Ibn 'Urwah (*vol. III, p. 606*), Ata' Ibn al-Sa'ib,<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Ibn Ishaq Ibn Yasar (*vol. II, p. 677*) and other Traditionists of the same class; he attended also the sittings (or lectures) of Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Abi Layla (*vol. II, p. 584*) and afterwards those of Abu Hanifah al-Nu'man Ibn Thabit (*vol. III, p. 555*). The system of jurisprudence taught by Abu Hanifah was that which he preferred, though he differed, in many points, from that master. Traditions were deferred on his authority by Muhammad Ibn al-

1 See the Life of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, in this volume.

2 Abu Ishaq Sulayman Ibn Firuz, a member of the tribe of Shayban, a traditionist and a native of Kufah, died A.H. 141 (A.D. 758-9), or 149. (*Haffaz*.)

3 Abu'l-Qasim Sulayman Ibn Tarkhan, al-Taymi, one of the *Tab'is*, or disciples of Muhammed's Companions, was most assiduous in the practice of piety. The author of the *Najum* places his death in the year 143 (A.D. 760-1).

4 Abu'l-Sa'ib 'Ata Ibn al-Sa'ib Ibn Malik, a member of the tribe of Thaqif and a native of Kufah, was a traditionist of good authority. He died in the year 136 (A.D. 753-4), or thereabouts. — (*Huffaz*.)

\* Bajir in Cairo — ed.

\*\* Qaddad in Cairo — ed.

Hasan al-Shaybani al-Hanafi (vol. II, p. 590), Bishr Ibn al-Walid al-Walid al-Kindi,<sup>5</sup> 'Ali Ibn al-Ja'd (vol. I, p. 476), Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (vol. I, p. 44), Yahya Ibn Ma'in and others. Whilst he resided at Baghdad, he acted there as a *qadi* during the reigns of three khalifs, al-Mahdi, al-Hadi, the son of al-Mahdi, and Harun al-Rashid. By the latter he was treated with great honour and respect, and he continued to enjoy under him the highest favour. He was the first who bore the title of *Qadi'l Qudat* (the *qadi* of the *qadis*, Chief Justice), and it is said that he was also the first who changed the dress of the learned (the *'ulama*) and gave it that form which it retains to this day. Before his time, persons of all classes dressed in the same manner, so that they had nothing in their attire to distinguish them one from one other. Yahya Ibn Ma'in, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and 'Ali Ibn al-Madini (vol. II, p. 242) agree in considering him a sure and trustworthy Traditionist. Abu 'Umar Ibn Abd al-Barr, the author of the *Isti'ab*, says, in his work entitled *Kitab al-Intiqa fi fa'dil al-thulathat al-Fuqaha'* (the choice selection, treating of the merits of the three legists),<sup>6</sup> that Abu Yusuf was eminent as a *hafiz*, his memory ditionists," says Ibn Jarir al-Tabari (vol. II, p. 597), "mistrusted the Traditions delivered by him, because he was much inclined to resolve points of law by rational deduction (*rai*), drawing consequences from the maxims of the Divine law; besides which they disapproved of his having frequented men in power (*sultan*) and undertaken to fill the duties of a *qadi*."<sup>7</sup>

5 Abu Bakr Bishr Ibn al-Walid Ibn Khalid al-Kindi, one of the most eminent of Abu Hanifah's disciples, was highly distinguished for his learning, his piety and the austerity of his life. In the year 208 (A.D. 823), he was appointed by al-Mamun to act as a *Qadi* in the quarter of Baghdad which was then called 'Askar al-Mahdi, and which became afterwards known by the name of al-Rusafah. When he held that place, he incurred the displeasure of Yahya Ibn Akhham because he refused to execute a judgment pronounced by that powerful magistrate. Being cited for that reason before al-Ma'mun, he declared that the unfavorable character which he had received of Yahya from that *qadi's* own townsmen prevented him from obeying his mandates. Yahya asked the khalif to depose the *qadi*, but his request was not granted. Bishr Ibn al-Walid became *qadi* of Baghdad and of the suburb of al-Karkh under the khalifate of al-Muta'sim, but was afterward persecuted and confined to his house by that prince because he refused to declare that the *Al-Qur'an*, which is the word of God, was created and not eternal. The khalif al-Mutawakkil set him at liberty and authorised him to give opinions on points of law and teach Traditions. He lived to an advanced age and died A.H. 238 (A.D. 852-3).—(*Lives of the Hanifite doctors*; ms. of the Bib. imp. of Paris, supplement, n. 699, fol. 95.—*Nujum*).

6 The three legists of which this work treats were Malik, Abu Hanifah and al-Shafi'i.

7 See vol. I, p. 235.

The Khatib Abu Bakr states, in his history of Baghdad, that Abu Yausuf related as follows: "When I first applied to the study of Traditions and law [*hadith* and *fiqh*] I was very poor and ill dressed. One day, whilst I was at Abu Hanifah's (lectures), my father came, took me out and said to me: 'My son do not try to march in step with Abu Hanifa; he has always his bread ready baked, whilst you are in need, without the means of subsistence.' In consequence of this, I abstained from the pursuit of knowledge, thinking it preferable to shew obedience to my father. Abu Hanifah, having remarked my absence, asked what had become of me, so, Al recommenced attending his sittings. The first day of my appearing thereafter a considerable absence, he said to me: 'What kept you away from us so long?' and I answered: 'Seeking a livelihood and shewing obedience to a father.' I then took my place and, when the class broke up, he handed to me a purse saying: 'Make use of this.' I looked into it and found there one hundred dirhems ( £ 2.10s). He then said: 'Follow my class regularly and, when you have emptied that, let me know.' I attended the class assiduously, and soon after, he gave me another hundred. From that time, he continued to repeat his gifts without my ever informing him of my penury or of my having spent what I had received. Whenever my money was gone, it was as if he had been informed of the circumstance, (and these acts of beneficence continued) till I was able to do without assistance and had become rich."

The Khatib then says: "According to another statement Abu Yusuf was a child when his father died, and it was his mother who disapproved of his attending Abu Hanifah's lectures." Farther on, the same author gives a relation which he traces up, through an unbroken series of narrators, to 'Ali Ibn al-Ja'd,<sup>8</sup> who said that the *qadi* Abu Yasuf made to him the following statement: "My father died, leaving me an infant in my mother's arms. Some time after, she put me to service with a fuller, and I used to leave (the shop of) my master and go to Abu Hanifah's class, where I would sit down and listen. My mother sometimes came, took me by the hand and led me back to the fuller. My assiduity in attending Abu Hanifah's lessons and zeal for acquiring knowledge interested him in my favour. My mother finding, at length, that those escapades of mine were too frequent and too long, said to him: 'You alone are the ruin of this boy; he is an orphan possessing nothing; I procure him food with the produce

---

8 Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn al-Ja'd Ibn 'Ubayd al-Jawhari, one of Abu Yusuf's disciples, died A.D. '132 (A.D. 749-50), at the age of ninety-six years. *Lives of the Hanifites*, fol. 104).

of my spindle, and my sole hope is that he may soon be able to gain a penny for his own use. Abu Hanifah answered her in these terms: 'Go away, you silly talkative woman; your son in here learning how to eat *faludaj*<sup>9</sup> with pistachio oil.' On this she turned away from him and went off, saying: 'You are an old dotard and have lost your wits.' From that time I attended Abu Hanifah's lessons regularly and, with the help of God, I acquired learning, rose in the world, obtained the qadiship, was admitted into the society of al-Rashid and ate at his table. One day, some *faludaj* was set before al-Rashid and he said to me: 'Abu Ya'qub, eat this; it is not ways that the like of it is prepared for us.' I said to him: 'What is it? Commander of the faithful!' He replied: '*Faludaj* with pistachio oil.' On hearing this, I laughed. What makes you laugh?' said he. I answered: 'Commander of the faithful! it is all right (*it is nothing*).' He said: 'You must tell me, and he insisted to such a degree that I related to him the whole story, from beginning to end. It pleased him so much that he exclaimed; 'By Allah! science is profitable in this 'world and in the next. May the mercy of God light upon Abu Hanifah! he could see with the eye of his intelligence that which was invisible to the eye of his head.'"

'Ali Ibn al-Muhassin al-Tanukhi (vol. II, p. 567) states that his father said to him: My father related to me as follows: "Abu Yusuf's intimacy with al-Rashid was brought about in the following manner. The former came to Baghdad subsequently to the death of Abu Hanifah, and a certain *qa'id* (military chief), who was afraid of having committed a perjury, was then looking out for a *mufti* (casuist) whom he might consult on the matter. Abu Yusuf being brought to him, declared that the oath was not infringed, and the *qa'id* bestowed on him some gold pieces and procured for him a house near his own. Some days after the *qa'id* went to visit al-Rashid and, finding him in low spirits, asked him the cause of his sadness (*the khalif*) replied: 'What afflicts me is a matter which concerns religion: look out for a legist whom I may consult.' The *qa'id* brought him Abu Yusuf. Here is the latter's account of what passed: 'When I entered the alley which lies between the (two lines of) houses (*forming the khalif residence*), I saw a handsome youth of a princely appearance, confined in a chamber. He made signs to me with his finger as if asking me to assist him, but I did not understand what he wanted. When I was brought into the presence of al-Rashid and stood before him (*waiting for what he had to say*), he asked me my name and I answered: 'Ya'qub;

---

9 *Faludaj*, in french *nougat*, is a cake or hard paste made of almonds and honey.

may God favour the Commander of the faithful!"\* 'What say you, said he, of an *imam* (*khalif*) who saw a man commit adultery? must he inflict on him the punishment fixed by law?"<sup>10</sup> I replied: 'No.' When I pronounced that word, al-Rashid prostrated himself on the floor, so, it struck me that he had seen a member of his family committing that act and that the young man who made signs to me as if imploring my assistance was the guilty person. Al-Rashid then asked me on what authority I had pronounced my decision and I answered; 'From those words of the Prophet: *'Reject (the application of) penalties in cases of doubt.* Now, in this case there is a doubt which suppresses the penalty.'

On this, Al-Rashid said: 'How can there be doubt, since the act was seen.' I answered: "Seeing is not more effective than knowing for authorising (*the application of*) a penalty, and the simple knowing (*of a crime*) is not sufficient to authorise its punishment. Besides, no one is allowed to do justice to himself even though he knew (*that the right was on his side*).'

The khaif made a second prostration and then ordered me a large sum of money. He told me also to remain in the house (*the palace?*), and I did not leave it till a present was brought to me from the young man, another from his mother, and others from the persons attached to his service. That was the foundation of my fortune. I continued to remain at the house and one servant would come to consult me on a case of conscience; another, to ask my advice, and I at length rose so high in al-Rashid's favour that he invested me with the qadiship (*of Baghdad*)."<sup>11</sup>—I must here observe that this statement is in contradiction with that which I have already given and in which it is said that he held the qadiship under three of the khalifs. God knows the truth!

Talhah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far<sup>11</sup> said: 'The history of Abu Yusuf is well known and his great merit is evident to all. He was Abu Hanifah's pupil; the ablest legist of that time, and none of his contemporaries surpassed him (*in talent*). He attained the highest point in learning, in wisdom, in authority [*al-riyasat*]" and in influence

---

10 An adulterer cannot be punished unless four witnesses declare that they saw him in the act. Here the question is, if the khalif, as chief of the religion, had the right of inflicting the punishment, because he witnessed the commission of the crime.

\* اللّٰه الله امير المؤمنين

11 Talhah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far was one of the witnesses to the act by which the Khalif al-Mu'uti addicated in favour of his son at-Tai. This document was signed the 13th of *Dhu'l Qa'deh* a, 363 (5th August, A.D. 974).—(*Nujum*)

\*\* [i.e., principles of administration and government —Ed.].

[*al-qadr*]. It was he who, the first, composed works on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, according to the Hanifite system. He dictated and developed the problems of which that science treats, and he spread the doctrines of Abu Hanifah over all parts of the world."

"Of all Abu Hanifah's disciples, there was none," said 'Ammar Ibn Abi Malik, "who could be compared with Abu Yusuf. Had it not been for him, no one would ever have heard of Abu Hanifah or of Muhammad Ibn Abi Layla (*col. II, p. 584*). It was he who put their opinions into circulation and spread abroad their learning."

Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan (*vol. II, p. 590*), one of Abu Hanifah's disciples, said: "Abu Yusuf was taken so dangerously ill, whilst Abu Hanifah was still living, that fears were entertained for his life. Abu Hanifah then went to visit him and we went with him. On retiring he put down his hand on the threshold of the door and said: If that youth die, the most learned of those who are on that -- pointing to the ground, 'will disappear."

Abu Yusuf related the following anecdote: "Al-A'mash (*vol. I, p. 587*) questioned me on a point of law and I resolved it for him. 'Where did you find that solution?' said he. I replied: 'I took it from one of the Traditions which you taught us,' and then repeated it to him. 'Ya'qub,' said he, 'I learned that tradition by heart before your father ever consorted with your mother, but I did not understand its application till now!'"

Hilal Ibn Yahya<sup>12</sup> related as follows: "Abu Yusuf knew by heart the explanations of the *Qur'an*, the history of the (*Muslim*) wars and of the encounters which took place between the Arabs of the desert;\* the science of which he knew the least was that of law. Amongst the disciples of Abu Hanifah, there was not one to be compared to Abu Yusuf."

In the work entitled *al-Jalis wa'l-Anis*, the author, Abu'l Faraj al-Mu'afa al-Nahrawani (*vol. III, p. 374*) states that al-Shafi'i (*vol. II, p. 569*) made the following narration. The *qadi* Abu Yusuf absented himself from Abu Hanifah's lessons for some days, in order to hear

12 Hilal Ibn Yahya Ibn Muslim, a native of Basrah and surnamed Hilal al-Rai (*clear-sighted Hilal*) on account of his great learning and intelligence, studied jurisprudence under Abu Hanifah and Zufar (*see note 14*). He died A.H. 245 (A.D. 859-60). (*Lives of the Hanifites*, fol. 97)

\* *al-tafsir wa al-maghazi wa ayyam al-'Arab*.

Muhammad Ibn Ishaq (*vol. II, p. 677*) and others relate (*traditional accounts of*) the expeditions (*undertaken by the early Muslims*). When he returned to Abu Hanifah's lessons the latter said to him: "Abu Yusuf! tell me the name of Goliath's standard-bearer." Abu Yusuf replied: You are an *imam* (*a master of the first rank*); yet, if you do not abstain from making such questions, I declare by Allah! that I shall ask you in the presence of all the class, which of the combats occurred first, that of Badr or that of Uhud? I am sure that you do not know which of them preceded the other." Abu Hanifah then let him alone.

It is stated in the same work that 'Ali Ibn al-Ja'd related the following anecdote: "The *qadi* Abu Yusuf was one day writing a letter, and a man who was (*sitting*) at his right hand kept looking over what he was writing. Abu Yusuf perceived this and, when he had finished, he turned round to the man and asked him if he had remarked any faults in the letter. The other answered: "By Allah! not a single word misspelt." Abu Yusuf then said to him: "I am much obliged to you for sparing me trouble of revising my letter," and recited this verse:

"One would think, from his bad education, that he had been converted to Islamism by (*the lecture of that chapter in the book of Traditions which is entitled: On*) bad manners<sup>13</sup>."

Hammad the son of Abu Hanifah (*vol. I, p. 469*) said: "I saw Abu Hanifah one day, with Abu Yusuf on his right hand and Zufar<sup>14</sup> on his left. These two were discussing a question and one could not advance an assertion without being refuted by the other. This continued till after the hour of noon, when the *mu'adhdhin* called to prayers. Abu Hanifah then rose [raised] his hand, clapped Zufar on the thigh and said: "Hope not to obtain the first place as a legist in any town where Abu Yusuf may be; declaring thus that Abu Yusuf had the advantage over Zufar. After the death of Abu Yusuf, Zufar had not his equal among the disciples of Abu Hanifah."

The following anecdote was related by Tahir Ibn Ahmad al-Zubayri. "There was a man who attended Abu Hanifah's lessons without ever uttering a word. Abu Yusuf at length said to him: "Do

13 The translation of the last verse is conjectural.

14 The *imam* Zufar Ibn Hudhayl Ibn Qays, a native of Basrah and an eminent doctor of the Hanifite sect, was one of Abu Hanifah's ablest disciples. He was appointed to the qadiship of Basrah, the inhabitants of which place esteemed him highly, and he died there in the year 158 (A.D. 774-5), at the age of forty-eight years.-- (*Lives of the Hanifites, fol. 80*)

you never intend to speak (*and ask a question*)?" The man answered: "By no means; and I shall now ask you at what time he who keeps a fast should break it?" Abu Yusuf replied: "When the sun has set." 'Well' said the man, 'and if he does not set till midnight?' Abu Yusuf laughed and said: You were right in remaining silent, and I was wrong in asking you to speak.' He then pronounced the following verses as applicable to the circumstance:

I admired the indifference of that man who was so careless about himself and wondered at the silence of a person who knew well how to speak. For the indifferent man, silence serves as a veil (*to hide his ignorance*), and for him who can speak well it is a docket indicating his talent.

One of Abu Yusuf's sayings was: "Associating with one who fears neither disgrace nor shame, will be the cause of disgrace and shame on the day of the resurrection."

He said also: "There are three chief blessings: that of being a Muslim, without which, no other blessing is complete; that of health, without which there is no pleasure in life, and that of wealth, without which life cannot be completely enjoyed."

'Ali Ibn al-Ja'd related that he heard Abu Yusuf say: "Science *al-'ilm* will not give to you a portion of itself, unless you give yourself totally up to it; and if you do not so for the purpose of obtaining<sup>15</sup> a mere portion, you commit a grave error."

Abu Yusuf was one day riding, and his servant boy was running on foot after him. A man then said to him: "Does the law permit you to make your boy run after you and not give him whereon to ride?" Abu Yusuf replied: "Do you admit that I may consider my boy in the light of a *mukari*?"<sup>16</sup> The other replied: "I admit that you may." "Well," said Abu Yusuf, "in that case, he must run at my side, as a *mukari* should do."

Yahya Ibn 'Abd al-Samad relates that, al-Hadi, the Commander of the faithful, brought before the *qadi* Abu Yusuf a suit relative to a garden of which he was in possession. His claim at first sight, appeared just, but it was, in reality, ill founded, (*sometime after*,) he said to the *qadi*: "What have you done in the affair which we submitted to your judgment?" The *qadi* answered: "The Commander

---

15 The word *min* seems to stand here for *fi*.

16 The *makari* keeps an ass, a horse or a mule for hire, and accompanies on foot the person who hires the animal.



of the faithful's adversary requires of me that I make you declare, upon oath, that your witnesses have truly deposed." "Do you think that he has a right to do so?" said al-Hadi. "Ibn Abi Layla is of that opinion," said the *qadi*. "Then," replied al-Hadi, "let the garden be restored to the man." This was a device imagined by the *qadi* (in order to get out of the difficulty), for he knew that al-Hadi would not swear.

Bishr Ibn al-Walid al-Kindi states that the *qadi* Abu Yusuf made to him the following relation: "Yesterday evening, when I had got into bed, I heard a violent knocking at the door. I wrapped the sheet about me and went to see who was there, and lo! it was Harthamah Ibn 'Ayan.<sup>17</sup> I saluted him and he merely said to me: 'Answer the call of the Commander of the faithful.' I replied: 'Abu Hatim! I know that you have some regard for me; the time is now late, as you see, and I am afraid that the Commander of the faithful wants me for some serious matter. Could you not try and have the affair put off till tomorrow morning? perhaps he may then have changed his mind.' Harthamah answered: 'That I have not in my power to do.' I asked him then what was the cause of his being sent, and he replied: The eunuch Masrur came out and ordered me to bring you before the Commander of the faithful.' I said to him: 'Will you allow me to make the (*funer*) lotion and perfume myself; if the affair be grave, I shall be prepared for the worst, and that (*precaution*) will do me harm if God, in his bounty, deliver me from danger.' Having obtained his consent, I went into my chamber, put on new clothes, perfumed myself with such odours as were at hand. We then went out together and proceeded to the residence of the Commander of the faithful, Harun al-Rashid. We found Masrur standing there, and Harthamah said to him: 'I have brought you the man.' I then addressed Masrur in these terms: 'Abu Hashim! (*I owe you*) my humble respects, my service and my friendship. This is a painful moment; can you tell me what the Commander of the faithful wants me for?' He answered that he could not. I then asked him who was with the khalif, and he replied: "'Isa Ibn Ja'far.'<sup>18</sup> 'And who else' said I. 'There is not third person,'" was the answer. He then said to me: 'Go forward and, when you are in the vestibule, you will find him sitting in the porch. Scrape your foot on the ground; he will ask who is there and you will answer: 'It is I.' I went in and did as I had been told. He (*Al-Rashid*) said: 'Who is that?' and I answered: 'Ya'qub.' He told me to enter and, when I went in, I found him seated, with 'Isa Ibn Ja'far on his right

---

17 Harthamah Ibn 'Ayan was one of al-Rashid's principal generals.

18 'Isa Ibn Ja'far was the grandson of the khalif al-Mansur and the cousin of al-Rashid.

hand. I made him the salutation; he returned it and said: 'I think that we must have alarmed you.' I replied: You did, by Allah! and have alarmed those also whom I left behind me.--'Sit down', said he. I sat down and, when my apprehensions were allayed, he turned towards me and said: 'Abu Y'qub! do you know why I sent for you?' I replied: 'I do not.' 'I sent for you', said he, 'so that you might receive the declaration which I am going to make against this man who is here. He possesses a slave-girl; I asked her from him as a present, and he refused; I asked him to sell her to me, and he refused. Now, by Allah! if he does not (*consent to my demand*), I shall take his life.' On this, I turned towards 'Isa and said: 'See what God has effected by means of a girl!<sup>19</sup> you refuse giving her to the Commander of the faithful and are therefore reduced to this extremity.' He replied: 'You have spoken before knowing what I have to say.' I asked him what he could say for himself', and he answered: 'I am bound by oath to divorce my wife, to liberate my slaves and to distribute to the poor all I possess, in case I sell that girl or give her away.' Al-Rashid then turned towards me and said: 'Has he any means of getting out of that?' I replied that he had. 'And how so?' said he. I answered: 'Let him give you the half of her and sell you the other half; he will then have neither given her *nor* sold her. 'Is that the law?' said 'Isa. I replied that it was. 'Then,' said he, 'I take you to witness that I give him the half of her and sell him the other half for one hundred thousand dinars (£ 50,000).' Al-Rashid answered: 'I accept the gift and purchase the half of her for that sum. Bring in the girl.' She was brought in and the money also. 'Isa then said: 'Commander of the faithful! receive her, and may you find in her a blessing from God.' When he had taken the money, al-Rashid said: 'Abu Ya'qub! one thing still remains to be done.' 'What is it?' said I. 'She is a slave,' said he, 'and I cannot approach her till she has had her next monthly infirmity; now if I do not pass this night with her, I think my soul will quit my body.' I replied: 'Commander of the faithful! declare her free and marry her; for a freewoman is not bound by that obligation. He said: 'I declare her free; who will marry me to her?' I answered: 'I.' On this, he called in Masrur and Husayn (*to serve as witnesses*). I recited the *khutbah* (*invocation*), praised God and then married them, on the condition of his giving her a dowry of twenty thousand dinars (£ . 10,000). He sent for the money and gave it to her, after which he said to me: 'Ya'qub! you may retire.' He then looked up to Masrur, who replied: 'I am at your orders.' To him he said: 'Carry to Ya'qub's house two hundred dirhmes (£ . 10,000) and twenty chests of clothing.' That was done. Here Bishr Ibn al-Walid said: 'Abu Yusuf

19 The Arabic expression is here translated by conjecture.

then addressed me: 'Do you see anything wrong in what I did?' I answered: 'No.' Then', said he, take your fee (*for this consultation*). I asked him how much was my fee, and he replied: 'The tenth (*of the whole*). I thanked him, prayed for his happiness and was about to stand up (*and withdraw*) when an old woman came in and said: 'Abu Yusuf! (*one who considers herself as*) your daughter sends me to salute you and to say, in her name: 'By Allah! all I received last night from the Commander of the faithful was the dowry which you know of; I here send you the half of it and reserve the rest for my own use.' The *qadi* said to the woman: 'Take the sum back to her; by Allah! I shall not accept it. I delivered her from servitude, married her to the Commander of the faithful, and she thus shows me her satisfaction.<sup>20</sup> I and my uncles remonstrated with him till he accepted, and he then ordered one thousand dinars to be taken out of the sum and given to me."

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Yusufi related as follows: "Umm Ja'far Zubaydah, the daughter of Ja'far<sup>21</sup> and the wife of al-Rashid, wrote a letter to Abu Yusuf in which he asked his opinion relatively to something 'the legality of which', said she, 'is, for me, highly desirable.' He returned her a favourable decision, and she sent him a silver case containing a number of silver boxes placed one over the other and containing, each of them, a different species of perfume. With that camera vase filled with silver money, in the midst of which was another vase filled with gold. One of the company then reminded him that the Prophet had said: *When a man receives a present, his companions<sup>22</sup> must be sharers in it.* To this (*hint*), Abu Yusuf replied: 'Those words were said at a time when the usual presents consisted of milk or dates."

Yahya Ibn Ma'in (*gives us another version of the same story*); he says: "I was at the *qadi* Abu Yusuf's and with him were a number of Traditionists and other (*learned*) men. A present was then brought to him from Umm Ja'far; it consisted of boxes containing flowered and plain stuffs, liqueurs\* perfumes, little figures composed of odorous paste for fumigations, and other objects. One of the persons who were in the room then repeated to me the saying of the Prophet: *When a man receives a present, the by-sitters must be sharers therein, Abu*

20 It is not clear whether the *qadi* thought the sum too little or meant to show his disinterestedness.

21 This Ja'far was the son of the khalif al Mansur.

22 Literary: his by-sitters.

\* [evidently soft drinks.-Ed.]

Yusuf overheard these words and said: 'How can that apply? The Prophet said so a time when presents consisted of curds, or dates, or raisins, and not of objects such as these. Up with them, boy! and take them to the store-room.'

I shall now give a passage which I found in a work bearing the title of *al-Lafif* (the Miscellany), but in which the name of the author is not mentioned. "Abd al-Rahman Ibn Mushir, the brother of 'Ali Ibn Mushir,<sup>23</sup> was the *qadi* of al-Mubarak." *Al-Mubarak* is a village situated on the bank of the Tigris, between Baghdad and Wasit. "This *qadi*, having learned that al-Rashid was going to Basrah in his barge, with Abu Yusuf, requested the inhabitants of his village to speak in praise of him when the khalif and Abu Yusuf would be passing by. As they refused to do so, he put on his (*outside*) clothes, with a high-peaked cap and a black scarf (*thrown over it*). He then went to the landing-place and, when the barge approached, he bawled out: 'Commander of the faithful! we have an excellent *qadi*, a *qadi* of sterling worth.' From that he proceeded to another landing-place and repeated the same words. On this, Rashid turned to Abu Yusuf and said: 'The worst *qadi* on earth must be here! a *qadi* who in the place 'where he resides, can find only one man to speak well of him.' Abu Yusuf replied: 'The Commander of the faithful would be still more surprised if he 'were told that it was the *qadi* who praised himself. Al-Rashid laughed heartily and said: 'He is a clever fellow and must never be dismissed from office. From that time, whenever he thought of this *qadi*, he would say: 'That fellow shall never be deposed.' Abu Yusuf was asked how he could have nominated such a man, and he replied: 'He was for a long time (*a suitor*) at my door, complaining of poverty, and I therefore gave him an appointment.

Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad Ibn Yahya, surnamed *Tha'lab* (vol. I, p. 83) says, in his *Fasih*: "One of my companions informed me that al-Rashid said to Abu Yusuf: 'I am told that all those whose depositions you receive when they appear before you to give evidence, are considered-by you as hypocrites and that you say so.' The *qadi* answered, 'That is the truth' "How?' said al-Rashid. The *qadi* replied 'People who are really respectable and truly honest have no occasion to know us, nor we them; those whose (*profligacy*) is evident and whose (*bad*) character is well known never appear before us as witnesses, neither would their evidence be received. One class only remains, and those are the hypocrites who put on the appearance

23 Ibn Durayd informs us, in his *Ishtikak*, that 'Ali Ibn Mushir was *qadi* of Mosul. We see from the passage quoted by our author that he lived under the khalifate of Harun al-Rashid.

of virtue in order to hide their vices.' Al-Rashid smiled and said: 'That is the truth.'

Muhammad Ibn Sama'ah<sup>24</sup> relates that he heard Abu Yusuf utter these words on the day of his death. 'I declare, my God' that I never pronounced intentionally an unjust sentence, when judging between two of Thy servants, in my decisions I always endeavoured to follow the prescriptions of Thy book and those of Thy Prophet's *Sunnah*; in every case which was doubtful, I placed Abu Hanifah between me and Thee, for I solemnly declare that I considered him to have been a man well acquainted with Thy commandments and never deviating from the truth, when he knew it." There is here an idea borrowed from a saying of Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah, the son of al-Hasan and the grandson of al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib: He passed his hand over his boots (*when making the ablution for prayer, and did not take them off in order to wash his feet*), and a person said to him: "Do you pass your hand over your boots?" His reply was: 'I do; 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab did so; and he who places 'Umar between himself and God has secured himself from danger.'" It is Ibn Qutaybah who mentions this in his *Kitab al-Ma'arif*, where he speaks of 'Ali.

The anecdotes related of Abu Yusuf are very numerous, and the doctors of the law enlarge upon his preeminence and the respect to which he is entitled. In the *Khatib's* greater history of Baghdad, we find things said of Abu Yusuf which are shocking to hear and which we therefore abstain from mentioning. They are given on the authority of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubarak (*vol. II, p. 12*), Waki Ibn al-Jarrah (*vol. I, p. 374*), Yazid Ibn Harun (*vol. I, p. 374*), Muhammad Ibn Isma'il al-Bukhari (*vol. II, p. 594*); Abu'l Hasan al-Daraqutni (*vol. II, p. 239*) and others. God knows best!

The *qadi* Abu Yusuf was born in the year 113 (A.D. 731-2): his death took place at Baghdad on Thursday, the 5th of the first Rabi' A.H. 182 (26th April, A.D. 798), at the first hour of the afternoon; some say, but erroneously, that he died in the year 192. He was

---

24 The imam Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Samaa Ibn 'Ubayd Allah al-Tamimi, a learned Traditionist and doctor of the Hanifite sect, studied jurisprudence under Abu Yusuf. He composed a number of works such as the *Guide for Kadis (Adab al-Kadi)*, the *conversations (Muhadarat)*, *models of acts (Sijillat)* and *Anecdotes (Nawader)*. In the year 192 (A.D. 807-8), on the death of Yusuf, the son of Abu Hanifah, he was appointed *qadi* of Baghdad by al-Ma'mun. He died in the year 233 (A.D. 847-8) at the age of one hundred and three years.--(*Lives of the Hanifites*, fol. 92).

appointed *qadi* in the year 166 (A.D. 782-3), and died in office. His son Yusuf studied and practised the application of rational deduction (*rai*) to questions of law. He learned Traditions from Yunus Ibn Abi Ishaq al-Sabi'<sup>25</sup>, al-Sari Ibn Yahya and others. He was appointed *qadi* of the western suburb of Baghdad in his father's lifetime and, by the order of al-Rashid, he presided at the Friday prayer in the city of al-Mansur (*the suburb of al-Karkh*). He held the qadiship till his death. That event occurred at Baghdad, in the month of Rajab, 192 (May A.D. 808).

The *Khatib* of Baghdad states that, when the *qadi* Abu Yusuf died, al-Rashid nominated in his place Abu'l Bakhtari Wahb al-Qurashi, the same of whom we have given an account (*vol. III, p. 673*). Abu Ya'qub al-Khuzaymi a poet of some celebrity and an intimate friend of Abu Yusuf and his son, having heard a man say, on the death of the former: 'To-day jurisprudence is dead,' recited the following lines:

O thou who announced the death of jurisprudence to the members of its family, because Ya'qub has ceased to live, thou art not aware that jurisprudence is not dead but has merely passed from one bosom to another; from Ya'qub to Yusuf; from goodness to purity. Whilst he (*Yusuf*) remains and wherever he stops, it will stop (*with him; when he dies*), it will descend to the tomb.

*Khunays* is the diminutive form of *akhnas*, which (*adjective*) signifies: having the nose sunk into the face and the point of it slightly prominent. The masculine is *akhnas* and the feminine *khansah*. This form of the diminutive is called the *apocopated* (*tarkhim*); to obtain it, the rule is that the servile letters are to be suppressed and that the regular diminutive form is to be given to what remains of the word. It is thus that *Azhar*, *Aswad* and *Ahmad* have for apocopated diminutives *Zuhayr*, *Suwayd* and *Humayd*.<sup>26</sup>

Instead of the name *Bahir*, some persons read *Bujayr*, but they are in the wrong. I turned over law-books and other treatises in hopes of discovering the meaning of the word *Habtah*, but did not succeed in my search. The other names (*in the genealogy*) are so well known that we need not indicate their orthography.

<sup>25</sup> According to al-Dhahabi the Traditionist Yunus Ibn Abi Ishaq al-Sabi'i died in the year 159 (A.D. 775-6).

<sup>26</sup> The regular diminutives of these words would be *Uzhayir*, *Uswayid* and *Uhmaid*.

Sa'd Ibn Khabtah [Habtah] was one of those volunteers who, on account of their extreme youth, were dispensed by the Prophet from fighting at the battle of Uhud. The others were al-Bara' Ibn 'Azib<sup>27</sup> and Sa'id al-Khudri (vol. II, p. 208). At the battle of the Intrenchment, [al-Khandaq] the Prophet remarked Sa'd Ibn Khabtah who, though very young, was fighting with great bravery. He called him over to him and asked him his name. The other replied. "Sa'd (*happiness*), the son of Habtah, on which the Prophet stroked his head and said: "May God grant you *happy* fortune."

Hunays was the person after whom was named the open place in Kufa which is called the *Tehihar Suh\** are Persian words and mean *four streets*. This place was effectively an open square from which streets branched off in four directions.

## 798 YA'QUB AL-HADRAMI

Abu Muhammad Ya'qub Ibn Ishaq Ibn Zayd Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Ishaq al-Hadrami (*a hadramite*) by clientship and a native of Basra was a celebrated teacher of the *Qur'an*-readings (vol. I, p. 152), and the eighth of the ten Readers.<sup>1</sup> The system of readings taught by him<sup>2</sup> is well-known and has been regularly handed down by oral transmission. He came of a family which produced men learned in the Reading,<sup>3</sup> in grammar and in the (*pure*) language of the Arabs,

27 Abu 'Umarah al-Bara' Ibn 'Azib, one of the *Ansars*, died A.H. 71 (A.D. 690-1).--(*Nujum*.)

\* [*jahar suj*, in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 432-Ed.]

1 We find frequent mention of seven principal Readers and also of ten. Were we to class the ten by the dates of their deaths. Ya'qub would hold, not the eighth place, but the ninth, and we should obtain a list arranged in this order Ibn 'Amir, Ibn Kathir, 'Asim, Yazid, Abu 'Amr, Hamzah, Hafei', al-Kisai, Ya'qub and al-Bazzar. The biographers place Ya'qub as the eighth on the list and create thus a difficulty of which the solution has not yet been found by the translator. The list called that of the *seven Readers*, should be arranged thus, if the chronological order were to be followed: Ibn 'Amir, Ibn Kathir, 'Asim, Abu Amr, Hamza, al-Kisai and Nafi. To make up the list of ten, the names of Yazid, Ya'qub and al-Bazzar were added.

2 The Reading, or rather the system of readings or lections adopted by each of the seven or ten Readers, may be considered as an edition of the *Qur'anic* text.

3 See vol. I page 152.

men distinguished for having transmitted down a great quantity of various readings and for their knowledge of the law. Ya'qub was one of the most eminent Readers, and those of the two holy aities (*Makkah and Madinah*) of the two 'Iraqs, of Syria and of other countries, learned his system by heart, either with or without the *isnads* (vol. I, introd, p. xxii). He obtained a full acquaintance with the readings (or editions) by reciting them aloud to able masters, such as Sallam Ibn Sulayman al-Tawil,<sup>4</sup> Mahdi Ibn Maymun<sup>5</sup> and Abu'l Ashhab al-Utaridi.<sup>6</sup> He taught some *lections* (*huruf*)<sup>7</sup> which he had learned from Hamzah (vol. I, p. 478); he heard *lections* taught by Abu'l Hasan al-Kisai (vol. II, p. 237) and he heard also (*traditions taught by*) his grandfather Zayd Ibn 'Abd Allah and by Shu'bah (vol. I, p. 493). The *isnad* of the reading adopted by him reaches up to the Prophet in the following manner: he read under Sallam's tuition, Sallam under that of 'Asim Ibn Abi al-Nujud (vol. II, p. 1), 'Asim under that of Abu' Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (vol. II, p. 4), Abu Abd al-Rahman under that of 'Ali Ibn Talib, and 'Ali under that of the Prophet. A number of Readers handed down that reading after learning it from Ya'qub and reciting it under his direction: such were Rawh Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min,<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Ibn al-Mutawakkil,<sup>9</sup> Abu Hatim al-Sijistani (vol. I, p. 605) and others. Al-

4 Abu'l Mundir Sallam Ibn Sulayman, a native of Basrah and a *mawla* of the tribe of Muzayna was known as a Reader and a grammarian. He spoke with elegance and was considered as veracious (*saduq*) in what he taught. His death took place in the year 171 (A.D. 787-8). Persons not well informed have confounded him with Abu Sulayman al-Tawil al-Madaini al-Sa'di, surnamed al-Khurasani.-(*Kitab Ma'arif al Qurra'*, ms. of the Bib. imp. n. 742, fol. 30.) --Has Ibn Khalikan fallen into the mistake pointed out by Shams al-Din Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Dhahabi, the author of the *Qurra'*?

5 Abu Yahya Mahdi Ibn Maymun al-Azdi, a *mawla* and a native of Basrah, is placed by al-Dhahabi among the Traditionists. He died A.H. 171 (A.D. 787-8) or 172.-(*Huffaz*.)

6 Abu'l Ashhab Ja'far Ibn Hayan al-Utaridi died in Basrah, towards the year 165 A.D. 781-2), at a very advanced age.-(*Kitab al-Ma'arif*, *Huffaz*.)

7 The word *harf* is employed as a technical term in the science of the Readings and has then two different significations. It designates the systems of Quran-reading, that is, the editions of the Qur'anic text taught by the great masters, and also the various readings or lections which are found in the different texts of the *Qur'an*. The plural is *huruf*.

8 Abu'l Hasan Rawh Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min, a native of Basrah and one of Ya'qub's disciples in Qur'an-reading, died towards the year 234 (A.D. 848-9).-(*Qurra'*, fol. 58, verso.)

9 Muhammad, the son of the Khalif al-Mutawakkil, was distinguished as a poet and died A.H. 282 (A.D. 895-6). He may be the person indicated here.



Za'farani<sup>10</sup> heard it from his (Ya'qub's) lips and, after the death of Abu 'Amr Ibn al-'Ala' (vol. II, p. 399) the most eminent of the Basra literati approved the choice which he had made, and all or most of them adopted his system. Tahir Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min Ibn Ghalbun, the imam of the great mosque of Basra, never recited (to the congregation of) any other reading of the Qur'an than that of Ya'qub.

According to Abu'l Husayn Ibn al-Munadi Ya'qub read the Qur'an under the tuition of Abu 'Amr, but there he is mistaken. 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Abi'l Hatim stated that Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (vol. I, p. 44), being asked his opinion of Ya'qub al-Hadrami, answered: "Veracious",<sup>11</sup> and Abu Hatim al-Sijistani said: "Of all the persons whom we have seen or met with, Ya'qub al-Hadrami is the best acquainted with the *lections*, the differences (*observable in the text*) of the noble Qur'an, the manners of conciliating these differences and the systems followed by the grammarians in analyzing the text of the Qur'an." He (Ya'qub) composed a work which he entitled the *Jami* (*collector*) in which he noted all the difference which exist between the various manners of reading the Qur'an, and indicated the persons to whom each of those readings could be traced up. In a word, we may say that, in his time, he was for the people of Basrah the chief doctor in the Readings. He would sometimes question his disciples respecting the number of verses contained in the Qur'an and, if any of them made a mistake in the enumeration, he would order him to stand up (*and leave the class*). He died in the month of the first Jumada, 205 (Oct.-Nov. A.D. 820); those who place his death in the month of *Dhu'l Hijjah* are mistaken. He, his father Ishaq, and his grandfather Zayd, lived each of them to the age of eighty-eight years. His father's grandfather 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Ishaq al-Hadrami, was one of those great and distinguished doctors (*in law and grammar*) whom all point at for their learning.

Abu 'Ubaydah Ma'mar Ibn al-Muthannah (vol. III, p. 388) says, that the first person who laid (*the foundations of*) Arabic grammar was Abu'l Aswad al-Duwali (vol. I. p. 662); after him came Maymun al-Aqran<sup>12</sup>, who was succeeded by 'Anbast

---

10 Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah Ibn Hashim al-Za'farani (*a native of the village of Zafaranih near Baghdad*), was a teacher of the readings. The date of his death is not given by the author of the *Qurra'*.

11 *Muftis*, or casuists, when consulted on a doubtful point, always draw up their answer in the most concise manner possible.

12 Little or nothing is known of Maymun al-Aqran.

al-Fil<sup>13</sup> who was followed by 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Ishaq al-Hadrami. In another version of this statement, 'Anbasah's name is placed before that of Maymun. God knows best which reading is preferable.

'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Ishaq was a contemporary of 'Tsa Ibn 'Umar al-Thaqafi (vol. II, p. 419) and Abu 'Amar Ibn al-'Ala', but died before them.

Abu ['Abd] Allah Ibn al-Marzubani (vol. III, p. 67) says in his *Muqtabis* (information picked up), which work contains an account of the celebrated grammarians, that al-Mubarrad (vol. III, p. 31) said: "Ali agree in considering Abu'l Aswad al-Duwali as the first who laid down the principles of Arabic grammar and that he learned them from 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib. Abu'l Aswad taught them to 'Anbasah Ibn Ma'dan al-Mahri, who transmitted them to Maymun al-Aqran by whom they were communicated to 'Abd Allah (Ibn Abi Ishaq) al-Hadrami, from whom they passed to 'Tsa Ibn 'Umar<sup>14</sup> then to al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad (vol. I, p. 493), then to Sibawayh (vol. II, p. 396) and then to al-Akhfash."

Bilal Ibn Abi Burda (vol. II, p. 2), the son of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari (vol. III, p. 633), was governor of Basrah when he brought about a conference between 'Abd Allah (Ibn Abi Ishaq) and Abu 'Amar Ibn al-'Ala'. The latter said (in his account of what then passed): 'Tbn Abi Ishaq got the better of me in a discussion concerning the (letter) *hamzah*, but I afterwards studied the question and attained superiority." This 'Abd Allah frequently objected to al-Farazdaq (vol. III, p. 612) the faults which he committed in his poems, and the latter at length said: "By Allah! I will compose against him a satirical verse which will obtain currency among literary men and be quoted by them as a proverb." He then made this verse:

If 'Abd Allah was a (simple) *mawla*, I should satirize him: but  
'Abd Allah is a *mawla* of a family which are *mawlas*.

13 Little is known of Abu'l Aswad 'Anbasah Ibn Ma'dan al-Fil. He possessed some grammatical knowledge and transmitted down orally a great number of poems, amongst which were many composed by Jarir and al-Farazdaq. He must therefore have lived in the second century of the Hijrah. His father was called Ma'dan al-Fil, because he had received one of those animals as a present from the governor of Iraq, Ziyad Ibn Abihh, whose children he was the preceptor. The title of *al-Fil* passed to his son.--(Fluegel's *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*.)

14 The grammarian 'Tsa Ibn 'Umar of the tribe of Thaqif died at Basrah A.H. III (A.D. 729-30). For details see Fluegel's *Schule der Ar.*, p. 29.

He said so because 'Abd Allah was a *mawla* of the Hadramis, which family was confederated by oath (*halif*) with that of 'Abd Shams Ibn 'Abd Manaf. The Arabs of the desert say that the word *halif* is the equivalent of *mawla*, and they cite verses in proof of their assertion. Some of these passages I should give here were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much; besides which, this is not a fit place for them.

### 799 ABU 'AWANAH [YA'QUB IBN ISHAQ] THE HAFIZ

Abu 'Awamh Ya'qub Ibn Ishaq Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Yazid, an inhabitant of Naysapur (*Naysapuri*) and afterwards of Isfarain (*Isfaraini*), is the author of the book entitled *al-Musnad al-Sahih* (*collection of authentic Traditions*), the materials of which he extracted from the work of Muslim Ibn al-Hajjaj (*vol. III. p. 348*). He was one of those *hafizes* who travelled about and gathered up a great quantity of Traditions. He rambled over Syria and Egypt and visited Basrah, Kufah, Wasit, Hij: z, Mesopotamia, Yaman, Isfahan, Rayy and Fars.

The *hafiz* Abu'l Qasim, generally known by the surname of Ibn 'Asakir (*vol. II. p. 252*) says of him, in the History of Damascus: Abu 'Awanah heard, at Damascus, the lessons of Yazid Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Samad, Isma'il Ibn Muhammad Ibn Qirat,<sup>1</sup> Shu'ayb Ibn Shu'ayb Ibn Ishaq and others. In Egypt, he heard Yunus Ibn 'Abd al-A'ala, Ibn<sup>2</sup> Akhi Wahb,<sup>3</sup> al-Muzani (*vol. I, p. 200*), al-Rabi (*vol. I, p. 519*), Muhammad Ibn al-Hakam and Sa'd Ibn al-Hakam. In 'Iraq he heard Sa'dan Ibn Nasr, al-Hasan al-Za'farani (*vol. I, p. 373*). 'Umar Ibn Shabbah (*vol. II, p. 375*) and others. In Khurasan, his teachers were Muhammad Ibn Yahya al-Dhuhli, Muslim Ibn al-Hajjaj. Muhammad Ibn Raja' al-Sindi and others. In Mesopotamia he heard 'Ali Ibn Harb and others. Traditions were taught on his authority by

---

1 Isma'il Ibn Muhammad Ibn Qirat the Traditionist died A.H. 397 (A.D. 1006-7).—(*Nujum*.)

2 The life of Yunus Ibn 'Abd al- A'ila will be found in his volume.

3 The manuscripts offer the reading which we give here the edition of Boulac has: Ibn Akht Wahb.

Abu Bakr al-Isma'ili (*vol. I, p. 8*), Ahmad Ibn 'Ali al-Razi<sup>4</sup>. Abu 'Ali al-Husyan Ibn 'Ali, Abu Ahmad Ibn 'Ali Sulayman al-labarani (*vol. I, p. 592*). Muhammad Ibn Ya'qub Ibn Isma'il the *hafiz*. Abu'l Walid the legist and his own son Abu Mus'ab Muhammad Ibn 'Ali 'Awanah. He made the pilgrimage five times.' "When I was at al-Missisah" says Ibn Abi 'Awanah, "my brother, Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, wrote to me a letter in which were these lines:

If we meet before (*our*) death, we shall cure our souls of the pains caused by our mutual reproaches, and if the hand of death anticipates us (*we can only say*) how many of our absent friends are now under ground.

Abu 'Abd Allah al-Hakam (*vol. II, p. 681*) declared Abu 'Awanah to be a learned and most exact Traditionist, one of those who travelled over the regions of the earth in search of Traditions. He died in the year 316 (A.D. 928-9).

Hamzah Ibn Yusuf al-Sahmi (*vol. I, p. 25*) mentioned that, in the year 292 (A.D. 904-5) Abu 'Awanah was seen in Jurjan.

The *hafiz* Abu'l Qasim Ibn 'Asakir states that the following narration was made to him by the holy and fundamentally learned shaykh (*al-Shaykh al-Salih al-Asil*) Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Umar al-Saffar, a native of Isfarani: "The tomb of Abu 'Awanah, at Isfarain, is visited by all "pious people, and considered as bringing a blessing on those who go to it. At the side of it is the tomb of the scholar by whom his Traditions were handed down, I mean Abu Nu'aym 'Abd al-Malik Ibn al-Hasan al-Azhari of Isfarain. These tombs are in the same mausoleum: it lies within the city, on the left hand of the person who enters by the gate of Nisapur. Near that mausoleum is another containing the tomb of the *ustad* (*or master*) Abu Ishaq al-Isfaraini (*vol. I, p. 8*); it is on the right hand of the person who enters the city by the gate just mentioned. Beside it is the tomb of Abu 'Awanah's disciple and inseparable companion in life and death: I mean the *ustad* (*master*) Abu Mansur al-Baghdadi, who was eminent as an *imam*, a legist and a dogmatic theologian. They both assisted each other in defending religion by means of arguments and logical proofs. I heard my grandfather, the *imam* 'Umar Ibn al-Saffar, to whom God be merciful! say after looking at the tombs which surrounded that of the *ustad* Abu Ishaq, and pointing at the mausoleum: "It is said that forty *imams* and legist of the Shafite there

---

4 Abu Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ali al-Razi (a native of Rayy), was an eminent *hafiz*. He died in the year 403 (A.D. 1012-3).--(Huffaz.)

reposing, every one of whom was worthy of governing the sect and of giving opinions comfortable to his, al-Shafi'i's, views and decisions. The people visit the mausoleum of the *imam* Abu Ishaq more frequently than of Abu 'Awanah, that great *imam* and Traditionist whose worth they do not appreciate because he died a long time ago; they know Abu Ishaq's merit because he died but lately. Abu 'Awanah, as, however, the first to make known at Isfarain the doctrine of the *imam* al-Shafi'i. This he did on his return from Egypt, where, he had studied under Abu Ibrahim al-Muzani (*vol. I, p. 200*). When my grandfather passed near the mausoleum of the *ustad* (*Abu Ishaq*), I remarked that he never entered into it, through a feeling of reverence, and that he was satisfied with kissing the threshold, to which there were a number of steps leading up. He would remain there standing for some time, like a man penetrated with respect and veneration, and then pass on with the look of a man who has just said farewell to a person of high dignity. When he reached the mausoleum of Abu 'Awanah, he would display more respect, reverence and veneration than he had done at the other, and would remain there a longer time."

As we have already spoken of the adjectives *Nisapuri* (*vol. I, p. 61*) and *Isfaraini* (*vol. I, p. 55*), we need not repeat our observations here.

## 800 YA'QUB B. ISHAQ IBN AL-SIKKIT

Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Ibn Ishaq, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Sikkit (*the son of the taciturn*), is the author of the (*philological work entitled*) *Islah al-Mantiq* (*the correcting the language*) and other treatises. The *haifz* Ibn 'Asakir (*vol. II, p. 252*) says of him, in the History of Damascus: "He delivered (*his philological*) information on the authority of Abu 'Amr Ishaq Ibn Mirar al-Shaybani (*vol. I, p. 182*), Muhammad Ibn Muhanna, and Muhammad Ibn Subh Ibn al-Sammak the preacher. The same information was received from him and taught to others by Ahmad Ibn Farah al-Muqri,<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Ibn

---

1 Abu Ja'far Ahmad Ibn Farah Ibn Jibril, a teacher of the Qur'an readings, a Traditionist and an expositor of the *Qur'an*, was a blind man and a native of Baghdad. His vast learning and the exactitude of his information brought him into great repute. As a Traditionist, he is considered to be sure and trustworthy. He died A.H. 393 (A.D. 915-6) at the age of nearly ninety years.— (*Qurra*, fol. 65.)

'Ajlan al-Akhbari, Abu Tkrimah al-Dabbi, Abu Sa'id al-Sukkari.<sup>2</sup> Maymun Ibn Harun the *katib*, and others. He gave lesson to (the *khalif*) al-Mutawakkil's sons, and he said: "Muhammad Ibn al-Sammak uttered this saying: "He who knows mankind humours them; he who has not that knowledge thwarts them, and the main point, in humouring mankind, is to abstain from thwarting them."<sup>3</sup>

Ibn al-Sikkit taught also philology on the authority of al-Asma'i (vol. II, p. 123), of Abu 'Ubaydah (vol. III, p. 388), of al-Farra and of many others. His works are good and full of sound information. Such are the *Islah al-Mantiq*, the *Kitab al-Alfaz* (vocabulary), the *Ma'ani al-Shi'r* (ideas currently used in poetry) and the treatise on grammatical permutations and substitutions (*al-Qalb wa'l ibdal*). As a grammarian, he wanted penetration. In his religious belief he inclined towards the opinions and doctrines of those (the *Shi'ites*) who assigned preeminence to 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib. The following relation was made by Ahmad Ibn 'Ubayd<sup>4</sup>: "Ibn Sikkit consulted me on the propriety of his becoming one of al-Mutawakkil's social companions, and I advised him to refuse. He attributed my counsel to envy and accepted the proposal made to him. One day, whilst he was with al-Mutawakkil, (that prince's two sons) al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'wayyad came in, and al-Mutawakkil said to him: "Tell me, Ya'qub! which you like best, these two sons of mine or al-Hasan and al-Husayn (the sons of 'Ali)?" Ibn al-Sikkit answered by depreciating the merit of the two princes and giving to al-Hasan and al-Husayn the praise to which they were well entitled. On this, al-Mutawakkil ordered his Turkish guards to chastise him, and they (threw him down and) trod on his belly. He was then carried to his house, where he died two days afterwards. This happened in the year 244 (A.D. 857-9)." 'Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-'Aziz, a person who also had advised Ya'qub 'Ibn al-Sikkit) not to enter into the service of al-Mutawakkil, said on this occasion:

2 Abu Sa'id al-Hasan Ibn al-Husayn al-Sukkari studied at the schools of Kufa and Basra, acquired great philological, grammatical information and published highly esteemed editions of the ancient poets. He composed some treatises on philological subjects and an extensive work on the poems of Abu Nuwas. Born A.H. 212 (A.D. 827-8), died A.H. 275 (A.D. 888-9).—(*Fihrest*; Fluegel's *Grammatische Schule der Araber*, p. 89)

3 This maxim is probably inserted here because the neglect of it cost Ibn al-Sikkit his life.

4 Abu Ja'far Ahmad Ibn 'Ubayd, surnamed Abu Asida, was one of the learned men of Kufa and preceptor to Ja-Muntasir and al-Mu'tazz, the son of al-Mutawakkil. He composed some philological works and died A.H. 273 (A.D. 886-7), or 278, by another account.—*Fihrest*; Fluegel's *Cram, Schule der Ar.*, p. 161.)

I advised you, Ya'qub! to avoid the proximity of a gazelle which, if it attacked a lion, would overcome him. Taste therefore and swallow that which you preferred to drink (*ma stahsaitahu*)! I shall not say, if you miss your footing: "God set you up again!" but shall say: "May (you fall dead and flat) on your hands and your mouth!"

It is related that al-Farra' asked Ibn al-Sikkit what was his native place and received this answer: "I am a Khuzian, God bless you! and come from Dawraq."--*Dawraq* is a village in Khuzistan and forms a district in the province of al-Ahwaz. --I may here observe that Ahwaz forms also a part of Khuzistan.--Al-Farra' then remained in his house during forty days, without letting himself be seen by any of his acquaintances, and, being asked why he did so, he replied: "May God be glorified! I should be ashamed to meet with Ibn al-Sikkit, for I asked him what was his country and, though he answered me truly, there was in his reply a shade of reprehension."<sup>5</sup>

Abu'l Hasan al-Tusi<sup>6</sup> related as follows: "We were at a sitting held by Abu'l Hasan 'Ali al-Lihyani,<sup>7</sup> who proposed dictating to the company such rare and curious philological anecdotes as he was acquainted with though very feeble he was in the art of dictating: One day, he said: The Arabs (*of the desert*) make use of this expression. "A heavily loaded ( مَثَل camel) helps itself up with its chin ( بِدَقَّتْ *bi-dhiqini*). "On this, Ibn al-Sikkit, who was then a mere youth, rose up (*went over*) to him and said: "Abu'l Hasan! the correct expression is: A heavily loaded (*camel*) helps itself up with its two flanks ( بِدَفَّيْ *bi-deffayhi*); and it means that, when a camel rises with its load, it gets up with the help of its two sides."

5 Al-Farra, on opening his course of lectures, asked each of his scholars what was his name and from what country he came. Ibn al-Sikkit answered frankly that he was from Khuzistan, a country the inhabitants of which, according to Yaqut, were notorious for their avarice, their stupidity and the vileness of their inclinations. It was said that a year's residence in that country sufficed to change the cleverest man into an idiot.--(*Dictionnaire geog. de la Perse*, translated from the Arabic of Yakut by Barbier de Meynard)

6 See p. 269 of this volume and Flueger's *Gramm. Schure der Ar.*, p. 156.

7 Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn al-Mubarak al-Lihyani, was al Ksai's servant boy. Having had frequent opportunities of meeting with men of learning and Arabs of the desert who spoke their language with elegance, he picked up a great quantity of literary information, and composed some works. Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim Ibn Sallam (*vol. II*, p. 486) received lessons from him. He died probably towards the commencement of the third century of the Hijja (A.D. 912).--(*Fihrest*, fol. 64.).

Abu'l Hasan ceased dictating that day. Having resumed his lessons at another sitting, he said: "The Arabs (*of the desert*) say: Such a one is my next-door neighbour *mukashiri*: on which Ibn al-Sikkit again stood up to him and said: God bless you, sir! what does *mukishir* mean? the right expression is: such a one is my *mukishir*: in as much as the *kasr*, or side of his tent touches the *kasr* of mine." Al-Lihyani ceased to dictate and never commenced again." "Never," said Abu'l 'Abbas al-Mubarrad, did I meet with a work composed by a Baghdadian which surpassed Ibn al-Sikkit's treatise on the language."

Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Shaddad related as follows: "I complained to Ibn al-Sikkit of being in narrow circumstances, and he asked me if I had ever spoken (*in verse*)? I answered that I had not, on which he said: But I can do so: and he then recited to me these lines:

I desire things which I cannot possibly obtain as long as I remain in apprehension of what destiny may bring about. Travelling (*as a merchant*) in search of riches is not travelling (*and fatigue*); it is your remaining in a state of misery travelling (i.e. *fatiguing*)."

Ibn al-Sikkit related that a man wrote to a friend of his in these terms: "A case of necessity has occurred which obliges me (*to have recourse*) to you (*qibalaka*). If I succeed, I shall find therein my share (*of good fortune*) and the rest shall be your share. If you ask to be excused (*I shall only say that every thing*) good may always be expected of you and that I now offer beforehand my excuses. (*Receive my salutation*)."<sup>8</sup>

The following anecdote was copied from a note in his (*Ibn al-Sikkit's*) handwriting: Sulayman Ibn Rabi'ah al-Bahili<sup>9</sup> was reviewing his cavalry (*man by man*) and, when 'Amr Ibn Ma'di Karib al-Zubaydi<sup>10</sup> passed before him on horseback, he said to him: "Your horse is of a base breed." "Nay," replied 'Amr, "he is a blood-horse." On this, Sulayman ordered that the animal should be kept from water till it got thirsty, and had then a large basin brought out, filled with water. The blood-horses to which it was offered drank out of it, and so did

---

8 The epistolary style of the thoughts and the elegant concision of the style. The Europeans this elliptical style appears obscure and affected.

9 This was one of the khalif 'Umar's generals.

10 This celebrated chieftain was a contemporary of Muhammad and the first khalifs. For his adventures, see Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.



the horse of 'Amr, but in bending the leg. "Do you see that?" said Sulayman. "I do," replied 'Amr, "one base-born animal has recognised another." 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, to whom this was told, wrote to 'Amr in the following terms: I have been informed of what you said to your superior officer, and am told that you have a sword which you call *Simsamah*. Now, I also have a sword the name of which is *Simsim* and, by Allah! if I lay it across your head, I shall not withdraw it has reached your *rahabah*. If you wish to know whether I say truth or not, you have only to recommence. Receive my salutation." The term *rahabah* takes the same vowels as the word *sahabah* (cloud) the designates that bone of the breast which is shaped like tongue and is situated above the stomach.

Abu 'Uthman al-Mazini said: "I met Ibn al-Sikkit at the house of the vizir Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyad (*vol. III, p. 249*), and the latter said to me: Propose a question to Abu Yusuf (*Ibn al-Sikkit*). Being unwilling to do so, I hesitated and delayed, fearing to displease Ibn al-Sikkit, who was my intimate friend. The vizir insisted and asked why I did not obey; so, I endeavoured to choose an easy question and thus do him a friendly act. I therefore said to him: What is the grammatical form of the verb *naktal* in that passage of God's book where it is said: *Send our brother with us, so that we may have (corn) measured to us.* (*Qur'an sur 12, verse 63*). He replied: 'Its form is *naʿal*.' On this, I observed to him that, if it were so, the preterite (or root) of the verb would be *katal*—I do not mean that, said he, the form is *naftail*. On this, I asked him how many letters there were in *naftail*. (*when in Arabic characters*), and he answered: "five." And how many," said I, are there in *naktal*? He answered: "Four." How then said I, can a word of four letters have the same form as one of five" Being unable to answer, he coloured up and remained silent."<sup>11</sup> On this, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik said to him: You receive, every month, a salary of two thousand dirhems (" 50), and yet you cannot indicate the form of *naktal*.' When we withdrew, Ya'qub (*Ibn al-Sikkit*) said to me: 'Abu 'Uthman! do you know what you have done?' I replied: 'By Allah! I endeavoured to find for you an easy question, and do you a service.' Abu'l Hasan Ibn Sidah (*vol. II, p. 272*) states, in his *Muhkam*, towards the beginning of his preface, that this scene passed in the presence of (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil. God knows best!

---

<sup>11</sup> Arabic scholars will easily understand the question: so, we shall merely state that Ibn al-Sikkit's second answer was right unfortunately, he had forgotten that verbs having a vowel for one of their radicals, lose it in the unconditional mood.

An author, but not Ibn 'Asakir, says that street of Madina tas-Salam (Baghdad) which is called *Darb al-Qantarah* (Bridge Street), and, wanting to gain something more, he applied to the study of grammar. It is related that the father, having made the pilgrimage and the circuits around the House (*the Ka'bah*), and the running (*between Safa' and Marwah*), prayed God to render his son learned in grammar. (Ibn al-Sikkit), having studied grammar and philology, used to visit regularly some persons who resided in (*the street of*) al-Qantarah, and he received from them, each time, the sum of ten dirhems (5 shillings) or somewhat more. He then went regularly (*to teach*) Bishr and Harun, who were employed as scribes by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir al-Khuzai,<sup>12</sup> and he continued to go to them and their children. Ibn Tahir, being then in want of a person capable of bringing up and educating his children confided them to the care of Ibrahim Ibn Ishaq al-Mus'abi, and engaged Ya'qub at a (*monthly*) salary of five hundred dirhems, which sum he afterwards increased to one thousand.

Abu'l 'Abbas Tha'lab (*vol. I, p. 83*) said: "Ibn al-Sikkit was skilled in various branches of knowledge. His father, who was a virtuous man and had been one of Abu'l Hasan al-Kisai's (*vol. II, p. 237*) disciples, was well acquainted with pure Arabic. The motive which induced people to attend Ya'qub's sittings was this: I found that he had collected the poems of Abu al-Najm al-Tjili<sup>13</sup> and ameliorated the text; so, I asked him to lend me the volume in order that I might copy it. 'Abu'l 'Abbas! said he, 'I have sworn that my wife shall be divorced from me if that volume ever gets out of my sight; but there it is before you; so, you may (*begin to*) copy it (*here*) and return to me on Thursday next (*to resume your task*).' My going to see him induced a number of persons to do the same, and the news, having spread about, brought crowds to his lessons." Tha'lab said also: "Our masters were unanimous in declaring that, since the time of Ibn al-A'rabi (*vol. III, p. 23*), there had not appeared a more learned

---

12 Abu'l 'Abbas Muhammad, the son of the celebrated emir Abd Allah Ibn Tahir, left Khurasan in the year 237 (A.D. 851-2) and obtained from the khalif al-Muttawakki the government of Iraq. He fixed his residence at Baghdad and, in the year 248 A.D. 862-3) he was appointed commander of the *shurta* (*the police guards*), and received, in addition to the government of 'Iraq, that of the two holy Cities (*Makkah and Madinah*). He died A.H. 253 (A.D. 867). His talents, literary acquirements, bravery and generosity rendered his name illustrious.— (*Nujum*.)

13 The poet Fadl Ibn Qudamah al-Ijli, surnamed Abu al-Najm (*the father of the star*), was contemporary with the 'Umayyah khalif Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik.— (*De Hammer's Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, vol. II, p. 362.)

philologist than Ibn al-Sikkī. "--Being obliged by al-Mutawakkil to become the preceptor of his son al-Mu'tazz Billah, he went to that prince's room and said, on taking his seat: "What does the emir wish that we should be in by?" To this al-Mu'tazz replied: "By departing." Then, said Ya'qub, I shall rise (*and retire*). "I shall be more active in rising than you," said al-Mu'tazz, and he stood up in such haste that his feet got entangled in his trousers, and he fell on the floor. Ya'qub, to whom he then turned, quite abashed and blushing with shame, recited to him these lines:

A man may be punished for a slip of the tongue, but is never chastised for the slipping of his feet. A slip of the tongue may cost him his head, but a slip of the foot is cured by repose.

Al-Mutawakkil, to whom Ya'qub went the next morning and related what had passed, ordered him a gift of fifty thousand dirhems but observed that he had already heard these two verses."

Ya'qub used to say: "I am a better grammarian than my father, but he surpasses me by his acquaintance with poetry and (*pure*) Arabic.\*"

Al-Husayn Ibn 'Abd al-Mujib al-Mausili said: "I heard Ibn al-Sikkī recite the following verses at a sitting held by Abu Bakr Ibn Abi Shaybah:<sup>14</sup>

There are persons who love you ostensibly with a love not to be diminished; and yet, if you ask them for ten farthings, they would refer their dear friend to the bounty of the all-knowing God."

Ibn al-Sikkī composed some poetry capable of giving confidence to a dejected mind. Such, for instance, was the following:

When the heart is filled with despair and the widest bosom is too narrow to hold the grief which invades it, -- when afflictions have lodged therein and taken up their dwelling, -- when you find no means of escaping from misery and perceive that all the address of the most experienced is useless, -- assistance will come to you, whilst you are in despair, as a favour

---

14 The *hafiz* Abu Bakr 'Abd Allah, surnamed Ibn Abi Shaybah, was a *mawla* of the tribe of 'Abs and a native of Kufah. As a Traditionist, his authority is cited by al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Da'wud and others. He died in the month of Muharram, 235 (July-August, A.D. 849).--(*Huffar.*)

\* [al'lu]

from the bountiful Being, Who hears the prayers of the wretched. When misfortune has reached its height, deliverance is at hand.

It was said by the learned that the *Islah al-mantiq* was a book without a preface and the *Adab al-Katib* of Ibn Qutaybah (*vol. II, p. 22*) a preface without a book; the fact is that the preface of the latter work is very long, but it contains much useful information.

One of the learned scholars has said: "There never crossed the bridge (*of boats*) at Baghdad such a treatise on philology as the *Mantiq*." It is certainly an instructive and useful work, containing a great quantity of philological information, and there does not exist, as far as we know, a treatise of the same size and on the same subject. A number of persons have made it the special object of their studies: the vizir Abu'l Qasim al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali, surnamed Ibn al-Maghribi (*vol. I, p. 450*), made an abridgment of it, the *khatib* Abu Zakariya al-Tabrizi (*No. 78 of this vol.*) remodelled it, and Ibn al-Sirafi (*vol. I, p. 377*), composed, on the verses cited in it, an instructive work. The other productions of Ibn al-Sikkit are: The *Kitab al-Zibrij* (*book of precious ornaments*), the *Kitab al-Maq ur wa'-Mamdud* (*on the short and the long final a*), the *Kitab al-Mudhakkar wa'l-Mu'wannath* (*on masculine and feminine nouns*), the *Kitab al-Ajnas* (*on the different species of animals*, which is a large work, the *Kitab al-Farq* *on the difference between the names given to the members of the human body and to those of animals*), the *Kitab al-Sarj wa'l-Lijam* (*on the saddle and bridle*), the *Kitab fa'al w' Af'al* (*on the difference of signification between verbs of the first and the fourth form*), the *Kitab al- Hasharat* (*on reptiles and insects*), the *Kitab al-Aswat* (*on the cries of men and animals*), the *Kitab al-Addad\** (*on words which have two opposite significations*), the *Kitab al-Shajr wa'l-Nabat* (*on trees and plants*), the *Kitab al-Wuhush* (*on wild beasts*), the *Kitab al-lbl* (*on camels*), the *Kitab al-Nawadir* (*on expressions of rare occurrence*), the *Kitab Ma'ani'l-Shi'r al-Kabir* (*the greater work on the ideas occurring in poetry*), the *Kitab Saraqat al-Shu'ara wa m'attafaqa 'alayh* (*on the plagiarisms of poets and the thoughts in which they agreed unintentionally*), etc. The reputation of this author is so great that we need not expatiate on his merits.

The manner of his death has been related otherwise than in the account which we have given: according to some, al-Mutawakkil often attacked the character of 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib and of that khalif's sons, al-Hasan and al-Husayn.— His detestation of them has been already noticed in some verses which we inserted in the life of Abu'l Husayn 'Ali' Ibn Muhammad surnamed Ibn Bassam (*vol. II, p. 300*).—Ibn al-

\* [*Kitab al addad* in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 443—Ed.]

Sikkit (*on the contrary*), shewed for them the utmost veneration and attachment. In the conversation of which we have spoken, he said (*it appears*), to al-Mutawakkil: "Qanbar, 'Alī's slave, was better than you and your sons." On this, al-Mutawakkil ordered his tongue to be plucked out from the back of his neck, and the order was obeyed. This occurred on the eve of Tuesday, the 5th of Rajab, 244 (17th October, A.D. 858); or according to others, in 243 or 246. God best knows the true date! Ibn al-Sikkit had then attained his fifty-eighth year. When he died, ten thousand dirhems were sent to his son by al-Mutawakkil, as the price of the father's blood.

The grammarian Abu Ja'far Ahmad Ibn Muhammad, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Nahhas (*vol. I, p. 81*), states that al-Mutawakkil's conversation with Ibn al-Sikkit began in a jesting tone, which then turned to earnest. According to another account, al-Mutawakkil ordered him to revile and disparage a certain Qurayshite and, perceiving his unwillingness to do so, he caused the Qurayshite to revile Ibn al-Sikkit. The latter replied to this attack; on which al-Mutawakkil said to him: "I gave you an order and you refused to obey; and, on being insulted by this man, you did what I wanted." He then had a beating inflicted on Ibn al-Sikkit, who was immediately afterwards carried out of the room and dragged (*home*) prostrate (*on the ground*).—God knows which of these accounts is the true one. An anecdote similar to the one related above has been already given by us in the life of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubarak (*vol. II, p. 12*), who had been questioned respecting the relative merits of Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan and 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz.

The surname of *al-Sikkit* was given to the subject of this notice because he was very taciturn and would remain a long time without speaking. All words of the forms *fa il* and *fi'lil* take an *i* after the first letter.<sup>15</sup>—*Khuzi* means *belonging to Khuzistan*, which is a region lying between Basrah and Fars.

## 801 YA'QUB IBN AL-LAYTH AL-SAFFAR

Abu Yusuf Ya'lub Ibn al-Layth al-Saffar al-Khariji (*the insurgent*);

15 As examples of the first of these forms, we may give رديد (*ri'did*) ابريق (*ibriq*) اكليل (*iklil*) and جبريل (*jibril*). For the second form we have صكيت (*sikkit*) صديق (*siddiq*).

of this chief add of his brother 'Amr, historians make frequent mention: they speak of the countries which they conquered, of the numbers which they slew and of the conflicts which took place between them and the khalifs. It is from these accounts that I have extracted the information given in the following pages.

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, Ibn al-Azhar al-Akhhari<sup>1</sup> says: 'Ali Ibn Muhammad, a person well acquainted with the proceedings of (Ya'qub) ibn al-Layth al-Saffar and with the history of his wars, related to me as follows: Ya'qub and his brother 'Amr were *saffars* (*coppersmiths*) in their youth and, at that time they made a great show of piety. A native of Sijistan then attracted attention by undertaking, of his own accord, to wage war against the Kharijites.<sup>2</sup> This volunteer in God's service (*mutawwi'i*) came from the town of Bust and bore the name of Salih Ibn al-Nadr al-Kinani (*of the Arabic tribe of Kinanah*). The two brothers became his partisans and rose to fortune by his means. Ya'qub, having lost his brother, who was slain by that sect of Kharijites which was called the *Shurat*, was appointed by the above mentioned Salih to act as his lieutenant. On the death of Salih, another of the volunteers (*mutawwi'i*) named Dirham Ibn al-Husayn occupied his place, and Ya'qub remained with him as he had done with Salih. Dirham, having then fallen into a snare which had been laid for him by the governor of Khurasan, was sent by him to Baghdad and there imprisoned. When set at liberty, he entered into

---

1 I am inclined to believe that the historian whose names are here given by our author is the same who is designated in the Paris manuscript of the *Fihrest*, anc. fds. n. 874, fol. 200 v, by the surname of Ibn Abi'l-Azhar and by the names of Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mazyad al-Nahwi (*the grammarian*), al-Akhhari (*the historian*), al-Busghanji (*native of Bushani*, a village at about thirty miles from Herat). In A.H. 313 (A.D. 915-6), he was thirty years of age and lived, probably, much longer. He left a collection of anecdotes concerning the khalif al-Musta'in and his successor al-Muta'zz, an account of those among the ancients who spoke their language with elegance and a history of such men as were distinguished for their talents and the immorality of their lives. According to the author whose authority is followed by professor Fluegel, in his *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*, p. 97, he died A.H. 325 (A.D. 936-7), aged upwards of ninety years (?), and had been one of al-Mubarrad's favorite disciples.

2 Nearly all the provinces of the Muslim empire were, at that time, in the power of chiefs who, though acknowledging the supremacy of the khalifs, were in fact, independant sovereigns. Such were the Tahirides in Khurasan and the Tulunides in Egypt, whilst the 'Alides of Tabaristan, the Kharijites of Mosul and of the countries to the north of Persia rejected complete the authority of the khalifs. The south of Iraq was ravaged by the Zenj.

the sultan's service, but afterwards confined himself to his house and manifested great piety, devotion and the intention of making the pilgrimage. This continued till Ya'qub became powerful." Our professor 'Izz al-Din Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Ibn al-A<sup>th</sup>ir (*vol. II, p. 288*), says, in that section of his Annals [*Al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh*] which contains an account of Ya'qub's first proceedings and which is placed under the year 237 (A.D. 851-2): In this year, a native of Bust whose name was Salih Ibn al-Nadr made himself master of Sijistan. With him was Ya'qub Ibn al-Lay<sup>th</sup>. Tahir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir Ibn al-Husayn, the governor of Khurasan, marched against him and delivered the province from the invaders. Some time after, a man named Dirham Ibn al-Husayn, who was also one of the volunteers, made his appearance in the same country and subdued it, he was, however, unable to provide for his troops and so glaring was his incapacity that his partisans rallied around Ya'qub Ibn al-Lay<sup>th</sup>, who held the command of the army, and placed him at their head, having already remarked the talent with which he administered, governed and maintained order. Dirham, being informed of this, offered no resistance and abdicated in favour of Ya'qub. The new chief subdued all the country and became very formidable; reinforcements came to him from every quarter, and his authority increased in the manner which we shall relate."

Let us resume and terminate the recital made by 'Ali Ibn Muhammad: "When Dirham Ibn al-Husayn arrived in Baghdad, Ya'qub took the command of the volunteers, and continued the war against the Shurat Kharijites. These sectaries he succeeded in vanquishing and destroying, and in laying waste, their villages. By his skill and address he obtained from his partisans such obedience as they had never shown to his predecessors. His power and might then became so great that he was able to effect the conquest of Sijistan, Herat, Bushanj and their dependencies. There was in the frontier territory of Sijistan a Turkish tribe called the Darari and governed by a king named Ratbil. Ya'qub, incited by the inhabitants of Sijistan, who stated that this people did even more harm than the Shurat Kharijites and better deserved to be punished, marched against them, slew their king and three princes, all of them bearing the title of Ratbil. He then returned to Sijistan with the heads of these princes and some thousands more. Having become formidable to all the kings of the countries around him, he obtained the humble submission of the sovereigns who reigned over Multan, al-Ruk<sup>h</sup>khaj, al-Tabasayn, Zabulistan, al-Sind, Makran and other places. His expedition against Herat and Bushanj took place in the year 253 (A.D. 867). At that time, the emir of Khurasan was Muhammad Ibn Tahir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir Ibn al-Husayn al-Khuza'i. The officer who commanded for

him in these cities, and whose name was Muhammad Ibn Aws al-Anbari, marched against the invader at the head of a numerous force, magnificently equipped and armed. In the battle which ensued, he fought bravely and kept his ground, till Ya'qub, by a skilful manoeuvre, intercepted his communications with Bushanj and thus obliged him to make a precipitate retreat. It is said that (Ya'qub), in all his battles, never met with a more obstinate resistance than that offered by Ibn Aws. He then occupied Bushanj and Herat. Having got into his power a number of 'Tahirians, persons so called because they were attached to the family of Tahir Ibn al-Husayn al-Khuza'i, he took them with him to Sijistan and kept them prisoners. The khalif al-Mut'azz Billah obtained their liberty by sending to him a letter, the bearer of which was Shims named Ibn Bal'am. I was informed, said Ibn al-Azhar Albert, by Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Marwan, than Ibn Balam related to him as follows: 'I set out with a letter for him from al-Mu'tazz Billah and, on arriving at Zaranj, the capital of Sijistan, I asked permission to see him. The authorisation being granted, I went in without saluting and sat down in his presence without his inviting me to do so. I then delivered the letter to him and, when he received it, I said to him: Kiss the letter of the Commander of the faithful.' That he did not do, but broke the seal and opened it. I then retired walking backwards, towards the door of the saloon in which he was, and said: 'Salutation to the emir and the mercy of 'God.'<sup>3</sup> He was so much pleased with this that he togged me well, made me a present and set the Tahirians at liberty. The same Ibn Bal'am related as follows: 'I went, one day, to visit Yusuf al-Saffar, and he said to me: 'There is a man coming to me from Fars, or that quarter, for the purpose of obtaining my protection, and he has with him three or four others; nay, there are five in all.' This declaration of his I did not believe and remained silent; yet, before I was aware, the chamberlain entered and said: 'Emir! there is a man at the door who comes to ask protection, and with him are four others.' The visitor being introduced by Ya'qub's order, informed him, after saluting, that he had with him four companions. These also were admitted. I turned to the chamberlain and asked him if this was a juggling trick of his? He replied with a solemn oath that the men had arrived quite suddenly and that no one had been aware of their coming. Some time after, I asked Ya'qub about it. 'Emir,' said 'I remarked something said by you which was really surprising, how did you know of this suppliant's coming with his companions?' He replied: 'I was thinking of Fars when I saw a raven alight on a spot

---

<sup>3</sup> This singular proceeding was perhaps conformable to the etiquette observed by all the khalif's ambassadors.



fronting the road which leads to that country and I felt in one of my toes a twitching which passed successively to each of the others. Now, as toes are not noble members of the body, I knew that some people from that quarter would come to see me, either as suppliants or envoys of little consequence.

'Ali Ibn al-Hakam related as follows. I asked Ya'qub Ibn al-Layth al-Saffar how he came by the scar which disfigured him so much and which extended from the bridge of his nose across his cheek. He replied that he got the wound in one of his encounters with the Kharijites: a man whom he had wounded with his lance turned upon him and struck off (*with a sabre*) one half of his face. The piece was then replaced and sewed on 'During twenty days' said he, 'I remained with a tube in my mouth, which had to be maintained open lest the inflammation should extend to the head, and my food consisted of liquids which were poured down my throat.' His chamberlain added. 'Notwithstanding this wound the emir went out as usual to direct the movements of his troops and fought (*like the others*).'

Ya'qub sent to al-Mut'azz Billah a magnificent present and amongst other objects, a operative mosque made of silver and large enough to hold fifteen persons at a prayers. He asked that the province of Fars should be given to him, and engaged (*to pay a yearly tribute of*) fifteen millions of dirhems in case he succeeded in expelling from that province 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Quraysh, him who governed it.<sup>4</sup> Ya'qub, having sent this letter to al-Mu'tazz, left Sijistan with the intention of proceeding to Kirman, and halted at *Bam*.-- This place marks the point which separates Sijistan from Kirman.-- "Al-'Abbas Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Quraysh, the brother of the above-mentioned 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn, then departed from Kirman with 'Ahmad Ibn al-Layth al-Kurdi and took the road of *Shiraz*. Ya'qub placed a body of troops under the orders of his brother 'Ali Ibn al-Layth and sent him forward to al-Sirjan whilst he himself remained at *Bam*.--*Al-Sirjan* is a town in Kirman.

"Ahmad Ibn al-Layth al-Kurdi then turned from his way, with a numerous body of Kurds and other troops, and proceeded to *Darabrd*.-- This name is common to three localities, of a vast district in Fars, and the second a village of Fars, in the district of *Istakhar*, at which there is a mine of quicksilver. It must have been to one

---

4 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn Quraysh had been appointed governor of Fars by the khalif, but, though he acknowledged the authority of the court of Baghdad, he acted as an independant prince.

of these two places that they went, for the third is at Nishapur in Khurasan, to which province it is probable that they did not go, since it has no connection with Fars. -- The narrator continues thus "Ahmad Ibn al-Layth then met with a band of Ya'qub's troops who were on a foraging party killed some of them and put the rest to flight. The heads of the slain he sent to Fars, where they were stuck up by 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn. Ya'qub, on learning what had happened, entered into Kirman. 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn sent against him Tawq Ibn al-Mughallis\* at the head of five thousand Kurds and the troops which Ahmad Ibn al-Layth al-Kurdi had brought with him. He marched to Unas<sup>5</sup>, a city in the province of Kirman and there halted. Tawq then received a letter from Ya'qub in which he was told that he had made a mistake in coming into a province which did not belong to him, and to this he replied: 'You are more skilled in the working of copper than in the work of war.' This gave great offence to Ya'qub. There was in Tawq's army three hundred of the *Abna'*.<sup>6</sup> When Ya'qub reached the city of Unas, [Iyas, in Cairo ed.] he gave battle to Tawq, killed part of his troops and put the rest to flight; but the *Abna'* stood their ground so bravely that Ya'qub had pity on them and offered to spare their lives. This proposal they rejected and continued fighting till they died. In this battle, Ya'qub slew two thousand men, took one thousand prisoners and, with them, Tawq Ibn al-Mughallis [Muflis?]. The latter he put into light chains and provided abundantly with food and other necessities, but obliged him to deliver up his treasures. Having then left Unas, he entered into the government of Fars, and 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn retrenched himself in Shiraz. This took place on Tuesday, the 17th of the latter Rabi' 255 (14 April, A.D. 869). Ibn al-Husayn then wrote to Ya'qub a letter in which he declared that he had not ordered Ibn al-Mughallis [Muflis?] to act as he had done and that hostilities had been commenced by that chief without authorization. 'If you intend to take Kirman,' said he, 'you have turned your back to it, if you wish to obtain possession of Fars, produce a letter from the Commander of the faithful ordering (me) to give it up: then I shall retire.' Ya'qub

---

\* [Al-muflis in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 448. Ed.]

5 The editions and the manuscripts read *Ayas* اياس instead of *Unas* اناس but the orthography given by the geographical dictionary entitled the *Marasia*, seems, preferable.

6 The word *abna* signifies sons. It was generally employed to designate persons one of whose parents was an Arab and the other of a foreign race. At the time of Muhammad and afterwards, there was in Yaman a great number of *abna* whose mothers were Arabs.

answered that he had a letter from the sultan<sup>7</sup>, but would not deliver it till he had entered the town and that, if he (*'Ali Ibn al-Husayn*) would evacuate the place and give it up, he would do an act of piety and remove all cause of evil. If not, said he, the sword must decide between us, and our place of meeting shall be the *marj* of Sinkan.-- This is a large and moist tract of land at the distance of three parasangs from *Shiraz*. "The post-master and the chief men of the place then wrote to Ya'qub, saying: For you to whom God has given a spirit so devoted to his service and so zealous for the interests of religion, for you who have slain the *Kharijites* and expelled them from the princes of *Khurasan* and *Sijistan*, it is not befitting to be hasty in the shedding of (*Muslim*) blood. '*Ali Ibn al-Husayn* will not give up the town unless he receives a written authorisation from the *khalif*.' The people of *Shiraz* then prepared to sustain a siege. When the troops of *Tawq* had been put to flight, three of Ya'qub's partisans fell into the hands of the fugitives and were imprisoned by '*Ali Ibn al-Husayn*. As for *Tawq*, he had purchased, previously to marching against Ya'qub, a house in *Shiraz* for which he paid seventy thousand dirhems (£ 1.750) and had allotted another sum of money to be spent upon it. He now wrote these words to his son (*who was in the town*): 'Do not suspend the work of the masons; for the emir Ya'qub treats me with honour and kindness. Obtain the liberation of his three partisans; that is what he asks for. And he has promised, if it be done, to set me at liberty.' '*Ali Ibn al-Husayn* (*being informed of this*), said: 'Write to Ya'qub and tell him that he may crucify *Tawq Ibn al-Mughallis*, for I prize the meanest of my slaves more than him.' *Tawq*, whom Ya'qub questioned respecting the means of which '*Ali Ibn al-Husayn* could dispose, represented them as very inconsiderable and, to gain Ya'qub's favour, he offered him the money which he had in *Shiraz* and said that he would write to his family the order to send it. 'This,' said he, 'will help you to war against him.' Being told to do so by Ya'qub, he wrote to his sort, but the letter fell into hands of *Ali Ibn al-Husayn*, who immediately seized on the money and other things which were in *Tawq's* house, and had them carried to his own. Ya'qub then began his march and '*Ali Ibn al-Husayn* levied troops."

Ahmad Ibn al-Hukam relates as follows: "Ya'qub said to me: '*Ali Ibn al-Husayn* is he a Muslim or not? I answered that he was. On

---

7 It is remarkable that in this ancient relation and in the account given by the historian al-Tabari, the *khalif* is designated, not by the title of *imam*, but by that of *sultan*. This latter term generally serves to indicate sovereigns who possess, not the spiritual, but the civil authority.

this he said: 'How can you consider him to be a Muslim who brings it to the land of Musulmans troops of infidel Kurds, for the purpose of killing the true believers, carrying off their women and seizing on their wealth? Know you not that Ahmad Ibn al-Layth al-Kurdi put seven hundred men to death in Kirman, to avenge the murder of a single individual, that the Kurds violated two hundred virgins of the best families and carried out of the country upwards of two thousand women? Do you consider him to be a Muslim who permits such doings?' I replied that Ahmad has acted so without 'Ali's orders. In another conference, Ya'qub bid him take this message to 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn; 'I have brought with me a people of freemen, and cannot send them away unless I give them what they want. Let me have therefore wherewithal to satisfy them and send me also such a gift as is fitting for a person of my rank. If you do so, I shall be for you as a brother and lend you my assistance against those who may attack you; I shall deliver Kirman over to you, so that you may gorge upon it, and shall return to my own government.' Ya'qub, having departed, halted at a village called *Khuzistan* (*sic*) and, on Tuesday, the 8th of the first Jumada of that year (24th April, A. D. 869). Ahmad Ibn al-Hakam rejoined 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn, and delivered to him Yaqub's letter.

'Ali Ibn al-Husayn, said Ibn al-Hakam, was so greatly astounded at the news which brought him that he could understand nothing of it. The contents of the letter were, in a summary manner, what we here relate: "The writer began by good wishes for the person to whom it was addressed and then said: 'I have well understood the purport of your letter and your allusion to my arrival at this most important town without having received the Commander of the faithful's authorisation. Know that I am not one of those persons whose minds aspire to act unjustly I am not capable of such conduct; so I thus deliver you from the trouble of ruminating over that point. The town belongs to the Commander of the faithful, and we are his servants who act by his orders throughout his land and his dominions, and who are obedient towards God and towards him. I have heard the observations of your envoy, and leave to him the task of delivering to you my answer to the message which you charged him with, and of communicating to you a reply which I hope, will tend to your advantage and to mine. If you act as I advise, you will assure your own welfare, please God! and, if you refuse, (*recollect*) that the will of God is not to be resisted or avoided. As for us, we place ourselves under the protection of the Almighty, so that we may be saved from perdition; we have recourse to Him against the dictates of injustice and the strokes of disappointment. We hope that, in His bounty, he will assure our happiness in this

world and in the next. May God grant you long life! Written on Monday, the 1st of the first Jumada, 255 (17th April, A.D. 869).

The two armies then marched against each other; that of 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn consisting of fifteen thousand men. On Wednesday morning, the 4th of the same month, he sent forward Ahmad Ibn al-Layth with the vanguard. On Thursday, Ya'qub's vanguard came up and two armies met. The first charge had no result, but, in the second, 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn's partisans were driven from their positions and, after an obstinate conflict, they were thrown into disorder and every man of them fled without once looking back. 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn followed his troops, crying after them: Stop, in the name of God! come back!' but they did not mind him, and he remained with only a few of his companions. The fugitives reached the gates of Shiraz on the evening of the same day. It was shortly after the hour of noon that the battle took place. The gates being too narrow to admit the crowd, numbers of them ran thought the outskirts of the town, nor did they stop till they reached al-Ahwaz. In that battle they lost about five thousand men. 'Ali received three wounds from some of Ya'qub's cavalry, who hacked at him with their sabres, brought him out of the saddle to the ground, and were just going to kill him outright when he exclaimed; 'I am 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn.' On this, they took off his turban-cloth' tied it about his waist and led him to Ya'qub. The soldier who took him prisoner asked for a reward and was offered ten thousand dirhems ( £ 250), but rejected that sum, and Ya'qub said to him, 'You brought me a dog which you took, and I have nothing more for you than what I offer.' The man went away. Ya'qub then gave the prisoner, with his own hand) ten strokes of a whip over the head, seized his chamberlain by the beard and plucked nearly all of it off; having then ordered that 'Ali should be fettered with irons of twenty pounds' weight; he had Tawq Ibn al-Mughallis fettered also and confined them both in the same tent. Immediately after, he marched towards Shiraz, and the partisans of 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn fled in all directions. He made his entry into that city with drums beating before him, and the inhabitants, thinking that he would do them, by shedding their blood and plundering their wealth, because they had warred against him, and not dare to utter a word. He had in fact, promised to his troops that they should have permission to sack the city in case he was victorious. The people, being aware of that, shut themselves up in their houses. He returned to his camp, the same night, after having perambulated the city and, the next morning, he caused an amnesty to be proclaimed, and the inhabitants, being informed that they might go out into the market places, took advantage of the permission. He then announced by proclamation that whoever sheltered any of 'Ali

Ibn al-Husayn's secretaries would be outlawed by the fact. When Friday came (*he went to the mosque and*) offered up the prayer for [i.e. in the name of the *imam (khalif)*] al-Mu'tazz Billah, but without naming himself, and, as this was remarked to him, he replied: 'The emir (*or governor*) has, not yet arrived'.<sup>8</sup> He said to them also: 'I shall stay with you only ten days and then return to Sijistan.' His brother whom he sent to the house of 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn, took out of it the carpets and other furniture, but was unable to discover where the money was hid. On this, he (*Ya'qub*) had 'Ali brought before him and induced him, by threats and promises, to declare that he would point out the place where he had concealed his treasures. 'Ali, being then taken to his house, drew forth four hundred *badras*<sup>9</sup>, or one thousand, according to another account. This sum Ya'qub distributed to his troops, instead of the pillage which he had promised them, and each man obtained for his share three hundred dirhems ( £ 7, 10s).

He then inflicted on 'Ali tortures of various kinds, caused his testicles to be compressed and bound the two glands (?) to his cheeks. The prisoner said to him: 'You have already taken from me furniture and other objects, to the value of forty thousand dinars ( £ 20,000);' but Ya'qub persisted in torturing him and had him bound in fetters of forty pounds's weight. 'Ali then pointed out to them a place in his house where they found four millions of dirhems ( £ 100,000) and a great quantity of jewels. He was again tortured and informed that he (*Ya'qub*) would not be satisfied (*an additional sum of*) thirty thousand dinars ( £ 15,000). 'Ali, though now deranged in mind by the violence of his sufferings, was delivered over to al-Hasan Ibn Dirham, who beat, tortured and reviled him; Tawq Ibn al-Mughallis, was tortured also by Ibn Diham and shut up with 'Ali in the same chamber.

On Saturday, the 28th of the first Jumada of the same year (14th May, A.D. 869), Ya'qub departed from Shiraz for his own country, and took with him 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn and Tawq Ibn al-Mughallis. On reaching Kirman, he had them dressed in party-coloured clothes,

8 Yaqub wished to propitiate the khalif by refusing to take the title of emir, till authorized to do so by the court of Baghdad.

9 The *badrah* or *purse* contained one thousand dirhems ( £ 25), according to some, ten thousand, according to others.

(9 bis, p. 311) The word *ghilman*, here rendered by *dependants*, means boys, servants, pages. Those whom Ya'qub had in Baghdad were perhaps slaves or *mawlas* who traded there on his account.

with women's bonnets on their heads, and paraded them about whilst a public cryer walked before, announcing who they were. After that, he cast them into prison and went on to Sijistan. On the third of Rajab, the same year (17th June, A.D. 869), the khalif al-Mu'tazz-Billah was deposed, and, on the same day, the *imam* al-Muhtadi Billah was raised to the Khalifate. This prince also was deposed, on the afternoon of Tuesday the 16th of Rajab, 256 (19th June, A. D. 870), and al-Mu'tamid'ala Allah was solemnly acknowledged as khalif. During the Khalifate of al-Muhtadi, Ya'qub al-Saffar did nothing of importance: he merely continued making predatory incursions, warring against the neighbouring [*muluk*] princes who reigned in Sijistan and its dependencies, and making irruptions into the districts of *Khurasan*, those of *Kuhistan* which were in that vicinity and those dependencies of *Herat* and *Bushanj* which were contiguous to Sijistan. He then returned to Fars and, having gathered in its crops, he returned to Sijistan with about thirty millions of dirhems ( £ 750,000). Muhammad Ibn Wasil was left by him in Fars to direct the military operations in that country, collect the taxes, correspond with the Khalif and transmit to him part of the money which he gathered in. The *Kharaj* (or *landtax*) of Fars, which he was to send to his master every year was fixed at five millions of dirhems ( £ 125,000. That country he (Ya'qub) held by right of conquest, and the Khalif would not have confirmed him in its possession had he found amongst his dependants anyone capable of taking his place.

In the month of the latter Jumada, 258 (April-May. A.D. 872), news was received (at *Baghdad*) of Ya'qub's entry into *Balkh*. From that city he proceeded to *Nishapur*, where he arrived in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa'dah*, 259 (Aug-Sept, A.D. 873), and made prisoners Muhammad Ibn Tahir al-*Khuza'i*, the emir of *Khurasan* and a number of *Tahirides*. In the month of *Muharram* 260 (Oct.-Nov. A.D. 873), he left that country, taking with him as prisoners Muhammad Ibn Tahir and upwards of sixty persons attached to that family. He then marched towards *Jurjan*, with the intention of encountering the 'Alide prince, al-Hasan Ibn Zayd, who was the emir of that country and of *Tabaristan*. Al-Hasan, being informed that Ya'qub was coming to attack him raised thirteen millions of dirhems ( £ 325,000) out of the land-tax (*Kharaj*), by calling in the arrears and exacting advances on the imposts of the following year. After which, he retired from *Jurjan* to *Tabaristan*. Ya'qub entered into *Jurjan* and dispatched some of his partisans against *Sariya*\*, (*the capital*) of *Tabaristan*, which place they took. In *Jurjan* the daily rations of his cavalry amounted to one

---

\* [*Shawiyah* in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 45.-Ed.]

thousand bushels (*qafiz*) of barley. He then set out for Tabaristan, and al-Hasan Ibn Zayd marched against him with a large body of troops. Ya'qub, having declared to his partisans that he would put to death whoever fled from the enemy, set out to light accompanied with five hundred of his slaves, and, having encountered the troops of al-Hasan, he charged them with such vigour that he put them to rout. Al-Hasan Ibn Zayd, who a heavy, corpulent man had already provided for his safety by causing horses and mules to be kept in readiness at each village on the road by which he intended to retreat. Ya'qub, having rallied his partisans, set out at the head of five hundred horse (*jaridah*) in pursuit of al-Hasan who, however, effected his escape. The treasures which the latter had with him and which consisted of three hundred (*horse-*) loads of wealth, most of it coined money, fell into the hands of Ya'qub and, besides that, a number of persons descended from 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib. These he treated with great cruelty and cast into prison. This encounter took place on Monday, the 26th of Rajab, 260 (17th May, A.D. 874). After this Victory, Ya'qub pushed forward and entered Amul," -- the capital of Tabaristan.

"Al-Hasan Ibn Zayd fled to a city called Salus, but not obtaining from the inhabitants as favourable a reception as he had been led to expect, he departed and left them. Ya'qub set out from Amul in pursuit of al-Hasan and had already made one day's march when he received intelligence of the occupation of Marw al-Rud by al-Tahir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir, aided by the lord of *Khuwarizm* at the head of two thousand Turks. This obliged him to give up his project and cease advancing into the heart of the country. He, in consequence, abandoned the pursuit of al-Hasan Ibn Zayd and retraced his steps. In the month of *Dhu'l-Hijjah* 260 (Sept-Oct, A.D. 874) had wrote to the emir of Rayy the order to leave that place, stating that he himself had been appointed governor of it by the Khalif. When the khalif was informed of this, he declared Ya'qub's assertion to be false and chastised such of the dependants of that chief as were in Baghdad, by casting them into prison and seizing on their money. In the month of Muharram, 261 (Oct-Nov, A.D. 874), Ya'qub, who was in Tabaristan, set out for Jurjan and had an encounter with al-Hasan Ibn Zayd, whom he met near the (*Caspian*) sea and who had with him a body of troops from Daylam, al-Jibal and Tabaristan. Al-Hasan dispersed Ya'qub's partisans, killed all those whom he was able to overtake and obliged their chief to take refuge in Jurjan. A terrible earthquake then occurred by which two thousand of Ya'qub's men lost their lives. Al-Hasan Ibn Zayd retook Tabaristan, that is Amul Sariya and their dependencies. Ya'qub remained in Jurjan where he oppressed the people by levying heavy taxes (*kharaḡ*) and



seizing on their wealth. The earthquake lasted three (*days*), and a number of the inhabitants of Jurjan retired to Baghdad. These refugees being asked what Ya'qub al-Saffar was doing, spoke so loudly of his tyranny and oppression that the khalif resolved on marching against him, and made preparations accordingly. Al-Saffar (*Ya'qub*) had returned to the neighbourhood of Rayy, and the pilgrims were come back from the fair (*of Makkah*)\* when the khalif al-Mu'tamid 'ala' Allah wrote to 'Ubayd Allah, the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir Ibn al-Husayn, who was then governor of Iraq, ordering him to assemble the pilgrims of Khurasan, Tabaristan, Jurjan and Rayy, and to read to them a letter which he sent to him. 'Ubayd Allah assembled those pilgrims who had come from the farthest parts of the empire, and read to them a letter by which the Commander of the faithful ordered the people to war against al-Saffar. Thirty copies of this document were drawn up, one of which was given to the people of each province, so that the news might be spread throughout all the country *اقبال*.\*\* When Ya'qub al-Saffar was informed of the imprisonment of his servants and learned that 'Ubayd Allah had assembled the pilgrims at his palace and delivered to them copies of this letter, he perceived evidently that the khalif intended to march against him and judging that his troops were not sufficiently numerous to resist those of his adversary, he returned to Nishapur. On his arrival in that city, he extorted money from the inhabitants and, in the month of the first Jumada, 261 (Feb.-March, A.D. 875), he set out for Sijistan. When he arrived there, letters came from the khalif by which all the princes of Khurasan and all the men possessed of means and influence were declared, each of them, governor of the place in which he resided. When these letters arrived, al-Saffar's partisans were scattered (*in detachments*) throughout the province of Khurasan. Al-Saffar then went to 'Askar Mukram, in Khuzistan and (*having collected he*) wrote to the khalif a letter in which he demanded the governments of Khurasan. Fars and all the provinces which had been possessed by the family of Tahir Ibn al-Husayn al-Khuza'i. He asked also for the commandment of the *shurtah* of Baghdad and that of Saira-man-ra'a, and required his nomination to the governments of Tabaristan, Jurjan, Rayy, Kirman, Adhrbayjan, Qazwin, Sijistan and Sind. He demanded also that those to whom had been read the letter copies of which had been made at the palace of 'Ubayd Allah Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir should be assembled and another letter read them, annulling the former. All

\* [Al-mawsim i.e. *hajj* or annual pilgrimage to Makkah --Ed.]

\*\* [See Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 455.--Ed.]

this was done by al-Muwaffaq Billah Abu Ahmad Talhah, the son of al-Mutawakkil 'ala' Allah and the brother of the khalif al-Mutamid 'ala' Allah. This al-Muwaffaq was also the father of al-Mu'tamid Billah, the khalif who succeeded to al-Mu'tamid. The entire direction of public affairs was in the hands of al-Muwaffaq, who left nothing of the khalifian authority to his brother except the mere title. He (*al-Muwaffaq*) granted to him (*Ya'qub*) what he demanded, and, having assembled the people, he read to them a dispatch by which he complied with al-Saffar's request and nominated him to the offices for which he asked. This answer, rendered in the khalif's name, to what was exacted by al-Saffar, caused great perturbation among the *Mawlaz*<sup>10</sup> (in garrison) at Sarra man-ra'a and threw them into a ferment.

Al-Saffar cared so little for what was granted to him that he entered into Sus, a city forming one of the districts of, Khuzistan and situated near 'Askar Mukram. On arriving there, he took the resolution of attacking the khalif al-Mu'tamid who on his side, made preparations for embarking (*with his troops*) on the Tigris and going down to give him battle. When the two armies advanced against each other, the *Mawlas*, struck by the conduct of al-Muwaffaq, thought that al-Saffar's approach was the result of the letters which he had sent him. 'If it be not so', said they, 'it is most extraordinary that a rebel should set out from Zaranj,' -- the capital [*Kursiyy*] of Sijistan, which country separates Sind from that of the Turks and Khurasan, -- 'should come into 'Iraq with an army well-equipped, for the purpose of waging war against the khalif whose empire, of old extended from the eastern to the western extremities of the earth, Al-Saffar alone advances with his army, having no other chief to support him or to share with him in this enterprise'. The khalif, being informed of what passed, called for the mantle which had belonged to the Prophet\*, his (caliph's) rod and then took his bow with the intention of being the first who shot an arrow (*against the enemy*), and pronounced a malediction on al-Saffar. By this he quieted the minds of the *Mawlas*.

---

10 The *mawlas* were the Turkish slaves or mamluks who formed the khalif's guard.

\* For the history of this mantle which the Prophet had gifted to the poet Ka'b Ibn Zuhayr when at the time of his conversion to Islam in 9 A.H. he had recited a *qasidah* in his (Prophet's) praise, see Ibn Hisham, *Sirat al-Nabawiyyah* (Cairo, 1955), vol. II, p. 501 et seq; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* (under year, 9 H. also see within Muir, *life of Mohammad* (ed. T. H. Weir, Edinburgh, 1912), pp. 436-37.

On Sunday morning, the 9th of Rajab A.H. 262 (8th April, A.D. 876), al-Saffar's troops arrived, in order of battle at a village called Istarband and situated between al-Sib and Dayr al-Aqul, in the province of central Nahrwan. He then assembled his companions, with the intention of leading them to the charge as he used to do, and proceeded forward, wearing a tunic of black brocade. When the two armies were in presence, the *qa'id* Khishtij, who was one of the *Mawlas*, advanced between the two armies, and harangued al-Saffar's troops in these terms: 'Men of Sijistan! you were hitherto known to us for your obedience towards the sultan, for your assiduity in reading the *Qu'an*, for your zeal in performing the pilgrimage and in studying the Traditions, but know that your faith will not be perfect till you follow (*the orders of*) the imam (*khalif*). That reprobate has, no doubt, deceived you by false statements and told you that the sultan invited him hither by letter. Now, here is the sultan himself who has come forth against him. So, let those among you who hold to the right and are firmly attached to their religion and the laws of Islam, abandon the man who has misled them, for he is a rebel and wages war against the sultan,' This speech produced no effect."

Khishtij was remarkable for his courage and intrepidity. We have already mentioned that al-Saffar had taken prisoner Muhammad Ibn Tahir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Husayn, the governor of Khurasan, and carried him into bondage. When he recovered his liberty, Khishtij addressed him in these terms: "Son of Tahir you purchased me with your money and gave me as a present to the 'abbaside family. They chose me for their lieutenant, put me in possession of landed estates and wealth, I even obtained the command of their armies and fought for the integrity of the Muslim empire. And now, before my departure from the world, I, aided by our lord, the Commander of the faithful, have attached al-Saffar for your sake, emir of Khurasan! have delivered you from captivity and heavy chains, have conducted you from city to city, mounted on a well-harnessed mule, and have taken you back from Iraq to Khurasan. Praise be to God, for the favour which he granted us in delivering you and for His signal bounty in letting us possess you again."

We may now resume and finish our account of al-Saffar. The narrator says: "When al-Saffar's army was reviewed, its camp was found to cover the space of one square mile: the cavalry was in excellent condition and amounted, it is said, to more than ten thousand men. The khalif distributed to his soldiers the (*customary*) donative (*or pay*), caused the trees and brushwood which were on his line of march to be cut down and prepared for action. The troops displayed great ardour in getting ready and were told that they must

fight for victory, because their defeat would be the ruin of the empire. The khalif al-Mu'tamid took his station, having at his horse's side Muhammad Ibn Khalid." — the grandson of the Yazid Ibn Mazyad Ibn Za'idah al Shaybani, of whose life we have given an account in this volume -- A number of other warriors, noted for bravery and intrepidity, stood beside the khalif. The archers advanced before him, shooting off their arrows, and his brother al-Muwaffaw, having uncovered his head, cried out: 'I am the boy of the Hashmides', and charged upon the partisans of al-Saffar. Numbers were slain on both sides. Al-Saffar, seeing how matters were turning, retreated from the field, leaving there his treasures, wealth and riches, and fled straight before him, without being accompanied by any of his followers. Not a man of his army but received an arrow wound, and such was the disorder and press that when the night overtook them they fell into the canals and were covered with wounds. Abu al-Saj Divdad<sup>11</sup> Ibn Dust, the same whose name was borne by the al-ajnad al-Sajiyah\* at Baghdad, said to al-Saffar subsequently to his flight: 'You did not show the least skill in war: how could you expect to vanquish an adversary after placing in your front the baggage, the treasure and the prisoners and invading a country with which you were ill-acquainted? You had not even a guide to show you the way through the marshes and canals. You fought on a Sunday, and had the wind in your face; you took forty days to march from al-Sus to Wasit with an army badly provided for, and, when they received provisions and money and were brought into good order, you marched them from Wasit to Dayr al-Aqul in two days and then retreated at the moment you had an opportunity of obtaining the victory. You fled when you should have kept your ground.' To this al-Saffar replied: 'I did not think that I should have been obliged to fight; had no doubt of obtaining what I wanted, and imagined that envoys would come to me in order to avert the danger (*which threatened the khalif*) and that I then might have obtained whatever I pleased!' --End of the extract from Ibn al-Azhar's recital.

What follows I have taken from the work composed by Abu'l Husayn 'Ubayd Allah as a continuation of his father Ahmad Ibn

---

11 The editions and manuscripts read *Abu'l -Saj Dawud*, but it is well ascertained that the name of this chief was *Divdad* (*God's gift*). We have spoken of him in the first volume, p. 500. A history of the Sajites has been published by Mr. Defremery in the *Journal asiatique* for 1847. The Sajite *junds* were probably regiments of cavalry which Abu'l Saj had formed and kept up at his own expense. Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, takes notice occasionally of this chief in his history of Aleppo. See Freytag's *Selecta ex historia Halebi*.

\* [ *al-ajnad al-Sajiyah* in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 457- Ed.]

Tahir's (vol. 1, p. 291) history of Baghdad. As the accounts given by that writer are very prolix, اطال القول فيه we abridge them and suppress the repetitions: "Ya'qub Ibn al-Layth, says he, having attacked Dirham Ibn an Nadr," -- so the last name is written (*instead of al-Husayn*), --took Sijistan from him on Saturday, the 5th of Muharram, 347 (21st March, A.D. 861). Dirham had governed three years, after having expelled from that country, in the month of Dhu'l Hijjah, 237 (May-June, A.D. 852),<sup>12</sup> Salih Ibn al-Nadr, an Arab of the tribe of Kinanah. Ya'qub remained in Sijistan, where he continued to wage war against the Shurat and the Turks, in the ostensible character of a volunteer in God's holy cause. He set out for Herat in the year 253 (A.D. 867) and then proceeded to Bushanj, which place he besieged and took by assault. This happened in the khalifat of al-Mu'tazz. When al-Mu'tazz died, no change had taken place in Ya'qub's conduct, and things continued so till the reign of al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allah. He then entered into Balkh, whence he marched to Ramhurmuz, making, all the time, an outward show of obedience to the khalif al-Mu'tamid. This was in the month of Muharram, 262 (Oct.-Nov. A.D. 875). He then dispatched envoys to Baghdad, where they made their entry on the 14th of the latter Jumada of the same year (15th March, A.D. 876). After that, he went to Wasit where he installed a lieutenant. (On Saturday, the 8th of Rajab (7th April, A.D. 876), he proceeded to Dayr al-'Aql and from that to Istarband where he made a halt. Al-Mu'tamid, being informed of what was going on and learning that Ya'qub was directing his march towards Baghdad, assembled troops from all quarters for the purpose of combating the invader, and, having left Sarra-mand-ra'a, he entered Baghdad on Sunday, the 24th of Dhu'l Hijjah, of that year (18th September, A.D. 876).

"Abu'l Faraj, who was secretary to the *qadi* Abu 'Umar, related as follows: When the khalif set out to attach al-Saffar, he continued, during his march, to dispatch letters by which that chief was ordered to retire, warned of the danger to which his conduct exposed him and informed that the Commander of the faithful was in march with troops, arms and ammunition, for the purpose of encountering him. The answers returned by him, were all of this cast: I know that the Commander of the faithful has set out, but it is with the intention of doing me honour and indicating the high esteem in which he holds me.' The khalif then drew up his troops in order of battle at the village above-mentioned, and caused the road by which al-Saffar had passed to be laid under water. This was the main cause of his (*al-Saffar's*)

12 There is here same error in the dates.

defeat, for he was not aware that his retreat had been cut off. The two armies then drew up for action and attacked each other in repeated charges till (*that of*) al-Saffar was put to flight. An immense quantity of baggage fell into the hands of the victors who, thinking that it had been left there as a snare to entrap them, did not pursue al-Saffar, as they should have done. A person who had been present at this battle informed me that the number of arrows shot off in it by the regiment of *Mawlas* amounted to twenty thousand. The khalif returned full of joy at the victory which God had granted him. Amongst the persons who, on that day, were delivered from the captivity in which al-Saffar held them was Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Tahir, the emir of *Khurasan*. The khalif before whom he appeared with his chains still on, caused them to be struck off and clothed him in an imperial robe. Al-Mu'tamid related that, on the night before, he had a dream in which he saw a man come and inscribe on his bosom these words (*of the Qur'an*): *we have granted to you a signal victory*. He related this to his intimates and said: 'I reckon with confidence on the Almighty. Previously to the battle, letters were received from al-Saffar in which he gave the assurance of his profound submission and declared that he was merely coming to offer his humble respects to the Commander of the faithful, in whose presence he wished to have the honour of appearing and whose aspect he longed to contemplate. To this he added that he was ready to die at the side of the imperial stirrup. Al-Mu'tamid said, on receiving this communication: 'We are still in the midst of his stratagems; let him know that I have nothing for him but the sword.' He gave orders also that a letter should be sent to Abu Ahmad 'Ubayd Allah, the son of 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir and the uncle of Muhammad Ibn Tahir Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir, informing him of the deliverance of his nephew. Abu Ahmad was then holding the commandment of the *shurta* of Baghdad in the capacity of lieutenant for his nephew; the latter being not only governor of *Khurasan* but commander of the Baghdad *shurtah* and that of *Sarra-man-ra'a*.

As the paragraphs of this letter are very long we shall give here a simple summary of its contents: The writer enumerates the crimes of al-Saffar the favours and marks of kindness which he had received from the khalif, who had invested him with the government of *Khurasan* and the countries of which mention has been already made, who had raised him to a lofty station, who had ordered that, in the dispatches addressed to him, he should be designated by a title of honour, who had conceded to him a number of fine landed estates and who had done every thing possible in order to gain his goodwill. This, however, only served to increase his perversity and disobedience: when things were refused to him which he demanded,

he would march against the seat of the empire, for the purpose of existing troubles and domineering (*over the government*). The Commander of the faithful, not thinking proper to comply with his demands, sent him letter, enjoining him to retire into the magnificent provinces of which he had been appointed governor, and advising him not to attempt acts which would bring to an end all the blessings conferred on him by Almighty God. He was informed that if he persisted in the resolution of approaching the imperial residence, he would be guilty of an act of disobedience, of rebellion and of revolt.

Another time, the Commander of the faithful sent a band of *qadis*, legists, and military chiefs to remonstrate with him on the same subject, thinking that this deputation would induce him to return to his duty. But he (*al-Saffar*) still persisted in following the same path, that of iniquity, contumacy and disobedience; he would not be turned from it by good advice, but allowed to be circumvented by Satan, who was leading him towards his ruin and making him swerve from the path of salvation towards the precipice of perdition. When the Commander of the faithful perceived that such was really the case, he thought fit to act towards him in the same (*hostile*) manner, and marched against him, putting his trust in God and convinced that, with the divine aid, he would turn from the execution of (*pernicious*) projects a reprobate who was advancing, by forced marches, towards the battle-field wherein he was destined to be vanquished. The rebel was already half-way between Baghdad and Wasit, bearing standards on some of which were crosses: he had called the ploytheists to his assistance against the true believers, and openly displayed the secret enmity which he bore in his heart towards God, so that the Lord might deliver him over by the bridle (*to the hands of perdition*). He abandoned the laws of Islam and its maxims, broke every covenant, violated every engagement and let all men see that he was in open revolt. This obliged the Commander of the faithful to send forth his brother Abu Ahmad al-Muwaffaq Billah, the acknowledged successor to the khalifate, and with him a body of those imperial *Mawlas* whose fidelity to God had tested and whose views were fixed on the necessity of defending the empire. He accompanied them with his best wishes, praying God to assist them and render them victorious over the enemy. In all the times and all the conjectures wherein God knew the sincerity of his heart, he pronounced maledictions against the rebel and abandoned him to the fatal consequences of his conduct. The Commander of the faithful continued to superintend the proceedings of his brother, of his *Mawlas* and of his partisans, and to send them reinforcements and supplies.

Al-Muwaffaq Billah took his station in the centre of the army,

whilst the accursed, the enemy of God, surrounded by those who partook his errors, had arrayed himself in the vest of disobedience and the trousers of iniquity, confiding in the number of his troops and the multitude of his followers. When the two armies were in presence, the enemy of the Faith and his partisans brandished their arms and hastened to attack the *Mawlas* and the supporters of the Commander of the faithful; but, against that accursed and misguided man were directed the trenchant blades of the good cause, its piercing lances and its penetrating arrows. The wretch was covered with wounds, and his followers, seeing what had happened to him, hastened to cry out "All is lost!" (*lit. woe and ruin!* The Commander of the faithful's *Mawlas* and partisans followed in their pursuit, killing some and taking others prisoners, and God hurried to the fire (*of hell*) an immense number of the rebels. This continued till Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Tahir, the servant of the Commander of the faithful was delivered unharmed from the hands of the enemy, who had been driven from all his positions. The survivors took to flight in great disorder, without once looking behind them. God allowed them and the accursed to escape, but all their gains and plunder, gathered up in former days when God permitted them to hold the regions of the earth (*were taken from them*); treasures, goods, effects, camels, beasts of burden, mules and asses became the prey of the *Mawlas* and the other partisans of the khalif. Those objects the (*victors*) removed to the place where they had deposited their baggage". -- As this letter is very diffuse, we have been obliged to abridge it. At the end of it were these words: "Written by 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Yahya, on Wednesday, the 12th of Rajab, 262 (11th April, A.D. 876)."

The historian then adds: "Al-Saffar fled to Wasit and his troops pillaged all the villages on the line of their retreat. The victorious army seized on the arms and baggage of the vanquished, but the *Mawlas* did not continue the pursuit, fearing that al-Saffar might turn and attack them; they were, besides, too much occupied in collecting the booty and the spoil. The khalif returned to his camp, and al-Saffar went back to al-Sus, where he levied contributions. From that he proceeded to Tustur, which place he besieged and took. Having installed there one of his lieutenants, he assembled again a multitude of troops and set out for Fars; in the month of Shawwal (July). The khalif returned to al-Mada'in where he stopped two days, and then departed for Baghdad, whence he proceeded to Sarra-man-ra'a. He arrived there on Friday, the 13th of Sha'ban (12th May, 876)."

The historian then mentions that, on Tuesday, the 14th of Shawwal (11th of July), the khalif received the news of Ya'qub Ibn



al-Layth's death. The quantity of money found in his treasuries amounted to four millions of dinars (£ 2,000,000), in gold pieces, and fifty millions of dirhems (£ 1,250) in silver.

On Thursday, the 22nd of Shawwal, Ahmad Ibn al-Asbagh arrived there. He had been sent by the khalif for the purpose of arranging matters with Ya'qub and was just reaching Wasit, on his return, when he learned the news of that chief's death. Ya'qub had been acknowledged by the khalif as governor of Khurasan, Fars, Kirman, Rayy, Qumm and Isbahan; he was commander of the two shurtahs, that of Baghdad and that of Sarra-man-ra'a, and was authorised to place these troops under the orders of whom he pleased. In return, he engaged to pay in two-thirds of the taxes furnished by all the provinces which he governed. His brother 'Amr Ibn al-Layth succeeded to his authority by the unanimous consent of the army, and then wrote to the khalif's brother, al-Muwaffaq, a letter in which he declared himself the humble and obedient servant of the khalifate, provided that he was confirmed in the possession of the offices held by his brother. To this a favourable answer was returned and his nomination took place in the month of Dhu'l Qa'dah of that year (July-August, A.D. 876).

To judge from the context of this history, Ya'qub Ibn al-Layth al-Saffar died in the latter part of the year 262, for the author says, in relating the events of that year: "Shortly after Ya'qub's defeat in the month of Shawwal, news was received of his death." This appears to denote that he died in that year, but what I have learned from a number of historical works does not agree with that indication: Abu'l Husayn al-Salami says, in his account of the governors of Khurasan, towards the beginning of the chapter which he devoted to 'Amr Ibn al-Layth: "The cause of Ya'qub Ibn al-Layth's death was this: he had an attack of colic and was advised to follow a treatment but he refused and preferred dying. His death took place at Jundi Shapur, in Khuzistan, on Tuesday, the 14th of Shawwal, 265 (9th June, A.D. 879).

Abu'l Wafa al-Farisi relates that he read on the flag of marble which is placed over the tomb of Ya'qub Ibn al-Layth:

"I ruled over Khurasan and the regions of Fars; neither did I despair of ruling over 'Iraq. But now, farewell to the world and to the sweetness of its zephyrs! Ya'qub no longer sits therein."

In some rough notes written by myself I found the following passage: "Ya'qub Ibn al-Layth al-Saffar died in the year 265 (A.D. 878-9) at al-Ahwaz. His bier was carried to Jundi Shapur and there he was interred. On his tomb were inscribed these words.

This is tomb of poor Ya'qub.

You confided in Fortune [*ayyam*] because she favoured you and you were deceived by her; days of prosperity are followed by days on trouble".

I then found in another note written by myself that he died at Jundi Shapur and was interred in the hippodrome of that city. He was then on his way to Iraq. The date of his death as before. "He died of a colic; the doctor told him that there was no remedy for it but an injection; this he refused to take and preferred dying. His malady, which was a colic accompanied with hiccough, lasted sixteen days. He reigned over Sijistan and the provinces in that quarter, during fourteen years and some months."

Our *shaykh* Ibn al-Athir (*vol. II, p. 288*) says, in his *Annals*, under the year 265: "Ya'qub Ibn al-Layth died on the 19th of Shawwal of this year (14th June, A.D. 879)." He mentions also the colic and Ya'qub's refusing to take an injection, and then adds that he died at Jundi Shapur, which is a district in the province of al-Ahwaz. I may observe that Jundi Shapur is a district of Khuzistan, lying between Iraq and the province of Fars. He says also: "The khalif al-Mu'tamid, being desirous of conciliating his good-will, sent him an agent with a letter by which he nominated him governor of Fars. When this envoy arrived, Ya'qub, though unwell, held a sitting to receive him. At his side he had a sword, a small loaf made of unbelted flour and some onions. The ambassador being introduced, delivered his message and Ya'qub answered him in these terms: "Tell the khalif that I am sick and that, if I die, he and I will be delivered from the uneasiness which each of us gives to the other; but, if I recover my health, nothing shall settle matters between us except this word. If he must try for vengeance, if he succeed in ruining my power and reducing me to poverty, I shall return as before, to bread and onions such as these. The messenger departed and Ya'qub died shortly after."

Ibn Hawqal<sup>13</sup> says, in his work entitled *al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik* (*routes and realms*): Jundi Shapur is a fortified city abounding in all the necessities of life. Its date-tree plantations and tilled grounds are

---

13 Abu'l-Qasim Muhammad Ibn Hawqal, a native of Baghdad and the author of a very remarkable geographical work, entitled *al-Masalik wa 'l-Mamalik*, put his last corrections to, that treatise in the year 366, A.D. 976-7). He travelled over many countries and appears to have been a secret agent of the Fatimides. The date of his death is not known.

very extensive. Ya'qub Ibn al-Layth chose it for his residence on account of its ample resources and the constant abundance of its supplies."

Ya'qub was so steadfast in purpose that the 'Alide prince, al-Hasan Ibn Zayd, designated him by the nickname of *al-Sindan* (the anvil). He was seldom seen to smile and was noted for intelligence and resolution. One of his sayings was: "If you keep company with a man during forty days without discovering his true character, you will not discover it in forty years."

'Amr (Yaqub's brother), having obtained the supreme authority, governed his subjects with such ability that people said: "Since a very long time, no person attained to the height reached by 'Amr Ibn al-Layth in the art of administering an army and practising the rules by which an empire should be governed." Al-Salami, in his History of Khurasan, speaks very often of his great abilities and his skill in applying the maxims of good government, but I omit these observations lest I should be led too far. He paid his troops every three months and then never omitted to be present. When he passed them in review, he took his seat and had the money placed before him in the presence of all the army. A crier then called out the name of 'Amr Ibn al-Layth, who immediately sent forward his horse fully equipped, and presented him for inspection. The agent examined the animal and ordered the owner a donative of three hundred dirhems (£ 7, 10s.), measured by weight. This sum was carried to him in purse which he took and kissed, saying: "Praise be to God who hath held me in obedience to the Commander of the faithful so that I deserved this gratification!" He then placed it in one of his boots and left it to the servant who pulled them off. All those who received a fixed pay were then called forward, according to their rank, and they appeared before the inspector fully equipped and having with them their vigorous steeds. They were then examined in order to obtain the certitude of their having about them every object, large or small, which is requisite for a horseman or a foot-soldier; and, if even one of those things was missing, the delinquent was deprived of his pay. One day, at a review, 'Amr saw a horseman pass before him with a very lean steed, and he said to him: "Fellow! how dare you take our money and spend it all upon your wife? You fatten her up and allow the horse to grow lean on which you go to war and which gains for you your pay? Go off! I have nothing for you." The trooper replied. "My life for yours! were you to pass my wife in review, you would find that my horse is fatter than she is." 'Amr laughed at this, and told the man to take his pay and get another horse.

The *qadi* Kamal al-Din, better known by the surname of Ibn al-'Adim [al-Hanbali] of Aleppo,<sup>14</sup> relates, in his history of that city, an anecdote which deserves to be inserted here on account of its similarity to the preceding: Kisra Anushirwan, the son of Qubad (*and king of Persia*) confided the administration of the army to an eminent *katib* (or *civil officer*), highly distinguished for intelligence and talent, and whose name was Babak Ibn Nahrawan. This officer then said to Kisra: "O king! you have charged me with a duty which to be well executed, requires that you support patiently such severity as I may use towards you. I have to pass your men in review every four months; I must see that those of each class be provided with the arms required by their rank, and examine the conduct of the instructors who teach the soldiers horsemanship and archery, so that I may retribute them well if they do their duty and punish them if they neglect it. By that means, my administration will hold the course which it ought to follow." Kisra replied: "He whose request is now granted cannot be more happy than the granter; they both partakes of the advantages (*procured by that arrangement*); the granter will still continue to enjoy repose, and therefore gives his assent to what you ask." A platform was then built by his order at the place where the reviews were to take place, and over it were appeared magnificent carpets. The inspector took his seat upon it and a crier summoned all the soldiers to present themselves. When they were assembled, the inspector dismissed them because he did not see Kisra among them. The next day, he acted in the same manner, on account of Kisra's absence and, on the third day, he had a proclamation made to this effect: "Let not single soldier remain absent from the review, even were he one of those who are honoured with the diadem and the throne. It is a review in which no indulgence or respect of persons will be shown." Kisra, being informed of this, put on his armour, got on horseback and passed before Babak. Every horseman was obliged to exhibit a *tijfah* (*horse-armour*); a coat of mail, a breast-plate, a helmet with its neck-piece in chain mail, two armlets, two cuishes, a spear, a buckler, a mace stuck in the belt, a *tabarzin* (*battle-axe*),

---

14 Kamal al Din 'Umar Ibn Ahmad, surnamed Ibn al-'Adim and chief *qadi* of Aleppo, wrote a biographical dictionary in which he noticed all the remarkable men who had been in that city. Another good work of his the History of Aleppo, has been analyzed by professor Freytag in the *Selecta ex historia Halebi*, which contains also a long extract from Kamal al-Din's treatise, with instructive notes. Kamal al-Din was born A.H. 588 (A.D. 1192), and died at Cairo, A.H. 660 (A.D. 1261-2). He had been driven from Aleppo by the invasion of the Tartars. For a full account of his life, see p. xxxvi of the introduction of Freytag's work.—The anecdote related by Ibn Khalikan is borrowed from Tabari.

a mace, a case containing two bows with their strings, thirty arrows and two bow-strings rolled up and suspended behind the helmet. Kisra appeared completely armed before the inspector who, missing the bow-strings which ought to have been behind the helmet, did not inscribe his approval after the sovereign's name. Kisra then recollected the bow-strings, attached them to his helmet and passed again before Babek, who then gave his approval and said: "For the chief of the men in armour, four thousand dirhems (£ 100) and one dirhem." The highest pay was four thousand, but he gratified Kisra with one dirhem more. On rising from his seat, he went into the sovereign and said: "O king! blame me not for my severity; I only wished to introduce the custom of proceeding with justice and equity, and to eradicate the habit of showing respect to certain persons." Kisra replied: "The man is not severe for us, who acts with the intention of correcting our faults or of rendering a service to the government. Why should we not submit to his rigour as the sick man submits to take a nauseous medicine in the hope of its doing him good."

Let us resume our account of 'Amr Ibn al-Layth. Al-Salami says: "Rafi' Ibn Harthamah was a follower of Abu Thawr, who was one of Muhammad Ibn Tahir's generals: When Ya'qub al-Saffar arrived at Nishapur, Abu Thawr was one of those chiefs who sided with him against Muhammad Ibn Tahir. Ya'qub then returned to Sijistan, and Abu Thawr went with him, accompanied by Rafi' Ibn Harthamah. The latter was an ugly man with a long beard and a stern, gloomy aspect. He went, one day, to see Ya'qub who, when he had retired, said: 'I feel no inclination for that man: let him leave us and go where he will!' Rafi' then sold all his effects and returned to his residence at Bamin\*, which is a village in the district of Kanj-Rustaq. There he remained till Ahmad Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Khujistani sent for him." Khujistan is a village in the mountains of Herat and situated in the district of Badghis.--Al-Khujistani was one of Ya'qub's followers, but, having repudiated his authority, he effected the conquest of Nishapur and Bistam in the year 261 (A.D. 874-5). He affected to be inclined towards the Tahirite party, in order to gain the good-will of the inhabitants of Nishapur, and went so far as to sign his letters with the words: Ahmad Ibn 'Abd Allah the Tahirite. He then wrote to Rafi' Ibn Harthamah who was still in his native place, inviting him to come and join him. Rafi' complied and received from him the command of the troops." The wars and battles in which al-Khujistani was engaged are very famous, but it does not suit our purpose to speak

---

\* [Mamin in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 466--Ed.]

of them here.--Some time after, two of his (*al-Khujistani's*) pages conspired against his life and murdered him whilst he was asleep and drunk. This happened on the eve of Wednesday the 23rd of Shawwal, 268 (16th May, A.D. 882). Rafi' who was then absent, went to join al-Khujistani's troops and was acknowledged by them as their chief. They took the oath of allegiance to him in the city of Herat, or of Nishapur, by another account. In the year 271 (A.D. 884-5), al-Muwaffaq Billah deprived 'Amr Ibn al-Layth al-Saffar of the Khurasan and gave it to Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Tahir. The latter, who was then residing in Baghdad, appointed Rafi' Ibn Harthamah to act as his lieutenant in that country, and Nasr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Asad al-Samani was established by al-Muwaffaq as Muhammad Ibn Tahir's lieutenant in the provinces of Transoxiana. Some time after, Rafi' received dispatches from al-Muwaffaq by which he was ordered to make an expedition against Jurjan and Tabaristan, both of which had belonged to al-Hasan Ibn Zayd, the 'Alide, and had fallen, on the death of that prince, A.H. 270 (A.D. 883-4), into the hands of his brother, Muhammad Ibn Zayd. In the year 274, Rafi' marched against the latter and, finding that he had abandoned these places and taken refuge in Astarabad, he blockaded him in that city during two years. Muhammad then left it by night with a few partisans and fled to Daylam. In the year 277 (A.D. 890-1), Rafi' was master of Tabaristan. In the month of Rajab, 279 (Sept.--Oct. A.D. 892), the khalif al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allah died and the supreme authority passed into the hands of Abu'l 'Abbas al-Mu'tadid 'ala Allah, the son of al-Muwaffaq (*who had died two years before*). On the death of Nasr Ibn Ahmad the Samanide, his brother, Abu Ibrahim Isma'il was appointed governor of Tansoxiana by al-Mu'tamiad,--I may here observe that Nasr died at Samarqand on the 23rd of the latter Jumada, 279 (20th Sept. A.D. 892).

The historian continues: "He (*al-Mu'tadid*) took from the above-mentioned Nasr Ibn Ahmad the government of Khurasan and gave it to 'Amr Ibn al-Layth. Rafi' continued to reside at Rayy and, having entered into friendly relations with the princes of the neighbouring countries, he gained their assistance against 'Amr Ibn al-Layth. He then marched towards Nishapur and, in the month of the latter Rabi', A.H. 283, (May-June, A.D. 896), he had an engagement with 'Amr and was defeated. Being closely pursued by the victor, who followed him to Abiward, he left that city with the intention of going either to Herat or so Marw. 'Amr having then learned that he was setting out for Sarakhs, resolved on taking the same direction and cutting off his adversary's retreat. Rafi', being informed of his design, departed from Abiward with a guide who led him across the mountains of Tus and brought him to the gates of Nishapur. He

entered into that city and 'Amr came back to besiege him. (*A combat ensued in which*) the partisans of Rafi were defeated, and that chief, accompanied by a small troop of adherents, all mounted on dromedaries, succeeded in reaching the province of Khwarizm with his baggage and his treasures. This took place on Saturday, the 25th of Ramadan. 283 (5th Nov. A.D. 896). The emir of Khwarizm dispatched an officer to render him every service and provide him with whatever he required till he reached (*the capital of*) the province: but that agent, finding Rafi accompanied with a very feeble escort, took the opportunity and killed him. This occurred on Friday, the 7th of Shawwal, 283 (17th Nov. A.D. 896). He then cut off his head and sent it to 'Amr Ibn al-Layth at Nishapur, by whom it was dispatched to al-Mu'tadid Billah. Rafi was not the son of Harthamah (*as his surname seems to imply*); Harthamah was his stepfather and, as his name was a usual one, Rafi adopted it as a surname. His real father bore the name of Tumard."

Ibn Jarir al-Tabari says, in his Annals, under the year 283: "On Friday, the 22nd of Dhu'l Qa'dah (31st December, A.D. 896), letters were read from all the pulpits, announcing the death of Rafi' Ibn Harthamah and, on Thursday, the 4th of Muharram, 284 (11th Feb. A.D. 897), a courier sent by 'Amr Ibn al-Layth al-Saffer arrived at Baghdad with Rafi's head. Al-Mu'tadid caused it to be set up in the eastern quarter of the city and, in the afternoon, it was removed to the western quarter, where it remained exposed till nightfall. It was then carried back by his order to the palace of the khalifs (*dar al-sultan*)."

Al-Salami says: "All Khurasan, up to the border of the Jayhun, fell into the power of 'Amr Ibn al-Layth."

Al-Buhturi (*vol. III, p. 657*), the celebrated poet, composed an eulogium on Rafi' Ibn Harthamah to whom he gives the surname of Abu Yusuf. He sent this poem to him from Iraq and received, in return, a gift of twenty thousand dirhems (£ 500).

Al-Salami says: "When 'Amr Ibn al-Layth sent Rafi's head to al-Mutadid, he demanded that the province of Transoxiana should be conceded to him on the same conditions by which 'Abd Allah Ibn Tahir held his commandments, and he received a promise to that effect. Some time after, whilst he was in Nishapur, a magnificent present was sent to him by al-Mu'tadid, but this he refused to accept unless the promise already made was executed. The messenger who brought those gifts wrote back to al-Muktafi Billah, the son of al-Mu'tadid, informing him of 'Amr's declaration. That prince was then at Rayy with a number of his father's officers, and it was decided

by them that the diploma of 'Amr's nomination should be made out. This document was brought to him with the presents which he had refused to accept and among which were seven robes one after the other, and, as each was put on, ('Amr) prostrated himself and made a prayer of two *rak'ahs*. The diploma being then presented to him, he asked what it meant, and the envoy informed him that it was the thing he asked for. To this 'Amr replied: "Of what use will it be to me? Isma'il Ibn Ahmad will not deliver up that province unless (I enforce my demand) by one hundred thousand swords." To this the envoy answered: 'It was yourself who asked for it: so, get ready to take possession of the province and govern in his place,' 'Amr then received the diploma, kissed it and laid it down before him; after which, he sent to the envoy and his suite a gift of seven hundred thousand dirhems (£ 17,500) and dismissed them. He then equipped an army for the purpose of attacking Isma'il Ibn Ahmad; who on learning this crossed the Jayhun, to meet them, cut to pieces a part of them and put the rest to flight. 'Amr Ibn al-Layth was then in Nishapur. This engagement took place on Monday, the 17th of Shawwal, 286 (26th Oct. A.D. 899). Isma'il, returned to Bukhara, a city forming one of the districts of Transoxiana."

'Amr Ibn al-Layth, says al-Salami, "had charged Muhammad Ibn Bishr<sup>15</sup> to lead this army against Isma'il. When the latter crossed the Jayhun, Musa al-Sijazi<sup>16</sup> went into the place where Ibn Bishr was and, finding that he was getting his head shaved, he said to him: 'Did you obtain leave from Isma'il to have your head shaved?' giving him thus to understand that by attempting to contend with Isma'il, he had already rendered that chief the master of his head. To this Muhammad Ibn Bishr replied: 'Begone out of my sight, and may the curse of God light upon you.' Muhammad's troops were put to rout and he himself was taken prisoner and had his head cut off. Isma'il, to whom this and the other heads were brought, charged some of Muhammad's partisans to examine them and point out the head of their chief. One of these persons then related to Isma'il what Musa al-Sijazi had said, and this ill-omened prognostic caused him great surprise."

In al-Tabari's Annals, under the year 287, is a passage to this effect: "On Wednesday, the 25th of the first Jumada (28th May, A.D.

15 In the editions and the manuscripts this name is preceded by the word *-ud-* which must be suppressed.

16 The diacritical points of the word which I read *Sijazi* (native of Sijistan) vary greatly in the manuscripts.

\* [Al-Sanjari in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 469-Ed.]



900), the sultan<sup>17</sup> received, it is said, a letter announcing that a battle had taken place between Isma'il Ibn Ahmad and 'Amr Ibn al-Layth, that the army of the latter had been completely routed and that he himself had been taken prisoner. Here is an account of what passed between them: The sultan, being asked by 'Amr for the government of Transoxiana, granted his request and sent to Nishapur, where he ('Amr) was residing, the robe of investiture and the standard under which he was to hold that province and carry on the war against Isma'il Ibn Ahmad. On this, Isma'il wrote to him ('Amr) in these terms 'You have obtained the government of a vast country and I possess Transoxiana; be satisfied with what you have and let me remain in this frontier province.' 'Amr refused to accept his proposal and, being spoken to, respecting the river of Balkh (*the Oxus*) and the difficulty of crossing it, he answered: 'Were I inclined to make a dike across it with bags of money and pass over on that, I could do so,' Isma'il, having given up the hope of turning 'Amr from his project, assembled all the *dihqans* (*landed proprietors*) who were under his authority and crossed over to the western side of the river, whilst 'Amr Ibn al-Layth posted himself in Balkh. He then occupied the neighbouring country, and 'Amr, perceiving that he was in some measure blockaded, regretted what he had done and, it is said, requested a suspension of arms. Isma'il refused to grant, and, although no considerable combat took place between them, 'Amr found himself obliged to make a hasty retreat. On his way, he came up to a jungle and, being informed that a shorter road passed through it, he told the main body of his troops to follow the highway, and then engaged in the wood with a small escort. The animal which he rode got into some marshy ground and fell, leaving him without the means of escape, whilst his companions pushed forward without minding him. Some of Isma'il troops then came up and took him prisoner. When al-Mu'tadid was informed of what had passed, he praised Isma'il's conduct, blamed that of 'Amr and said: 'Let Abu Ibrahim Isma'il be invested by patent with all the authority which appertained to 'Amr. The robes of investiture were then sent off to him."

Al-Tabari says, under the year 288: "On Thursday, the 1st of the first Jumada (23rd April, A.D. 901), 'Amr Ibn al-Layth arrived in Baghdad. I have been told that Isma'il Ibn Ahmad gave him the choice of remaining with him as a prisoner or of being sent to the Commander of the faithful, and that he was taken to the Commander of the faithful because he preferred it."

---

17 Here the word *sultan* is employed by Tabari to designate the khalif. See above, note (7).

Al-Salami says, in his History of Khurasan: 'Amr, having proceeded to Balkh, had there an encounter with Isma'il and was taken prisoner. This happened on Tuesday, the 15th of the first Rabi' 287 (20th March, A.D. 900). Isma'il had him put into irons and taken to Samarkand."—This city lies (*in Transoxiana*), on the other side of the river which is called the Jayhun.—His (*Isma'il's*) brother, Abu Yusuf, being placed by him at the service of the prisoner, remained with him till 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Fath arrived with Isma'il's nomination to the government of Khurasan, bringing with him the diploma, the standard, the diadem and the robe of investiture. This was in the year 288. He was accompanied by Ashnas<sup>18</sup> who was charged to transport 'Amr Ibn al-Layth to Baghdad. The prisoner was given to him by Isma'il and taken to that city."

Ibn Abi Tahir (*vol. I, p. 291*), the historian already cited, says: 'Amr Ibn al-Layth al-Saffar was defeated and a great number of his partisans were slain.

The battle was fought at the gates of Balkh, on Wednesday, the 17th of the latter Rabi', 287 (21st April, A.D. 900). Previously to the encounter, his secretary, Ibn Abi Rabi'ah passed over to Isma'il, and was accompanied by one of the generals with a large body of troops. On the morning of the day on which the battle took place, 'Amr was informed of this desertion and, finding that most, of his partisans had gone over to Isma'il, he lost courage and took to flight, Isma'il, whose attention was engaged by the state of his army, sent a detachment after 'Amr. They found him on horseback, but at a full stop<sup>19</sup>, and took him prisoner. Isma'il, to whom they brought him, sent a dispatch to al-Mu'tadid, informing him of what had occurred and stating that 'Amr should be sent to Samarkand (*and he detained there*) till the Commander of the faithful's answer arrived. The khalif was highly pleased at this news and granted to Isma'il, in addition to the government which he already held, all the provinces over which 'Amr had extended his authority. 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Fath then set out for the purpose of receiving the prisoner. When he arrived, Isma'il had 'Amr brought in and sent him off bound in chains. One of his soldiers was placed at the side of 'Amr, with a drawn sword in his hand, and to 'Amr was said: 'If the people attempt to deliver you, we shall throw to them your head. Not a man stirred. They arrived at Nahrawan on Tuesday, the 26th of the second Rabi' 288

18 The orthography of this proper name is uncertain.

19 The Arabic words may also signify: they found him standing upon a horse. If this be the true meaning, the horse was his own, which had sunk into the mud.

(19th April, A.D. 901) and there took off 'Amr's chains. On Thursday, the 1st of the first Jumada (23rd April), the troops (*of the city*) rode forth to meet him. He arrived in a palanquin the curtains of which were let down (*so as to prevent him from being seen*). On arriving at (*the gate called*) Bab al-Salamah, he was taken out of that conveyance, clothed in a brocade gown and placed, with the *bonnet of displeasure*<sup>20</sup> upon his head, on the back of a camel with two humps (*a dromedary*), an animal which, when large and strong, is called a *falij*. This camel was one of the presents which had been formerly sent by him to the khalif; it was (*the*) covered with silk housings and adorned with tresses and harness, all inlaid with silver. They led him through Baghdad; down the high street, till they reached the *Qasr al-Husna* (*the abode of bliss*), which was then the khalif's residence. During that time, he held his hands up in prayer and uttered words of resignation and humility; but that was through craftiness, for the purpose of exciting commiseration. Effectively, the people abstained from reviling him. He was then taken before the khalif, who held a special sitting for the purpose of receiving him and had convoked to it a great number of persons. He stopped at the distance of about fifty cubits from the khalif, who merely said to him: 'This is what you have been working for, O 'Amr'!. After that, he was lead to a cell which had been prepared for him."

Ya'qub al-Saffar married an Arab woman of Sijistan who, after his death, became the wife of his brother 'Amr. She died without children and had then in her possession one thousand seven hundred female slaves.

A person of that time related as follows: "I was with the Traditionist [Muhaddith] Abu 'Ali al-Husayn Ibn Muhammad Ibn Fahm<sup>21</sup>, when a student in Traditions came in and said: Abu Ali, I saw yesterday 'Amr al-Saffar mounted on one of the dromedaries which he sent, three years ago to the khalif as a present. On this, Abu 'Ali pronounced the following lines:

As a man of talent and of rank it is sufficient to indicate al-Saffar. Morning and evening he marches at the head of an army. He gave camels as presents, but knew not that he should be mounted upon one and led as a prisoner.

---

20 This was a sort of fool's cap which criminals were obliged to wear when exposed to public view.

21 Abu Ali al-Husayn Ibn Muhammad Ibn Fahm, a learned Traditionist and a native of Baghdad, died A.H. 289 (A.D. 902), aged seventy-eight years.—(Huffaz)

'Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn Bassam, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II, p. 301*), composed the following lines on the same subject:

O thou who art deluded by thy worldly prosperity! didst thou see 'Amr? After possessing a kingdom and great power, he was forced to ride on a dromedary and to wear the *bonnet of displeasure* as a humiliation. With hands raised up, he prayed to God aloud and in his heart, begging to be saved from death and allowed to work again in copper.

Al-Tabari says: "Al-Mu'tadid Billah died on the eve of Monday, the 21st of the latter Rabi', 289 (4th April, A.D. 902). The khalifate devolved to his son, al-Muktafi Billah Abu Muhammad 'Ali, who was then absent, at al-Raqqah. After his return to Baghdad, he gave orders, on Tuesday, the 8th of the latter Jumada (20th May), that the subterraneous cells which his father had caused to be made for the reception of criminals should be filled up. The next morning, 'Amr Ibn al-Layth al-Saffar died and was buried in the neighbourhood of the Qasr al-Husna. When Mu'tadid was laying speechless on his death-bed, he ordered by signs and indications that 'Amr should be executed. Those signs he made by placing his hand on his neck and then on his eye; they meant: 'Kill the one-eyed man! 'Amr had lost an eye. Safi al-Harami to whom this order was given did not fulfil it, being unwilling to take 'Amr's life because he knew that the khalif would soon breathe his last.

It is related that al-Muktafi had no sooner arrived in Baghdad than he asked of (*the vizir*) al-Qasim Ibn 'Ubayd Allah (*vol. II, p. 300*) if 'Amr was still alive, and was highly pleased to learn that he was. 'I wish,' said he, 'to do him good.' During his residence at Rayy, in the life-time of his father, he had received from 'Amr a great quantity of presents and numerous marks of good-will. It is said that al-Qasim, disliking to be questioned about the prisoner, caused him to be murdered. 'Amr governed nearly twenty-two years."

Ya'qub was called al-Saffar because he had been a worker in *sufr* (copper), that is to say, in *nahas* (brass). At the time, his brother 'Amr kept asses for hire. The syndic\* of the coppersmiths related as follows: "When Ya'qub as a boy, in the shop, learning to work in copper, I often perceived between his eyes the sign of his future greatness." Being asked what he had remarked, he said: "I used to look at him from a place in which he could not perceive me, and

\* [Shaykh min al-Saffarin in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 474--Ed.]

I always saw him with his eyes cast down like a person full of thought and absorbed in his reflexions. After that, he became what we have seen."

The *katib* 'Ali Ibn al-Marzuban al-Isfahani made the following relation: "I once asked a partisan of the Saffaride family what had been the trade of 'Amr Ibn al-Layth, the brother of Ya'qub. 'Amr was then imprisoned in Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad). The man returned me no answer, but, on the death of 'Amr, he said to me: "It would not have been prudent in me, had I given you any information on that subject whilst 'Amr was still to be feared or to be hoped in. But now, I may tell you that he continued to hire out asses till his brother rose to power and got possession of *Khurasan*. He then went to join him and gave up that trade."

A number of historians relate, in their works, that Abu Ahmad 'Ubayd Allah Ibn Tahir Ibn al-Husayn al-Khuzai, the same person of whom we have spoken (*vol. II, p. 79*), would sometimes say: "Three are the wonders of the world; first that which happened to al-'Abbas Ibn 'Amr al-Ghanawi (*vol. III, p. 417*) and his army of ten thousand men: they were all put to death and he alone had his life spared; secondly, 'Amr Ibn al-Layth's army of fifty thousand men; all of them escaped and he alone was taken prisoner; thirdly, my being out of office and my son Abu'l 'Abbas being employed to administer (*the tolls received at*) the two bridges of boats which are at Baghdad."

The history of al-'Abbas Ibn 'Amr al-Ghanawi was this: When the Qarmats became powerful, they invaded the neighbouring countries and indulged to the utmost in the shedding of blood. In the year 287 (A.D. 900), al-Mu'tadid Billah sent against them an army under the orders of al-'Abbas al-Ghanawi. A battle ensued in which Abu Sa'id al-Qarmiti (*vol. I, p. 427*), the chief of the Qarmats, took al-'Abbas and all his army prisoners. The next day, he had them all brought before him, put them to death and had their bodies burned. Al-'Abbas, whom he set at liberty, was the only of the army who returned to al-Mu'tadid. This was towards the end of *Sha'ban* (*end of August*) in that year. The encounter took place between Basrah and al-Bahrayn, and furnished matter to a long and well-known relation. We present here a mere summary of it, because this is not a fit place for entering into particulars. If it pleases God, we shall give a full relation of it in our great historical work.<sup>22</sup> The first of the two verses which were said to have been inscribed on Ya'qub's tomb and which

---

22 This work was probably never published.

we have already given, terminates with a hemistich borrowed from the piece of verse which was sung by Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan the 'Umayyad, when he had established his domination in Syria and received the visit of Jarir Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Bajali, who had been sent to him from Kufah by 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, Mu'awiyah heard the message from Jarir and, when the sitting was over, had him lodged in a chamber near his own. That night, he sung the following verses, so that Jarir might hear them and repeat them so 'Ali:

Long and uneasy is my night, vague the suppositions which assail me, since the arrival of a visitor who came to me with vain and futile talks (*turrahat basabia*). Jarir has come, though events are crowding on, with proposals equivalent to the amputating of our noses. I bear with him, but the sword is still between me and him; for I am not a man to put on the raiment of ignominy. Syria has offered me the same obedience which I already received from Yaman, and the chiefs, of that country declare it loudly in their assemblies. If they act (*as they promise*), I shall attack 'Ali with a band (*jubbah*) which shall break down, to his harm, all the branches, green or withered (*which affords him shelter*). I hope for the greatest advantage which any man ever obtained, neither do I despair of ruling over 'Iraq.

The word *turrahat* signifies *futilities*; in its primitive acceptation, it designates the paths which branch off a highway. *Turraha*, its singular form, is a Persian word arabicized *turrehe*. Being subsequently employed to signify *futilities*, it gave rise to the expression *turrahat basabis*. --The word *abbah* means a troop of men. The poet, in using it, gave to understand that he would attack 'Ali with a body of horse and foot. The other words of the poem are so well known that they do not require explanation.

I found the following indications in the handwriting of a person who cultivated this branch of science (*history*): When 'Amr Ibn al-Layth was taken prisoner, his grandson, Tahir Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Amr obtained the government of Fars. This took place on the 17th of Safar, 288 (10th February, A.D. 901). In the year 296 (A.D. 808-9), he and his brother Ya'qub Ibn Muhammad were arrested by Subuk al-Subukri, a chief who had been one of their grandfather's pages, and were sent by him to Madinat al-Salam (*Baghdad*). The authority then passed to al-Layth, a nephew of Ya'qub and 'Amr, who made the conquest of Sijistan, A.H. 296. A number of conflicts had passed between Tahir and Subukri, who finally obtained possession of the country. Al-Mu'adhdhal (*Ibn-'Ali*) Ibn al-Layth, who governed Sijistan in the name of his brother al-Layth (*Ibn-'Ali*), then invaded Fars, and

Subuk fled to the khalif for assistance. In the month of Ramadan, 296 (May-June, A.D. 909), al-Muqtadir Billah sent off troops, under the orders [command] of Munis al-Muzaffar, Badr al-Kabir and al-Husayn Ibn Hamdan. These generals encountered al-Layth Ibn 'Ali, routed his army and took him prisoner with his brother Muhammad and his son Isma'il. Munis returned to Baghdad with the prisoners and arrived there in the month of Muharram, 297 (Sept-Oct. A.D. 909). Al-Layth Ibn 'Ali was paraded through the city on an elephant, and al-Mu'adhdhal Ibn 'Ali obtained the government of Sijistan. Ahmad Ibn Isma'il the Samanide then marched against him with a numerous army of horse and foot, and deprived him of that province. After that, Subuk al-Subukri possessed it for some time and was subsequently carried prisoner to Baghdad with Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Layth. Thus ended the power of the Saffarides.

## 802 YA'QUB IBN YUSUF IBN 'ABD AL-MU'MIN

Abu Yasuf Ya'qub, the son of 'Abu Ya'qub Yusuf and the grandson of Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Qaysi al-Kumi,<sup>1</sup> was sovereign of Maghrib.<sup>2</sup> We have spoken of his grandfather 'Abd al-Mu'min (*vol. II, page. 128*), and shall give an article on his father Yusuf. (He was of a very light tawny complexion<sup>3</sup>, rather tall<sup>4</sup> and well-looking; his mouth wide, his eyes large and very dark, his limbs bulky, his voice loud and his discourse fluent. He was the most various of men, the most elegant in language and the most fortunate in his suppositions. He managed affairs with skill whilst acting as vizir to his father and watched over his provincial governors and other public officers so attentively, that he acquired a perfect acquaintance with all the details of the administration):

---

1 Al-Qaysi al-Kumi, means member of the Arabic tribe of Qays and of the Berber tribe of Qumiyah. The sovereigns of the Ziride, Almoravide, Almohade and other Berber dynasties were always too proud to acknowledge their real origin and readily found genealogists who could show that their family descended from one or other of the noble Arabian tribes, Ibn Khaldun declares positively, in his *Histoire des Berbers*, t. I. p. 251, that the genealogy given as that of 'Abd al-Mumin is a forgery.

2 By *Maghrib (the West)* and *Mghrib al-Aqsa (the Ulterior West)* is meant the country which is now called the empire of Morocco.

3 The text of this paragraph is not to be found in our manuscripts.

On the death of his father, the *shaykhs* (or *chiefs*) of the Almohades [Al-Muwahhidin]\* and of the descendants of 'Abd al-Mu'min agreed on placing him at the head of affairs and, having tendered to him the oath of allegiance they instituted him chief of the empire and saluted him by the appellation of *Amir al-Mu'minin* (*Commander of the faithful*)<sup>5</sup>, the same which was borne by his father and his grandfather. They gave him also the surname of *al-Mansur* (*the victorious*). He governed with great ability, displayed (*to the world*) the glory of the (*Almuawwahid*) empire, set up the standard of the holy war (*against the Christians*), settled the balance of justice on a firm basis and established throughout the land the application of the prescriptions announced in the divine law: He watched over the interests of religion and of piety, corrected public morals by ordering the people to do what was commendable and avoid what was reprehensible; the penalties fixed by law were applied by him not only to his subjects in general but even to the members of his own family and to his nearest relations. His reign was therefore prosperous and his conquests extensive. When his father died (A.H. 580- A.D. 1184, *at the siege of Santarem*), he was with him, and, from that moment, he took into his own hands the administration of the empire. In the space of two months, he re-established order in (*Muslim*) Spain, ameliorated greatly the state of that country, placed garrisons in the centers of administration and did all that might promote the welfare of the people. He gave direction that the *Surah Fatihah* when recited in the public prayer, should be preceded by the *Bismillah*<sup>6</sup>, and orders to that effect were sent by him to all the Muslim countries under his rule. These orders some complied with, but others disobeyed. He then returned to Morocco, which city was the capital of the (*Al-mohade*) empire. After that, in the month of *Sha'ban*, 580 (Nov.-Dec. A.D. 1184), the Almoravide [*Murabit*] prince 'Ali Ibn

---

4 For the signification of the expression ماحر see de Sacy's *Grammaire*, t. I, p. 543.

5 This title was given to khalifs only. The Almohades of Morocco and the Almohade Hafsid of Tunis considered their sovereigns as khalifs and designated them by that title.

\* ["Al-Mohade" has been retained hereinafter -Ed.]

6 The *fatihah* is the first *surat* of the *Qur'an* and contains only seven verses. The *bismillah* is the invocation placed at the beginning of all the *surats* except one, and which may be rendered thus: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement! In the orthodox Muslim prayer, the *fatihah* should not be preceded by the *bismillah*, but, in the Almohade sect, this and a number of other irregularities were authorized.



Ishaq Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ghaniah<sup>7</sup> departed from the island of Majorca and took possession of Bugia\* and the neighbouring country. The *emir*<sup>8</sup> Ya'qub (*he who is the subject of this article*) sent against him a fleet and an army of twenty thousand horse; then, in the beginning of the year 583 (March, A.D. 1187), he set out himself and recovered the countries which had been taken from him. He then returned to (*the city of*) Morocco and, in the year 586, he learned that the Franks (*the Spanish Christians*) had obtained possession of Selves, (Shilba) a city in the west of Spain. He, in consequence, set out thither in person and, having retaken it, he immediately dispatched on an expedition a body of Almohade (*Berber*) troops and of Arabs. This army entered into the country of the Franks and took from them four cities of which they had effected the conquest forty years before. The sovereign of Toledo (*Alphonso IX, king of Castile*) then conceived such fear of Ya'qub that he asked for peace and obtained a truce of five years. Ya'qub then returned to (*the city of*) Morocco. The truce had nearly expired when some Franks, at the head of a numerous army invaded the Muslim territory, plundering and slaying all before them and committing horrible depredations. When this news reached the *emir* Ya'qub, who was then in Morocco, he levied a numerous body of troops among the Almohade (*Berber*) and Arab tribes, for the purpose of going to meet the enemy, and after a rapid march, he passed the S'traits and landed in Spain. This was in the year, 591 (A.D. 1195). The Franks, being informed of his approach, collected, from far and near, a great multitude (*of warriors*), and advanced to encounter him.

I must here relate that, towards the close of the year 668 (July, A.D. 1270), I saw, in Damascus, a notebook in the handwriting of Taj al-Din 'Abd Allah Ibn Hamawayh who had acted there in the capacity of *shaykh of the shaykhs* (*chief of the professors*) and who having travelled to Spain, had written down, during his residence there some notes concerning the proceedings of that (*the Almohade*) administration. The book of which I am speaking contained on that even, a chapter which must be inserted here: "Towards the close of the year

---

7 For a full account of the Ghania family and of their wars against the Almohades, see Ibn Khaldun's *Histoire des Berbers*, tome II. The same volume contains a satisfactory account of the Almoravides and the Almohades.

\* ["Al-Moravid" has been retained hereinafter -Ed.]

\* Bujayah in Cairo ed., vol. VI, p. 5.

8 The orthodox Muslim historians give to the Almohade sovereigns the title of *amir al-Muslimin*.

590 A.D. 1194), when the truce expired which the *emir* and sovereign the West (*Morocco and Spain*), Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, the son of Yusuf and the grandson of 'Abd al-Mu'min, had concluded with al-Adhfonsh (*Al-phonso*) the Frank, who possessed the western part of the Spanish peninsula and who had Toledo for the seat of his government, the former, who was then in (*the city of*) Morocco, took the resolution of passing into Spain for the purpose of encountering the Franks. He, in consequence, wrote to the governors of his provinces and the chiefs of his troops, ordering them to join him. He then proceeded to Sila (*Sallee*), outside of which town the troops were directed to assemble. It happened, however, that he was taken seriously ill and the physicians lost all hopes of his recovery. This (*untoward occurrence*) interrupted the organizing of the army, and the emir Ya'qub was carried back to Morocco. The (*nomadic*) Arabs and other tribes who were stationed in that neighbourhood, being encouraged by this to ravage the country, spread, throughout all quarters, ruin and devastation, whilst Alphonso did the same in the territory of the Spanish Muslims. The result was that the army of the emir Ya'qub had to be broken up and sent, in detachments, east and west, for the purpose of protecting these countries and quelling the insurrection. Alphonso then conceived such hopes of conquering the provinces (*of Muslim Spain*) that he sent to the emir Ya'qub an ambassador charged to exact from him, by threats and menaces, the surrender of a certain fortress (*or some fortresses*) situated in the vicinity of the Christian territory. He wrote to him also a letter which had been drawn up (*in Arabic*) by one of his vizirs named Ibn al-Fakhkhar and which ran thus: 'In Thy name, O God! Creator of the heavens and of the earth. His blessings be upon the Lord Messiah, the Spirit of God. His eloquent messenger.<sup>9</sup> Now, to the point:<sup>10</sup> It cannot escape the attention of whoever is gifted with a penetrating intellect and a good understanding that you are the emir of the Hanifite<sup>11</sup> community as I am that of the Christian one. You well

---

9 This invocation has nothing in it to offend the orthodoxy of a Muslim. The letter was evidently drawn up by a Muslim, but, from internal evidence, I am inclined to consider it as a forgery.

10 This is the usual form by which, in Arabic letters, the writer enters into the subject, after commencing by a pious invocation or a series of compliments and good-wishes. It was approved of by Muhammad himself. In North Africa, the form -*ud-* (*yalih*, i.e. *after which follows*), is very generally employed.

11 Muhammad designated himself and his followers as *hanifites*, (*Hanifs*) which term, according to the Muslim doctors, signifies the followers of the ancient orthodox religion.

know how the chiefs of the Spanish Muslims have abandoned and deserted each other, how they neglect the care of their subjects and how greatly they are inclined to enjoy repose. (*You know that*) I make them undergo the law of the strongest, expelling them from their abodes, carrying their children into captivity and making an example of their men. You have at present no excuse to offer for not coming to their assistance, since the hand of Providence has given you the means of doing so. You pretend that Almighty God has prescribed to you as a rule that, when we kill one of your people, you must kill ten of ours. But God has now alleviated you (*from that necessity*), because he knew that you have among you many men so weak and feeble that, if we were to slay ten of yours in order to avenge the death of one of ours, they would be incapable of resistance and unable to defend their lives. I was informed that you had prepared for war and ascended to the summit of the hill of battle<sup>12</sup>; yet you procrastinate, year after year, making one step forward and the other backward. I know not whether you be detained by cowardice or by the intention of belying the promise made by thy Lord. But, being told that you could not find an opportunity of passing the sea on account of a circumstance which, as long as it subsists, will prevent your engaging in such an undertaking, I shall now make you a proposal which will set you at ease and deliver you from the blame of not fulfilling your promises and engagements and of not furnishing a great number of guarantees: send me some of your servants with ships, galleys, transports and mistics<sup>13</sup>, so that I may pass over to you with my bands and fight with you in the place which you like best. If you gain the victory, an abundant spoil shall have thus been brought to you and a magnificent present set before you; if I am victorious, I shall hold a high hand over you and deserve to be the emir of the two communities and the sovereign of the two continents. It is God Who prepares success and Who facilitates the accomplishment of wishes. There is no Lord but He, no good but that comes from Him: God's will be done.' The emir Ya'qub, on receiving this letter, tore it to pieces and wrote words on the back of one of the fragments: '*Return to them; for we shall certainly go unto them with troops which they shall not be able to withstand and we will expel them from their (possessions), humbled and despicable.*'<sup>14</sup> My answer you shall see, not hear!' Under this, he wrote the following verse:

---

12 This metaphoric expression signifies: preparing for fight.

13 Mistics are small vessels with latteen sails.

14 *Al-Qur'an*, surat 27, verse 37.

He has no letters to send but swords; no other ambassadors then the fivefold host (i.e. *the army which is drawn up in five divisions*)."

This is a verse of al-Mutanabbi's.

"He then dispatched letters, calling the people to arms and ordering up the troops established in the cities; on that very day, he caused his tents to be pitched outside the town. Having assembled his army, he proceeded to the sea which is called *Ziqqaq Sibtah* (the straits of Ceuta), crossed from thence to Spain and penetrated, into the country of the Franks. Having met the enemy, who were already assembled and prepared for battle, he made them suffer a most disgraceful defeat. This took place (at *al-Arcos*) in the year 592 (A.D. 1196)."—End of the extract made from the note-book above mentioned.

I then met with a work composed by Abu'l Hajjaj Yusuf Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim al-Ansari al-Bayasi<sup>15</sup> and entitled *Tadhkir al-'Aqil wa Tanbih al-Ghafil* (i.e. *remembrancer for the intelligent and advertiser [warner?] for the negligent*), and, in it I found letter ascribed to Adfonch Ibn Ferdiland (Alphonse IX, the son of this Ferdinand), who addressed it to the Commander of the Musulmans, Yusuf Ibn Tashfin, a sovereign whose life we shall give. Yusuf's answer was drawn up in the same terms as that which we have just given. God knows where the truth lies: 'Al-Bayasi than adds an indication which seems to prove that he borrowed them from a document in the handwriting of the Egyptian *katib* Ibn al-Sayrafi<sup>16</sup>, and, if that be true the message could not have been sent to Ya'qub, Ibn Yusuf, al-Sayrafi lived long before the time of that sovereign. I met with a number of learned Maghribians who considered the date given above as incorrect<sup>17</sup> and related what we shall here expose: "The Franks, having assembled an immense army marched against the emir Yusuf who, being informed of their approach, hastened to encounter them, without being alarmed by what he had heard of their multitude and

---

15 An account of al-Bayasi will be found in this volume.

16 The historian al-Sayrafi was living A.H. 507 (A.D. 1113), as we have remarked in vol. II, page 276, note (8); and we learn here that he died a long time before the reign of Y'aqub Ibn Yusuf the Almohade, who mounted the throne A.H. 580 (A.D. 1184). We may therefore suppose that he died A.H. 525 (A.D. 1130-1).

17 The date of the battle of Alarcos, given above, is certainly incorrect; the battle was fought on the 8th or the 9th *Shaban*, 591 (18th or 19th July, A.D. 1195).

of their advancing against him. The two armies met in the Marj al-Hadid (*the iron meadow*), which is a plain in the neighbourhood of Qal'ah Rabah (*Calatrava*), and lying to the north of Cordova. This plain is traversed by a river which Ya'qub passed in order to encounter the Franks and drew up his troops in order of battle. This was on Thursday, the 9th of *Sha'ban*, 591 (19th July, A.D. 1195). He thus followed the example of his father and grandfather who generally gave battle on a Thursday, and commenced their campaigns in the month of Safar. The engagement began by champions sallying forth to encounter their adversaries in single combats, whilst the armies kept their ground, till the emir Ya'qub, at length, ordered the Almohade cavalry and the Arab chiefs to charge. They did so, routed the Franks and put them to the sword. All were exterminated, except their king, who escaped with a few followers, and, had the night not set in, not a man of the enemy would have remained alive. The mass of booty taken by the Muslims was immense; it is said that the number of coats of mail which fell to the share of the *Bayt al-Mal* (*the public treasury*) amounted to sixty thousand.<sup>18</sup> Beasts of burden of all kinds were taken in such quantities that it was impossible to count them. Never was such a defeat heard of in Spain. It was the custom of the Almohades to make no prisoners when their adversaries were polytheists; even if they took a great king, they would strike off his head and those of the other captives, no matter how numerous they might be. The next morning, the Muslim army went in pursuit of the fugitives and found that they had evacuated Qal'ah Rabah, so great was their terror. The emir Ya'qub occupied the fortress, placing in it a *wali* (*governor*) with a garrison. The quantity of booty which fell into the hands of the victors was so great that Ya'qub was unable to advance farther into the territory of the Franks and therefore turned his arms against Toledo. This city he blockaded and attacked with great vigour; he caused the trees in the neighbourhood, to be cut down, sent detachments to ravage the country all around and took a great number of castles situated in the environs of the place. The garrisons of these places were put to the sword, the women carried into captivity, the walls and buildings demolished. After reducing the Franks to such an extremity that they did not once care to make a sally against him, he returned to Seville, where he remained till the middle of the year 593 (April-May, A.D. 1197). He then entered, for the third time, into the country of the

---

18 As the share of the Bayt al-Mal was a fifth, three hundred thousand Christian knights, if we are to believe the narrator, must have fallen in that battle. Muslim historians have no idea of numbers.

19 This is a Qur'anic expression and signifies being reduced to despair.

Franks and acted there as he had done before. That people, unable to resist him and finding the earth, wide as it was, too narrow for them<sup>19</sup>, sent to ask for peace. He consented to their prayer on account of the news which had reached him respecting 'Ali Ibn Ishaq (*Ibn Ghaniah*) the Majorcan, him of whom mention has been already made in this article.

"That chief had invaded the territory of Ifriqiyah<sup>20</sup>, ruined a number of its towns and was advancing towards al-Gharb (*the west, i.e. the empire of Morocco*), in the hope of taking the city of Bugia; for he knew that the emir Ya'qub's attention was totally engaged by the state of Spain and by the holy war which he was carrying on in that country. He knew also that he had been absent from al-Gharb during three years. Ya'qub granted therefore a truce of five years to all the Spanish kings, on the conditions which they themselves had proposed, and returned to (*the city of*) Morocco towards the end of the year 593 (Oct-Nov., A.D. 1197). On his arrival, he gave orders for the construction of cisterns and watering-places (*on the line of his intended march*), and to prepare all the materials and provisions necessary for an expedition into Ifriqiyah. The *shaykhs* (*chiefs*) of the Almohades then waited on him and said: 'Sir! we have made a long absence in Spain; some of us have been there five years, others four, and others three. Favour us therefore with a respite and let the expedition be put off till the beginning of the year 595'. He granted their request and then went to Sala (*Sallee*) where he witnessed a magnificent pageantry got up for his reception. He had already founded near that place another large city to which he gave the name of Ribat al-Fath (*the redoubt or station of victory, now called Rabat*) and which he had constructed on the plan of Alexandria, the streets being wide, the quarters well distributed, the edifices solid, the whole city handsome and well fortified. It was built near the surrounding sea (*the Atlantic*), on the southern bank of a river and opposite to Sala. After visiting all parts of that country and admiring its beauties, he returned to Morocco."

I must here observe<sup>21</sup> that accounts very greatly respecting his proceedings after this epoch: some say that he abdicated the throne and wandered through the land till he arrived in the East, where the meanness of his appearance prevented him from being

---

20 *Ifriqiyah* or as it is generally pronounced, *Friqiyah* is the name given to the province of Tunis. In former times, the kingdom of Ifrikiya included also the provinces of Tripoli, Constantina and Bugia.

21 This passage is not to be found in our manuscripts.

recognized, and where he died in obscurity. Others relate that, after his return to (*the city of*) Morocco, he died there on the 1st of the first Jumada, 595 (1st March, A.D. 1199), or on the 1st of Safar (3rd December, A.D. 1198). Some say that he died at Sala (*Sullee*). God knows best! I may add that, in the year 680 (A.D. 1281-2), a number of persons spoke to me at Damascus of a mausoleum situated close to al-Hamarah, which is a village not far from al-Mijdal, a town in the dependencies of al-Biqah al-'Azizi (*Calosyria*). This monument is called the tomb of the emir Ya'qub, king of al-Gharb. The inhabitants of the place all agree on this point. The tomb is at the distance of two parasangs from al-Mijdal, in a south-western direction.

Ya'qub was a just and beneficent king and a strict observer of the holy law *الشرع المطهر*; he obliged all men, without respect of persons, to hold a laudable conduct; he presided regularly at the five public prayers and wore (*the simple*) woollen (*garment of the devotees*); He would stop to hear the complaints of women and of poor people, and render them justice. His dying injunction was that he should be buried at the road-side, so that the travellers who passed by might pray to God to have mercy on him.

I heard an anecdote respecting him which deserves to be inserted here: The *emir* and *shaykh* Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahid, who was the son of the *shaykh* Abu Hafs 'Umar and the father of the *emir* Abu Yahya Ibn 'Abd al-Wahid (*the Hafside*) held the government of Ifriqiyah. He had married the sister of the emir Ya'qub, and she dwelt with him. A quarrel then arose between them, and she moved to the house of her brother, the *emir* Ya'qub. The *emir* 'Abd al-Wahid sent to bring her back and, on her refusal to return, he addressed a complaint to Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Marwan (*qadi of the community*)<sup>22</sup> at Morocco. The *qadi* had an interview with the emir Ya'qub and said to him: "the *shaykh* 'Abd al-Wahid demands that his wife<sup>23</sup> should be restored to him. The emir Ya'qub kept silent: Some days afterwards, 'Abd al-Wahid met the *qadi* in the emir Ya'qub's palace at Morocco and said to him: "You are the (*chief*) *qadi* of the Muslims: I asked to have my wife restored to me, but she

---

22 In Spain and in the states of North Africa, the chief of the *qadis*, or lord chief-justice, was called the *qadi* of the community.

23 The *qadi*, instead of saying *wife*, made use of the word *family* (*ahl*). A euphemism of this kind is absolutely required by Muslim delicacy: nothing can be more unpolite or more offensive than to speak to a man, in direct terms, of the female part of his family.

\* [al-auf]

is not yet come." On this the *qadi* went to see the emir Ya'qub and said to him: "Commander of the faithful, here is twice that the *shaykh* 'Abd al-Wahid has asked to get back his wife." The emir Ya'qub returned no answer. Some time after, the *shaykh* Abd al-Wahid met the *qadi* in the same palace whither he had gone for the purpose of presenting his respects to the emir Ya'qub, and said to him: "*Qadi* of the Muslims, I told you twice, and now tell you for the third time, that I asked them to restore to me my wife and that they will not let me have here." The *qadi* had then an interview with the emir Ya'qub and said: "Sir! the *shaykh* asked that his wife should be restored to him and he has now renewed his request. So you must either send her to him or accept my dismissal from the *qadiship*." The emir Yusuf remained silent for a time, --or, according to another account he said: "'Abu Abd Allah, this is really becoming too troublesome." He then called forward an eunuch and said to him secretly: "Take 'Abd al-Wahid's wife back to him." That was done the same evening. Ya'qub was not offended with the *qadi*, neither did he say a word to displease him. In this, he acted according to the prescriptions of the divine law and executed its injunctions. It was a good action which (*on the day of judgment*), will surely be put to his account and to that of the *qadi*. He certainly did his utmost to maintain erect the beacon of justice. The same emir was particularly strict in obliging his subjects to say the five daily prayers, and he sometimes put to death those who drank wine. He inflicted the same punishment on the governors who, by their misconduct, excited the complaints of those whom, they administered. He gave orders that all the secondary maxims (*deduced from the main principles of the law and received by the orthodox community*) should be laid aside, and that the *muftis* (*consulting-lawyers, casuists*) should draw their decisions directly from the noble book (*the Qur'an*) and from the *Sunnah* (*or Traditions concerning the acts and opinions*) of the Prophet. His injunctions were that they should pay no attention to the decisions of the *mujtahid imams* who lived in former times, but judge according to the maxims which they themselves could deduce, by the exercise of private judgment, from the *Qur'an*, the traditions, the general agreement of the Muslim community and analogical deduction.<sup>24</sup>

A number of Maghribin doctors whom I met here (*at Damascus*) followed that system; such were Abu'l Khattal' Ibn Dihyah (*vol. II, p. 384*): his brother Abu 'Amr (*vol. II, p. 386*, and Muhi al-Din Ibn al-'Arabi<sup>25</sup>, a settler at Damascus. He (Ya'qub) punished those who stayed away from the (*five public*) prayers and had proclamations made in the streets ordering all to go to the mosque; those who absented themselves through inattention, or the necessity of working for their livelihood, received flogging. His empire was vast and his



realm so extensive that all the regions of Maghrib, from the surrounding ocean <sup>بحر المحيط</sup> to Barqah, acknowledged his authority and formed provinces of his empire. He possessed besides a part of the Spanish peninsula. Y'aqub was beneficent and friendly to the learned (*in the law*); he favoured literary men, listened willingly to poems composed in his praise and rewarded generously the authors. It was for him that Abu'l Abbas Ahmad Ibn 'Abd al-Saian al-Jirawi compiled the *Safwa ai-Adab was Diwan al-'Arab* (*Choice selection of literature and collection of poems composed by the Arabs*). The pieces which form this miscellany are remarkably well chosen. The gold Maghribian coins which are called Y'aqubian were so named after this sovereign. In the year 587 (A.D. 1191-2), the sultan Salah al-Din (*Saladin*) Abu'l Muzaffar Yusuf Ibn Ayyub, a prince whose life we shall give, dispatched a member of the M'nqidh family as ambassador to the emir Ya'qub, for the purpose of obtaining his assistance<sup>26</sup> against the Franks who had come from the countries of the West to invade Egypt and the maritime provinces of Syria. (*In his dispatch*) he did not give Ya'qub the title of *Emir al-Mu'minin*, (*Commander of the faithful*), but that of *Emir al-Muslimin* (*Commander of the Muslims*). This gave Ya'qub great offence and prevented him from granting the demand.<sup>27</sup> The ambassador's name was Shams al-Dawlah Abu'l Harith Rahman, the son of Najm al-Dawlah Abu 'Abd Allah

---

24 This was putting aside all the questions which had been already resolved and established as precedents by the most learned doctors of the law, and permitting his own *qadis*, most of whom were ignorant men, to examine and settle them again as they thought fit.

25 Muhi al-Din Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Hatimi, surnamed Ibn al-Arabi, was one of the most voluminous writers on Sufism that the Mohammedan world ever produced. He was born in the month of Ramadan, 560 (July-August, A.D. 1165) at Murcia, a city in Spain. after studying the law and the *Qur'an* in that country, he went to the East, made the pilgrimage, visited Cairo and other cities, and died at Damascus in the month of the second Rabi, 638 (Oct-Nov. A.D. 1240). The number of works composed by him is enormous; see Hajji khalifah's *Bibliographical Dictionary*, vol. VII, p. 1171. Of these the most remarkable is the *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyah* (*revelations obtained at Makkah*). [forming a very large and thick volume closely written, and filled with mystical reveries. His *Fusus al-Hikam* (*maxims of wisdom set as jewels*) is another work of the same kind. A long account of him is given by al-Maqqari, vol. I, p. 567 of the Arabic text, Layden edition, and by M. de Hammer in the *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, vol. VII, p. 422.

\* \* \* [Khatab in *Ciro* ed., vol. VI, p. II-Ed.]

26 That is, the assistance of his fleet.

27 For an account of this embassy, see Ibn Khaldun's *Histoire des Berbers*, vol. II, p. 215.

Muhammad Ibn Murshid. The rest of the genealogy has been already given in our article on his uncle, Usamah Ibn Munqidh.<sup>28</sup> The *hafiz* Zaki al-Din 'Abd al-Azim al-Mundhiri (vol. I, p. 89) mentions him in his *Takmilat al-Wafayat* (supplement to the *Obituary*)<sup>29</sup> and say: "He died in Cairo, the year 600 (A.D. 1203-4): he was born at 'Shayzar in the year 523 (A.D. 1128-9). He composed some pieces in prose and in "verse".

Let us resume our account of Ya'qub. One of the poets who frequented his court was Abu Bakr Yahya Ibn 'Abd al-Jalil Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Mujir, a native of Murcia in Spain, I looked over his collected poetical works and found the greater part of them to be in praise of the emir Ya'qub. In one of these poems he says:

Think you that the poet will cease to extol the fair whilst he is still in his youth and has reached the height of manhood? He was always captivated by the charms of graceful maids and, never, from the age of reason, did he allow indifference to occupy his heart. He cannot admire the character of him who, having once tasted (*the sweets of*) love, can become indifferent. You who censure me! I am so occupied that I heed not your reproaches. My ear is deaf to your reprimands, though never deaf to the call of love. It can bear a fond discourse though held in whispers, but it cannot hear words of blame. My eyes, to their misfortune, directed (*towards her*) glances which (*for me*) were equivalent to death.<sup>30</sup> On the morning in which I appeared before her she left me as an example to show what love might be. 'Twas she who robbed me of (*the bloom of*) youth, (*so that the darkness of my hair disappeared*) and became the dark colouring of her eyelids.<sup>31</sup> The magic of her glances annihilated the reality of all that belonged to me; that magic was not unreal. She turned from

---

28 This an oversight of the author: the genealogy is not given in that article.

29 This was one of the numerous works composed as supplements to the *hafiz* Abu Sulayman Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah's *Wafayat al-Naqalah* (*Necrology of persons who handed down traditional information*), which obituary extended from the time of the Hijra till A.H. 338 (A.D. 949).

30 Such appears to be the poet's meaning if the verse be correctly given. Even in that case, the absence of vowel points renders the reading and the sense very uncertain.

31 The poet means to say that his hair was now gray, because she whom he loved had taken its darkness away and made use of it as *kohl*, or colouring matter, for her eyelashes.

me through coquetry and, when she perceived my affliction, she turned away in confusion; as if she had been frightened by something which excited fear. She thought I meant to burn her, when she saw the grayness of my head shine like a flame. Noble chieftains of the tribe! you who are the fittest in the world to encounter the greatest dangers! we halted in your neighbourhood; we were grateful for your protection, and yet your gazells (*maidens*) freed us boldly and filled us with fear and dread. You answered for the safety of your guests, but you did not provide for the safety of your roads. You intended to ravish away our souls by scattering among them glances from (*maidens*) eyes. Better would it have been for us had we plunged into the midst of swords than to have encountered these large eyes! A band of your maidens attacked us and thus infringed the pact which we made (*with you*). They were Thoalites (*skilful archers*) with their glances, though they never heard of Thoal.<sup>32</sup> These delicate nymphs levelled against us the graces of their movements when we levelled our pliant lances (*for the fight*). Their glances struck us successively, and we cast away helmet and spear. They shot at us with arrows, and yet rifled all the hearts which had been ensnared in the toils of love. These graceful maids stripped me of my firmness, and yet I deck them with the jewels of amatory verse. I obliged my soul to face temptations and told her to be firm, but she could not resist them. She (*who tempted me*) then said: "You must surrender your soul to love, either as a booty or as a gift;" and I replied: "She (*my soul*) belongs to the Commander of the faithful, and (*I shall*) therefore not (*give her up to you*). Never did a king like him appear before our eyes; he who sees him has attained his utmost hopes: Benignity has established in his cheek a fountain of kindness whose waters heal every indisposition; when he is moved by generosity, gifts burst forth from his right hand and flow like a torrent."

The *qasidah* from which we have taken this extract is rather long, as it contains one hundred and seventy verses; so, we shall confine our choice to what we have here given. This poet died at Morocco in the year 587 (A.D. 1191-2), at the age of fifty-three years. [Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Ibn Ya'qub al-Kanimi,<sup>33</sup> a negro who was a good literary scholar and a poet, entered, one day, into the presence of the emir Ya'qub and recited to him these verses:

---

32 The tribe of Thoal was celebrated for having produced the best archers in Arabia.

33 The text of this passage is not to be found in our manuscripts.

He caused the curtain to be drawn which concealed him from my sight, yet seemed to be still veiled by a curtain, such was the awe which he inspired. He allowed me, through condescendence, to draw near and that awe (*mahabatubu*) disappeared when I approached him.

The race of Negroes called the Kanim and that of the Takrur are cousins. Neither of them derive their name from a maternal or a paternal ancestor: *Kanim* is the name of a town situated in the territory of *Ghanah*, and is the metropolis of the Sudan (or Blacks) who reside to the south of al-Gharb (*the states of Morocco*). The Kanim are so called after this town. *Takrur* is the name of a territory and is borne also by those who inhabit it. They are all descended from Kush the son of Ham, the son of Noah.

When the emir Ya'qub received the visit of death and expired, his son Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad was proclaimed sovereign under the title of *al-Nasir* (*the defender*). This prince marched into Ifriqiyah routed the troops of Ibn *Ghaniah* recovered al-Mahdiyyah from the lieutenants of that adventurer. It had been taken by Ibn *Ghaniah* when Ya'qub was occupied in waging war against the enemies (*of the faith*). Muhammad (*al-Nasir*), the son of Ya'qub, then made an expedition into Spain and fought the battle of al-'Uqab (*Las Navas*) in the year 609 (A.D., 1212. He died on the tenth of *Sina'ban*, 610 (25th Dec., A.D. 1213). He was born in the year 576 (A.D. 1180-1). The Maghribans state that Muhammad Ibn Ya'qub had told the slaves who were employed to guard his garden at Morocco, that they might lawfully kill whoever they found there at night. Wishing then to know what case they made of his orders, they put on a disguise, one night, and went to walk in the garden. When the slaves saw him, they attacked him with their spears, and, though he cried out to them: 'I am the khalif! I am the khalif!' they would not believe him, but took his life. God knows if that be true.<sup>34</sup>

The supreme authority then passed to his son Abu Ya'qub Ibn Muhammad, the grandson of the emir Ya'qub, who took the title of al-Mustansir Billah. He was born on the first of *Shawwal*, 594 (6th August, A.D. 1198). There was not, among all the descendants of 'Abd al-Mu'min, a handsome man then he or a more eloquent pulpit orator; but he was so fond of his ease that he never stirred from his capital. Therefore, under his reign, the empire founded by 'Abd

---

<sup>34</sup> The accounts of al-Nasir's death vary greatly. See the *Histoire des Berbers*, t. II, p. 226, note.

al-Mu'min began to decline. He died without issue in the month of Shawwal (Oct-Nov.), or of Dhu'l qa'dah 620, (Nov-Dec., A.D. 1223).

The principal officers of the state ther. agreed to nominate as their sovereign Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahid, the son of Yusuf and the grandson of 'Abd al-Mu'min. They fixed their choice on him because he was advanced in age and highly intellegent; but as he soon showed his inability to govern and knew not how to humour the inclinations of the chiefs who held a high rank in the administration, he was deposed by them and strangled, after a reign of nine months. When he was proclaimed sovereign at Morocco, his authority was rejected at Murcia by Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah, the son of the emir Ya'qub, who, thinking himself better entitled than he to the supreme power invaded the Spanish provinces situated in the neighbourhood of his own, took possession of them without difficulty and assumed the (*imperial*) surname of *al-'Adil*. When 'Abd al-Wahid was strangled at Morocco, the army of this 'Abd Allah was attacked by the Franks and underwent a most disgraceful defeat. He himself took to flight and embarked with the intention of going to Morocco, after authorizing his brother Abu'l-'Ala (or *'Ula*) Idris, the son of the emir Ya'qub, to act at Seville, as his lieutenant. On his way to Morocco, he was greatly harassed by the nomadic Arabs and, on his arrival there, he found everything turned against him and was imprisoned by the inhabitants of that city. A conference was then held by them respecting the choice of a person to whom they might confide the power, and they finished by electing Abu Zakariya Yahya, the son of Muhammad al-Nasir and the grandson of Ya'qub. This prince was incapable of governing, as might have been seen from his looks, and had not the least talent for business. A few days only elapsed from his accession to the throne when news arrived that Abu'l 'Ala Idris had caused himself to be proclaimed khalif at Seville and received the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants of the Spanish provinces (*which belonged to the Almohades*). Yahya's affairs then took so bad a turn that he was besieged in Morocco by the Arabs: his troops underwent so many defeats that the people of the city got tired of him, lost patience and expelled him from the capital. He took refuge in the mountain of Dirin (*the Atlas*) and then entered into a secret correspondence with some of the Moroccans for the purpose of obtaining his recall and the death of the chiefs who directed Ibn Abi'l 'Ala's party in that city. He subsequently arrived there and had them all killed, Abu'l 'Ala had now come from Spain, where the emir Muhammad, the son of Yusuf Ibn Hud al-Judami,<sup>35</sup> had revolted and

---

35 See the translation of Maqqari by Gayangos, vol. II, p. 326.

proclaimed the supremacy of the 'Abbasids. The popular feeling in his favour, the cause of Abu'l-'Ala Idris was abandoned (*in Spain*). The latter, on arriving at Morocco, found there the emir Yahya Ibn al-Nasir and gave him battle. Yahya was defeated and fled to the mountain, whilst Abu'l-'Ala took possession of Morocco. He then assembled a body of troops and marched against Abu'l 'Ala, who was still in that city, but, being defeated in a number of encounters, he was forced to take refuge among some people who held a castle in the neighbourhood of Talimsan (*Tlemcen*). A servant-boy (*ghulam*) who was there, and who had to avenge the death of his father, lay in wait for Yahya, one day that he was riding out, and killed him.<sup>36</sup> Abu'l 'Ala, having then obtained the supreme authority, took the title of *al-Ma'mun*. He was brave, resolute, intrepid and audacious in his enterprises. He died a natural death, in one of his expeditions, but I have not been able to discover the date of that event. I have been since told by some people from that country that he died in the year 630 (A.D. 1232); God knows best<sup>37</sup>! His son Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahid concealed his death till he had made all requisite arrangements and provided for his own safety. He then assumed the title of al-Rashid, subdued his elder brother and took the supreme command. Abu'l 'Ala had caused the name of the Mahdi Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Tumart (*vol. III, p. 205*) to be suppressed in the *khutbah*, at Friday prayers, but this order was revoked by his son, who thus gained the hearts and the affection of the Almohads. Al-Rashid continued to reign over Ulterior Maghrib and a part of Spain till the year 641 (A.D. 1243-4). What happened to him since, I am unable to say, having no knowledge of it.

Since this article was written out, I met a native of Morocco, a man of talent and information, who had lately quit that city, and I learned from him that in the year 640 (A.D. 1242-3), al-Rashid was drowned in a pond of his garden, at Morocco, the seat of the empire. His death was kept secret for some time by the chamberlain, so that the month in which it occurred is not known. Al-Rashid was succeeded by his half-brother, Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn Idris who took the title of *al-Mu'tadi*, but was generally known by the appellation of *al-Sa'i*. Some time after, he made an expedition in the direction of Tilimsin (*Tlemcen*) and, having laid siege to a castle (*Temzezzekt*), at the distance of one day's march from that city, he was killed there,

---

36 In the *Histoire des Berbers* vol. II, p. 241, Ibn Khaldun gives a different account of Yahya's death.

37 According to Ibn Khaldun, the death of Abu'l 'Ala took place in that year.

whilst riding about. This took place in the month of Safar, 646 (May-June, A.D. 1248). He was succeeded by *al-Murtada* Abu Hafs 'Umar, the son of Abu Ibrahim (*Ishaq*) and the grandson of Yusuf. This was in the month of the latter Rabi (July-August) of that year (A.D. 1248). On the 21st of Muharram, 665 (22nd Oct. 1266) *al-Wathiq* Abu'l 'Ala Idris, the son of Abu 'Abd Allah Yusuf Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min<sup>38</sup>, and generally designated by the name of Abu [Ibn, in Cairo ed., vol. V, p. 17] Dabbus (*the man with the club or mace*) entered into Morocco, and *al-Murtada* fled from thence to Azemmor<sup>39</sup>, a place in the dependencies of that city. The governor of Azemmor had him arrested, and sent a dispatch with this intelligence to *al-Wathiq*, who gave orders that the prisoner should be put to death. *Al-Murtada* was executed on one of the last ten days of the latter Rabi', 665 (between the 11th and the 28th of January, A.D. 1267), at a place called Kutamah and situated at the distance of a three day's journey from Morocco. *Al-Wathiq* maintained his power during three years and lost his life in the war which had broken out between him and the Merinides who reigned at Tilimsan.<sup>40</sup> With him fell the dynasty which had been founded by 'Abd al-Mu'min. *Al-Wathiq* was killed at a place situated three days journey north of Morocco, and in the month of Muharram, 668 (September, A.D. 1267). The Merinides then took possession of the empire. Their sovereign, at the present time, is Abu Yusuf Ya'qub Ibn 'Abd al-Haqq Ibn Hammamah; but God knows best.

Let us now speak of 'Ali Ibn Ishaq, (*Ibn Ghaniah*) the Majorcan of whom frequent mention has been made in this article. His father, Abu Ibrahim Ishaq Ibn Hammu Ibn 'Ali the Sanhajian, surnamed Ibn *Ghaniah*, was sovereign of Majorca, Ivica, (*Yabisah*) and Minorca, three islands situated near each other and lying in the Western sea (*the Mediterranean*). He died in the year 580 (A.D. 1184-5) and left four sons<sup>41</sup> one of whom, named Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, proceeded to Spain, after the death of his father, and joined the party of the Almohades.

---

38 Abu Dabbus *al-Wathiq*, was the son of Muhammad, the son of Abu Hafs 'Umar, the son of 'Abd al-Mu'min. --(*Hist. des Berb.*, vol. II, p. 252).

39 The fortress of Azemmor is situated at the mouth of the Morbia, that is, the Omm-Pabia.

40 The Merinides were then reigning at Fez, not at Tilimsan, which belonged to the 'Abd al-Wadites.

41 According to Ibn *Khaldun*. *Hist des Berbers*, t. II, p. 88, Ishaq Ibn *Ghawiah* left eight sons.

They received him with the utmost cordiality and gave to him the city of Denia 'Ali and Yahya, two other of these brothers, left their country and invaded Ifriqiyah, where they committed such deeds of war and devastation as excited astonishment, and of which the recollection still subsists. 'Ali died, I know not in what year, but he was alive in the year 591 (A.D. 1195).<sup>42</sup> His brother Yahya pursued the same career and continued it for a long time. The *hafiz* Zaki al-Din 'Abd al-'Azim al-Mundhiri mentions him (Yahya) in the *Kitab al-Wafayat* and says: "He left Majorca in the month of *Sh'aban*, 510 (Nov.-Dec., A.D. 1184), conquered many countries and gained high renown by his courage and enterprising spirit. His death took place towards the end of the month of *Shawwal*, 633-(June-July, A.D. 1236), in a desert region (*situated at some distance from the city*) of Tilimsan. His attacks were directed against the dynasty of 'Abd al-Mu'min (*the Almohades*). The youngest brother, Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah, remained in Majorca till the year 599 (A.D. 1202-3), when Muhammad al-Nasir, the son of Ya'qub, sent a fleet against him. The troops landed on the coast of Majorca, and 'Abd Allah, who was a noble-minded and brave warrior, advanced to give them battle. In the encounter, his horse fell under him, and he was beheaded by the invaders. His body was then suspended to the wall (*of the city*) and his head was sent to Morocco. Majorca was then conquered by the Almohades and remained in their possession till the year 627 (A.D. 1230), when it was taken by the Franks (*the Catalanians*). Horrible deeds were then perpetrated by them such as massacring the inhabitants and reducing them to slavery."—*Adh fainsh*<sup>43</sup> was the name borne by the principal king of the Franks. He is now master of Toledo.

### YA'QUB IBN DAWUD, THE VIZIR

Abu 'Abd Alla Ya'qub Ibn Dawud Ibn 'Uthman Ibn 'Amr Ibn Tahman was an adopted member of the tribe of Sulaym, being a *mawla* to Abu Salih 'Abd Allah Ibn Hazim al-Sulaymi, the governor

42 He lost his life in a skirmish, A.H. 584 (A.D. 1138-9).—(*Hist. des Berbers*)

43 *Adh funth* or *Athfonsh* is the Arabic transcription of *Adefonz*, which is the old manner of writing *Alphonso*. See *Hist. des Berbers*, t. II, p. 78.



of Khurasan.<sup>1</sup> Ya'qub was secretary to Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Abi Talib, the same who, stirred up a revolt, in the city and province of Basrah, against Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, and was put to death with his brother Muhammad, who had aided him in that attempt.<sup>2</sup> This is not a fit place to speak of their enterprise which, being related in historical works, is well known. Dawud Ibn Tahman, the father of Ya'qub, and his (*Dawud's*) brothers were clerks employed in the office of Nasr Ibn Sayyar, who was then governor of Khurasan for the 'Umayyads. After the death of Dawud, his sons 'Ali and Ya'qub became eminent by their literary acquirements, their talents and their information in all the various branches of knowledge. When al-Mansur defeated the above mentioned Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd Allah, he got Ya'qub into his power and imprisoned him in the *Matbaw*.<sup>3</sup> This was in the year 144 (A.D. 761-2), or, by another account, in the year 146. The latter is probably the right date, because Ibrahim was put to death in 145, as we have said elsewhere. We may suppose, however, that Ya'qub was made prisoner anteriorly to the death of Ibrahim, when the latter commenced his revolt; but God knows best! Ya'qub was of a kind disposition, liberal, generous charitable and always ready to oblige. Di'bil Ibn 'Ali al-Khuza'i (*vol. I, p. 507*), the celebrated poet, mentions him in the book which contains the names of the poets. He was often visited by poets, some of them highly eminent, who came to eulogize him in their verse; such were Abu'l Shays al-Khuza'i,<sup>4</sup> Salm al-Khasir (*vol. I, p. 22*), Abu Khunays and others. When al-Mahdi succeeded to the khalifate, on the death of his father al-Mansur, Ya'qub (*whom he had released from confinement*) endeavoured to ingratiate himself with

1 Abu Salih 'Abd Allah Ibn Hazim, a member of the tribe of Sulaym, governed Khurasan during ten years. He adhered to the party of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Zubayr and was killed, A. H. 71 (A.D. 690-1), by his own lieutenant Waki وكيع in a revolt which the latter got up against him at the instigation of the Umayyad khalif 'Abd al Malik Ibn Marwan.-(Tabari's *Annals*: Price's *Retrospect*).

2 See De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. I, page 3; Abu'l-Fida's [*Abu'l-Fida*] *Annals*, tom II; page 15, and Price's vol. II, page 15. The revolt of Al-Nafa al-Zakiya and his brother Ibrahim took place A.H. 145 (A.D. 762-3).

3 The word *matbaq* signifies anything with a lid. It was the name given to the state-prison wherein political offenders were confined for life. (*Al-Fakhri*, page 220 of the Arabic text). It was a pit or under-ground chamber, communicating with the exterior by a deep and narrow passage like a well.

4 Abu 'l-Shays (*Shik* ?) or Abu Ja'far, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Khuza'i was the cousin of the poet Di'bil Ibn 'Ali al-Khuza'i. He died A.H. 196 (A.D. 811-2). See vol. I, page 510 of this translation, and Freytag's *Hamasah* page 602 of the Arabic text.

the new sovereign and having succeeded in gaining his favour, he attained so high a place in his confidence that he became a personage of great importance. An edict [*Kitab*] was even addressed to all the boards of administration, declaring that the Commander of the faithful had adopted as a brother Ya'qub Ibn Dawad. This induced Salm al-Khasir to pronounce the following lines:

Say to the *imam* who obtained the khalifate by a title not to be contested: "Excellent is the associate whom you have chosen to assist you in your devotions! your brother in God, Ya'qub Ibn Dawud."

In the year 160 (A.D. 776-7) al-Mahdi made the pilgrimage [hajj] and took Ya'qub with him. In 161, he permitted him to establish commissaries in all the provinces of the empire, so that none of the governors should address dispatches to court without his (*Ya'qub's*) authorisation. Al-Mahdi had then for vizir Abu 'Ubayd Allah Mu'awiyah Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Yasar al-'Ashari al-Tabarani, the same after whom the square (*murabb'ah*) of Abu 'Ubayd Allah, in Baghdad, was so named. His grandfather Yasar was a *mawla* to 'Abd Allah Ibn 'Idadah<sup>5</sup> al-Ash'air. Al-Rabi' Ibn Yunus, the same of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I, p. 521*) endeavoured to indispose al-Mahdi against him (*Abu-'Ubayd Allah*) and was the cause of that vizir's son being put to death, having furnished to the khalif proofs that the young man was a *zindiq* (an infidel), sometime after, he represented to al-Mahdi the danger of keeping about him such a man as Abu 'Ubayd Allah: "Be on al-Mahdi the danger of keeping about him such a man as Abu 'Ubayd Allah: "Be on your guard against him," said he, "now that you have killed his son." He also spoke to him of Ya'qub Ibn Dawud's great talents and succeeded in having him appointed vizir. Abu 'Ubayd Allah was thus deprived of his place, and the only charge left to him was the direction of the board of correspondence [*diwan al-rasa'il*]. This occurred in the year 163 (A.D. 779-710). Four years after, al-Mahdi removed Abu 'Ubayd Allah from that office and gave it to al-Rabi' Ibn Yunus. Abu 'Ubayd Allah continued to visit al-Mahdi as usual, in order to testify his sentiments as an humble and devoted servant. This induced a native of Kufah called 'Ali Ibn al-Khalil to compose a poem in which was the following passage [*abyat*]:

---

5 According to Ibn Durayd, in his *Ishtiqaq*, 'Idah, -ud- was a noble Arab chief who settled in Syria after the conquest (*min ashraf ahli's-Sham*). The vizir Abu 'Ubayd Allah Mu'awiyah Ibn Yasar died A.H. 170 (A.D. 786-7). Same account of him is given in Ibn al-Tiqtaqa's *Fakhri*, page p.o.

Say to the vizir Abu 'Ubay Allah: "What resource have you left? Ya'qub now disports himself in the direction of affairs and you turn away your eyes: You brought him into office and he has prevailed over you; such misfortunes attend the great. By your remissness in taking proper measures you have deliberately brought about your own ruin."

Ya'qub then gained such influence over al-Mahdi that he took from him the direction of affairs. Al-Mansur, in dying, had left in the treasure-chambers nine hundred millions and sixty thousand dirhems (£ 22,501,500), and Abu 'Ubayd Allah always advised al-Mahdi to be moderate in his expenses and spare the public money. When Abu 'Ubayd Allah was deposed, his successor Ya'qub flattered the inclinations of the khalif and encouraged him to spend money, enjoy all sorts of pleasures, drink wine and listen to music. By this means, he succeeded in obtaining the entire administration of the state. *Bashshar Ibn Burd*, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I, p. 254*), was induced by this to composed the following lines:

Awake, sons of Umayyah! your sleep has ended too long.  
It is Ya'qub Ibn Dawud who is now khalif. Family (of al-'Abbas)!  
your khalifate is ruined; if you seek for the vicar (*khalif*) of God,  
you will find him with a wine-flask on one side and a lute on  
the other.

Abu Harithah al-Nahdi<sup>6</sup>, the guardian of the treasure-chambers, seeing that they had got empty, waited on al-Mahdi with the keys and said: "Since you have spent all your treasures, what is the use of my keeping these keys? give orders that they be taken from me." Al-Mahdi replied: "Keep them still, for money will be coming unto you." He then dispatched messengers to all quarters in orders to press the payment (*of the reve use*), and, in a very short time, these sums arrived. A slight diminution was then made in the expenses, and the sums paid and in were so abundant that Abu Harithah had enough to do in receiving them and verifying the amount. During three days, he did not appear before al-Mahdi, who at length said: "What is he about, that, silly Bedwin 'Arab?" Being informed of the cause which kept him away, he sent for him and said: "What prevented your

---

<sup>6</sup> This surname is variously written in the manuscripts; one of them gives *Hindi*, another *Mahdi*, etc. As the individual who bore it belonged to an Arabian tribe, the only plausible reading is that of *Nahdi*, (a member of the tribe of *Nahd Ibn Kudd'ah*). Farther on, it will be seen that al-Mahdi called him a Bedwin Arab.

coming to see us?" "The arrival of cash," replied the other. "How foolish it was in you", said al-Mahdi, "to suppose that money would not come in to us." "Commander of the faithful!" replied al-Mahdi, "if some unforeseen event happened which could not be surmounted without the aid of money, we would not have the time to wait till you sent to have cash brought in."

It is related that al-Mahdi made the pilgrimage one year and passed by a milestone on which he saw something written. He stopped to see what it was, and read the following line:

O Mahdi! you would be truly excellent had you not taken for a favourite Ya'qub, the son of Dawud.

He then said to a person who was with him. "Write underneath that" (*It shall still be so*) *in spite of the fellow's nose who wrote that, bad luck attend him!*" On his return from the pilgrimage, he stopped at the same milestone, because the verse had probably left an impression on his mind; and such, in fact, appears to have been the case, for very soon after he let his vengeance fall on Ya'qub. Rumours unfavourable to this minister had greatly multiplied; his enemies had discovered a point by which he might be attacked and they reminded the khalif of his having seconded Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd Allah the 'Alide in the revolt against al-Mansur. One of his servants informed al-Mahdi that he had heard his master say: "That man (*the khalif*) has built a pleasure-house and spent on it fifty millions of dirhems ( £ 1,250) out of the public money." The fact was that al-Mahdi had just founded the town of 'Isabad.<sup>7</sup> Another time, al-Mahdi was about to execute some project when Ya'qub said to him: "Commander of the faithful, that is mere profusion [*saraf*]. To this al-Mahdi answered: "Evil betide you! does not profusion befit persons of a noble race? At last Ya'qub got so tired of the post which he filled that he requested of al-Mahdi the permission of giving it up, but that favour he could not obtain.

Al-Mahdi then wished to try if he was still inclined towards the party of the 'Alides and sent for him, after taking his seat in a saloon of which all the furniture was red; he himself had on red clothes and, behind him, stood a young female slave dressed in red; before him was a garden filled with roses of all sorts. "Tell me, Ya'qub!" said he. "What you think of this saloon of ours." The other replied: "It is the very perfection of beauty; may God permit the Commander

---

<sup>7</sup> 'Isabad (*the dwelling of sa*), was so named after-'Isa, the son of al-Mahdi. It lay to the east of Baghdad—(*Marasid*.)

of the faithful to enjoy it long!" "Well," said al-Mahdi, "all that it contains is yours, with this girl to crown your happiness and, moreover, a sum of one hundred thousand dirhems( £ 2,500)." Ya'qub invoked God's blessing on the khalif, who then said to him: "I have something to ask of you." On this, Ya'qub stood up from his seat and exclaimed. "Commander of the faithful, such words can only proceed from anger; may God protect me from your wrath! "Al-Mahdi replied: "I wish you to take the engagement of doing what I shall ask." Ya'qub replied: "I hear and shall obey." "Swear by Allah," said the khalif. He swore. "Swear again by Allah." He swore "swear again." He swore for the third time, and the khalif then said to him: "Lay your hand on my head and swear again." Ya'qub did so. Al-Mahdi, having thus obtained from him the firmest promise that could be made, spoke to him in these terms: "There is an 'Alide named."--such a one, the son of such a one--"and I wish you to deliver me from the uneasiness which he gives me and thus set my mind at rest. Here he is; I give him up to you." He then delivered the 'Alide over to him and bestowed on him the girl with all the furniture which was in the saloon and the money (*which he had offered*). Ya'qub was so delighted to have got the girl that he lodged her in a room close to his own, so that he might the more easily go and see her. The 'Alide, whom he had then brought in and whom he found to be a man of intelligence and information, said to him: "Ya'qub! beware lest you have my blood to answer for before God; I am descended from Fatimah the daughter of Muhammad, on whom God's blessings and favours always repose!" To this, Ya'qub replied: "Tell me, sir, if there be good in you," The 'Alide answered: "I shall be grateful and pray for you happiness." "Receive this money," said Ya'qub, "and take whatever road you like." "Such a road," said the 'Alide, naming it, "is the safest." "Depart with my good wishes," said Ya'qub. The girl heard all this conversation and told a servant of hers to go and relate it to him (*al-Mahdi*) and to say it her name: "Such is the conduct of one whom, in giving me to him, you preferred to yourself. Such is the return which he makes you for your kindness!" Al-Mahdi had immediately the road occupied by guards, so that the 'Alide was taken prisoner. He then sent for Ya'qub and said to him, as soon as he saw him: "What become of that man?" Ya'qub replied: "I have delivered you from the uneasiness he gave you" "Is he dead?" "He is." "Swear by Allah." "I swear by Allah!" "Lay your hand on my head." Ya'qub did so and swore by his head. Al-Mahdi then said to an attendant: "Boy, bring out to us those who are in that room." The boy opened the door and there the 'Alide was seen with the very money (*which Ya'qub had received from the khalif*). Ya'qub was so much astounded that he was unable to utter

a word and knew not what to say. "Your life," said al-Mahdi, "is justly forfeited, and it depends on me to shed your blood, but I will not. Shut this man (*Ya'qub*) up in the Matbaq." He had him confined in that dungeon and gave orders that no one should ever speak to him or to any other about the prisoner. *Ya'qub* remained there during the rest of al-Mahdi's reign, which was two years and some months, and during the reign of Musa al-Hadi, and during five years and seven months of the reign of Harun al-Rashid. Yahya the Barmakide having then learned where he was, interceded in his favour and obtained his deliverance. When *Ya'qub* was taken out of prison, he had lost his sight. Al-Rashid treated him with great kindness, restored to him all his property and allowed him the choice of a place of residence. *Ya'qub* chose Makkah, and, having received permission to go there, he remained in that city till his death. This event took place in the year 187 (A.D. 803). When he recovered his liberty, he asked for a number of his dearest friends and, being informed that they were all dead, he pronounced these lines:

All men have a cemetery near their residence, and as their number diminishes, that of the tombs augments. But, though their dwelling be near at hand, the time of meeting them again (*the day of the resurrection*) is far distant.

These two verses are to be found in the *Hamasah*, section of elegies. I must observe that the date of his death, as given above, is the same which is mentioned by Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Abdus al-Kufi, generally known by the surname of al-Jihshiri (*vol. II, p. 137*), in his *Tarikh al-Wuzara'* (*history of vizirs*), but another author states that *Ya'qub* Ibn Dawud died in the year 182 (A.D. 798-9); God knows best!

'Abd Allah, the son of *Ya'qub* Ibn Dawud, related that, when his father was imprisoned in a well by al-Mahdi a cupola was built over it by that khalif's order. He mentioned also that his father related to him as follows: "Every day, during the fifteen years of my remaining there, a small loaf of bread and a pitcher of water were let down to me by a cord and the hours of prayer were announced so that I might hear the call. Towards the end of the thirteenth year, I saw in a dream a figure which came to me and said:

The lord took pity on Joseph and drew him forth from the bottom of a well, and of a chamber where darkness was around him.

I gave thanks to God and said: Deliverance is coming! I then remained another year without seeing anything, till the same figure visited me again and addressed me thus:

God may perhaps, bring deliverance; every day, he does something for His creatures.

I remained another year without seeing anything, but at the expiration of that time, the same figure came to me and said:

The affliction in which you were yesterday may perhaps be followed by a prompt deliverance from care. He that is in fear may cease to dread, the captive may be delivered and the stranger in a distant land may be taken back to his family.

When morning came, I heard a voice calling on me, but thought it was the call to prayers. A black (*camel-hair?*) rope was lowered down and I was told to tie it about my waist. I did so and was drawn up. When I faced the daylight, my sight was extinguished. They led me to al-Rashid and bade me salute the khalif. I said: 'Salutation to the Commander of the faithful, the well directed (*al-Mahdi*), on whom be the mercy of God and His benediction!' The prince answered: 'I am not he. I then said: 'Salutation to the Commander of the faithful, the director (*al-Hadi*), on whom be the mercy of God and his benediction!' He replied again: 'I am not he.' On this, I said: 'Salutation to the Commander of the faithful, the rightly guided (*al-Rashid*), on whom be the mercy of God and His benediction!' To this al-Rashid replied: 'Ya'qub Ibn Dawud! no one interceded with me in your favour, but, this night, as I was carrying one of my children on my shoulder, I remembered that you, formerly, used to carry me about in the same manner; so, I had compassion on you, thinking of the high position which you once held, and I ordered you to be taken out of confinement.'

When al-Rashid was a little boy, Ya'qub used to carry him about and play with.

After Ya'qub's imprisonment, Abu Ja'far al-Fayd Ibn Abi Salih was appointed to the vizirate by al-Mahdi. He had been one of 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa's (*vol. I, p. 431*) servants and was noted for his excessive pride. His father was a Christian. It was of al-Fayd that a poet said:

O you who unjustly debar me from what I claim, may God oblige you to have recourse to al-Fayd's beneficence; to that man who, when he grants a favour, (*shuffles about*) as if walking upon eggs!

The name *Tahman* is to be pronounced with an *a* after the *h* is not followed by a vowel.—Abu 'Ubayd Allah Mu'awiyah al-Ash'ari was born in the year 100 (A.D. 718-9) and died in the year 170 (A.D.

786-7), or 169. It is said that he and (*the khalif*) Musa al-Hadi died on the same day. He breathed his last at Baghdad and was interred in the Quraysh cemetery. The vizir al-Fayd died in the year 173 (A.D. 789-790), and was replaced by al-Rabi' Ibn Yunus (*vol. I, p. 521*). We have spoken of Ya'qub Ibn Dawud in the life al-Bashshar Ibn Burd (*vol. I, p. 256*) and stated that he contributed to the death of that poet. An elegy was composed on his (*Ya'qub's*) death by Abu Hanash of the tribe of Hilal, or of that of Numayr, according to another account. He was a native of Basrah and his true name was Khudayr Ibn Qays. He lived to the age of one hundred years. Some verses of his elegy are given in the *Hamasah* (p.969). The first of them is this:

Ya'qub! let us not lose you! O that you may escape from death; otherwise, we shall have to weep for the days in which you ruled and which were so flourishing and so prosperous.

---

\* Hudayri Ibn Qays al-Basri, in Cairo ed. vol. VI, p. 25.



